

**The Eagle on the Adriatic:**  
**Habsburg supranationalism in Trieste, Fiume/Rijeka and Dalmatia,**  
**1848 - 1867**

Mario Maritan, University College London

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

I, Mario Maritan, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.



## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my supervisor, Axel Körner, for his constant support in all the stages of my research, for sharing his knowledge and passion for Habsburg history, and his kindness. I am grateful to my second supervisor, Wendy Bracewell, for discussing with me issues of Fiume and Croatia, for sharing her invaluable insights and helpfulness. Sincere thanks go to Stephen Conway for his interest in my research and for generously reading the entire thesis. I would like to thank also Lawrence Sondhaus for sharing with me one of his works, that I could not have found otherwise. I am very grateful to David Laven and Joseph Viscomi for their precious insights and suggestions for improving my work. I am grateful to my family, who made it possible, also financially, to conduct the research, and for their dedicated support over the years, during my studies and the various difficult moments of the research.



## **Abstract**

In the 1848–1867 period, the Habsburg Monarchy was shaken by the first waves of nationalism. Yet in the case of the Habsburg port cities of Trieste and Fiume/Rijeka, contended by several different opponents, Italian and Croatian nationalisms had to face centuries-long traditions of municipal autonomy. In both cities, municipalism and attachment to the House of Habsburg were particularly strong and were coupled with local urban identities that defied national forms of identification, insofar as they were ethnically and linguistically hybrid. Nationalist activists sought to exploit ethnic and linguistic elements as markers of defined national identities, yet without widespread success. The final demise of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 has been generally taken as proof of the cogency of nationalist discourse, especially the Italian, in the region. The northern Adriatic rim and Dalmatia point to the forcefulness of Habsburg supranationalism and the existence of ethnic hybridity and national indifference, which provided effective bulwarks against nationalisms for decades.

## **Impact Statement**

The idea that by the end of the nineteenth century the Habsburg Monarchy had succeeded at integrating its various peoples into a shared sense of attachment to the dynasty, notwithstanding linguistic and cultural differences, has been only recently explored. Historians have dispelled the myth of the Habsburg Monarchy as the ‘prison of nations’, yet the perception of Austria as an authoritarian and centralised state still lingers among non-specialists. More importantly, the Habsburg lesson of the accommodation of different ethnicities into a single polity has not been successfully applied to present-day Europe. In academic terms, my research seeks to be a contribution to understandings of the supranational principles of the Habsburg Monarchy and multi-ethnic cooperation in the Adriatic context, which has been mainly the preserve of Italian and Slavic scholars. My thesis goes beyond the notion of the nation state, which, as it argues, is a political construct that gained momentum in opposition to the Habsburg Monarchy. In this respect, I hope that my research can offer new insights to present-day European policy makers on the nature, development and dynamics of nationalist and populist movements across Europe. The thesis seeks to reinstate nationalist propaganda as a fundamentally destabilising force for multi-ethnic coexistence and Habsburg liberalism, providing a parallel for understanding the threats that the European Union faces today.



## **Table of contents**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

*1.1 THE NORTH-EASTERN ADRIATIC, A CULTURAL CONTINUUM UNDER HABSBERG AEGIS*

*1.2 LANGUAGES AND NATIONS IN A NONNATIONAL SPACE*

*1.3 ADRIATIC 'VULGAR' COSMOPOLITANISM*

*1.4 BEYOND NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE ADRIATIC*

### **2. BEYOND NATIONALISMS IN THE ADRIATIC: SUPRA-NATIONALISM AND REGIONALISM IN 1848 HABSBERG TRIESTE**

*2.1 INTRODUCTION*

*2.2 GIOVANNI ORLANDINI'S ATTEMPTED REVOLUTION: THE IDEA OF AN ITALIAN TRIESTE*

*2.3 THE HAMBURG OF THE MEDITERRANEAN OR ANOTHER ITALIAN TRIESTE?*

*2.4 TRIESTE'S NATIONAL GUARD: THE BULWARK OF THE TRIESTINE 'NATION'*

*2.5 THE 'SOCIETÀ DEI TRIESTINI': IMPERIAL LOYALTY*

*2.6 COMMUNAL TENSIONS: THE BEGINNING OF NATIONALITY CONFLICTS?*

*2.7 ALESSANDRO MAURONER: ITALIAN AUSTRO-SLAVISM*

### **3. FIUME OR RIJEKA: THE CITY OF ITALIAN-SPEAKING SLAVS**

*3.1 INTRODUCTION*



*3.2 CROATIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, THE BIRTH OF MODERN CROATIA AND FIUMAN AUTONOMISM*

*3.3 THE CROAT-HUNGARIAN DISPUTE OVER FIUME*

*3.4 THE CROATIAN OCCUPATION OF FIUME ON 30 AUGUST 1848*

*3.5 FIUMAN PARTICULARISM AND SUPPORT FOR HUNGARY*

*3.6 DALMATIA AS A BENCHMARK FOR FIUMAN PARTICULARISM*

**4. CLASH OF IDENTITIES, HYBRIDITY, OR MULTI-ETHNIC COEXISTENCE? THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN DALMATIA, THE KVARNER, AND TRIESTE**

*4.1 INTRODUCTION*

*4.2 THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN DALMATIA*

*4.3 THE KVARNER ISLANDS: CULTURAL BRIDGES*

*4.4 TRIESTE AND THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITIES AT THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY*

**5. BEYOND MERCHANTS' COSMOPOLITANISM: AUSTRIAN POLICIES OF NATURALISATION IN THE ADRIATIC AND THE FORMATION OF A-NATIONAL IDENTITIES ACROSS SOCIETY**

*5.1 INTRODUCTION*

*5.2 BECOMING AUSTRIAN: NATURALISATION PAPERS*

*5.3 THE GERMANS OF TRIESTE: FOREIGNERS OR TRIESTINES?*

*5.4 NEW AUSTRIANS: IMMIGRATION FROM THE PAPAL STATE, SOUTHERN ITALY AND THE VENETO*

**6. THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF IDENTITIES: A NEW NATION STATE AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY IN THE ADRIATIC, 1859-1867**

*6.1 INTRODUCTION*

*6.2 INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUES IN THE ADRIATIC*

*6.3 VENETIA AND DALMATIA: AN ITALIAN ADRIATIC*

*6.4 DALMATIA: PERIPHERAL ALLEGIANCE TO AUSTRIA*

*6.5 THE ARMY AND TRIESTE: URBAN ALLEGIANCES AND IMPERIAL LOYALTY FROM MEXICO TO THE ADRIATIC*

*6.6 EMIGRATIONS FROM TRIESTE AND ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP: ITALIAN PATRIOTISM OR OPPORTUNISM?*

**7. CONCLUSION**

**8. BIBLIOGRAPHY**

*8.1 PRIMARY SOURCES*

*8.1.1 ARCHIVAL SOURCES*

*8.1.2 PRINTED AND PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES*

*8.2 SECONDARY SOURCES*



# **1. Introduction**

## *1.1 The north-eastern Adriatic, a cultural continuum under Habsburg aegis*

In August 1919, a procession consisting mostly of children parading the streets of Trieste, was fired on by the Carabinieri, the Italian military gendarmerie. American and British intelligence reported at least eight killed and twenty wounded, among whom many children; in the same days, Yugo-Slav and Socialist clubs, schools, and newspaper offices were sacked.<sup>1</sup> Yet the then Italian prime minister Francesco Saverio Nitti proclaimed in the Italian House of Parliament that he was “pleased to say there [was] a great exaggeration in the[se reports]. Nothing serious happened, only tedious incidents.”<sup>2</sup> British and American personnel could not intervene, with the British and American legations searched and American journalists arrested and then expelled from the Littoral.<sup>3</sup> From Fiume, British naval Commander Diggle wrote to the British ambassador in Rome Sir Rennell Rodd that control of the city of Fiume was not really inter-Allied, contrary to what had been agreed at the Paris peace conference, but actually Italian. In the previous month of July, in Fiume “three French soldiers [were] killed in cold blood after they had surrendered” to a mob consisting of Italian soldiers and D’Annunzio’s legionnaires; six other colonial Annamese soldiers were murdered at the hands of a crowd similarly composed of Young Fiumani, D’Annunzio’s followers, and Italian troopers and officers, a shocking event that was witnessed by American Lieutenant Riordan and certain Mr Ryan

<sup>1</sup> The National Archives (TNA), FO 608/55/6, ‘Report from Captain Colam’, 8 August 1919.

<sup>2</sup> TNA, FO 608/55/6, ‘Report of the Italian Premier Nitti read in the House of Parliament’. Maura Hametz, ‘The Carabinieri stood by: the Italian State and the “Slavic threat” in Trieste, 1919-1922’, *Nationalities Papers*, 29, 4 (2001), 559. Italian historiography, too, portrays the incident as “escalat[ing] into a riot [...] [with] one nationalist [who] was killed.” Although Hametz’s work stands out in its critical stance towards the Italian military occupation of Trieste, the depiction of the city as characterised by a clear-cut ethnic divide between Italians, who generally stood on the Italian side, and Slavs constituting the opposition to the Italian state, can still be found in her work.

<sup>3</sup> TNA, WO 106/853, 4 November; FO 608/55/6, Incident at Trieste.

as well as other American officers and troopers who testified in front of an inter-Allied jury called to investigate the killings.<sup>4</sup>

In nearby Istria, the November 1918 celebrations, which took the form of rejoicing at the signing of the Armistice and for “the liberation of the people of Istria by the Italian troops, were organised and carried out entirely by Italian troops. The local population were quite unmoved”, British sources reported to London.<sup>5</sup> As the report went on, “it was not only Italian methods in Fiume which had brought about the change of feeling amongst those who were previously annexationists, but also Italian methods in Trieste. There is no doubt that a plebiscite in Trieste would go against Italy now.”<sup>6</sup> How did these events relate to the focus of this thesis, namely multi-ethnic coexistence, national indifference and Habsburg supranationalism in the north-eastern Adriatic between 1848 and 1867? These events highlighted national demarcations and triggered the entrenchment of cultural differences also through ideological allegiances, which, with the rise of Fascism and Communism, were superimposed on national identities in the region.<sup>7</sup> Yet the Habsburg Adriatic in the period here analysed shows that national and ethnic differences were only vaguely in place. Ethnic hybridity or indistinctiveness was widespread, and other factors and forms of self-identification, like work, social status, religion, appeared to be far more important in people’s everyday lives. As Rok Stergar put it, “before the onset of nationalism, nonethnic categories of identification, such as religion, social status,

<sup>4</sup> TNA, FO 608/36/1, 6 July 1919: Jos. A. Riordan Jr., 1st Lieut. (certified to be a true copy by Kenyon); Commanding Officer G.W. Kenyon, U.S.S. “Talbot”, Fiume, 7 July 1919, ‘Acts witnessed by American Officers and men during fighting; evening 6 July’; 29 July 1919 F.O. and transmits letter from Commander N.W. Diggle to Sir Rennell Rodd dated 12 July.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, FO 608/36/1, 5 November.

<sup>6</sup> TNA, WO 106/853, British Military Mission, Fiume, Lieutenant Colonel Peck.

<sup>7</sup> For the role that Italian nationalist propaganda played in undermining multi-ethnic coexistence at the end of the nineteenth century, see Tullia Catalan, ‘The Ambivalence of a Port-City. The Jews of Trieste from the 19th to the 20th century’, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 2 (2011), 69-98. The incorporation of Trieste and Fiume to Italy between 1918 and 1924 were justified on the basis of the supposed Italian character of both cities. This perception significantly influenced the interpretation of the history of 1848 and the 1860s, which Italian irredentists read in national terms. Italian nationalist activists and historiography interpreted Triestine and Fiuman municipal movements, which in the mid-nineteenth century were pro-Habsburg, as harbingers of unification of the Julian region with Italy. This introduction shows that while more recent Italian historiography of the region has acknowledged the municipal and pro-Habsburg nature of Triestine and Fiuman politics in the period here analysed, it is still rooted in national categories and forms of identification that tend to neglect ethnic and cultural hybridity.

and vocation, were often dominant and ethnic identifications were usually much more local.”<sup>8</sup> These nonnational categorisations were intertwined with the supranational Habsburg polity. As Tara Zahra argued with regard to Central Europe, “the boundaries between linguistic and national communities were often far from clear, as many individuals were bilingual, altogether indifferent to nationalism, or more loyal to their local, regional, or religious communities than to an abstract national community.”<sup>9</sup>

The north-eastern Adriatic, or Julian Region, has been the bone of contention of Italian and Slavic nationalists from the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth. During the Second World War, the region, today divided between Italy, Slovenia, and Croatia, witnessed innumerable deaths as a result of what has been perceived as ethno-national strife, often concomitant with Fascist or Communist ideology.<sup>10</sup> To this day, the northern Adriatic rim is widely seen as a border region with clear-cut national and ethnic distinctions, which have been superimposed on the nineteenth century. Pamela Ballinger has emphasised that historiography has centred on “a reductive view of the Adriatic that sees it principally through the narrow prism of competing Italian and Slavic nationalist claims,” while, as Egidio Ivetic illustrated, the “*homo adriaticus*” category is “a *forma mentis* and a paradigm in the name of cultural openness”, which with its ebb and flow has characterised the history of the Adriatic through time.<sup>11</sup> As Dominique Kirchner Reill summarised with regard to national groups and languages in the region,

in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the nation-states of Italy, Yugoslavia, Slovenia, and what we know today as Croatia did not exist. In the 1830s, there were Italian-speakers and there were Italian

<sup>8</sup> Rok Stergar, ‘Introduction. Forum: The Adriatic, the Alps, and the Danube: Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018), 19.

<sup>9</sup> Zahra, ‘Looking East: East Central European “Borderlands” in German History and Historiography’, *History Compass* 3 (2005), 9.

<sup>10</sup> Glenda Sluga, ‘Inventing Trieste: History, anti-History, and Nation’, *The European Legacy* 1 (1996), 25-30; Marina Cattaruzza, ‘The making and remaking of a boundary: the redrafting of the eastern border of Italy after the two World Wars’, *Journal of Modern European History* 9 (2011), 66-86.

<sup>11</sup> Pamela Ballinger, ‘Adriatic Forum: A Comment’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011), 56; Egidio Ivetic, *Storia dell’Adriatico. Un mare a la sua civiltà* (Bologna, 2019), 7.

nationalists, but there were no “Italians.” [...] Italian-speakers could (and did) identify themselves as members of a Slavic, Austrian, or Illyrian nation.<sup>12</sup>

Here, on the geographical peripheries of the Habsburg Monarchy yet at the centre of its economy and imperial imaginations, clearly defined national identities and allegiances were not the rule before the Great War, similar to elsewhere in the Monarchy.<sup>13</sup> Language practices in the Habsburg Adriatic are indicative of forms of identification that defied modern national categorisations. These are reflected in different uses of literary and vernacular languages, bearing directly on local identities, which were not necessarily Italian or Slavic, but often hybrid.<sup>14</sup> Widespread use of literary Italian, on the one hand, and of spoken Venetian (with its Triestine and Fiuman versions), on the other, has been taken by historians as evidence for assimilation to the idea of an Italian culture of the numerous people who used either language.<sup>15</sup> Yet, as Kirchner Reill aptly put it, “denoting an ethnic or national identity in the eastern Adriatic based on language use is an impossible and historically incorrect exercise.”<sup>16</sup>

This thesis focusses on Habsburg supranationalism, indifference to nationalist ideologies and the interplay between localism and dynastic loyalty in the Habsburg Adriatic in the 1848-1867 period. The discussion hinges on the idea that national identities did not yet exist for the majority of the population well into the 1860s, since people would tend to identify with urban, local, regional or

<sup>12</sup> Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation. Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Stanford, 2012), xvi.

<sup>13</sup> For more nuanced interpretations of the history of the Habsburg Monarchy which are at odds with its long-held perception as the ‘prison of nations’, see Gary Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914* (Princeton, 1981); Lawrence Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor: Italians in the Austrian Armed Forces, 1814-1918* (Boulder, 1990); Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton, 2002); Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*; Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Monarchy. A New History* (Cambridge, MA, 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Ethnic hybridity as a category does not imply essentialist notions of ethnicity. It is a category, and as such a tool that helps us to analyse social phenomena. Ballinger’s caution with this notion refers to the formulation of hybridity expressed by Yugoslavism and Iстриanism, which “does not necessarily subvert essentialist frameworks but instead reproduces them.” See Ballinger, “Authentic hybrids” in the Balkan borderlands’, *Current Anthropology* 45, 1 (2004), 32.

<sup>15</sup> Even studies that are steeped in the appreciation of Adriatic multinationalism are premised on this assumption; see, for example, Raoul Pupo, *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo* (Trieste, 2019), 9.

<sup>16</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, xvii.

religious forms of identification straddling ethnic categorisations. My work analyses the specific case of Trieste and relates it to the Fiuman context comparatively as well as the wider framework of the Adriatic, and therefore including Dalmatia to the south-east and, partly, Veneto to the west. My discussion centres on ethnic hybridity, multi-ethnic coexistence, and imperial allegiances in the Habsburg Adriatic in the face of emerging nationalisms, by looking at the specific cases of Trieste and Fiume, the two port cities of the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Habsburg Monarchy respectively. The aim is to shed light on the vigour of local and regional identities, often hybrid, in synthesising Slavic and Latin cultural and linguistic elements as opposed to promoting novel national identities endorsed by nationalist publicists and activists. As the discussion shows, nationalist ideas gained momentum in periods of economic and political crisis. My dissertation takes an interdisciplinary approach, which relates to anthropological concerns, seeing multi-ethnic coexistence and multilingualism as lasting bulwarks against nationalist ideologies. The discussion examines early Italian and Croatian nationalist activism in Trieste and Fiume and what the language question, naturalisation requests, and emigration pleas can tell us about local identities and allegiances.

My work seeks to contribute to the reconstruction of the multi-ethnic Adriatic, which Kirchner Reill and Konstantina Zanou brought back to life through their intellectual histories. Although not an intellectual history, this thesis moves from the same premises and goes beyond ‘national’ histories and historiographies. In this study, intellectuals, politicians, merchants, soldiers, sailors are “figures oscillating”, as Zanou put it describing her Greco-Venetian and Veneto-Dalmatian characters, “between the world of the former imperial Venetian realm and the world of nations that was dawning; between old and new empires and nation-states; between two or more patrias, languages, and cultures.”<sup>17</sup> The aim of my study is to contribute to further the understanding of “a world characterized

<sup>17</sup> Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford, 2018), 5.



by multiple cultural, intellectual, and political affiliations that have since been elided by the conventional narrative of the formation of nation-states.”<sup>18</sup>

Instead of using conflicts between national communities as a starting point for my investigation, this study focusses on transnational elements of urban and regional identity, as well as on statements of loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy and (in the case of Fiume) relations with the tradition of the Hungarian crown. In particular, this work deals critically with the irredentist tradition of Italian historiography, which has hitherto offered little room for a multi- or transnational understanding of the region. I developed my argument in six separate chapters, including the introduction, that cover chronologically the 1848-67 period. The periodisation begins with revolutionary 1848, which spelt the highlight of Triestine municipalism and coincided with the Croatian occupation of Fiume, and ends with 1867, the year of the Austro-Hungarian Settlement, the *Ausgleich*, which followed the Italian annexation of the Veneto in 1866 (thus shifting the Italian border closer to Trieste) and preceded the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement of 1868, which marked the end of the Croatian occupation of Fiume.

This thesis seeks to reconstruct the nonnational politics of the region, which are understood in terms similar to those put forward by Jeremy King in his study of the nationalisation of politics and identities in the Bohemian city of Budweis. As King put it, “Budweis/ Budějovice had not been first German, then more German than Czech and then more Czech than German. Rather, it had long been Budweiser, or Habsburg-loyal – and German only in the purely linguistic sense that most residents seem to have preferred to speak German until some time after the middle of the nineteenth century.”<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Trieste and Fiume had not been first Italian and then more Italian than Slovene or Croatian, but had long been Triestine and Fiuman and Habsburg-loyal. To interpret their history

<sup>18</sup> Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean*.

<sup>19</sup> King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans*, 13-14.

in national terms without problematising the question of the nation, and what nationalities implied in the nineteenth century, would risk distorting the history of the region.

The introductory chapter contextualises the historiography of the Julian region and the port cities of Trieste and Fiume. The introduction deals with the questions of language and nationality in the region. Whereas nationalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century described the region in national terms, ethnic hybridity and local forms of self-identification appeared to govern the lived experiences of the people of the Austrian Littoral. While eventually monopolising the politics of the region and the whole Habsburg Monarchy, national categorisations were more the preserve of nationalist activists and intellectuals. Historiography of the region has tended to apply reified national categories to the nineteenth-century Austrian Littoral, mirroring nationalist accounts and Habsburg censuses. Apart from Kirchner Reill's and Ivetic's works, to date there is still no comprehensive work on the mid-nineteenth-century Küstenland that draws on the historiographical tradition of King, Judson and Laven and sees the Adriatic not through the lens of national historiographies (whether Italian, Croatian or Slovene) but as a unitary entity, an historical and cultural continuum.<sup>20</sup>

Chapter two discusses the events of 1848 in Trieste by analysing the rhetoric of Italian nationalists as well as the stances put forward by Triestine autonomists who were in favour of Habsburg rule. In 1848, Trieste witnessed the culmination of Triestine particularism and Habsburg loyalty with the formulation of a distinct multi-ethnic Triestine nationality. This chapter focusses on the brief experience of nationalist agitation in the city and the formation of the city's national guard, which was the expression of Trieste's elites and involved men from across the social spectrum. It also looks at some key figures in the intellectual life of the city, including Francesco Dall'Ongaro, one of Kirchner Reill's 'multi-nationalists', and two prominent Habsburg loyalists and municipalists, local historian Pietro Kandler and publicist Alessandro Mauroner. The question of autonomism and

<sup>20</sup> For national narratives of the region and the whole eastern Adriatic, see Ivetic, *Adriatico orientale. Atlante storico di un litorale mediterraneo* (Rovinj, 2014), 12-4.

municipalism, bound up with allegiance to the Habsburgs, is further developed in chapter three, which focusses comparatively on Fiuman autonomism between 1848 and the 1860s. This chapter discusses the events of 1848 in Fiume within the context of rivalry between Hungary and Croatia. The supposedly Italian identity of the city was introduced by Fiuman autonomists in the attempt to retain the municipal privileges of the city. This Fiuman *italianità* was intertwined with Hungarian 'patriotism' and rooted in opposition to Croatian attempts to overtake the port city. The following chapter puts Trieste, together with Fiume, in the wider context of the eastern Adriatic by analysing the language question in the region, including the Kvarner gulf and Dalmatia. The discussion seeks to emphasise the existence of ethnic and cultural hybridity in the region as key markers of the social life of Trieste and Fiume throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter five studies the process of immigration to Trieste after 1848 and the applications for Austrian naturalisation on the part of people from the Levant, Greece, the Italian peninsula and the German states. On the basis of naturalisation pleas, it examines multi-ethnic collaboration, intermarriage, multilingualism and the ongoing creation of a Triestine identity. By contrast, chapter six explores the inverse process of emigration from Trieste or renunciation of Austrian citizenship on the part of several merchants with origins in the north of Italy after the Austrian loss of Lombardy in 1859 and the Veneto in 1866. There is also a strong focus on the military as an imperial institution that represented a place of exchange between the different ethnicities of the city and contributed in forging a shared sense of Triestine identity. These last two chapters seek to prove that a Triestine identity was multi-ethnic across society and that the supposed Italian identity of the city was ushered in and promoted by people who were originally Italian and had moved to the Habsburg port for business reasons. It was the final formal success of Italian integrational efforts, which Fascist rule was instrumental in implementing, that turned the Habsburg city into an Italian backwater port.

## 1.2 Languages and nations in a nonnational space

The histories and identities of the two main cities of the region, Trieste and Fiume, did not follow a process of gradual integration into the Italian nation state.<sup>1</sup> As the late Fiuman historian William Klinger observed, while Italian historiography, “steeped in Romanity, municipalism, and Italianness”, was limiting for the understanding of Trieste’s history, it was even more so for the history of Fiume. For its part, “Jugoslav [historiography] has actually cancelled the history of Fiume, reducing it to a denationalised port.”<sup>21</sup> Trieste and Fiume were both early Austrian acquisitions, experiencing only very brief spells of Venetian rule, and remained part of the Habsburg Monarchy until 1918.<sup>22</sup> In 1382, the ruling elite of Trieste resorted to the protection of the House of Habsburg in order to eschew Venetian ambitions over the eastern Adriatic, since Venice had briefly occupied the town in 1367 as part of its expansion in Istria and Dalmatia.<sup>23</sup> Fiume had been united to Austria since 1465 and in 1776 was granted to Hungary by Maria Theresia as a *corpus separatum*, an autonomous entity of the Hungarian crown, while retaining the municipal privileges that it had been enjoying for centuries.<sup>24</sup> In 1719, Emperor Charles VI declared Trieste a free port, in the same year as nearby Fiume, in order to avoid Venetian tolls and thus challenge the hegemony of the Adriatic that the Republic of Venice had secured for centuries.

<sup>21</sup> William Klinger, *Un'altra Italia: Fiume 1724-1924* (Rovinj, 2018), 12. For another excellent summary of the history of Habsburg Fiume, see Dennison Rusinow, *Italy's Austrian Heritage, 1919-1946* (Oxford, 1969), 13, 120-1. With regard to Fiume, on the website of the State Archives of Croatia at Fiume/Rijeka it is stated that “in the Yugoslav State Rijeka was united with the People’s Republic of Croatia, which ended the unnatural separation from her Croatian hinterland”, a statement that is emblematic of enduring perceptions in Croatia. For a recent perspective that describes nineteenth-century Fiume as mainly Italian, see Catherine Horel, ‘Fiume-Rijeka, frontieres et identités 1880-1920’, *Études balkaniques* 2 (2016), 282-312, or its elites as ‘local Fiuman Italian nationalists’, see Milou van Hout, ‘In search of the nation in Fiume: Irredentism, cultural nationalism, borderlands’, *Nations and Nationalism* 26 (2020), 664 and “for the local elite in Fiume, being Italian was bound up with a distinctly regional experience, defined politically by a multicultural cosmopolitan pragmatism”, 670.

<sup>22</sup> Hans Kramer, *Die Italiener unter der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1954), 90; Umberto Corsini, ‘Die Italiener’, in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, III, 2* (Vienna, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> Pietro Kandler, *Guida al forestiero nella città di Trieste* (Trieste, 1845), 23.

<sup>24</sup> For the adhesion of Trieste’s elites to Austria in the fourteenth century see Angelo Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico: contributo alla discussione sui rapporti austro-italiani* (Trieste, 1984) [1912]; Sondhaus, ‘Trieste, 1848-49: between Austria, Italy and Germany’, in *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe: Selected Papers* (1994), 669. On the later union of Fiume to Austria and, within it, Hungary, see Klinger, *Un'altra Italia*; Robert J.W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe C. 1683-1867* (Oxford, 2006), 28.

From a fishing hamlet, Trieste became the centre of Habsburg overseas traffics. While at the beginning of the eighteenth century Trieste had less than 5,000 inhabitants, in 1820 it reached a population of 43,000 and in 1840 it had more than 80,000 inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> The Habsburg government also aimed at establishing itself as a world-scale competitor in long-distance trade with the foundation of the Oriental Company in 1719, focussed on trade with the Ottoman Empire, and the East Indian Trading Company in 1722.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, these first enterprises soon foundered, and Charles VI's project of the free port fell in abeyance due to the decades of wars that shook Europe at the middle of the eighteenth century. The War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years War triggered a period of stagnation notwithstanding Maria Theresa's efforts to sustain the economy. Her economic policies, implemented by her son Joseph II, began yielding results from the 1780s.<sup>27</sup> In a bid to revitalise the state economy, legal and economic privileges were granted to skilled labourers, artisans and non-Catholic merchants, who were spurred to settle in the city from the rest of the Monarchy and beyond.<sup>28</sup>

As a result, Trieste attracted many Jewish, Armenian, and Greek merchants who, having been granted Austrian citizenship by the half of the nineteenth-century (as the successful requests by several Greeks and Armenians to be granted Austrian citizenship in 1848 show), contributed in establishing a cosmopolitan trading community, in a way similar to that of several other port cities of the Mediterranean.<sup>29</sup> Until the late eighteenth century, Trieste's Greeks were joined by Serbs, with

<sup>25</sup> For statistics on Trieste's population, see M. Breschi, A. Kalc and E. Navarra, 'La nascita di una città. Storia minima della popolazione di Trieste, sec. XVIII-XIX', in R. Finzi and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719-1918* (Trieste, 2001), 69-237. For its part, Fiume had only 10,568 inhabitants in 1850 and grew to 48,792 inhabitants in 1910.

<sup>26</sup> David Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914* (Berkeley, 1984), 27.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats: Austrian policy towards the Steam Navigation Company of the Austrian Lloyd, 1836-1848* (Wiesbaden, 1975).

<sup>28</sup> Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire*, 28.

<sup>29</sup> For Trieste's trading community see Cattaruzza, 'Stadtbürgertum und Kaufmannschaft in Triest: 1749-1850', in Robert Hoffmann (ed.), *Bürger zwischen Tradition und Modernität* (Vienna, 1997), 225-245 and Henk Driessen, 'Mediterranean port cities: cosmopolitanism reconsidered', *History and Anthropology* 16 (2005), 132. For Jews in Trieste at the time of Maria Theresa see Lois Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1999). For the ethno-religious communities of Trieste, see Liana De Antonellis, *Portofranco e comunità etnico-religiose nella Trieste settecentesca* (Milan, 1968); Giuseppe Stefani, *I Greci a Trieste nel Settecento* (Trieste, 1960); Giorgio

whom they formed a single ‘Illyrian’ community due to the shared Orthodox faith.<sup>30</sup> From the 1780s, Slavonic merchants tended to settle in Trieste rather than in declining Venice.<sup>31</sup> Newcomers also from the rest of the Monarchy also contributed to the population growth of the city, that saw an exponential increase from about five thousand inhabitants at the beginning of the eighteenth century to more than thirty thousand at the end of the century.<sup>32</sup> The years of the Napoleonic wars, which strained Austrian finances, forced on Trieste a very slow recovery. The establishment of the Austrian Lloyd in 1833, the shipping company that made the fortune of the city, did not secure the resurgence of the city from its inception. It took about ten years for the company, years in which it also risked bankruptcy, to prove effective thanks to steady state intervention.<sup>33</sup> Foreigners poured into the port attracted by the prospects it offered. Even the majority of Trieste’s firms and trading houses in 1848 were considered to be foreign by parochialist Triestines.<sup>34</sup> By the half of the nineteenth century the city was one of the leading ports in Europe and the fourth most populated city of the Monarchy.<sup>35</sup> This narrative of the rise of Trieste from a small town to a world-class port city thanks to the Habsburg dynasty has not been significantly questioned by irredentist historiography. It was its supposed Italian character that was at stake, in ways that were also applied to the Fiuman context.<sup>36</sup>

Milossevich and Marina Bianco Fiorin, *I Serbi a Trieste: storia, religione, arte* (Udine, 1978); Giulio Cervani and Liana Buda, *La comunità israelitica di Trieste nel sec. XVIII* (Udine, 1978).

<sup>30</sup> Angela Falcetta, ‘Comunità ortodosse nell’alto Adriatico e in Dalmazia veneta durante il XVIII secolo: spazi politico-sociali, religione, identità’, *Annali della Fondazione Einaudi*, Vol. XLIV (2010), 106-7.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 83.

<sup>33</sup> For the Austrian Lloyd, see Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats* and Alison Frank, ‘The Children of the Desert and the Laws of the Sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century’, *The American Historical Review* 117, 2 (2012), 410-444.

<sup>34</sup> See for example Carlo Roediger, “Dove sono i Triestini?”, *La Guardia Nazionale*, 20 May 1848.

<sup>35</sup> Frank, ‘Continental and Maritime Empires in an Age of Global Commerce’, *East European Politics and Societies* 25 (2011), 783. The industrialisation of the city led to an increasing migration to the Adriatic port from the adjacent regions, in particular Friuli, Kärnten, Slovenia, and Istria. From the sixty thousand inhabitants of 1848, Trieste doubled its population in 1875 and reached a population of about two-hundred-thirty thousand in 1910. See Eduard Winkler, *Wahlrechtsreformen und Wahlen in Triest 1905–1909. Eine Analyse der politischen Partizipation in einer multinationalen Stadtregion der Habsburgermonarchie* (Munich, 2000) and Cattaruzza, ‘Die Migration nach Triest’.

<sup>36</sup> As I show in this introduction and throughout the text, my aim is to go beyond standard narratives of the city’s *italianità* as well as its cosmopolitan nature, however paradoxical that might sound. Hanley’s notion of ‘vulgar cosmopolitanism’ is particularly fruitful also for the Triestine context.

Notwithstanding centuries of Habsburg allegiance, given Venetian hegemony over the Adriatic and the eastern Mediterranean, the populations of Trieste and Fiume had adopted a Venetian dialect as their *lingua franca*, on which later irredentist claims of the cities' Italian character rested.<sup>37</sup>

As Ronnie Ferguson put it, Venetian

formed the basis of the Common Veneto *lingua franca* that was constantly renewed from the mother-city and that survived into the twenty-first century. It Venetianised the Lombard dialects of the contiguous Trentino region, ousted Friulan from several major urban centres in Friuli and erased the Ladin speech of Trieste. The colonial dominions of Venice showed exceptional loyalty to the Republic and its speech, so that the 'Italian' of the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts that flourished well into the twentieth century was essentially Venetian.<sup>38</sup>

As linguist Charles Bidwell argued, these Venetian dialects may be defined "colonial, since in no case do they represent development of an autochthonous Romance speech, but are overlaid upon linguistic substrata which were either Slavic (Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian) or non-Venetian varieties of Romance."<sup>39</sup> The Friulan or Ladin speech of Trieste, called *Tergestino*, had already died out in the eighteenth century.<sup>40</sup> It was replaced by a Venetian-based dialect, the *Triestino*, which the linguist

<sup>37</sup> Pacifico Valussi, until 1848 a proponent of the Adriatic multinationalism studied by Kirchner Reill, in 1861 depicted Trieste's past and character in misleading terms, since he wrote that "the language of the indigenous population of the city has always been Italian. When Trieste resembled the other Italian cities of Istria and Friuli and was not yet a trade emporium [...], the Italian language was there exclusive." See Valussi, *Trieste e l'Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana* (Milan, 1861), 22. Propagandist Sigismondo Bonfiglio wrote that "the people of the eastern Venetian littoral", the "*Litorale Veneto orientale*", by which he referred to the Austrian Littoral and Trieste, "across the centuries have preserved the common language that they shared with their Italian compatriots." Bonfiglio, *Italia e Confederazione Germanica* (Turin, 1865), 552.

<sup>38</sup> Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice* (Florence, 2007), 212-13.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Bidwell, 'Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in the Eastern Adriatic: A case study of languages in contact', *General Linguistics* 7, 1 (1967), 13.

<sup>40</sup> Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, in Trieste the *Tergestino* was still spoken, however scantily. In nearby Muggia, until the 1870s the *Muglisano*, closely related to the *Tergestino*, was still extant. See Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, 'Saggi ladini', in Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (ed.), *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1873), 479. Both these dialects belonged to the Friulan linguistic group and were ultimately replaced by the colonial Venetian dialect. In Trieste, *Tergestino* and *Triestino* had coexisted for centuries, until the final demise of the former in the eighteenth century. The disappearance of *Tergestino* in Trieste, when the similar *Muglisano* survived for over a century in nearby Muggia, was due to the rise of Trieste as a multi-ethnic emporium and the economic heir of Venice, inheriting its language together with its Mediterranean contacts. For *Tergestino* and *Muglisano* see Sabine Heinemann, 'Tergestino/Muglisano', in Sabine Heinemann and Luca Melchior (eds.): *Manuale di linguistica friulana* (Berlin, 2015), 226-7. Linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli theorised a linguistic and cultural continuum between the Swiss Canton of the Grisons and Istria, where Ladin

Graziadio Isaia Ascoli specifically defined as ‘the Venetian dialect of [Trieste].’<sup>41</sup> The status of *Triestino* reflected that of Venetian, in that they both remained mainly oral dialects rather than fully-fledged written languages. While spoken Venetian had coexisted with written Latin, and later Italian, which were used “in legislation and official writing”, in Trieste the dichotomy was between oral *Triestino* and written Italian.<sup>42</sup> Bidwell suggested that the adoption of Venetian in Trieste, Fiume and the other urban centres of the eastern Adriatic coast was a process of “Venetianisation” which was “due first to the political hegemony of Venice through a great part of the late Middle Ages and early modern times, and secondly to the tremendous commercial and cultural ascendancy of the city of St. Mark which extended to areas not under its direct political control and persisted after the Venetian republic ceased to exist.”<sup>43</sup>

Venetian and Italian were adopted as the *linguae francae* not only along the Dalmatian coasts, but also throughout the eastern Mediterranean, partly mirroring the previous geographical extent of the Sabir, the *lingua franca* par excellence, which had spanned the Mediterranean in its entirety from the Middle Ages onwards.<sup>44</sup> This cross-cultural role of Italian can be better understood if we consider that the Russo-Turkish treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji of 1774 was drafted in Russian, Turkish, and Italian, Italian being the language to which the signatories would resort in settling disputes arising from differing versions of the clauses of the treaty.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, in his *Histoire de ma vie*, the

languages like the Ladin of the Dolomites, Friulan, and the Istriot of Istria were spoken. *Tergestino* belonged to this linguistic group. It had also been relegated as the “plebeian or rustic language”, while coexisting with *Triestino*, the Venetian dialect of the city, which replaced the former in the course of the eighteenth century. See Ascoli, ‘Il dialetto tergestino’, in G.I. Ascoli (ed.), *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, vol. 10 (Rome, 1888), 449. The process whereby Venetian dialects gradually replaced Friulan or Ladin dialects in the rest of the north-eastern Adriatic coincided with the spread of Venetian following the consolidation of the Venetian maritime empire in the fifteenth century.

<sup>41</sup> Ascoli, ‘Saggi ladini’, 479; Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice*, 23.

<sup>42</sup> For the coexistence of Venetian dialects and written Latin and Italian see Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice*, 212-13.

<sup>43</sup> Bidwell, ‘Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in the Eastern Adriatic’, 13-14.

<sup>44</sup> For the *Sabir* language, a mixture of Venetian, Genoese and Catalan that emerged in the medieval Mediterranean, see the seminal article by Hugo Schuchardt, ‘Die Lingua franca’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33 (1909), 441-61. The *Sabir* was spoken from Gibraltar to Constantinople and the Black Sea, and from the Adriatic to the northern shores of Africa.

<sup>45</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923: The Impact of the West* (Austin, 1990), 33-36.



Venetian adventurer and polymath Gian Giacomo Casanova recounted a lunch he had in Constantinople as a guest of the formerly French army officer Bonneval, who was then in the service of the Ottoman Sultan and had thus converted to Islam, and other Turkish guests. Casanova observed that “the conversation took place all in Italian [...] and the Turks did not say a word in their own language to exchange whatsoever observation.”<sup>46</sup> Even the great British explorer Richard Francis Burton, who was the British consul at Trieste in the last decade of his life, while testing his camouflage as a Muslim in Egypt in 1853, deliberately resorted to a broken Italian with a British official who did not know Arabic.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, a certain grasp of the language by British or Muslims alike, was not an oddity in the Levant and on the Mediterranean coasts of Egypt not only in the eighteenth century, but also at the middle of the nineteenth century.

Whereas the local *lingua franca* did not materialise into national identifications until the end of the nineteenth century, it was instrumental for channelling ethnic and cultural diversity into the Triestine and Fiuman hybrid milieux, which assumed Latin, Slavic, and Germanic features.<sup>48</sup> In the process, steady language contact led to mutual borrowings in lexicon and syntactic influences.<sup>49</sup> Roberto Finzi argues that in order to comprehend the linguistic element and identity of Trieste it is necessary to keep in mind the role of the Italian language as *lingua franca* already at the time of the establishment of the free port, that is in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Yet a similar reading of the role of Italian risks to be teleological, insofar as it imposes the later ‘Italian’ identity of the city on previous centuries, all the more so since Italian was the *lingua franca* throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the everyday medium among the populace in town was the Triestine dialect.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Gian Giacomo Casanova, *Histoire de ma vie* (Paris, 1825), 262.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (London, 1855), 27.

<sup>48</sup> Rienzo Pellegrini, ‘Per un profilo linguistico’, in Finzi, R. and Panjek, G. (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719–1918* (Trieste, 2001), 293–315.

<sup>49</sup> Bidwell has also pointed to “the similarity of sentence melody” in čakavian Croatian and colonial Venetian. See Bidwell, ‘Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in the Eastern Adriatic’, 24.

<sup>50</sup> Roberto Finzi, ‘La base materiale dell’italofonia a Trieste’, in Finzi, R. and Panjek, G. (eds.) *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719–1918* (Trieste 2001), 325.

<sup>51</sup> In this respect, Claudio Minca too points to the fact that “as it was in the 1800s, still today this *lingua franca* acts as proof of belonging to the ‘Triestinità’”, but it is neither national nor territorial, merely urban, and remains a common

Thus, use of Italian implied neither adoption of Italian culture nor of Italian national sentiments, at least for the simple reason, too often overlooked, that an Italian national culture had still to come into existence after Italian unification. It actually reflected the writing-speaking dichotomy first between Latin and Venetian and later between Italian and Venetian. As Ferguson argued with regard to the historical role of Venetian,

not only was there never to be a language policy in the Stato Veneto, but Latin itself would linger on for centuries after 1500 in legislation and official writing. And while Venetian never became a fully-fledged language, it was an exceptional dialect. The ‘bilingualism’ that characterized Venice from Renaissance to Enlightenment is only a writing-speaking dichotomy. In the oral domain *venexian* reigned supreme from 1500 to 1800 in all social contexts and among and between all social classes.<sup>52</sup>

While language and nationality have often been conflated by the historiography of the region, for the Triestine and Dalmatian contexts – something that historical actors at times did too – to lump them together undermines a better understanding of local identities at the middle of the nineteenth century, which often defied present-day national categories or coincided with other forms of nationality which have not developed into nation states. The question of ‘the’ nation first needs to be problematised in order to progress with the discussion. The words ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ are problematic for a study of the mid-nineteenth century, when many nation states had still to come into existence. It is particularly so in the context of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Monarchy and the eastern Adriatic.

marker of distinction from that which is *not* Triestine.” See Minca, “‘Trieste Nazione’ and its geographies of absence’, *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10, 3 (2009), 273.

<sup>52</sup> Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice*, 212.

The terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ are not superimposed on the period here analysed. They were both used as *nazione* and *nationalità* by historical actors. While some nationalities coincided in name with present-day categories, like Austrian, German, Italian, or Greek, they appeared to be situational. They may refer to a vague national or ethnic affiliation, language of use or place of origin. In the eighteenth century, and at least until the middle of nineteenth century, the term nation was applied to the various ethno-religious communities of the city, like the Greek and Jewish. Even immigrants from the various states of the Italian peninsula were described as belonging to the Pontifical, Neapolitan and Venetian nations.<sup>53</sup> As Will Hanley put it with regard to late nineteenth-century Alexandria, a context that in many respects resembles that of Trieste and Fiume, “the cardinal sin of histories of fin-de-siècle cosmopolitanism is pleasure in the anachronistic use of present-day categories, especially those of modular and indelible nationality.”<sup>54</sup> Historical figures and activists would at times call themselves ‘Italians’ and other times refer to a Triestine or Austrian nationality, but the term ‘Italian’ and ‘Austrian’ cannot be associated with present-day nationalities. In Trieste a distinct nationality was theorised by intellectuals and activists who supported Trieste’s economic and cultural distinctiveness, which the Habsburg Monarchy guaranteed.<sup>55</sup> As chapter one of the thesis shows, municipal activists supported a *nazionalità Triestina*, while also endorsing use of the Italian language, all within a framework of loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy.

<sup>53</sup> See Dorsi, ‘I “regnicoli”: una componente dimenticata della società triestina in età asburgica’, in *Trieste, Austria, Italia tra Settecento e Novecento* (Udine, 1996), 116-7. Yet Dorsi teleologically argues that there existed a relatively homogenous ‘Italian’ culture “from Friuli to Apulia”, to which Trieste belonged. He writes that “between the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Trieste was the pole of attraction mainly of the Italian people of the Adriatic, more than for peoples that were more removed in culture and traditions.”

<sup>54</sup> Will Hanley, *Identifying with Nationality: Europeans, Ottomans, and Egyptians in Alexandria* (New York, 2017), 28.

<sup>55</sup> Use of the term ‘identity’ as a category of analysis in this thesis does not constitute a reification of ethnic or national identities. This thesis problematises ethnic and national identities, which have often been superimposed on the nineteenth century. As Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper put it, “what is problematic is not *that* a particular term is used, but *how* it is used.” See Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000), 5. This thesis is conceptually based on the idea that, as Brubaker and Cooper put it, “how one identifies oneself – and how one is identified by others – may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual.” See Brubaker and Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, 14. As the authors argue, “identity “is riddled with ambiguity, riven with contradictory meanings, and encumbered by reifying connotations. [...] Alternative analytical idioms [...] can do the necessary work without the attendant confusion” See *ibid.* 34. Yet, although terms like “identification” and “self-understanding” are said to lack “the reifying connotations of ‘identity’”, my thesis uses the terms “identity”, “forms of identification”, and “categorisation” interchangeably, given also the widespread use of the term “identity” in the scholarly literature.

In chapter five, Triestine residents with Milanese origins applying for Italian citizenship would define their nationality as *nazionalità Lombarda*. The existence of a Lombard nationality on the eve of the annexation of Lombardy to Piedmont (which would become the Kingdom of Italy in 1861), partly reflects the existence of other nationalities within the context of Habsburg Italy, like the Venetian and the Friulan.<sup>56</sup> That some nations developed into nation states, while others like the Dalmatian or Friulan did not, does not mean that the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationality’ were not used at the time. The terms did not necessarily have a political connotation, yet they did imply identification with a certain language, or dialect, and history.<sup>57</sup> As Pietro Kandler, Triestine historian and supporter of Habsburg rule, put it in 1848, “nationality is sacred as much as religion” and needed to be respected in view of a peaceful coexistence and the common good; yet he also stated that the idea of founding states on the basis of the nationality principle was a very novel idea. The need for building nation states was “an idea of the most recent times, which shall yield to the example of centuries.”<sup>58</sup> The complexity, or vagueness, of nationality at the time was further expressed by Kandler when he praised the words of Johann Hagenauer, who had been initially appointed as representative of Trieste to the short-lived constitutional assembly of Vienna instituted in 1848. Kandler expressed his sympathy for Hagenauer stating that “when he said to be a representative of an Italian city [he] clearly manifested to be a true Austrian and Triestine.”<sup>59</sup>

If we consider that also nineteenth-century France was far from being a homogenous nation state (notwithstanding the fact that a French dynastic state had been roughly co-extensive with a

<sup>56</sup> Even in the early twentieth century, Robert Musil would refer to distinct Italian, Friulan and Ladin nationalities in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy. See Musil *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (1952) [1930], 462.

<sup>57</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that this thesis seeks to go beyond national categories and aims to show ethnic hybridity between the local Slavic and Latin components of Trieste’s and Fiume’s societies, it is inevitable that at times terms like ‘Italian’, ‘Italianisation’, and others words referring to Italian culture appear throughout the thesis. For example, the process whereby Slavic peasants would adopt Venetian dialects or absorb Italian terms in their language, also through their urbanisation, has to be referred to with the historiographical term ‘Italianisation’ (although Bidwell used the more fitting term ‘Venetianisation’). Use of these terms does not run counter to the premises of the thesis.

<sup>58</sup> Pietro Kandler, ‘Sulla nazionalità del popolo di Trieste’, *L’Istria*, no. 43-44 (1848), 176.

<sup>59</sup> Kandler, ‘Sulla nazionalità del popolo di Trieste’, *L’Istria*, no. 45-46 (1848), 180.

territory corresponding to present-day France for centuries), then it becomes easier to see that a supposed Italian national culture did not exist in the north-eastern Adriatic apart from restricted groups of intellectuals and affluent people. As Eugene Weber has shown, well into the 1880s and 1890s France was still linguistically and culturally diverse.<sup>60</sup> In 1863, official figures showed that about a quarter of the French population spoke no French.<sup>61</sup> And even in areas that appeared fully French-speaking in these official statistics, French speakers were often a minority.<sup>62</sup> As Weber put it, “the Third Republic found a France in which French was a foreign language for half the citizens.”<sup>63</sup>

The question to raise then is whether an Italian culture existed and whether the local Triestine culture was actually Italian.<sup>64</sup> As Gramsci discussed, “it is difficult to make common sense understand that an Italy as that which came into existence in 1870 had never existed before and could not exist: common sense is inclined to believe that what exists today has always existed and that Italy has always been a unitary nation, but had been suffocated by foreign forces.”<sup>65</sup> Gramsci granted that “a relatively ancient element is the awareness of a ‘cultural unity’ that has existed among Italian intellectuals at least since 1200, that is since when a unified literary language developed [...] [which] is the most exploited by patriotic rhetoric.”<sup>66</sup>

Banti’s ‘canone’ emphasises “the appeal of the national idea” within parts of the elites, but this does not explain or legitimise the final formation of the Italian nation state and the acquisition of the ‘terre irredente’. In Laven’s words, which cogently summarise approaches to Italian history, while also preceding the category of ‘national indifference’,

<sup>60</sup> Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, 1976), 67-94.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 67.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 69.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 70.

<sup>64</sup> For a balanced overview of recent historiography on the Risorgimento, see Maurizio Isabella, ‘Rethinking Italy’s nation-building 150 years afterwards: the new Risorgimento historiography’, *Past & Present* 217, 1 (2012), 247-268.

<sup>65</sup> Gramsci, *Sul Risorgimento* (Turin, 1966), 29. Gramsci’s considerations might still provoke strong reactions in some scholars in Italy, possibly also because his analysis of Italian political culture posits Fascism as integral part of it, thus bearing implications for the Fascist legacies in the Italian republic.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 30.

analysing the engagement of a small literate elite with patriotic literature will not explain the Risorgimento, just as examining memorials or museum exhibitions or street names will not ultimately tell us much about why Italy's peasants, in contrast with their German and French counterparts, failed to rally with enthusiasm to 'la patria' in the early stages of the Great War.<sup>67</sup>

Also, as late as the 1870s, supporters of the Italian culture in Trieste lamented the fact that the population could not understand literary Italian, since they spoke the local Triestine dialect, a colonial Venetian dialect. The situation reflected also that of nearby Italy, where "the dialect-speaking inhabitants [...] could not understand one another."<sup>68</sup>

While the idea of an Italian culture in the Habsburg Adriatic is a contested notion, the same does not apply to Croatian culture. A "Croatian political nation" had existed under Hungarian patronage as part of the Habsburg Monarchy since 1527, constituted by the feudal aristocracy of Slavonia that ruled over a homogenous Catholic Slavic population and shared in the use of the Croatian *kajkavian* dialect.<sup>69</sup> As the Polish and Hungarian *nationes*, the Croatian *natio* was constituted only by an aristocracy and as such was understood into the eighteenth century. This political nation had spanned Slavonia, the area of Zagreb and the Croatian Littoral, that is the Lika region north of Zara/Zadar, overlapping, except for Istria and Dalmatia, with present-day Croatia. Also, the notion of a Croatian national state still under Habsburg rule but free from Hungarian encroachments had emerged amongst Croatian elites in the late eighteenth century as part of the Illyrian movement.<sup>70</sup> As coeval documents show, a distinction between the various Catholic South Slavs into Croats proper, Slavic Dalmatians, and Slovenes had been in place at least since the late eighteenth century, although Italian sources tended to refer to these through the umbrella term

<sup>67</sup> Laven, 'Italy: The Idea of Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Eras', in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2006), 258.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Mirjana Gross, 'On the integration of the Croatian nation: a case study in nation building', *East European Quarterly* 15, 2 (1981), 209-225.

<sup>70</sup> Slobodan Drakulic, 'Premodern Croatian Nationalism?', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 14, 4 (2008), 540.

‘Slavs’.<sup>71</sup> In Croatia, Slavonia and the Kvarner (the gulf of Fiume), the language spoken was Croatian, although in the Kvarner the dialect resembled Slavic-Dalmatian, which was spoken as far south as Dubrovnik and had significant Venetian influences, as local administrators noted.<sup>72</sup> Consequently, while referring to ‘Italian’ *per se* can be misleading (also in view of the similar propaganda unleashed by irredentists, D’Annunzio’s legionnaires, and Fascists), in the Fiuman context to speak of ‘Croatian’ does not imply essentialist notions of ethnicity, which nonetheless emerge in historiographical efforts to legitimise the Croatian incorporation of Dalmatia.<sup>73</sup>

In dealing with the question of nations and nationalities, we also need to take into account Tara Zahra’s analytical category of ‘national indifference’. As Zahra put it, “while national indifference has long been an obsession of nationalists activists in east central Europe, it has only recently become a subject of historical research.”<sup>74</sup> People’s indifference to nations and nationalists’ stirring have been the torment of nationalist activists throughout the Habsburg Monarchy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>75</sup> National indifference has yet to be applied to the context of the north-eastern Adriatic and Dalmatia. As Ballinger argued, “the phenomenon of indifference to the nation that Judson and Zahra, among others, have documented for other frontier zones of the former Habsburg Empire has warranted relatively little conceptual or empirical elaboration for the

<sup>71</sup> Catherine Carmichael, ‘Ethnic stereotypes in early European ethnographies: A case study of the Habsburg Adriatic c. 1770-1815’, *Narodna umjetnost* 33, 2 (1996), 197-209.

<sup>72</sup> Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTS), Municipal delegation of Lussingrande, September 1850. This source, which is discussed in chapter four, pertains to the discussions that local administrators in the Kvarner islands had about what language to use in official decrees.

<sup>73</sup> For such examples in Croatian historiography see Gross, ‘Croatian national-integrational ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 15-16 (1979), 3-33; Willy Bachich, ‘Maritime History of the Eastern Adriatic’ in F. Eterovich and C. Spalatin (eds.), *Croatia: Land, People, Culture. Vol. II* (Toronto, 1970), 139-144, in which Bachich repeatedly describes nineteenth-century Dalmatians and the people from the Kvarner as Croats; and the more recent Drakulic, ‘Premodern Croatian Nationalism?’; John Paul Newman and Tamara Scheer, ‘The Ban Jelačić Trust for Disable Soldiers and their families: Habsburg dynastic loyalty beyond national boundaries, 1849-51’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018), 152-165. This thesis seeks to deconstruct Italian and Croatian nationalist narratives, but not the Slovene, since in Trieste Slovene nationalist activism emerged in response to Italian national rhetoric later in the century.

<sup>74</sup> Tara Zahra, ‘Imagined noncommunities: national indifference as a category of analysis,’ *Slavic Review* 69, 1 (2010), 93.

<sup>75</sup> Judson, *Guardians of the Nation. Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

Julian Region.”<sup>76</sup> The primary sources analysed in this thesis show that multi-ethnic coexistence and national indifference were the norm in particular for the Triestine context until the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. And in Trieste and Fiume, Italian nationalist activism did not jeopardise these sentiments, which were intertwined with attachment to the Habsburg dynasty. The majority of the population, especially in a multilingual environment like the Triestine and Fiuman contexts, did not identify with specific nationalities, but acted upon urban, regional or religious affiliations.<sup>77</sup> As Judson put it, “beliefs about national difference actually had to be imported to regions where pluricultural practices characterized daily life well into the twentieth century.”<sup>78</sup> It was only towards the end of the century that the intensification of Italian nationalist propaganda triggered a nationalisation of politics, to which Habsburg decennial censuses significantly contributed.<sup>79</sup> According to Vivante, in the Julian region, “the language of use ha[d] been giving Italians the illusion of a strength that other factors refute[d]. The Slavic worker who speaks Italian in the factory or the warehouse remains, or may remain, of Slavic individuality and conscience; and so does the maid using the Italian language in the Italian family [that hires her].”<sup>80</sup>

Throughout the Austrian half of the Monarchy, from 1880 the introduction of the *Umgangssprache*, or language of use, in official censuses contributed to the nationalisation of the

<sup>76</sup> Ballinger, ‘History’s “Illegibles”: National indeterminacy in Istria’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012), 116-7.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Regional’ does not imply here a teleological meaning of region considered within the present-day nation state, but implies an historical understanding of Habsburg territorial entities, which in this case correspond with the Julian region, which included the County of Gorizia, the city of Trieste with its environs and the Margraviate of Istria.

<sup>78</sup> Judson, ‘Marking National Space on the Habsburg Austrian Borderlands, 1880–1918’, in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington, IN, 2013), 125.

<sup>79</sup> Ballinger has shown that even as late as the 1950s, in the wake of the Julian exodus, whereby “the majority of Istria’s ‘Italian’ population (together with a significant number of individuals self-identifying as Slovene or Croat) migrated from the territory that passed from Italian to Yugoslav control”, refugees would find it difficult to self-identify with national categories. See Ballinger, ‘History’s “Illegibles”’, 116, 137. Several historians have argued that the polarisation of local politics into the two national groups, the Italian and Slovene, hark back to the 1860s. Irredentist ideas did emerge at that time, yet they did not gain widespread popularity. They were often spread by intellectuals and activists with origins elsewhere in the Italian peninsula, like Valussi himself and Sigismondo Bonfiglio. Bonfiglio, a Mantuan who in 1865 wrote *Italia e Confederazione Germanica*, exemplifies irredentism in the early stages. Kandler was a harsh critic of this work, which theorised that the economic interests of Trieste would be better served by political union with Italy. In supposed historical and economic terms, Bonfiglio denied that Trieste’s union with Austria and Central Europe was beneficial to the city. See Giulio Cervani, *Nazionalità e Stato di diritto per Trieste nel pensiero di Pietro Kandler* (Udine, 1974), 159-169.

<sup>80</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 169.



Habsburg population by reducing vernaculars “to a set of predetermined linguistic categories [...] from among the following: ‘German, Bohemian-Moravian-Slovak, Polish, Ruthenian, Slovene, Serbian-Croat, Italian-Ladino, Romanian, and Hungarian’” and neglecting the widespread phenomenon of bi- and tri-lingualism.<sup>81</sup> As Rok Stergar and Tamara Scheer pointed out, “the census did not simply reduce diversity, it also amplified it” and, inadvertently, contributed to the nationalists’ cause.<sup>82</sup> Yet accounts of nationalism tend to overlook the huge differences that existed between the various forms that nationalisms could assume in the Habsburg context as well as the decisive factor of national propaganda. Consider, for example, the *Landespatriotismus* of Bohemia, Trentino, or the Austrian Littoral, which cannot be included within the most common theories of nationalism.<sup>83</sup> For, until recently, before the most recent studies in Habsburg history, theories of nationalism have failed to acknowledge the fact that nationalisms did not always pursue the formation of independent nation states.<sup>84</sup>

### 1.3 Adriatic ‘vulgar’ cosmopolitanism

The Italian and Croatian historiographies focussing on this contested region tend to apply well-defined national categories to the nineteenth century, as if the nations in questions were an historical necessity. As Marta Verginella argued,

not only have the Italian and [Slavic] historiographies dealing with nineteenth-century history remained in the grip of nationalist paradigms, but in doing so they have neglected an examination of

<sup>81</sup> Stergar and Scheer, ‘Ethnic boxes’, 580.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 580

<sup>83</sup> Körner, ‘National movements against nation states: Bohemia and Lombardy between the Habsburg Empire, the German Confederation and Piedmont’, in D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones (eds.), *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2018), 350-352.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 351.

the ways in which a national consensus is acquired and national stability is organized, as well as how 'bi- and multilingualism' is abolished and modified in urban and rural environments.<sup>85</sup>

The division of society into national groupings reflect the censuses' classification through the *Umgangssprache* rather than the lived experiences of the population. Political groups identifying with specific 'nations' are taken as exemplifying society, which is considered to be divided into national groups. Borrowing Hanley's words, which, while describing fin-de-siècle Alexandria, fit very well the northern Adriatic rim of the same period, "residents of late nineteenth-century [Trieste] were not fluent in the vocabulary of nationality."<sup>86</sup>

Yet most studies of nineteenth-century Trieste are still steeped in its portrayal as a culturally Italian city in which the bourgeoisie, precisely because it used Italian as its linguistic medium, was Italian, notwithstanding limited support for Italian nationalism which derived from a "calculated strategy", as Anna Millo put it.<sup>87</sup> Although steeped in the notion of multinationalism, in his analysis of late nineteenth-century Trieste, Fabio Capano discusses that "a frontier city such as Trieste vividly proved the prominence of economic over political factors and revealed the limits of nationalist rhetoric in mobilizing local Triestines in the name of the nation", describing the population of Trieste as "Italian-speaking".<sup>88</sup> In a similar way, Catalan referred to "the Slovenians' assimilation into Italian culture and society, a process which had been growing from the birth of the free-port", that is in the

<sup>85</sup> Marta Verginella, 'The fight for the national linguistic primacy: testimonies from the Austrian Littoral', in Markian Prokopovych, Carl Berthke and Tamara Scheer (eds.), *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire* (Leiden, 2019), 27-8.

<sup>86</sup> Hanley, *Identifying with Nationality*, 28.

<sup>87</sup> Anna Millo, 'Trieste, 1830-1870. From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation', L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation. Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70*, (2007), 74. For other similar approaches see Angelo Ara, 'The cultural soul and the merchant soul', in R. Robertson and E. Timms (eds.), *The Habsburg Legacy* (Edinburgh, 1994); also, notwithstanding his comprehensive understanding of Trieste's past and present, Claudio Minca, as a local, at times bases his assumptions in views that are steeped in the Italian national discourse, speaking of "the traditional Italian core" as integral part of Trieste already in the eighteenth century. See Minca, "'Trieste Nazione" and its geographies of absence', 259. As my thesis seeks to make clear from a 'Habsburg' perspective, to speak of national identities already in the eighteenth century, and also for the great part of the nineteenth century, is part and parcel of a teleological approach that imposes present-day categories on the past.

<sup>88</sup> Fabio Capano, 'From a cosmopolitan to a fascist land: Adriatic irredentism in motion', *Nationalities Papers* 46, 6 (2018), 988-9.

first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>89</sup> This misapprehensions rest on what Judson has described as the historiographical belief in the existence of “language-based cultures [...] [that] produced different national societies in the twentieth century.”<sup>90</sup>

Even the recent *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo*, the handbook for the remembrance day of the Foibe, falls in the pitfalls characteristic of Italian narratives, although the authors distance themselves from Italian nationalist discourses on the question, contextualising the phenomenon of the ‘foibe’ – the karstic ravines in which corpses of civilians and political opponents were thrown by Yugoslav partisans – in the violence of the Second World War. For they start from the assumption that in the eastern Adriatic “the Italian language (in its Venetian version) and Italian culture, together with the advantages related to Italianisation, have been able to assimilate the contribution coming from the eastern Mediterranean and the Slavic hinterland throughout the centuries.”<sup>91</sup> Therefore, it lumps together Venetian culture, bound up with the eastern Adriatic and large parts of Greece, “nationally amorphous” as the Triestine socialist Angelo Vivante put it in 1912 (an ‘amorphousness’ or ‘multi-ethnicity’ studied by Kirchner Reill and Zanou in their recent works), with the Italian, perceived as a given pre-existing category, that mars any discussion on the history of the Adriatic.<sup>92</sup> The author acknowledges the melting-pot of the region originating from the “processes of centuries-

<sup>89</sup> Catalan, ‘The Ambivalence of a Port-City’, 95. Here it is not about caricaturing or misinterpreting what other scholars have written, but actually quoting their exact words. Although Catalan’s piece was about the integration of Jews into Trieste’s social fabric, it was necessary to quote her reference to ‘Slovenes’ assimilation into Italian culture’, since this view is part and parcel of a reification of national identities that still affects the historiography of the region. This view inadvertently mirrors nationalist Silvio Benco’s account of eighteenth-century Trieste. Benco wrote that the arrival of Greeks, Jews, Slavs, and Germans did not jeopardise Trieste’s Italian character; Trieste “became even more Italian. The arrival of so different elements found no better cement than the Italian language of the indigenous people.” See Benco, *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia. Trieste* (Trieste, 1910), 70. Similarly, in his excellent work on the German ethnic component of Trieste, Dorsi writes that the “German colony [of Trieste] [...] became the third national component of the city in the early nineteenth century.” See Dorsi, ‘Stranieri in patria. La parabola del gruppo minoritario tedesco nella Trieste austriaca’, in R. Finzi and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste* (Trieste, 2001), 7, 27-8. At the same time, Dorsi did draw a distinction between the ethno-religious groups called *nazioni* (the Greek and Jewish, for example) and the Italian and German.

<sup>90</sup> Judson, ‘Do multiple languages mean a multicultural society? Nationalist ‘frontiers’ in rural Austria, 1880-1918” in G.B. Cohen and J. Feichtinger, (eds.), *Understanding Multiculturalism and the Central European Experience* (2014), 62.

<sup>91</sup> Pupo, *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo*, 9.

<sup>92</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 29; Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*; Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850*.

old integration of people from the Slovene and Croatian hinterland, the Italian peninsula, the eastern Mediterranean [...], Hungary and the German states”, which is promising. Yet this contribution is said to have been added to “the Italian national group that was historically settled in Venezia Giulia, Fiume, and Dalmatia, [...] [although its] Italian identity had an ethnic character only partially (represented by the settlements of the age of Romanisation)”, which are categories that precisely fall within the very same Fascist narrative they seek to debunk.<sup>93</sup> This view also echoes late nineteenth-century Italian attempts to integrate Venetians into the new Italian polity, turning the Venetian overseas past, as Laven discussed, into an Italian story. At the same time, “the Republic of Saint Mark’s experience as a major imperial power permitted Venetians [...] to reinvent themselves as integral to a new state from which they had initially felt alienated.”<sup>94</sup>

Italian historiography of the region, with a few exceptions, has considered Triestine events from an Italo-centric perspective.<sup>95</sup> This purview turns out to be teleological insofar as it places Trieste “within the comparative context of the *Risorgimento* taking place on the Italian peninsula and the secession of Lombardy and Venetia from Austrian rule,” when actually mid-nineteenth-century Trieste needs to be studied more in the context of the German Confederation and Austria, to which it belonged.<sup>96</sup> Although it is acknowledged that the *Risorgimento* “found at most sporadic appeal” in nineteenth-century Trieste, Triestine events are studied from this Italo-centric perspective.<sup>97</sup> For example, Millo argues that in the following decade, that is the 1850s, in Trieste there were not similar

<sup>93</sup> Pupo, *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo*, 54. Similarly, in 1919 Italian nationalists would maintain that “the Italian roots of Fiume are in the early days of the Roman Empire” and that the medieval municipality of Fiume “always preserved its autonomy and transferred from the use of the Latin language to that of the Italian.” The Bologna academics went on arguing that “for centuries, this municipal independence and national character were not questioned notwithstanding the pressure of the neighbouring Slavic peoples.” *Per il Diritto Italico di Fiume*, 2-3.

<sup>94</sup> David Laven and Elsa Damien, ‘Empire, City, Nation: Venice’s Imperial Past and the “Making of Italians” from Unification to Fascism’, in S. Berger and A. Miller (eds.) *Nationalizing Empire* (Budapest, 2015), 518.

<sup>95</sup> See for example Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870’, 69. For one of the few Italian exceptions focussing specifically on loyalty to the Habsburgs in northern Italy, see Raimondo Luraghi, ‘Italians in the Habsburg Armed Forces. East Central European Society and War in the Era of Revolutions, 1775-1856’, in B. Király (ed.), *War and Society in East Central Europe vol. IV* (New York, 1984) 219-229.

<sup>96</sup> Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870’, 61. For a transnational approach to *Risorgimento*, see Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford, 2009).

<sup>97</sup> Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870’, 62.

revolutionary attempts as in Lombardy-Venetia “not least because of the fact that there had been no widespread radicalization in 1848-49”, as if the development of nationalist and secessionist feelings in Trieste were a necessary historical outcome.<sup>98</sup> Comparisons with developments in Lombardy-Venetia are teleological, insofar as they draw Trieste and Fiume out of their Habsburg, Mitteleuropean and Adriatic context. As the most recent of Kirchner Reill’s works makes clear, it is in the Habsburg context that Fiume needs to be studied.<sup>99</sup> The same applies to nearby Trieste.

For her part, while Cattaruzza has posited her works of nineteenth-century Trieste within “the framework of the existing multi-national state”, her analyses apply distinct national categories to nineteenth-century contexts, arguing that “between 1850 and 1914 the two national groups which faced each other in Trieste were interested mainly in asserting their own relative position.”<sup>100</sup> While this opposition did involve political parties or groupings, this dichotomy did not involve society as a whole.<sup>101</sup> Angelo Ara, too, in his studies of Trieste’s Jews, speaks of “the Jewish bourgeoisie, a social group which had progressively identified itself with the predominantly Italian character of the town”.<sup>102</sup> On the contrary, as chapter four of my thesis shows, a great part of Triestine Jews identified with the newly born Italian nation for the simple reason that they were originally from the Italian peninsula. In doing so, they hoped to benefit from the advantages that being foreigners in Austria would entail. It is beyond these impositions of national categories that the present thesis seeks to bring a contribution. Yet we need to bear in mind that the persistence of national categories in

<sup>98</sup> Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870’, 70.

<sup>99</sup> Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis. Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2020).

<sup>100</sup> Cattaruzza, ‘Slovenes and Italians in Trieste, 1850-1914’, in M. Engman (ed.), *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe* (Aldershot, 1992), 191.

<sup>101</sup> For other examples of the imposition of the Italian and Slovene national and ethnic categories, notwithstanding the excellent accounts of Triestine urban history, see Cattaruzza, ‘Slovenes and Italians in Trieste’, 196-8 and Cattaruzza, ‘Nationalitätenkonflikte in Triest im Rahmen der Nationalitätenfrage in der Habsburger Monarchie’, in Ralph Melville (ed.), *Deutschland und Europa in der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1988), 709–726. In discussing the Italian historiography of the region, drawing also on Brubaker and Cooper as well as Hanley, I have sought to discuss how forms of identifications in the region have been reified by widely applying present-day national categories to nineteenth-century contexts.

<sup>102</sup> Ara, ‘The Jews in Trieste’, in M. Engman (ed.), *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe* (Aldershot, 1992), 236.

historiographical accounts are an understandable result of the experience of the two World Wars and the nation building efforts of nation states throughout the twentieth century.

As the Habsburg Adriatic shows, the process of the formation of national identities was not so straightforward, all the more so since the various forms of “national indifference” described by Tara Zahra, that is bilingualism, intermarriage, and localism – to name but a few – were particularly cogent in the region.<sup>103</sup> The histories of both cities, claimed by Italian and Slavic nationalists, are steeped in the historiographical tradition which Axel Körner has described as “based on the teleological assumption, which accepts national unification as the inevitable outcome of a predefined historical process.”<sup>104</sup> To the contrary, this study seeks to explore the dynamics whereby nationalist discourses emerged in a multi-ethnic region where ethnic hybridity and inter-ethnic coexistence had been in place for centuries. In the process, nationalist ideologies prevailed and succeeded in wiping out centuries of multi-ethnic coexistence as well as the memory of pre-national pasts.

Until recently, studies of Habsburg history have been affected by “a nation-state-centred teleological bias [which] tends to emphasise conflicts between nationalities.”<sup>105</sup> In the last two decades, scholarly literature has studied the emergence of the Triestine cosmopolitan mercantilist elite throughout the nineteenth century and in particular before 1870.<sup>106</sup> Yet, as Hanley has suggested, even standard accounts of cosmopolitanism often fall in the pitfall of national categories. Cosmopolitanism has been analysed as an elite phenomenon, relevant for the study of municipal politics and the relation of the urban elites with the rest of Europe and the sources of central power in Vienna. The rise of Trieste from a small town into a cosmopolitan free port has been described as

<sup>103</sup> For indifference to national forms of allegiance see Tara Zahra, ‘Imagined noncommunities: national indifference as a category of analysis,’ *Slavic Review* 69, 1 (2010), 93–119.

<sup>104</sup> Axel Körner, ‘Transnational History: Identities, Structures, States’ in B. Haider-Wilson, W.D. Godsey and W. Mueller, (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis* (Vienna, 2017), 272.

<sup>105</sup> Körner, ‘Transnational History’, 281.

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, Millo, ‘Trieste’; Capano, ‘From a cosmopolitan to a fascist land’; Cattaruzza, ‘Stadtbürgertum und Kaufmannschaft in Triest’.

a myth ensuing the propagandistic efforts of journalists employed by the Austrian Lloyd.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, although idealised, at the middle of the nineteenth century “images of a heterogeneous maritime trade world were not unreal.”<sup>108</sup> As Ballinger discussed with regard to the perception of Trieste’s Habsburg past, Trieste’s cosmopolitanism has been more the result of a myth constructed in the second half of the twentieth century out of nostalgia for the Habsburg past after the nationalist chauvinisms and episodes of ethnic cleansing following the collapse of the Monarchy.<sup>109</sup> “The conventional image of gilded, cosmopolitan [Trieste]”, to apply Hanley’s wording, leave at the margins the majority of the population, which engaged in its own version of cosmopolitanism, “vulgar” or “ordinary”, as Hanley describes the social interactions of the less privileged, which actually constituted the majority of the population of any city, even the ‘cosmopolitan’.<sup>110</sup> The historiography of Trieste has thus focussed on the cosmopolitanism of its elite, which, as the story goes, was jeopardised by the nationalisation of politics and the polarisation of society into Italians and Slovenes.

The problem with standard accounts of cosmopolitanism, as Hanley argued, is that “this field of writing amplifies the experience of a tiny group of elites and broadcasts it across the whole of a heterogeneous social past. Informed above all by the modern-day context of the secular nation-state, this cosmopolitan fable serves certain presentist political agendas but fails history”, as also Ballinger noted for the Triestine context.<sup>111</sup> The new tradition of Habsburg historiography, Zahra’s categories of ‘national indifference’ and the several works, also by local linguists, on ethnic and linguistic hybridity, have seldom appeared in the conventional histories of the north-eastern Adriatic. Similarly,

<sup>107</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 81-3.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 45.

<sup>109</sup> Ballinger, ‘Imperial nostalgia: mythologizing Habsburg Trieste’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8 (2003), 84-101. Although Ballinger is an historian of a later period, it is necessary to resort to her works since her studies of the northern Adriatic rim are premised on a perspective that is at odds with the traditions of Italian and Slavic historiographies of the region, which have also shaped the perception of the region in the nineteenth century, often understood in national terms. Her understanding of the Julian region is rooted in the notion of ethnic hybridity, which is essential to the present thesis. While Ballinger’s anthropological works focus on the 1950s or the present, some of her works specifically engage with nineteenth-century Habsburg Istria and Trieste.

<sup>110</sup> Hanley, *Identifying with Nationality*, 31-2.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* 31. For the reconstruction of Trieste’s cosmopolitanism, see Ballinger, ‘Imperial nostalgia’.

as far as Fiume is concerned, present-day politics and the condition of the ‘Italian’ minority of the city have informed the understanding of the city’s cultural past. Fiuman particularism, with its language and culture, has been lumped together with a sense of *italianità*, which chimes with traditional irredentist claims.<sup>112</sup> This thesis seeks to go beyond conventional understandings of the region and positions itself within the new scholarship of Habsburg historiography set by Laven, Judson, Zahra and Kirchner Reill.

Although cosmopolitanism has been central to historiographical accounts and contemporary perceptions of the city’s past, there have been many other identifying features of local urban life that transcended a sense of national belonging: namely intermarriage, ethnic hybridity, national indifference, bi- or tri-lingualism, imperial and dynastic loyalty, religious affiliation, as well as municipal allegiances and a regional sense of belonging. These categories of identification are not the same as cosmopolitanism. At the same time, as Hanley put with regard to cosmopolitanism in Alexandria, “cosmopolitanism is an attitude toward categories of social identification, notably those of nationality, religion, and ethnicity. As far as social history is concerned, the problem with conventional cosmopolitan accounts lies in their unconsidered use of these categories.”<sup>113</sup>

These forms of identification, more relevant for the understanding of the region’s social history, competed with the ideas propagated by nationalist groups, such as the Italian, Slovene, and Croat, as well as ideas of a great Yugoslavia encompassing all the South Slavs. Amongst these, only Italian nationalism appeared to be overtly secessionist in nature, although part of it was also loyal to the Monarchy. Yet it is fundamental to emphasise that these nationalist ideologies were the preserve

<sup>112</sup> Possibly without exceptions, present-day scholars of the Fiuman dialect consider it to be an Italian dialect. The autochthonous minority of Fiume is called ‘Italian’ or ‘Italian-speaking’. Also, the other Venetian dialects that have remained outside the Italian state are called ‘Italian dialects’. This terminology is also due to the fact that nowadays the Fiuman minority harking back to the pre-Yugoslav past of the city (as in other towns of the coast) identifies with an Italian identity. For recent examples lumping together local dialects and identities with Italy, see Enrico Rosamani, *Vocabolario giuliano* (Trieste, 1999); Francesco Gottardi, *Come parlavamo* (Rome, 2004); Gianna Mazzieri-Sanković, ‘Il dialetto fiumano: itinerari identitari e nuove sfide’, in I. Mestrovich, M. Sanković- Ivančić, G. Mazzieri-Sanković and C. Gerbaz Giulian (eds.), *Il dialetto fiumano. Parole e realtà* (Rijeka, 2020), 23-58.

<sup>113</sup> Hanley, *Identifying with Nationality*, 32.



of very restricted groups of activists. As Triestine economist and amateur historian Mario Alberti put it with reference to Trieste's irredentists, "political movements, even those of a national character, are the result of the will and passion of few determined men."<sup>114</sup>

These men were not representative of the urban society, for contacts between different nationalities (or, more accurately, what would soon be considered nationalities) occurred on a daily basis among the elites and the populace, the petite bourgeoisie and the working classes. Triestines would tend to use one language at home, another in their dealings with authorities, and a third on the street or in their business transactions.<sup>115</sup> In this respect, the role of polyglossia, that is multilingualism, among the lower classes has been seldom investigated. As Verginella has shown in her study of the Slovenian community of Trieste from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, multilingualism is one of the aspects that enables a study of hybridity between national and regional identities and their relationships, which were not inevitably conflictual.<sup>116</sup> By contrast, most studies of multilingualism in Trieste have focussed on the conflictual aspects of language policies, which have fed into the trope of the inevitability of ethnic tensions.<sup>117</sup> Emphasis has generally been put on "conflicts between nationalities, which risks reading into the earlier history of the Habsburg Empire the events of 1918."<sup>118</sup> Yet the situation was not always conflictual. On the contrary, "by the mid-twentieth century, radical policies of ethnic cleansing, discrimination against linguistic or religious minorities, and wholesale expulsions, not to mention genocide, had indelibly imprinted formerly abstract categories on the experiences, relationships, and self-understandings of many Europeans."<sup>119</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Mario Alberti, *L'irredentismo senza romanticismi* (Trieste, 1936), 31.

<sup>115</sup> See Pellegrini, 'Per un profilo linguistico', 294-5.

<sup>116</sup> Marina Verginella, 'Sloveni a Trieste tra Sette e Ottocento da comunità etnica a minoranza nazionale', in R. Finzi, and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719-1918* (Trieste, 2001).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. for example, S. Czeitschner, 'Discourse, hegemony and polyglossia in the judicial system of Trieste in the 19th century', in R. Rindler Schjerve (ed.), *Diglossia and Power: language policies and practice in the 19th century Habsburg Empire* (Berlin, 2003), 69-105.

<sup>118</sup> Körner, *Transnational History*, 281.

<sup>119</sup> Judson, 'Changing Meanings of "German" in Habsburg Central Europe', in C. Ingrao and F. Szabo (eds.), *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, IN, 2007), 110.

Anthropological research has shown that, as late as the second half of the twentieth century, ethnic identities in the northern Adriatic rim appeared to be situational and embedded in the local geographical context irrespective of wider national allegiances.<sup>120</sup> As shown by Johann Strutz, this multilingualism had not only an historical dimension related to the now disappeared Habsburg Monarchy, but is also alive today, albeit under different guises, for example in bilingual newspapers and dialogues, that still characterise the municipalisms and regionalisms of the upper Adriatic rim.<sup>121</sup> Historiographical research, based on analysis of primary sources, has shown that hybridity was part and parcel “of the linguistic borderlands in multi-national configurations such as the Habsburg Empire.”<sup>122</sup> Yet Kirchner Reill’s engrossing account of the development of a shared sense of identity across the northern Adriatic rim under the Habsburgs depicts “Adriatic multi-nationalism” as an elite endeavour, that is the attempt of a circle of intellectuals who, under Niccolò Tommaseo’s aegis, strived to construct a common Adriatic identity and thus bridge the gap between Italian and Slavic cultures.<sup>123</sup> Rather than being something existing at the grass-roots level and inherent to the Triestine world, the meeting and merging of different cultures was seen as an intellectual endeavour to be planned, constructed, and delivered through periodicals, such as *La Favilla* (the ‘Spark’), and pamphlets.<sup>124</sup>

Rather than being the result of mere nostalgia for an idealised past, the history of the supranational Habsburg Monarchy in general offers “a positive lesson which the post-1918 history

<sup>120</sup> Feliks Gross, *Ethnics in a Borderland: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ethnicity and Reduction of Ethnic Tensions in a One-Time Genocide Area* (Westport, CT, 1978).

<sup>121</sup> Johann Strutz, ‘Komparatistik regional – Venetien, Istrien, Kärnten’, in P. Zima and J. Strutz (eds.), *Komparatistik: Einführung in die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* (Tübingen, 1992).

<sup>122</sup> Körner, ‘Transnational History’, 281.

<sup>123</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*.

<sup>124</sup> Ara, ‘The ‘cultural soul’ and the ‘merchant soul’’, in R. Robertson and E. Timms (eds.), *The Habsburg Legacy. National Identity in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1994). For *La Favilla*, see Negrelli, ‘Una rivista borghese nell’Austria metternichiana’, *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* (1978), 276. As Negrelli put it, the editors of *La Favilla*, Orlandini, Valussi and Dall’Ongaro were “of Venetian culture and tradition [...] [and part of] a culture of importation, as anything else in Trieste.” For the origins of *La Favilla*, see Giuseppe Caprin, *Tempi andati. Pagine della vita triestina, 1830-1848* (Trieste, 1891) and Giovanni Quarantotto, *Le origini e i primordi del giornale letterario triestino “La Favilla”* (Trieste, 1923), 171-214.

of the central and east central European nation-states can only show us what to avoid.”<sup>125</sup> As Triestine Claudio Magris put it, “without platonicising the idea of the Empire, it is fair to say that it was a rather satisfactory example of the possible union of different units”.<sup>126</sup> For, notwithstanding the spread of nationalist ideologies in the second half of the nineteenth century, dynastic loyalty, the rule of law, and equality between the various nationalities, promoted by the Habsburgs, held true as the binding motives of the Monarchy until its collapse. *Die Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (‘The Monarchy in word and picture’), promoted by Prince Rudolf, was nothing but the glorification of the Habsburg supranational state and its cultural diversity. It represented on paper the reality of the supranational character of the Habsburg Monarchy, towards which its dynasty had been striving for centuries. And it was precisely this supranational essence, shared to different degrees by all crownlands, that made the Habsburg Monarchy inherently different from its post-1918 successor states, such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania, that were (and whose respective successor states still are) similarly multinational.<sup>127</sup> The Austrian Littoral in particular offers a promising context in which to study Habsburg supranationalism.

#### 1.4 Beyond national identities in the Adriatic

The northern Adriatic, with the Triestine and Fiuman contexts, lays bare the existence of identities that were different from national forms of identification, thus providing “a unique laboratory for studying interethnic relations”.<sup>128</sup> For the majority of people, these identities were local, regional, and often hybrid. At the crossroads between the Latin, Slavic and Germanic cultures, it was not modern-

<sup>125</sup> Istvan Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1990), 9.

<sup>126</sup> My translation from Claudio Magris, ‘L’histoire vue de Trieste’, *Esprit* 183 (1992), 54.

<sup>127</sup> Robin Okey, ‘Austria and the South Slavs’, in R. Robertson and E. Timms (eds.), *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1994), 46.

<sup>128</sup> F. Gross, *Ethnics in a Borderland*, 69.

day nationalities, namely the Italian, Slovene, Croat and Austrian that met, but several local municipal and regional identities which were also bound up with the centuries-old territorial subdivisions between the Habsburg Monarchy and Venice. The different sources analysed here provide clues for arguing that national identities were just the preserve of restricted groups of publicists and activists, whose views were not shared by wider sections of the population. And if these national identities were perceived as a compelling reality by some, they could well coexist with local identities, which at given historical circumstances they came to defy and oppose.

Yet emphasis has been generally put on conflicts between nationalities, when in fact “traditional forms of self-identification [constituted] forms whose social power was often far more compelling than that of nationalism”.<sup>129</sup> National forms of identification and ethnic strife, which figure so often in national historiographies of the region, did not appear to be the rule in the Habsburg Littoral well into the 1860s. Things would gradually change to a certain extent in the following decades only with the arrival of economic recessions, rising social tensions, the intensification of Italian interests in the eastern Adriatic, and the exacerbation of anti-Habsburg propaganda. These were accompanied by intense nationalist propaganda that, from the second half of the nineteenth century, was “reinforced and directed from outside – from Italy, from the Croat or Slovene, even from Serbian capitals and newspapers”.<sup>130</sup>

It was not yet about the Croat, Slovene, or Italian nations, but local and regional identities that were ethnically hybrid and had been so for centuries. Even after the Second World War it was difficult for international observers to classify the national affiliation of Istrian refugees fleeing their homeland in the face of the Yugoslav occupation, as Ballinger discussed in her study of national indeterminacy

<sup>129</sup> Judson, ‘Introduction: Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe’ in P. Judson and M. Rozenblit (eds.), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York, 2005), 1.

<sup>130</sup> F. Gross, *Ethnics in a Borderland*, 87.

in Postwar Istria.<sup>131</sup> The complexity of identities defying national and ethnic affiliations, widely considered as unaltered through time, has been reiterated by anthropological research. As late as the second half of the twentieth century, ethnic identities in the northern Adriatic rim were still situational and embedded in the local geographical context irrespective of the wider national identities that had come into existence.<sup>132</sup> Historical evidence and anthropological analysis point to a picture that is significantly at odds with the cultural homogenisation endorsed by nation states and which is centred on historical accounts that, as Applegate put it, in the European context have “been closely interwoven with the making and legitimating of nation-states.”<sup>133</sup>

Studies of the Julian Region in the twentieth century, which had repercussions on contemporary perceptions of the Austrian Littoral in the nineteenth century, did not take into account the notion that national identities in the region are heteronomous. That is to say, that they are imposed upon the populace by the coercive apparatus of the state, as Hobsbawm has discussed with regard to the phenomenon of nationalism and the formation of national identities in general.<sup>134</sup> Through this process, collective forms of identification have centred on the nation state at the expense of imperial, regional and local identities. The history of Central and Eastern Europe, given the resonance of nationalisms, has been centred on national groups, notwithstanding awareness that national groups are political constructs.<sup>135</sup> The closely intertwined crownlands of the Küstenland and Herzogtum Krain comprised many different regional ethnicities, of which people from the area might well have not been aware, that were simplified as Italian or Slav by Italian nationalists (and Italian, Slovene and Croat in Habsburg censuses): namely, the Venetian of the Istrian coast, the Friulan, the Bisiac of the

<sup>131</sup> See, for example, Ballinger, ‘History’s “illegibles”: national indeterminacy in Istria’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012), 116-137.

<sup>132</sup> See again Gross’s ethnographic account of the Julian region in the 1970s, *Ethnics in a Borderland*.

<sup>133</sup> Celia Applegate, ‘A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times’, *The American Historical Review* 104, 4 (1999), 1159.

<sup>134</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780* (Cambridge, 1992), 10.

<sup>135</sup> Zahra, ‘Imagined noncommunities’, 97.

lagoon of Grado, the Slovene of the valleys of Friuli, the Slovene of the Karst, the Istrian Croatian, and the seafaring Croatian of the Kvarner gulf.<sup>136</sup> Yet the existence of so many regional groups did not justify the presumption, as Judson put it referring to rural Austria, “that linguistic diversity in the region actually signified the presence of different cultures.”<sup>137</sup>

In the Habsburg context, nationalism did not necessarily imply a desire for national independence. Rather, in several instances its aim was autonomy under the overarching authority of the Habsburg dynasty. Even within Hungarian nationalism, one among the factors in response to which Austro-Slavism developed, only a part of the revolutionaries heeded Lajos Kossuth’s republicanism and secessionist projects.<sup>138</sup> Von Czoernig’s 1856 ethnographic studies of the peoples of the Monarchy, however detailed, do not fully capture the ethnic composition of the Monarchy; for the various regions were sharply differentiated from those populated by other linguistic groups, therefore overlooking the ethnic hybridity of the Habsburg crownlands.<sup>139</sup> For, multilingualism was part and parcel of the life of the various crownlands. Multilingualism has to be emphasised as one of the decisive factors behind the hybridity of ethnicities and the preservation of strong civic and local identities despite the pressure of national forms of identification. The very same Italian irredentists

<sup>136</sup> As Körner put it, “transnational historians reconstruct geographies.” See Körner, ‘Transnational History’, 281. Following this cue, it is possible to view the Austrian Littoral as comprising a society in which boundaries were not as rigid as they are today, crystallised within the borders of contemporary nation states. In a world that was beginning to be gradually torn apart by the formation of nation states, Trieste and Fiume can be seen as part and parcel of Mitteleuropa, a world in which a family of mixed Bohemian and Venetian heritage had relatives in cities as different as Zagreb and Padua (as was the case of Triestine writer Scipio Slataper), where a certain Schönbeck, later known as Virgilio Giotti, wrote poetry in the local Triestine dialect, and journalist Ferruccio Fölkel descended from Galitian Jews, Slovenes, and Friulans, and Bobi Bazlen, founder of one of the most successful Italian publishing houses (*Adelphi*), was half German and wrote his only, unpublished, novel in that language. See Roberto Bazlen, *Il Capitano di lungo corso* (Milan 1973). Trieste and the surrounding region need to be integrated into a wider context that goes beyond that of traditional urban histories, as Alison Frank has argued. For the need to go beyond urban historiography in the study of Trieste, see Frank, ‘Continental and maritime empires in an age of global commerce’, 783.

<sup>137</sup> Judson, ‘Do Multiple Languages Mean a Multicultural Society?’ Nationalist “Frontiers” in Rural Austria, 1880-1918’, in J. Feichtinger and G. Cohen (eds.), *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* (New York, 2014), 62.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Mark Cornwall, ‘The Construction of National Identities in the Northern Bohemian Borderland, 1848-71’, in L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation* (London, 2007), 144.

who fought for the annexation of Trieste and the eastern Adriatic to Italy, paradoxically acknowledged the constructed nature of the Italian identity of Trieste.

Irredentism, for its part, emerged as “a categoric imperative originating from an ever more dangerous, impetuous [...] national threat, a truly systematic siege” set by “the Slovene invaders”, “the barbaric Slavs against the civilised Italians”.<sup>140</sup> Another local Italian nationalist, one of the most prominent irredentists of Trieste, Ruggero Timeus, described the choice of national belonging in the port city with words that paradoxically lay bare the constructed nature of the Italian character of the city: “Now as yesterday, the man who comes to Trieste as a young man, as well as the man who is born here, has to make for himself his Italianness [...] and by himself [...] he has to solve the problem of the national conscience and character.”<sup>141</sup>

In a similar vein, with the foundation of the *Südmark* association in 1889, Habsburg German nationalists aimed at assimilating Slavic-speakers in the south of the Empire and mobilise German speakers living alongside them.<sup>142</sup> Yet “German nationalists remained [...] frustrated about the unwillingness of German speakers to see themselves as German nationalists.”<sup>143</sup> Consequently, it is necessary to question the extent of the resonance that nationalist ideologies have been generally thought to have throughout Habsburg society.<sup>144</sup> Zahra has cautioned that ‘national indifference’ is nonetheless a nationalist category, insofar as it impinged upon those groups that proved immune to nationalist appeals, since “indifference only existed as such in the eyes of the nationalist beholder.”<sup>145</sup> Was politicisation necessarily likely to induce to nationalist mobilisation, or were there other avenues for political activity? If social groups other than sectors of the bourgeoisie had not been affected by

<sup>140</sup> Alberti, *L'irredentismo senza romanticismi*, 32, 38-40. For a recent summary of local Triestine anti-Slavism see Francesco Toncich, ‘Narrazioni e pratiche politiche antislave a Trieste tra città e campagna (1850–1871)’, *Acta Histriae* 25, 3 (2017), 539-562.

<sup>141</sup> Ruggero Timeus, *Trieste* (Rome, 1914), 6.

<sup>142</sup> Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontier of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, MA, 2006) 106-108.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* 179.

<sup>144</sup> Zahra, ‘Imagined noncommunities’, 112.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* 105.

nationalist ideology it does not follow that they were not politicised. Consider the widespread intra-ethnic appeal socialism enjoyed in Trieste in the years before World War I.<sup>146</sup> The same applies to those groups that did not have a say on political questions and whose sole political manifestation took place during dynastic occurrences, such as the Emperor's birthday, when subjects demonstrated their loyalty by lighting a candle placed in their windows. Istvan Deák's words are illuminating in this respect:

the importance of political demonstrations was vastly exaggerated by the contemporary press and, later, by historians. The majority of the monarchy's inhabitants remained unaffected by the political turmoil. For the peasantry, the passing through of a cavalry squadron, and for townspeople, the Sunday noon concerts offered by the regimental music band remained the most colourful events of their lives.<sup>147</sup>

Nationalists represented only a small section, however assertive, of the population. Alberti, again, reflecting on the actual number of irredentists in Trieste, stated that "they were not that many. Political movements, also those of an essentially national type, are the result of the will of a few resolute people, strongly resolute minorities."<sup>148</sup> He even went so far as to calculate their number, reasoning that it might have been about two percent of the population of Trieste, "about five thousand people, out of a quarter of a million in Trieste".<sup>149</sup> For, as Mancur Olson put in more general terms, "in no major countries are large groups without access to selective incentives generally organized – the masses of consumers are not in consumers' organizations, the vast number of those with relatively low incomes are not in organizations for the poor, and the sometimes substantial numbers of unemployed have no organized voice."<sup>150</sup> The idea that a very restricted section of the urban

<sup>146</sup> Sluga, (1994) 'Trieste: Ethnicity and the Cold War, 1945-54', *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, 2 (1994), 285-303; Sluga, 'Inventing Trieste: History, anti-History, and Nation'; Cattaruzza, *Socialismo adriatico. La socialdemocrazia di lingua italiana nei territori costieri della Monarchia asburgica: 1888-1915* (Manduria, Italy, 1998).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.* 67.

<sup>148</sup> Alberti, *L'irredentismo senza romanticismi*, 31.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 32.

<sup>150</sup> Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations* (New Haven, CT, 1982), 34.



population was actively involved in political activity aimed at the unification of Trieste to Italy begs the question of how strong Italian sentiments were in Trieste and whether an Italian identity was actually imposed on the city through precise politics of knowledge production consolidated by Fascism. That nationalist ideology eventually prevailed throughout Europe and succeeded in shaping the course of the twentieth century does not imply that nationalism represented the defining feature of society. As Olson, again, argued referring to sectarian groups: “a small number of zealots anxious for a particular collective good are more likely to act collectively to obtain that good than a larger number with the same aggregate willingness to pay [...] The great historical significance of small groups of fanatics no doubt owes something to this consideration.”<sup>151</sup>

Notwithstanding rising tensions developing along ethnic lines and out of incipient nationalisms as early as 1848, as a general rule nationalist activists in the region did not seek to attain independence from the Monarchy. In their strife centred on achieving the same rights for Slovene culture as enjoyed by the Italians, Slovene nationalists did not aim to secede from the Monarchy; rather, their dynastic loyalty held true almost until the demise of the Habsburgs in 1918.<sup>152</sup> As Cole and Stergar have shown for military veterans’ associations in the northern Adriatic rim, different allegiances as diverse as a Slovene or Italian sense of identity could well coexist with Austrian state patriotism.<sup>153</sup>

Extremists who aimed at dismantling the Monarchy even as early as 1848, constituted a minority throughout the Monarchy. Most notably, they were to be found among German republicans and those who were drawn to a greater Prussia within a new confederation of German states, and among Lajos Kossuth’s followers in the Hungarian revolution.<sup>154</sup> Italian secessionist nationalism was embraced only by a minority of Triestines. Attempts to assert an Italian character in the city did not

<sup>151</sup> Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations*, 34.

<sup>152</sup> Jože Pirjevec, ‘Slovene Nationalism in Trieste, 1848-1982’, *Nationalities Papers* 11 (1983), 153-154.

<sup>153</sup> Cole, *Military Culture*, 54-5; Stergar, ‘National Indifference in the Heyday of Nationalist Mobilization? Ljubljana Military Veterans and the Language of Command’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2012), 51-2.

<sup>154</sup> Deàk, *Beyond Nationalism*.

necessarily imply a desire to forsake Habsburg rule, which the urban elite considered to be the guarantor of Trieste's prosperity, given the city's position as the main port of the Monarchy.<sup>155</sup> Therefore, it is amid the interstices between nationalism and imperial loyalty that it is worth analysing social and cultural relations between different ethnic groups in the Habsburg Empire. Border regions such as the context offered by Trieste and the Küstenland allow "an exploration of the relationship between the local, regional and national [identities]."<sup>156</sup> Laven and Baycroft point to the issue represented by considering the nation as the founding element in the formation of identities and thus relegating regional and civic identities to irrelevance when compared to national identity.<sup>157</sup> In exploring the limited appeal of Italian secessionism in Trieste, together with the nonnational character of the Julian region and the imposition of national categories, we need to turn first to the events of 1848, the topic of chapter two.

In 1848, while the institutions of the *ancien régime* were falling apart throughout the Monarchy, in Trieste and Fiume things appeared under a different light. Overall, Trieste proved loyal to the Habsburgs amidst the breakdown of institutions and notwithstanding widespread recognition in Trieste of the primacy of the Italian language among the urban elites.<sup>158</sup> At the same time, news of the revolution in Vienna did not leave Trieste unaffected. Some Triestines attempted to establish the 'Republic of St Giusto', after the patron saint of the city and in the wake of the revolution in Venice, which had led to the foundation of the 'Republic of St Mark'. Yet loyal Triestine citizens, who had organised themselves through the formation of a national guard, soon quelled the revolt.<sup>159</sup> By analysing the dynamics that led to the constitution of Trieste's national guard, aimed at preserving effective institutions and order in town, and whose members had both pledged allegiance to the Emperor and sent delegates to the parliament in Frankfurt in March 1848, it is possible to study the

<sup>155</sup> Laven and Baycroft, 'Border regions and identity', 261.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* 255.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* 256.

<sup>158</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 193.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

extent of the preservation of imperial allegiances during the turmoil of the 1848-9 period and what national forms of identification and civic identities implied for local public figures at the middle of the nineteenth century.



## **2. Beyond nationalisms in the Adriatic: supra-nationalism and regionalism in 1848 Habsburg Trieste**

### **2.1 Introduction**

On 21 March, writing back to his native Umago, on the north-westernmost part of Istria, a resident of Trieste confided to a fellow Istrian: “Political events, if they have not cut our heads off, have shaken them in a way that one does not know what people do or say. Our Umago, too, will be celebrating the most gracious sovereign concessions, the Constitution.”<sup>160</sup> News of the imperial grant of a constitution was the occasion that triggered the greatest excitement among the people of the eastern Adriatic in 1848 and 1849.<sup>161</sup> The writer went on revealing that it seemed to him that he had fallen from the sky, such was “the bewilderment provoked in [him] by the great turmoil of the city [of Trieste].” Now, he could, “without anxious palpitations, pronounce the name of the Fatherland, manifest [his] affections, and be proud of being a subject of [...] Ferdinand I and of saying he was citizen of Italy. Hail Ferdinand I, Hail Italy, Hail Pius IX.”<sup>162</sup> How could it be that a person who professed his allegiance to the Italian nationality, at the same time manifested his pride to be a subject of Ferdinand I, Emperor of the Habsburg Monarchy? Did not this pairing run counter to the principles underlying national identification?

Apparently, in 1848, exclusive national identities did not apply to everybody throughout the Monarchy; all the more so in the eyes of subjects of those parts of the Littoral that had been under Habsburg rule for centuries, whose rulers had been mediating over its various nationalities in the

<sup>160</sup> Museo Storico del Risorgimento (TsRis), ‘Letter from Trieste to Umago: March 21, 1848’.

<sup>161</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 195.

<sup>162</sup> TsRis, ‘Letter from Trieste to Umago’.

attempt to bind them to the dynasty.<sup>163</sup> The letter exemplifies the complexity of the uprisings of 1848, which should not be reduced to a series of national revolutions.<sup>164</sup> For many subjects of the Habsburg monarchy, the acknowledgment of one's nationality did not exclude the recognition of the Monarchy as a supranational polity ruled by the Habsburgs. This position appears as a paradox to some modern observers, who have emphasised the conflictual nature of inter-ethnic relations and the widespread desire to form independent nation states.<sup>165</sup> As was the case for many Slavs within the Monarchy, who often identified with the supranational principles informing the Austrian idea of state, also among Italians the awareness of cultural bonds with the Italian peninsula did not necessarily imply a desire to secede from the Monarchy in order to form an independent nation state.<sup>166</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to investigate contemporary Triestine perceptions of events in 1848 through an analysis of commentaries in the municipal press, pamphlets, official governmental edicts, and private correspondences. The question is how far such stories of escalating crisis, involving nationality conflicts and the clash between constitutional and absolutist forces, have been retrospectively elaborated by historians. For scholars have tended to create an explanation of the history of multi-ethnic relations and nationality conflicts in Trieste commensurate to the extent of inter-ethnic clashes after World War I. In this respect, the revolutions of 1848 are often reduced to the outburst of a conflict between nationalities. In the Habsburg Empire constitutional demands were at least equally important.<sup>167</sup> One way of addressing the events of 1848 is to look more closely at

<sup>163</sup> While this broadly applies to the provinces of Görz/Gorizia, Gradisca, and Trieste, which had been Austrian since the Middle Ages, it did not necessarily hold for the coasts of Istria, which had been ruled by Venice until its demise in 1797. As a matter of fact, it was in Istria that Italian Irredentism in the eastern Adriatic found the majority of its adherents as early as 1848. For the difference between Istria and Trieste proper in the development of Italian sentiments, ascribable to the Venetian past of Istria, see Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 11.

<sup>164</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 198-212.

<sup>165</sup> Until recently, the trope, according to which 1848 ushered in the nationality conflicts that would eventually lead to the demise of the Monarchy in 1918, have prevailed. Typical examples of this perspective, which are nonetheless still classics, are Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago, 1929); Robert Kann, *The Multinational Empire* (New York, 1950); Hans Kohn, *The Habsburg Empire, 1804-1918* (Princeton, 1961); Carlyle A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (London, 1968).

<sup>166</sup> Evans, '1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy', 199.

<sup>167</sup> Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire 1848-1918* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 58-61.

nineteenth-century attitudes to the nationality question and relations between the different ethnic groups within particular regions of the Monarchy, through contemporary accounts at the municipal level, including the Slavic, Italian, and German press, and material found in the Archivio Comunale of Trieste (the municipal archive), which has rarely been considered in studies of the revolutions.

In discussing 1848 in Trieste, I shall first analyse the role of Italian-speaking activists, such as Giovanni Orlandini and Francesco Dall’Ongaro, who upheld the secession of Trieste from ‘foreign’ Austria. Then, the establishment of the local National Guard and the bourgeois political association *Società dei Triestini* follows. The analysis of these two institutions is fundamental in view of the language question, steeped in the pre-eminence accorded to Italian, Slovene, or German respectively, and the different forms of identity and allegiance that their members advocated. Given the diverse ethnic composition of these two associations, it is possible to glean several aspects of inter-ethnic exchange in Trieste. The views of Alessandro Mauroner, a local Italian-speaking publicist who was a staunch Austrian loyalist, on Triestine identity, the events of 1848, Trieste’s role within the Monarchy, and the future of the Habsburgs constitute the last section on Trieste in the revolutionary period. Considering that Mauroner championed the cause of Austro-Slavism, that is the idea according to which the Slavic component of the Monarchy would become the cornerstone of the dynasty, Croatian nationalism will be introduced.<sup>168</sup> This will allow the discussion to move on to the comparative chapter on Fiume/Rijeka, in which Croats play a significant role.

In 1848, throughout Europe, social and economic factors as well as a “shared longing for reform created analogous conflicts in all countries.”<sup>169</sup> In the specific case of Trieste, events on the

<sup>168</sup> Croatian nationalism had repercussions also on Trieste due to the close ties between the various nationalisms of the South Slavic peoples, which the idea of Yugoslavism bound together. For a form of Croatian nationalism as part and parcel of Yugoslavist ideology and opposed to that professed by the Party of Right fighting for the independence of the Croatian nation, see Gross, ‘Croatian national-integrational ideologies’, and Yves Tomić, ‘Le mouvement national croate au XIXe siècle: entre yugoslavisme (jugoslavenstvo) et croatisme (hrvatstvo)’, *Revue des études slaves*, 68, 4 (1996), 463-75.

<sup>169</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, ‘How European was the Revolution of 1848/49?’, in A. Körner (ed.), *1848 – A European Revolution?* (Basingtoke, 2000), 215.

Italian peninsula, news from Vienna and Prague, the claims of Slavs and the emergence of Yugoslavism as a driving force in the Balkans constituted an interplay of factors that made of Trieste a city standing both in the West and East, and not only geographically.<sup>170</sup> An analysis of the Triestine context of 1848 requires a discussion of the perspectives of its various ethno-religious communities, from Jews to Slavs, which have been left at the margins of existing historical accounts.<sup>171</sup> Through research on the city's Slovene and Croat populations, it is possible to address the South Slavic view on events and the Croatian in particular. Here a comparison with the nearby port-city of Fiume/Rijeka is particularly apposite, given the similarly multi-ethnic composition of its population and the prominent role in maritime traffics. Moreover, a regional perspective on Venice and Dalmatia sheds light on ethnic identities along the eastern Adriatic and Trieste itself, given the fact that the bulk of Trieste's multi-ethnic composition was the result of migration from throughout the Adriatic rim.

In the Habsburg Monarchy, the revolutions of 1848 ushered in conflicts hinging on the notion of opposed nationalities with diverging interests. At the same time, the concept of a supra-national state under the benevolent rule of the Emperor, notwithstanding the prominent position of German as the language of the army and administration, emerged as a political ideal to which its upholders throughout the Monarchy adhered to its very end.<sup>172</sup> Yet nationalism and supra-nationality were not

<sup>170</sup> For the impossibility of clearly defining the boundary between East and West, which can be better explained as a gradual transition, see: Larry Wolff, 'The Traveler's View of Central Europe: Gradual Transitions and Degrees of Difference in European Borderlands', in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington, IN, 2013), 23-41.

<sup>171</sup> While scholarship has focussed on Trieste's Jews, emphasis has been on the commercially driven attitude of the Jewish community and its active involvement in the development of Italian nationalism in the city. An example of this approach is offered by Catalan, 'Ebrei triestini fra ribellione e lealismo all'Austria nel 1848-1849', in L. Ferrari (ed.), *Studi in onore di Giovanni Miccoli* (Trieste, 2004), 229-247. Trieste's Jews have been taken as a single cohesive group without reckoning with the cultural and social differences within the community and across time, something which William McCagg has underlined. W. McCagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington, IN, 1989), 164-71. As to Slovenes, historiography has tended to stress the dichotomy between Slavs and Italian speakers, thus feeding into the trope of the existence of Italo-Slavic enmity and its inevitability. A similar account is offered by Cattaruzza, 'Italiani e Sloveni nella Trieste asburgica', *Bollettino dell'Istituto regionale per la storia del Movimento di Liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia* 2 (1978), 5-13.

<sup>172</sup> See Deàk, *Beyond Nationalism*, in which the author convincingly describes the army officer corps as a staunchly supranational entity that proved instrumental in accommodating men belonging to the several different nationalities of the Monarchy. The veteran military associations studied by Laurence Cole provide further elements for a shared sense of belonging to the idea of Empire across nationalities and classes: Cole, *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford, 2014). For the implementation of measures centred on knowledge of German as an essential requirement for naval officers after the revolutions, see Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*, 88-9. Similarly, Deàk



always mutually exclusive. Nationalism in the Habsburg context did not necessarily mean striving for national independence in the form of a separate nation state. Czech nationalists in Bohemia, Slovenes, Croats, and Dalmatians did not aspire to form independent nation states. Quite the contrary, theirs was a nationalism that acknowledged the historical role of the Habsburg polity as a supra-national Empire, where the Emperor guaranteed protection of the rights of the various peoples of the Monarchy, a view seemingly confirmed by the promise of a constitution during the crisis of 1848.<sup>173</sup> Nationality was often seen as a medium through which to attain regional autonomy within the overarching structure of the Monarchy. Also, in several cases, nationalities did not reflect the same national affiliations as those moulded by the birth of modern nation states in the early twentieth century. For example, some nations, like the Dalmatian, have not come into existence as independent states.<sup>174</sup>

The cogency of nationality differences in the unfolding of 1848 was bound up with the specific conditions at the regional level. Throughout Europe, “national and regional complexities determin[ed] the revolutionary outcome in each country or region.”<sup>175</sup> Given its plethora of centuries-old statutes and privileges affecting not only its various crownlands but also individual districts and cities, the Habsburg Monarchy, and Hungary in particular, did not possess administrative uniformity.<sup>176</sup> Hence the very different repercussions and developments that the revolutions of 1848 had throughout the respective parts of the Monarchy. According to Kirchner Reill, “the difference between revolutionary Europe (typified in the Adriatic by Venice’s fight against Austria) and the Habsburg-loyal regions of Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia was something many locals celebrated, happy

discusses the relevance that education and training (which nevertheless involved knowledge of German) had for army officers as opposed to nationality and religion. Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, 189.

<sup>173</sup> Körner, ‘National movements against nation states’, in D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones (eds.), *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2018).

<sup>174</sup> Josip Vrandečić, *The Autonomist Movement in Nineteenth-Century Austrian Dalmatia* (PhD diss., Yale University, 2000), 6.

<sup>175</sup> Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, ‘1848-1849: A European Revolution?’, in R.J.W. Evans and H. Pogge von Strandmann (eds.) *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849* (Oxford, 2000), 4.

<sup>176</sup> George Barany, ‘Ungarns Verwaltung: 1848-1918’, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band II, Verwaltung und Rechtswesen* (Vienna, 1975), 322.

to be spared the pain and hardships of war.”<sup>177</sup> The relative calmness of the region also reflected the generally positive attitude of many political activists throughout different parts of the Monarchy once the Habsburgs responded to the uprisings with constitutional promises.

Notwithstanding manifestations of solidarity for the Republic of St. Mark, with some activists from as far as Montenegro joining the revolutionaries in Venice, these territories did not experience substantial disturbances.<sup>178</sup> Two hundred Dalmatians heeded Venetian calls for aid, with personalities like Niccolò Tommaseo from Šibenik being one amongst others playing leading roles in the revolutionary city.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, Dalmatians did not revolt on their native soil. There, 1848 followed patterns similar to Trieste’s events, with the “Italianised Zadar witnessing the formation of a National Guard composed of seven hundred men.”<sup>180</sup> At the same time, Zadar/Zara did not heed Zagreb’s calls for the unity of Dalmatia with Croatia. It was not only the local Italian speakers of Dalmatia who opposed this union, but also Slavic Dalmatians, who feared the loss of importance that their provincial capital would incur if attached to Croatia.<sup>181</sup> On the contrary, to the south of Zadar/Zara in Dubrovnik, Croatian nationalism was met with interest by the Ragusan leading citizens, who were proud of the pivotal role of their city as the cultural capital of South Slavs.<sup>182</sup>

Although these developments along the eastern Adriatic signified an estrangement from the Venetian past of parts of Dalmatia, in their attempts at finding men and resources Venetian revolutionaries pleaded with Triestines and Istrians for help, while other times with Istrians and Dalmatians, thus adding to the confusion over who these people were and where their allegiances

<sup>177</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 194.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Vrandečić, *The Autonomist Movement*, 98.

<sup>180</sup> Šime Peričić, ‘Povijest Zadra u XIX. Stoljeću’, in M. Stagličić, Š. Peričić, A. Travirka, Z. Rados and G. Rabac-Čondrić (eds.), *Zadar za austrijske uprave* (Zadar, 2011), 128. My translation from the Croatian version.

<sup>181</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 202-3; Clewing, *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung*.

<sup>182</sup> See *L’Avvenire*, whose copy editor Ivan Antun Kaznačić advocated Dalmatian union with Croatia. Also, Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, NY, 1984).

stood.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, Risorgimento historiography has lumped together those Triestines, Istrians, Fiumans, and Dalmatians, who joined the cause of Venice and Italy, without reckoning with several factors, of which the appeal of Italian unification was but one among multiple motives. What impelled a physician like Mircovich to leave Montenegro and organize and lead a Dalmatian-Istrian legion in the service of St. Mark, or a Seismit-Doda to join revolutionary Venice when in his Dubrovnik the main current within Ragusan intelligentsia had begun leaning towards Zagreb? Furthermore, in the early stages of the Venetian revolution, more than two thirds of the naval officers with Slavic surnames sided with the rebels.<sup>184</sup> The fact that they sided with Venetians did not mean that they identified with the Italian nation. Although Lawrence Sondhaus has shown that until 1848 they had not manifested allegiance either to a Croatian or Italian nation, they did acknowledge being part of an Istrian or Dalmatian world bound up with Venice.<sup>185</sup>

## 2.2 Giovanni Orlandini's attempted revolution: the idea of an Italian Trieste

The only violent demonstration in Trieste in 1848 took place when news of the Venetian revolution reached the city on 23 March 1848. Giovanni Orlandini, former editor of the local paper *La Favilla*, led an assault on the government palace, in the name of an "Italian Trieste". Orlandini, a bookseller by profession, through alternate successes had been editor of *La Favilla* with the Istrian Antonio Madonizza, before seeing the paper gradually taken over by Dall'Ongaro and Valussi.<sup>186</sup> Few scholars have focussed on the insurrection he led. Catalan, although questioning its relevance, relied on Angelo Scocchi's nationalist reconstruction of the events.<sup>187</sup> It was this perspective that made him write on the centenary of Orlandini's movement and on other occasions that his "republican audacity"

<sup>183</sup> See the proclaims TsRis, *All'armi all'armi* ('Call to arms'), 21 April 1848 and *Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani* ('To the Dalmatian and Istrian youths'), 14 November 1848.

<sup>184</sup> Sondhaus, 'Croats in the Habsburg Navy, 1797-1918', *East European Quarterly* 26, 2 (1992), 150-1.

<sup>185</sup> For Adriatic Slavs joining Venice in 1848 and showing awareness of belonging to the Dalmatian nation, see the proclaims issued by Mircovich, TsRis, *Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani*.

<sup>186</sup> Negrelli, 'Una rivista borghese nell'Austria metternichiana', 270-285.

<sup>187</sup> Catalan, 'Ebrei triestini fra ribellione e lealismo all'Austria nel 1848-1849', 241.

had been a harbinger of the Italian annexation of Trieste in 1918.<sup>188</sup> For her part, Catalan, in discussing the loyalties of Trieste's Jews, appears to argue that allegiance to the Habsburg cause was dictated by interest, as if the natural choice for them was to support the Italian nationalist side.<sup>189</sup> Interestingly, the only source for 1848 that does not figure even in more recent accounts of nineteenth-century Trieste, is Angelo Vivante. The Jewish Triestine socialist, who, in 1912, spoke of "the return to barbarity in the name of fatherlands", used sources that modern scholars have failed to take into consideration.<sup>190</sup> Traditional Italian historiography of the region has emphasised the relevance of the revolution attempted by Giovanni Orlandini in Trieste in 1848.<sup>191</sup> It has also stressed the links between Triestines, and Istrians more generally, with the Venetian revolution and the Italian Risorgimento.<sup>192</sup> In contrast, Kirchner Reill has recently questioned the resonance of Orlandini's movement. Millo, too, notwithstanding her Italo-centric perspective bordering on the teleological as to the final annexation of Trieste to Italy, agrees that the revolutionary attempt did not have serious repercussions on the city.<sup>193</sup> The assault to the *Palazzo del Governo* led by Orlandini resulted in a

<sup>188</sup> Angelo Scocchi, *Ispirazione mazziniana della tentata insurrezione di Trieste del 23 marzo 1848* (Trieste, 1949); Scocchi, 'Gli Ebrei di Trieste nel Risorgimento italiano', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* (1951), 659.

<sup>189</sup> Catalan, 'Ebrei triestini', 234.

<sup>190</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 324. The episode of the 'Republic of St. Giusto' proclaimed by Orlandini has been analysed by contemporary scholars on the basis of works written by Italian historians harking back to Fascist Italy and edited on the occasion of the centenary of 1848-49, such as G. Stefani, 'Documenti ed appunti sul quarantotto triestino', in *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia nella rivoluzione nazionale del 1848-1849* (Udine, 1949) and C. De Franceschi, 'Il movimento nazionale a Trieste nel 1848 e la Società dei Triestini', *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia* (Udine, 1949).

<sup>191</sup> Today, in the heart of Trieste's city centre, a plate reads as follows: "Here, on the evening of 23 March 1848, Giovanni Orlandini, holding the tricolour, challenged the overwhelming forces of foreign domination, leading the patriots who had bravely risen up in the name of Italy." For an account in line with these words see Stefani, 'Documenti ed appunti sul quarantotto triestino'. It is worth noting that, while Giuseppe Stefani is usually cited on the question of Istrians and Dalmatians fighting for Italy, he was biased in favour of an 'Italian' reading of the history of the eastern Adriatic, given the fact that he was an Irredentist himself. For a sketch of his life see S. Cella, 'Giuseppe Stefani', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* (1966), 612-4. Similarly oft-quoted, Camillo De Franceschi's 'Il movimento nazionale a Trieste nel 1848 e la Società dei Triestini', while republished in the same volume as Stefani's essay, was written in the 1920s, and therefore steeped in the Irredentist ideology promoted by Fascist Italy. For the extremely restricted number of Irredentists in Trieste see Alberti, *L'irredentismo senza romanticismi* (Triestine: Borsatti, 1936). Notwithstanding his support for Irredentism, Mario Alberti, hailing from a Triestine family of mixed Italian, Hungarian, and German heritage, did not consider Habsburg rule as oppressive. On the similar issue, concerning the 'silent majority' of Italian speakers serving loyally in the Habsburg armed forces and navy, see Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*.

<sup>192</sup> In this respect, the plate at the entrance of the Museo Storico del Risorgimento in Trieste is illuminating. It remembers all the Istrians and Dalmatians who died fighting for Venice and Rome in the 1848-49 period. The presence of Dalmatians in the Italian wars of independence has been underlined by other works, such as C. Camizzi, 'La Dalmazia e il Risorgimento Italiano (1815-1866)', *La rivista dalmatica* 53, 3 (1982).

<sup>193</sup> Millo, 'Trieste, 1830-70: From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation', 69.

brief riot that was soon quelled by the joint effort of the *Landwehr* (territorial militia) and Trieste National Guard, under participation of parts of the wider populace.<sup>194</sup>

In the aftermath of his defeat, Orlandini issued a manifesto to the Venetians, in which he justified the reasons for the failure of the insurrection in Trieste. This all the more so after Venetian revolutionaries had expressed their belief that Trieste had served the Austrian cause.<sup>195</sup> Orlandini appeared to speak and act on behalf of the entirety of Italian-speaking Triestines, who were, according to him, the real Triestines. He presented himself as “Triestine of birth, and therefore Italian”, offering an early example of Italian Irredentism.<sup>196</sup> From what appears in his plea to the Venetians, the ideal of the Italian nation went alongside that of the resurrection of the old Venetian republic. Contradictorily, in a passage in which he announced his political programme, Italy did not figure. For he advocated “the absolute freedom of Trieste from *any rule*, its brotherhood with the Republic of Venice, with unfortunate Istria, and the valiant Dalmatians.”<sup>197</sup> The Italian nation, which throughout his argumentation represented the main spur for seceding from Austria, disappeared. These claims, notwithstanding his strongly anti-Austrian sentiments and staunch support for Italianness, underlie the previous promotion of *La Favilla* of the “Adriatic multi-nationalism” studied by Kirchner Reill. The notion of a shared sense of belonging to the Habsburg eastern Adriatic was one of the main tenets that Italian-speaking and Slavic intellectuals upheld throughout Dalmatia and Istria. Part and parcel of this eastern Adriatic identity encompassing the Slavic and Latin elements of the coast were the awareness of the Venetian legacy of the region and loyalty to Austria.<sup>198</sup> Yet Orlandini distanced himself from *La Favilla*’s past programme insofar as the Italian nation took a pre-eminent role and its fundamental Slavic component was seen as foreign.

<sup>194</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 176.

<sup>195</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 32-3.

<sup>196</sup> TsRis, Giovanni Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani: March 26, 1848’, 165.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 73, 86-114.

In his proclamations of fidelity to Italy, Orlandini claimed to represent the Triestine people as a whole. The few who did not comply with his wishes were targeted as traitors and non-Triestines, claiming that “the Triestine people [were] Italian.” What then of the thousands of Slovenes and other Slavs, the Greeks and Armenians, who were Triestines, being autochthonous or having migrated to the city, like many Italian speakers themselves? Orlandini claimed that the failed Triestine revolution had made throughout Venice “a bleak impression regarding the national sentiments of the Triestine people.”<sup>199</sup> Addressing the Venetian people, he invoked them “not to be indignant if the movement [he] had raised in order to follow in [their] footsteps had been arrested by an obscurantist, that is Austrian, reaction.” He went on in his invective against his opponents and claimed that “such reaction had been bought by the governor of that province, who had money distributed to some idlers with whom all the royal employees, the spies, and some Austrian lordlings domiciled in Trieste joined forces.”<sup>200</sup>

As for National Guard, widely acknowledged to be a liberal institution, it “could not resolve to promptly join such movement since”, Orlandini explained, “at the time of its formation, a mass of Austrians [...] had sneaked in.”<sup>201</sup> His clearly anti-Austrian sentiments made him conflate everything Austrian with absolutism. He considered reactionary those Austrians who had joined the National Guard and quelled his attempt at making Trieste secede from Austria. Nevertheless, he did not claim that the National Guard as such was a reactionary institution, since that would run counter to the general dynamics through which revolutionaries had asserted themselves throughout the continent: national guards had been part and parcel of this process. For the National Guard, although endorsed in Trieste by people such as von Salm and Gyulai whom Orlandini detested as representatives of the ancien régime, was born of the constitutional promises of 15 March 1848.

<sup>199</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

Notwithstanding quarrels concerning the language of command and general communication, the guard appeared as a cohesive corps devoted, as elsewhere in the Monarchy, to the consolidation of constitutional promises and the maintenance of peace in Trieste.<sup>202</sup> As for Germans, Orlandini showed his sympathy for them, since, according to him, they had “always manifested their warmest sentiments for the Italian cause and [had] raised the German tricolour and not the blooded Austrian colour.”<sup>203</sup> Orlandini’s antipathy for Austria and sympathy for the German nation seems odd, nevertheless, since it was German liberalism as promulgated by the Frankfurt Parliament that undermined not only the privileges of Trieste, but also its use of the Italian language, as Alessandro Mauroner, prominent local publicist, explained in the same months.<sup>204</sup> The threat that the liberalism of the Frankfurt Diet posed to Austrian hegemony over Central Europe was saluted by Italian liberals like Orlandini. They did not seem to be preoccupied by the expansionistic aims of many German nationalists who projected the notion of German medieval territorial greatness into the present, so that Trieste fell within the boundaries of a new Germany together with multiple other territories in which German speakers constituted only minorities.”<sup>205</sup> Orlandini concluded his invocation to Venice hoping that

these facts [would] make known to [...] Venetians that the sentiments of the Triestine people are Italian, that with tears of joy the news of [Venice’s] regeneration were greeted, and that the people were led astray for a moment by false insinuations and its wretched part was bought by monetary corruption. And if in Trieste there was someone who dared raise offending voices in the halls of the *Tergesteo* [the financial centre of the city] against the emblem that [he was] proud to defend, if someone dared say that those who decorated their chests with it should be expelled from the Triestine

<sup>202</sup> Rita Krueger, *Czech, German, and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia* (New York, 2009); Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1969).

<sup>203</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’.

<sup>204</sup> Alessandro Mauroner, ‘Risposta ad un articolo inserito nell’Ost-Deutsche Post’, in *Il Costituzionale*, 11 October (1848).

<sup>205</sup> Stefan Berger, ‘Germany: Ethnic Nationalism par excellence?’ in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2006), 46, for a concise discussion of the German nationalists’ territorial aims, which included “the Netherlands, the Flemish part of Belgium, Alsace and Lorraine, the Balkans, Bohemia, Moravia, the Polish-speaking Prussian province of Posen, Trieste, and southern Tyrol.”

National Guard, he, you, my good Venetians, shall know it, is not Triestine [...] An Italian accent sounded on the lips of that unworthy son of this Italy... Hail S. Marco, Hail the Republic, Hail Italy, Hail Trieste.<sup>206</sup>

A few days later, some Triestines, as they signed themselves, but probably Orlandini again, affirmed to Venetian revolutionaries that “as soon as we received the news about the destruction of the decrepit bastion of absolutism, we cheered for you, brothers, and wanted to be the first to bring the good news to you [...] A faction hostile to our fatherland and a traitor in the payroll of the foreigner, sowed suspicions and jealousies within our people [...] But these mercenary shouts did not find any echo within our people, and were greeted by people who are foreigners to us as to their nature and traditions [...] Empathise with us, who, in this very moment of redemption of the peoples, could not, unfortunate, suddenly proclaim our redeemed nationality. The confident Italian citizens of wretched Trieste send this address and lament to their sister Venice.”<sup>207</sup> As in the previous plea, here, too, Italians are taken as a single cohesive group. As Konrad Clewing and Kirchner Reill have emphasised with regard to Dalmatians, people however conscious of their own nationality did not constitute politically homogenous groups.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, these tokens of Triestine attachment to Venice, which made Trieste’s history entwined with past Venetian glories, as Angelo Vivante underlined, did not reflect the history of either, since for centuries Trieste and Venice had been torn by a regional rivalry that made Trieste opt for Austrian protection in 1382.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>206</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’, 165.

<sup>207</sup> TsRis, ‘Ai fratelli veneziani, i Triestini: April 15, 1848’.

<sup>208</sup> Clewing, *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung*; Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*.

<sup>209</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*, 19.



### 2.3 The Hamburg of the Mediterranean or another Italian Trieste?

Like Orlandini, Francesco Dall’Ongaro depicted those who were not spurred by Italian sentiments as foreigners.<sup>210</sup> Together with the former and Pacifico Valussi he had been editor of the paper *La Favilla*, which until 1847 had advocated the fusion of Italian speakers and Slavs into a single people, epitomised by what Dalmatia would become in their hopes, and deemed by the Ragusan Ivan Antun Kaznačić to have shared in the effort to “reconcile the Italian element with the Slavic”.<sup>211</sup> Kirchner Reill seems to suggest that people such as Dall’Ongaro and Valussi have been hailed by Italian Risorgimento historians as forerunners of Italian Irredentism and anti-Slavism. Furthermore, as she noted, the experience of “multi-nationalism” has disappeared from both Italian and Slavic historiographical accounts.<sup>212</sup> Dall’Ongaro and Valussi’s espousal of ‘Adriatic multi-nationalism’ did not last long and did not survive the events of 1848, contrary to the views of people like Niccolò Tommaseo and Stipan Ivičević, early advocates of a rapprochement between Slavs and Italian speakers of Dalmatia.

In Dall’Ongaro’s case, resentment against Austrian rule proved stronger than the idea of a shared sense of identity across the Adriatic. He complained about the policies of Germanisation first introduced by Joseph II, which were but an attempt at making crownlands administratively uniform, as “the unhappy practice of Germanising [the Triestine] people.”<sup>213</sup> He also described the situation in Trieste as monopolised by “German government, German tribunals, teachers who taught the rudiment

<sup>210</sup> TsRis, Francesco Dall’Ongaro, ‘Al popolo di Trieste: April 10, 1848’. For this, the focus of Kirchner Reill’s studies, see Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists who Feared the Nation*. Also, Kirchner Reill, ‘A Mission of Mediation: Dalmatia’s Multi-national Regionalism from the 1830s-60s’, in L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70* (London, 2007), 17, in which she explains that Dalmatians were not prone to joining either the Italian or the Slavic national movement, but could rather identify with multiple causes, ‘as varied as [the] Dalmatian, Slavo-Dalmatian, Italo-Dalmatian, Italo-Austrian, Illyrian, Slav, Serb, Italian and Croatian.’

<sup>211</sup> Ivan August Kaznačić, ‘Introduction to article of *La Favilla*’, *L’Avvenire* I, no. 11 (1848), 44.

<sup>212</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 241-4. For a description of Dall’Ongaro as a Mazzinian, see Clare Lovett, *The Democratic Movement in Italy 1830-1876* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 17.

<sup>213</sup> TsRis, Dall’Ongaro, ‘Al popolo di Trieste’. For the imposition of the German language in the Trieste Stock Exchange under Joseph II and the unanimous opposition of all the ethno-religious communities of the city, which was nonetheless not considered a form of foreign oppression, see David Do Paço, *L’Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford, 2015).

of Italian in German, German priests, everything German.”<sup>214</sup> Notwithstanding these attempts, he continued, “Trieste remain[ed] Italian [...] The Triestine people are an Italian people. Slavs live only on the outskirts, brothers of Italy in misfortune [...] Germans were there, as they were amongst us, an overlapping people [...], a parasitic plant [...] To those who sleeps, wake up, wake up at least at the clamour of the ruins of a decrepit Empire.”<sup>215</sup> Yet these words experience a sudden turn when Dall’Ongaro writes:

“Triestines, Italy does not need you. Italy has two ports, one on the Mediterranean and one on the Adriatic [...] Will you prefer to be, as you already were, the humble servants of Austria with the advantage of becoming the Hamburg of the Adriatic? Here is the destiny that Italy harboured for you. Italian papers [...] already wished you this: Italian arms will help you achieve it, glad [...] to repel the common oppressor out of domains that are not his.”

And, again, Dall’Ongaro reiterated: “People of Trieste, it is not time yet. We do not want from you either justifications or excuses”, which justifies the failure of the Italian revolution there. The purported sentiments of Italianness, the wish to forsake Austria, had not caught on through the city, but were the preserve of the few, however persistent. “We want that you look around yourself, that you distinguish your true friends from the false ones, that you follow the winning party and not the losing one.” He concludes the manifesto with “Hail Trieste, Hanseatic city! Hail the Hamburg of the Mediterranean!”, when a few lines above he had criticised such Hanseatic identity which he deemed to have been imposed on Trieste by its German oppressor.

Furthermore, how could Dall’Ongaro claim, already in 1848, that Triestines were an Italian people, when still in 1872, the local paper *El Buleto*, written in the Triestine dialect, wondered how

<sup>214</sup> TsRis, Dall’Ongaro, ‘Al popolo di Trieste’.

<sup>215</sup> Peter Urbanitsch, ‘Die Deutschen’ in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918: Die Völker des Reiches Band III/Teil 1* (Vienna, 1980), 33-153 on the German element also in the Habsburg administration.

it could be possible to pretend that the “lower classes spoke the beautiful and pure Italian”, when they were barely literate?<sup>216</sup> Kirchner Reill, in line with Vivante, has emphasised Dall’Ongaro’s promotion of Trieste as the “Hamburg of the Adriatic”.<sup>217</sup> Yet she has not touched upon the first part of the document, which tells us of the slight extent of inter-ethnic cooperation between Italian speakers and Slavs, which Dall’Ongaro already upheld in 1848. This dismissal of the Slavic component of Trieste as a suburban group prone to assimilation within Italian Trieste, did not constitute an isolated case of disregard of Slavic needs for wider participation in municipal life. In accounts of Dall’Ongaro’s depiction of Trieste as the ‘Hamburg of the Adriatic’, which would thus turn out to be similar to Kandler’s belief in Austrian Trieste as an autonomous province of the Monarchy, such aspect of Dall’Ongaro’s ideas has prevailed over his support of the Italian cause and anti-Slavism that appears in the first part of the document, to which Vivante confessed he could not have access.<sup>218</sup>

While supporters of unification within Italy lamented the fact that the Italian tricolour had been insulted, Slovenes did perceive a changed attitude, reflecting animosity towards Slavs and foreigners alike, on the part of several Italians.<sup>219</sup> As the first Slavic newspaper to be published in Trieste, the *Slavjanski Rodoljub*, that is ‘Slavic Patriot’, recalled, “if every now and then offensive terms like ‘Mostro di sciavo, [...] mostro di Tedesco!’” (meaning “bloody Slav, bloody German”) were heard, which the Slavic paper kept in the Triestine dialect, then they were not to be taken too seriously.<sup>220</sup> According to the paper, offences that might well appear as evidence of Italian sentiments and animosity towards Slavs and Germans alike, were idiomatic, part of the local identity that persists until now, as their coeval derogatory term for Italians, ‘Taliani’, echoing the Slovene and Croat *talijan*. Furthermore, the article was entitled “Absence of an Italian party in Trieste”. Its content might well be considered as not propagandistic, that is aimed at downsizing Italian nationalists’ weight on

<sup>216</sup> V. Gerolini, ‘El Barbier risorzo e la lingua italiana’, *El Buleto* I, 4 (1872), 1.

<sup>217</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 113-4.

<sup>218</sup> Vivante, *Irredentismo adriatico*.

<sup>219</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’.

<sup>220</sup> I. N. Cerer, ‘Nepostojane stranke Talijanah u Tërstu’, *Slavjanski Rodoljub* no. 2, April (1849), 11.

municipal politics. If one looks at the Slovene take on the situation together with what the Triestine Giacomo Venezian, who died in the defence of Rome in 1849, wrote to his family during his participation in the Italian war of Independence, then it is possible to see the complementarity of these accounts. In November 1848, writing from Florence, Venezian confessed to his family that he “abhor[red] to return to Trieste and [was] eager to find a place among the men who were active in Lombardy-Venetia.”<sup>221</sup> His other letters, too, appear to confirm the words of the *Slavjanski Rodoljub*. In Pisa, he said that he spent time “in the company of students from Lombardy-Venetia”, which points both to the absence of other Triestines or at least of a significant number of them, as well as the still strongly regional identities within the Italian national movement, notwithstanding his evident Italian sentiments that made him state to be “proud [and] blessed to be Italian”, and that the “informing idea of the movement [was] fully Italian.”<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, in another letter from his stay in Tuscany, he praised the Tuscan people who “[had] a sacred memory” for their past, which, in the eyes of Italian nationalists, Triestines lacked.<sup>223</sup>

Apart from Italian nationalists’ factionalism, the absence of major conflicts within Triestine society in 1848-49 was not only the consequence of economic considerations and the endeavour to preserve municipal privileges. These concerns were the preserve of the commercially driven bourgeoisie, which assumed a cosmopolitan outlook. As contemporary observers noted, the lower strata of the population did not manifest sentiments of animosity towards the Habsburgs, but instead joined the National Guard in numbers.<sup>224</sup> Notwithstanding the existence of several linguistic communities in the city and the desire of some people to assert their own language as the language of all Trieste, the discussion over national rights did not translate into manifestations of sentiments that were contrary to loyalty to the dynasty. Orlandini ascribed his lack of success to the bribery of

<sup>221</sup> TsRis, Giacomo Venezian, ‘Venezian to his family: November 6, 1848’.

<sup>222</sup> TsRis, Giacomo Venezian, ‘Venezian to his family: January 15, 1849’; ‘Venezian to his family: November 6, 1848’.

<sup>223</sup> ‘Venezian to his family: February 22, 1849’. Again, it is crucial to underline the fact that Trieste’s ‘Italian’ past was an irredentist reconstruction of the history of the city.

<sup>224</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale* no. 1, April 20 (1848).

the local population, which otherwise would have supported him.<sup>225</sup> Quite the contrary, as the *Slavjanski Rodoljub* recalled in 1849, “before the year 1848, the inhabitants of Trieste of every nation and every language lived together and peacefully [...] There was no time to think about politics, but everything was about trading and gaining.”<sup>226</sup> These words echoed general Gyulai’s proclamation of 23 August 1848, in which he had urged his “fellow citizens to maintain the concord which until [then had] existed between all the nationalities and between all the religious confessions”, adding that Trieste should “remain attached to the Imperial Dynasty, to the whole united constitutional Empire of Austria!”<sup>227</sup>

The emphasis put on the need for the respect of nationalities and the attempts to delineate a Triestine identity point to a desire to underline the distinct nature of the Littoral and promote its autonomist drives. This is what Count Stadion, mindful of the years in which he had governed Trieste, envisaged also for the rest of the Monarchy during his short spell as Minister of Interior in November 1848.<sup>228</sup> According to the local publicist Mauroner, in order to be effective, political freedom had to be constituted on the basis of a system of provincial liberties, encompassing the whole Monarchy.<sup>229</sup> This fundamental aspect rooted in administrative decentralisation ties into the view espoused by Pietro Kandler, the historian of Istrian and Triestine antiquities, who backed the institution of provincial diets for Trieste and Istria to be held in that which he considered the main language of the region, Italian, something that he did not foresee would cause problems amongst different nationalities.<sup>230</sup> But desire for autonomy did not imply secessionist projects or a possible union with a yet to be formed Italy. Kandler’s support of autonomy for the Küstenland and Dalmatia did not prevent him from considering patriotism in Trieste as equal to being a ‘true’ Triestine and Austrian.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>225</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’.

<sup>226</sup> Cerer, ‘Nepostojane stranke Talijanah u Tèrstu’, 11.

<sup>227</sup> G.-B. Jasbitz, *Il teatro della guerra dopo la costituzione del 15. Marzo 1848* (Trieste, 1849), 108.

<sup>228</sup> John Deak, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War* (Stanford, CA, 2015), 66.

<sup>229</sup> Mauroner, *Questioni del giorno in Austria* (Trieste, 1848), 18.

<sup>230</sup> Pietro Kandler, ‘Sulla nazionalità del popolo di Trieste’, *L’Istria* III, 45-46 (1848), 180.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*; Helmut Rumpler, *Österreichische Geschichte 1804-1914. Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa* (Vienna, 1997), 295.

Educated at the universities of Padua and Vienna, Kandler represented a typical product of Habsburg Trieste's affluent class.<sup>232</sup> Of distant Scottish origins, he was proud of his Triestine identity and Trieste's attachment to Austria, which he considered to be essential for the city's prosperity. As a strenuous supporter of Trieste's status as free port, according to him, only attachment to the House of Habsburg would guarantee the preservation of Trieste as the main economic centre of the Adriatic.<sup>233</sup> Attilio Tamaro, the irredentist Triestine historian, stated that one could "fully draw on Pietro Kandler's many publications", yet "Kandler had his mind obscured by political-economic prejudices", which made him tie the municipal history of Trieste to Austria instead of Italy, for "he was convinced that Trieste could not have existed without Austria. All his work", Tamaro stated, "is hindered by this flaw."<sup>234</sup>

Kandler was fully aware of Trieste's pre-eminent role in Adriatic trade as a city dominated by the Italian language. Yet his views differed from those of Dall'Ongaro. For Kandler, the use of Italian was only a cultural aspect, a symptom of Trieste's cosmopolitan nature; it did not bind Trieste to the Italian peninsula. Kandler was firm in his belief that Trieste was Austrian. Although Trieste's Littoral was an "Austrian Littoral, to merge it all in the German language [was] impossible."<sup>235</sup> To change the language relations in the Littoral, so as to give a prominent role to the German language, would alienate the rest of the population and undermine the interests of the Monarchy. As in the past, in the recent events Trieste had not sided against the dynasty. In March 1848 "all the eastern shore of the Adriatic followed Trieste's destiny"; but things would change if the language of the city was suppressed, as it was likely to happen in the case of a republican Germanic Confederation replacing Habsburg rule in the city, which would irreparably transform the nature of the city and the whole

<sup>232</sup> For Kandler's life see Gaetano Merlato, *Cenni biografici su Pietro Kandler* (Trieste, 1872), 8-9.

<sup>233</sup> See Kandler, *Documenti per servire alla conoscenza delle condizioni legali del municipio ed emporio di Trieste* (Trieste, 1848).

<sup>234</sup> Attilio Tamaro, *Storia di Trieste* (Rome, 1924), xii.

<sup>235</sup> Kandler, 'Sulla nazionalità', *L'Istria* III, no. 45-46 (1848), 179.

eastern Adriatic.<sup>236</sup> The premise for Trieste's prosperity was its position as "province of transition between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean with the provinces of the interior". If such transition was sought outside Trieste, negative consequences would follow not only for the city but also the Empire. The existence of different linguistic groups had to be preserved, he argued, since this preservation of diversity was "necessary in countries of transition [and] ... in a sea-port."<sup>237</sup>

#### 2.4 Trieste's National Guard: the bulwark of the Triestine 'nation'

The language question came to the fore within the National Guard as the main issue facing that institution, as its solution would affect its identity in the early stages. The Trieste National Guard was created - in the words of the then governor of the Küstenland Robert von Salm - as a bulwark "against those who wanted to threaten internal peace and security."<sup>238</sup> As these words reveal, its creation for the maintenance of public order was fostered by imperial authorities in the city. The two governors of the Küstenland during the turmoil of the revolutionary period, von Salm and General Gyulai, although representing reactionary forces in the eyes of Italian nationalists, backed the initiative of the National Guard. Altgrav von Salm, who presided over the constitutional period in Trieste during the short-lived Pillersdorf administration, took pains to explain to the populace the meaning of the constitution.<sup>239</sup> Pillersdorf had congratulated himself with von Salm for "the faithful attitudes of unwavering attachment, which the city of Trieste always prove[d] for the Austrian dynasty."<sup>240</sup> Von Salm also explained the role of the National Guard as a constitutional institution that "receive[d] from the Emperor himself the noble mission of maintaining order and tranquillity."<sup>241</sup> A similar motive

<sup>236</sup> Kandler, 'Sulla nazionalità', 180.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>238</sup> Jasbitz, *Il teatro della guerra dopo la costituzione*, 109.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.* 118

<sup>240</sup> TsRis, 'Von Pillersdorf to von Salm: March 27, 1848'. Von Pillersdorf was the Interior Minister who, during the three months he was in charge, mediated between constitutional and reactionary forces. While facilitating the introduction of constitutional rights, he also strove to maintain imperial institutions amidst revolutionary turmoil. E. Hanisch and P. Urbanitsch. 'Grundlagen und Anfänge des Vereinwesens, der Parteien und Verbände in der Habsburgermonarchie', in H. Rumppler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band VIII/Teil 1* (Vienna, 2006), 15-111.

<sup>241</sup> von Salm, 'Notificazione: April 27, 1848', *La Guardia Nazionale* no. 3 (1848), 4.

runs through the words of the members of the guard who contributed to its official bulletin, *La Guardia Nazionale*. Although imperial authority was crumbling, here and there throughout the Monarchy, institutions survived thanks to the ability of proactive personalities who succeeded in channelling revolutionary forces into the loyalist stream, largely as a consequence of the promised constitution. Requests for constitutional rights did not come to represent revolutionary programmes aimed at toppling the Emperor, but were seen as legitimate in the subjects' plea to their ruler.<sup>242</sup> Some guards, as they signed themselves in a municipal decree concerning the establishment of the National Guard, declared that "the Monarch [had] acknowledged the usefulness of [that] institution" and, the guards continued, "the formation of a national guard coincide[d] with a strenuous alliance between Governments and Peoples, the former committing themselves to proclaiming just laws, the latter swearing to obey them."<sup>243</sup>

The intention of the leading citizens behind the formation of the National Guard was to involve the populace in its entirety regardless of class. For they claimed that the new institution, steeped in the contribution to the common good, could not be the preserve of one class.<sup>244</sup> According to those activists who had been instrumental in its formation, "the National Guard [should] not be the monopoly of one class, but everybody [should] be represented in it", and, they explained, "those who practise[d] their profession respectably [should] not be excluded", regardless of "property or birth."<sup>245</sup> The intention seemed propagandistic in nature, since all the ranks of the guard were occupied by members of the leading businesses and trading companies of the city, such as Sartorio, Hirschel, Revoltella, Rittmayer, Gopceovich, and Mauroner.<sup>246</sup> The guard was actually composed of people from across social classes. The various battalions included men from many different occupations: from

<sup>242</sup> As Kirchner Reill explained, "government officials published information in Italian, Slavic, and German about the true meaning and scope of what a 'constitution' promised." Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 195.

<sup>243</sup> *Alcune parole sulla Guardia Nazionale* (Trieste, 1848), 1.

<sup>244</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale* no. 10 (1848).

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> TsRis, *Lists of the Trieste National Guard*.



cobblers, carpenters, shopkeepers, tailors to trading agents, employees of the Lloyd and various city's firms, physicians, and landowners.<sup>247</sup> The corps came to comprise more than two thousand citizens and proved successful in preventing bloodshed. "The citizens of all classes" were said to have demonstrated a particular zeal in the formation of the guard, whose rank and file was composed of "retailers, landowners, artists, industrialists, craftsmen, rich, and poor [...] [pervaded with] a sole spirit of union and equality, love for the sovereign and the fatherland."<sup>248</sup> In this context, there is mention only of class and not of nationality. As to the ethnic composition of the corps, the surnames of the guards would reveal a lot, although several of them would be debatable, given the fact that many of them might have been Italianised by then, the two editors of several Triestine papers Machlig and Marenigh being two notable examples.

Nevertheless, amongst Slavic surnames, there must have been several that in official documents were rendered into Italian forms, which Slavs themselves did not use unless Italianised. An illuminating example is that of a Slovene who was summoned by the civic military authorities as Martino Supanchig, while he himself signed as Martin Supančich.<sup>249</sup> To prove the highly composite nature of the corps, discussions over the language question within the guard bear evidence to its multi-ethnic nature. Although the dominant nationality of the city had been reiterated as Italian, solidarity between the various nationalities of Trieste was the premise for the functioning of the guard and the preservation of the social order. In this respect, the leaders of the guard also hoped for further future reforms.<sup>250</sup> Thus, they implied that actors of the revolution aimed at influencing state politics and decision-making to the benefit of their own provinces, "connecting their particular interests to larger and more abstract forms of imperial power."<sup>251</sup> That the question of language cropped up within the National Guard did not prevent its successful functioning. Rather, it bears evidence to the force's

<sup>247</sup> TsRis, *Lists of the Trieste National Guard*.

<sup>248</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, April 20 (1848); *La Guardia Nazionale*, May 6 (1848).

<sup>249</sup> ACTS 1848, 'Summon to Martin Supančich: February 20, 1848'.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 176.

ethnic heterogeneity. Some citizens had written to the *Guardia Nazionale* “claiming that the language of the National Guard had to be German”, whilst for others it had to be Italian.<sup>252</sup> The *Guardia Nazionale* published proposals and complaints by its members concerning the language question and the identity of Trieste, besides publishing news pertaining its organization, lists of members, promotions, grants of leave, and timetables of patrolling. The views of the various contributors shared in the common support of the dynasty, inasmuch as they provided arguments for the preservation of a shared sense of Triestine identity and loyalty to the Emperor. Yet they diverged on the thorny issue of the language to be adopted by the corps.

Although in favour of the Italian language as the main medium of communication for Trieste, Kandler and Mauroner did not intend to eradicate the other cultures and nationalities of the city. An anonymous contributor to the official bulletin of the Trieste National Guard went even further in defining the nationality of Trieste. Whilst some had defined it Slav, German, or Italian, the nationality of Trieste, so the contributor discussed, was cosmopolitan.<sup>253</sup> If nationality were to be defined by language, “then, as a consequence, since in Trieste Italian, French, English, German, Illyrian or Slavic, Turkish, Arabic, etc. etc. [were] spoken [...] and since Trieste has a port whose waters are part and parcel of all the earth – it results that the nationality of Trieste is cosmopolitan.”<sup>254</sup> In line with modern ethnographical research, the contributor enumerated the customs and habits of the city that distinguished it from the cities of the rest of Europe. Triestines are “English, because [they] eat *roast-beef*, French because [they] follow French fads and sometimes get drunk with champagne, German because [they] drink beer and among [them] the *Kaiserkipfel* were introduced, [...] Slavs as [their] peasants are Slavs.”<sup>255</sup> Therefore, Trieste’s close relationship with all the nations of the world had moulded the city into a cosmopolitan crossroads. Yet the anonymous contributor was fully aware

<sup>252</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, April 11 (1848).

<sup>253</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, September 23 (1848).

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

of the steadfast opposition of some who intended “to divide the world as they wish, as if it were an orange, with the purpose of retaining the juiciest slices for themselves.”<sup>256</sup> The concluding lines of this excerpt are revealing of the situation of the city in 1848, in which nationalism had already emerged but was still seen as the preserve of few men who pursued their own specific interests through the espousal of nationalist ideals, an understanding of the incipient phenomenon of nationalism that mirrors the nuanced present-day recent accounts of nationalism in the Monarchy. In the same months, a certain captain Meštrović in Dubrovnik expressed views that appear to confirm the novelty that nationalism represented. Meštrović thanked the local Serb community’s financial support of his military company with “feelings of brotherly gratitude and patriotic love through which [they] all wished that those bonds that now unite[d them] by virtue of common language and origin increase[d] ever more and bec[a]me tied in national sympathy.”<sup>257</sup>

While the National Guard was deemed to be a liberal institution established to defend constitutional rights by, for example, the *Società dei Triestini*, it was seen as a reactionary force by those Italian Triestines like Orlandini who were driven by anti-Austrian sentiments. For the latter, the defence of the Constitution was evidence of dynastic loyalty and the forces deployed in its defence, like the Trieste National Guard, instead of being seen as progressive institutions were thus accused of being in the service of absolutism.<sup>258</sup> The *Gazzetta di Trieste* accused it of not protecting everybody, of serving the interests of the few. Whereas the Guards’ newspaper claimed that it protected Jews, Serbs, and Armenians alike, receiving the gratitude also of the Oriental Greek community.<sup>259</sup> The *Gazzetta di Trieste* remained critical of the National Guard, the Austrian Lloyd, and the commercial class of Trieste in general, and therefore could not come to terms with the corps’ popularity among these different strata of Triestine society.<sup>260</sup> Similarly, another Italian liberal paper

<sup>256</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, September 23 (1848).

<sup>257</sup> S. Meštrović, ‘Thanks to Serbs domiciled in Dubrovnik: January 8, 1849’, *L’Avvenire* I, no. 24 (1849), 96.

<sup>258</sup> TsRis, Orlandini, ‘Proclama ai Veneziani’.

<sup>259</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, May 13 (1848).

<sup>260</sup> *La Gazzetta di Trieste*, October 29 (1848).

from Trieste, *La Frusta*, lamented the fact that, upon the reconquest of Vienna, Windischgrätz had suppressed neither the paper of the Austrian Lloyd nor “another newspaper attacking Jews”.<sup>261</sup> This, according to the paper, was despite the fact that the Austrian Lloyd as well as Triestine Jews had actively supported constitutional requests. *La Frusta* thus positioned itself in overt opposition to those newspapers that had the government’s backing, even if they had taken active part in the constitutional concessions.

*La Frusta*’s stance ties into Tommaseo’s previous involvement in Trieste as a Dalmatian publicist, whose dramatic change in 1848 underscores the propagandistic effort of 1848. The Austrian Lloyd was the object of Italian animosity, since it represented a bastion of loyalty to Austria. In 1847, this detail did not prevent Tommaseo, who would become the leader of the Venetian revolution the following year, from requesting, and obtaining, help from the Lloyd in aid of his fellow-citizens in Šibenik. Having obtained the sum of 2000 florins, he thanked and blessed “the Slav and the Greek, the Jew and the Armenian, the Italian and the transalpine”, by which he also recognised Trieste as a city “that, inhabited by people of different stocks, promise[d] to be a precious ring of trust and intelligence between several nations,” thus running counter to the very same claims of Trieste’s *italianità* expressed by his soon-to-be fellows Orlandini and Dall’Ongaro.<sup>262</sup> The same Dall’Ongaro, like Tommaseo himself, had praised the multi-ethnic nature of the city before 1848; now the city had suddenly become Italian in their nationalist accounts.

The cosmopolitan character of the city ties into what appeared to be an oft-debated question of the time: Triestine identity. The contested nature of Triestine identity was inherent to the transformation of Trieste into a free port in 1719. For, as another contributor to the bulletin argued, “how many Triestines [could] say – my great grand-father was born in Trieste – or that Triestine

<sup>261</sup> *La Frusta*, November 14 (1848).

<sup>262</sup> Tommaseo, *Intorno a cose dalmatiche e triestine* (Trieste, 1847), 149-50.

blood has been flowing in my family for ninety years?”<sup>263</sup> But the very same fact of not being born in Trieste or having parents not hailing from that city did not prevent a person from being a Triestine.<sup>264</sup> In response to an article of the Austrian Lloyd that pointed to the lack of initiative and absence of resourcefulness among the Triestine people in economic enterprises, as admittedly they were in the hands of foreign-born entrepreneurs, the *Guardia Nazionale* considered these same entrepreneurs to be Triestines. According to the paper, several prominent trading companies such as “Fontana, Chiozza, Hagenauer, Holznecht, Morpurgo, Parente, Hierschel, Reyer, Ritter, Brucker” were Triestine.<sup>265</sup> The leading members of all these firms had been instrumental in the establishment of the city’s National Guard, thus pointing to their civic allegiance steeped in the promotion of Trieste as *the* emporium of the Monarchy. It was not a mere “calculated strategy” what spurred the majority of Triestines to embrace constitutionalism whilst still supporting the dynasty, but a common belief shared across social classes and throughout the Monarchy.<sup>266</sup>

## 2.5. The ‘Società dei Triestini’: imperial loyalty

Similar expressions of loyalty, in conjunction with the preservation of municipal privileges, were displayed by the newly constituted *Società dei Triestini*, which gathered Trieste’s bourgeoisie.<sup>267</sup> The birth of this association followed a pattern common to the rest of the Monarchy and Europe, coinciding with the founding of political and cultural associations and the involvement of wider sections of the population through meetings, petitions, and elections. This points to the advance of liberal values in society and support of the dynasty which underlies the fact that the Monarchy was

<sup>263</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, July 1 (1848).

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> The idea that bourgeoisie loyalty to the Habsburgs in Trieste derived from economic concerns, which prevented Triestine middle-classes from wholeheartedly joining the Italian national movement, has been supported by Ara, ‘The cultural soul and the merchant soul’ and Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870’.

<sup>267</sup> Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-1870: From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation’, 70.

not purely illiberal, notwithstanding the largely negative depictions of Metternich's rule.<sup>268</sup> The measures taken by this society were published in *La Guardia Nazionale*, thus highlighting the close relationship between the two institutions. After the first popular elections had been indicted, the president of the electoral committee expressed the *Società's*, and his, satisfaction at the involvement of the people in the assembly and their "overt and loyal inclination."<sup>269</sup> The president added that the people had had the opportunity to become convinced that "the *Società dei Triestini*, in its patriotic spirit and in its decisions, endeavoured to be really in accordance with the name it carried."<sup>270</sup> He wished that electors would not consider "aristocracy of blood, or of census, but that of talent."<sup>271</sup> The president was also aware that Trieste hosted several people who were born in other provinces, yet "they too loved [that] adopted country due to" – he stressed – "the generous hospitality of its people and the utility of trades." He ended the text with an evident manifestation of the wishes of the *Società*, progressive in nature, namely that it wanted the deputies to be chosen "among the liberal and independent [...] and free of aristocratic relations that would paralyse free votes and freedom of speech."

Despite these references to a broad involvement of the Triestine population, the *Società dei Triestini* was mostly the voice of Trieste's entrepreneurial class. Like its predecessors born out of Josephinism in the late eighteenth century, it was rooted in a cosmopolitan environment.<sup>272</sup> It is among these people that Count Stadion spent almost a decade from 1841, which, as John Deak reported, marked the most splendid part of his life.<sup>273</sup> One might wonder if he owed the Triestine environment the first glimpses of the constitution he drafted at the peak of revolutionary successes, "which promised a complex system of self-administration", and which Alexander Bach, the new

<sup>268</sup> For a reappraisal of Metternich's absolutism, see Wolfram Siemann, *Metternich. Staatsmann zwischen Restauration und Moderne* (Munich, 2010).

<sup>269</sup> TsRis, *Parole pronunciate dal Presidente del Comitato elettorale della Società dei Triestini*, 25 June 1848.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>272</sup> Branko Marušič, 'Die Vereinstätigkeit im österreichischen Küstenland' in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band VIII/Teil 1* (Vienna, 2006), 542-3.

<sup>273</sup> Cited in Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 66.

Minister of Interior in 1849, annulled immediately after taking his post.<sup>274</sup> Before Bach's takeover, the Austrian government had been filled with people who had served in Trieste, thus bearing evidence to the successful administration of Trieste in the decades before 1848. Schwarzer, Brück, Burger and Stadion were only the most prominent personalities who secured positions in Vienna in the short 1848-49 period. The move to the capital did not make them forget the needs of the port-city they had left and which the *Società dei Triestini* was vocal in manifesting.<sup>275</sup> The aim of the *Società* was to influence state politics in view of the preservation of the privileges of the free port. The Triestine delegates to the constitutional Assembly in Vienna in June 1848, von Brück and Burger, were direct expression of the interests of the *Società*.<sup>276</sup> In the eyes of Italian patriots, the Austrian government had to be fought even if it had implemented liberal measures still absent on the Italian peninsula. For example, the Triestine Giacomo Venezian, the Jewish Italian patriot who died in the defence of Rome in 1849, in one of his letters to the family, attacked von Bruck, who had been instrumental in the establishment of the Austrian Lloyd, for having espoused, after several hesitations, the Viennese cause instead of that of the Frankfurt Parliament, pointing to the liberalism of the latter as opposed to the repressive nature of the former, and for having "his mind informed [...] by [Vienna's] absolutist and Jesuit doctrines."<sup>277</sup>

Amid constitutional promises, the *Società* made sure that Triestine deputies in Vienna presented themselves to the constitutional assembly "as delegates of the State-Province of Trieste [...] without awaiting or provoking on that a particular decision or acknowledgment on the part of the Assembly."<sup>278</sup> Although acting in the interest of the municipal privileges of the city, the delegates were also said to be acting in favour of the Monarchy, which "[should] be one and indivisible."<sup>279</sup> In

<sup>274</sup> Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 110.

<sup>275</sup> Negrelli, 'Una rivista borghese nell'Austria metternichiana', 270-285 and Rumpler, *Österreichische Geschichte 1804-1914. Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa* (Vienna, 1997), 279.

<sup>276</sup> *La Guardia Nazionale*, July 1 (1848).

<sup>277</sup> TsRis, Venezian, 'Venezian to his family: 1849'.

<sup>278</sup> TsRis, *Protesta dei Deputati di Trieste contro la decisione dell'Assemblea di Francoforte*, 1848.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

late October of the same year, the *Società* addressed the Constitutional Diet in Vienna. With words of profound respect and admiration, the intellectual and commercial elites of Trieste urged the Diet to fulfil the tasks for which it had been established, as it sustained “the shaken foundations of the Empire.”<sup>280</sup> Also, they stated that the *Società dei Triestini*, “born out of the revolution, believes in the democratic Constitutional Throne, which with the sole bond of love shall and can now unite peoples of different languages.”<sup>281</sup>

## 2.6 Communal tensions: the beginning of nationality conflicts?

Despite the many references to the multi-ethnic nature of the city and the efforts to create institutions representing this ethnic diversity, tensions between the city’s various ethno-religious communities did appear during the year of revolution. On 1 October 1848, a member of the local Jewish community, Abram Terni of Dubrovnik was summoned by the chancellery of the Jewish community of Trieste.<sup>282</sup> Interrogated on what had happened on the same morning next to the Portizza, entrance to the ghetto from the *Piazza della Borsa*, the financial centre of the city, Terni replied that “the son of Salomon Diena [had] addressed a certain Buchpinder by the nickname of Croat.” For that reason, he recalled, “a certain Cosolo, who was passing by”, reprimanded Diena and Terni, thinking that the latter was his accomplice, saying “what have the Croats done to you, they too have defended the Fatherland”, and, the report revealed, “adding some offences to Jews, and wanting to kick up a fight.”<sup>283</sup> This episode, in itself a simple street altercation with no consequences, insofar as “Cosolo himself acknowledged that [Terni] was there just by chance”, is significant inasmuch as it reveals

<sup>280</sup> *Indirizzo della Società dei Triestini all’Alta Dieta Costituente in Vienna*, 24 October 1848 (Trieste, 1848).

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> While all surnames indicating names of towns are not a sure mark of Jewish identity, they nevertheless indicate the provenance of people when belonging to the Jewish faith. In this case, several other examples of Triestine surnames originating from toponyms, such as Senigaglia and Guastalla, bear testimony to Jewish emigration from the Papal States in the first half of the nineteenth century, which McCagg mentioned. McCagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews*, 166. These examples, which are very consistent, can be found in the *Lists of contributors to the Jewish community*, TsEbr.

<sup>283</sup> TsEbr, Jewish chancellery, ‘Report on Abram Terni from Ragusa: October 1, 1848’.



perceptions of the ‘other’ within Trieste’s various ethno-religious communities, self-ascribed identities according to different contexts, as well as views of the events of 1848 among the populace and across nationalities.<sup>284</sup>

For their part, Croats were proud of having been decisive in fighting both Hungarian and Italian revolutionaries. Rumours that they had not served the cause of constitutionalism, which Trieste’s Jews actively supported, might well have alienated Croats from those sectors of the population that had pressed for constitutional reforms. Croats, as in this case, generally tried hard to refute this myth. Because Croats had been decisive in fighting the Hungarian and Venetian revolutions, they were deemed to have served the cause of absolutism. On the contrary, in his proclamations, Ban Jelačić, the highest Croatian military and political authority, who contributed to crushing the Hungarian revolution, saluted the Emperor as “our constitutional Emperor and King Ferdinand.”<sup>285</sup> In thanking Vienna for the warm reception given to Ban Jelačić, Croat nationalists issued a manifesto in which they signed “the free Croat-Serb Nation in the free Austria.”<sup>286</sup> The manifesto ends with a token of Croatian friendship “not only to [Vienna’s] own freedom, but of [theirs] brothers’ freedom of finding everyone’s tongue.”<sup>287</sup> Further, it addressed the alleged Croatian support of absolutism with words that refuted such claims: “it is suggested that you [Vienna] with us, who gain[ed] the freedom for the whole of Austria, have to be suspected as tools of reaction.”<sup>288</sup> Here, it is crucial to bear in mind that Croats fought what then were secessionists. At the same time, it is

<sup>284</sup> TsEbr, Jewish chancellery, ‘Report on Abram Terni’.

<sup>285</sup> *Agramer Zeitung*, September 14 (1848). As a result of his opposition to Magyar aristocracy, Jelačić succeeded in challenging Hungarian hegemony in the northern Balkans and making Croats one of the most authoritative peoples of the Monarchy. For Jelačić’s role in 1848 see Deák, *The Lawful Revolution* (New York: 1979), 161-70 and Deák, ‘Where Loyalty and Where Rebellion? The Dilemma of the Habsburg Army Officers in 1848-1849’, in B. Király (ed.), *East Central European Society and War in the Era of Revolutions, 1775-1856. War and Society in East Central Europe Vol. IV* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1984), 403. Jelačić’s form of Croatian nationalism was fully loyal to the Habsburgs, something which won him the hostility of the Croatian Party of Right, whose adherents advocated the formation of an independent Croatia on the basis of the medieval Croatian kingdom. For the Croatian Party of Right see Gross, *Povijest pravaške ideologije* (Zagreb, 1973).

<sup>286</sup> *Agramer Zeitung*, September 14 (1848).

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*

important to note that these ‘greetings from Vienna’ were published by the *Mechitharisten Buchdruckerei* in Vienna, that is the press of the Armenian community originally based in Trieste, thus possibly pointing to the shared ideal of a common nation to defend. The quarrel between Croats and Jews testifies to the anti-Semitism that pervaded Slavic nationalism already in its early stages. Moreover, the *Slavjanski Rodoljub*, in discussing the absence of a significant Italian faction in the city, did nothing to refute it. It summarised Orlandini’s revolt as the result of the initiative of “a small group of Italians [who had] united with several sons of Abraham.”<sup>289</sup> As a consequence, anti-Semitism did provide an easy, utterly distorted, explanation to problems. Yet in 1848 it did not constitute the norm, since support for the dynasty proved stronger than anti-Jewish animus.<sup>290</sup>

Jews were among those who had financed the National Guard the most. According to the *Guardia Nazionale*, they stood behind the sole Prince von Lichtenberg as the people who had been most generous to Trieste National Guard. The leaders of the Jewish community emphasised their loyalty to the Emperor as well as their support for the National Guard, which they considered to be a liberal institution centred on preserving the concessions granted by the Emperor. Since the eighteenth century, Trieste’s Jews had been exempted from legislations centred on curbing Jewish freedom. They enjoyed such extensive privileges that they were “the only Habsburg Jews who could own land, move freely, hold public office, and pay no special tax but one on marriage.”<sup>291</sup> Several Jews had legal and economic positions that made them part and parcel not only of the urban elite but also of the most privileged groups of the Empire. Already under Joseph II, in the 1780s, the “adaptation [of

<sup>289</sup> Cerer, ‘Nepostojane stranke Talijanah u Tèrstu’, *Slavjanski Rodoljub*, no. 2, April (1849), 11.

<sup>290</sup> R. Levy, ‘Political antisemitism in Germany and Austria, 1848-1914’, in A. Lindemann and R. Levy (eds.), *Antisemitism: A History* (Oxford, 2010), 121. For Habsburg Jews in general see W. Bihl, ‘Die Juden’, in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band III/ Teil 1. Die Völker des Reiches* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 880-948.

<sup>291</sup> William Mccagg, *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington, IN, 1989), 165.

Trieste's Jews] to European ways were already taken as givens."<sup>292</sup> By the middle of the century they were at the forefront of assimilation and eager to espouse the regional culture in which they lived.<sup>293</sup>

Prominent Jews were among the first to contribute financially in the early stages of the National Guard. On 21 June 1848, Manzialry and Schick, the two commanders of the guard, thanked the community "hoping that their generosity would serve as an example for others to follow."<sup>294</sup> The community gave 500 florins to the National Guard, the largest sum recorded after that given by Prince von Lichtenberg. These were preceded by widespread enthusiasm of the Jewish community for the constitutional grants and a solemn function in the main synagogue of Trieste to thank the Emperor, which all the community was invited to attend. Such was the excitement, that Jewish leaders made the day coincide with the religious festivity of *Purim*, the liberation of Jews from Persian captivity, when they stated that "this day has been for the Israelites a day of happy and benign remembrance for centuries."<sup>295</sup> A few lines below, they took also the opportunity to emphasise the "national love that spurs every good Jew."<sup>296</sup> Celebrations were not contrived merely to appease authorities. They were part and parcel of the community's attempt actively to influence the making of the constitution, as Judson has emphasised for groups in general throughout the constitutional period.<sup>297</sup>

On 18 September, the Jewish leaders wrote to physician Ferdinando Gobbi, who had been "summoned to be a member of the committee drafting the statute [of the Constitution]", pressing for

<sup>292</sup> Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste* (Stanford, 1999), 211.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.* During his spell in Trieste as chief of the navy, Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian sealed close bonds with several Triestine Jews, whom, after he had become Emperor of Mexico, he honoured with Mexican titles. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the leader of Trieste's municipal assembly at the middle of the century was Baron de Parente, himself an ennobled Jew. For Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy see Deák, 'Antisemitism in Eastern Europe', in A. Lindemann and R. Levy (eds.), *Antisemitism: A History* (Oxford, 2010), 226. A notable example of assimilation is that of the Morpurgo family. While in Trieste they eventually embraced Italian nationalism, in Split/Spalato Vid Morpurgo became one of the staunchest Croatian nationalists.

<sup>294</sup> TsEbr, *Ringraziamenti agli Israeliti*, 21 June 1848.

<sup>295</sup> TsEbr, March 19, 1848.

<sup>296</sup> TsEbr, March 20, 1848.

<sup>297</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 176.

“the civil and political emancipation of [their Jewish] nation.”<sup>298</sup> In words emphasising not only pride of being Jewish, but also, and in particular, Triestine Jews, they “consider[ed] unnecessary to note to [him] how the individuals of this confession, more particularly of this city, [were] not second to anyone in providing for public and private needs and in contributing with their activity and good judgment to the good trend of home institutions, and, finally, in partaking to all the duties proper of a good citizen.”<sup>299</sup> On the same day, another letter was sent to the other Triestine deputy to the Viennese parliament, Johann Hagenauer. The Jewish notables were confident that he would “endeavour vigorously and with the liberal sentiments that characterize[d] [him] so that the civil and political emancipation of Jews [would] be proclaimed.”<sup>300</sup> They also recommended to him “[their] community in particular, which [he knew] well that it ha[d] never been inferior to others, either for patriotic sentiments, or for generous and spontaneous services in every emergency.” These words stressed Trieste’s Jewish leaders’ awareness of the prominent position of their community with respect not only to other Jewish communities of the Monarchy but also other ethno-religious groups.<sup>301</sup> Local awareness of the prominent role of Trieste within the Monarchy is what spurred people also of other confessions to stress both loyalty to the Habsburgs and the uniqueness of their city. Alessandro Mauroner, an Italian-speaking publicist, is one of those who formulated such views in ways that made Italian nationalists struggle to come to terms with Triestine support for the Habsburgs.

<sup>298</sup> TsEbr, ‘Blum and Ara to Gobbi: September 18, 1848’.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> TsRis, ‘Blum and Ara to Hagenauer: September 18, 1848’.

<sup>301</sup> Dubin, “‘Wings on their feet ... and wings on their head’: reflections on the study of port Jews’, in D. Cesarani and G. Romain (eds.), *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (London, 2006), 16.

## 2.7 Alessandro Mauroner: Italian Austro-Slavism

Despite his loyalty to the Habsburgs, Mauroner underlined the essentially Italian nationality of Trieste. Unlike Italian nationalists, he did not consider Trieste's *italianità* as a barrier to loyalty to Austria. In Trieste, opposition to a union with a greater Germany did not derive from a chauvinistic antipathy for the German nation. As proposed by the Frankfurt Parliament, Trieste, as a member of the German Confederation, was to become part of a federation of German states together with several other territories that were nonetheless inhabited by non-German ethnicities. It might seem odd to touch upon this question, which seems distant from the concerns of Trieste and the Austrian Littoral. To contemporary observers, the aspirations of the Frankfurt Parliament appeared as a direct threat to the existence of the Habsburg Empire, undermining the entirety of the imperial structure and threatening its fragmentation.<sup>302</sup> Two Austrian Triestines, including von Bruck and Burger, were opposed by the other Austrian deputies in Vienna, when they argued that “the German population of Trieste [was] in great minority with respect to the Slavic and Italian.”<sup>303</sup>

As Alessandro Mauroner, editor of *Il Costituzionale* and later *La Gazzetta di Vienna*, the Italian-language newspaper published in Vienna from 1850 to 1857, in response to the *Ost-Deutsche Post*, claimed that widespread Triestine opposition to Frankfurt was the result of the conviction “that everyone must have a nationality and support that in which he was born and raised, and that the Italian was the nationality of the majority of Triestines.”<sup>304</sup> Trieste could not be incorporated within a new German state, because that would lead to the abrogation of the voluntary act of adhesion to Austria of 1382, from which the fortunes of the port had originated.<sup>305</sup> Such was the general perspective of the Triestine bourgeoisie, shared by Italians and Slavs alike, liberal in outlook and loyal to their

<sup>302</sup> *Il Telegrafo della Sera*, no. 116, November 6 (1848).

<sup>303</sup> TsRis, *Protesta dei Deputati di Trieste contro la decisione dell'Assemblea di Francoforte*.

<sup>304</sup> Mauroner, ‘Risposta ad un articolo inserito nell’Ost-Deutsche Post’, in *Il Costituzionale*, October 11 (1848), 159.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

Habsburg sovereign, that Mauroner voiced in opposition to German pretensions over Trieste. Mauroner is an interesting figure for the historian as the irredentist tradition of Italian historiography has depicted him as a traitor of the Italian cause and spy.<sup>306</sup> Given his resolutely loyalist stance, it is unsurprising that Italian historiography has considered Mauroner as a traitor of the cause of the Risorgimento, as an *austriacante*.<sup>307</sup> As a result of this perception, his works remain an under-studied source for researches into identity and allegiances.<sup>308</sup>

Local historian Giuliano Gaeta, in discussing the role of Mauroner's *Gazzetta di Vienna* in the history of Italian journalism, wrote from an irredentist standpoint that made him state, with regards to Valussi's change in perspective from a Habsburg loyalist into an overt upholder of Irredentism, that he was urged to change view "in the face of the pressing necessity for national unity and the de-nationalizing forces that [weighted] on the Italian lands of the Eastern Adriatic."<sup>309</sup> From such conviction, he even went as far as to claim that Mauroner, although standing against Italy, was nonetheless a precursor of Risorgimento in his appraisal of the Italian nationality.<sup>310</sup> This statement testifies to the difficulty that Italian nationalists encountered in dealing with Italian-speakers who favoured Habsburg rule and in coming to terms with the supra-national nature of the Habsburg Monarchy, steeped in the attempt to accommodate diverse nationalities and thus an hindrance to irredentist claims. Mauroner's views mirrored those of the groups that took the municipal leadership in 1848 and shaped its civic life for the rest of the century. He repeatedly asserts the Italian nationality of the Triestines people, which prevented them from desiring "to merge with the Germanic nation or [...] the Slavic."<sup>311</sup> Although he states that Slavs were part and parcel of the Littoral and, whatever the future held for Trieste, the destiny of the city was intertwined with theirs, the preservation of the

<sup>306</sup> Giuliano Gaeta, 'Il Corriere Italiano di Vienna (1850-57) ed il suo redattore', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* (1957), 690-724.

<sup>307</sup> Boaglio, *Geschichte der italienische Literatur in Österreich. Teil 2* (Vienna, 2012), 154.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> Gaeta, 'Il Corriere Italiano di Vienna', 700.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.* 724.

<sup>311</sup> Mauroner, 'Risposta ad un articolo', 159.

Italian nationality of Trieste was paramount for its existence as the commercial outlet of the Monarchy.<sup>312</sup> For it was the conservation of the Italian character of the city that made Triestines “Austrian, not German.”<sup>313</sup> Furthermore, as far as the pretensions of the Frankfurt Parliament towards Trieste were concerned, for Triestines “the question would be whether to join Italians or Slavs, not Germans.”<sup>314</sup>

For Mauroner, “the mission of Trieste [was] to become the first port of the Mediterranean and to be the ring of conjunction between the East and the West, between Italians, Slavs, and Germans.”<sup>315</sup> The supra-national Austrian state implied, in his words, “a confederation of states bound by a sentiment of common interest, while Germany [indicated] a union of peoples of German language.”<sup>316</sup> In the pamphlet under attack by the *Ost-Deutsche Post*, focussing on the momentous political challenges faced by the Monarchy and entitled *Questioni del giorno in Austria* (Current issues in Austria), he made this points clear. In a way summarising the supra-national character of the Habsburg Empire, he argued that “to say that I am Austrian means that I am part of the federative Monarchy of various peoples, which is Austria; the Slav, the Hungarian, and the Italian can belong to it without renouncing their respective nationality ... while the German confederation will be joined willingly solely by Germanic peoples.”<sup>317</sup> He identified the greatest threat for the Monarchy in the unitary and democratic tendencies of the Frankfurt Parliament, in an attitude that was widely shared also by activists and liberals throughout the Monarchy.<sup>318</sup> According to his argumentation, echoed by several publicists of different nationality, the interests of the various Austrian nations would be better served by union to the Habsburgs. Trieste, too, while preserving its Italian nationality, which in the docks and suburbs gave way to the Slavic, was assured its prosperity by the Habsburgs. The act of

<sup>312</sup> Mauroner, ‘Risposta ad un articolo’, 159.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.* 160.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Mauroner, *Questioni del giorno in Austria* (Trieste, 1848), 8.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.* 9. For 1848 in Germany and the Frankfurt Parliament, see Brian Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

dedication of 1382, by which Trieste had voluntarily tied its destiny to that of the Monarchy, forced Trieste to need “a strong Austria, not a great and powerful Germany.”<sup>319</sup>

“In the present political chaos, in the general conflict of material and national interests that upset in particular this part of Europe...”<sup>320</sup> “It is natural that the Germans of Trieste sympathize with the union with Germany, as Italians all the more so with nearby Italy, and most natural that our peasant is bound to the Slavic stock.” Yet German aspirations on the Adriatic coast as well as the formation of a greater Germany “would no doubt contrast with the scope of the present European movement, which is the reconstitution of all nationalities”, although not secession from Austria. The attempts of the Frankfurt Parliament to incorporate ethnically mixed territories inhabited by non-Germanic peoples within a German state exemplify the drives behind the Frankfurt Parliament.<sup>321</sup>

Yet Mauroner made no mention of an Italian national unification to which Trieste had to adhere. His ideas were in opposition to the general view entertained by Irredentists from the middle of the century to the Italian takeover of Trieste and Istria in 1918. In 1875, the Mazzinian Maurizio Quadrio wrote “to the Istrian patriot Domenico Lovisato”, who had fought with Garibaldi in several of his campaigns, wishing that “from the Kvarner gulf to Marsala [they would] all be Italian, due to natural borders and heart, when [they would] comprehend the ‘Italian mission’ as taught so by Mazzini.”<sup>322</sup> Dalmatians also expressed similar sentiments as far back as 1848. Italian irredentism comes to the fore in the plea that four prominent Dalmatians, Antonovich, Lazaneo, Naratovich, and Petronio, addressed to the Dalmatian and Istrian youths. Their stances were anti-Austrian and in favour of Italian unification through the liberation of Venice.<sup>323</sup> In contrast, Mauroner’s defence of

<sup>319</sup> Mauroner, *Questioni del giorno*, 9.

<sup>320</sup> *Il Costituzionale*, October 11 (1848).

<sup>321</sup> Vick, *Defining Germany*, 2, 110-1, 114-21. The question was steeped in the very same nature of the German Confederation, since it included also non-German peoples, while outside its boundaries, in particular in the eastern crownlands of the Habsburg Monarchy, there were millions of Germans.

<sup>322</sup> TsRis, ‘Quadrio to Lovisato: September 1875’.

<sup>323</sup> TsRis, ‘Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani: November 14, 1848’; TsRis, ‘Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani desiderosi di combattere per l’indipendenza italiana: December 30, 1848’.



what he described as the Italian nationality of Trieste did not reflect any wish to see Trieste tied to a future Italian state. Nevertheless, “the greatest danger for Austria”, Mauroner cautioned his fellow citizens, “comes from Germany, not Italy.”<sup>324</sup> He was convinced that “the Italian tricolour implie[d] only the shrinkage of Austria, whilst the German [could] lead the Monarchy to its total disintegration.”<sup>325</sup> The territorial reduction of Austria would thus not affect Trieste. Paradoxically, the destiny of the monarchy as a great power would be ill-served by its German component, as Habsburg Germans were inherently prone to being engulfed by the rest of the German peoples who lived outside Habsburg borders. To his dismay, the very existence of Austria was questioned by numerous members of parliament in Frankfurt.<sup>326</sup>

Within the framework of the Monarchy, the Slavic component would serve as a counterbalance to German and Italian centrifugal forces.<sup>327</sup> According to Mauroner, within the wider context of the Monarchy, the future of Austria lay in its Slavic element. Here, Mauroner’s whole perspective with regards to the future of the Monarchy changed. For he still sported staunchly loyal sentiments to the Monarchy, yet his previously steadfast championing of the Italian nationality disappeared in a way that it could be said to have been replaced by Slavophile considerations. For he went as far as to state that “the nationality of Austria is the Slavic; the Slavs are the solid pillars on which the future of Austria stands, and maybe the creation of a great South Slavic state is entrusted to the House of Habsburg.”<sup>328</sup> Hence, his vision of the Slavic element as the future of the Monarchy implies the espousal of Austro-Slavism by an Italian subject from Trieste.<sup>329</sup> This in itself might seem paradoxical, given the widespread historiographical tradition rooted in the belief of Italo-Slavic antagonism. Furthermore, Mauroner was convinced that Hungarians would not be able to resist joint

<sup>324</sup> Mauroner, *Questioni del giorno*, 12.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.* 17.

<sup>329</sup> On Austro-Slavism see E. Hanisch and P. Urbanitsch, ‘Grundlagen und Anfänge des Vereinwesens, der Parteien und Verbände in der Habsburgermonarchie’, in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band VIII/Teil 1* (Vienna, 2006), 104-7.

Slavic forces, while the Germans of the Habsburg crownlands would be forced to unite with the South Slavs in the preservation of the Monarchy against Prussian expansionism and Russian aspirations to lead the Slavic world. The other mixed territories of the Monarchy, where Slavs and Italians lived alongside, such as Dalmatia, Istria, and Trieste, would follow suit. Trieste, with its predominantly Slavic hinterland and its commercial interests, would not allow its Italian element to join nearby Lombardy-Venetia in a possible Italian takeover of the region.<sup>330</sup>

These views coincided with those of other publicists at the southernmost tip of the Austrian Adriatic. In the same months, in Dubrovnik, the liberal Slavic paper *L'Avvenire* started its weekly publications. Its editor, Ivan August Kaznačić, and the publisher Petar Frano Martecchini, although writing in Italian, aimed at attracting the interest of Dalmatian and Croatian intelligentsia and middle-classes in view of a future union of Dalmatia with Croatia, including Dalmatia's "Italian" elements.<sup>331</sup> The prospect of union with Croatia did not undermine the willingness of reaching an understanding between the Slavic and Italian groups of the region.<sup>332</sup> Yugoslavism had its repercussions on the Littoral too. There, it went alongside the acknowledgment of a distinct Slovene nation as part and parcel of the Habsburg Monarchy. This view came to represent the main current of Slovene political demands, which were not alien to Trieste. As shown by Rajšp in his account of the Slovenian press in the nineteenth century, almost twenty percent of subscribers to the *Novice*, the main Slovene paper from Ljubljana, came from the Küstenland.<sup>333</sup> Such widespread popularity in the Trieste region points to the extent of a Slovene cultured middle class that was alive to the idea of a Slovene nation. The *Novice* opened its first issue with a portrait of Franz Josef and Ban Jelačić respectively, thus emphasising the fact that Jelačić was also a hero for some Slovenes.<sup>334</sup> This way, Slovene nationalists

<sup>330</sup> Mauroner, *Questioni del giorno*, 17.

<sup>331</sup> Švoger, 'Das kroatische Pressewesen', in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band VIII/Teil 2: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft* (Vienna, 2006), 2154.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>333</sup> Rajšp, 'Das slowenische Pressewesen', in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band VIII/Teil 2: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft* (Vienna, 2006), 2247.

<sup>334</sup> *Novice*, no. 1 (1849).

emphasised their loyalty to the dynasty and their espousal of Yugoslavism, that is brotherhood between South Slavic people, which the *Slavjanski Rodoljub* of Trieste publicised.<sup>335</sup>

Croats upheld similar claims, which were also steeped in the recognition of the fundamental role of the Croatian nation amongst the several others of the Monarchy and its independence from Hungary within a framework of loyalty to the dynasty. These demands were intertwined with Zagreb's aspirations over Dalmatia, Fiume, and part of Istria.<sup>336</sup> Croatian pretensions to a greater South Slavic state led to the opposition of Hungary, in particular regarding the status of Fiume, which the circumstances of 1848 dramatically exacerbated. The port-city of Fiume, which represented for Hungary what Trieste was for Austria, presents a similar context to that of Trieste, inasmuch as both cities were multi-ethnic in nature and were led by an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie that had made its fortune through, and was still profiting from, Mediterranean and international traffics. Fiume in 1848 offers a completely different scenario to that of Trieste, the reasons for which will be the focus of the next chapter.

<sup>335</sup> See *Slavjanski Rodoljub* (1848-1849).

<sup>336</sup> *Agramer Zeitung*, July 4 (1848), in which modern-day Novigrad is called Cittanova. The fact that a Croatian nationalist paper, which was overt in its claims, did not call that town with its Slavic version bears testimony to the lack of Croatian aims over Istria.



### **3. Fiume or Rijeka: the city of Italian-speaking Slavs**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In 1867, Hungarian journalist Adolf Sternberg, who had first visited Fiume before 1848, marvelled at the fact that Fiuman Hungarian patriotism had become renowned in Hungary during the twenty-year period that separated him from his first visit to the port city. Although the “language, customs, and lifestyle [in Fiume] were foreign [to him]”, he commented with delight that “love for the common fatherland had developed to a superlative degree.”<sup>337</sup> At the same time, Sternberg was surprised to notice the difference between Fiume proper and its outskirts to the north-east, beyond the river Rječina. He attributed the difference to the fact that this was “the Croatian part of Fiume, and the difference [did] not appear only in the different language but also due to a different architecture of the houses [and] the layout of its city quarters”, thus proving a significant Slavic presence there.<sup>338</sup> Although he acknowledged the presence of Slavs in general on the coast, he did not refrain from calling the gulf of Kvarner - the gulf separating Istria from Dalmatia, on whose northernmost point Fiume is located - “the Hungarian sea,” a term which did not imply ethnic affiliation but allegiance to a multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary and the Empire.<sup>339</sup>

Reminiscing about the military band playing the Hungarian Rákóczy march in Fiume, he concluded his piece manifesting his dream of “all the parts of the Kingdom from the Carpathians to the Adriatic” singing the Hungarian anthem irrespective of their language.<sup>340</sup> Such hope seems contradictory insofar as it does not chime with the attempts at Magyarisation of the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy endorsed by central authorities in Budapest, and thus the imposition of

<sup>337</sup> Adolf Sternberg, ‘Schizzi fiumani’, *Gazzetta di Fiume*, September-October, 1867.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*

the Hungarian language on other nationalities. The Fiuman context highlights the complexity of multi-ethnic relations also in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy, which “have too often been reduced to sterile debates over the campaign of linguistic Hungarianization waged by the Hungarian state and its local officials.”<sup>341</sup> In Fiume, support for Hungary implied a guarantee for the preservation of the city’s autonomy as *corpus separatum* and special status as free port in the face of Croatian aims over the city. Although these tributes of loyalty that Fiumans paid to their Hungarian protectors were sarcastically ridiculed by Croats, local Hungarian sentiments embodied the reality of allegiances, naturally out of interest, beyond national affiliations.<sup>342</sup>

For, how could it be that Hungarians supported Fiuman autonomism while traditionally disregarding and infringing upon the rights of the other nations living within the Hungarian half of the Monarchy? And how was it possible that the leading citizens of a city like Fiume, whose majority was undeniably of Slavic origin, used the Italian language as a means to guarantee the autonomy of their city and loyalty to Hungary? The analysis here first focusses on the language question in Fiume amid the twenty-year long Croatian occupation of the city, starting in 1848, and later Fiuman attempts to restore Hungarian protection, for which the retention of Italian as the official municipal language was fundamental in order to emphasise Fiuman distinctiveness from the Croatian hinterland. While local support for Fiume’s autonomy under Hungarian patronage was an expression of the civic pride of the city, it had more to do with urban identity than adherence to the Hungarian crown. At the same time, the local urban identity had no Italian national connotations, which were a later development and, as Kirchner Reill has recently shown, were a ‘foreign’ import of D’Annunzio’s undertaking immediately after the First World War.<sup>343</sup>

<sup>341</sup> Robert Nemes, ‘Obstacles to nationalization on the Hungarian-Romanian language frontier’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 43 (2021), 29-30. Similarly, see László Marác, ‘Multilingualism in the Transleithanian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918): Policy and practice’, *Jezikoslovje* 13, 2 (2021), 269-298.

<sup>342</sup> See for example the Triestine paper *Il Cittadino* (1867), 30-1.

<sup>343</sup> See Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis*.

Fiume, at the northernmost point of the gulf of Kvarner, meeting point of the Istrian peninsula with the Croatian Littoral and Dalmatia proper, had been part of Austria since 1465.<sup>344</sup> Maria Theresia granted it to Hungary in 1779, after centuries in which the city had enjoyed municipal privileges thanks to the House of Habsburg.<sup>345</sup> Although in the nineteenth century the city could not compete with Trieste, having only 10,568 inhabitants in 1850, still fewer than 30,000 individuals in 1890, and 48,792 in 1910, by 1914 it had nonetheless become the tenth main port in continental Europe.<sup>346</sup> Notwithstanding the huge difference in the number of its inhabitants compared to Trieste, five times as populous, in the context of my research Fiume represents an extremely useful parallel for the study of Trieste, since the two cities shared several traits. They were both early Austrian acquisitions and experienced only very brief spells of Venetian rule in the sixteenth and fourteenth century respectively. Notwithstanding brief Venetian domination, Venetian hegemony in the eastern Adriatic triggered the emergence of Venetian colonial dialects in both cities, *Triestino* and *Fiumano*, on which Italian nationalists built their claims of the *italianità* of both port cities.<sup>347</sup>

A discussion of Fiume throughout the 1848-1867 period, when Croatian troops first occupied the city and Hungary eventually recovered its rights on it, offers several parallels for the study of Trieste in the same period. As Kirchner Reill noted, the context of Fiume's cohabitation of different national and religious communities under changing institutional arrangements is highly understudied.<sup>348</sup> It has only been the pre-eminent focus of the late Fiuman William Klinger's seminal works, which in turn have not been paid due attention by scholarly literature, and Kirchner Reill's most recent monograph, which focusses on the D'Annunzio experience. Klinger's research on the Fiuman autonomist movement between the late nineteenth century and the 1920s as well as his studies

<sup>344</sup> For a concise introduction to the history of Fiume see Kramer, *Die Italiener unter der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, 90.

<sup>345</sup> Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs*, 28.

<sup>346</sup> For Fiume, see Kramer, *Die Italiener*, 90; Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis*, 55, 138.

<sup>347</sup> For the early history of Fiume and the emergence of Venetian as the *lingua franca* in the eastern Adriatic, see the introduction to the thesis.

<sup>348</sup> Kirchner Reill, 'Book Review: 'L'Impero e il Golfo. Una ricerca bibliografica sulla politica degli Asburgo verso le province meridionali dell'impero negli anni 1815-1866'', *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2007).

of the repression unleashed by Titoist secret police in Fiume have seldom been cited by contemporary scholarly literature given the uncomfortable position of both Italy and Yugoslavia's successor states alike on these questions. Furthermore, the period here analysed has actually yet to be studied. It can be suggested that this is the case precisely because the development and forcefulness of the Fiuman autonomist stance debunks irredentist claims over the city; for Yugoslavia and modern-day Croatia, Titoist repression of the Italian-speaking communities of Fiume and the former Austrian Littoral is a thorny issue, since it undermines the legitimacy of both the Yugoslav state and the Croatian nation state.

As a consequence, the discussion here relies almost exclusively on the analysis of primary sources. By looking at the strife between autonomism and Croatian nationalism in Fiume, it is possible to draw a parallel with Trieste and its clash between autonomy and emerging nationalisms, since the history of their municipal autonomism and imperial allegiance to the House of Habsburg has been superseded by the national narratives fostered by Italian and Yugoslav (and, today, Croatian) nationalisms. In the Fiuman case, Croatian nationalists', and later Italian, encroachments make for an illuminating example of the arbitrariness of nationalist endeavours. For Croatian policies in Fiume ran counter to the principle underlying Fiuman municipal life, which saw a Slavic population, whose elites had opted for the Italian language as their own in the course of the nineteenth century, indifferent to Croatian nationalist stirrings.

### 3.2 Croatian historiography, the birth of modern Croatia and Fiuman autonomism

In the late eighteenth century, the idea of a greater Croatia under Habsburg rule emerged amongst Croatian elites.<sup>349</sup> The revolutions of 1848 boosted the development of Croatian nationalism. The dominant current, advocating union with Austria, was opposed by the Party of Right, which,

<sup>349</sup> Drakulic, 'Premodern Croatian Nationalism?', 540.



championing the historicity of Croatia's rights to nationhood, fought for Croatian independence not only from Hungary but also Habsburg rule.<sup>350</sup> Yet the limited appeal of the Party of Right within the Croatian national movement was exemplified by its depiction of two of the greatest Croatian national heroes, Zrinski and Jelačić, as traitors of the national cause for having served the Habsburg cause.<sup>351</sup> Today, in the context of mono-national states, it is more or less the national programme as promoted by the Party of Right that has obtained, which was eventually channelled into the Anti-Austrian propaganda of the time of the First World War centred on the dissolution of the Monarchy and the formation the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. As lucidly explained by Louis Gebhard in his study of the Habsburg navy and the tensions between Hungarians and Croats, Croatian traditional loyalty to the dynasty was jeopardised by the increasing weight that the Magyar aristocracy obtained after the *Ausgleich* of 1867.

Apart from Catholic Croats in Ottoman Bosnia, almost all Croats lived in Habsburg territories with distinct political configurations.<sup>352</sup> Notwithstanding the fact that the demands of the Croatian parliament, the *sabor*, to the Hungarian diet appeared to be similar to modern nationalist understandings of the Croat nation, the requests were triggered by Slavic opposition to Hungarian encroachments and the attempt to unite the peoples of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia in a Slavic political configuration within the Monarchy.<sup>353</sup> According to Drakulic, "the Austrian, Venetian, and Hungarian rule furthered anti-German, anti-Italian, and anti-Magyar sentiments, furthering Pan-Slav, Illyrian, and Croatian affinities."<sup>354</sup> Drakulic followed in Yves Tomić's footsteps, who had focussed on the Croatian strife to "contest imperial tutelage on the basis of the past of [a Croatian] medieval state."<sup>355</sup> While anti-Habsburg resentment was not generally found amongst Croats but rather their

<sup>350</sup> Gross, 'Croatian national-integrational ideologies'.

<sup>351</sup> Ivo Goldstein, 'The use of history: Croatian historiography and politics', *Helsinki Monitor* (1994), 86.

<sup>352</sup> Drago Roksandić, 'Controversies on Cultural Orientation in the "Croatian National Renewal": German Language and Culture in Croatian everyday life, 1835-1848', in C. Ingrao and F. Szabo (eds.), *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, IN, 2007), 136-7.

<sup>353</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 181.

<sup>354</sup> Drakulic, 'Premodern Croatian Nationalism?', 527.

<sup>355</sup> Tomić, 'Le mouvement nationale croate au XIXe siècle', 463.

Serbian neighbours, Croats repeatedly manifested their opposition to the Hungarian Crown. Anti-Austrian sentiments were not a paramount feature of the lands constituting modern-day Croatia. For emphasis on these sentiments fails to explain the prominent role played by Croats in 1848 and Croatian loyalty to the Habsburgs until the end of the Monarchy in 1918. At the same time, animosity against past Venetian colonial rule did exist, but, as Kirchner Reill has shown, was not as widespread as Slavic historiography has suggested. For it would not account for the development of Dalmatian autonomism, born out of the acknowledgment of the Venetian legacy, or the involvement of several Slavic-Dalmatians in the defence of Venice in 1848-1849. Croatian nationalism developed instead as a response to Hungarian hegemony in the region. Its foundational principles laid bare two diverging aspects of national movements, which were nonetheless not mutually exclusive: the birth of nations rooted in proto-national sentiments, highlighted by Anthony Smith's studies of nationalism, as well as the constructed nature of national movements, which becomes apparent when applied to the Fiuman context.

The cogency of national differences in the diverse unfolding of the events of 1848 was bound up with the specific conditions at the regional level. Throughout Europe, "national and regional complexities determin[ed] the revolutionary outcome in each country or region."<sup>356</sup> Given its numerous centuries-old statutes and privileges affecting not only its various crownlands but also individual districts and cities, the Habsburg Monarchy, and Hungary in particular, did not possess administrative uniformity.<sup>357</sup> Hence the very different repercussions and developments that the revolutions of 1848 had throughout the respective parts of the Monarchy. According to Kirchner Reill, "the difference between revolutionary Europe (typified in the Adriatic by Venice's fight against Austria) and the Habsburg-loyal regions of Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia was something many locals

<sup>356</sup> Pogge von Strandmann, '1848-1849: A European Revolution?', in R.J.W. Evans and H. Pogge von Strandmann (eds.), *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849* (Oxford, 2000), 4.

<sup>357</sup> Barany, 'Ungarns Verwaltung: 1848-1918', 322.

celebrated, happy to be spared the pain and hardships of war.”<sup>358</sup> The relative calmness also reflects the generally positive attitude of many political activists throughout different parts of the Monarchy once the Habsburgs responded to the uprisings with constitutional promises. Notwithstanding manifestations of solidarity for the Republic of St Mark, with activists joining the revolutionaries in Venice from as far as Montenegro, these territories did not experience substantial disturbances.<sup>359</sup>

Two hundred Dalmatians heeded Venetian calls of aid, with personalities like Niccolò Tommaseo from Sibenik, Federico Seismit-Doda from Dubrovnik, and the physician Demetrio Mircovich from Kotor playing leading roles in the revolutionary city.<sup>360</sup> Nevertheless, Dalmatians did not revolt on their native soil. Only Fiume, the nearby counterpart of Trieste in the Hungarian half of the Empire, witnessed significant turmoil, since it found itself in the middle of clashes between Hungary and Croatia, fuelled by the fact that, as one of the major Triestine newspapers explained in July 1848, “amongst all Slavs the desire for independence from Hungary [seethed].”<sup>361</sup> Yet disturbances in Fiume were triggered by actors who were foreign to the city. The fact that the city had been subject to Hungary since the days of Maria Theresia, although it was surrounded on land by a Croatian hinterland, made for a complex situation. Perhaps, the Fiuman context can be taken as exemplary of the intricate nature of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, which Istvan Deàk expertly analysed. Fiume did not experience animosity either against the Habsburgs or Hungary but against Croatian encroachments aimed at abolishing the privileges that union with Hungary guaranteed. In order better to contextualise what happened in Fiume in 1848, it is necessary first to introduce the situation throughout the Monarchy and the clash between Hungary and Croatia.

<sup>358</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation* 194.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>360</sup> Vrandečić, *The Autonomist Movement in Nineteenth-Century Austrian Dalmatia*, 98.

<sup>361</sup> *Il Telegrafo della Sera*, no. 17, July 29 (1848).

### 3.3 The Croat-Hungarian dispute over Fiume

The Fiuman question reached its peak as it became central to discussions between Hungarian and Croatian representatives meeting in Pest in 1866, the year before the Austro-Hungarian Settlement of 1867 and two years before the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement of 1868 (*nagodba* in Croatian), as well as the topic of various pamphlets published in several different languages. The Croatian-Hungarian Compromise came into existence one year after the Austro-Hungarian Settlement of 1867, the *Ausgleich*. It soon proved to be

one of the most controversial legal articles in the history of Croatian and Hungarian joint state. Dalmatia was formally and legally a constituent part of the Hungarian and Croatian state union, but in reality it was a territory under Austrian control. The status of the city of Rijeka remained unsolved. As two countries could not agree on the status of Rijeka, they left the problem to be solved by the Austro-Hungarian emperor. He decided that Rijeka would be a “temporary” special body affiliated to the Hungarian crown.<sup>362</sup>

The relevance given to Fiume in the political disputes of the time lays bare the peculiarity of Fiume’s position, which was also acknowledged by the Croatian contenders. Notwithstanding their claims over the city, Croatian publicists made it clear that Fiume stood out from the cohort of the other adjacent Croatian cities. Furthermore, the main argument in favour of Fiume’s purported Croatian identity was provided by its geography, in that its hinterland belonged to Croatia, more precisely to the Lika region north west of Dalmatia proper. This was the claim of the delegation of the Croatian diet, the *sabor*, that in April 1866 met with the Hungarian parliament in Pest “in order”, so the Croatian deputation put it, “to settle the ancient relationship between the two nations on the

<sup>362</sup> Tvrtko J. Čelan, ‘A Historical Geographical Analysis of the Development of the Croatian-Hungarian Border’, *Modern Geografija*, 14 (2014), 81.

ground of a new agreement. [...] On that occasion, the Hungarian delegation advanced rights on Fiume that history has never known.”<sup>363</sup> Such is the tone of the foreword to the Croat delegation’s reply to Hungarians, rooted in the contention over the city of Fiume. Whether Fiume was a pretext for a wider confrontation, it did become the centre of the dispute between the two kingdoms, a bone of contention that throughout the second half of the nineteenth century perpetuated the clash of 1848. Discussions about authority over Fiume, triggered by competing nationalisms, were set within a framework of loyalty to the House of Habsburg, which made the question of allegiances so complicated. The dispute centred on the different interpretations that Hungarians and Croats gave to the various statutes concerning Fiume’s and Croatia’s respective positions within the Kingdom of Hungary. A subtle argument of the Croat delegation was that the words redacted between 1776 and 1779, that is, “*Sacrae regni Hungariae coronae adnexum corpus*”, used to refer to Fiume, did not “exclude the direct incorporation of Fiume to Croatia, but indicate[d] only its annexation to the sacred Hungarian crown, of which also the Kingdom of Croatia was part.”<sup>364</sup> Hence the legitimate claims of Croatia over Fiume, since “in 1776”, as Croatians maintained, “Fiume was incorporated with its territory directly to Croatia [...] and through this to the Hungarian crown.”<sup>365</sup>

The Croatian delegation proposed the abolition of all Fiuman privileges, as they would defy the supposed unity of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. Croatian upholders of the incorporation of Fiume to Croatia argued that, “since the *Triregnum* had its legislative and administrative autonomy in political affairs, the judiciary, education and worship, no doubt could arise regarding the fact that Fiume ha[d] to partake in the same legislation and have the same supreme administration as the *Triregnum*.”<sup>366</sup> The delegates continued on the same tone, claiming that “Fiume, as integral part of Croatia, [could not] be in any political relationship with Hungary, apart from that

<sup>363</sup> *Risposta della Deputazione regnicolare croata concernente la Città di Fiume ed il suo territorio* (Trieste, 1867), 3.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

for which the whole Triregnum [was] willing”, although from the legal point of view their claims were haphazard.<sup>367</sup> The integrity of Croatia was at stake, as it would be undermined by any other form of relationship which “would contradict”, so Croatians maintained, “not only the geographical position of the country, but also the ethnographic basis of the city of Fiume and its territory.”<sup>368</sup> Yet the premise for such claim was founded on the weak argument that “the population around Fiume and the lower classes of the same city [were] essentially of Croat nationality”, proving at the same time that their arguments were based neither on historical reasons nor legal issues. Also, as Hodimir Sirotković underlined, although Croatian nationalists were much concerned with “the territorial integrity of the kingdom”, the formula they used themselves and which Sirotković conjured, the Triregnum as they conceived it actually never existed.<sup>369</sup> As it stood, it was only an aspiration that did not materialize until 1918, in that Dalmatia had never been part of the Kingdom of Croatia, but since 1797, after four centuries of Venetian rule and with the exception of the Napoleonic interlude, had been under the direct jurisdiction of Vienna.<sup>370</sup>

At the same time, although considering the annexation fully legitimate, the Croatian delegates conceded that the incorporation of Fiume had been stormy, since Fiume “was and is part and parcel of [the Triregnum], and therefore”, they argued, “there was neither conquest nor violence in that act [of occupation] [...] through which at that time the recalcitrant public authorities [of the city] were brought to heel with adequate means.”<sup>371</sup> At the heightening of tensions in 1867, these means were employed again. Antonio Felice Giacich, local physician and city councillor, was targeted by Croatian authorities for having constantly asserted “the rights and autonomy of [his] most beloved Fiume.”<sup>372</sup> On 18 February 1867, Fiumans took to the streets to celebrate the formation of the Hungarian Diet,

<sup>367</sup> *Risposta della Deputazione regnicolare croata*, 22-3.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>369</sup> Hodimir Sirotković, ‘Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien’, in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie II* (Vienna: 1975), 470; Tomić, ‘Le mouvement nationale croate’, 464..

<sup>370</sup> Sirotković, ‘Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien’, 470.

<sup>371</sup> *Risposta della Deputazione regnicolare croata*, 24.

<sup>372</sup> Antonio Felice Giacich, ‘Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume dal giorno dell'occupazione dei Croati nel 1848’, *Gazzetta di Fiume*, April 27 (1861), 8-9.

prelude to the *Ausgleich*. The following day, Giacich, together with two other fellow citizens, was put in jail by Croatian authorities with the accusation of “public disturbance”, although the real reason was his opposition to encroachments from Zagreb in the affairs of Fiume; this way, “it was not the agitator whom they were attempting to crush”, as he put it, “but the sincere, frank upholder of direct annexation to the crown of St Stephen [that is Hungary].”<sup>373</sup> As to Habsburg officials and newspapers in Vienna, they understood the need for being cautious, in order not to dissatisfy any side. Conscious of the fundamental role played by Jelačić in crushing the Hungarian revolution and saving Vienna and the Monarchy, he was “rarely referred to as a “Croat”, but rather in terms of his heroic service as an imperial officer”, thus emphasising the supranational nature of the Monarchy; his Croat identity usually appeared “only in relation to his political office as “Ban of Croatia.”<sup>374</sup>

The Croat delegation did not deny the reality of Fiuman opposition to annexation to Croatia through public demonstrations. Yet they suggested that such feelings against Croatia had been surreptitiously introduced into the city, as they disapprovingly wondered “in what manner [and] through what means ... those manifestations had found their way in the public”, making them liable of being questioned in “their intrinsic value”.<sup>375</sup> Hence, the Croatization of Fiume was deemed a legitimate endeavour, since Fiumans would thus return to their motherland.<sup>376</sup> Giacich did not exaggerate when he stated that Bunjevac, whom he described as “intolerant to anything that did not smack of typically Croatian or did not wish to do so”, contrived the Croatization of the city.<sup>377</sup> Before the actual occupation of the city in 1848, Bunjevac had “assured the rights to propriety, personal freedom, and [the Italian] language”, thus confirming that the preservation of Italian was one of the main concerns for the leading citizens of Fiume.<sup>378</sup> Only two years later, Jelačić’s visit to Fiume in

<sup>373</sup> Giacich, *Il mio ringraziamento all’uscire dalle carceri* (Trieste, 1867), 3-4.

<sup>374</sup> Newman and Scheer, ‘The Ban Jelačić Trust’, 158.

<sup>375</sup> *Risposta della Deputazione regnicolare croata*, 24.

<sup>376</sup> ‘Lettere di un Fiumano sulla questione di Fiume’, *Il Cittadino* (1867), 23.

<sup>377</sup> Giacich, ‘Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume’.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*

1850 elicited the formulaic manifestations of respect from the city's representatives and the municipal employees. It was on this occasion that the father of the Croatian nation rebuked the representatives "for having heard Evviva! on the streets, usual and sole expression of rejoicing and salute that used to resound in Fiume", expressing his wish that the Fiuman people used the Slavic formula *živio* instead.<sup>379</sup>

An anonymous Fiuman supporting annexation to Croatia expressed his consternation at his fellow citizens' enthusiastic support for Hungary. He did so in the *Lettere di un Fiumano sulla questione di Fiume* [A Fiuman's letters on the question of Fiume], published by the Triestine paper *Il Cittadino*, which was in favour of the Italian annexation of Trieste and strove to uphold "the principle of nationality also for Fiume", thus showing support for the attachment of the latter to Croatia, since it was not the *Ausgleich*, the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, but the later Croatian-Hungarian settlement of 1868 that resolved the question in favour of Hungary and Fiuman autonomy.<sup>380</sup> In pursuit of the nationality principle, "the noble perseverance [of the editorial staff] cause[d] material losses to [their] journalistic enterprise."<sup>381</sup> It is legitimate to wonder whether the Croatian national movement enjoyed widespread appeal in the city. In this public letter aimed at the Italian-speaking audience of the Littoral, the anonymous Fiuman author presented arguments for the annexation of Fiume to Croatia, as the pre-eminent question was "the territorial integrity of the [Croatian] kingdom."<sup>382</sup> Although arguing that compared to Hungarian rule union with Croatia would be a better means to guarantee Fiuman autonomy, at the same time he put forward the idea that Fiume's autonomy had to give way to union with Croatia, on the ground that "autonomy of a province, even if complete and real, must cede to the principle of nationality."<sup>383</sup> For, "nobody can deny the

<sup>379</sup> Giacich, 'Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume'.

<sup>380</sup> 'Lettere di un Fiumano sulla questione di Fiume', 27.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.* 21; see also Sirotković, 'Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien'.

<sup>383</sup> 'Lettere di un Fiumano', 6.



fact that Fiume”, so the author reiterated, “had been Liburnic land, Slavic, and therefore Croatian land.”<sup>384</sup>

He did concede that in Fiume there were Italian families, contributing to about a thousand people of the total population of the city. Yet they had settled there from elsewhere and therefore, according to him, the adoption of the Italian language in Fiume would be an imposition “on the majority of Fiumans, who [were] of Croatian nationality, preventing them from using their mother-tongue.”<sup>385</sup> As evidence for this, the author cited the fact that throughout the city even imprecations against the Croatian state were voiced in Croatian, “since [Fiumans did] not know any other language.”<sup>386</sup> The very same song that stated that Fiume was Hungarian and that Croats should leave the city was paradoxically chanted in Croatian, as it recited “Reka je majarska”, that is “Fiume is Hungarian”, *Reka* standing for the Slavic version of Fiume before the standardisation of the name in *Rijeka*. Given that Fiumans were of Slavonic stock, the author asserted that “union with Croatia would be a return to the motherland.”<sup>387</sup> The appeal exercised by Italian culture was consequently reduced to the regional commercial ties with the Italian peninsula, since Fiume was “a purely mercantile city, which”, as the author argued, “because of its situation, conduct[ed] the majority of its trade with nearby Italy – enticed by the material gains ensuing from the latter.”<sup>388</sup> As a consequence, Fiume, through “several Italian families that had settled [there], learnt the customs of the cultured and civilised Italians.”<sup>389</sup> Therefore, “that attachment to one’s own nation, which”, in line with nationalist ideology, he maintained, “form[ed] the cornerstone of every political development, amongst the Fiumans had gradually disappeared.”<sup>390</sup>

<sup>384</sup> ‘Lettere di un Fiumano’, 19. The Liburns were the people that inhabited the northern reaches of Dalmatia before the Roman conquest of the region.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.* 9-10, 23.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.* 11.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*

He mocked Fiumans, who “at public gatherings, show[ed] up wearing the Hungarian national dress, but apart from the word *eljen* [that is ‘to pay’], [did] not understand a jot of the Hungarian language”, thus implying that Fiuman attachment to Budapest was based merely on economic considerations. He could not understand “how Fiumans [could] show such enthusiasm for Hungary, whose land [...] have never seen, with whose people they have no relationship, if rare, and whose language is as unknown to them as Chinese.”<sup>391</sup> He also wondered what reasons there were for opposing union with Croatia and supporting instead that with Hungary, questioning what he defined as Fiume’s “illusory municipal autonomy.”<sup>392</sup> The author could not approve of the position of Fiuman autonomists, insofar as, “they believe[d] that the most appropriate means to preserve autonomy [was] to yield to the domination of a *foreign nation*.”<sup>393</sup> He even stated that if the upholders of Fiume’s autonomy “had been sincere and fair, if someone had saddled themselves with the task of educating the less intelligent people, if the authorities [...] had been able to make the nation respected and instil a sense of nationality in the Fiumans, [he was] convinced that the situation of Fiume would now be completely different from the present one.”<sup>394</sup> For, according to him, Fiumans had “sacrificed the sentiment of nationality” to material interests.<sup>395</sup> He went on explaining the national question in Fiume in the following terms:

Since Fiume is placed on the borders between diverse provinces, surrounded by various nations, its inhabitants, used to making use of different languages in their daily relations with these, could not harbour in their souls that sentiment of nationality, which amongst other peoples remains ingrained as the sentiment of their own existence and the stimulus to their own conservation.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>391</sup> ‘Lettere di un Fiumano’, 30-1.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.* 6

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.* 11.

Italian language and culture in Fiume were portrayed as an illegitimate presence by Croatian authorities and sympathizers, while, by contrast, Dalmatian autonomism was, if not justified, at least grudgingly understood.<sup>397</sup> Similarly, Hungary's rule was thus seen as illegitimate and conducive to undermining the very same existence of the Kingdom of Croatia. Contrary to Croatian attempts to delegitimise Hungarian claims over Fiume, in the words of the Hungarian historian László Szalay, "Hungary ha[d] always looked on this splendid jewel of its crown with pride; it did not want or could not conceive any future of the country, any development of the state, without Fiume."<sup>398</sup> It was the Croat pretensions over Fiume that were historically flawed, and therefore illegitimate, not the Hungarian, since "the city of Fiume", the historian explained, "having been declared a free-port, signed the Pragmatic Sanction as an independent territory", privilege granted with the statutes of 1530.<sup>399</sup> Writing in 1858, twelve years since his last visit to the port city, years during which Szalay had often nostalgically recalled "the beautiful days he was fortunate to spend among the Fiumans in 1846."<sup>400</sup> He was there on 20th August, during the celebrations of the birth of the Kingdom of Hungary, when Fiumans demonstrated their loyalty to the Hungarian crown through several tokens of fidelity and "when the Hungarian flag waved so joyfully on the wharf."<sup>401</sup>

### 3.4 The Croatian occupation of Fiume on 30 August 1848

Yet the events of 1848 appeared to justify local wariness of identifying with the Croatian nation. With the Croat takeover of the city and the removal of the Hungarian administration, Jelačić, Ban of Croatia, aimed at integrating the port city within the Kingdom of Croatia. To this end, flags sporting the Slavic tricolour were waved throughout the city on 10 November 1848, when the suppression of the Viennese revolution was celebrated in Fiume with the display of the national colours of the South

<sup>397</sup> 'Lettere di un Fiumano', 6.

<sup>398</sup> László Szalay, *Fiume e la Dieta Ungarica* (Rijeka, 1861), 3.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.* 3-4.

Slavs, with “the red, white, and blue flag on the municipal banner”, as ordered by the Ban.<sup>402</sup> The display of the Slavic colours was seen as a token of Slavic support for the cause of Habsburg absolutism, “whose existence South Slavs had been drawn to support and prolong”, against the Hungarians, and, at the same time, as evidence for the sympathies of the city of Fiume for the Slavic cause, which were considered as “natural, by virtue of its geographical position and ethnic affinity”.<sup>403</sup> Two months earlier, on 14 September, the Ban had held the first Croatian National Congress held in Fiume, with the overt aim of asserting the Croatian identity of the city.<sup>404</sup>

Even the main Slavic paper of Dubrovnik, *L'Avvenire*, which, although published in Italian, was premised on its support of the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia, recounted that Fiume had unwillingly followed the Croatian cause.<sup>405</sup> As a contributor to *L'Avvenire* maintained, all the eastern Adriatic shores were Slavic. According to him, it was not true that “the coasts [of Istria were] inhabited by Italian people”.<sup>406</sup> “On all the coast”, so he maintained, “from the river Isonzo to Albania, the Slavic race exclusively lives, with the exception of a few families that are really Italian”.<sup>407</sup> Yet the only two cities that could not be considered entirely Slavic were Trieste and Fiume. While “Trieste [did] not have any nationality, because all nationalities live[d] there and all languages [we]re spoken”, the contributor admitted that “Fiume had been forced to join the Croatian cause.”<sup>408</sup>

As a Fiuman newspaper explained, in the gulf of Kvarner the clash between Croatia and Hungary in 1848 had been superimposed on local rivalries between Bakar and Fiume over the status as principal port of the region.<sup>409</sup> The nearby town of Bakar, about ten miles to the south-east of

<sup>402</sup> *Telegrafo della Sera* (1848).

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>405</sup> For the Dalmatian press, see Vlasta Švoger, ‘Das kroatische Pressewesen’, in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 VIII*, 2 (Vienna, 2006).

<sup>406</sup> *L'Avvenire*, no. 117 (1849).

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>409</sup> *L'Eco di Fiume* (1857).

Fiume, retained some relevance thanks to its shipyards. Yet it had not been granted the same privileges as Fiume and Trieste. The *Avvenire* even described Bakar as “a hotbed of Croatian sentiments”.<sup>410</sup> The people of Bakar had been active in the Croatian occupation of Fiume in 1848.<sup>411</sup> The population of Fiume was pressured to join the Croatian cause by the National Guard of Bakar, which constituted the vanguard of the Croatian troops that took possession of Fiume, as recalled by Giacich.<sup>412</sup> The Fiuman observer described them as a rabble of peasants from nearby villages of the interior, which he portrayed as “a multitude of villagers wearing red caps”, together with the National Guard of Bakar, “armed in various and strange ways”.<sup>413</sup> The discomfited Giacich recalled the distant times when these very same people “humble and industrious, would obtain their livelihood in [that] very square, which they [now] invaded with so much insecurity but also [...] insolent arrogance”.<sup>414</sup>

About a decade after the events of 1848, a correspondent, who ran a monthly column on local questions, entitled *Vagabondo fiumano* [Fiuman wanderer], joined by other fellow citizens, visited an inn in Bakar where he found a portrait of the inn-keeper, armed with a rifle and pistols, carrying an inscription which read “the leader of the National Guard of Bakar at the occupation of Fiume on 30 August 1848”.<sup>415</sup> The view of the painting annoyed the Fiuman, as, according to him, it perpetuated “the unhappy municipal challenges between the two sister cities.”<sup>416</sup> The rivalry had been exacerbated by what he dismissively termed recent “divergencies of opinion over the planning of a Croatian railway”, since both cities were among its possible terminals.<sup>417</sup> The public exhibition of the painting was perceived by the Fiuman as an offence to the neighbouring Fiumans as well as an obstacle to the future “long desired harmony.”<sup>418</sup> The fact that the people of Bakar proved susceptible

<sup>410</sup> *L'Avvenire*, no. 17 (1849).

<sup>411</sup> *Telegrafo della Sera* (1848).

<sup>412</sup> *L'Eco di Fiume* (1857); Giacich, ‘Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume’.

<sup>413</sup> Giacich, ‘Reminiscenze storiche’.

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>415</sup> *L'Eco di Fiume*, no. 40 (1857).

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

to Croatian nationalist stirrings might well point to the constructed nature of nationalism as originating in vested interests rooted in local rivalries.

Croatian authorities, which had severed Fiume's ties with Hungary in 1848, allegedly began implementing measures aimed at suppressing the city's autonomy after the relative calm of the 1850s, for which the introduction of Croatian in schools and the administration was given as proof.<sup>419</sup> In early February 1861, the appointment as municipal commissar of a man who had become unpopular in town for his ambiguous behaviour of 1848, which led to the removal of Hungarian authorities and the incorporation of Fiume to Croatia, had caused people to take to the streets.<sup>420</sup> They asked for the appointment of another man who was considered more fit for service. The Croatian Ban acceded to the requests and provisionally had certain Giovanni Martini appointed. Lord Bloomfield, British ambassador at Vienna, reported that "the incident at Fiume may be the signal for other similar proceedings", pointing to its unsettling novelty for the Monarchy as a sign of incipient widespread dissatisfaction with the Vienna authorities, due to their inability to bind Croats to the decrees sanctioning the rights pertaining to the various nationalities of the Monarchy.<sup>421</sup> Croats were accused of defying these by supposedly not respecting the language and culture of Fiume through the introduction of Croatian in the city's public life. At the same time, while denying allegations of Italian leanings, Giacich caustically wondered whether "these were the first steps that Croatian wisdom took to approach Fiumans [...] [and whether] they were coherent with the promise made to [nearby] Dalmatians to respect the Italian language."<sup>422</sup>

<sup>419</sup> Giacich, 'Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume'.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>421</sup> The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), PRO 30/22/40/79, Lord Bloomfield, 14 February 1861.

<sup>422</sup> Giacich, 'Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume'.

### 3.5 Fiuman particularism and support for Hungary

If the preservation of Fiuman autonomy and municipal privileges were premised on the conservation of the Italian language, which Fiuman autonomists argued had been guaranteed by Hungary, notwithstanding Budapest's policies centred on the Magyarization of the other Hungarian lands, accusations of Fiuman support for Garibaldi and a future Italian state were unfounded and had been invented in order "to exert rigour and pressures to [the autonomists'] detriment."<sup>423</sup> The introduction of Croatian in the local administration and education were seen as a threat by that part of the urban elite that professed Italian not only as its own language but also as the medium of the entire city. Reliance on newspapers should not lead us to believe in the trope of an Italian Fiume subjected to Croatian oppression, a perspective that would chime with the widespread nationalist Italian rhetoric of 1919.<sup>424</sup> Although several of the urban administrators during the twenty-year period of Croatian rule did remain culturally, if not originally, Italian, they still represented a minority. Indeed, even during the previous decade, the cultural identity of the city still appeared to be unspecified even in the eyes of supporters of the Italian language. Not only foreign observers but also local opponents of Croatian rule concurred that the city was in fact Slavic and not intrinsically Italian, contrary to the conjecture of later Italian nationalists.

Writing about the supposed rift within the city into opposing parties as exposed by a correspondent of the Triestine paper *Il Cittadino*, which had already shown support for the Croatian annexation of Fiume, Ludwig von Südenhorst, chief editor of the newly born *Gazzetta di Fiume*, argued that if there was a second party besides the autonomist, the latter being loyal to Hungary, there was the attempt "to form it out of those employees who, having arrived after 1848, intruded in the

<sup>423</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale diretto a Sua Eccellenza Giovanni Mazuranich* (Rijeka, 1862), 5.

<sup>424</sup> See, for example *Per il Diritto Italico di Fiume* (Bologna, 1919) and *Fiume: The Rights and Duties of Italy* (Rome, 1919), which were drafted and signed by hundreds of professors and students of the universities of Bologna and Rome respectively.

administrative territory of Fiume, but this [would] never have the right to be called a Fiuman party, as in this there were only Croatian employees come from outside and not Fiuman citizens.”<sup>425</sup> Such was the conviction of the chief editor who directed the newly born paper, heir to the previous *Gazzetta di Fiume*, the last political paper to be shut down by Croatian authorities in 1861, which its editorial board had defined as “decidedly municipal, autonomist, and supporting civic aspirations”.<sup>426</sup>

It was in this Fiuman context that Charles Laver, who became British consul at Trieste in 1867, set a considerable part of his novel *That Boy of Norcott's*. The protagonist's adventures took place within the commercial class of the city, among leading traders and their employees. The picture that is offered is one of a Slavic-German world whose members nonetheless identified as ‘Fiumani’ (in Italian in the text).<sup>427</sup> Although a fictional account, the novel appeared to be in line with previous descriptions of the urban environment. During his travels in the eastern Adriatic in 1848, Andrew Archibald Paton, who would become British consul at Dubrovnik in 1862, briefly stopped at Fiume. There, he observed that the population of the city spoke Italian and Slavic indifferently and that nowhere “is the great question between the Magyar and Slavic nationalities discussed with more complete impartiality than at Fiume; for if the natives of this city [were] Slavs by national sympathy, their material interests [were] much dependent on the Magyars.”<sup>428</sup> His description of Fiume's population, numerically smaller and still less affected by immigration than the Triestine, was echoed a decade later by Giacich in the *Almanacco Fiumano*, a periodical published in Italian from 1857 to 1860.

<sup>425</sup> *Gazzetta di Fiume*, no. 50 (1867).

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*; Giacich, ‘Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume’.

<sup>427</sup> Charles Laver, *That Boy of Norcott's* (London, 1869).

<sup>428</sup> Andrew Archibald Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Province of the Austrian Empire. Vol. 1* (London, 1849), 211-2.



Here, Giacich wrote that “with the exception of immigrations, [Fiumans were] indeed of Slavic origin and stock”, yet Italian was their language.<sup>429</sup> He presented his city as having “special conditions” that made it necessary to conciliate “official decrees, the various relations between the neighbouring peoples, trade, the various businesses, and the navy.”<sup>430</sup> This necessity made it foremost “to promote, for the moment at least, the cultivation of three languages: the Slavic, the Italian and also the German.”<sup>431</sup> The choice of teaching these three languages in the context of Fiume had to be in line with their respective relevance in relation to the benefit for the city and the obligations towards the different nationalities. These obligations were, he maintained, “not to be neglected or even less stifled.”<sup>432</sup> To confirm that Italian was not indigenous to the city, he stated that “if there is a strong interest in the Italian language, the desire to obtain the means for its study should be similarly strong; quite the contrary, its development remains little and imperfect, like that of an exotic plant that does not adapt well to a foreign land.”<sup>433</sup> The weakness of the endeavours made to diffuse the Italian language within the local population had led to a situation in which,

after centuries, neither a pure language nor a distinct dialect was attained to, while the Slavic language maintains its own characteristic features that the unfolding of polyglottism could not disperse [...] Notwithstanding such unfavourable conditions, the Slavic language persists, as there are no neighbourhoods, lands or naturalised families where it is more or less known or used. The same does not apply to Italian, since, lacking a good, specific, old school, one immediately detects in dialogues and writings a language that smacks of something different to Italian; one notes phrases, accents, and the syntax of Slavic origin and character with, sometimes, German notes.<sup>434</sup>

<sup>429</sup> Giacich, ‘Sull’insegnamento delle lingue in Fiume’, *Almanacco Fiumano* (Rijeka, 1860), 41.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>432</sup> *Ibid.* 42.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*

Although in Fiume and surrounding towns, “people, with the exception of immigration, are clearly of Slavic origin and race,” he also maintained that “nevertheless, extensive use is made of the Italian language, and in some places of the vernacular [that is Venetian], since time immemorial.”<sup>435</sup> This phenomenon was the reason for the use of Italian “in courts, theatres, in the majority of written texts and correspondences [...] as if it was one’s own language, while the Slavic, mother-tongue of many, [was] disregarded.”<sup>436</sup> Yet, the author lamented, Italian was not taught satisfactorily in the schools of Fiume. Since language teachers of the multi-national Empire were required to know two languages, there were no native Italians who knew both German and Slavic, “but a lot of Germans and Slavs with some knowledge of Italian.”<sup>437</sup> Giacich ended his piece by taking Trieste as the example to follow. There, schools had hired native Italian teachers hailing from the Italian peninsula, who were thus more suitable for the instruction of the language, “although” Giacich argued, “in that town, claimed by many as Italian, [the measure] should not have appeared that necessary.”<sup>438</sup> His concluding remarks emphasised an even greater need for similar measures in Fiume, since, compared to Triestines, Fiumans, he discussed, “[were] farther from Italy, of different stock to it, and more heterogenous than the Italian elements.”<sup>439</sup> Through Giacich’s piece, we see Fiumans’ perceptions of Trieste as reference point for Fiume, a city with similar conditions and which did not appear as intrinsically Italian. Rather, Italian culture had to be transplanted also to Trieste from the Italian peninsula.

By 1867, the local gymnasium had been Croatian for six years, during which the Italian language was not taught publicly.<sup>440</sup> We see, thus, the autonomists’ emphasis on their right to use the Italian language not as a token of their Italian nationality, or originating from their desire to join the

<sup>435</sup> Giacich, ‘Sull’insegnamento delle lingue in Fiume’, 43.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.* 45-6.

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid.* 47.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>440</sup> *Gazzetta di Fiume*, no. 54 (1867).

newly formed Kingdom of Italy after 1861, but as an unmistakable feature of the uniqueness of the city of Fiume amidst other Croatian cities. Knowledge of Italian was not the premise for an Italian national identity of the city. Actually, as the local paper *Gazzetta di Fiume* noted, the neglect of instruction in Italian had meant pupils' grasp of the language insufficient for work, all the more so since in Fiume "in any branch of activity they were to be employed, they [had] to use largely that language."<sup>441</sup> Eventually, the paper argued, Fiumans would be forced to "call foreign employees from Dalmatia or Italy for local needs", thus also alluding to the fact that in Dalmatia the Italian language was not imperilled. In the specific Fiuman context, the systematic adoption of Italian as defining local identity was part and parcel of the attempt of the commercial and intellectual elites to set the city apart from the Croatian hinterland and thus assert cultural reasons, based on language, for its economic distinctiveness.<sup>442</sup>

Five years earlier, in 1862, Giacich had lamented in vain to governor Mazuranich, who would become Ban of Croatia a decade later, that entry to the local gymnasium was denied to those children who did not possess knowledge of the Croatian language, thus excluding use of Italian from public affairs. Italian was opposed notwithstanding the fact that the municipal assembly, "driven by sentiments of justice and equality, had wanted to found schools specifically for the Slavic language".<sup>443</sup> In his plea to Mazuranich, Giacich intended to submit a stance for Fiume's rights to autonomy as part of the Kingdom of Hungary. As a result, in the intervening years between 1848 and 1867, when the *Ausgleich*, or agreement with Hungary, restored the primacy of Hungary in Cisleithania with the formation of the Dual Monarchy, Croats were given a great deal of leeway by Vienna in the affairs of Croatia and Slavonia as well as what had been the Hungarian Littoral, where Fiume was located.

<sup>441</sup> *Gazzetta di Fiume*, no. 54 (1867).

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>443</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale diretto a Sua Eccellenza Giovanni Mazuranich*, 10.

As Giacich expounded in his plea, Fiume was negatively affected by the resulting policies aimed at fully integrating Fiume into the Croatian polity. These policies had been prompted by allegations of Fiuman leanings towards Italian annexation, which Giacich considered to have been invented in order to “exert rigour and pressures to [their] detriment.”<sup>444</sup> The Fiuman doctor goes on in discussing that recent developments had done nothing to delete these memories. For “the royal patents of 1859 [...] according to which His Majesty had established that the two nations, that is the Magyar and the Croat, had to negotiate on mutual deals, aroused among [Fiume’s] people the persuasion and desire to belong, as in the past, to the Crown of St. Stephen”, the guarantee for Fiume’s autonomy. Yet these expectations were soon deluded. Giacich explicitly revealed Fiume’s aspirations to return to the previous autonomy safeguarded by Hungary, in that in 1861 “electors did not vote deputies for the Croatian Diet, in order to act in accordance with their displays” and take “a diverging path with respect to Croatia.”<sup>445</sup> The petitioner insisted that Fiume, “as a signatory of the Pragmatic Sanction, could not and can still not be denied the right of beseeching its King to be annexed by this or that country, according to its leanings, sympathies, and interests.”<sup>446</sup> Note the wording of *Re*, that is King, rather than Emperor, which emphasises Fiume’s wish to be incorporated by the Kingdom of Hungary, since Emperor Franz Josef was officially King of Hungary. Giacich then resorted to Austrian laws, which did not provide that “there [was] no privileged deal for the strong, that is a kingdom, and another for the weak, that is a district.” The kingdom and the district in question were the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and the district of Fiume respectively. Since “they [were] both signatories of the Pragmatic Sanction”, Giacich shrewdly maintained, “there [could] not be much difference between Croatia and Fiume.”<sup>447</sup>

<sup>444</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale diretto a Sua Eccellenza Giovanni Mazuranich*, 5.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.* 4-5.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*

As a result of these policies and repressive measures, amongst which constraints on the use of the Italian language stood out, aimed at integrating Fiume into the Kingdom of Croatia, Fiume could not count either on a municipal representation or constitutional institutions. Giacich complained that “even the means to raise [their] complaints to the throne and any ministry [had been removed].”<sup>448</sup> The physician insisted that Mazuranich had to take into consideration the fundamental question concerning Fiume’s historical status as *corpus separatum* of the Hungarian crown which could not be incorporated “by any kingdom as its integral part without the explicit consent [of Fiume] or a formal law article”.<sup>449</sup> For this purpose, the Fiuman question had to be “re-examined again with rigour and justice,” Giacich continued, “and not by people on which Croatia’s public opinion and its journalism could exert whatsoever influence or pression, as had happened”.<sup>450</sup> The author went on in recalling the fruitless plea that the city’s representatives had sent to the commissar Vukotinovich. “The peace and tranquillity [of Fiume]”, so Giacich and the other delegates had written to Vukotinovich in 1862, “[had] been perturbed for fourteen years.”<sup>451</sup> Vukotinovich frankly responded that “this [was] a question of diplomacy, as [he had] two nations behind [him],” the Croat and the Hungarian.<sup>452</sup> Giacich fully understood that what was at stake was “principles of opportunity and convenience instead of the precepts of free justice”,<sup>453</sup> part and parcel of the vested interests inherent to nationalism. All Fiumans’ endeavours proved ineffective in the face of Croat interests until the Hungarians’ successful demands for the *Ausgleich* in 1867.

<sup>448</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale diretto a Sua Eccellenza Giovanni Mazuranich*, 9.

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.* 10-1.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

<sup>451</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale dei Rappresentanti di Fiume all' ill. sign. Ludovico Vucotinovich*, 18.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>453</sup> Giacich, *Memoriale diretto a Sua Eccellenza Giovanni Mazuranich*, 8.

### 3.6 Dalmatia as a benchmark for Fiuman particularism

The Dalmatian context, which will be discussed more in detail in the next chapter, helps to better make sense of the Fiuman and Triestine cases. For the discussions ongoing in the Dalmatian press exemplify the coexistence of the Italian and Croatian languages without necessarily any identification with an Italian culture on the part of Slavic Dalmatians using Italian as a medium of expression. Multi-lingualism in the region bears evidence to the fact that both languages were closely intertwined, and that in the case of Slavic political and intellectual elites Italian had constituted a fundamental medium of communication for centuries. The fact that the elites of Fiume deliberately pushed for use of Italian underlies the possibility of adopting languages that did not correspond to one's own cultural or ethnic identification. The Dalmatian paper *L'Avvenire*, published in Dubrovnik in 1848, represents a compelling case of the overlapping of different languages, cultures and sense of identification. Although it was one of the main Croatian national newspapers, it was published in Italian, a paradox that helps to make sense also of the odd language practices in Fiume to the north.<sup>454</sup>

The contradictory use of the Italian language by a newspaper that was known as advocating the Croatian national cause was pointed out by one of its readers, a certain Milorad Medaković, as a contradiction that showed “the little love that Dalmatians had for their Slavic nationality.”<sup>455</sup> As the chief editor, Ivan August Kasnačić, promptly replied, “all those who read newspapers in Dalmatia need[ed] to learn Slavic truths in Italian.”<sup>456</sup> Although Kirchner Reill has pointed to Kasnačić's endeavour “to tie Dalmatia's Italian and Slavic national cultures together”, thus including him within the Dalmatian autonomist movement, the purposes of *L'Avvenire* appeared to be pre-eminently nationalistic.<sup>457</sup> For Kasnačić made clear that his paper “assumed this maybe painful, yet practically

<sup>454</sup> Švoger, ‘Das kroatische Pressewesen’, 97.

<sup>455</sup> *L'Avvenire*, 10 February 1849.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>457</sup> Cf. Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 220.

necessary task” of illuminating the Italian readership of Dalmatia on Croatian questions.<sup>458</sup> Kasnačić did state that the aims of his paper coincided with the intentions of the Triestine *La Favilla*, to which he had contributed with articles from 1840 to 1842,<sup>459</sup> in the objective of “reconciling the Italian element to the Slavic”.<sup>460</sup>

The main purpose was to “illuminate Italy on the condition of a great nation, [the Slavic], whose”, so he continued, “literary and political surge ha[d] attracted the interest of whole Europe in the recent times.”<sup>461</sup> Several issues of *L’Avvenire* in 1849 were devoted to the “examination of the Slavic political questions”. In these pieces, the contributor asserted that “the rapid development of Slavism everywhere, the national war started by the Serbs, the increasing reputation and huge preparations of Ban Jelačić, and especially the efforts of patriots, made the Slavic party prevail over Italophile and bureaucratic intrigues in many places.”<sup>462</sup> The nationalist stance can well be evinced by the rest of the article. For, “the people, once instructed on its real interests,” so it goes, “could not be deceived any longer.”<sup>463</sup> The supposed deception was constituted by the support for the Italian cause in Dalmatia, which by the time of writing “constitute[d] an extremely reduced party and [then] more than ever foreign to the indigenous people, since”, as the author emphasised, “it [was] composed only of foreign employees, usually detested, Italian immigrants, generally unknown, and a small part of citizens, usually compromised or deceived.”<sup>464</sup>

Use of foreign languages and education abroad did not preclude the development of nationalisms opposing the culture into which one was born or educated. As its editorial board put it in the first number of *L’Avvenire*, the role of Italy as “amorous nurturer of the culture of Ragusa and

<sup>458</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 10 February 1849.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>460</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 14 October 1848.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>462</sup> *L’Avvenire*. 24 February 1849.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*

all Dalmatia” was acknowledged.<sup>465</sup> Slavic recognition of Italy’s fundamental role in the cultural development of Dalmatia and the influence of foreign cultures on the Croatian has led Robin Okey and Draskovic to suggest that Croatians felt indebted to German and Italian cultures as far as the 1860s, while Kirchner Reill has focussed on Kasnačić’s aim to reconcile Slavic and Italian culture.<sup>466</sup> If that might have been generally true until 1848, and continued to be so for the Dalmatian autonomists studied by Kirchner Reill, it did not hold for several Dalmatians who were nonetheless deeply imbued with Italian culture. Medo Pučić (Orsato de Pozza) published a volume of poems entitled *Talianke*, title that stood as “a tribute to the memory of a land that had hosted him hospitably”.<sup>467</sup> At the same time, though, this gratitude did not prevent him from espousing the South Slavic cause. Referring to the Slavs, including himself among them, he stated that “we [had] wandered until [then] without benefit, name, or history, from the Magyar to the Turk, from the German to the Italian ... so that the Magyar, Italian, Turkish, and German name was our name and their history our history.”<sup>468</sup> Kasnačić, who similarly to Pučić had received his university education at the universities of Vienna and Padua, where he struck friendship with several fellow Slavic nationals alive to nationalist stirrings, yearned to shake off the Italian culture on which he had been raised.<sup>469</sup> His support for Croatian nationalism can best be seen at closer inspection of other articles published in his paper. As a contributor to three consecutive issues of *L’Avvenire* maintained, all the eastern Adriatic shores were Slavic. According to him, it was not true that “the coasts [of Istria were] inhabited by Italian people.”<sup>470</sup> “On all the coast”, so he maintained, “from the Isonzo to Albania, the Slavic race exclusively lives, with the exception of a few families that are really Italian.”<sup>471</sup> The only two cities that could not be considered entirely Slavic were Trieste and Fiume. “Fiume had been

<sup>465</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 5 August 1848.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. Okey, ‘Austria and the South Slavs’; Kirchner Reill, ‘A mission of mediation’, 24.

<sup>467</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 17 March 1849.

<sup>468</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 31 March 1849.

<sup>469</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 10 February 1849.

<sup>470</sup> *L’Avvenire*, 24 February 1849.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*



forced to join the Croatian cause”, so conceded the contributor, while “Trieste [did] not have any nationality, because all nationalities live[d] there and all languages [we]re spoken.”<sup>472</sup>

The Croatian nationalist author, blinded by nationalist discourse, failed to acknowledge the diversity inherent to the territories coveted by Croatian nationalists and belonging nowadays to modern-day Croatia. Even twenty years ago, as pointed out by anthropologist Dunja Rihtman-Augustin, “a feeling of belonging to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, a close familiarity with the culture on the other Adriatic coast, despite all the conflicts between Croatian - or, more precisely, Slavic nationalism and Italian irredentism – pervade[d] Istria, the Quarnero [Kvarner] littoral and Dalmatia even [then].” The case of Fiume represents a fundamental context for the study of the development of nationalisms. For it provided nationalism with evident vested interests that ruled out from the onset the possibility of coexistence between different national groups. Notwithstanding the seeming initial support for collaboration between nations and the fact that nationalist publicists more often than not used foreign languages in daily communication and their work as publicists, few were those among them who did not advocate the pre-eminence of their respective national group.

<sup>472</sup> *L'Avvenire*, 24 February 1849..



## **4. Clash of identities, hybridity, or multi-ethnic coexistence? The language question in Dalmatia, the Kvarner, and Trieste**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the intensification of nationalist aspirations put the whole eastern Adriatic on the political agenda of Italian and Slavic nationalists. Well before the demise of the Habsburg Monarchy and as early as 1861, the Italian prime minister Rattazzi and King Victor Emmanuel II were eager to unleash the Garibaldians in an invasion of Dalmatia.<sup>473</sup> Soon, this aborted plan was followed by propagandistic activity aimed at reviving the *italianità* of the region, on the basis of which Italy joined the Entente in 1915. With the final collapse of Austria-Hungary, Italian troops occupied also those coastal cities, such as Spalato/Split and Sebenico/Šibenik which had not been allocated as Italian war spoils by the Treaty of London of 1915.<sup>474</sup> The attempts at occupying the whole region were not backed only by the Italian armed forces. They found widespread support also within the academic and professional world, which strove for the *italianità* of Dalmatia.<sup>475</sup> Yugoslav authorities consented to leave Zara/Zadar to Italy as even they recognised it as an Italian enclave in the Balkans. The rest of Dalmatia could not be handed over, as that would clearly go against the principles of nationality advocated by US President Wilson, who had become the champion of the Slavic nationalities within Austria-Hungary. Pleas from Slavic-Dalmatian politicians, intellectuals, and artists condemning Italian occupation as well as reports by British and American officers and diplomats on the harshness of Italian military rule in Trieste and the killings of several French colonial soldiers by Italian nationalists in Fiume, left Italian authorities and public

<sup>473</sup> TNA, PRO 30/22/66 Sir James Hudson, Legation in Turin, 1 June 1862.

<sup>474</sup> TNA, FO 608/27/9 A. Kelly, Commodore Commanding British Adriatic Force, 6<sup>th</sup> January 1919; FO 608/27/9 Major Harold Temperley to General Thwaites, 20 January 1919.

<sup>475</sup> For the extent of nationalist sentiments in the academic world see the manifesto written by the professors of the University of Bologna, *Per il Diritto Italico di Fiume* and *Fiume: The Rights and Duties of Italy*.

opinion unshaken.<sup>476</sup> To this day, Italian violence from Trieste to Šibenik in the 1918-1920 period, that is before the Fascist seizure of power, is neglected by Italian historiography.

Italian historiography focussing on the eastern Adriatic has been widely influenced by the view according to which Franz Josef was strongly anti-Italian and that Habsburg policies were centred on favouring Slavs against the Italian element in Trieste and throughout Dalmatia.<sup>477</sup> This view has been fuelled by the lack of support given in Dalmatia to the Italian party in its struggles against the Yugo-Slavic counterpart, in the attempt to preserve Italian as the main language of education in the region and retain the privileged social standing of the mainly Italian-speaking elites of Zara/Zadar and Spalato/Split. The question of language pitted against each other Dalmatian autonomists, Slavic liberals, Pan-Slavists, and ‘Italianissimi’; the authorities backed governor Philippovich’s support of the Slavic liberals, who had succeeded in securing rights for the Slavic language in the face of the privileges accorded to Italian.<sup>478</sup> At the same time, Croatian historiography has yielded to the equally nationalist view according to which Dalmatia, as a Catholic South-Slavic region, was intrinsically Croatian. Italian and Slavic nationalist historiography has thus focussed on aspects of conflict and emphasised Habsburg ‘oppression’, which then resulted in the classic picture of the Habsburg Monarchy as the ‘prison of peoples’. Yet the sources do not consistently deal with well-defined nationalities or conflictual relationships between Habsburg subjects.

For all these reasons, only by looking at the eastern Adriatic in its entirety is it possible to make sense of the Triestine and Fiuman contexts, where Italian speakers and Slavs had been living alongside for centuries. Dalmatia, representing the bridge between the Latin and Slavic worlds and the intersection between the interests of several European powers, was bound up with both cities in

<sup>476</sup> FO 608/27/9 Major Harold Temperley to General Thwaites.

<sup>477</sup> For a recent example of this belief in the anti-Italian character of Austrian policies in the region see, Luciano Monzali, *The Italians of Dalmatia* (Toronto, 2009), 69.

<sup>478</sup> TNA, FO 7/730 Paton, Ragusa, 26 November 1867.

economic, cultural, and ethnic terms. An overview of Dalmatian identities is necessary in order to conceptualize the fluidity of ethnicities, cultures, and allegiances through time. As becomes clear through analysis of the sources, in the eastern Adriatic there was more to the mixing of the Italian, Slavic, and German cultures of which various coeval commentators wrote when describing Trieste and Fiume. The convergence of different cultures in both port cities was the result of steady immigration from the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth. Yet immigration was not added to a homogenous context, but rather to cities for which hybridity was inherent, reflecting that of nearby Dalmatia.

British travellers' observations on the region at the middle of the century reveal historical knowledge and understandings of the multi-ethnic composition of the region as well as misperceptions resulting from the extent to which they engaged with the various social classes or only a particular group. Andrew Archibald Paton's travel account is a case in point, since his *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, published in 1849, abounds with shrewd ethnographic remarks. On Lord Russell's recommendation, in June 1862 Paton would be appointed British consul at the newly re-established seat of Ragusa/Dubrovnik.<sup>479</sup> His post in the cultural capital of the region offered him a privileged position from which to observe Dalmatian and Montenegrin politics, French, Russian, and Italian activity in the area, and the condition of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires in the Balkans. He discussed all these in consular reports that set them apart for their attention to detail from those of his counterparts in Venice and Trieste.<sup>480</sup>

<sup>479</sup> TNA, FO 7/643 16 May 1862, Russell's recommendation; TNA, FO 7/643 16 June 1862, Paton's appointment at the consulship of Ragusa/Dubrovnik, previously abolished in 1836.

<sup>480</sup> As opposed to Paton's ability and knowledge in Dubrovnik, the reports of the British vice-consul in Trieste, drafted by Mr Brock, primarily focused on questions pertaining to the British community of the city; see TNA, FO 7/716, Trieste, 1866. For his part, consul Perry at Venice simply reported Italian propaganda uncritically; see TNA, FO 7/714, Venice, 1866.

Paton opened one of these reports with a comment that is indicative of the apparent peripheral position of the eastern Adriatic, yet its significance for European politics. “At first sight the internal politics of Dalmatia have little interest for foreigners, but taken in connection with the question of Turkey in Europe and the curious transformation which the Austrian Empire is undergoing, there is much to give occupation to a reflective mind.”<sup>481</sup> In his previous travel along the coast at the middle of the century, which took him as far as Cattaro, he captured the cultural and ethnic blend of Dalmatia as the ‘curious social marriage that carries the mind alternatively from the heights of the Balkan to the mouths of the Brenta.’<sup>482</sup> Contrary also to present-day perceptions on pre-twentieth-century Dalmatia, Dalmatian culture was neither Italian nor properly Venetian. The ‘Slaav of the Adriatic’, as Paton called Dalmatians, was ‘brother to the Servian [...] but while the varnish of civilisation in Servia is German and new, here it is older, and has come from Venice.’<sup>483</sup>

#### 4.2 The language question in Dalmatia

His insights were confirmed years later, in 1861, by Dalmatian intellectuals discussing Italian and Slavic culture in Dalmatia and whether Dalmatia had to assert its autonomy, be incorporated into Croatia, or strive for unification to Italy. The debate had been triggered by the birth of the Kingdom of Italy and resulted in a heated confrontation between people identifying with Italian culture and Slavic-Dalmatians. Lovro Monti, upholder of unification to Croatia notwithstanding his Italian heritage, noted that Croats and Dalmatians were both Slavic peoples, and that while “Croats drew on the sources of Germanic civilization; we [Dalmatians] drew on those of the Latin.”<sup>484</sup> In response to the Zaratine municipal counsellor Dupancich, who had claimed that there was no Slavic civilization in Dalmatia, abbot Giovanni Danilo argued that the contemporary Italian population of Dalmatia did

<sup>481</sup> TNA, FO 7/730 Paton, Ragusa, 26 November 1867.

<sup>482</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands in the Adriatic*, 6.

<sup>483</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>484</sup> Lovro Monti, *Considerazioni sull’annessione del regno di Dalmazia a quelli di Croazia e Slavonia* (Split, 1861), 6.

not originate from an ancient 'Italian' population, since the previous Latin population was not Italian.<sup>485</sup> As Monti, again, put it, "in Dalmatia there [was] no other nationality but the Illyrian-Serb, although there [were] several families of Italian origins and [Dalmatia was] culturally Italian in its most affluent class."<sup>486</sup> He argued that "if the mother-tongue, if the national sentiment was not cultivated, and is still not cultivated in that class, it does not follow as a consequence that it has relinquished the nationality of its fatherland," by which he implied Dalmatia, wondering "who would dare pretend that an immense majority sacrifice a natural right to a small number of privileged."<sup>487</sup>

Venetian culture and language had long been present in the region, yet they had been imported to the coasts of the Balkans, where even the dress and the red fez typical of Dalmatia resembled the Turkish costume.<sup>488</sup> It was a colonial culture which the local elites in particular at Zara, the administrative seat of the Venetian and later Habsburg administration, adopted as their own and whose influence could be traced also in several words and expressions of the Slavic-Dalmatian spoken by the majority of the population.<sup>489</sup> But Slavic-Dalmatian did not enjoy the same status as Italian, a discrepancy resulting from wider cultural hierarchies which Slavic politicians sought to amend.

In March 1864, a final report of the committee for the equalisation of the Slavic language with Italian was read at a session of the Provincial Diet in Zara.<sup>490</sup> Although Dalmatian political life eventually resulted in a polarization between the Slavic and Italian components, which tallied with

<sup>485</sup> Giovanni Danilo, *Sulla civiltà italiana. Lettera dell'ab. Giovanni Danilo professore ginnasiale al signor Vincenzo Dupancich* (Trieste, 1861), 3-5.

<sup>486</sup> Monti, *Considerazioni sull'annessione del regno di Dalmazia*, 4.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>488</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 5.

<sup>489</sup> As late as the 1970s, notwithstanding the standardisation of national cultures, in the Croatian dialect of Split it could be detected that the majority of nouns and adjectives describing people's appearance and character were of Venetian and Triestine origin. See Vidović, 'O frekvenciji romanskog leksika talijanskog mletačkog porijekla u splitskom čakavskom govoru', *Čakavska rič* 2 (1974), 5-122; Maja Bezić, 'Semantička adaptacija talijanizama u splitskom govoru' *Fluminensia* 28 (2016), 2.

<sup>490</sup> Pulić, 'Report of the Committee for the equality of the Italian and Slavic languages', *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata* (1864), 110.

the consolidation of the Italian and Serbian nation states and the intensification of Croatian efforts to defy Hungary at the end of the century, the measures put forth in order to attain to an equal status between the Italian and Slavic languages in public life were unanimously, if provisionally, approved. The fact that deputies agreed on the liberal principles underlying the need for Slavic to attain to an equal status as Italian did not rule out the misunderstandings and divergencies between opposing parties that emerged as soon as the ways to put into the effect the equalization of languages were discussed. The language question implied a power struggle between Italians and Slavs, insofar as Italian-speakers, a tiny minority of the Dalmatian population, sought to hold to their waning privileged position in the face of the equalisation of the nationalities of the Monarchy introduced in March 1850.<sup>491</sup>

As the report read by Pulić, deputy for Ragusa/Dubrovnik, stated, in Dalmatia the Slavic and Latin elements had coexisted for centuries “led by the winged Lion [of Venice]”.<sup>492</sup> Pulić stressed that the two elements had been living alongside each other, without striving for power, and merged in the same people, the Dalmatian.<sup>493</sup> His words appeared to run counter to the view elaborated by Italian-speaking ‘multi-nationalists’, who had emphasised the distinct and separate characters of the two elements competing against each other and in need of a rapprochement.<sup>494</sup> Contrary also to the later Yugo-Slav conflation of Venetian rule with Italian annexationism, Venice was not seen as an exploitative state but rather as a polity for which Slavic-Dalmatians willingly fought until the end of the Republic. Although Pulić had described the almost complete absence of the Slavic language from public life in conciliatory terms, others, professing union with Croatia as their ultimate aspiration, emphasised “the humiliating inferiority of the Slavic population of Dalmatia” as a result of the

<sup>491</sup> In a similar context, in the nearby Kvarner islands further north, the Patent of March 1850 was invoked by local notables wishing to attain to the equalisation of nationalities, arguing that it was necessary to draft imperial and provincial bulletins in the Slavic-Dalmatian language.

<sup>492</sup> Pulić, ‘Report of the Committee for the equality of the Italian and Slavic languages’, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata* (1864), 110.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>494</sup> From Kirchner Reill’s account one can see that Tommaseo, Valussi, and Dall’Ongaro’s perspective was steeped in the clear-cut distinction between the Italian and Slavic elements as belonging to different nations.



subordinate condition of the Slavic language with respect to Italian.<sup>495</sup> Yet they did not advocate the exclusion of the Italian language from public life and education. As abbot Gliubich explained, all that was asked was the equality between the two languages.<sup>496</sup> This proposal was enough for the Italian elite to consider their language threatened and replaced by Slavic, which was an idea that even an ardent defender of the Slavic character of Dalmatia, Monti, never contemplated. As Pulić stressed, Italian culture had been necessary for the attainment of a privileged condition for Dalmatian culture.<sup>497</sup> Deputy Klaić's words on the Italian language personified the feelings of Slavic elites, which regarded Italian as "the language that the Dalmatian intelligentsia calls its own, that is our, with tender veneration and with no less affection than that shown earlier on when the Committee called the Slavic language our own."<sup>498</sup>

Even a national as in favour of the Croatian annexation of Dalmatia as Monti was did not want the outright exclusion of Italian from public life. The introduction of the Slavic language in bureaucracy and administration had to be gradual. Although, eventually, "in the future, the national language should be the language of instruction in every school; in Dalmatian gymnasia, though, the Italian language and literature should keep the second place", with also one or two Italian gymnasia.<sup>499</sup> The support of measures that would cater for "the insuppressible rights of nationality" by an upholder of union with Croatia at the same time meant that unification with Croatia, which would guarantee a Slavic future for the Adriatic coasts of the Balkans, did not imply the loss of Dalmatian autonomy.<sup>500</sup> For Monti also argued that Croatian claims over Dalmatia were not grounded in reality, stating that "Dalmatia cannot be deprived of its autonomy without its consent."<sup>501</sup> The new united kingdom under the Habsburgs should be composed of the three provinces of Croatia, Dalmatia,

<sup>495</sup> Klaić, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 120.

<sup>496</sup> Gliubich, *Intorno la questione dalmatica. Scritti dell'abate Simeone Gliubich* (Venezia, 1861).

<sup>497</sup> Pulić, *Atti*, 111-112.

<sup>498</sup> Klaić, *Atti*, 117.

<sup>499</sup> Monti, *Considerazioni sull'annessione del regno di Dalmazia a quelli di Croazia e Slavonia* (Split, 1861), 12-13.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.* 6, 12-13.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.* 13-14.

and Slavonia, with none subordinated to the other.<sup>502</sup> This did not rule out his belief that “the only guarantee today, against external and internal dangers, is union with Croatia”, an idea that he shared with other politicians such as Klaić and Paulinović.<sup>503</sup> As Monti well explained already in 1861, “the historical rights advanced by Croatia with regard to Dalmatia are unfounded and false are the grounds on which they base their claims for [its] annexation.” Consequently, he favoured a triune kingdom in which its provinces enjoyed an equal status.<sup>504</sup>

Klaić argued that annexation to Croatia would boost the Slavic character of Dalmatia. Similarly, Monti had hoped that, by uniting to Croatia, Dalmatia would not Croatise itself but rather “acquire moral supremacy over Croatians and perhaps over the other South Slavs.” As a strenuous annexationist, Paulinović, put it in the Slavic language, “nobody will deny my affection for my language; but for this reason never thought I about opposing the Italian language, which after mine I love the most, as all my fellow countrymen love it.”<sup>505</sup> Monti and Paulinović, who like several others in the Dalmatian diet preferred using Slavic Dalmatian instead of Italian, exemplify Dalmatians’ push towards a Dalmatian national identity and their eagerness to unite with Croatia while maintaining the distinctiveness of Dalmatian culture and respecting the Italian element of the region. Their words embodied the willingness of Slavic-Dalmatian politicians to preserve Italian, although as a minority language. It was not opposition to Italian that drove them, but the pre-eminent role given it, when the majority of the population used another language as their own, while local Italian-speakers could do without knowing the Slavic language and “wish to judge about its completeness” as opposed the

<sup>502</sup> Monti, *Considerazioni sull’annessione del regno di Dalmazia*, 11.

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.* 11-13. The final unification of Croatia into its modern-day configuration has legitimised the claim of the historicity of Croatian union with Dalmatia. Sirotković has noted that, although Croatian nationalists were much concerned with “the territorial integrity of the kingdom”, the formula they used themselves, the Triregnum, as they conceived it, actually had never existed. As it stood, it was only an aspiration that did not materialize until 1918, in that Dalmatia had never been part of the Kingdom of Croatia, but since 1797, after four centuries of Venetian rule and with the exception of the Napoleonic interlude, had been under the direct jurisdiction of Vienna. See Sirotković, ‘Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien’, 470.

<sup>505</sup> Paulinović, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 137.

‘perfection’ of Italian.<sup>506</sup> Italian Dalmatians admitted this deficiency. Deputy Filippi granted that he did “not grasp the Slavic language to the point of understanding all that [Paulinović had] said” in his speech, something the very same Bajamonti, major of Spalato and towards the end of the century one of the most prominent Italian nationalists, admitted too.<sup>507</sup> Their admission not only testifies to the gulf existing between the Italian-speaking elite and the Slavic population, whose needs they could not interpret, but is also evidence for the attitude of the Italian elites, whether Italian nationalist or autonomist - and loyal to the Habsburgs – which clung to the advantages deriving from belonging to a hegemonic culture.<sup>508</sup> With his words Bajamonti professed his unconditional attachment to Italian culture. Although he had acceded to the Slavs’ requests in the morning, he “did not intend to destroy a real condition recognised by everybody, that is the existence of a minority of our population, significant in number and all the more for its civilization.”<sup>509</sup> Therefore, the Italian deputies raised difficulties on the way in which to implement the equalization of languages.

Although they had all agreed in principle that the language of the population had to be the language of instruction in schools, “when, in order to apply this principle, it had to be determined what concrete way [...] to implement this regulation, then in the committee difficulties arose that were reported as being unsurmountable.”<sup>510</sup>

<sup>506</sup> Paulinović, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 137.

<sup>507</sup> Filippi and Bajamonti, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 143.

<sup>508</sup> Culisić argued in Slavic, “Who on this subject [of the language to be used in elementary schools] can better and more wisely decide than us, to whom the state of our people is well known?” *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 129. Culisić was from Vrlika, a town of the interior close to Bosnia, which Italian-speaking deputy Giovannizio insisted on calling Verlicca.

<sup>509</sup> Bajamonti, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 143. Bajamonti’s and other autonomists’ stance does not appear to reflect the long-held perception of Dalmatian autonomism, expressed by Antonio Miculian, as the attempt to preserve the Venetian legacy of Dalmatia - which the majority of Slavic deputies did not wish to undermine - but rather the desire to maintain the Italian-speaking hegemonic status in Dalmatian society. See Miculian, ‘La lotta politica in Dalmazia tra partito autonomista ed annessionista dall’inizio degli anni '60 alla fine degli anni '80 del XIX secolo’ in M.P. Ghezzi (ed.), *Atti e Memorie della Società dalmata di storia patria*, v. XXX, *L'Istria e la Dalmazia nel XIX secolo* (Venice, 2001), 41.

<sup>510</sup> Pulić, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 129.

It is true that through trade and studies the Italian language had huge part of our education and civilization; this is undoubted [...] as it is verified and undoubted that a part of the country is purely Slavic in every respect. [...] If the Slavs in Dalmatia are 400,000, how is it possible that by adopting their mother-tongue as language of instruction in primary schools we would not abide by the natural condition of this province? [...] We have declared that it was [...] a calumny to suspect even that we opposed Italian culture and civilization, that we disowned ungratefully what good Italian education has produced in our country.<sup>511</sup>

Similarly, use of Italian in the public sphere in Dalmatia has been regarded as evidence of the original *italianità* of Dalmatia by Italian historiography of the region.<sup>512</sup> Quite the contrary, it reflected the hegemonic role of the Italian language as a legacy of Venetian rule, which nevertheless did not imply an Italian character in Dalmatia. As a deputy at the Dalmatian Diet in Zara, Paulinović, acknowledged, throughout Dalmatia “only at Zara it [could] be said that Italian [was] the family language of the majority of the population.”<sup>513</sup>

What transpires from these minutes, which is also confirmed by the contemporary pamphlets here discussed, is the cultural exclusivity of Italian-speakers as opposed to Slavic-Dalmatian elite’s acknowledgment of the fundamental contribution of Italian culture to their own, which the prospect of union with Croatia did not undermine, in their hope of a future equal status of Dalmatia with Croatia. As a contributor to the *Nazionale* - organ of the Slavic party in Dalmatia published in Italian – wrote from Fiume, it was necessary to give voice “to the national sentiments and tendencies in a language [Italian] that is more accessible to those who oppose them.”<sup>514</sup> From 1848, when Kaznačić founded his paper in Ragusa, to Vojnović at Zara until the 1870s, Slavic publicists endeavoured to

<sup>511</sup> Pulić, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 130.

<sup>512</sup> See for example Monzali, *The Italians of Dalmatia* and Pupo, *Vedemecum*.

<sup>513</sup> Paulinović, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 137.

<sup>514</sup> *Il Nazionale*, 5 March 1862.

“rehabilitate the Croat name whereof there existed an ill-founded aversion against it.”<sup>515</sup> Their work shows a clear example of the use of Italian in Dalmatia as the medium of expression shared by the elites, whether Slavic- or Italian-speaking, since, to their own admission, Italian speakers did not have an excellent grasp of the Slavic language.<sup>516</sup> Consequently, knowledge of a given language, and its use also on a daily basis, did not necessarily imply belonging to that particular ethnicity or culture.

Notwithstanding their conviction that Dalmatia was a Slavic province, Slavic elites in the region were well versed in Italian culture, as is also proved by the number of publications by Slavic-speakers in Italian. As late as 1867, notwithstanding the increase of annexationists to Croatia in the Dalmatian Diet and the growing popularity of union with Zagreb, Paton saw “the maritime calling of Dalmatia” as a guarantee for the conservation of cultural ties with the Italian peninsula. “But this [did] not imply a desire for political union with Italy”, for apart from a few ‘Italianissimi’, that is the upholders of Dalmatian unification to Italy, Dalmatians considered “the affairs of Italy and Austria as wound up and terminated.”<sup>517</sup> Nor was the appeal of Pan-Slavism in Dalmatia as widespread as the Austrian and Magyar press feared. For, if Russian and Serb propaganda had a resonance amongst fellow Orthodox Slavs, it did not breach among Catholic Slavs, who constituted the majority of the eastern Adriatic. As Paton observed, “the natural head of the Catholic Slavs whether Czech, Carnic [that is Slovene], Croat or Dalmatian is the Emperor of Austria.”<sup>518</sup> This, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction that the introduction of Dualism had triggered amongst the Slavs of the Monarchy, who had been instrumental in the preservation of the dynasty in 1848.<sup>519</sup>

<sup>515</sup> *Il Nazionale*, 5 March 1862. For the publication of papers in Italian throughout Dalmatia and the early unsuccessful attempts to address a Slavic audience in “Illyrian” in the 1830s, see Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 147.

<sup>516</sup> For the lack of a thorough knowledge of Slavic-Dalmatian on the part of Italian-speaking deputies see the admissions of Filippi and Bajamonti in *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 138.

<sup>517</sup> FO 7/730 Paton, 12 February 1867.

<sup>518</sup> FO 7/730 Paton, 10 September 1867.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*

A few weeks later, Paton noted that the Austrian defeat in 1866 had fuelled “a recrudescence of Italian fanaticism all along the coast from Trieste to Spalato.”<sup>520</sup> In the face of the struggle between the Yugo-Slav and Italian parties, the Emperor favoured Governor Philippovich’s support of the moderate Slavs, who opposed both Italian and Pan-Slavist chauvinism. Hence, the trope whereby the Habsburgs supported the Slavic element against the Italian does not capture the actual situation of the eastern Adriatic.<sup>521</sup> The concessions made by Philippovich to the moderate Slavs in the field of education triggered a fierce reaction on the part of the centralist and Italian parties, which sought to have him removed from office.<sup>522</sup> Paton emphasised the paradox by which the Italian element, although constituting a minority of the Dalmatian population, had succeeded in securing a majority in the provincial diet since the Italian liberals and centralists shared in the mutual hatred for the Slavic nationals.<sup>523</sup> Interestingly, Italian activists conflated Pan-Slavist aspirations with those of Slavic-Dalmatians, which in reality were different. While Pan-Slavists looked at Serbia for the formation of an independent South-Slavic kingdom, this project did not tally either with Croat or Dalmatian aims. Also, Slavic-Dalmatians did not question the contribution of Italian culture to their own. Niccolò Tommaseo brought this contribution even further, eventually renouncing his own Slavic heritage.

Yet Tommaseo, by virtue of his federalist and republican tendencies as well as his Slavic origins, that had prevented him from joining Italian anti-Slavic chauvinism well into the 1850s, was initially drawn into the Illyrian movement.<sup>524</sup> The idea of a Croatian national state under Habsburg rule had emerged amongst Croatian elites in the late eighteenth century.<sup>525</sup> The revolutions of 1848 boosted the popularity of the Illyrian movement which had emerged in the previous decades, laying the foundations for Croatian national aspirations. The dominant current, advocating union with

<sup>520</sup> FO 7/730 Paton, 26 November 1867.

<sup>521</sup> For a recent example of the Italian nationalist argument, still present in the historiography of Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia, according to which Franz Joseph opposed the Italians of the Monarchy while aiming to Slavicise the regions they inhabited, see Monzali, *The Italians of Dalmatia*, 69.

<sup>522</sup> FO 7/730 Paton, 26 November 1867.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>524</sup> Kosta Milutinović, ‘Nikola Tommaseo i jadransko pitanje’, *Jadranski zbornik* 4 (Rijeka-Pula, 1960), 121.

<sup>525</sup> Drakulic, ‘Premodern Croatian Nationalism?’, 540.

Austria, was opposed by the Party of Right, which, championing the historicity of Croatia's rights to nationhood, fought for Croatian independence not only from Hungary but also Habsburg rule.<sup>526</sup> In his anti-Austrian tendencies, Tommaseo came into direct contact with the main ideologue of the Party of Right, Eugen Kvaternik, who was living as an exile in Turin in 1859-60.<sup>527</sup> Their collaboration did not last long, given Kvaternik's dream of a greater Croatia comprising Dalmatia and Istria, which also coincided with Tommaseo's ultimate adhesion to the Italian national cause.<sup>528</sup> This shift can be detected in his works appearing immediately after the end of his association with Kvaternik.

In a pamphlet addressing Vojnović's and Gliubich's stances on the language question, Tommaseo attacked them for being, so he believed, against Italian culture. Yet Gliubich had not alluded to "the expulsion of Italian from [Dalmatia]; [he] only asked in favour of the Slavic language that it become equal in rights to the Italian."<sup>529</sup> Tommaseo set the tone for subsequent anti-Slavic Italian discourse. Although he had been an early and perhaps the most authoritative proponent of multi-nationalism, he had also been a strenuous opponent of Habsburg rule, which Croats had fully endorsed in 1848. Yet the paradox of his 'multi-national' project lies in the fact that, by discussing the need for a rapprochement between the Italian and Slavic nations, he implied that conflict was inherent to their relationship. His idea of the moral superiority of Italian culture over the 'barbarian' Slavic and the natural opposition of the two starkly contrasted with his previous 'multi-nationalism'. At the same time, 'multi-nationalism' was premised on the existence of pre-given nations, and thus could not accommodate the hybridity that centuries of exchange and interaction had created across the Adriatic before the supposed onset of standardised national cultures. As Judson put it, "most inhabitants of such [border] regions rarely viewed themselves specifically as 'frontier people' or their regions as frontiers between nations."<sup>530</sup> In contrast, Valussi deemed the region of Trieste to be one

<sup>526</sup> Gross, *Povijest pravaške ideologije*.

<sup>527</sup> Milutinović, 'Nikola Tommaseo', 147; Miculian, 'La lotta politica in Dalmazia', 33.

<sup>528</sup> Milutinović, 'Nikola Tommaseo', 147.

<sup>529</sup> Gliubich, *Intorno la questione dalmatica*, 4.

<sup>530</sup> Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 3.

of the “rings of nations”, but not binding and comprising different cultures in their mutual respect, rather as contended land. For, as he put it, “either there is conquest through arms, or peaceful colonization, or that tranquil expansion that is effected through the assimilatory force of a dominant civilization over neighbouring nationalities.”<sup>531</sup> Tommaseo’s positions with regards to Dalmatia in 1861 already presented similar arguments, which would be a classic tenet of Fascist and modern-day right-wing discourse, namely, the millennial Italianness of Dalmatia. He maintained that “not only there has always been an Italian Dalmatia also after the Avars [in the seventh century], but the religious, civic, and intellectual traditions of Dalmatia and Italy and their bonds of consanguinity were renewed through migrations and exiles.”<sup>532</sup> This argument was opposed by abbot Danilo in the same year, when he replied to Vincenzo Dupancich’s bold claims that there was no Slavic civilization in Dalmatia and that “the Italian race [...] was the first to inhabit the country.”<sup>533</sup>

Given the weak arguments offered by local learned men, it is no wonder that nationalist ideas eventually prevailed. Amid these widespread essentialist notions of ethnicity and culture, which proved to be a fertile soil for the consolidation of aggressive forms of nationalism, there were nevertheless several local intellectuals who fought for inter-ethnic coexistence.<sup>534</sup> Abbot Gliubich, with his understanding of ethnicities and cultural exchanges far from essentialist notions, subject to Tommaseo’s criticisms, is a case in point. Yet these more nuanced understandings of history and

<sup>531</sup> Valussi, *Trieste e l'Istria*, 7.

<sup>532</sup> Tommaseo, *La questione dalmatica riguardata ne' suoi nuovi aspetti* (Zadar, 1861), 27.

<sup>533</sup> Danilo, *Sulla civiltà italiana. Lettera dell'ab. Giovanni Danilo*, 4-5 and 9. In response to this, he noted that Dupancich considered to be Italian not only the Roman civilisation but also the pre-Roman peoples of the Italian peninsula, such as the Etruscans. Yet he too transplanted contemporary categories of ‘nation’ to the past, by arguing that Slavic Dalmatians descended from the original Illyric population of the region pre-dating the Roman conquest.

<sup>534</sup> It is worth noting that there were intellectuals from outside the region who considered Dalmatia a Slavic region with Venetian cultural and linguistic legacies limited to the coastal towns. As a travelogue rich in antiquarian historiographical notes, John Gardner Wilkinson’s work included Dalmatia into the Slavonic world. According to Wilkinson, who wrote in 1848, Italian was spoken in all the seaports of Dalmatia, while the language of the country was a Slavic dialect. Venice had represented indeed the ‘bulwark of Christendom’, yet it was a colonial power that had influenced the culture of the coastal towns only. See J. G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatian and Montenegro, vol. 1*. (London, 1848), 1-42. Thomas Graham Jackson’s work, although focussing on the architecture of Dalmatia, abounds with ethnographic remarks. His observations show how the Italian language was widely understood within Dalmatian towns, even those of the interior, whereas the countryside was completely Slavic. The Latin character of the coastal cities, which harked back to the times of Roman, Byzantine and later Venetian rule, was being gradually lost in the 1880s. See T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria* (Oxford, 1887), 83, 179, 191, 204.



culture offered by several Slavic-Dalmatian intellectuals not only failed to obtain among Italian-speakers at the time, but also struggle to be integral part of historiographical research nowadays. For the trope of Slavic-Italian enmity and the centuries-old Italian presence in Dalmatia originating from Roman times and perpetuated by Venetian domination, views that Tommaseo's fame were instrumental in legitimizing, still dominate.<sup>535</sup>

Alluding to Gliubich's alleged inconsistencies in Italian style and syntax, Tommaseo insinuated that "those who use the Italian language to prove that it must not be used any more cannot all justify their contradiction with the excuse that abbot Gliubich would use, that is, to use it with the intention of spoiling it".<sup>536</sup> Tommaseo initially argued that Gliubich had written a pamphlet in Italian in order to purposefully ruin the language. On the contrary, he had used it in order to be understood by his opponent, who ignored the Slavic language. He explained that he was "not amongst those who use the Italian language to prove that it must not be used any longer." For on several occasions, in his texts, he had "pointed to its utility for [Dalmatians'] studies, and long before [Tommaseo] and companions, [he had] talked about the unfolding of Italian on [Dalmatian] coasts before Italian and even Venetian influences, against a Croat", certain Sulek.<sup>537</sup> Tommaseo reported Gliubich's words as describing Slavs in possession of more civic honesty than Italians.<sup>538</sup> This criticism levelled against abbot Gliubich implied that he had argued that Italians were dishonest, but on the contrary Gliubich had no words against Italians. He had not used sweep generalizations attacking a particular group, that is the Italians of Dalmatia, but only described Croatia as possessing more advanced civic

<sup>535</sup> Tommaseo was instrumental in propagating and legitimizing these views. His ideas informed the perceptions of his Italian-speaking audience as to a purported Slavic opposition to Italian culture. The attitude of Dalmatian 'Italianissimi' was steeped in his argumentations, based, as becomes clear from his attack of Gliubich, in the calculated misinterpretation of the opponents' views.

<sup>536</sup> Tommaseo, *La questione dalmatica*, 46.

<sup>537</sup> Gliubich, *Intorno la questione dalmatica*, 4.

<sup>538</sup> Tommaseo, *La questione dalmatica*, 30: "Io non fo paragoni, e lascio al Sig. Abate Liubić osservare che negli Slavi è più onestà cittadina. [...] Ma diasi pure che i parlanti italiano siano tutti e inonesti e imbecilli: non avranno dunque gli Slavi fratelli compassione di loro?" (I do not draw comparisons and I let abbot Liubić observe that among the Slavs there is more civic honesty. [...] Yet let us say that the Italian speakers are all dishonest and stupid: will not their Slavic brothers have pity for them?).

institutions than Dalmatia.<sup>539</sup> In his text, Gliubich “neither spoke of Slavs in general nor compared the sole Italian element of Dalmatia with Croats.” He only hinted at “the civil conditions in which provincial Croatia and Dalmatia [were].”

As becomes clear, it was Italian publicists like Tommaseo who fuelled animosity by accusing Slavs of what they had no intentions of doing. “Quash the Italians”, he warned Slavic-Dalmatians, “and you will do no harm to Italy but to yourselves.”<sup>540</sup> In a sectarian verve that is completely absent from Slavic-Dalmatian papers, Tommaseo glorified Italian culture, on the basis of which all European culture originated and without which, he stressed, Dalmatian culture would not exist.<sup>541</sup> Yet value was not a question put forward by Slavic intellectuals and politicians, for they were not against Italian culture *per se* but its hegemonic role in public life. Part and parcel of Tommaseo’s rhetoric was what Gramsci described as the Italian nationalist “desire to appear as heir to the ancient world.”<sup>542</sup> His pamphlet was characterised by the defining features of Italian mentality analysed by Gramsci, well and alive today, that is “that particular sectarianism [...] which manifests itself in a certain mania of persecution, in thinking to be always ill-judged [...], to be victims of international plots, to have particular historical rights unrecognised and infringed upon.”<sup>543</sup>

The Italian-speaking elite of Dalmatia portrayed the Slavic wish to obtain equality between the languages as the attempt to oust Italian-speakers from Dalmatia. In reality, the privileged position of Italian speakers rested on the pre-eminence accorded their language in public life, bureaucracy, and education in the face of illiterate Slavic masses. This dichotomy is visible also off the coasts of the northernmost part of Dalmatia, namely the islands of the Kvarner Gulf. The question concerning the different uses of literary and vernacular languages on the eastern Adriatic bears directly on issues

<sup>539</sup> Gliubich, *Intorno la questione dalmatica*, 5.

<sup>540</sup> Tommaseo, *La questione dalmatica*, 34.

<sup>541</sup> *Ibid.* 36.

<sup>542</sup> Gramsci, *Sul Risorgimento*, 30.

<sup>543</sup> *Ibid.* 58.

of identity in the northern Adriatic rim. The widespread use of literary Italian, on the one hand, and of spoken Venetian (with its Triestine and Fiuman versions), on the other, has been taken by historians as evidence for the assimilation to Italian culture of the numerous people who used either language. Yet use of Italian implied neither adoption of Italian culture nor of Italian national sentiments, at least for the simple reason, too often overlooked, that an Italian national culture had still to come into existence after Italian unification.<sup>544</sup> The culture that people adopted through written Italian and, usually, spoken Triestine or Fiuman, was local, confined to the Austrian Littoral or, as in the case of local Dalmatian shipowners and merchants in both cities, intertwined with the eastern Adriatic where their businesses were centred. The nearby islands of the Kvarner Gulf - the gulf separating Istria from Dalmatia, on whose northernmost point Fiume is located – offer a clear example of the coexistence of Italian and Slavic languages and their different uses.

#### 4.3 The Kvarner islands: cultural bridges

The use of Italian or Croatian in the Kvarner is indicative of the fact that people did not necessarily perceive languages as mutually exclusive and denoting national or political allegiances. On the contrary, they would rather use them according to different contexts. In the Kvarner, therefore, languages would not imply conflict, but bridges that contributed to a culturally and ethnically hybrid world. It is important to dwell on the language question emerging in the nearby Kvarner islands for several reasons, of which the first is practical, since from Trieste's archives it emerges as a concrete issue which local administrators of Lussino (Losinj) and Cherso (Kres) faced. Also, people from the Kvarner islands constituted a significant share of Trieste and Fiume's shipowners and sea captains. The question, devoid not only of nationalist pathos but also national sentiments, emerged when, between August and September 1850, local administrators were faced with the choice as to what

<sup>544</sup> On this fundamental question, Gramsci's considerations on the Risorgimento are enlightening. See Gramsci, *Sul Risorgimento*, 29-30, 47-8, 57, 68.

Slavic language for the publication of the bulletin of imperial laws the local population would better understand. The minutes were all written in Italian, a paradox to modern-day observers, that actually reflected the status of Italian as the official language of the administration and the degree of diversity existing within the same culture. The municipal delegations of the various islands identified Slavic-Dalmatian as the language that best reflected the local Slavic dialect. Yet their choice favoured the adoption of Croatian, for which they gave similar explanations.

In the town of Lussingrande, Mayor Ragusin, the priest of the local parish Nicolò Perecich, the school teacher – another Ragusin – and sea captains Simeone Crelich, Agostino Fedrigo, Giovanni Stuparich, Tommaso Leva were the members of the municipal delegation of Lussingrande summoned to identify “which Slavic dialect [was] the most known in [the] district, which should be used for the publication of the bulletin of the laws of the province.”<sup>545</sup> Having been invited as “the most distinct experts of the languages of the country”, they unanimously agreed that the language of the local population was a Slavic dialect.<sup>546</sup> For although “the language used in the Slavic text of the bulletin of the laws of the Empire is intelligible to very few citizens of this district ... the Slavic literary language known and understood by these people is that in which the books of the Church are written, that is the Epistles, Gospels and Roman rituals printed in the modern orthography in Latin characters.” Therefore, they concluded that “the Slavic-Dalmatian language would be the most suitable for the understanding of the inhabitants of the district [...] since these islands in the past had always been integral part of Dalmatia.”<sup>547</sup>

Similarity with Slavic-Dalmatian was coupled with affinity with “the Slavic dialect spoken in the communes of ex-Venetian Istria”, which as mayor Ragusin wrote, “does not differ significantly

<sup>545</sup> Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTS), Lussingrande, 7 September 1850.

<sup>546</sup> ASTS, Lussingrande, 9 September 1850.

<sup>547</sup> ASTS, Lussingrande, 7 September 1850.

from that spoken in the three islands of the Kvarner”.<sup>548</sup> Furthermore, “the literal Slavic that could be understood by the people, *in case an intermediate idiom could not be adapted*, would be that in which the books of the Church are written, which are understood both by all Dalmatians and the Croats of the littoral.”<sup>549</sup> Consequently, Ragusin drew a distinction between the local dialect of the Kvarner, similar to Dalmatian, and proper Croatian, as well as between Croats living in the northern coasts of the Dinaric Alps, the Lika region, and Dalmatians. He also wrote that “instead of the proposed Slovene language it would certainly be better to prioritize the Croatian, because more intelligible, although it would be desirable that in the future publication of the bulletin attention be paid to using pure yet common words there, that is vernacular, and also that the syntax be adapted to the tastes and folk manners of these countries and not the foreign taste. Also, beside the new technical, legal, and scientific terms there should be added in brackets also the respective vulgar terms, even if they smacked of Latinism or Germanism.”<sup>550</sup>

In the other major town of the island of Lussino, Lussinpiccolo, the municipal delegates confirmed these considerations. Only eight out of the forty delegates had typical Italian (Venetian) surnames, two German, who nonetheless signed with Italian names (Giuseppe Haschmann and Giovanni Erschen), and the rest Slavic. Yet all Slavs signed their names in the Italian version, a fact that further indicates the admixture of the Slavic and Latin cultures, which were not seen as antithetic.<sup>551</sup> The delegates stated that “the inhabitants of all the islands of the Kvarner, for a long time bound to Dalmatia in every political, administrative, judicial, and economic respect, in their dialect still preserve the features of the Dalmatian language.” They concluded, “in order to abide by the Patent of March 1850 and wishing to attain to the equalization of nationalities, it would be

<sup>548</sup> ASTS, Lussingrande, 9 September 1850.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>551</sup> ASTS, Lussinpiccolo 29 August 1850. Also, the same surnames appeared in a certificate drafted in Italian for Tommaso Kindineko, a Greek merchant based in Alexandria of Egypt, who had applied for Austrian citizenship. In the certificate, several captains of the Austrian merchant navy vouched for Kindineko’s attachment to the Austrian cause putting forward “proof of the esteem that all the Austrian merchant navy touching the port of Alexandria professes in favour of the brothers Tommaso and Giorgio Kindineko.” ACTS 1848-1852, Certificate for Tommaso Kindineko, 14 June 1852.

necessary to draft the general Bulletin of the laws of the Empire and the provincial Bulletin in the Dalmatian language.<sup>552</sup>

For his part, the mayor of Cherso/Kres, Mr Premuda, called for an adaptation of Croatian to the dialect of the Kvarner islands, which was “related to the Croatian and Dalmatian languages, although it overflow[ed] with Italianisms.”<sup>553</sup> Mayor Premuda wrote that “the language found in the Slavic part of the bulletin of the laws of the Empire is purely Croatian; a language that bears great similarity with Slavic-Dalmatian.”<sup>554</sup> Nevertheless, he raised doubts as to the ability of the population to understand the Croatian version of the bulletin. Those to be blamed were “the readers, who, satisfied with the dialect here used and learnt orally, do not care about the acquisition of the grammatical language and its nuances, all the more so since all the writings occurring in civil life are in Italian.” Knowledge of a literary Slavic language was absent given the extent of illiteracy among the populace. Although for this reason “the bulletin of the laws written in Croatian is not entirely understood here either”, apart from the clergy and school personnel, still the bulletin, mayor Premuda argued, “ought to be printed in the Croatian language, that is precisely in the language that is used in Croatia, since it is undoubted that not only the Slovene language but also any other Slavic language must be difficult, foreign, and inaccessible to these inhabitants.”<sup>555</sup>

The deputies of Veglia/Krk drew to similar conclusions, although slightly diverging. For, apart from the town of Veglia, “where Italian is almost exclusively spoken, ... [the island of Veglia] professes and uses Croatian as its mother tongue ... and that the dialect to a great extent tends towards the dialect of Dalmatia.”<sup>556</sup> Almost seventy years later, in 1919, the urban élites of Veglia dismissed these remarks, when, led by mayor Sincovich, they sent a telegram to French president Clemenceau

<sup>552</sup> ASTS, The municipal delegation of Lussinpiccolo, 6 September 1850.

<sup>553</sup> ASTS, Cherso, Mayor Premuda, 18 September 1850.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>556</sup> ASTS, Veglia, 26 September 1850.

pleading that “the municipium and people of Veglia, remembering and proud of their bimillennial Italian language and civilization, reaffirmed again their wayward will to be reunited with Italy”, in a rhetoric that showed despise for Slavs, regarded as “a people of inferior civilization.”<sup>557</sup> If these remarks appeared to be at odds with what was discussed in the same places in the previous century, they did echo arguments that had emerged in the 1850s. Valussi’s remarks on Slavic culture, by which he called Croats and Dalmatians Serbs and stated that they possessed no culture or literature, points either to mere political propaganda or to ignorance of the eastern Adriatic, which in either way bears evidence to the inconsistency of anti-Slavic propaganda.<sup>558</sup> Therefore, the ways in which the question of identity was dealt in different decades exemplifies the complexity of interests at stake and their adaptation to changing wider political configurations.

The adoption of literary Croatian in official documents for the population reflects the similar previous process by which literary standard Italian was in use there, Dalmatia and Trieste. Written language did not conform to identity. It seems apposite to suggest that Slavs of the Kvarner were not Croats, nor were its Latin people Italians: they were local to the Kvarner and related to Istrians and, especially, Dalmatians, as the leading citizens of Lussinpiccolo claimed. To emphasise different allegiances, namely that these people were either Italian or Croatian, is to neglect and distort their own self-identifications. They were the result of the intertwining of cultures that at the everyday level did not clash. Their incompatibility existed only in the views of several publicists, intellectuals, and politicians, which eventually chimed with political programmes steeped in the standardization of cultures into national ones.

<sup>557</sup> TNA, FO 608/15/8, Municipium of Veglia to Clemenceau, 15 March 1919.

<sup>558</sup> Valussi and Resson, *Trieste e l'Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana*.

#### 4.4 Trieste and the negotiation of identities at the middle of the century

If in Dalmatia the Italian minority sought to retain a privileged status for the Italian language, notwithstanding the overwhelming Slavic-speaking majority of the population and in light of previous discussions taking place in the Kvarner, upholders of the Italian language in Trieste – in the face of the perceived Slovene and German pressure – used similar arguments to those of Italian-speaking Dalmatians. Yet the way the question was framed challenged the assumption of the numerical majority of Italian people in the city. Following von Czoernig's estimates, a local publicist, Tedeschi, claimed that there were only 8150 Germans out of 520,000 people in the Littoral, the rest being Italians and Slavs. While lamenting the preponderance of German gymnasia in the region, he dismissed the absence of Slavic gymnasia arguing that Slavic had “not yet reached a sufficient pitch of completeness,” while the Italian language was “mother of European culture.”<sup>559</sup>

The conviction of the superiority of Italian culture and the indeterminacy of the Slavic was a recurring theme of Italian-speaking intellectuals and publicists. Yet the supposed Italian character of Trieste was due to the fact that “some few claim [the city] to be wholly Italian”, the Croat publicist Abel Lukšić maintained, “perhaps because they often hear the Italian sound on the street and in the mouths of the majority of the people.”<sup>560</sup> This was not proof of the Italian identity of the city. For the arguments put forward by other supporters of the Italian language show that the question was quite different from that described by publicists who grounded their remarks on arguments from silence.<sup>561</sup> For example, that the municipal paper *La Frusta*, loyalist yet advocating an Italian identity for Trieste, blamed the government for sanctioning the introduction of three languages in Trieste's schools, so that people could not speak Italian correctly, bears evidence for the existence of a local urban culture

<sup>559</sup> Ugo Tedeschi, *Sulla lingua d'insegnamento nelle scuole di Trieste* (Trieste, 1862).

<sup>560</sup> Abel Lukšić, *Die Autonomie der Stadt Triest* (Vienna, Löwer: 1865), 7.

<sup>561</sup> One realises that nationalist propaganda, such as Valussi's, was rooted in unsubstantiated slogans, by looking at the expressions used - “it is clear”, “it is undoubted that Trieste is Italian” – without actual evidence.



of which the adoption of Italian language was not a natural consequence, but had to be implemented through consistent education.<sup>562</sup> The essential role of education in contributing to the spread of Italian was emphasised by another newspaper, the *Diavoletto*, a decade later.

The paper *Diavoletto*, widely attacked for its pro-Habsburg positions by that press supporting Italy, explicitly proved its culturally Italian sentiments against the nationalist German press that lamented the fact that German had not been introduced to Trieste's courts on the occasion of the Austrian reoccupation of the city in 1814, after the spell of Napoleonic rule. The correspondent of the *Ost-Deutsche-Post* argued that in Trieste "the Italian element is already preponderant enough and that [...] Trieste will cease to feel and think in German", to which the contributor to the *Diavoletto*, an anonymous teacher, reacted with surprise. The contributor observed that the absence of German in courts "was not due certainly to partiality in favour of Italians."<sup>563</sup> Here his position conflicted with that of pro-Italian activists abhorring Habsburg rule. For he went on to argue that while opposition to the use of Italian in Trieste was an injustice, the Austrian government had "emanate[d] a fair law that recognize[d] that unquestionable right [...] which Italian Tirol, although constituting part of the German Confederation, [had] always enjoyed and still [did] so."

The piece cannot be taken as a merely pro-Habsburg propagandistic article. There is much more to it. It shows that the supranational principle was well and alive still in 1859 notwithstanding the acceptance of belonging to a supposed Italian culture during the wars of Italian independence. Yet, at the same time, it demonstrates how far this Italian culture to which men of letters adhered was actually a contested and problematic form of identification that was the preserve of intellectuals, teachers, and journalists, that is men dealing with literary language in their everyday lives. For, arguing against another claim of the *Ost-Deutsche-Post*, that there were not sufficient Italian teachers

<sup>562</sup> *La Frusta*, November 23 (1848).

<sup>563</sup> *Il Diavoletto*, no. 254, October 6 (1859).

in Trieste and that these had to be imported from Venetia, he stated that “if that were true, that Trieste could not provide any now, besides Venetia’, the city could rely on “Italian Tirol, Istria, and Dalmatia, of which especially the last [had] been the cradle of eminent minds and [had] provided with teachers the gymnasia and universities of Austrian Italy and also of the other Italian provinces.”<sup>564</sup> The whole argument defending the *italianità* of Trieste faltered in the face of the recognition of the fact that Italian high culture had to be imported to Trieste from elsewhere in the Adriatic. The process by which Italian culture was gradually and consistently thrust in Trieste from the former Venetian possessions precedes and reflects the Italianisation of Fiume in the early 1900s, which was triggered by the arrival of several Italian-speaking journalists and publicists from Zara.<sup>565</sup>

In view of the contested *italianità* of Trieste on the eve of Italian unification, Dall’Ongaro and Orlandini’s claim in 1848 that Triestines were an Italian people seems to have reflected more their wishes than the actual situation in the city.<sup>566</sup> Still in 1872, the local paper *El Buleto*, written in the Triestine dialect, wondered how it could be possible to expect that the “lower classes speak the beautiful and pure Italian”, when they were barely literate.<sup>567</sup> With sarcasm, the author captured the phenomenon whereby some espoused the Italian national cause for personal ambitions, “in order to be Father of the Country,” noting that those who maintained that use of the dialect would only result in further ignorance, were “Triestines, and want[ed] to be staunch Italians and moreover even liberals.”<sup>568</sup> At the same time though, he attacked his previous collaborator Gaspar Martellanz, who had started a new paper “written half in dialect and half in the *sweet* language of *zakai*”, that is Slovene, thus ridiculing the Slavic language and Martellanz’s endeavour to use the local dialect.<sup>569</sup>

<sup>564</sup> *Il Diavoletto*, no. 254, October 6 (1859).

<sup>565</sup> Ivan Jelacic, ‘The typographers’ community of Fiume: combining a spirit of collegiality, class identity, local patriotism, socialism, and nationalism(s)’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018), 77.

<sup>566</sup> On Orlandini and Dall’Ongaro see chapter two, the sections ‘Giovanni Orlandini’s attempted revolution’ and ‘The Hamburg of the Mediterranean or another Italian Trieste?’.

<sup>567</sup> Gerolini, ‘El Barbier risorzo e la lingua italiana’, *El Buleto*, no. 4 (1872), 1.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>569</sup> *Ibid.* The case of the Slovene journalist Gaspar Martelanec exemplifies the entwining of what would later become national cultures and the local urban setting of Trieste., Martelanec, for which he used the local version of his surname,

The case of Martellanz exemplifies the entwining of what would later become national cultures and the local urban setting of Trieste personified by fluent use of its dialect. A proponent of the ‘Zedinenja Slovenja’, the Slavic nationalist programme aimed at the formation of a united Slovenia under the Habsburgs, besides being the editor of the Slovene-language paper from Trieste *Tržaški Ljudomil*, published in 1866 – for which he used the Slovene version of his surname, that is Martelanec – he was also editor of other local papers written in the Triestine dialect, such as *El Zavatin* of 1872. Hence, contrary to Valussi’s claim that Slovenes “remain[ed] Slavs as long as they remain[ed] barbarians [and] follow the natural law of the assimilation of dispersed fragments of incomplete nationalities into compact and grant nationalities of old birth and thriving life”, it seems more appropriate to argue that Slavs did not assimilate to Italian culture, but to the local Triestine.<sup>570</sup>

The Triestine context, in light of the Dalmatian and Fiuman, lays bare the existence of identities that were different from national forms of identification. For the majority of people, these were local, regional, and often hybrid, comprising aspects of the Latin and Slavic cultures, as well as the German, intertwined with the environment, whether the Alpine, Karstic, or Mediterranean. National identities, as they came to be in the concomitant process of the formation of nation states in South-Eastern Europe, were the preserve of restricted elites formed by men of letters and professionals. Paton’s travel accounts provide clues for arguing that national or ethnic forms of identification coexisted with local identities, which at given historical circumstances they came to defy. The closely interconnected worlds of Trieste, Fiume, the Kvarner and Dalmatia, represented a cultural continuum in which very similar issues appeared: namely the role of Italian vis à vis a majority of Slavic-speaking populations.

that is Martellanz, used also at the time of his membership in the National Guard in 1848, for which see *La Guardia Nazionale*, no. 43, 16 December 1848.

<sup>570</sup> Valussi, *Trieste e l’Istria*, 24.

The Italian-speaking elite of Dalmatia portrayed the Slavic wish to obtain the equalisation of languages as the attempt to oust Italian speakers from Dalmatia. The privileged position of Italian speakers rested on the pre-eminence accorded to their language in public life, bureaucracy, and education in the face of a population whose majority was Slavic. For all these reasons, only by looking at the eastern Adriatic in its entirety is it possible to make sense also of the Triestine and Fiuman contexts, where Italian speakers and Slavs had been living alongside for centuries. Dalmatia, representing the bridge between the Latin and Slavic worlds and the intersection between the interests of several European powers, was bound up with both cities in economic, cultural, and ethnic terms. An overview of Dalmatian identities is necessary in order to conceptualize the fluidity of ethnicities, cultures, and allegiances through time. While the majority of Slavic-Dalmatian intellectuals and politicians, as multinationals, appeared to appreciate the contribution of Venetian and Italian culture to Dalmatia, local Italian-speaking elites espoused Tommaseo's views entrenched in the supposed superiority of Italian culture over the Slavic. Thus, Italian nationalism in Dalmatia, triggered by the threat posed to the privileged standing of the Italian language and fuelled by Italian expansionist aims in the region, was instrumental in the gradual polarization of Dalmatian society along ethno-national lines. Tommaseo and his disciples thus laid the foundations for inter-ethnic animosity, which the Habsburgs had been trying to keep in check through their supranational mediation. This process led to the subsequent disappearance of the hybrid multi-national identities of the eastern Adriatic, which had been in existence for centuries, and of which Tommaseo himself was a product.

The naturalisation papers and the requests for emigrating from the Austrian states – in the language and statements used, in the reasons for applying, and in the applicants' biographical elements included – offer a picture of Habsburg Trieste that does not chime either with national historiographies or the depiction of Habsburg rule as authoritarian. The study of these documents constitutes the core of the next two chapters.



## **5. Beyond merchants' cosmopolitanism: Austrian policies of naturalisation in the Adriatic and the formation of a-national identities across society**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In July 1847 around ninety of the most notorious merchants and personalities of Trieste attended a dinner held in Richard Cobden's honour, the 'apostle of free trade' then visiting the port city, in what was one of the many gatherings held throughout Europe in praise of Cobden's activity.<sup>571</sup> During toasts presented at the dinner, appraisal of free trade soon gave way to nationality politics. According to Paton, who chronicled the evening, the squabble that suddenly erupted showed the antipathy existing between Italians and Germans.<sup>572</sup> Prussian-born Karl Ludwig von Bruck, founder of the Austrian Lloyd – the steam navigation company to which the fortunes of the city had been tied since its inception in 1833 – and deputy representing Trieste at the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848, 'spoke well' according to Cobden himself.<sup>573</sup> His speech in favour of free trade was "in every respect apposite and sensible" also to Paton's view.<sup>574</sup> Yet after von Bruck there rose Dall'Ongaro, Valussi's friend and brother-in-law, who "wound up with the hope that all Italy would form a commercial league; thus implying the secession of the Lombard-Venetian state from the rest of empire."<sup>575</sup> The stir caused by his words induced Dall'Ongaro to scale down his wishes and maintain that sentiments

<sup>571</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 220-1. While in Lombardy-Venetia, Cobden was surprised to realize that Austrian authorities, generally portrayed as oppressive, allowed such gatherings. See Miles Taylor, *The European Diaries of Richard Cobden* (Oxford, 2007), 487. For Andrew Archibald Paton see the previous chapter on the language question in Dalmatia.

<sup>572</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands*, 221.

<sup>573</sup> See Coons, *Steamships, statesmen, and bureaucrats*, for the early history of the steam navigation company responsible for passenger and postal services across the eastern Mediterranean. H. Rumpler, 'Economia e potere politico. Il ruolo di Trieste nella politica di sviluppo economico di Vienna', in R. Finzi, L. Panariti and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste 2: La città dei traffici 1719-1918* (Trieste, 2003).

<sup>574</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands*, 221; John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (London, 1881), 441, for Cobden's remarks on von Bruck's speech.

<sup>575</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands*, 221. Pacifico Valussi's and Francesco Dall'Ongaro's careers have already been covered in chapter two. See also Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, where they figure prominently.

of Italian nationality were not incompatible with Habsburg loyalty.<sup>576</sup> Von Bruck responded to his speech with a statement testifying to the sentiments of a sizeable part of the merchant class, including German and Italian speakers alike, such as Pietro Kandler and Alessandro Mauroner (who were nonetheless upholders of the use of Italian as the main language in town): “We are Triestines; we are cosmopolites; we know nothing of Italian or German, and have nothing to do with Italian or German nationalities.”<sup>577</sup> For Bruck to be a Triestine implied standing beyond the then emerging national identifications.<sup>578</sup> His words were also testimony not only to the fact that local merchants engaged with other ethnic groups (or nationalities), but also to the willingness of some to identify self-consciously with a cosmopolitan identity.<sup>579</sup>

Triestine cosmopolitanism has been widely accepted by historians as a feature of the city’s commercial class. This depiction of the historically cosmopolitan nature of the city as a whole (in itself not unfounded, as exemplified by the episode above) has been recently put into question and described as a ‘myth’ originating from ‘imperial nostalgia’ for the Habsburg past of the city.<sup>580</sup> Ballinger has altogether opted for a view hinging on the notion that Trieste’s nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism was a myth constructed in the second half of the twentieth century out of nostalgia for the Habsburg past, after the nationalist chauvinisms and episodes of ethnic cleansing that torn the Julian Region following the collapse of the Monarchy in 1918.<sup>581</sup> As François Fejtó pointed out, the ‘Habsburg myth’ discussed by Magris was not merely a literary myth of a golden age, but actually was ‘reality’, the reality of a multinational and liberal (for the standards of the time) society.<sup>582</sup> The rise of Trieste from a small town into a cosmopolitan free port has also been described as a myth

<sup>576</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*.

<sup>577</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands*, 221.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.* For Kandler and Mauroner, and their role as mediators between Habsburg authorities and Italian speakers, see chapter two on 1848 in Trieste.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>580</sup> Ballinger, ‘Imperial nostalgia: mythologizing Habsburg Trieste’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8 (2003), 84-101.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>582</sup> François Fejtó, *Requiem pour un empire défunt* (Paris, 1988).

originating in the propagandistic efforts of journalists employed by the Austrian Lloyd.<sup>583</sup> Nevertheless, as Kirchner Reill put it, although these journalists might well have idealised the picture of the socio-cultural success of Trieste, in the middle of the nineteenth century “images of a heterogeneous maritime trade world were not unreal.”<sup>584</sup> Ballinger’s assumption cannot be dismissed outright insofar as it underpins the several contemporary simplistic accounts rooted in local nostalgia and dissatisfaction with Italian centralism. Possibly, the question of cosmopolitanism rests on another issue, that is the fact that cosmopolitanism was limited to a relatively restricted if nevertheless influential sector of Triestine society.

Studies have generally focussed on the cosmopolitan nature of Trieste’s merchant elites, and understandably so, given that they shaped the economy and thriving culture of the city, which peaked during the Belle Époque before the First World War. Historiography has relegated the rest of the population to a backstage dichotomy between Italians and Slovenes as soon as Slovenes stopped being assimilated to Italian culture in the 1870s, as the story goes.<sup>585</sup> At the same time, focus on the trading community would be redundant here, given the number of works conducted on the topic and the fact that affluent merchants had always had international connections, in what appears to be a constant throughout human history.<sup>586</sup> The ‘Port Jew’, a category put forward by Sorkin, and the ensuing broader port merchant categorization are indeed particularly relevant for the Triestine case.<sup>587</sup> Mark Mazower’s and Charles King’s recent histories of Salonika and Odessa, the multi-ethnic emporia of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, further explored the fundamental role of Jewish communities in the development and prosperity of both port cities, whose decline as world cities and multi-ethnic crossroads, as in the Triestine case, was reflected by the disappearance of empires,

<sup>583</sup> Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 81-83. By ‘nineteenth century’, what is meant here is the ‘long nineteenth century’, in other words the period ending with the outbreak of the First World War.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.* 45.

<sup>585</sup> For the perception of Trieste as ‘Italian’, see the introduction of this thesis, pages 34-6.

<sup>586</sup> See Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism. A Comparative Study of Total Power* (Yale, 1957), with specific reference to Medieval Muslim societies.

<sup>587</sup> David Sorkin, ‘The Port Jew: Notes Toward a Social Type’, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 50, 1 (1999), 87-97.



consolidation of nation states, and almost total extermination of Jews during the German occupation of the Second World War, albeit assisted by their Italian and Romanian allies. In a similar way, other port merchant communities suffered from the disappearance of multi-ethnic polities: namely, Greeks in Alexandria, Smyrna, and, together with Armenians, Constantinople. The decadence of these multi-ethnic communities ensued the nationalist Turkish takeover following the demise of the Ottoman dynasty and the overthrow of Mohammad Ali's dynasty in Egypt with the establishment of Nasser's regime.<sup>588</sup>

The question of cosmopolitanism *per se* does not constitute the scope of this discussion, which is rooted in analysis of multi-ethnic coexistence, the formation of hybrid a-national identities, in this context precisely a Triestine identity, and loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy, which was premised on such features. In this respect, analysis of Triestine primary sources points to the existence of multi-ethnic exchanges resulting in hybrid identities cutting through local society, which makes for a composite picture also in their relation to dynastic loyalty and national indifference.

Studies of cosmopolitanism in Trieste have already been conducted. Yet emphasis has been put on the commercial class, making cosmopolitanism an elite phenomenon, while maintaining that the rest of the population assimilated to Italian culture until more clear-cut distinctions between Italian

<sup>588</sup> Charles King, *Odessa. Genius and Death in a City of Dreams* (New York, 2011), for the history of Odessa as the multi-ethnic port of the Russian Empire, founded by a Neapolitan officer in the service of Catherine II the Great, de Ribas, in a territory taken from the Turks. Its Jewish population, which made up almost half of the total at the beginning of the twentieth century, was wiped out not by Nazis, but Romanians, who were responsible for the genocide of at least 220,000 Jews from Odessa and Transnistria, the Axis occupied territories under direct Romanian control, in a cumbersome history chapter that has been omitted until recently. For Salonika, and its specular history, with the historical multi-ethnicity, prosperous merchant community, international networks, and considerable Jewish community, which was exterminated by Nazi occupation forces, see Mark Mazower, *Salonika*; Mark Levene, 'Port Jewry of Salonika: between Neo-colonialism and Nation-state', in D. Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950* (London, 2002), 125-54; for both cities, Maria Vassilikou, 'Greeks and Jews in Salonika and Odessa: inter-ethnic relations in cosmopolitan port cities', in Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews*, 155-72. For the traditional role of Mohammad Ali's dynasty as endorsers of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional society, see what has remained a classic in the study of the Middle East, George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Philadelphia, 1939), 21-34.

and Slovene national identifications prevailed.<sup>589</sup> Material from the municipal archive of Trieste confirms the existence of cosmopolitanism as an elite characteristic, while also demonstrating the scope of other forms of multi-ethnic cooperation more widely within the population. Through analysis of Austrian naturalisation papers this chapter suggests that elite cosmopolitanism was not the only form of multi-ethnicity and a-national categorizations in people's everyday lives. The discussion seeks to demonstrate that there were different forms of inter-ethnic participation across society, multiple contexts and ways of showing openness to 'the other' as well as different reasons behind the willingness to integrate to the new polity for whose citizenship foreigners applied. Asking for naturalisation was a sign of local allegiance but also a sign of allegiance to the Empire. Naturalisation requests also testify to people's reliance on the technological and economic advancements of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>590</sup>

Whether economic, that is concerning the business or employment opportunities available, bound up with the trading networks with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, or political, following the abandonment of one's own native country in favour of Trieste after political developments (e.g. anti-revolutionary backlashes after 1848 and Piedmontese expansionism, which in this context better explains the process of Italian unification), the different reasons behind the decision of settling in Trieste did not preclude people from actively engaging with 'the other'. In either case, whether a sincere attachment to the Habsburgs developed, out of gratitude and appreciation of imperial institutions, or whether purely opportunistic calculations propelled individuals to base their business activities in the port city without any actual bond to the Monarchy,

<sup>589</sup> For analyses of elite cosmopolitanism as a feature that set the trading community apart from the rest of the city, see Cattaruzza, 'Cittadinanza e ceto mercantile a Trieste: 1749-1850'. For examples of elite cosmopolitanism and the perpetuation of the trope of assimilation to Italian culture see Catalan, 'The ambivalence of a port city', 95 in which the author writes about the formation of a Slovene middle-class from the 1870s onwards as the "process [that] brought a halt to the Slovenians' assimilation into Italian culture and society, a process which had been growing from the birth of the free-port", that is already in the eighteenth century, an interpretation that actually runs counter to understandings of the formation and existence of *linguae francae*, for which see the introduction to the thesis. Also for Italian culture, whether it already existed and, if so, what it actually implied, see the introduction of this thesis.

<sup>590</sup> For the Habsburg Monarchy and progress see Judson, *The Habsburg Monarchy*; Frank, 'Continental and Maritime Empires in an Age of Global Commerce'.

people from any ethnic background did engage with other ethnicities. Multi-ethnic cooperation, amid genuine loyalty to the Austrian concept of the state or opportunism, is not inconsequential. Through evidence gathered from naturalisation applications, it reflects intense inter-ethnic involvement at a time, that is the middle of the century into the 1860s, when nationalist propaganda began its conscious effort of nation building through the attempt at crystallizing national categorizations.<sup>591</sup>

This chapter goes beyond merchants' cosmopolitanism and examines a range of different features of inter-ethnic relationships. My lens to investigate these relations will be applications for naturalisation, with which people from different ethnic backgrounds wanted to become Austrian and Triestine citizens. These records are held in the municipal archive of Trieste (Archivio Generale del Comune di Trieste). Naturalisation requests provide a great many of clues regarding the ways in which multi-ethnic coexistence and cooperation across the social spectrum occurred, namely through collegiality and intermarriage, as well as the language practices that can be evinced from these documents. The peculiar features that, in the case of partially literate people belonging to less affluent classes, whether with Venetian, German, or Slavic origins, whose grasp of literary Italian was evidently weak, are suggestive of the language practices in place and the fact that lower classes were not assimilated to a supposed Italian culture, but rather to the hybrid local Triestine culture. With regard to the underlying reasons for seeking Austrian naturalisation, these sources offer glimpses about the extent of opportunistic attitudes, often present among merchants, as opposed to more genuine dispositions towards the Austrian state on the part of the many who fled their respective country of origin and found a safe haven in Trieste. In the documents of the municipal archive there are only few examples of unsuccessful applications, which are far outnumbered by the successful ones, and which will be covered and explicitly discussed as rejected by the authorities. All the other

<sup>591</sup> For the process of nation building as part and parcel of the middle of the nineteenth century, see Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History, Vol. 1* (Oxford, 1934) who also studied first-hand the transformations taking place in the Balkans a few decades after the period on which the present discussion focusses.

cases analysed, the vast majority, pertain to successful applications, and thus it is not necessary to state that naturalisation was granted when discussing these cases.

Working across ethnic boundaries and marrying outside one's own socio-linguistic group (which are biographical clues on which naturalisation applications inform us), had different implications for different people. How did this cultural exchange unfold and what were its implications? Cosmopolitanism per se, on which historiography has centred, does not constitute the focus of the present discussion, insofar as it is a notion that does not capture the lived experiences of the majority of the population, who engaged with 'the other' without even ever leaving the port city. The prevalence of these cases, and their relevance for the discussion and contribution to better understandings of inter-ethnic encounters and the cogency of national indifference and ethnic hybridity notwithstanding the birth of nation states, can also be seen in numerical terms as opposed to the phenomenon of elite cosmopolitanism, which was numerically limited to the few thousand people belonging to the trading community. Furthermore, cooperation across ethnic groups and, possibly, indifference not only to nations - which did not necessarily exist yet for the majority of people (since national affiliations were initially the preserve of intellectuals and were then spread by publicists) - but also to ethnic categorizations, appear to have been an effective counterbalance to rising nationalisms. Nevertheless, it is precisely on these categories that coeval journalism and present-day historiography have focussed.<sup>592</sup>

The bulk of primary sources on which this discussion is premised consists of naturalisation applications, which offer clues about what inter-ethnic encounters implied in people's everyday lives and social relationships. This chapter focusses on the evidence that naturalisation applications offer

<sup>592</sup> For national historiographies see the introduction to this thesis; for nationalist narratives propounded by journalists and pamphleteers, whose views were instrumental in legitimising national identities, Italian claims over the Adriatic, and later Italian historiography steeped in the *italianità* of Trieste, see chapter two on 1848 in Trieste and chapter three on Fiume.

regarding the identities of thousands of Trieste's inhabitants, suggesting that the majority of people did not identify with specific national identities but, to the contrary, a-national forms of identification ascribable to the particular Triestine identity that was thus formed. Naturalisation requests have been found to be an instrumental primary source for analysis of what being a Triestine citizen and Habsburg subject meant to those who identified with these categorizations. At stake are conceptual categories that go beyond both national affiliations, which appears to be the rule if newspapers and pamphlets are to be taken as non-partisan sources (which it is clear they were not), and cosmopolitanism: namely, ethnic hybridity, indifference to the nation, and localism. The first primary material to which it is necessary to revert in order to contextualize Triestine cosmopolitanism as it first appeared to foreign observers, since it is cosmopolitanism that struck their attention, is Paton's account of his stay in the port city. The brief recollection will gradually lead the discussion to naturalisation applications proper, first by dealing in passing with Greeks, Jews, and Germans as merchants (the 'cosmopolitans'), then by looking at less affluent Germans, subjects of the Papal State, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and eventually the Veneto.

Paton, who would become British consul at Ragusa/Dubrovnik in 1864, first visited the port city in 1847, around the same time to which the oldest naturalisation applications here analysed hark back.<sup>593</sup> In Trieste he had the opportunity to meet some of the most prominent personalities of the city and later reported their views on Trieste's identity and different allegiances in his travel account. Throughout his visit he would note that "nowhere, either on the Adriatic or in the Austrian Empire, is there a great or more interesting variety of population than in Trieste."<sup>594</sup> Still, while acknowledging that Trieste was "a complete mixture of races" with Greeks merchants being "in great force [...] and exercis[ing] a great influence", he also stated that the Italian and German elements predominated.<sup>595</sup> As far as he could see, Italians constituted a majority whose national sentiments

<sup>593</sup> TNA, PRO 30/22/98/47, Lord Russell to Lord Bloomfield, A consul necessary at Ragusa, 14 May 1862.

<sup>594</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 215.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.* 216-7.

were nonetheless compatible with Austrian rule, given their conviction “of the absolute dependence of the material prosperity of Trieste on the German provinces behind them.”<sup>596</sup> Although he would write of the absence of vehement nationalist feelings amongst Italian merchants, they were originally from the Italian peninsula. Furthermore, the city was not regarded as being part of Italy, differently from Austrian Italy (i.e. Lombardy and Venetia): “the almost universal use of the language of ‘Si’”, notwithstanding his claim of an Italian majority in town, was not a sign of Trieste’s belonging to Italy but rather of “[its] vicinity to Italy.”<sup>597</sup> The immediate hinterland, which was in fact Slovene, appeared to him as a mixture of German and Slavic peoples, with “the dress and appearance of the people remind[ing] [...] of the vicinity to the lands [...] that stretch from the Alps to the Baltic.”<sup>598</sup>

This observation very much resembles Larry Wolff’s reading of Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s travel through Silesia in the 1770s. To Fichte, Silesia appeared “as a region of multiple transitions.”<sup>599</sup> Wolff’s analysis points to “the uncertainty, ambiguity, and malleability of identity in Central Europe.”<sup>600</sup> Since these are common traits shared by all Central Europe, a context in which “[Fichte had] made ‘Slavic’ into a comparative adjective: *sclavischer*, more Slavic[,] ... [thus] not a designation of absolute difference, but a matter of degree”, the history of Trieste and its hinterland needs to be read in this context.<sup>601</sup> Although the Carniolan peasants “that throng the market-place, and people all the villages on those hills around, are Slaavs ... and speak the same dialect as is heard in Istria, Carinthia, and lower Styria”, according to Paton “the dress and appearance of the people remind one of the vicinity to the lands [...] that stretch from the Alps to the Baltic.”<sup>602</sup> The old-fashioned rural German inn is there.”<sup>603</sup> Fichte’s account, similarly to Paton’s – whose juxtaposition

<sup>596</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 216-7.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.* 215.

<sup>598</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>599</sup> Larry Wolff, ‘The traveler’s view of Central Europe: gradual transitions and degrees of difference in European borderlands’, in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of Empires* (Bloomington, IN, 2013), 28.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.* 32.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.* 28.

<sup>602</sup> Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic*, 215. ‘Slaav’ is the spelling used by Paton.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*

of Slavic and German cultural elements in the Carniolan (that is Slovene) context reflect the appreciation of ethno-cultural markers going beyond language – is steeped in the understanding that hybridity was part and parcel of multi-ethnic regions. Consequently, as Judson put it, in the world of Mitteleuropa, “shared local cultural commonalities may often have outweighed specific differences in language use or religious practice when it came to loyalty and self-identification.”<sup>604</sup> This applies to Silesia as well as Paton’s Trieste and Dalmatia (the focus of the previous chapter) and many other regions of the Empire. Yet this hybridity could change once entering a city and having to deal with affluent classes. This difference is reflected in Paton’s experience of Trieste, of which the public dinner held in Cobden’s honour marked the highlight.<sup>605</sup>

While when he was in Dalmatia, Paton had dealt with intellectuals and people of the lower classes alike, spent time in palaces of the Dalmatian nobility as well as in roadside inns where he conversed with merchants and servants, his stay in Trieste was defined by his involvement with the local commercial elite.<sup>606</sup> As a result, his observations on Trieste reflect the environment that he joined and the merchants who accompanied him during his stay. He drew the conclusion that the city was a mixture of ethnicities (for which he used the term ‘races’). According to him, not only did these groups maintain their specificity, but Italians and Germans constituted the two main groups. Although the first point might well be accurate as far as the trading community is concerned, this congeries of distinct groups shared only use of the Italian language as its *lingua franca*. The trading community was much more diverse than Paton implied. Besides Greeks, Slavs, and the British (which Paton mentioned) there were also Swiss, Dutch, and Ottoman subjects. This heterogeneous community, although presenting national differences emphasised by political events, has been taken as

<sup>604</sup> Judson, ‘Do multiple languages mean a multicultural society?’, in J. Feichtinger and G. Cohen (eds.), *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* (New York, 2014), 80.

<sup>605</sup> See also Paton’s experiences of Fiume and Zara in the previous chapter on the language question in Dalmatia.

<sup>606</sup> For Paton’s Dalmatian travels and observations see the previous chapter.

exemplifying Trieste's society.<sup>607</sup> It is, therefore, necessary first to introduce the migratory trends to the city from the late eighteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth, and then to analyse the primary sources that appear to add much more to the long-held historiographical views of Triestine elite cosmopolitanism as the primary social category on which to focus.<sup>608</sup> The under-studied primary sources consist of Austrian naturalisation applications that hundreds of foreign subjects submitted at the middle of the century. First, as introduced above, those submitted by people belonging traditionally to trading communities, that is Greeks and Jews, will be analysed, then those submitted by applicants from the German Confederation and eventually by people from the various states of the Italian peninsula.

The sources reveal that ethno-religious communities tended to shun marrying outside, favouring instead the preservation of the communities' distinctiveness, as Catalan noted with reference to the local Jewish community. Her reading is partly based on Sorkin's and Dubin's works on the 'port Jew' and 'port merchant'.<sup>609</sup> The merchant, mainly from Greece and the Levant, as the typical immigrant to Trieste characterised migration to the city until the Napoleonic period. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, Greeks, the majority of whom came from Smyrna, together with Levantines (Constantinopolitan Armenians and Maronites), who became naturalised Austrian subjects significantly outnumbered other groups. Dalmatians, Istrians, and Venetians increased in number with the final demise of the Venetian Republic in 1797. The establishment of an Austrian navy as heir to the Venetian triggered a significant increase in naturalisations, with Venetian and Dalmatian seamen representing more than seventy per cent of the naturalised Austrians in Trieste. To these we may add the about sixty seamen from the Marche and Romagna in the Papal States,

<sup>607</sup> In this context, 'nationality' implies the ethnic group to which these men belonged, which *grosso modo* corresponds to present-day nationalities.

<sup>608</sup> The majority of works on Trieste before the twentieth century focus on this aspect. Ballinger's response to this tendency can be explained in light of the prevalence of works on cosmopolitanism. See Ballinger, 'Imperial nostalgia: mythologizing Habsburg Trieste'.

<sup>609</sup> Catalan, 'The ambivalence of a port city'. For Trieste's Jewish community, see also Angelo Ara, 'Gli ebrei a Trieste (1850-1918)', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 102, 1 (1990), 53-86.



amounting to about twenty percent of new Austrian subjects in the first years of the nineteenth century. These figures show the increase of seamen in town reflecting the consolidation of an Austro-Venetian navy based in Trieste on the eve of the Napoleonic occupation of the city.<sup>610</sup>

With the slow economic recovery of the port city, concurrent with that of the whole continent and following the end of the Napoleonic wars, merchants again began to settle in the free port and applied for naturalisation in numbers.<sup>611</sup> Although they still represented a sizable share of the newly naturalised Austrians, a still greater portion of those who chose to apply for Austrian naturalisation consisted of people who were not involved in trade, thus reflecting the increasing need for services meeting basic needs (i.e. food and clothing) that ensued the growth of the city's population.<sup>612</sup> In the period from 1 November 1852 to the end of October 1853 only, for example, one hundred twelve people were accepted as new Austrians and Triestines, amounting to a total of almost four hundred people, with their families included.<sup>613</sup> To these we may add a still greater number of people who could not apply for Austrian citizenship because they did not meet the naturalisation requirements, that is, the duration of stay in the Monarchy and adequate economic conditions. The fact that so many people from all over Europe and the Mediterranean wished to live and work in the Habsburg Monarchy, with many of them also desiring to obtain Austrian citizenship, especially in a period which many historians have described as a time characterised by an authoritarian turn in Austrian policies, after the destabilizing experience of the 1848-49 period, might appear as surprising. In fact, it is at odds with the widely held view of Austria as a repressive police state.<sup>614</sup> Meticulous attention

<sup>610</sup> Archivio del Comune di Trieste, Mag. b.1071 F 1/6, 1848-1852 (ACTS 1848-52), 'Naturalisation records summary for the 1786-1808 period'. For the early stages of the Habsburg navy as heir to the Venetian, see Sondhaus, *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian naval Policy, 1797-1866* (West Lafayette, IN: 1989).

<sup>611</sup> Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats*.

<sup>612</sup> Not all immigrants to Trieste chose to apply for Austrian naturalisation. Living in a foreign state as a foreign subject had undoubtedly its advantages, among which the possibility to evade military conscription in the country of origin as well as in the host state (a question on which the next chapter dwells). Among other things, Austrian naturalisation secured safer rights to work to successful applicants.

<sup>613</sup> Figures for the year 1853 in the summary of naturalisation requests, ACTS 1848-53.

<sup>614</sup> More recently, David Laven's studies on Habsburg Venetia have pointed out that the perception of Habsburg rule in northern Italy as repressive was the result of active Italian propaganda handed down through Risorgimento historiography. See Laven, 'Law and Order in Habsburg Venetia, 1815-1835', *The Historical Journal* 39, 2 (1996), 383-403; Laven,

to laws on the part of authorities, irrespective of origin or religion, in line with the cogency of the supra-national principles of the Monarchy, underlies the guarantee that the Rule of Law provided.

## 5.2 Becoming Austrian: naturalisation papers

To qualify for Austrian citizenship applicants had to demonstrate to own sufficient means of subsistence for themselves and their families, that they had lived in the Austrian states for a certain amount of time and that they intended to continue living in the Monarchy. Irrespective of status, an applicant had to demonstrate that he could provide for himself and his family, so that he would not be a burden to the finances of the municipality.<sup>615</sup> The hurdles did not appear insurmountable, nor were the decisions of the Austrian authorities haphazard. The vast majority of pleas for Austrian naturalisation were met favourably even when from people not belonging to the affluent middle-classes, such as tailors, shoemakers, sailors, innkeepers, etc. Far from proving the Italian nationalist accusations levelled against Habsburg authorities of seeking to Germanise the city, several German-born applicants were not granted Triestine citizenship on grounds of their insufficient means of subsistence or because their residence had been too brief.<sup>616</sup> As a rule, people of any origin and faith were welcomed into the fold of the Triestine and Austrian citizens (with the word subject and citizen used interchangeably by the local authorities) provided they met the requirements.

Although applicants had to prove they had no criminal record, cases related to bankruptcy were met with leniency; delinquency or revolutionary activity by contrast were generally considered unacceptable. Take, for example, the case of Giorgio Moraiti, who was born in Trieste, but whose

(1997) 'Austria's Italian Policy Reconsidered: Revolution and Reform in Restoration Italy', *Modern Italy* 2, 1 (1997), 3-33.

<sup>615</sup> A document that well explains this is Pietro Buffetti's naturalisation application, ACTS 1853. I use the male 'he', since the vast majority of applicants were men. Women accounted for three of the hundreds of applications I analysed in the municipal archive of Trieste.

<sup>616</sup> See Valussi, *Trieste e l'Istria*, 6.

father was from the United States of the Ionian Islands. This formerly Venetian archipelago spanned the Ionian Sea from Corfu in the north to Kythira in the south, and from 1815 to 1864 it was a British protectorate. In 1846 Moraitti was arrested for a month on charges of involuntary bankruptcy in his activity as seller. At the moment of his naturalisation application in 1852, he ran a *trattoria*. In his plea, he pointed to the fact that as he had lived in Trieste since his birth, and “ he did not know any other rule than that of the august House of Austria, no other laws [...], and desire[d] to pursue his career and life in this Empire with stronger bonds.”<sup>617</sup> He was granted Austrian citizenship. In August 1852, a father and son of Greek origin, Nicolò and Milziade Ciclitira, both born in Trieste, asked to obtain Austrian citizenship. Neither of them was inscribed in the registers of the Hellenic consulate as Hellenic subjects. While the son, Nicolò, was granted Austrian citizenship “given the favourable information about him and since he own[ed] adequate means of sustenance”, his father, an unlicensed broker, was rejected on the basis of “compromised reputation”, having been previously convicted for fraud.<sup>618</sup>

The requirements were therefore clear and applicants appear to have been aware of their rights, including having the possibility of appealing to the higher authority of the Government of the Littoral. We find a context where the principles of the Rule of Law, or *Rechtsstaat*, were clearly applied, thus providing further evidence for the fact that a certain historiographical tradition originating from nationalist agitation was far from depicting the reality concerning Habsburg institutions and society.<sup>619</sup> In the decades under analysis here, there is no change whatsoever in the

<sup>617</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giorgio Moraitti’s plea.

<sup>618</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Magistrate’s report on Nicolò and Milziade Ciclitira.

<sup>619</sup> For the perpetuation of this widely negative view about Habsburg rule in Italy, see Laven, ‘Foreign rule? Transnational, national, and local perspectives on Venice and Venetia within the ‘multinational’ empire’, *Modern Italy 19* (2014), 5. With regards to the Venetian context, Laven states that among Italian scholars “there has persisted a tendency to view the rule of Francis I, Ferdinand, and Francis Joseph as a sombre and unhappy interlude between the fall of the *Serenissima* and the incorporation of Venice and its Terraferma within the newly united Italian state.” His remarks are all the more appropriate in light of the exemplary role played by tens of thousands of Venetians in the war of 1866 on the Habsburg side, for which see Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*. They also apply to the Triestine context, since Trieste has been culturally and ethnically associated by Italian historiography with Lombardy-Venetia or Italy more generally. For a recent example, see Millo, ‘Trieste, 1830-70: From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation’.

attitude of Habsburg authorities, whether municipal, of the Küstenland, or the central Viennese government; the consistent feature is the painstaking compliance with and implementation of the various laws concerning naturalisations, thus pointing to the cogency and impartiality of the Habsburg *Rechtsstaat*, insofar as the most significant concrete contributions to the development of the Rule of Law in nineteenth-century Europe came from Prussia and Austria, too often perceived as police states by nationalist activists and historiography, possibly and precisely because of their attention in complying with the Law. The case of 32-year-old Giorgio Salvori, native of Durres in Albania, exemplifies such attention to norms while taking into account specific cases. Asked by the municipal magistrate whether he had the intention to have his fixed domicile in the Monarchy, he stated that he had been in Trieste since 1835 and that he had “the firm intention of settling in the royal imperial states and [Trieste] in particular, where he [had] already conducted profitable trade, with the intention of having all [his] family reach the Austrian states.”<sup>620</sup> He observed that his only absences would be due to voyages in the Levant aimed at overseeing his commercial operations, a fact that the leaders of the Oriental Greek nation of Trieste confirmed.<sup>621</sup>

Problems would occasionally arise in the case of subjects from the Ottoman Empire, given the incompatibility between Habsburg and Ottoman jurisprudence, the latter being based on the *sharia*, that is the Islamic law. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century “Austria had ... played a crucial role as the friend and advocate of Ottoman interests in the West for roughly half a century, albeit largely [and precisely] for her own mostly mercantile interests.”<sup>622</sup> The first of such cases opens with the municipal magistrate’s enquiry about whether Pietro Cokinò, a merchant from Adrianople who, before settling in Trieste in 1820, had lived in Marseille, still had any possessions in the Ottoman Empire, in which case he could not be given Triestine citizenship and, as a

<sup>620</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giorgio Salvori’s plea.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>622</sup> David Schiffrl, ‘Austrian intelligence and the national interest in the Mediterranean region during the early nineteenth century’, in Mika Suonpää and Owain Wright (eds.) *Diplomacy and Intelligence in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London, 2019), 96.

consequence, be naturalised as Austrian. Although Cokinò had then been living in Trieste for 30 years, and demonstrated irreproachable moral and political conduct “which earned him public esteem and the respect of the mercantile class”, his request initially met with some hurdles which the civic magistrate did not fail to address. In January 1849, 36-year-old Giuseppe Cassal, property owner from Aleppo, who had first arrived in Trieste in 1830 from his native city with a Tuscan passport, stayed there for four years devoting himself to trade. In 1839, he inherited a building in Trieste from his uncle Naum. Since the inception of the National Guard he had been signed up in that institution. As he explained to the authorities, he “yearn[ed] to possess Austrian citizenship, so that to evade those unfortunately occurred collisions of foreign citizenship, which occup[ied] the minds of all the Guard due to the divergencies between Mr Lutheroth and Mr Gopcevich”, the latter having triggered a row due to his intransigence against foreign participation in the National Guard.<sup>623</sup> Although Cassal pledged his fealty to the Constitutional Monarchy, “promising to always abide by the laws and prescriptions of the Constitutional Empire”, as he put it, people continued to strive for naturalisation well after the promises of 1848 foundered.<sup>624</sup>

Giovanni Caravella, in January 1851, was questioned by the magistrate regarding whether and what relatives he had in his native land, Epirus, when and with what document he had arrived in Trieste, and if he owned personal property or real estate in his fatherland. Caravella recounted that he was born in Prevesa in 1784, “then ruled by England and left [his] fatherland in 1798 with [his] family.” The reason for leaving Prevesa was the Turkish invasion of Epirus, which was still under Ottoman occupation. The Ottoman government confiscated his family’s properties, since the family did not want to return. From Prevesa they had moved to Corfù, which he then left for Trieste in 1823 in search of a secure occupation. Syrian-born Antonio Kezek, too, had to prove that he did not have any properties in Ottoman lands, while Stefano Pazimadi made sure in 1851 that he was a Greek

<sup>623</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giuseppe Cassal’s plea, January 1849. The bulletin of the National Guard follows the altercation between Gopcevich, a Montenegrin by origin, and the rest of the Guard.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*

subject, whose family was originally from Tinos, in the Cyclades, and that he was born in Ottoman Smyrna only accidentally.<sup>625</sup>

Likewise, Tommaso Kindineko, a Greek merchant from Alexandria of Egypt, declared that he did not possess “real estate either in Turkey or Egypt.”<sup>626</sup> He also stated that his “sincere attachment to the Austrian cause would be proved by both the General Consulate in Alexandria and Mr Reitz, royal imperial Vice-Consul in Karthoum, especially with reference to his demeanour in the years 1848 and 1849 [...] [and] how [he] care[d] about Austrian trade and interests in Egypt and the Sudan, [would] be certified by Consul Hueber.”<sup>627</sup> Kindineko had a dozen other merchants, mainly Jews and Dalmatians, the latter amounting to a half of the signatories, certify that in the 1848-49 period “he was known in Alexandria for being amongst those people mostly attached to the Austrian cause.”<sup>628</sup> Yet Greeks and Levantines represented a close-knit community. That the language of use in these bureaucratic dealings with the authorities and other merchants was Italian does not mean that either they, or even the Dalmatians, were Italianised. Nor does their desire to obtain Austrian citizenship imply a genuine sense of attachment to the Habsburg dynasty, since many were ready to change sides and support Italian annexation of Trieste once the economic prosperity of the port-city came to a standstill in the 1860s, as the British diplomat Alexander Graham Dunlop observed at the time of Italian unification (on which the next chapter focusses).<sup>629</sup>

<sup>625</sup> ACTS 1853, Antonio Kezek’s plea and Stefano Pazimadi’s plea.

<sup>626</sup> ACTS 1853, Tommaso Kindineko’s plea.

<sup>627</sup> ACTS 1853, Tommaso Kindineko’s plea.

<sup>628</sup> ACTS 1853, Certificate for Tommaso Kindineko. The Dalmatians signing were Pipcovich, Settich, Martinolich, Pauchich, and Giurgevich. Leone Caridia: Babich and Bratich witnesses to the signing. For Italian history in a transnational context and in direct relation to Egypt, see Joseph Viscomi, ‘Mediterranean futures: historical time and the departure of Italians from Egypt, 1919-1937’, *Journal of Modern History* 91, 2 (2019), 341-379 and Viscomi, ‘Between Italy and Egypt: migrating histories and political genealogies’, in I. Awad (ed.), *International Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Region. Cairo Papers in Social Science* (Cairo, Egypt, 2019), 15-33.

<sup>629</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Graham Dunlop to George Elliott, State of feeling at Trieste, 19 June 1861.

Use of Italian in reports or pleas does not imply either that people felt Italian or that Italian was their language of preference.<sup>630</sup> Rather, as consular papers from Damascus and Cairo show, Italian was the language of Austrian diplomacy in the region, which also Egyptian officials used in their dealings with Austrian subjects.<sup>631</sup> Austrian consuls and officials in the Levant, whether of German or Slavic extraction, used the Italian language, a fact that was devoid of any national connotations.<sup>632</sup> In July 1857, various Greek merchants wrote from Cairo to the Trieste authorities in Italian certifying how they had met and worked with Costantino Beserianni, a Greek from Trieste, and vouching for his irreproachable conduct, testifying to the strong corporative identity of the merchant community that linked the various main ports of the Levant and in particular Trieste with Alexandria.<sup>633</sup> Others wrote in Italian too. For example, the *bey* of the Cairo police for the affairs of Europeans was at ease in producing a certificate in that same language.<sup>634</sup> The following year, in April, Beserianni took his naturalisation oath at the Austrian Consulate in Cairo at the presence of Consul von Kremer, who signed himself ‘de Kremer’ (that is with an Italianised version of ‘von’), and chancellor Bratich. The official language of Austrian consulates and dependencies in the region was Italian, from Vice-Consul in Durres, Albania, to Consul von Kremer in Alexandria as well as the general consulate in London, although the last only when dealing with Mediterranean questions.<sup>635</sup>

While Greeks did represent a maritime trading community, as in Russia, where they had been instrumental in the development of the port city of Odessa, its engagement and exchanges with other local communities tells more about the limited extent of its members’ integration to the urban context

<sup>630</sup> This question was central to the chapters on the Gulf of Kvarner and Dalmatia as well as on the one of Fiume and language practices there.

<sup>631</sup> ACTS 1854-57, Certificate for Costantino Beserianni. In this document, the head of the Cairo police writes in Italian.

<sup>632</sup> For widespread use of Italian in the eastern Mediterranean, see the introduction of this thesis.

<sup>633</sup> ACTS 1854-57, Certificate for Costantino Beserianni.

<sup>634</sup> ACTS 1858, Certificate released in June 1857 by the chief of the police of Cairo in Italian, with witnesses certifying Costantino Beserianni’s good conduct bearing Greek, Italian and French surnames.

<sup>635</sup> ACTS 1853, ‘I.R. Vice-Consolato d’Austria in Durazzo, Dubravcich to Teodoro Pulli’, 25 January 1853. The Slavic surname Dubravčić is rendered into Dubravcic by himself. Habsburg diplomats at Damascus and Cairo issued certificates in Italian also signing their names in Italianised versions. ACTS 1858, Consul von Kremer, 25 June 1860.

as well as the fact that a Habsburg, or even Triestine, identity was never adopted by Greeks.<sup>636</sup> The same reasons that made a person like Demetrio Nussa state that he had “never doubted to be Austrian”, until bureaucracy proved him wrong, spurred several others to find arguments for being considered as foreigners once Austria’s economy entered a period of recession in the 1860s.

The same retention of specificities characterised the life of the local Jewish community across social classes. Irrespective of their origins in the Italian peninsula and their profession, Jews would find employment mainly within the Jewish community. While several of them, not only tailors and petty vendors, but also Sephardic Jewish merchants like Benedetto Guetta from Livorno and Fortunato Taib from Tunis, had settled permanently in the city for more than a decade, others had left the Monarchy with the hope of still retaining or even acquiring Austrian citizenship.<sup>637</sup> Giacomo Brandenburg’s example is a case in point. Writing from Malta in November 1858, he stated to be “son of the deceased Anselmo Brandenburg and Fortunata Cusin, [that he] was born in the city and Free Port of Trieste on 23 July 1809 as of the birth certificate issued by the Jewish community.”<sup>638</sup> Although he grew up in Trieste, in 1835 he moved abroad for business and had been at La Valletta since 1836, where he also joined the Catholic faith. Since for 70 years his father, a Prussian subject from the Duchy of Posen “had been continuously domiciled in Trieste ... [he] dare[d] beg the Lieutenancy that Austrian citizenship be accorded [him].”<sup>639</sup> In a similar way, his brother Mayer Vita Brandenburg adduced motives for being granted Austrian citizenship although no longer living on Austrian soil. The previous year, he wrote from Constantinople that he had left Trieste in 1830 for

<sup>636</sup> While a more popularised history, Orlando Figes’s book on the Crimean War lucidly explains the fundamental role of Greeks in Russian aspirations over the Aegean and their active involvement in the Russian navy. See Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (London, 2010).

<sup>637</sup> ACTS 1853, Benedetto Guetta’s plea, 13 February 1853. “Benedetto of Vita Guetta, trader native of Livorno, here [in Trieste] for more than ten years, with family and children born in this city, aspires to the high honour and benefit of being qualified subject of H.M. Apostolic Emperor Franz Josef I gloriously reigning, to enjoy the benefits of the paternal regime of the scepter of the most august House of Austria”. ACTS 1853, Police report on Fortunato Taib, 25 June 1853: “Fortunato Taib native of Tunis, thirty-three years old ... for thirteenn years in this city, has been conducting trade with his own means.”

<sup>638</sup> ACTS 1858, Giacomo Brandenburg’s plea, Malta, 10 November 1858.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*



Corfù, where he was still domiciled, and that he was “given a temporary passport by Ionian authorities to reach Constantinople.”<sup>640</sup> He further supported his plea arguing that his brothers Moisé, living in Trieste, and Samuele, living in Corfù like himself, had been accorded Austrian citizenship.<sup>641</sup>

### 5.3 The Germans of Trieste: foreigners or Triestines?

It was not only Greek or Jewish merchants who in the 1850s wished to secure ties with Austria by asking for naturalisation even if they did not live on Austrian soil. For personal considerations, other merchants made sure to be Austrian when overseas. Matteo Lucich’s case, for example, is enlightening about the popularity enjoyed by Austria throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Austria had long been held in high esteem throughout the Levant and Egypt, “with her focus on trade, neutrality and mediation.” a popularity that it enjoyed in Lebanon at least as late as the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>642</sup> Lucich, a merchant who had died in Odessa, where he resided for commercial reasons, “was [there] commonly considered, and he himself repeatedly declared in the office of [that] i.r. General Consulate, an Austrian subject.” Born in Trebinje, in modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was described as originally a Serbian subject; the magistrate suggested that merchant Giuseppe Brambilla, who in 1831 was one of the four directors of the local Slavic insurance company (*Società Slava d’Assicurazione*), may possibly be capable of elucidating the authorities about Lucich’s nationality, a hint suggesting assiduous inter-ethnic collaboration between merchants.<sup>643</sup>

In a quite similar fashion, Giorgio Scardi testified to have bequeathed his properties in Agrafa, in the Pindus region of continental Greece, asking for a prompt decision on his application, since he

<sup>640</sup> ACTS 1854-57, Mayer Vita Brandenburg’s plea, Constantinople, 20 November 1857.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>642</sup> Schiffri, ‘Austrian intelligence and the national interest’, 96.

<sup>643</sup> ACTS 1858, Magistrate’s report on Matteo Lucich; *Schematismo dell’Imperiale Regio Littorale Austriaco-Illirico* (Trieste, 1831), 222. Brambilla is a typical Lombard surname.

had “built a merchant ship in the dock of Capodistria, which he desired could sail under Austrian flag.”<sup>644</sup> The two witnesses were a certain Giacomo Sandri and Giovanni Frühbauer. The fact that one person with an Italian surname and another with a German surname, who also signed his first name in the Italian version, supported the application of a Greek is suggestive of the extent of multi-ethnic cooperation within the local merchant community, if not assimilation to a local culture.<sup>645</sup> Sandri also appears as a witness to the certificate issued by several merchants for German-born Rudolfo Eduardo Deuberth, in a highly heterogeneous group including British, French, Slavic, and German family names.<sup>646</sup> Deuberth was not the only German, but part of a numerous group of merchants and entrepreneurs from the German states. These wealthier people added to a considerable number of less affluent Germans, several of whom were employed by the Austrian Lloyd.<sup>647</sup> This relationship between Germans and Lloyd, but also other local institutions like the National Guard, was condemned by Italian activists, whose claims of Trieste’s Italian character were steeped in xenophobic discourses, insofar as they manifested their scorn for the German and Slavic cultures, which they feared would undermine the supposed primacy of the Italian language in town.<sup>648</sup>

The local paper *La Frusta*, assuming that Triestines were Italian, complained that notwithstanding “the oft-proclaimed equalisation of nationalities [...] the National Guard was

<sup>644</sup> ACTS 1858, Giorgio Scardi’s plea.

<sup>645</sup> The British community, amounting to about a hundred men (without their families), while engaging with non-British people, constituted a separate foreign entity. See Vice-Consul Brock’s reports, TNA, FO 7/716, Trieste, 1866.

<sup>646</sup> ACTS 1853, Certificate for Rudolfo Deuberth, 12 May 1853. Livesey, Bois de Chesne, Acquaroli, Hartmann, and Giacich are the surnames of the signatories and witnesses to the certificate.

<sup>647</sup> For the Austrian Lloyd see Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats* and page 22 of this thesis. For Germans in Trieste, see Dorsi, ‘Stranieri in patria’, 17; although Dorsi did mention the presence of less affluent Germans, his work focusses on wealthier Germans, whose lives were easier to trace in local archives thanks to several family archives stored there. He stated that ‘I dati di censimento attestano una notevole presenza di tedeschi tra i lavoratori e gli apprendisti delle botteghe artigiane, una presenza talvolta fugace, sulla quale si hanno scarse possibilità di approfondimento’ [The censuses testify to a considerable presence of Germans among workers and apprentices in the artisan workshops, a presence that was often fleeting, and on which there are scarce possibilities of detailed study] (my translation of the Italian original). This chapter proves the contrary, that is, that naturalisation applications do offer clues for providing more detailed analysis on less affluent Germans.

<sup>648</sup> See Orlandini’s and Dall’Ongaro’s statements in chapter two of this thesis, as well as Valussi’s stance against Slavs in Valussi, *Trieste e l’Istria*. For more recent claims of the prevalence of the Italian language already in 1848, which tend to overlook the existence of local hybrid dialects or *linguae francae*, see Verginella, ‘The fight for the national linguistic primacy: testimonies from the Austrian Littoral’, in M. Prokopovych, C. Bethke and T. Scheer (eds.): *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire* (Leiden, 2019), 34.

[commanded] in the German language”.<sup>649</sup> The author continued wondering “how long the guests that [Trieste] greeted and treated as brothers [would] continue impressing the brand of the master on its forehead.”<sup>650</sup> Local journalists’ and pamphleteers’ discussions did not mirror the lived experiences of the majority of Germans living in Trieste. All these Germans who had settled in Trieste before 1848, and continued to do so in the following years, appeared to be unaffected by the expansionistic aims of the Frankfurt Parliament. They did not show any signs of many Frankfurt parliamentarians’ nationalist conviction of the necessity for German culture to have assimilatory tendencies. For they appreciated the fact that in Trieste “the German element [was] weak compared to its Italian and Slavic population,” as von Bruck put it.<sup>651</sup> With these words von Bruck opposed the will of the majority of the Frankfurt Assembly to dismiss the privileges accorded to the free port of Trieste by the Habsburgs.<sup>652</sup> The statement, expressed by a Prussian, underlies the economic, social, and cultural complexity of the Austrian Littoral in the context of 1848 as well as local Germans’ understanding of the multi-ethnic context in which they lived.

The majority of Germans seeking Austrian naturalisation and formal Triestine citizenship in 1848 and the following years point towards a sizable German presence in Trieste that sought to assimilate to the host state and city.<sup>653</sup> While some retained use of the German language, as can be evinced from those pleas written and signed in German, at least half of them wrote their pleas to the Civic Magistrate of Trieste and the Imperial Lieutenancy of the Littoral in Italian and tended to sign themselves with Italianised versions of their names. It is not a matter of few people, and therefore an occurrence that is not indicative of a social phenomenon, but of dozens of Bavarians, Prussians, and

<sup>649</sup> *La Frusta*, 12 December 1848.

<sup>650</sup> *Ibid.* These words did not prevent the paper from sporting loyalty to the dynasty, when a few lines beside it claimed that “there will not be a solution to these issues as long as we see the Triestine National Guard commanded by foreign subjects, as long as foreign subjects will take part in its councils and will influence the votes of the elections. For the Guard to be really Triestine, as it is called, it is appropriate that it is composed of Triestines and Austrians.”

<sup>651</sup> *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main, vol. 1* (ed.) Franz Wigard (Leipzig, 1848-50), 159, see von Bruck’s speech.

<sup>652</sup> On Bruck’s fundamental role in the establishment of the Austrian Lloyd see Coons, *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats*.

<sup>653</sup> For Germans in Trieste, see Dorsi, ‘Stranieri in patria’.

Saxons – amounting to about two hundred people, together with their families, for 1853 only - who had moved to Trieste before 1848 and who continued to do so after the suppression of the revolutions throughout Austria and the German states.<sup>654</sup> In applying for Austrian and Triestine citizenship, these men vouched for the complete settlement of any obligations with the governments of their native countries (e.g. military conscription), the formal abandonment of their fatherlands, and the desire to integrate to the new urban context besides the formal adhesion to the Habsburg dynasty, which might suggest that they did not care much about nationality and found it easy to accommodate within the supranational identity provided by Austria. Those aspiring to Austrian naturalisation had to prove that their interests and future lay on Habsburg soil and in a precise city, in this case Trieste, to which they had to be formally attached. The Italian language used in several instances presents several features unique to the local dialect, which hints at the level of local acculturation taking place. Contrary to the position of Italian nationalists, according to whom it was the power of attraction exerted by Italian culture that spurred foreigners to adhere to it, the Triestine context reveals that the ongoing assimilation occurred at a local level, that is that the majority of people became Triestines, although not all of them Austrians.<sup>655</sup>

Notwithstanding the nationalist agenda taking shape at the Frankfurt Assembly, the commercial elite was unmoved by the political turmoil and ongoing discussions taking place in Frankfurt in 1848. Not only did they feel attached to Trieste and their “adoptive fatherland”, as merchants Gustavo Adolfo Fesch and Guglielmo Eunicke called Austria, but they were also rooted in the trading cosmopolis to which they belonged. Merchants from all over the German lands settled on the shores of the Adriatic, alongside people from all over Europe and the Mediterranean, where they established economic activities, new personal relations, and allegiances. For instance, although

<sup>654</sup> Emphasis on numbers is relevant here. Although it can be argued that a few hundred people alone are not representative of a social phenomenon, Italian historiography is entrenched in the view of the *italianità* of Trieste on the basis of the twenty Triestines and eight Istrians fighting with Garibaldi’s ‘Mille’ in 1860. A list can be found at the entrance of the ‘Museo del Risorgimento’ in Trieste.

<sup>655</sup> See Valussi, *Trieste e l’Istria*.

Giorgio Gwinner, as a Bavarian in Trieste, was Consul of the Kingdom of Bavaria, in 1852 he had been living in Trieste for more than thirty years and was “to be reckoned among the renown persons of this city as trader and property owner.” The local police also reported that he was a model citizen enjoying “a favourable reputation in the commercial, civil, and political sense.”<sup>656</sup> His brother Federico, associate of the firm G. Gwinner, in Trieste since 1824, had already relinquished his Bavarian citizenship already in 1837, when he married Louise Obradovich, widow of a certain Veillot. The abovementioned Fesch, born in the Granduchy of Baden, stated that he had been in Trieste “for twenty-five years uninterruptedly, associate and sales representative of the firm Wessely and Fesch” and in his “adoptive fatherland, [...] [he had] been municipal counsellor and substitute deputy of the Stock Exchange.”<sup>657</sup> Similarly involved in local institutions, Giorgio Vortmann from Hamburg, in Trieste since 1833, was general secretary of the Royal Imperial Insurance Company. In his plea addressing the municipal authorities, he described his attachment to Trieste and Austria as having become so strong due to life occurrences “that he would not move anywhere else, [and] that his children [were] born and [had] been living in the Austrian Empire and therefore [had] no fatherland other than that.”<sup>658</sup> Vortmann even showed his knowledge of his rights as a citizen, as expounded by article 18 of the Act of the Germanic Confederation, which acknowledged and gave the right to move to another state of the Confederation provided they were accepted as subjects of the state where they wished to settle. In a similar vein, Guglielmo Eunicke, who had moved to Trieste in 1815 in his late teens, argued that he believed to possess “all the legal requirements for aspiring to the concession” of being granted Austrian citizenship.<sup>659</sup> His application was witnessed by Giuseppe Marchesi and Luigi Pianz, presumably originating in northern Italy. Witnesses were generally people with whom the applicant had a bond, whether personal or commercial.<sup>660</sup> That in this case two Italian speakers supported the application of a Berliner underlies the extent of the ongoing multi-ethnic

<sup>656</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Police report on Giorgio Gwinner.

<sup>657</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Gustavo Adolfo Fesch’s plea.

<sup>658</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giorgio Vortmann’s plea.

<sup>659</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giorgio Eunicke’s plea.

<sup>660</sup> Catalan, ‘The ambivalence of a port city’, 86.

interaction, which also made Giorgio Gwinner and fifteen other traders with German surnames, out of a total of twenty five merchants, sign a certificate for trader Antonio Kezek from Damascus. Whether through commercial enterprises, friendship, or marriage, German merchants were part and parcel of the cosmopolitan urban elite. All these men signed their names in Italian, testifying to their willingness to be identified as Triestines.

Yet, although constituting the driving force of the city's economy, merchants represented a tiny minority of the urban population. The majority of the applicants belonged to the lower social strata, comprising the petite bourgeoisie and working classes, which were not engaged in distant travel and tended to live continuously in town. While they have been left out from historical accounts, analysis of their naturalisation pleas would provide new insights and a wider picture on local society. All these less affluent people wishing to obtain Austrian citizenship, irrespective of geographic origin, point to the existence of different forms of consistent inter-ethnic involvement among the lower classes. It was not cosmopolitan ideals but daily interaction with people of other religious confessions, different professions and languages through the shared medium of the Italian language or Triestine dialect. Among these, German craftsmen and employees contributed a considerable share, far outnumbering wealthy merchants. They were tailors, carpenters, upholsterers, coachmen, naval mechanics who experienced the 1848-1849 period without causing any trouble to the authorities. Reports of the local police informed the local authorities on the 'moral and political conduct' of applicants. In order for the naturalisation applications to be forwarded to local authorities, the police had to certify that applicants had no criminal record, or where they had been fined or convicted for minor offences, that their conduct was in other respects irreproachable.<sup>661</sup> It is important to note this point, as it proves that the recently naturalised, and applicants in general, were foreign to the political agitations on which much of the press and political discussions at the time focussed. Nevertheless,

<sup>661</sup> Catalan, 'The ambivalence of a port city'. 87-8.

the middle of the century did not constitute a period of disruption for their lives. On the contrary, it spelt a period of continuity, insofar as their presence on Austrian soil, and more precisely in Trieste, became more stable. Through the process of naturalisation, which was premised on belonging to a municipality, their ties with the Monarchy and Trieste became officially sanctioned. Membership to the municipality entailed rights and duties in relation to the new polity and the renunciation of any bond with the polity into which they were born. Therefore, the process whereby several Germans joined the Austrian state, in a period that has been described as the ‘awakening of nationalities’, underlies the existence of different interests across society, which defied national categorizations. Particularly in the supra-national Habsburg context, the sizeable presence of German-speakers opting for citizenship of a state where German was one among many other languages and not necessarily used in all spheres of life, bears evidence to a widespread indifference to national identifications and the expansionist aims of Frankfurt on the part of a significant section of the German-born population.

Pleas for Austrian naturalisation are indicative of the highly multi-ethnic local world to which these men contributed in their daily lives through work and intermarriage. In the 1848-1853 period, the majority of applicants had their pleas written in Italian, irrespective of whether they signed with the German or Italian version of their names. Yet a significant number retained the German version even if the plea was written in Italian, while others wrote consistently and only in German. Yet the retention of the German first name, or even the preservation of the German language, did not imply attachment to native Germany, since in applying for Austrian citizenship applicants had to prove also that they retained no substantial bonds with their native countries.<sup>662</sup> At the same time, the decision to use a German or Italian version of their names does not imply a choice of identity. The use of different name versions of their names rather suggests that these men were accustomed, even at ease, in a world where multi-lingual coexistence was the norm, thus underlying the cogency of multi-

<sup>662</sup> ‘Native Germany’ here refers to the German states from which these applications came. It does not refer to the Habsburg territories included within the German Confederation.

lingualism in everyday life. There are several examples of men who retained a ‘German’ identity, yet at the same time married non-German women or worked for Greeks or Slavs, evidence of the role of multi-national networks in the city. Carl Iachlick from Berlin is a case in point. He was thirty-seven years old when he applied for Austrian citizenship and had been working at the Austrian Lloyd in Trieste for eleven years as a metal foundryman. As he stated, he was “married to a daughter of municipal counsellor Valentino Reschigg” and “had no bonds with the fatherland”.<sup>663</sup> His father-in-law, Reschigg, whether having a German surname or a Germanised Slavic one (originally ending with the typically Slovene *-ik*), was called by Carl with an Italian first name, a fact in itself not without consequence as to the complexity of identities. At the same time, Valentino, was at the head of the Littoral accounting office for direct taxes and was among dozens of officials and bureaucrats from all over the Monarchy, of whom Slavs accounted for a large share.<sup>664</sup> While Reschigg could have been a Slovene of German culture, his subordinates or colleagues from Dalmatia were surely less, if not at all, Germanised, if only because of the recent Austrian acquisition of Dalmatia, given that Habsburg bureaucracy, for which knowledge of German was essential, tended to be Germanised irrespective of ethnic origins.<sup>665</sup>

A clearer example of German-Slavic relations appears in Ernst Albrecht’s case. Albrecht, from Coburg in Baden, took the naturalisation oath in German while signing with the Italian version of his name, Ernesto, when in the plea to the authorities he had used the German Ernst. He was married to a woman from San Pietro degli Slavi in the district of Gorizia, Marianna Sittig, who hailed from the Slovene-speaking area of Friuli.<sup>666</sup> His use of different languages and his marriage to a Slovene woman bear evidence to the extent of ethnic mixing occurring across society, which cannot

<sup>663</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Carl Iachlick’s plea. The term used in Italian is ‘patria’.

<sup>664</sup> *Schematismo dell’Imperial Regio Litorale Austro-Illirico*, vol. 7 (Trieste, 1848).

<sup>665</sup> For a list of the various officials, see *Schematismo dell’Imperial Regio Litorale Austro-Illirico*, vol. 7. Cf. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 21-29, for the formation of a Germanised bureaucracy across the Monarchy first initiated by Joseph II in the 1780s.

<sup>666</sup> ACTS 1853, Ernst Albrecht’s plea.



be reduced to a process of assimilation to Italian culture. Rather, intermarriage across the lower strata points to the process whereby the local Triestine culture was constantly moulded through the renegotiation of identities that mixed marriages in a multi-ethnic context entailed. Against the backdrop of everyday lives, the notion of ethnic conflicts so dear to German and Italian nationalists appears to be, if not an invention, at least their exaggerated fear or desired outcome.<sup>667</sup> That German-Slavic relations were strained does not appear to be case at least in this Triestine context, at least not as exacerbated as in the case of Poland, Bohemia and other ethnically-mixed territories of the Monarchy, where fear of ethnic enmities were more pressing in the eyes of publicists and politicians (and it has been pointed out that also in those cases such claims were often exaggerated).<sup>668</sup> In the Littoral, at least, national categories and identifications were far from clearly defined nor as forceful as they would become later in the century, as Pieter Judson has argued with regard to the formation of different German identities in the Habsburg Monarchy in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>669</sup>

The appreciation of a shared German identity across Bavaria and Austria appears in Johann Konrad Dengler's plea. A 30-year-old cobbler native of Hallerstein in Bavaria, he had been in Trieste since 1846. In his plea dating to May 1853, he expressed his hope that there would be no obstacle to his inclusion in the municipality of Trieste "although [he was] not an Austrian subject", relying on the fact that "Bavaria is closely related to Austria."<sup>670</sup> The idea that Trieste was part and parcel of Austria in all respects, which widespread use of a different language did not undermine, appears also in Johann Carl Naeglein's plea. Naeglein was a tinsmith originally from Dresden. Catholic and married to a Tyrolese, he had "kept his abode in the Austrian states for nineteen years

<sup>667</sup> For a discussion of German nationalists' emphasis on a race-war between German and Slavic communities in Central Europe, see Vick, *Defining Germany*, 189-203. Although Vick sees the notion of inter-ethnic conflicts as engrained in some German parliamentarians' mindsets, he does also seem to take ethnic enmity and conflicts in Poland and Bohemia as historical reality.

<sup>668</sup> Vick, *Defining Germany*, 192.

<sup>669</sup> Judson, 'Changing meanings of Germans in Habsburg Central Europe', in C. Ingrao and F. Szabo (eds.), *The Germans and the East* (West Lafayette, IN: 2008), 109-28.

<sup>670</sup> ACTS 1853, Johann Konrad Dengler's plea, 14 May 1853.

uninterruptedly”, specifying that fourteen years were spent in Italy “and the other five in Trieste.”<sup>671</sup> It is interesting to observe here the geographical imagination of a man who had been living for more than a decade in Mantua and Vicenza and had moved to Trieste in 1848, as the local police reported.<sup>672</sup> Naeglein, although considering the northern Italian cities where he had lived as part of the “Austrian states”, considered Trieste as distinct from the cities of Lombardy-Venetia, a point that needs to be taken into account when dealing with Italian activists’ claims of the Italianness of Trieste. For, Italian nationalists were eager to portray Trieste as historically and geographically Italian and the other ethnic groups living in the city as an alien presence.<sup>673</sup>

At the same time, less affluent German immigrants would take employment in the service of people irrespective of origin. While Giovanni Wiener, as the police called him, got a job as Giorgio Gwinner’s gardener, other German-born immigrants worked for non-Germans.<sup>674</sup> For example, as of May 1851, Guglielmo Engler, from Berlin, was a maker of artificial teeth who had been “working for more than two years for dentist surgeon S. Ianovitz”, a Slav.<sup>675</sup> Similarly, the Bavarian coachman Anton Kuchler, to the police authorities Antonio, had been working in Trieste for almost a decade under different employers. One of these, Giorgio Antonio Chiozza, certified that “Antonio Kuchler, thirty-two-year old, single, Catholic, native of Bavaria, [had] served him as servant and coachman for three years uninterruptedly, and that during all this time he behaved with zeal, capability, and honesty.”<sup>676</sup> He “recommended him to anybody who was considering whether to employ him.”<sup>677</sup> Although Friedrich Wilhelm Albert, a cobbler originally from Saxony, in Trieste since 1847, was not granted citizenship on grounds of insufficient means of subsistence, he had presented a certificate by

<sup>671</sup> ACTS 1853, Johann Carl Naeglein’s plea.

<sup>672</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Johann Carl Naeglein.

<sup>673</sup> See references to Dall’Ongaro in chapter two of this thesis and Valussi and Ressman, *Trieste e l’Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana*.

<sup>674</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Giovanni Wiener.

<sup>675</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Guglielmo Engler.

<sup>676</sup> ACTS 1859, Giorgio Antonio Chiozza’s certificate for Antonio Kuchler, 1 October 1845.

<sup>677</sup> *Ibid.* The Chiozza family descended from Carlo Giuseppe Chiozza, originally from Genoa, who established the Chiozza Soap Manufactory in Trieste in 1779. See S. Formiggini, P. Kandler, P. Revoltella and J.B. Scrinzi, *Three Days at Trieste* (Trieste, 1858), 112.

his Greek landlord, Giovanni Scaramangà, for whom he also worked as a porter. He also signed his plea as Federico Guglielmo Albert, born in 1819 in Oelsnitz, Saxony.<sup>678</sup>

That many Germans continued to settle in the port city also as employees of the Austrian Lloyd does not seem to suggest that Habsburg authorities followed an active policy of strengthening a German presence in the city directed at other ethnic groups. The Lloyd was a conduit of allegiance to the Habsburgs thanks to the stability of employment, good wages, and career prospects that it offered to its employees irrespective of their origins. In 1847, the year before he assumed a key leadership role within the Venetian revolution, Niccolò Tommaseo even pleaded with the Lloyd's authorities to attain financial aid for his fellow citizens in Šibenik, which had been hit by a severe famine. Having obtained the sum of 2000 florins, he thanked and blessed "the Slav and the Greek, the Jew and the Armenian, the Italian and the transalpine", by which he also recognised Trieste as a city "that, inhabited by people of different stocks, promise[d] to be a precious ring of trust and intelligence between several nations," thus running counter the very same claims of *italianità* espoused not only by his soon-to-be fellow revolutionaries Dall'Ongaro and Orlandini, but also by himself.<sup>679</sup> Only one year after Tommaseo's words, the Lloyd became the object of Italian activists' animosity as a bastion of loyalty to the Habsburgs. The local paper *La Frusta* started one of its issues with the words, "The German Lloyd ... had the mission of promoting, spreading, and developing the German element here among us."<sup>680</sup> While hundreds of Germans worked for the Lloyd, also numerous men from the Italian peninsula found employment there. While Germans occupied positions as naval engineers and stokers, Venetians and Pontifical or Neapolitan subjects tended to be sea captains or sailors, the divide being a matter of socio-cultural legacies and expertise. Therefore, it is also possible to detect to a certain extent occupational differences according to geographical origins.

<sup>678</sup> ACTS 1859, Friedrich Wilhelm Albert's plea, 31 May 1859.

<sup>679</sup> Niccolò Tommaseo, *Intorno a cose dalmatiche e triestine* (Trieste, 1847), 148-9.

<sup>680</sup> 'Segnali!', *La Frusta* no. 8, 21 November 1848.

#### 5.4. New Austrians: immigration from the Papal state, Southern Italy and the Veneto

It was thanks to an institution like the Austrian Lloyd that a janitor like Mariano Giraldi, native of Sinigaglia in the Papal State, could have an adequate salary for the sustenance of his whole family.<sup>681</sup> His father, Pietro, a 71 year-old former gardener, in Trieste since 1823, had also been “employed by the Austrian Lloyd from the beginnings of this institution of Steamship Navigation which [was] the only support of his and his old wife.” He therefore wished to obtain Austrian citizenship, “so that to consecrate his last remaining days to this new fatherland that he so proudly adore[d].”<sup>682</sup> The fact that people from all over Europe worked for the Lloyd in any role, from cooks and photographers to stokers and captains, is suggestive of its popularity as a workplace that was instrumental in funneling identities and allegiances into the host city. Also, authorities deemed that to be a Lloyd employee was a guarantee not only for ‘adequate means of subsistence’ (as police reports read) but also for good conduct, which led them to be much more favourable to naturalisation applications submitted by Lloyd employees. Among these, many from the continent were employed in the engines of the company. Stanislao Werberschitz, a 40 year-old Tuscan subject originally from Odessa, the ‘Russian Trieste’ on the Black Sea, father to four children, had been living in Trieste for nine years. Notwithstanding a numerous family, he was believed to own “adequate means of subsistence as engine driver at the Lloyd.”<sup>683</sup> Giovanni Renard from Belgium, who was married to an Austrian subject, had been in Trieste since 1841 onwards, as a master boilermaker. In those twelve years, he had been “permanently employed first by the Lloyd” and subsequently in the factory of Giorgio

<sup>681</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Pietro and Mariano Giraldi, 3 July 1853.

<sup>682</sup> ACTS 1853, Pietro Giraldi’s plea, 2 May 1853.

<sup>683</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Stanislao Werberschitz, 14 June 1853. I dubbed Odessa this way since the history of that city, from its founding to its development and final demise, mirrored that of Trieste.

Strudhoff.<sup>684</sup> A Catholic, he was married to an Austrian subject, a practice that appears to have been common among Catholic expatriates of lower extraction.<sup>685</sup>

Giovanni Marsier and Carlo Antonini are other examples of non-Austrian Catholics who married locally. Although far from being involved with maritime professions or the Lloyd (which would more easily channel cultural differences into a shared seafaring identity, of which later), as Catholics they nonetheless married local women. Marsier, an illiterate baker from the area of Gironde in France, had been in Trieste since 1825, “took wife in Udine [in the Friuli region north-west of Trieste], had four children all domiciled [in Trieste] ... [and] and never left this city, since all his possessions and profession [were] there.”<sup>686</sup> Similarly, Antonini, originally from Piedmont, was a 34 year-old tinsmith who, having resided in this city for thirteen years, married Elena Bombich, a local Slovene woman who owned farmland out of town, where they both lived.<sup>687</sup> In January 1849, Giovanni Giacomini, another immigrant from the Italian peninsula, more precisely the Marche region in the Papal State, employee of the Teatro Grande (the main theatre), had married Francesca Davanzo from Rovigno d’Istria, in modern-day Croatia, pledging that his conduct had “always been that of a tranquil and honest citizen.”<sup>688</sup> Domenico Dellavella, too, who for forty-three years “since childhood had always been in Trieste, son of Leonardo Dellavella and Porzia Azzarone, Neapolitan subjects”, was married locally to Luigia Tavoletto from Trieste.<sup>689</sup> His wife’s Venetic surname and the spelling mistakes in the use of Italian, with the loss of double consonants typical of Venetian dialects (e.g. ‘respectful’ rendered as *rispetosa* instead of *rispettosa*) might be suggestive of Domenico’s acclimatization to the local Triestine-speaking community, strengthened by decades of continuous residence in the city. Even without having ties with the sea, and therefore showing an Adriatic identity

<sup>684</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Giovanni Renard, 27 June 1853.

<sup>685</sup> ACTS 1853, Giovanni Renard’s plea, 21 April 1853.

<sup>686</sup> ACTS 1853, Giovanni Marsier’s plea, 21 April 1853.

<sup>687</sup> ACTS 1853, Carlo Brusa Antonini’s plea, 21 April 1853.

<sup>688</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Giovanni Giacomini’s plea.

<sup>689</sup> ACTS 1859, Domenico Dellavella’s plea, 11 May 1859.

born out of centuries of Venetian rule, these men integrated to their new host society, either through marriage or work, of which use of the local language bears testimony.<sup>690</sup>

A far greater number of newly naturalised subjects from the Papal and Neapolitan states had more direct bonds with the sea as mariners or sea-captains. Salvatore Incontrera from Palermo, 30 years old, went to Trieste in 1844, “served as cook at various of the most important households of this city and from 1851 on board the steamships of the Austrian Lloyd [and] was married with an Austrian.”<sup>691</sup> A relative of his, probably his brother Francesco, had a similar record. He too worked as a cook on a steamer of the Lloyd and was involved in a relationship with a Bavarian woman, Maddalena Feller, from Würzburg, a 41-year-old waitress who had been for more than 20 years in the Austrian states and more than ten in Trieste. “She was employed by various conspicuous families, then had a loving relationship with Francesco Incontrera, bearing a child. She [was] now supported by Incontrera and ask[ed] for Austrian citizenship in order to get married, according to the norms in place for Bavarian subjects.”<sup>692</sup>

As far as other applicants are concerned, it was not possible to track their marital status. Yet information on their origins and employments is available. Spiridione Barilari, a Papal subject from Pesaro in the Marche region, wished to become Austrian and have his residence fixed in Trieste. He followed a trend that appears to be quite popular among sea captains and mariners from the Marche in Central Italy, to be “counted among these most loyal citizens, guaranteeing that he had met all his obligations to his native fatherland of Pesaro.”<sup>693</sup> Another man originally from Pesaro, Salvatore Mazzucato, sea captain domiciled in Trieste for twelve years, illiterate, whose daughter had married

<sup>690</sup> For the Adriatic identity comprising Venetian and Greek elements even after the fall of the Republic of Venice in 1797, mirrored in Dalmatia by the coexistence of Slavic Dalmatian and Venetian linguistic elements, although according to social classes, see Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850*, 209-12.

<sup>691</sup> ACTS 1858, Police report on Salvatore Incontrera, 6 August 1857; ACTS 1858, Salvatore Incontrera’s plea, 2 February 1858.

<sup>692</sup> ACTS 1848-52, Police report on Maddalena Fella, 22 June 1852.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.* ACTS 1853, Spiridione Barilari’s plea.

locally Enrico Bortoluzzi, was employed on the steamships of the Lloyd.<sup>694</sup> Nicola Costantini from Goro in the Papal State, near Ferrara, was also a sea captain.<sup>695</sup> Another Papal subject originally from Ancona, 50-year-old Fortunato Ciarsuchi had been in Trieste for 30 years initially as a sailor, then as temporary broker, which ensured him “decent means.”<sup>696</sup> Francesco Solazzi, native of Sinigaglia, 44 years old, married, father of two children, for more than twenty years in Trieste, was a caulker, as was Domenico Quintavalle from Bari. Francesco Guccione’s example, too, points to Southern Italians’ integration to the host city, in the sense that they succeeded in blending with other ethnicities either through marriage or work relationships. Guccione, originally from Palermo, was a merchant captain onboard the bark owned by Nazario Zetto from Capodistria (today Koper), just a few miles south of Trieste in modern-day Slovenia. This professional bond is suggestive of the seafaring identity of many, which went beyond family and ethnic ties and was instrumental in cementing bonds across cultures.<sup>697</sup> Many others earned their living from professions that, although related to trade, were only loosely tied to the sea. Francesco Antonaccio, native to Carpino in Apulia, in Trieste since 1826, was a grocer selling fruit, and in particular lemons and oranges, that is products typical of Southern Italy.<sup>698</sup> Similarly, Biagio Anaclerio, another retailer who had been in the city for more than thirty years, was from Apulia as was Andrea Romita, from Bari too, who worked as chief porter at the Rittamayer firm.<sup>699</sup>

Even after the greater part of the Pontifical State was annexed by Italy, people from the region wished to become Austrian and were still granted Austrian citizenship. Austrian authorities did not hesitate in making even new Italians Austrian citizens, without fearing the possible impact of Risorgimento nationalism or irredentism, possibly because they could be sure that these people asked

<sup>694</sup> ACTS 1853, Salvatore Mazzuccato’s plea.

<sup>695</sup> ACTS 1853, Nicola Costantini’s plea.

<sup>696</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Fortunato Ciarsuchi, 3 September 1853.

<sup>697</sup> ACTS 1858, Francesco Guccione’s plea.

<sup>698</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Francesco Antonaccio, 18 May 1853.

<sup>699</sup> ACTS 1853, Police report on Biagio Anaclerio, 10 August 1853; ACTS 1853, Police report on Andrea Romita, 11 September 1853.

for Austrian citizenship not to undermine the Austrian state that hosted them, but to actually make a living there. Antonio Capanna, sea captain in the merchant navy, had “received a post onboard a ship [and] need[ed] Austrian citizenship in order to obtain permission to embark as pilot”, as he still found “himself declared as Italian subject”, although he was born in Trieste, since his father Salvatore from Pesaro had never asked for Austrian citizenship.<sup>700</sup> The trend was shared by Southern Italian expatriates, who left Southern Italy before Italian unification and continued to do so well after the fall of the Bourbon dynasty in 1860. Numerous Bourbonic expatriates across the social spectrum fled Southern Italy once it was annexed by Piedmont, finding refuge in Trieste. Here they went on to serve in the navy, the merchant marine, or simply continued their previous occupations. Trieste became a centre for a strong Bourbon reaction against the new Italian state. The French consul in Trieste uncovered preparations for the embarkation of volunteers for the Bourbon cause in the coastal village of Nabresina, a few miles north of Trieste, and complained to the authorities.<sup>701</sup> Bourbon upholders in the city centred around the figure of Prince Petrulla, formerly Neapolitan ambassador in Vienna, who repeatedly appears in British consular reports from the time. Alongside Petrulla other members of the Bourbon elite found refuge in the upper reaches of the Adriatic. On 6<sup>th</sup> March 1867, a certain Giovanni Agnese de Blasi appeared at the municipal offices. Here, he said: “I was born in 1806 in Palermo [...] Until 1860 I was employed at the Royal Ministry of Finances in Palermo [...] and due to the political events of that year I emigrated from the fatherland and moved to Rome, from where I came to Trieste in 1865 [...] Having forsaken the idea of returning to the fatherland, and being comfortable in the Austrian States and in particular in Trieste, I ask to be granted Austrian citizenship and pertinence to the Comune di Trieste as was done last year in favour of my friend Gaetano Afan de Rivera, former Field Marshall of His Majesty Francesco II.”<sup>702</sup> Likewise, a police report from the previous year stated that “Emmanuele Sabatelli, doctor in Medicine and Surgery, native of San

<sup>700</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Antonio Capanna’s plea, 30 August 1865.

<sup>701</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/41 Julian Fane, 14 May 1862, Bourbon recruits at Trieste.

<sup>702</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giovanni de Blasi’s plea, 6 March 1867.



Giovanni Rotondo, Province of Capitanata in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, 43 years old [...] [had] arrived in Trieste in April 1862 as political immigrant.”<sup>703</sup>

Yet not only people belonging to the Bourbon elite were granted Austrian citizenship. In July 1867, brothers Salvatore and Andrea Caputo, both stokers on board the Lloyd’s ships, born in Trieste to the Italian citizen Bartolomeo Caputo (who was Italian insofar as the Kingdom of Two Sicilies had been annexed by Piedmont in 1860), native of Conca in the province of Naples, were granted Austrian citizenship. The police reported that “from the office record nothing unfavourable emerge[d] about the reputation and behaviour of brothers Andrea Gerolamo and Salvatore Caputo” and that they had been born in Trieste, where they also got married. Although they “possess[ed] no means, [...] [they were] employed by the Steam Navigation Society of the Austrian Lloyd, where [...] their behaviour deserved the esteem of their superiors”, a satisfactory employment for the authorities, which had no hesitation in granting them Austrian citizenship.<sup>704</sup>

Similar dynamics were experienced by Venetian applicants who witnessed the disruption caused by the Austrian loss of Venetia in 1866. On 15 June 1867, the municipal delegation favourably discussed Luigi Furlan’s plea to retain his Austrian citizenship. Furlan was a stoker on the steamers of the Lloyd, twenty-eight years old, native of Chioggia in the southern reaches of the Venetian lagoon, for 15 years in Trieste, who “on the basis of article 14 of the Austro-Italian peace treaty of 3 October 1866, desiring to retain his Austrian citizenship, asked to be joined to the municipality of Trieste”, as did his fellow citizen and colleague Angelo Friziero, twenty-six years old and in Trieste for fourteen years.<sup>705</sup> Other Venetians across the hierarchy of the Lloyd’s steamers took the same choice, like boatswain Giuseppe Zanchi and second-in-command captain Luigi Alberti, decisions that

<sup>703</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Police report on Emmanuel Sabatelli, 15 September 1866.

<sup>704</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Police report on Andrea and Salvatore Caputo, 21 December 1866.

<sup>705</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Luigi Furlan’s plea, June 1867; ACTS 1863-1867, Angelo Friziero’s plea, June 1867.

are revealing with regard to pro-Austrian feelings in Venetia.<sup>706</sup> As was the case with Bourbon subjects, the Lloyd, given its working conditions and career prospects, continued to attract Venetian subjects who opted for Austrian citizenship in order to keep their jobs – since mariners and sea-captains had to possess a given citizenship after a certain amount of time in order to sail under a certain flag – a fact that refutes the slogans of Italian activists aimed at portraying the population of both Venetia and the Littoral as being largely in favour of Italian annexation.<sup>707</sup> The case of Venetian-born Antonio Borgoni exemplifies this, insofar as it proves that Lloyd’s employees had good career prospects even when starting from the bottom of the company. Borgoni’s case bears testimony to the possibility of social climbing through the Lloyd. Born in Venice, for more than twenty years residing in Trieste, he had spent “ten years serving on the steamers of the Lloyd as stoker and helmsman. Having acquired knowledge in more than 26 years of seamanship, [he] devoted [him]self to the theoretic study of nautical science, it [was] now indispensable for [him] to prove [his] Austrian citizenship to undertake long distance voyages as scrivener and later as captain.” He hoped that he would “be taken into consideration given [his] long residence and for being born in an Austrian city [Venice].”<sup>708</sup>

These are but a few examples out of about five hundred naturalisation requests that I was able to analyse. In addition to providing evidence if not for widespread support for the Habsburgs, at least for appreciation for the working prospects that Habsburg Trieste offered, across social classes and ethnicities as well as multi-ethnic cooperation, they also mirror Habsburg censuses of the city’s population at the middle of the century. Censuses reveal that the percentage of surnames that can be detected as originating in the Italian peninsula hovers around forty per cent of the total, similarly to the Slavic component. Yet Italian surnames do not stand as a cohesive group, since although denoting origins mainly from Venetia, they also included Lombard, Central and Southern Italian family names.

<sup>706</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giuseppe Zanchi’s plea, 23 April 1867; ACTS 1863-1867, Luigi Alberti’s plea, 13 May 1867.

<sup>707</sup> A characteristic example of such rhetoric is Valussi’s, *Trieste e l’Istria*.

<sup>708</sup> ACTS 1858, Antonio Borgoni’s plea, 19 July 1858.

The different provenance from within the peninsula carried with it different behavioural and social legacies and lived experiences that the various regimes and cultural traditions implied. Also, from the censuses, Slovenes do not appear as living mainly in the outskirts, but also in town, and alongside people hailing from the German and Italian states. The neighbourhoods of Chiarbola, Chiadino, and Servola, to name but a few, all peripheral areas usually considered to be inhabited by a majority of Slovenes, actually presented a very similar surname composition as central town, with the difference that in central Trieste there was also a strong concentration of Jewish names.<sup>709</sup>

A critical analysis of censuses and naturalisation papers begs the question as to how far publicists' pamphlets and articles, that claimed that Trieste was essentially an Italian city (on which the previous chapters focussed), reflected the reality of local social life.<sup>710</sup> Although surnames cannot be taken as proof of personal cultural and 'national' forms of identification, they are nonetheless indicative of origins, as also naturalisation pleas and police reports suggest, since the birth place of applicants or their parents is always given. Now, we see that the formation of a local culture was constantly in progress, with people negotiating their identities and allegiances according to context. Greek, Montenegrin, and German merchants appeared cosmopolitan when together with other merchants, while on other occasions they proved tied to their respective religious communities. As previously noted, in several instances, Germans applying for Austrian citizenship signed their oath to the Habsburg Emperor in German, while the pleas to the local municipal council were written in Italian and signed with the Italian version of their names. Others, who nonetheless constituted a tiny minority, did not adopt any Italian form. The case of a certain Francesco Chmieloski seems to be explicative of the superimposition and renegotiation of identities, which were not seen as clashing. Chmieloski, who in 1853 had been living in Trieste for twenty-four years, was a tailor originally from Russian Poland. While he signed the oath with the name Francesco, he signed the 'Italian' plea with

<sup>709</sup> ACTS, Trieste civil registry office, Census of the population and dwellings of Trieste, 1851.

<sup>710</sup> For such claims, see in particular Valussi's and Dall'Ongaro's statements, chapter two of this thesis.

Franz. This is not an inconsequential point but is suggestive of the highly composite nature of identities. Officially, to the authorities, Chmieloski wanted to be seen as Francesco. Yet at the everyday level, Franz, employed by master tailor Litke, who presumably came from Central-Eastern Europe too, identified with a local culture that conflated different features from several cultural traditions.<sup>711</sup>

The fusion of these diverse elements and assimilation to the urban context did not result in Italianisation, but rather the acquisition of a local culture that was the intertwining of the centuries-old Veneto-Dalmatian symbiosis, represented by the world of the eastern Adriatic, and Mitteleuropa.<sup>712</sup> The medium of this melting-pot was the Triestine language, a Venetian dialect, of which Italian represented only the literary language, adopted, consequently, by the more affluent classes, as naturalisation applications often reveal, when imperfectly literate people wrote their pleas themselves. Contrary to the biased evidence of newspapers and pamphlets, which, quite naturally, put forward political stances, naturalisation requests significantly bear witness to inter-ethnic exchanges and the existence of hybrid identities together with the absence of national forms of identification. Whether these were situational or pragmatic, rather than proof of heartfelt attachment to Austria, they are nonetheless testimony to a consistent trend of immigration to and lasting

<sup>711</sup> The differences between English and American or Australian cultures provide a useful parallel. The majority of immigrants to the United States and Australia came from the British Isles and retained English as their language. Yet American and Australian cultures and identities are far from being English.

<sup>712</sup> This symbiosis is the object of Bariša Krekić's studies in its Renaissance developments in Dubrovnik and Konstantina Zanou's recent work in its nineteenth-century unfolding in the Veneto-Greek version. See Krekić, 'On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik', *Viator* (1995), 321-32 and Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean*. The centuries-old symbiosis between Latins and Slavs first endorsed by Byzantine rule at the turn of the first millennium, can well be understood by taking into account the waning stages of Byzantine rule in Dalmatia. In 1153, the Arab traveller Idrisi still distinguished between the Latins of Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Dubrovnik, and Kotor and the Slavs of Senj and Biograd. See Konstantin Jireček, *L'eredità di Roma nelle città della Dalmazia durante il Medioevo*, *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 9 (Rome, 1984 [Vienna, 1901]), 67. By contrast, the islands of the Qvarner gulf present a slightly different picture. In Krk in 1013 and Osor in 1018, Slavic names amongst the signatories of the documents of the recognition of Venetian supremacy over their islands amount to 18 per cent and 30 per cent respectively, Franjo Rački (ed.), *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae Periodum Antiquam Illustrantia* (Zagreb, 1877), 32-6, pointing to a more intense Slavic penetration on the Dalmatian coast, as opposed to the Italian nationalist claim of the 'Romanità' of Dalmatia handed down to the twentieth century, and symbiosis with the extant Latin elements, contrary to the fast Slavicization of the region and disappearance of Latins argued by Slavic scholars. For the development of Greek national identity in the Ionian islands and its relationship with Venice, as a Greek parallel to Kirchner Reill's work on Dalmatia, see Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean*.

settlement in Austria. Yet the ongoing process of Italian unification from 1859 to 1866 to an extent jeopardised this multi-ethnic coexistence. Although several people from the Veneto wished to retain their Austrian citizenship and remain in Trieste once the Veneto was ceded to Italy in 1866 (thus demonstrating, if not their allegiance and loyalty to the Empire, at least satisfaction with their personal circumstances in Austria), many more proved willing to relinquish not only Austrian citizenship but also the Habsburg Monarchy and Trieste in order to resettle in their native regions. As to Lombards, the vast majority of them left the city or relinquished Austrian citizenship while remaining in town, as the Treaty of Zurich of 10 November 1859 allowed them to do so. Consequently, there was an inverse trend of northern Italians who took the opportunity to sever ties with Austria and Trieste as soon as their native regions, Lombardy and Venetia, were ceded by Austria to Piedmont (Italy from 1861) in 1859 and 1866 respectively. This shift of allegiances, which is at the core of the discussion in the next chapter, underlies the interplay of the economy and identity politics. Insofar as modern-day economic recession unleashed populist politics, the deep recession that hit Austria in the 1860s was concomitant with the emergence of nationalist propaganda (and, consequently, identity politics), a relation that Triestine primary sources appear to suggest.<sup>713</sup>

<sup>713</sup> The emergence of modern-day identity politics in times of economic troubles, which mirrors the emergence of nationalist ideologies in the second half of the nineteenth century, is excellently explained by Francis Fukuyama in his recent *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York, 2018) and Barry Eichengreen, *The Populist Temptation: Economic Grievance and Political Reaction in the Modern Era* (Oxford, 2018).



## **6. The making and remaking of identities: a new nation state and international diplomacy in the Adriatic, 1859-1867**

### **6.1 Introduction**

On 26 February 1866, a local Triestine merchant, Giuseppe Pharisien, who was originally from Milan, managed to have his son Bruno deleted from the local conscription lists, on the ground that, after the annexation of Lombardy to Piedmont in 1859, he was not an Austrian subject any longer.<sup>714</sup> The Imperial Lieutenancy of the Littoral met Pharisien's request favourably, although the Magistrate of Trieste had initially not conceded to it. The *podestà* (that is mayor), Carlo de Porenta, argued that after the Treaty of Zurich, which sanctioned the Austrian loss of Lombardy to Piedmont, Pharisien had not opted for Piedmonetese citizenship in time and had only "limited himself to be included among Piedmontese citizens on 4 October 1860 [...] For these reasons," he explained, "and since he had not lost his pertinence to the municipality of Trieste, acquired by virtue of his ten-year long sojourn as of 1850 and the lack of registered addresses in Milan in the previous years, the civic Magistrate could not delete his son from the conscription lists."<sup>715</sup> Nevertheless, he could "appeal to the *Eccelsa I.R. Luogotenenza*", which eventually granted him to have his son deleted from the lists of conscription.<sup>716</sup> By having his son deleted from the conscription lists, he could have more elements for claiming that he was not an Austrian subject, since he could have simply paid for the liberation tax exempting his son from military service.

Yet, and more importantly, what does Pharisien's case tell us? Since his plea does not constitute a single haphazard episode, but a common pattern in the social life of the city beginning with 1859

<sup>714</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giuseppe Pharisien's plea, 26 February 1866.

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>716</sup> *Ibid.*

and continuing through the 1860s, this chapter focusses on similar other requests. These pleas bear evidence to the impact that the process of Italian unification had on that part of the Triestine population which had origins or business interests in Italy. Yet in order to better contextualise the question of emigrations or abandonment of Austrian citizenship, it is first necessary to introduce the international diplomacy of the same period, in which the northern Adriatic rim figured as one of the main settings. The discussion, then, first examines the role of Trieste and Venetia in the international diplomacy of the 1860s. In the context of the loss of Venetia in 1866, this chapter also looks at the specific example of imperial loyalty in the military, both the local 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment and the Triestine members of the expeditionary force assembled to serve Archduke Maximilian in Mexico. My intention is to look at the interaction of different ethnic groups and provide empirical evidence for the fact that regional or national identities did not go against imperial loyalty even during the war of 1866 against Italy. The army, and in particular the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment (on which the penultimate section of this chapter focusses) during the war of 1866, with Trieste and the Littoral as its recruiting base, represent the most tangible, yet understudied, evidence for Habsburg loyalty among those who are still described as Italian speakers, also in the everyday relationship with their Slavic comrades.<sup>717</sup> The last section of the chapter examines emigration requests to Italy. It seeks to demonstrate that the majority of those who left Trieste and emigrated to northern Italy after 1859 and 1866, were people of Lombard or Venetian origin who thus resettled to their native lands.

In light of this international presence and interests in the northern Adriatic rim, a discussion of the changing allegiances in Trieste after 1861 needs to take into account the international context of the 1860s and, thus, also the adjoining regions of the Veneto to the west and Dalmatia to the south, of which Trieste can well be seen as representing the historical and ethnic synthesis. This chapter

<sup>717</sup> The regimental history was written in 1902 by one its officers, Gustav Hubka von Czernczitz, who was the Austrian military attaché in Cetinje, capital of Montenegro, in the years leading to the Great War. John Treadway, too, in his history of Austro-Montenegrin relations before the outbreak of the war, relied on von Czernczitz's works. See John D. Treadway, *The Falcon and the Eagle: Montenegro and Austria-Hungary, 1908-1914* (West Lafayette, IN, 1998).



begins with British consular reports from Trieste, Venice and Dalmatia, which contextualise the international diplomatic situation of the time, to which the region was central. Diplomacy, intrigues, and the outbreak of conflicts that witnessed the Adriatic or its men (as in the Second Schleswig War of 1864, with the Sea Battle of Helgoland in the North Sea, and the battle of Lissa in 1866) as protagonists, testify to the historical acceleration of the 1860s that involved in some way or another the majority of European powers in the Adriatic rim. It was precisely this historical acceleration, which Jakob Burckhardt witnessed and unravelled, that needs to be taken into account and whose impact will be assessed in this chapter with special reference to the emigration from Trieste of many wealthy, as well as less affluent, individuals and families.<sup>718</sup> On the basis of this initial emigration, Italian nationalist propaganda wove a tapestry of national rhetoric that has obtained to this day.<sup>719</sup>

## 6.2 International intrigues in the Adriatic

In the months following the creation of the new Kingdom of Italy in March 1861, British observers in Trieste and Venice came to notice a good deal of changes taking place in the upper Adriatic. These momentous transformations made the year 1861 a watershed with regards to political convictions and allegiances in the region. Not that a stark change took place in terms of absolute numbers, but in relative numbers a shift in political leanings did occur. People who had been living and working for decades in the port city and had no apparent reason for leaving it actually reconsidered their previous life choices (and the question of emigration constitutes the main topic of this chapter, as a comparison with the previous discussion on Austrian naturalisations). These changes had been triggered by an

<sup>718</sup> For “the accelerations of the historical process”, see Jacob Burckhardt, *Reflections on History* (New York, 1950) [1871], 135.

<sup>719</sup> Yet this trend was soon inverted with the immigration from Italy of tens of thousands of Italians (*Reichsitaliener* or *regnicoli*, that is subjects of the Kingdom of Italy, in German and Italian respectively) once the toils of nation building and famines throughout the peninsula triggered Italian emigration abroad. For the *Reichsitaliener*, see Dorsi, ‘I regnicoli: una componente dimenticata della società triestina’, in M. Cattaruzza (ed.), *Trieste, Austria, Italia tra Settecento e Novecento: studi in onore di Elio Apih* (Udine, 1996). Italian emigration after Italian unification could well constitute a study in itself; immediately after the Italian takeover of the Veneto in 1866, hundreds of thousands of ‘Veneti’ emigrated to South America and Australia, as well as Trieste and other areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, most interestingly Bosnia and Romania, in what was the highest pitch of Venetian emigration abroad.

international context that had been favourable towards Italian unification, a fact that has led historiography to perpetuate the belief in the Italian character of Trieste already in the nineteenth century.<sup>720</sup> Yet, as the British diplomat Alexander Graham Dunlop opined, things were not as straightforward as Italian historiography would later have it.

Dunlop, British envoy in Budapest and advocate of the Hungarian cause, did write of “increased discontent and disloyalty towards the Austrian government” in Trieste.<sup>721</sup> Yet it was to his surprise that he noted these new sentiments, which he had not perceived during his previous stay in that city. Merchants’ material interests had been impaired by the recent introduction of tax levies, which added to traders’ difficulties already exacerbated by the economic recession that hit Austria in those years. For this reason, he explained, merchants had “for long been intriguing against Austrian rule in the town and district and on the neighbouring coast – in favour of the ultimate annexation of Trieste to the Italian Kingdom – because they are convinced that their material interests would thereby be saved from ruin, and have some chance of prosperous future.”<sup>722</sup> Until then outside international intrigue, the new role of Trieste in the arena of European powers was emphasised by Count Cassini, the Russian Consul-General for the Adriatic. He stressed the new geopolitical position of Trieste, as the port had recently become “more a focus for general politics than it used to be” and in Trieste he was “more in the way of information [...] than at Venice”, his previous consular post, which he had been directed to vacate by the Russian foreign ministry.<sup>723</sup>

<sup>720</sup> In a similar way, the popularity of the Hungarian cause, and the subsequent perception of Austria as oppressive, were successfully propagandised abroad, proving a destabilizing factor for the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy. Max Ferdinand lamented Austria’s international standing to Graham Dunlop saying that Austria was “ill off for friends, as well as ministers! – France is our decided enemy and we have often reason to distrust Russian and even Prussian foreign policy in many things; they are becoming very identical.” TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian.

<sup>721</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Graham Dunlop to Elliott, 19 June 1861, Feeling against Austrian government in Trieste.

<sup>722</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>723</sup> *Ibid.*

Presumably, not only the political unification of the Italian peninsula, but also Italian aspirations over Trieste and the rest of the eastern Adriatic were met with lukewarmth, or not favourably, by the majority of the population in the northern Adriatic rim. A few miles north of Trieste, near the small town of Nabrezina/Aurisina, on what is the coastal strip connecting Trieste with Friuli proper, today belonging to Italy but still mostly populated by ethnic Slovenes, “men and arms for the Neapolitan coast continued to be shipped under directions from [Trieste]”, since it had been reported that the Austrian government was supporting these activities and Prince Petrulla, formerly the Neapolitan ambassador to Vienna, was a frequent visitor to Trieste.<sup>724</sup> After the French consul in Trieste had complained about these shipments in favour of the Bourbon cause, the shipments were moved further south, near the Istrian town of Parenzo, the modern-day Croatian Poreč.<sup>725</sup> The French consul (and not members of the local Italian-speaking population) complained about Austrian attempts to contain Italian expansionism.

With regards to French interests in the region, Dunlop recalled a private meeting that he had with Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor Franz Josef’s brother and a former governor of Venice. “The Archduke then spoke of the Adriatic and expressed himself very strongly against France, - and the Emperor Louis Napoleon personally”.<sup>726</sup> Dunlop was struck by Ferdinand Maximilian’s “reiterated very strong expressions of suspicion – dread and hatred, when the Emperor of the French was mentioned.”<sup>727</sup> Yet, to the detriment of the position Dunlop occupied, for which he should have been expected to show a stronger grasp of wider political scenarios (thus somehow proving the coeval negative statements made by Richard Burton on the British Foreign Office of the time), he wrote that “against French designs there I was astonished to see Him exhibit so much fear and hatred. He said – ‘Look what these French are doing at Cattaro, and even at Ragusa: - and also

<sup>724</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Graham Dunlop to Elliott, 19 June 1861.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>726</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian.

<sup>727</sup> *Ibid.*

in the Montenegro and the Herzegovina! They are always plotting there, and now they are intriguing – (in some way which I don't quite understand) – with Russia, about the future of that line of coast”, facts that Paton, soon to be appointed consul at Dubrovnik, confirmed. “You have no idea of all that I hear when I am down at my property, - at “La Kroma” [his residence on an island off Dubrovnik]: the Austrian agents are often stupid, and suspicious in the wrong place, whilst the French have superior men of tact and judgment – and so have the Russians: England ought to have careful regard to this district of the Adriatic, in her own interest”, the Archduke complained with remarks that surprised a pro-Hungarian like Graham Dunlop (and it was these people who eventually influenced British public opinion, as David Urquhart had done thirty years earlier with the establishment of a ‘Turcomania’, as it was then called, within the British elite), but which an expert on Mediterranean and Balkan questions like Paton actually confirmed.<sup>728</sup>

### 6.3 Venetia and Dalmatia: an Italian Adriatic

The incorporation of the whole northern Adriatic rim to the newly formed Italian Kingdom was part of a sixty-years-long gradual breach of Italian nationalists towards east. In studying the territories that came under Italian sway, it comes as a consequence to draw parallels and comparisons between their various component parts, which constituted the Habsburg northern Adriatic. As a study of Fiume cannot be conducted without taking into account the Triestine context, so Trieste cannot be analysed without looking at Venetia on the eve of its annexation to Italy in 1866, since they each reflect the other in their absorption to Italy as previously Habsburg territories. Not only was Venetia, then as now, linguistically related to Trieste, but people from Venetia also constituted a considerable share of Italian immigration to the city even after 1866, thus contributing to the widely held perception of

<sup>728</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861. For Hungarian sympathies in Britain see Thomas G. Otte, “Knavery or folly?": The British “official mind” and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1856-1914”, in L. Höbelt and T.G. Otte (eds.): *A Living Anachronism? European Diplomacy and the Habsburg Monarch* (Vienna, 2010). For the birth of Russophobic tendencies in Britain see John Howes Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion* (Cambridge, MA, 1950).

the Italian character of Trieste. The aim of this chapter is to disentangle the relationship between Trieste and north-eastern Italy and Lombardy by taking into consideration northern Italian emigration from the Habsburg port city as opposed to the ongoing process of immigration from the rest of the Habsburg Monarchy, the German states, Southern Italy, and the eastern Mediterranean (for which see the previous chapter).

Both the Venetian question and the future of the Adriatic, which were central to the long-term survival of the Habsburg Monarchy in its relationship with its different ethnic groups and crownlands, were the topic of a private conversation that Graham Dunlop had with Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian at the latter's residence of Miramare.<sup>729</sup> At the start of the conversation, the Archduke asked Graham Dunlop what he thought about the Venetian question, since the latter had recently been there. Dunlop recalled that the Archduke "then became very grave and said, 'I also think very badly of much that has been done in Venetia, and I have had very frequent conversations with my brother the Emperor on the subject: His Majesty still sees the future somewhat in a different light from me.'" Having lamented the missed opportunities for Austria in Venetia, the Archduke foresaw that "a time is coming when we must seriously consider the inevitable loss of Venetia... [for] when the Italian Kingdom is once consolidated, – Venice must be given up, – I have spoken to my brother the Emperor about this: - but that may be a very long time yet, - it may be ten years, or twenty years, or even still longer, - but then there is no help for it: the great question for us will then be the boundary, and whether it shall be the Tagliamento or the Isonzo."<sup>730</sup>

British Foreign Office reports are telling of the situation in north-eastern Italy and the Adriatic from Trieste to Montenegro also in relation to these questions, that is the extent of active involvement in the Habsburg cause or, as opposed to it, in the Italian and Slavic nationalist movements. They shed

<sup>729</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*

light on the motives behind the change of allegiance in sections of the population of the northern Adriatic, besides providing excellent information as to Anglo-Austrian relations. Also, the fact that Venetia appeared to be at the centre of European diplomacy in the early 1860s raises fundamental issues with regards to questions of structure and agency. How far were Venetians (and nearby Triestines) involved in political choices concerning their future? What groups were active in political change? Was there a social power conducive to change or decisions were merely state directed? The plebiscite of 1866, by which the Venetian annexation to Italy was sanctioned as the result of the active ‘will of the people’, has made differing allegiances opposed to that ‘will’ illegitimate.

In August 1866, Napoleon III, addressing Venetian notables, claimed that he had “long been aware of the aspirations of [their] country” and that “out of respect for the right of nationalities and the dignity of peoples, the Emperor ha[d] wished to leave to the Venetians the function of manifesting their will.”<sup>731</sup> General Leboeuf, the French officer entrusted with the transfer of Venetia to Italy (having received the territory from Austria), stated that the Venetian people “should freely express their wishes on the subject of the annexation of Venetia to the Kingdom of Italy.”<sup>732</sup> Hence the plebiscite, which was held on 21 and 22 October. The Venetian notables meeting to scrutinise the votes only a few days later had no doubt as to the result in favour of Italy, and they were right. Out of the 647,315 voters, only 69 voted against annexation. The result was such a foregone conclusion that the fact that the province had been erected into a military department with martial law a few days before the vote was given no thought as affecting it even by a supposedly neutral observer as the British consul in Venice William Perry.<sup>733</sup> Italian authorities were eager to prove that the people of Venetia had thus expressed their wish to be Italian, since Italy had not actually conquered Venetia

<sup>731</sup> Sarah Wambaugh, *A Monograph on Plebiscites, with a Collection of Official Documents* (New York, 1920).

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>733</sup> Given the dynamics of the plebiscite – involving Italian military rule of Venetia and the short time that took the results of the plebiscite to be published – it is legitimate to wonder about the reliability of a political ploy strongly advocated by Napoleon III, who had previously seen the success of plebiscites in his proclamation as Emperor of the French as well as in sanctioning the French annexation of Nice in 1859, a city of Ligurian culture and language that was forcibly turned into a French town.

and about 48,000 Venetian infantrymen and a thousand sailors had fought on the Austrian side in Bohemia and at Lissa respectively.<sup>734</sup>

For their part, as Laven has stressed, the higher strata of the population could not bear the decline of Venice in the face of the emergence of Trieste as the hegemonic commercial hub of the former Venetian world, for which they blamed Habsburg rule. Yet even Marx had pondered over this decadence, which he considered inevitable, even contrasting it with the future of prosperity open to Trieste. In this respect, he wrote:

how, then, came it to pass that Trieste, and not Venice, became the cradle of revived navigation in the Adriatic? Venice was a town of reminiscences; Trieste shared the privilege of the United States of having no past at all. Formed by a motley crew of Italian, German, English, French, Greek, Armenian and Jewish merchant-adventures, it was not fettered by traditions like the City of the Lagoon.<sup>735</sup>

Similarly, Richard Cobden noted the differences between the bustling port of Trieste as compared to the commercial inactivity of Venice during his visit of the region in his European tour of 1848-1849.<sup>736</sup> In light of this economic decline of Venice, it seems reasonable to suggest that material interests led to the espousal of the prospect of an Italian annexation of Venetia on the part of the affluent classes, which the cultural hegemony established through constant propaganda transformed into a clear example of the convergence of economic issues and nationality politics.

<sup>734</sup> For Venetian involvement on the Austrian side in the war of 1866 see Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*, 58-61.

<sup>735</sup> Karl Marx, *Marx and Engels. Collected Works, Vol. 15, 1856-58* (London, 2010), 140.

<sup>736</sup> Rosario López, 'Richard Cobden's European Tour: Three Unpublished Essays on Spain, Venice and Russia', *History of European Ideas* 41, 7 (2015), 962-3.

The intentions of the local Venetian elite proved to be premised on questions of identity as opposed to the economic interests of their own city. This was shown also by a sympathiser of the Italian cause, William Perry, then British consul at Venice. Perry reported that the administrative changes proposed by Austrian authorities, and aimed at conceding wider autonomy to Venetia, were met with opposition by the Venetian municipality by a majority of thirty-two to two in January 1866. The change was opposed, as there were rumours that it would entail the transformation of Venice into a port of the German Confederation, a fear “arisen from the exertions making to open the railway over the Brenner giving direct communication between Venice and Central Germany.”<sup>737</sup> This vital link with the heart of Europe would turn the city into the southern gateway of Germany. This way, Venice could stand a chance of rivalling Trieste’s economic hegemony, which the very same Venetian elites loathed. Nevertheless, local notaries had already set their minds in favour of Italian unification, thus proving that the ideal of a supposed national identity was stronger than economic interests. For, as the ‘Central National Committee’ in Venice described the plans involving larger autonomy for Venetia as “the dark designs of our enemies”, which were carried “under the pretext of sordid economies [...] liberally to bestow with a false constitution the Autonomy of Despair.”<sup>738</sup>

Another proclamation issued at Florence in the same days, and focussing on Venetian autonomy promised by Vienna, reiterated that Italian activists considered Austria “the eternal enemy of Italy”.<sup>739</sup> Whether “constitutional or despotic, [...] the planned administrative reforms [were] nothing more than economic expedients.”<sup>740</sup> In a language reminiscent of modern-day populism, the writers put emphasis on the nobility of the aspirations of Italian unification as opposed to the ignominy that foreigners, that is Austrians, had been committing to the honour of Italy and Venice. For “the promises of the foreigner [...] insult the aspirations of the Italian people [...] and the memory

<sup>737</sup> FO 7/714 William Perry at Venice, 18 January 1866.

<sup>738</sup> TNA, FO 7/714 Comitato Centrale Nazionale, Venice, January 1866.

<sup>739</sup> TNA, FO 7/714 Comitato Centrale Nazionale, Florence, 12 January 1866.

<sup>740</sup> *Ibid.*



of thousands and thousands of Veneti who died in exile and on the battlefields.”<sup>741</sup> The writers went on in comparing the situation of “two generous peoples”, Hungarians and Croats, to that of Venetians, providing evidence that the core of Italian unification was propaganda pure and simple, not substantiated by facts. It was the constant repetition of the same concepts and words, centred on slighted honour and foreign oppression – and when oppression could not be accounted for – “the last resort, that of seduction and large promises” – without actual examples, that set the tone of future Italian national narratives.<sup>742</sup>

In the very same years, men from Venetia did die on the battlefields and at sea, but on the Austrian side. Around 50,000 men from the region served in the war of 1866 and Venetia battalions were the most decorated.<sup>743</sup> Furthermore, with reference to the mention of the two ‘generous peoples’, Hungarian policies, while opposed to Austria, were repressive of other ethnic groups and rooted in policies of Magyarization, while Croats, on the whole, were amongst the most loyal Habsburg subjects. If the authors were thinking of the Croat Party of People, then that did not reflect Croatian society at all, since Croatian independentists did not enjoy widespread popularity in the Kingdom of Croatia. In this sense, also, a different approach to an understanding of nationalism can be suggested. For Gellner’s and Anderson’s theories do not take into account the fundamental factor of populist propaganda and its influence in shaping nationalist narratives.<sup>744</sup>

On the eve of the war of 1866, Perry reported that Austrian authorities in Venice had arrested “several persons, suspected for their liberal opinions who were ordered to leave the country [...] and about 100 of the populace [were] sent out of the country as dangerous in time of war.”<sup>745</sup> Perry

<sup>741</sup> TNA, FO 7/714 Comitato Centrale Nazionale, Florence, 12 January 1866.

<sup>742</sup> *Ibid.* In this context, Gustave Le Bon’s insights on the spread of falsity and its transformation into ‘truth’ by simple repetition, are enlightening; see Le Bon, *The Crowd: a study of the popular mind* (London, 1896). It is fair to say that such proclamations and pamphlets were instrumental in spreading the trope of Austrian oppression, which other nationalist activists throughout Central Eastern Europe took on in their opposition to Habsburg rule.

<sup>743</sup> Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*.

<sup>744</sup> For criticisms of Gellner’s account of nationalism, see Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay* (London, 2014).

<sup>745</sup> FO 7/714, Perry, Venice, 16 June 1866.

portrayed opposition to Austria as essentially liberal, in line with anti-Austrian Risorgimento historiography. This view, which was widely accepted by British public opinion, did not tally with Paton's depiction of Habsburg role of mediation in Dalmatia but also with a considerable part of the facts that Perry himself reported. Yet it was foreign recognition of Italian aspirations that turned what by modern standards can well constitute a demagogic agenda – in its rhetoric, identification of a precise constant enemy, and the dismissal of economic considerations as representing base calculus - into a legitimate political programme aimed at overturning the borders of Europe previously sanctioned by international treaties (i.e. the Congress of Vienna).<sup>746</sup>

#### 6.4 Dalmatia: peripheral allegiance to Austria

While Perry described the Venetian plebiscite as “this splendid majority in favour of annexation to Italy”, assuming and emphasising a will to be part of Italy shared across society, Paton underpinned the different feelings present within Dalmatian society, while also taking into account the existence of nationalist ferment and its destabilizing role.<sup>747</sup> Around the same time, in 1866, Paton even affirmed that “with regard to the sentiments of the population, there is not at the present time the slightest agitation or discontent, and I can conscientiously say that I firmly believe that Dalmatia never had a more mild or tolerant government than the present one, at any period of her history. Austria and Turkey can easily deal with their internal enemies,” he noted, “but if powerful foreign states join themselves to populations bitten by the nationality-mania, no one can predict where the catastrophe may terminate, or the area and duration of the struggle”, proving that external observers already had a clear understanding of how nationalist agitation worked and how it could infect society.<sup>748</sup> More importantly, Paton explicitly touched upon the question of allegiances and ‘national’

<sup>746</sup> For coeval explanations of the shattering of the system established by the Congress of Vienna see *Considerazioni sulla questione veneta scritte in Trieste nel giugno 1861* (Trieste, Weis: 1861), 4.

<sup>747</sup> For Perry's comment on the plebiscite, TNA FO 7/714, Perry, Venice, 28 October 1866. For Paton, TNA FO 7/714, Paton, Ragusa, 25 April 1866.

<sup>748</sup> TNA FO 7/714, Paton, Ragusa, 25 April 1866.

sentiments in what appears to bear witness not only to the limited extent of the Italian element in Dalmatia but also to the absence of actual support for the Italian cause in the eastern Adriatic, in what is a passage that is worth quoting in full:

No signs of disaffection are visible in this part of Dalmatia. The authorities are for the present in no apprehension as to the sentiments of the population, but the inhabitants are not without apprehensions of pillage during volunteer Italian expeditions. In Zara, Sebenico and Spalato there appears to be more apprehensions of a hostile visit after the commencement of the Italian war than here. But even there many persons of Italian name and race belong to the Dalmatian autonomic party, and not to the Italian revolutionary party. The real Italianissimi in these three towns sulk but do not act. The Slavic rural population inland lends itself with alacrity to the military organisation instituted by the Government: the understanding between Governor Philippovich and the moderate section of the national Slavic party being excellent.<sup>749</sup>

Quite to the contrary, on the same subject Perry reported that the Austrians had “great difficulty in arming their ships, and several of their best officers [were] Swedes and Danes.”<sup>750</sup> Events would soon prove his comments groundless, contrary to the reliability and competence displayed in Paton’s reports, which also showed knowledge of the ethnography and the ethno-cultural diversities within the region. In the wake of the victorious sea battle of Lissa in July 1866, when the Habsburg fleet under admiral von Tegetthoff defeated the Italian navy, Paton wrote that “the result [of the victory at Lissa] has given great satisfaction to the population of this place for several reasons. Officers chiefly Germans and partly Danish have occupied the place of the extruded and unreliable

<sup>749</sup> TNA FO 7/714 Paton, Ragusa, 19 June 1866.

<sup>750</sup> TNA FO 7/675 Perry, Venice, 14 March 1864. A great upholder of the navy, Ferdinand Maximilian did state that “we wish to get up a fleet, but have no money, - positively none. ... [The] Emperor [is] surrounded by soldiers, who do not know the value of naval power, and thus they induce Him to neglect it.” TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian. Yet the Archduke’s efforts in bolstering the navy were not without results, as the success at Helgoland and Lissa proved. For Ferdinand Maximilian’s fundamental role in the reorganization of the Austrian navy after 1848, see Sondhaus, *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797–1866* (West Lafayette, IN, 1989).

Italians in the Austrian fleet since 1848, the crews are as heretofore Dalmatian, Ragusan, Istrian, and Bocchese, and the success is felt to be a national one.”<sup>751</sup> A few months later, on 26 November 1866, the various delegates to the Dalmatian diet at Zadar issued a proposal that read: “Given that in the battle of Lissa on 20<sup>th</sup> July the ancient loyalty of Dalmatians to the Emperor and King was splendidly confirmed; that with the valour there deployed by our brave sailors and their valiant commander [...] to consider the [...] patriotism [...] that the communes of the province [of Dalmatia] [...] and the remembrance of the valorous of Lissa while silence of others who, unfortunate and without fault, valiantly fought and shed their blood at Königgratz and elsewhere, would be an injustice.”<sup>752</sup>

Deputy Filippi retorted that “sticking to the literal sense of the proposal [for celebrating the victory], [...] [it had] two aims, the first to confirm fealty to the august Monarch, the other to pay homage to those who fought under the banner of the Empire. As to the first, [...] I believe it superfluous to take a new occasion to say to His Majesty what he, we hope, is persuaded. As to the second point, I do not believe it exhaustive. There is no mention either of Archduke Albert or the battle of Custoza. In the material and political consequences I retain the battle of Custoza more important than that of Lissa and I retain that it was the first that stopped the Prussian army and led to the peace of Prague.”<sup>753</sup> Lovro Monti, who would soon become a Croatian annexationist, replied to these remarks in Slavic-Dalmatian, arguing that “since the proposal we are discussing vividly touches our national sentiments, I will talk about it in our national language. [...] Not only Lissa, but all our coasts, all of Dalmatia, with that victory were saved from hostile assaults and the travesties that war brings with itself. [...] Gentlemen, I appreciate and love the Italians, appreciate and love Italy, this mother of arts and civilization, to which many of us have rightly feel particularly grateful; and I

<sup>751</sup> TNA FO 7/714 Paton, Ragusa, 21 July 1866.

<sup>752</sup> *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 314.

<sup>753</sup> Filippi, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 314.

shared in its pain at the time of its sorrows, as I rejoiced in its fortune. Yet we do not have to sacrifice our nationality. [...] Dalmatia has never been an Italian land.”<sup>754</sup>

Deputy Ponte replied that Monti had said “to wish to talk in the Slavic language, because the proposal concerned the Dalmatians who had fought at Lissa,” misinterpreting Monti’s words and arguing that “his premise was useless because I will reply that Dalmatians who speak the Slavic language and Dalmatians who speak the Italian language fought there.” Although the Italian-speaking deputies committed to the Austrian cause, their tokens of loyalty appeared to be lukewarm; moreover, their main intent was premised on emphasizing the importance of the Italian element of Dalmatia while reducing the relevance of the prevailing Slavic component, by focussing on Prussia as the enemy and belittling the role of the battle of Lissa, which was a crushing defeat for Italy. In the attempt to emphasise the role of Italian Dalmatians the intentions of Italian-speaking deputies appeared contradictory, possibly because of the more distinctively Germanic and Slavic nature of the army as opposed to the Latin and Slavic character of the navy. To portray Habsburg Italians as active contributors to an Italian defeat alongside Slavic crew members might well have represented an uncomfortable reality to face.

Italian activity in the Adriatic was perceived with foreboding in Dalmatia. Paton reported that “there ha[d] been great anxiety in Ragusa for the last two days, from an apprehension that a conquest of Dalmatia might lie in the plans of the Italian government. [...] The fortifications of Ragusa are much more extensive than those of Lissa, but with so close packed a population in narrow streets an attack here would be attended by great loss of life and property. The result of the Italian failure at Lissa has therefore given Ragusa hopes that she may be spared an attack for the moment. [...] Martial law has been as a matter of course proclaimed in Dalmatia.” These words bear witness to fears that

<sup>754</sup> Ponte, *Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata*, 314.

not only government officials manifested, through such measures as martial laws, but also to an apprehension that was shared by the local population. The fact that it was Dalmatians and not only government officials who were weary of the presence of the Italian navy in the lower Adriatic was further expanded by Paton in the following lines, in which he discussed Dalmatian loyalty to the House of Habsburg demonstrating his excellent anthropological understanding that defied the soon-to-be prevalent national categorizations that have obtained to this day. While aware that “the glowing and concentrated Austrian patriotism of the Tyrol and Styria is not to be expected in Dalmatia [...] [he] retain[ed] the impression [...] that the people of this province [we]re as well disposed to Austria as it is possible for a population of hybrid culture to be, towards a heterogeneous and artificially compacted Empire.”<sup>755</sup>

Thus, he underpinned both the ethnic and cultural hybridity of Dalmatia and the fact that attachment to a multi-ethnic and diverse polity was not only possible but also a reality. For, Dalmatians, wishing to have an outlet in the interior of the Balkans, had long been coveting the Herzegovina and had “very little respect for the legitimate rights of the Sultan but they d[id] not wish to be a dependency of Italy.”<sup>756</sup> Paton then concluded the report aptly summarizing the differing roles of Austria, Italy, and Serbia in the Balkans, bearing testimony to the foresight and lucidity of that class of polyglot travellers and army officers who had made the British Empire.<sup>757</sup> Notwithstanding the dreadful state of Austrian finances and the limited investment in the region, “Austria as a Slavic and Roman Catholic power suit[ed] their purpose better than either an enlarged Serbia with Oriental Church ascendancy or an Italian Kingdom with so powerful an obstruction of Jugo-Slavic nationality as Italy’s brilliant art and literature; social and political propaganda; and eventually culminating trade would infallibly become.”<sup>758</sup> Consequently, it is fundamental to emphasise something that has been

<sup>755</sup> TNA FO 7/714, Paton, Ragusa.

<sup>756</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>757</sup> Such was the lot of Paton, Richard Burton, Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, and Francis Younghusband.

<sup>758</sup> TNA FO 7/714 Paton, Ragusa, 21 July 1866.

generally left at the margins of historiographical interpretations, public perceptions and later twentieth-century political understandings of the region. That is to say, that neither Italian nor Serbian claims over the Balkans were perceived to be legitimate by Dalmatians, who found in the Habsburg Monarchy both an ethnic and religious accommodation that they could not have either in a non-Slavic country as Italy or Orthodox Serbia.

### 6.5 The Army and Trieste: urban allegiances and imperial loyalty from Mexico to the Adriatic

That knowledge of German was not widespread at all in Dalmatia does not imply that attachment to the Monarchy, or preference for the Habsburg dynasty over other rulers, was not real. Even in the army (at least in the Adriatic region), often described as a bulwark of the dynasty, and especially in the navy, German was seldom spoken. That several officers of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, who fought also in the campaign of 1866 against Italy, did not know German does not imply lukewarm attachment to the Habsburg polity or precise national identifications that defied the Habsburg supranational identity. Instead, it reflected basic principles according to which the Habsburg military was organised. For example, Triestine lieutenants Respighi, Respaldizza and Tinti had difficulties with the German language, but still were able to look back at a career as Habsburg officers.<sup>759</sup> Others, who did not know German and were not Italian mother-tongue, knew either Italian or its dialects. Anton Marchand, as a Francophone, “had a perfect command of the Lombard dialect”, whereas Alexander von Burnside, a British aristocrat, did not even know Italian.<sup>760</sup> Yet ignorance of German did not prevent them from serving in the Habsburg army and against Italy, a fact that points to the different

<sup>759</sup> Gustav Hubka von Czernczitz, *Geschichte des k. u k. Infanterie-Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22: von seiner Errichtung bis zur Gegenwart* (Zadar, 1902), 392.

<sup>760</sup> *Ibid.* 393.

forms of institutional attachment that people could have in the second half of the nineteenth century and in particular in the Habsburg context. For his part, as late as the 1870s, when the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment had changed its recruiting ground from the Littoral to Dalmatia, Major Luxardo, who was an Italian mother tongue Dalmatian, enjoyed speaking Croatian with his troopers.<sup>761</sup> Also, in this same period, when the songs of the regiment had become Croatian, some battalions still retained the regimental song in the Triestine dialect.<sup>762</sup> These instances, which might be interpreted as oddities, are actually surprising in their constancy until the end of the First World War. They also starkly contrast with the coeval emigration of hundreds of Italian-speaking Triestines, several of whom had previously expressed their belonging to the multi-ethnic environment of the city, whether through work reasons or even intermarriage.

The extent to which an ethnically hybrid Triestine identity was more cogent than national identities (which resonated only among restricted groups) across society and at the everyday level, can be explored in the context of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment in 1866. This regiment was headquartered in Trieste and its recruiting ground was the Küstenland. While the history of the regiment had been tied to Trieste since the 1820s, emphasis here is put on the year 1866, given the chronology of this chapter and the implications that that year had for the regiment itself and Habsburg presence in the Italian peninsula. In 1866, during the war against Italy, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment arrived in “Verona as a garrison to the fortress, evidently proof that an almost entirely Italian regiment could be left with complete confidence at the heart of apostate aspirations”, as the regimental historian Gustav Hubka von Czerncitz put it.<sup>763</sup> By that time, “Verona was no longer the friendly city that had housed [the] regiment in 1857 and 1858.”<sup>764</sup> It was in this context that a mainly Italian-speaking regiment found itself at grips with activists who supported Italian unification. As if to refute Italian

<sup>761</sup> Hubka von Czerncitz, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Infanterie-Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22*, 385-6.

<sup>762</sup> *Ibid.* 452-3.

<sup>763</sup> *Ibid.* 340.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid.*



activists' conviction in Italo-Slavic enmity, the regiment was joined in Verona by battalions of Croats from the Military Border. This association had been in place at least since the 1840s and confirmed the 'Balkan' nature of this mainly Italian-speaking regiment.<sup>765</sup>

In Verona, the regiment found itself in a particularly difficult position: "the Veronese had hoped to find the "Fratelli Triestini" [*Triestine brothers*] extremely accessible for their propaganda of national tendencies; it was hoped that these "Compatrioti" [*compatriots*] would soon fraternise with the red-white-green tricolour, so the anger and disappointment was all the greater, when these "maledetti renegati" [*damned renegades*] not only rejected all attempts at conversion with indignation, but also proceeded with ruthless energy and showed particular skill in putting down excesses."<sup>766</sup> The Triestine troops were thus greeted with "curses of all kinds and degrees, often with stones and roof tiles" and local notables went as far as to ask the fortress commander that patrol duties be provided by "the "Croati" [*Croats*] rather than the "Bastardi traditori" [*bastard traitors*]."<sup>767</sup> Although the *Grenzer* Croats were not too comfortable with patrol duties given the tense situation in Verona, exacerbated by intense local newspaper propaganda, Hubka von Czernczitz explained that the "curses and insults were mostly incomprehensible to them, while the Küstenlander of the Wimpffen infantry responded by making arrests."<sup>768</sup> The demeanour of the Triestine regiment amid Italian nationalist agitation in Verona was the "apotheosis of the unshakable loyalty to the emperor of [the] brave regiment, which – although two-thirds of Italian nationality – did not hesitate for a moment in the sworn oath."<sup>769</sup>

Although the author himself wrote of Italian nationality, what we need to bear in mind is that the regiment was mainly Triestine speaking. As evidence for that, we can cite the regimental songs

<sup>765</sup> Hubka von Czernczitz, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Infanterie-Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22*, 316, 320-2, 338, 347.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.* 347.

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.* 347-8.

<sup>769</sup> *Ibid.* 348.

composed by Corporal Giovanni Morosini (note the typical Venetian surname), a daring soldier who proved his valour at the battle of Solferino in 1859. In 1859, marching through the plains of Friuli and Veneto to fight the French and Piedmontese south of Lake Garda, the troops would sing in the Triestine dialect: ‘Addio, fradei, sorelle, in Guerra ne tocc’andar’ [*Goodbye brothers and sisters, I have to go to war*] and “No go paura miga no [...] mi vado in Guerra!” [*I am not scared at all [...] I go to war*].<sup>770</sup> Although in 1878, with the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the regiment, now named Weber, was permanently moved from Trieste to Dalmatia and the regimental songs were changed thereafter into Croatian, a regimental company had “Italian singers who had prepared a few stanzas to the tune of a Trieste folk song: “Sono stato a Banjaluka, ma i turchi no i me cuca; i bosniachi xe sui monti e el Weber sta in pianura, ma Trieste sta sicura, perchè il Weber tornerà” [*I have been to Banja Luka, but the Turks will not catch me; the Bosniaks are on the mountains and the Weber is in the plains, but Trieste is safe, because the Weber will come back*].<sup>771</sup> The stanza is particularly relevant here as it bears testimony to the history of loyalty of the Italian-speaking segments of the regiment and their ongoing attachment to the city of Trieste even in the context of the occupation of Bosnia.

As Gustav Hubka von Czerncitz succinctly wrote (chiming also with what will be discussed in the last section of this chapter), “the rallies in Trieste and the coastal towns of Istria for the dreamed unity of Italy, were perhaps not the voice of the people, but merely the work of a few agitators who intended to fish in turmoil, but at the same time they had issued the slogan ‘Constitution’”, a statement that can be taken as exemplifying the political transitions of Trieste from the 1860s onwards.<sup>772</sup>

A question that has largely been overlooked by existing historiography is the contribution of several Triestines, and men from the Austrian Littoral or Küstenland more in general, to the

<sup>770</sup> Hubka von Czerncitz, *Geschichte des k. u. k. Infanterie-Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22*, 310, 317.

<sup>771</sup> *Ibid.* 453.

<sup>772</sup> *Ibid.* 266.

expeditionary force assembled to fight in the service of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, who had become Emperor of Mexico in 1864. Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor Franz Joseph's younger brother, assumed the imperial crown of Mexico in 1864 backed by Napoleon III, after a delegation of Mexican dignitaries reached the Triestine residence of Miramare in their bid to secure a future for a monarchical Mexico.<sup>773</sup> The Archduke enthusiastically accepted, yet his overseas venture would soon prove short-lived and fatal. Writing from Dubrovnik on 11<sup>th</sup> July 1867, Paton stated that "the execution of the Emperor Ferdinand Maximilian has made a profound and painful impression in the place where he was so well honoured. [...] so as to cause the double catastrophe which followed the golden days of Lakroma [the island off the coast of Dubrovnik, where he had a residence] to appear the more gloomy and appalling, not only to the population of Ragusa, but more particularly to those who had the privilege of seeing this remarkable pair [the Archduke and his wife Charlotte] in the enjoyment of what seemed the most enviable human felicity."<sup>774</sup> The role of Trieste and the Adriatic in Ferdinand Maximilian's Mexican adventure underlies the idea of the city as the Empire's door to the wider world.

It is with the death of Ferdinand Maximilian at Queretaro and the fall of his Mexican Empire, that the Austro-Mexican corps at his service was repatriated to Habsburg soil in the spring of 1867; and it was in Trieste, where the Mexican adventure started, that Austro-Mexican volunteers first struggled to reintegrate to everyday life. The Triestine reception of the repatriated soldiers sheds light on the relationship between the local urban community and the Monarchy. This section seeks to investigate local allegiances to the Habsburg dynasty, reflected in the Mexican 'adventure', or the lack thereof. The engagement between municipal authorities and the Austro-Mexican volunteers, as they are called in the primary sources, who made their return to Trieste in 1867, reveals aspects of

<sup>773</sup> For Ferdinand Maximilian in Mexico see, Edward Shawcross, *France, Mexico and Informal Empire in Latin America, 1820-1867. Equilibrium in the New World* (London, 2018).

<sup>774</sup> FO 7/730 Paton, Ragusa 11th July 1867.

supranationalism in a well-defined context as well as the limits of imperial loyalty, which appears to be side-lined by stronger urban allegiances and concerns.

News of the approach of the Austro-Mexican contingent, strong of 3,500-odd men, sparked agitation within the municipal council. The decision of the Ministry of War to encamp the troops in town and integrate them into a Jäger (light infantry) battalion was not met with favour by local authorities. Quite understandably, the municipal councillors were weary of undisciplined troops, given their previous encounter with the Austro-Mexican volunteers, which had proved an unpleasant experience for the population the year before, in 1866. The steamship *Tampico*, carrying soldiers for Ferdinand Maximilian's cause, had been forced by a French squadron to head back to Trieste. There, the inactive soldiers had flocked the streets and engaged in disorderly conduct.<sup>775</sup> The city council drafted the following note: "For the orderly formation of a Jäger battalion out of that contingent, the Council, after thorough discussion, unanimously decides to beg the Lieutenancy, through the Podestà, so that it may let the Ministry of War know the reasons of public hygiene, public safety, and particular care due to the infirmity affecting the august Empress Charlotte, reasons that suggested to have the contingent urgently removed from Trieste and reformed in a special corps elsewhere."<sup>776</sup>

The majority of the veterans who disembarked in Trieste in spring 1867 were sick or wounded, in dire economic circumstances and in search for employment. The wealthy citizens of Trieste established a fund to initially support veterans originally from Trieste in acclimatising to civic life. Since the majority of the soldiers were from the Küstenland but not Trieste itself, a fund was established in order to help veterans find some form of employment to prevent them from being a burden to the city. The Austro-Mexican veterans, whether from Trieste or the Küstenland, wrote pleas to the board of the charity in order to receive subventions. While not necessarily testifying to

<sup>775</sup> ACTS, *Verbali della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 2 April 1867.

<sup>776</sup> *Ibid.*

attachment to the dynasty in all cases, the pleas that the soldiers wrote in order to receive some financial aid present clear evidence for the nature of the Triestine identity among the lower strata of society, to which the majority of local volunteers belonged.<sup>777</sup> While some explicitly expressed their loyalty to the dynasty (both to Franz Joseph and Maximilian) in their pleas, having previously served in the local 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment Wimpffen or against Piedmont in the war of 1859, the majority had no military background: they were bricklayers, cobblers, blacksmiths, porters, and coachmen from the rest of the Küstenland who had hoped to find better opportunities in the service of Maximilian. Furthermore, that as late as April 1866 a fund was raised and entrusted to councillor Francesco Maruschig with the intent of supporting “unemployed Triestine individuals to enlist among the Mexican volunteers” points towards the attempt to free the city of those people who could prove a burden to society.<sup>778</sup>

The whole question and the concerns troubling the councillors’ become even clearer in light of Maruschig’s reasoning. Having estimated a total of sixty-eight veterans from Mexico who might have chosen Trieste as their future domicile, and having detracted the nineteen veterans originally from Trieste, “forty-nine strangers remain[ed], the majority of whom without substance or employment, and as a consequence public safety could be compromised since these people [did] not have any means and would be consequently be likely to resort to censurable behaviour.”<sup>779</sup> Maruschig concluded the memorandum urging the police directorate “to enquire about [the veterans’] domicile and provide proof of their means of subsistence, so that it is possible to take action for their removal in the event they lack these.”<sup>780</sup>

<sup>777</sup> ACTS, ‘Pleas of the Austro-Mexican volunteers’, June 1867.

<sup>778</sup> ACTS, *Verballi della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 5 April 1866.

<sup>779</sup> ACTS, *Verballi della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 12 April 1867.

<sup>780</sup> *Ibid.*

Councillor Carlo Pascotini von Ehrenfels presented “the pleas of Austrian ex-legionnaires who are not pertinent to Trieste and not included in the categories of the wounded or sick for whom the Committee has been established, so that” the Magistrate might take care of them, “in the event they were unemployed and without means of subsistence in Trieste [...] since, contrary to many others, they have not been sent to their hometowns.”<sup>781</sup> The very same fact that people not included in the categories covered by the charity were granted subventions might point to the extent to which subscribers were not motivated by mere utilitarian considerations. The establishment of a fund for the Triestine Austro-Mexican legionnaires underlies a strong sense of urban allegiance. The fact that the fund was enlarged so that to cover some veterans from the rest of the Küstenland points, if not to a sincere sense of *Landespatriotismus*, at least to awareness of a shared sense of belonging to the Küstenland. For the fund was also meant for the wounded and sick who were not from the city of Trieste itself but the surrounding towns of the Slovenian hinterland, Friuli and Istria. Yet the veterans mentioned by Baron Pascotini received very small sums ranging from 5 to 10 florins, enough to get through only for a short period of time. The only non-Triestine to receive 30 florins, amounting to between three and six times as much as that given to the other soldiers, was a nobleman, Franz von Gall. Class and rank, therefore, were the only distinctions that were made.

While extending the purposes of the fund might seem to point to a sense of *Landespatriotismus* as well as imperial patriotism, practical considerations concerning urban allegiances and attachment to the town of Trieste only appeared to undermine the principles of dynastic loyalty and solidarity towards other Habsburg subjects. The amount allocated to the non-Triestine veterans was offered “as a special favour”.<sup>782</sup> The memorandum urged that they, together with “others who might be in town without employment or mean of subsistence be immediately removed from the municipality for reasons of public safety.”<sup>783</sup> At the same time, the supranational

<sup>781</sup> ACTS, *Verbali della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 17 June 1867.

<sup>782</sup> ACTS, *Verbali della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 26 June 1867.

<sup>783</sup> *Ibid.*

principle underlying the Habsburg Monarchy seemed to remain untouchable, since distinctions between nationalities or ethnicities were not mentioned. Ethnic categorisations did not emerge in the choices of the municipal assembly, showing the extent to which part of the city's elites perceived themselves as part of a multinational Empire. We can see Slovenes from Trieste's hinterland and Ljubljana, Austrians from Carinthia, Friulans, Istrians from Capodistria/Koper and Pirano/Piran receiving a sum or not irrespectively of their origins or job. The council had unanimously decided that those not residing in Trieste who were unemployed or lacked any means of subsistence had to be driven away from the city. The majority of volunteers from Trieste were either unemployed or in precarious financial conditions. They were referred to as 'native Triestines', regardless of ethnicity, which it is fundamental to emphasise, since ethnic affiliation did not seem to constitute a relevant category on the everyday level (and irrespectively of nationalist activists' endeavours) as late as 1867. People born and bred in Trieste were simply Triestines, whose language, as the pleas reveal, was the local dialect shared by men with Italian, Slovene, and German surnames, that is the three national groups that publicists of the time and later historiography have accepted as given distinct categories.

Considerations regarding urban security pointed to the cogency of practical local interests that nevertheless did not overshadow any appreciation of belonging to a wider polity. If the choice of the municipal council to remove unwelcome guests brought to the fore other aspects besides the pre-eminence of local urban allegiances, it did not necessarily imply a lack of concern for the people of the Monarchy. The council attempted to disguise these concerns with their care for Empress Charlotte's well-being, as it was stated that the presence of the Austro-Mexican troops in Trieste would be a cause of distress for the former Empress of Mexico.<sup>784</sup>

<sup>784</sup> ACTS, *Verbali della Delegazione Municipale di Trieste*, 2 April 1867.

Local identity seems to have encompassed various ethnicities that were not seen as antithetic or unbridgeable, but, on the contrary, expressed through the medium of a shared language and identity. Lodovico Kramer, “son of Sigismondo, Triestine, thirty-eight years old, casual porter”, was called ‘Triestine’, although his father’s and his name and surnames denoted Germanic origins (only rendered in Italian). Similarly, Augusto Porsche and Francesco Marussig, whose surnames denoted Germanic and Slavic heritage respectively, were simply referred to as ‘native Triestine’. Many of those who remained in Trieste bear testimony to the cogency of the Habsburg multinational identity and the persistence of loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy through the vicissitudes of the second half of the nineteenth century. Dissatisfaction against the Habsburg dynasty and the surge in emigration applications stand in stark contrast with this kind of attachment to Trieste and the Monarchy.

#### 6.6 Emigrations from Trieste and Italian citizenship: Italian patriotism or opportunism?

Just four months before his visit to the Miramare castle, Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian’s residence on the northern outskirts of Trieste, Dunlop expressed his surprise regarding the recent changes that had occurred in Trieste since his last stay in the Adriatic city. Dunlop attributed the negative transformations affecting the city to fiscal issues, namely heavy taxation on the part of Viennese authorities (since Trieste, as ‘immediate city’ of the Empire, was tied directly to Vienna), and stagnation in the Habsburg economy, which chimed with the recent unification of Italy in 1861. According to his report, “the continued severe municipal taxation – enforced on the town and district of Trieste by the Imperial government (who now take for the Vienna treasury half of the amount raised by the imports levied within the municipality) ha[d] caused increased discontent and disloyalty towards the Austrian government.”<sup>785</sup> Dissatisfaction was apparent within the merchant class of the

<sup>785</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Dunlop to George Elliott, State of feeling at Trieste, 19 June 1861.



city, as he explained, in what constitutes a meticulous report that is substantiated by other primary sources here analysed (that is requests of emigration from the Austrian state, on which later in the chapter). “This feeling has apparently spread of late amongst the wealthy and influential of the mercantile community,” he explained, “many of whom are Italians from Milan and Bologna, who do not conceal their hope that Trieste may sooner or later be released from Vienna rule. They allege that they are sure, as practical businessmen, that at all event Austria must necessarily go through a long phase of financial depression, even more ruinous to them than the present.”<sup>786</sup> The document is fundamental insofar as it explicitly states the time, reasons, and social environment in which a change in allegiances took place in Trieste. As a result, there are elements for arguing that a political shift did occur, but it actually involved people who were not originally from Trieste, since they were only based there for commercial reasons, and whose reasons for endorsing the newly formed Kingdom of Italy were ascribable to their origins and economic interests, which had previously led them to the Austrian Littoral.

Dunlop captured the city’s situation in an account that is extremely important for better contextualizing changing allegiances amidst economic disruption:

This town with its environs has now a population of about 100,000 souls: the French have here an active Consul, with a regular chancellerie, and it is said that he privately exercised considerable influence on the opinions of the Italian and Greek merchants as well as those of his own countrymen. Today it is rumoured – I learn from my Austrian banker here – that the Consular affairs at this port, of the Kingdom of Sardinia ( - Italy) which have for some years been under the charge of the Swedish Consulate, are now to be transferred to the care of the French Consul. My informant also alleges that the (before mentioned) merchants have for long been intriguing against Austrian rule in this town and district and on the neighbouring coast – in favour of the ultimate annexation of Trieste to the Italian

<sup>786</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Dunlop to George Elliott, State of feeling at Trieste, 19 June 1861.

Kingdom – because they are convinced that their material interests would thereby be saved from ruin, and have some chance of a prosperous future.<sup>787</sup>

Dunlop concluded the report revealing that he had heard rumours along these lines the previous autumn when in Vienna, “but supposed that the reports were exaggerated.” “I am now assured, however – (rather to my surprise)”, he confessed, “that they have in no degree been so, that general discontent against Vienna government prevails here, and that with a majority of the population, this discontent is coupled with disaffection – and with the hope of an ultimate escape from German rule.”<sup>788</sup> Primary sources show that the commercial elite of Trieste complained about the economic slump and reduction of traffics in the wake of the 1857 crisis, notwithstanding the opening of the Vienna-Trieste railway in 1857.<sup>789</sup> As Alison Frank has shown, in 1863 even a loyalist like local businessman and philanthropist Pasquale Revoltella complained about the limited extent of Austria’s overseas traffics, which were relegated to the Mediterranean.<sup>790</sup> It was in this context that part of the business community, generally described as belonging to an Italian culture, sought to acquire Italian citizenship.

Yet their pleas show the difficulty in accommodating new forms of identification, namely Piedmontese or Italian citizenship, with their local and regional identities. Following Judson, it is then possible to make sense of national indifference and understand “people’s experience of mobilization [...] as a kind of prerequisite for (rather than a product of) understanding the world in

<sup>787</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Dunlop to George Elliott, 19 June 1861.

<sup>788</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>789</sup> For the seldom-debated international economic crisis of 1857, which followed a period of economic expansion, see Jonathan Hughes, ‘The commercial crisis of 1857’, *Oxford Economic Papers* 8, 2 (1956), 194-222. The municipal council of Trieste beseeched the Emperor to postpone the conscription of Trieste’s youths, arguing that “the sluggishness of traffics affects [people’s] finances so deeply that that year only 11 individuals came to pay the liberation tax, when in the previous year 30 people came.” Archivio del Comune di Trieste (ACTS) 1863-1867, Plea of Trieste’s municipal council, 4 March 1863. In 1865, Luigi Bodio referred to “the sunset of Trieste’s fortunes”, showing how maritime imports and exports had significantly decreased since 1858. Bodio, *Saggio sul commercio esterno terrestre e marittimo del Regno d’Italia negli anni 1862 e 1863* (Florence, 1865), 170.

<sup>790</sup> Frank, ‘Continental and maritime empires in an age of global commerce’, 780-1.

terms of discrete nations.”<sup>791</sup> Yet, as he himself stated, these merchants who wanted Triestine freedom from Austrian ‘yoke’ would actually be soon categorised as *Reichsitaliener* or *regnicoli*, that is subjects of the Kingdom of Italy and, as such, foreigners.<sup>792</sup> In this context, even an Italian sympathiser as Perry did “not think the inhabitants of Trieste as a body [were] anxious to form part of Italy.”<sup>793</sup> According to him, “it will be far more prudent for the Italians to content themselves with Venetia and not interfere with Istria and Dalmatia.”<sup>794</sup> As things stood then, we see that the affairs of Venetia and Trieste were closely intertwined, a fact that explains why the diplomatic and social context of Venetia needs to be introduced before directly discussing the question of Triestine emigrations in the 1860s.

It was precisely in the context of economic crisis in Austria and the Austrian loss of Lombardy and Venetia between 1859 and 1866 – which Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian confessed to Graham Dunlop to consider to be inevitable - that many Triestines with roots in those territories took pain to explain to Habsburg authorities that they had been living in Trieste only for commercial reasons and now wished to relinquish their Austrian citizenship, having been born in Habsburg Lombardy-Venetia or even Trieste.<sup>795</sup> Consequently, they emphasised that they were not tied to the city by any other bond but business reasons, which, as they argued, constituted neither a strong form of attachment to Austria, nor to Trieste. Some did state that, since their businesses had been moved elsewhere, they found it more convenient to leave Trieste. Whereas, others added, or exclusively used, considerations of national affiliation or personal bonds, that in some cases appeared to undermine the legitimacy of their pleas. Yet it was precisely such professions of national attachment and disavowal of any bond to previous Austrian rule that informed coeval nation building propaganda

<sup>791</sup> Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*, 272.

<sup>792</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>793</sup> TNA, FO 7/715 Perry, Venice, 1 August 1866.

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>795</sup> TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian. Ferdinand Maximilian, accepting the loss of Lombardy and the inevitability of that of Venetia, wondered “if province after province is taken from us, where can any indemnity or equivalent be formed?”

and national historiographies. For example, in 1861, the influential Pacifico Valussi, wrote that “we [Istrians and Triestines] have repeatedly affirmed our Italian nature [...] with a numerous emigration [...] confirming] the *italianità* of these lands.”<sup>796</sup> Yet the emigration of these man, Valussi included – he was originally from nearby Friuli and had moved to Trieste to work for the paper *La Favilla*, before joining the Venetian revolution in 1848 – ran counter to the trope of the Italian character of Trieste, since emigrants sought to leave the city and resettle in their places of origin in Lombardy and Veneto.<sup>797</sup> These documents show that people left or remained in Trieste as naturalised Italians for reasons that had little or nothing to do with patriotism, while also suggesting that Trieste’s population was truly multi-ethnic and not necessarily having an Italian character.

Pharisien’s case is the most thoroughly documented among scores of other applications for relinquishing Austrian citizenship. These requests provide clear evidence for arguing that the actual *italianità* of Trieste was ushered in by Italian-born subjects or their children who wished to stress their original attachment either with Lombardy in 1859 or Venetia in 1866, at the same time dismissing their ties with Trieste. That several of them eventually did not emigrate and remained active in Trieste, constituting the early core of the Italian national party, points to the economic or opportunistic nature of their national sentiments as well as the fact that *italianità* was imported to Trieste, not an original trait of the city. Pharisien recalled that he had been born in Milan, and that, although he had been living in Trieste since 1827, he had kept his official residency in Milan until 1844. Therefore, he was not pertinent to the city of Trieste in 1850, when the Statute of Trieste then

<sup>796</sup> Valussi, *Trieste e l’Istria*, 6.

<sup>797</sup> Valussi’s idea of the Italian nation and Trieste’s *italianità* was rooted in ancient Roman and medieval ethnogenesis as well as an invented account of European history. He stated that “whether the nation formed on the basis of the Latin civilization [...] or the federative forces of its one hundred cities united in one language and civilisation as in the Middle Ages, the shared national character soon emerges so clearly that no one can question it or diminish it with the pretext of subnationalities, as it would be the case of Portugal and Spain, Belgium and France, and as it was once for Scotland and England. See Valussi, *Trieste e l’Istria*, 11-12. Similarly, in 1865, propagandist Sigismondo Bonfiglio wrote about “the consciousness that Triestines had had, since the most distant times until ours, of being in Italy and being Italians.” Bonfiglio, *Italia e Confederazione Germanica*, 555. Valussi’s ideas drastically differed from the Adriatic multinationalism that he had endorsed with Francesco Dall’Ongaro when writing for *La Favilla* in pre-1848 Trieste. For Valussi’s role at *La Favilla* see Kirchner Reill, ‘A poet’s struggle for a new Adriaticism in the nineteenth century’, *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011), 9 and Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 81-114.

redacted determined that after ten years of residency in the city one would become pertinent to Trieste.<sup>798</sup> According to Pharisien, “in 1850, [he] was an Austrian citizen, yet pertinent to another commune, that is that of Milan.” It was in times of regime change that, as Kirchner Reill has shown for the case of Fiume after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, the question of pertinency would become an issue.<sup>799</sup> In the Habsburg Monarchy, and in the specific case of Trieste, pertinency coincided with long-term residency, as also Pharisien’s plea made clear.<sup>800</sup>

In 1850 the City Council of Trieste did not include Pharisien among the municipal electors. Therefore, he assumed he was still excluded from the list in 1861 too. Confessing that he had not communicated his wish to the authorities either within the deadline of art. XII of the Treaty of Zurich or at a later date, he adduced the reason “simply to a mistake not attributable to [himself] and resulting from good faith.” Whereas, in October 1861, his employer Antonio Merli decided to opt for Italian citizenship, which Pharisien described as “his right to keep his native and natural citizenship”, although he had previously “explicitly asked for, and obtained, the special citizenship of the city of Trieste.” For his part, Pharisien too manifested “his desire to maintain his natural citizenship”, which was that of Milan, though, not the Italian, contrary to what he argued. His whole intent appeared to be that of proving that he was not Austrian in order to prevent his son from being conscripted in the Austrian army, an intent which he explicitly denied in his twenty-page plea stating that he did not seek “by that subterfuge to relieve [his] son from military obligations”, by trying to prove that after October 1860 he “had been considering [him]self an Italian citizen”, even before the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy. Furthermore, he claimed that he had always “abstained from acts and facts

<sup>798</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giuseppe Pharisien’s plea, 26 February 1866.

<sup>799</sup> For Austrian pertinency (*pertinenza* in the Italian sources here analysed and *Heimatrecht* in German), see Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis* (Cambridge, MA, 2020), 137. For the Austrian citizenship law and the idea that Austrian citizenship was independent from ethnic and religious denominations, see Ulrike von Hirschhausen, ‘From Imperial Inclusion to National Exclusion: Citizenship in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Austria 1867–1923’, *European Review of History—Revue européenne d’histoire* 16, 4 (2009), 551–573.

<sup>800</sup> Kirchner Reill’s description of pertinency in post-First World War Fiume is illuminating about the benefits of Austro-Hungarian pertinency, what it implied (“access if needed to the city’s poor relief and immunity from expulsion”) and how it changed across the dual Monarchy (Austria-Hungary after 1867). See Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis*, 139-40.

from which his will to be considered a citizen of or pertinent to Trieste could be implied.” Also that “since his initial arrival in this city [he] always considered [him]self pertinent to Milan, [his] birthplace.” Yet his neglect in applying for Italian citizenship years after the due time was more attributable to indifference to politics or issues of nationality, until they directly impacted on his family, rather than urging sentiments of patriotism.

Similarly to Pharisien, others wished to relinquish Austrian citizenship with the specific aim of having their sons evade military conscription in the Austrian army. Gaetano Cristofori, who possibly offers an even more explicit stance for avoiding conscription, “asked that his son Giacomo, who had been conscripted in the 1865 levy, be exempted from military service.” Cristofori asked “to be recognised as Italian subject so that to be able to lay claim to the other petition regarding the discharge of his son Giacomo from Austrian military service”, adducing the fact that he was not pertinent to the commune of Trieste, although he had asked to be admitted to it in 1859, given the fact that he had not paid for the certificate, which was thus not issued.<sup>801</sup> The same applied to the Jewish Benedetto Fano, who sought to have his son removed from the conscription lists. The issue arose because these men did not avail themselves of article XII of the Peace Treaty of Zurich in time, according to which Habsburg subjects of Lombard origin could opt for Piedmontese nationality within a year. They sought to have their sons deleted from the conscription lists in order to have more elements for claiming Italian citizenship, since they were applying for it with several years of delay, according to the terms of Treaty of Zurich.<sup>802</sup>

<sup>801</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Gaetano Cristofori’s plea, 13 April 1867.

<sup>802</sup> Although conscription had been introduced in Trieste in 1858, its citizens, as elsewhere in the Monarchy, could pay a tax that would exempt them from military service. ACTS 1853-1908, Trieste Chamber of Commerce, 10 March 1863. In 1863, the Austrian army had 17,000 substitutes “serving for wealthy conscripts who paid a [...] ‘liberation tax’ [...] to purchase their exemption from army service.” See Geoffrey Wawro, ‘Inside the whale: the tangled finances of the Austrian army, 1848-1866’, *War in History* 3, 1 (1996), 57.

While city deputy Maruschig, in a report for the Lieutenancy dated 25 November 1852, would note that in 1852 nobody had emigrated from Trieste, he could no longer state so especially after 1859. Italian unification, first preceded by the Austrian loss of Lombardy in 1859, triggered a surge in emigrations due to commercial interests, work opportunities or the overt intention to evade military conscription in the Austrian army. Triestine residents born in Lombardy, or with parents born there, made sure to the authorities that their links with Trieste were merely due to commercial reasons. Consequently, people of Lombard origins who had been in Trieste for more than thirty years, and their children born in Trieste, applied for Italian citizenship, to which the Treaty of Zurich of 1859 entitled them. Therefore, the supposed Italian character of Trieste, so often propagandised by nationalist activists, was fuelled by individuals who explicitly professed that they did not belong to the city, a paradox that would shed a new light on the history of the formation of nation states and their claims over and absorption of smaller polities. The same issues and dynamics applied a few years later to those families with origins or ties in Veneto, which was given to Italy in 1866.

Jewish merchant Aron Morpurgo's son was to be drafted for military conscription in 1867, since Morpurgo, born in Gorizia in 1813 (in what was still integral part of the Habsburg Monarchy), although no longer in Trieste, was still a citizen of that city, and his son Eugenio, who was with him in Libya. Yet, for these reasons, his family's situation and motives for relinquishing Austrian citizenship were slightly different from those in the previous cases. For Morpurgo actually explained that the Austrian loss of the Veneto was a blow to his business activities. Having been settled for more than fifteen years in Venice, employed by the "Fabbriche Unite di canna e smalti", centred on the production of Murano glass, and having been in Tripoli for some years as sales representative of the firm, "with the cession of Venetia to the Italian government, and since [he was] a citizen of Trieste, therefore under Austrian sovereignty, [he] was damaged by it, while all [his] interests being in Venice, [he] receive[d] further damage" and his family in Venice and children attending the University of Padua, was an undergraduate at the University of Padua, the only Italian university still present in the

Habsburg Monarchy after the loss of Lombardy, underwent “the gravest inconvenience”. Given the critical circumstances, he asked the municipal council of Trieste through the Austrian consul at Tripoli “to accord [him] the expatriation from that city [...] pray[ing] that it be let know to the Royal Imperial Government that [he would] always cherish grateful memory of the way in which [he] ha[d] always been protected by its agents.”<sup>803</sup>

Since Morpurgo was born in Gorizia, still part and parcel of Austria, and his son was due to be called for military conscription that year, his request could not be approved by the municipal council on the basis of the sovereign patent of 24 March 1832 concerning emigrations.<sup>804</sup> Yet, notwithstanding the different context, Morpurgo’s request was still aimed at avoiding military conscription and acquiring Italian citizenship well after the Italian acquisition of Venice, thus pointing, in this case too, to the apolitical and opportunistic nature of national affiliations. In January, the Austrian consul in Tripoli reported that Eugenio, who “in the coming year was to be subject to military conscription”, had come to ask him “his passport to get [to Trieste], so he [said], but more probably to reach Venice in order to do all he c[ould] to obtain the much desired Italian naturalisation, which his father Aron had asked for him.”<sup>805</sup>

Jewish trader Salomon Aron Loria was more explicit in his disavowal of any belonging to Trieste or the Austrian state. Born in Mantua, he claimed that he “ha[d] been Austrian subject only for one reason, that is for having been born in Mantua, while [his] aggregation to the municipality of Trieste was but a move from a municipality of the Monarchy to another.”<sup>806</sup> In his pedantic plea Loria sought to interpret and distort municipal and state regulations to his own advantage, in order to lose Austrian citizenship while being allowed to remain in Trieste as a foreigner. He continued by

<sup>803</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Municipal council of Trieste on Aron Morpurgo, 12 February 1867.

<sup>804</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>805</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Imp. Reg. Consolato d’Austria in Tripoli di Barberia, 25 January 1867.

<sup>806</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Salomon Aron Loria’s plea, 6 December 1866.



interpreting and assessing the law, stating that “it is true that according to article 16 of the Triestine statute, by losing Austrian citizenship one loses pertinency to the municipality, but this means that Austrian citizenship is an essential requirement for pertinency to the municipality,” while at the same time he did not consider himself to be bound to Triestine pertinency.

Loria complained to the authorities that “after the treaty of Zurich, here in Trieste there were individuals native to Lombardy, then ceded, who were not only pertinent to this municipality but also electors and even elected in the Municipal Council like Gracco Bazzoni and Angelo Chiodi, who by virtue of their simple declaration kept the then Sardinian citizenship, and that was accepted by the Lieutenancy without forcing them to ask the authorization for emigration.”<sup>807</sup> Yet the terms of the Treaty of Zurich were different from those sanctioning the cession of the Veneto (and Mantua) to Italy.<sup>808</sup> He also complained that fellow merchants “Luigi Ceriali, Alberto Tanzi, Antonio Merli, Cesare Cambiaggio and others who had been joined to the council of Trieste with formal decree, in 1860 simply submitted their right to the original citizenship, instead of having to ask for emigration from the Austrian states.”<sup>809</sup> These men of Lombard origins had asked to relinquish Austrian citizenship and acquire the Italian on the basis of the peace Treaty of Zurich of 1859, according to which Lombard subjects may opt for Italian citizenship, given the Italian acquisition of Lombardy.

Another Mantuan, in this case born in Trieste, issued a plea that exemplifies the tenor of such requests and the opportunistic reasons for becoming Italian. The fact that many of the merchants identifying with the newly formed Italian nation were Jews does not testify to the Italian identity of the local Jewish community, but rather to the same opportunistic attitude that characterised part of the merchant class. Giacomo d’Italia was a Jewish trader whose father was born in Mantua and had

<sup>807</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Salomon Aron Loria’s plea.

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>809</sup> *Ibid.*

moved to Trieste in 1805 “in order to undertake commercial businesses”.<sup>810</sup> Although his job “later induced him to take stable domicile [in Trieste,] where he also got married”, the applicant emphasised that his father “took neither citizenship nor pertinency to the municipality, but always remained attached to his fatherland, having never renounced that citizenship, and did not make his children join this municipality.”<sup>811</sup> If that were not enough, he continued arguing that “since [his] forebears come from [Mantua] and some relatives still live there and since [his] interests require that [he] belong[s] to that city where [his] father was born, and therefore under sovereignty of that regime that at presents holds there”, he asked for “the abandonment of Austrian citizenship, while remaining here for [his] further businesses.”<sup>812</sup>

These words testify to the apolitical nature of such pleas, which were merely spurred by considerations of personal convenience. Other pleas did not differ much in content. Antonio Venezian, whose father Elia Vita Venezian, born in Ferrara in 1789, had moved to Trieste in 1805, where he devoted himself to trade, explicitly emphasised that he rightly belonged to the Papal State. Yet such conviction sounds paradoxical in light of the previous significant Jewish emigration from the Papal State to the Habsburg Monarchy, whether to Trieste or Dalmatia, as a result of Papal discrimination against Jews (but which can be explained because the State of the Church was on the eve of being annexed to Piedmont).<sup>813</sup> For its part, while Trieste-born lawyer Antonio Valdoni’s plea for relinquishing Austrian citizenship appeared legitimate, he adduced national sentiments that were, allegedly, clearly opportunistic. For Valdoni did state that, although born in Trieste, he was living in Milan and wished to relinquish Austrian citizenship, since he had “studied Law at the University of Pavia, [...] [and] wishe[d] to settle permanently in Lombardy in order to conduct the already commenced legal practice.”<sup>814</sup> Yet he also added that “this desire [was] even more legitimate since

<sup>810</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giacomo D’Italia’s plea, 27 November 1866.

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>813</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Antonio Venezian’s plea, 10 June 1860.

<sup>814</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Antonio Valdoni’s plea, 16 October 1859.

not only bonds of affection tie[d] him to Lombardy, but also of blood, since his father was Lombard, that is from S. Angelo in the province of Lodi”, concluding that his father had come to Trieste, “only for commercial reasons and [had] died only as pertinent to th[at] council.”<sup>815</sup>

Similarly, Paolo Camocino, Antonio Civenna, Carlo Ceriali and Angelo Chiodi were among those who asked to preserve their Lombard citizenship while remaining in Trieste. While Camocino, an employee at the custom duties, was actually born in Trieste and based his request on the fact that his father was originally Lombard, Civenna and Chiodi had been born in Lombardy. Civenna stated that he was born in the province of Milan and that he had settled in Trieste “for commercial reasons.”<sup>816</sup> Therefore, he wished to “make the most of the disposition and consequently maintain the citizenship to which he belong[ed] by virtue of origins and birth.”<sup>817</sup> For his part, Chiodi, in less assured tones, explained that he was born in 1799 in Brescia, Lombardy, where he still possessed some properties. He consequently stated that “it [was] convenient for [him] to keep the Lombard and Sardinian citizenship, referring thus to article 12 of the Treaty of Zurich of 10 November 1859, for financial and family interests.”<sup>818</sup> In a similar way, Eugenio Belzini, who had been born in Verona, had lived in Venice and then moved to Trieste in 1853, asked to be given permission to emigrate from Austria, since he had been living for a few years in Milan with his family as traveler of a trading house based in Turin.<sup>819</sup>

In what runs counter to the trope of the Italian character of Trieste, all these men actually sought to leave the city and resettle in their places of origin or of recent employment, availing themselves of their Lombard or Venetian origins.<sup>820</sup> Gracco Bazzoni’s stance is a case in point, insofar as it also

<sup>815</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Antonio Valdoni’s plea.

<sup>816</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Paolo Camocino’s plea, 24 October 1860;

<sup>817</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Antonio Civenna’s plea, 14 November 1860.

<sup>818</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Angelo Chiodi’s plea, 15 November 1860.

<sup>819</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Eugenio Belzini’s plea, 16 December 1862.

<sup>820</sup> It is possibly because among the emigrants there was Costantino Cumano, one of the staunchest supporters of an ‘Italian’ Trieste, that this emigration or abandonment of Austrian citizenship has been portrayed as a token of Italian national patriotism and anti-Austrian feelings in the city. See ACTS 1863-1867, Report on Costantino Cumano, 9 April

sheds light on the question of nationalities at the time of the foundation of new nations, how people might perceive them, and how their relationship with Trieste changed over time, given also the fact that his son Riccardo later became podestà (mayor) of Trieste in 1878 and until the 1890s shaped local politics as a leading personality of the Italian Liberal National party striving for the *italianità* of Trieste. Bazzoni stated that “having my family properties and those later acquired in Milan, on Lake Como and in Brianza, [...] now that according to the Treaty of Zurich I have in spite of myself to pronounce myself on nationality, I notify [...] that I declare myself in favour of the conservation of my Lombard Nationality, and while I abide by a required formality, I declare that this will never alter my unchangeable sentiments of loyal attachment, and profound esteem, for this that in my heart I have always regarded as my second fatherland, to which I feel closely bound also for obligations of gratitude.”<sup>821</sup> Therefore, according to his own words, although wanting to relinquish Austrian citizenship, given his Lombard origins, he wanted to retain his Lombard Nationality, not the Italian.

Catterino Bernardo Mazzadi, originally from Montagnana, in the province of Padua, having been born there in 1817, had been in Trieste for decades.<sup>822</sup> His son Antonio had also been born in the port-city in 1840.<sup>823</sup> Yet, given his recent move to the town of Vicenza as member of a theater company, he stated that “since the interests of [his] family require[d] it, [he was] forced to keep Italian citizenship,” although it was not exactly about retaining Italian citizenship but actually acquiring it, given the change of rule. He stated that he “was inscribed among the inhabitants of this city because of [his] long residence in Trieste, for which city [he] harboured all his love”, thus laying bare the fact that residence in that city (as any other) implied a form of attachment to it, however hard many new Italians tried to emphasise the contrary.

1867, “with which it is proposed to accord the Cumano family the authorisation to emigrate from the Austrian states (the request by the doctor and property owner Costantino Cumano to obtain for himself, wife and daughters Paolina and Giustina, the abandonment of Austrian citizenship).”

<sup>821</sup> ACTS 1853-1908, Gracco Bazzoni’s plea, 15 November 1860.

<sup>822</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Catterino Bernardo Mazzadi’s plea, 14 June 1867.

<sup>823</sup> *Ibid.*

In many cases intermarriage was the norm. Therefore, it was not possible to speak of specific national identities, but rather of integration to a multi-ethnic environment where marrying outside one's own immediate ethnic or regional group was usual. Yet the unification of Italy urged people to reconsider their identities and, possibly for the first time in their lives, identify with national categories. Heads of the family wished to acquire (or, in their misleading words, 'retain') Italian nationality or, in case that was not granted, leave Trieste in order to resettle in Italy. It is fundamental to emphasise the fact that it was people who had moved to Trieste from the Italian peninsula who wished to move back to Italy or remain in Trieste as foreigners, a fact that adds to the originally non-Italian character of the city.

Even the Rossi siblings asked to be relieved of their Austrian citizenship, although their sister Elisa was the widow of a certain Bogoevich, clearly a non-Italian. They stated that their father "Lazzaro Rossi belonged to the Venetian provinces, since he [was] native of Amaro in the province of Udine and ha[d] never asked pertinence to the municipality of Trieste". They also claimed that they "want[ed] to belong to the Kingdom of Italy, since by fact and law we belong to it". The claim, which might well seem patriotic in its tones, can actually be seen as preposterous. The siblings had been born in Trieste and the sister had even married a man of Slavic origins, if not even a Serbian, which denotes a certain integration to the multi-ethnic milieu of Trieste. The process of Italian unification was but the occasion that triggered 'patriotic' sentiments in people who found it more convenient to reaffirm their attachment with their place of origin.<sup>824</sup> Giuseppe Gentile, for example, had been born in Palmanova, Friuli, in 1820 and had moved to Trieste when he was 15. There he became agent for a grocery shop. Since settling there, he had never left the port city, as he stated himself. Also, in 1844, he married Maria Dobranz, a Slovene woman. Notwithstanding these facts,

<sup>824</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Rossi siblings' plea, 9 June 1867.

which would give grounds for supposing some form of attachment, if not to a Habsburg identity, at least to the local multi-ethnic environment, he asked to be recognised as Italian citizen, given his birth in Palmanova.<sup>825</sup>

Inconsistencies did occur, since people did not seem aware of what the recent political developments and newly formed categories implied, and defined themselves according to what suited their purposes best. Luigi Agostinis, for example, frankly stated that “since [he was] native of Fiellis in the district of Tolmezzo, province of Udine, in the Kingdom of Italy, and since [he had] always been Italian subject, [he asked] to remain Italian subject [...] for himself, his wife Barbarina, born Jaigel, and sons” without moving from the city.<sup>826</sup> Yet he could never have been Italian since he was born on Austrian soil, having his town been included in the newly formed Italian kingdom only in 1866. Also, in this case, Agostinis’s idea of an Italian nationality with which he wanted his whole family to identify did not actually chime with the notion of *italianità* that was being propagandised in the same years. For he was married to a non-Italian woman, possibly from the Alpe-Adria Raum comprising the Austrian regions of Kärnten and Steiermark and modern-day Slovenia. Such cases of intermarriage between Italian men and Slovene women, namely Italo-Slavic intermarriage, have been described as inherent to the process whereby Slovenes and Slavs more in general assimilated to the Italian culture of Trieste.<sup>827</sup> Yet precisely these men were not native to the city and wished to sever their ties with it.

Pietro Cuchetti, too, a tailor who was born in Venice in 1813 and had moved to Trieste in 1836, was married to a Slovene woman, Teresa Bratina, and therefore there are reasons to believe that he was integrated to the multi-ethnic milieu of the north-eastern Adriatic. Yet, similarly to Agostinis, he too applied for the abandonment of Austrian citizenship, since he was born in Venice

<sup>825</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Giuseppe Gentile’s plea, 17 June 1867.

<sup>826</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Luigi Agostini’s plea, 3 July 1867.

<sup>827</sup> For this trope, see Pupo, *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo*.

(then ceded to Italy), in order to have his son Pietro deleted from the conscription list for the following army draft.<sup>828</sup> Vincenzo Minciotti, porter and umbrella maker, born in 1808 Palmanova, Friuli, was married first to a fellow Friulan. In 1865 he married Carolina Horrak (daughter of Giovanni and Anna Gransky, presumably Slavs from Central Eastern Europe). As Catholics belonging to bordering regions, that a Friulan married a Slavic woman was no surprise; yet that the former also asked to be Italian might well point to the situational and opportunistic nature of national identities, which in the lived experiences did not prove defining, contrary to religion.

A blend of European diplomacy and identity politics, engineered and fuelled by pamphlets and political rhetoric at the local and national levels, led to the final incorporation of the Veneto to the Kingdom of Italy. Even members of the Habsburg family became convinced that this transition was bound to happen. The Italian absorption of the Veneto moved Italian nationalists' ambitions from the Veneto to Trento and Trieste, the so-called 'unredeemed lands'. Once Trieste was 'conquered' in 1918 and it became apparent that the Habsburg Monarchy was disappearing, Fiume, which had not been included among the Italian objectives in the Treaty of London in 1915, became the new target of Italian nationalist aspirations, with the same rhetoric that had been used for the incorporation of Trieste. As to Italian Triestines who left Trieste with the consolidation of the Kingdom of Italy and the economic stagnation in which their hometown, or what had been their town of residence for decades, was experiencing at that time, emigration papers reveal the opportunistic reasons of those who expressed Italian national sentiments.

Italian sentiments transpire in Pharisien's belated plea and in others' attempts to prove that their residence in Trieste, however long - in several cases of even more than fifty years - were ascribable solely to business. Therefore, this emigration to Italy, significant in number and for its relevance to

<sup>828</sup> ACTS 1863-1867, Pietro Cuchetti's plea, 24 November 1866.

the city's economy, involved people who explicitly professed not only that they were not Austrian but also not associated with Trieste, if not for commercial reasons. Such was the 'Triestine' emigration to Italy which Valussi praised as patriotic. To the contrary, the process whereby the majority of people originally from northern Italy relinquished Austrian citizenship reflects Douglass North's analysis of the interdependence of economic and social change, which are not triggered necessarily by a given set of issues. His insights are to a great extent applicable to the case of Trieste and those merchants who remained there as former Austrian subjects, as Gracco Bazzoni did, eventually becoming the core of Italian irredentism in town. "Those [issues] that can be handled readily by individual or small group bargaining do not need to be placed on the public agenda. What remains for the public agenda are issues [...] the market outcome of which some groups do not like – groups who enhanced bargaining power in the polity to achieve their objectives."<sup>829</sup> Hence, the emergence of a vocal support for the Italian national cause in the city can be aptly explained following this model. It was the attempt made by specific interest groups that found an alternative to the Austrian recession of 1863 in the process of Italian unification, further intensified by the acquisition of the Veneto in 1866. In so doing, they turned the Italian annexation of Trieste into a political programme, endeavouring to capture the local polity and use it, in Douglass North's terms, "for their own advantage at the expense of the general public."<sup>830</sup>

On the contrary, the local aristocracy, landed gentry and populace, whether of Venetic or Slavic origins, actively displayed their attachment to the Monarchy sacrificing their lives in the wars against Piedmont (and, from 1861 onwards, Italy). Ethnic diversity was then lived not as a source of antagonism, but as a century-long habit engrained in people's everyday lives. As with the example of Luxardo's, who, as an ethnically Italian Dalmatian, enjoyed speaking Croatian with his troopers, or with the coexistence of regimental songs in the Triestine dialect, Slovene, and Croatian, preserved

<sup>829</sup> Douglass North, *Understanding the Process of Economic Change* (Princeton, 2005), 55.

<sup>830</sup> *Ibid.*



and sung even when the regiment became mainly Slavic Dalmatian in the 1870s, or with Venetian Triestines being decorated for saving the lives of their German or Bohemian officers, we see that national affiliations were far from being at the order of the day. Rather, engaging with different ethnicities through the mediation of a mutually intelligible language, a *lingua franca* – whether the Triestine dialect, German, or Slovene – appears to have been the norm. These contexts, which have been the object of historical anthropology, bear testimony to the fact that ethnic diversity could be either an occasion for constructive coexistence and cross-cultural understanding, appreciation, and sharing, or the trigger for conflict (if exploited by nationalist activists). In light of the documents here analysed, thus far understudied, this chapter sought to confine the supposedly Italian national sentiments of Trieste to limited sections of the population, which have nonetheless been portrayed as espousing the Italian national cause in a natural process of the consolidation of national consciousness. It was the changing geopolitical configurations of the northern Adriatic, at least partly the result of international engineering, that led many families with origins in the Italian peninsula either to leave Trieste for the Kingdom of Italy or to abandon Austrian citizenship while remaining in town as foreigners. These people, the so-called *regnicoli* (that is subjects of the Kingdom of Italy), went on to constitute the core of the Italian political element in town, so often portrayed as autochthonous. The emigration papers, together with the diplomatic context in which they were drafted, provide elements for arguing that the *italianità* of Trieste was at least to some extent a foreign import that gained momentum by virtue of the enlargement of the new Italian nation state and Austria's receding role in the international arena.



## 7. Conclusion

Italian historiography of the Julian region still depicts the situation in Fiume and Trieste as one of ethnic animosity and conflict which were due to explode because of inter-ethnic irreconcilability. The sources my dissertation analysed, although acknowledging conflict developing along ethno-national allegiances, reveal that these allegiances were fuelled largely by Italian nationalists who had only a loose connection to the city and were often foreign subjects. That is to say, that a sense of ‘Italianess’ was imported to Trieste and Fiume after 1918, and maintained there, through harsh military rule and constant propaganda. It was, rather, an imported *italianità* supported by the military occupation, that paved the way to Fascism in that they shared similar ideologies and practices. A considerable corpus of material, consisting of British and American diplomatic and military reports, shows that the supposedly local Italian anti-Slavic attitude was rooted in a range of heterogenous forces, such as constant newspaper propaganda from the Kingdom of Italy, which endorsed the activity of an Italian “journalist, named Mussolini”, and the instigation of a few local nationalist fanatics by the Italian military.<sup>831</sup> The majority of the local populations of Trieste and Fiume not only proved mostly alien to these movements, but soon voiced their own regret for having been annexed to Italy.<sup>832</sup> That the most prominent Fascists (and Nazis) in the region were of Slavic origin – Host-Venturi (formerly Ivessich), Cobolli Gigli, Suvich, Coceani, and *Gauleiter* Globochnik (the Medieval term was introduced in the late stages of the Second World War by Nazi authorities in a last bid to resort to ancient Germanic ‘might’) – should add to the difficulty in delineating ethnic and national borders, something that local historian Mario Alberti would instead ascribe to the power of attraction of the Italian culture over ‘barbaric’ Slavs.<sup>833</sup> In this context, Dennison Rusinow wondered “why liberal

<sup>831</sup> For this particular mention of Mussolini, see TNA, FO 608/36/1, ‘Situation in Fiume’, Lieutenant Colonel Peck, 25 July 1919.

<sup>832</sup> *Ibid.* The immediate post-First World War period in Fiume and Trieste has not been duly researched, apart for Kirchner Reill’s recent *The Fiume Crisis*. The most recent publication by Pupo does nothing to revert the Italian nationalist narrative depicting the Kvarner as essentially Italian. Primary evidence shows how Fascist oppression was preceded by the violence perpetrated by royal Italian troops soon after the occupation also of those eastern Adriatic territories that were not included in the Treaty of London of 1915.

<sup>833</sup> Alberti, *Irredentismo senza romanticismi*, 37-40.

Italy failed to achieve a liberal solution of the problem of the Habsburg inheritance [and] why the lands of that inheritance [...] contributed so richly of their men and of their ideas to the Fascist regime when it came.”<sup>834</sup> The supposed popularity enjoyed by D’Annunzio’s legionnaires is emphasised even in the most recent works, such as Raoul Pupo’s *Fiume città di passione*, in which the author’s sole primary sources are legionnaires’ memoirs.<sup>835</sup> The present study explored the opposite process, that is how everyday lived experiences were not shaped by national identities or ethnic differences. Rather, it was nationalist propaganda and state coercion that proved crucial in the strengthening of the perception of the existence of precise national identities, which were not necessarily conceived as such by large strata of society.

My research can now show that in the Austrian Littoral national and imperial affiliations were not mutually exclusive, something that historians have found problematic to deal with. At the same time, for the majority of the population, ethnic hybridity, local and regional identities and national indifference were still more cogent than national forms of identification well into the 1860s. Chapter one introduced the historiography of the north-eastern Adriatic and why it is necessary to go beyond the idea of nation states. Chapter two discussed multi-ethnic collaboration and dynastic loyalty in Trieste during the revolution of 1848. In the third chapter, the difficulty of delineating ethnic and national boundaries in the region is emphasised by looking at the Fiuman context in the 1848-1867 period, in which people of Slavic origins would cling to the Italian language and seek Hungarian protection against fellow Slavs, the Croats. Chapter four looked at ethnic and linguistic hybridity in the Kvarner Gulf, Dalmatia, and the city of Trieste, showing that a cultural continuum and similar issues were shared by the people of the eastern Adriatic, from Trieste to Dubrovnik. In chapter five, the different waves of immigration to Trieste from 1848 underlie the economic success of the city and the appeal that the Habsburg Monarchy had until its first military defeats in the late 1850s.

<sup>834</sup> Rusinow, *Italy’s Austrian Heritage, 1919-1946*, 85.

<sup>835</sup> See Pupo, *Fiume Città di Passione*

Finally, the last chapter focussed on the process of emigration from Trieste and renunciation of Austrian citizenship, on which later Italian nationalism built its legitimacy. This chapter analysed how it was mainly Triestine people with origins in the Italian peninsula who left the city for the new Italian state after 1859 (when Piedmont annexed Lombardy) and 1866. At the basis of this process of emigration were Austrian military defeats and the economic stagnation that hit the Monarchy and city of Trieste in the 1860s. The chapter explains how these factors proved instrumental in the development of national identities and how large sections of the population, nevertheless, remained unaffected by these.

In its glorification of ancient Rome, too far from bearing on modern culture and life, and its totalising embrace of an abstract Venetian past in the northern Adriatic rim, Italian nationalism dismissed fundamental aspects of everyday local life. The Habsburg legacy, the fundamental and often majoritarian Slavic presence in the north-eastern Adriatic, and the centuries of multi-ethnic coexistence and ensuing ethnic hybridity, were altogether dismissed by Italian national activists and erased from history. All my evidence shows that everyday society lived by different forms of identification rooted in the local urban Triestine and Fiuman settings and the wider geographical context of the eastern Adriatic. If even in the Veneto region claims of an Italian identity can well be considered to be haphazard and arbitrary, it comes as a consequence to think that the Triestine and Fiuman cases, not to mention the Dalmatian, offer a starker example of the speciousness not only of Italian nationalism per se (and the Slovene and Croatian), but also of national identities.

The imposition of national identities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century through conquest or international diplomacy begs the question as to how strong such national forms of identification are. In the Italian context, this questions necessarily brings us to Daniel Ziblatt's study of Italian hyper centralism. Italian centralisation policies were, and to this day are, essential in a state that historically is a hodgepodge of different traditions, languages, and cultures. No matter how hard

central authorities seek to homogenise the country (having partially succeeded in doing so under Fascism and from the 1950s through the television apparatuses) and in spite of how far people's forgetfulness of history goes, Trieste still represents a living example of nonnational and supranational principles.<sup>836</sup>

Today, the *fait accompli* constituted by nation states has destined regional movements to oblivion. Even regional identities are seen with suspicion and relegated far behind national allegiances, that in the case of the northern Adriatic rim have been established in the course of the twentieth century. Yet as Maiken Umbach has observed, "recent historiography has been more sensitive to the continued importance of regions in the modern period, pointing out that they were rarely entirely dissolved in the larger national whole."<sup>837</sup> The uniqueness of the Littoral rests in the fact that this regionalism, or *Landespatriotismus*, encompassed several different ethnicities. Therefore, the Triestine and Fiuman cases would be better described as a 'transnational regionalism', insofar as it involved local markers of identification shared by Latin, Slavic, and Germanic people as well as Greeks and Jews.

For the changing of toponyms, city place names, road signs, the establishment of memorials, 'sacred' landmarks and yearly commemorations have led to the creation and normalisation of new identities through the deletion of old ones, which new generations seldom understand. Hence their estrangement from the past, as a process that is often state directed. In the context of the northern Adriatic, part and parcel of this process is the success of Italian nationalism in portraying its aims as legitimate and progressive, which through the support of British public opinion eventually obtained widespread international sanction, instrumental in the sanctification of the Risorgimento. The passing

<sup>836</sup> This notwithstanding the most recent policies implemented by local authorities, such as the erection of a statue of Italian nationalist Gabriele D'Annunzio in 2019 in the *Piazza della Borsa*, which traditionally had been the heart of the multi-ethnic free port before the demise of the Habsburg Monarchy.

<sup>837</sup> Maiken Umbach, 'Regionalism in modern European nation-states' in (eds.) M. Hewison and T. Baycroft: *What is a Nation?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

of generations, general indifference to history, and the constant presence of the state in everyday lives have been instrumental in turning fragmented local identities into a unitary national identity.

Meanings of *italianità* and the desire to adhere to an Italian identity in the nineteenth century implied very different aspects to what the developments of the twentieth century introduced. Therefore, it is essential to attempt to understand what these feelings flared up in the people of the time. Present-day Italian historiography still conceives of Trieste as inherently bound to the Italian peninsula. Yet it fails to understand the fundamental fact that both Trieste and Fiume were linked by railway to Vienna and Budapest respectively after strenuous lobbying by Triestine and Fiuman middle-classes and elites, that the only viable link with Italy was the Adriatic Sea, through Venice, and that nineteenth-century navigation in the region still hinged on the traditional routes of the eastern Adriatic. Therefore, it is crucial to reconceptualise historical geographies and people's imaginations and conceive of means of communication as instrumental for the formation of hybrid identities. It was this question of ethnic hybridity, of cooperation of people now belonging to different cultures and worlds, in short of Habsburg pluralism and richness in diversity, that begged the question for the reasons for the disappearance of such a world. How was it possible that Austria was attacked for supposedly being the 'prison of nationalities', when compared to most emerging nation states in the region it was a pluralist society, accommodating multiple religious confessions and ethnic groups that were not only respected but also actively involved in the Monarchy's economic, cultural and political life? It was against this pluralist tradition that the successor nation states ran counter. As historian John Deak concluded:

the Austrian state collapsed despite its modern welfare state features, despite its expanding political participation, and despite the resources it mobilized to making the state work. In the end, we can see

that the war ended a long-running process, one that would bring millions of people into political participation, formal education, cultural literacy, and economic promise.<sup>838</sup>

The study of cities like Trieste and Fiume, and regions like the Küstenland and Dalmatia, brings to the fore the compelling question of regionalism and the role of regions, or territorial entities that were and are smaller than many present-day nation states, in history. After centuries of municipal autonomy, both cities and surrounding territories witnessed a short spell of independence in the twentieth century, only to be soon incorporated by nation states. After their annexation by Italy and Yugoslavia respectively, the autonomists stances of both cities have been questioned by their host nation states, which, after struggling for sovereignty over the two port-cities, have fully incorporated them in their administrative systems. As a result, today, the autonomist stance in Trieste appears to be an obsolete dream and the preserve of a handful of outcasts. Yet the defeat of autonomist project in the face of nation states ensued a century-long process of glorification of the nation at the expense of smaller political units. Already in 1871, Jakob Burckhardt described this process of state formation and increasing centralisation as “the hopelessness of any attempt at decentralization, of any voluntary restriction of power in favour of local and civilized life. The central will can never be too strong.”<sup>839</sup> Burckhardt continued with words describing the impact of national movements which easily applies to the Italian and northern Adriatic context: “inevitably, in [the] pursuit [of power], peoples fall into the hands both of ambitious dynasties seeking to maintain themselves, and of individual ‘great men’, [...] of the forces which have the furtherance of culture least at heart.”<sup>840</sup> It is interesting to note that in the struggle of Habsburg Trieste and Fiume against national movements, it was their final incorporation into nation states that led to the loss of their economic and cultural significance.

<sup>838</sup> Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, 274.

<sup>839</sup> Burckhardt, *Reflections on History*, 86.

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid.*



Celia Applegate argued that regions have been the victims of the centralising policies of nation states aimed at creating uniform homogenised polities.<sup>841</sup> The result has been that the national discourse has prevailed throughout Europe at the expense of localism, which has been accused of being ahistorical. As Ziblatt has put it in his comparative study of the Italian and German processes of unification, “the constitutional or institutional ‘solutions’ adopted in the national founding moments would [...] display remarkable persistence over the next century.”<sup>842</sup> The same applies to much of the scholarly literature focussing on these processes of unification. Italian historiography appears as still being biased by the foundational myth of the Risorgimento. For example, in his analysis of the 1859-61 period in northern Italy, Mario Alberto Banti emphasises the presence in the Piedmontese army of thousands of volunteers, the majority of which from Lombardy-Venetia. At the same time, he deals with the Austrian army in typical Risorgimento terms, that is as a foreign enemy, without acknowledging the composite nature of Habsburg troops in Italy, of which a sizable part was Italian-speaking, as Sondhaus showed in his studies of the Italian-speaking soldiers and mariners in Habsburg service.<sup>843</sup> The contribution of Italians to the cause of the Habsburg Monarchy throughout the centuries is an aspect that is generally neglected when dealing with the Italian provinces of the Empire. Likewise, Luraghi’s insights on the active contribution of Italians (or, better, what would be now considered Italians) to the Habsburg dynasty represents a refutation to Banti’s arguments.<sup>844</sup> More recent reassessments of the unconditional popularity of the Risorgimento come from other foreign perspectives, with David Laven and Lucy Riall who have disentangled some of the myths underlying the phenomenon of Italian unification.<sup>845</sup>

<sup>841</sup> Applegate, ‘A Europe of Regions’.

<sup>842</sup> Ziblatt, *Constructing a Federal State*, 39.

<sup>843</sup> Mario Alberto Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano* (Bari, 2004), 107-8. See also Albert Russel Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, 2001); Sondhaus, *In the Service of the Emperor*.

<sup>844</sup> See Luraghi, ‘Italians in the Habsburg Armed Forces’, 219-229.

<sup>845</sup> See Laven, ‘Law and Order in Habsburg Venetia, 1815-1835’, *The Historical Journal* 39, 2 (1996), 383-403; Laven, ‘Austria’s Italian Policy Reconsidered: Revolution and Reform in Restoration Italy’, *Modern Italy* 2, 1 (1997), 3-33; Laven, ‘Italy: The Idea of Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Eras’, in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2006), 255-271; Laven, ‘Foreign rule? Transnational, national, and local perspectives on Venice and Venetia within the ‘multinational’ empire’, *Modern Italy* 19 (2014), 5-19; Lucy Riall, *The*

In the specific cases of Trieste and Fiume, the forcefulness of autonomism comes to the fore when inspecting nineteenth-century newspapers and pamphlets. The disappearance of autonomist drives from several contexts can be understood when considering the concomitance of the myth of the Risorgimento with “unification by conquest” pursued by Piedmont, which, in Ziblatt’s words, “usurped all fiscal, policy, and jurisdictional authority and shifted power away from the seven Italian states to create a unitary Italian state, with the Piedmontese parliament, constitution, and king at its core.”<sup>846</sup> As a result, “Italy’s centralism and Germany’s federalism are often mistakenly viewed, in retrospect, as inevitable features of each country’s natural political culture.”<sup>847</sup> Therefore, teleological views, according to which nation states are the inevitable end-result of the long nineteenth century, deeply affect perceptions of the fate of the Habsburg Monarchy and, for the specific interest of this discussion, Trieste. They also lead to misapprehensions regarding all the former Austrian and Hungarian Littorals as far as Yugoslavia’s successor states in the region, Slovenia and Croatia, are concerned. For example, in line with prevailing nationalist discourses, which still affect politics in the area, Capodistria/Koper and Fiume are claimed by Slovenia and Croatia respectively as having returned to their motherlands.

Trieste and Fiume offer particularly relevant contexts for the study of the emergence of nationalisms and the opposition represented by their alternatives, namely municipalism and loyalty to wider overarching polities (in this case the supranational Habsburg Monarchy), which were closely intertwined. Therefore, as Applegate argued twenty years ago, “a renewed engagement with the regional level of experience – an engagement sensitive to the interactions of society, identity, and place – can productively destabilize our perceptions of European history.”<sup>848</sup> Applegate’s remarks

*Italian Risorgimento: State, Society and National Unification* (London, Routledge, 1994); Riall, *Garibaldi, Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, 2007)

<sup>846</sup> Ziblatt, *Constructing a Federal State*, 12-13.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>848</sup> Applegate, ‘A Europe of Regions’, 1182.

are still fresh and relevant today, twenty years after their publication. In the mid-nineteenth century and up to the 1920s, regional affiliations frequently challenged national identifications. As explained by Kirchner Reill with regards to Dalmatia, “early to mid-century Dalmatians acted upon regional loyalties as much, if not more, than national ones.”<sup>849</sup> The same applies to nearby Trieste and Fiume. It comes as a surprise that the reality of their autonomous states in the midst of the apotheosis of centralist nation states has not been widely acknowledged as a token of the distinctive history and identity of the two cities, which had actually represented a normal pattern throughout European history until the consolidation of nation states. As Kirchner Reill noted with reference to Dalmatia, “the majority of educated Dalmatians attempted to promote their region’s mixed cultural heritage.”<sup>850</sup> Similarly, further north, in Fiume and Trieste, municipal drives originated from local perceptions of the cities’ pasts and their position at the meeting of the Mediterranean world with Central Europe.

Distorted perceptions of Trieste as a city struggling for its ‘Italian’ identity, or *italianità*, have been ushered in by the final success of Irredentism. The picture that Italian historiography has offered is a monolithic account of Triestine society, in which those who did not uphold sentiments of *italianità* were foreigners or *austriacanti*, the derogatory term used to describe upholders of Habsburg rule. Trieste, more importantly, was also the biggest Slovenian city, insofar as there were more Slovenes there than in Ljubljana itself.<sup>851</sup> At the same time, Italo-centric accounts of the city’s history have not taken into account the fact that “throughout the Monarchy, there was no crownland with as high a percentage of foreigners in a city as Trieste did.”<sup>852</sup> At the beginning of 1915, immediately before Italy’s entry into the First World War on the side of the Entente, in Trieste there were almost fifty-thousand *Reichsitaliener*, or ‘regnicoli’, that is Italians from the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>853</sup> Although

<sup>849</sup> Kirchner Reill, ‘A mission of mediation’, 17.

<sup>850</sup> *Ibid.* 31.

<sup>851</sup> Cattaruzza, ‘Slovenes and Italians’, 192.

<sup>852</sup> Frank Wiggerman, *K.u.K. Kriegsmarine und Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Nationalbewegung in Istrien. Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, 28 (Vienna, 2004), 152.

<sup>853</sup> Cattaruzza, ‘Die Migration nach Triest’, 300.

the city was in the hands of the liberal-national party from 1880s, the form of Italian nationalism thus fostered did not necessarily imply secession from Austria, but was rather aimed at securing a pre-eminent role within the city for its Italian component in the face of increasing Slovene demographic pressure.<sup>854</sup> As Borut Klabjan has recently stated, in the collective memory of Italy the half million of Slovenes and Croats who were annexed to the Italian state in late 1918 do not count as a refutation to irredentist claims.<sup>855</sup>

The example of the north-eastern Adriatic shows that nationalism often predates nations. The existence of ‘proto-national’ bonds, decisive for Anthony Smith, is not decisive for the formation of nations in the region. For it depends on governments or political groups to borrow and kindle these feelings, where they do not create them upright.<sup>856</sup> It is in view of such processes that Hobsbawm emphasises “the element of artefact, invention and engineering” at the root of nations as well as “the democratization of politics [...] and the creation of modern administrative, citizen-mobilizing and citizen-influencing state.”<sup>857</sup> Hence, the ethnic conflicts of the twentieth century, characterised by the opposition of ethnicities organised along conflicting nation states, the Italian and the Yugoslav (heeding categories that are still well and alive today), at the expense of local and ethnically hybrid or indistinct identities rooted in a distant past.<sup>858</sup>

The history of Central and Eastern Europe, given the resonance of nationalisms, has often been narrowly centered on national groups, notwithstanding awareness that these national groups are political constructs.<sup>859</sup> The closely intertwined Habsburg crownlands of the Küstenland and the Herzogtum Krain included many regional ethnicities that were simplified as Italian or Slav in imperial

<sup>854</sup> Cattaruzza, ‘Die Migration nach Triest’, 301.

<sup>855</sup> Borut Klabjan, ‘Puzzling (out) citizenship and nationality: Czechs in Trieste before and after the First World War’, S. Rutar (ed.): *beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Münster, 2014), 265.

<sup>856</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms*, 46.

<sup>857</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalisms*, 10, 110.

<sup>858</sup> F. Gross, *Ethnics in a Borderland*, 71.

<sup>859</sup> Zahra, ‘Imagined noncommunities’, 97.

censuses, namely the Venetian of the Istrian coast, the Friulan, the Bisiac of the lagoon of Grado, the Slovene of the valleys of Friuli, the Slovene of the Karst, the Istrian Croatian, and the seafaring Croatian of the Kvarner gulf. Historiographical research, based on analysis of primary sources, has shown that hybridity was part and parcel “of the linguistic borderlands in multi-national configurations such as the Habsburg Empire.”<sup>860</sup>

Rather than being the result of mere nostalgia for an idealised past, the history of the supranational Habsburg Monarchy offers “a positive lesson which the post-1918 history of the central and east central European nation-states can only show us what to avoid.”<sup>861</sup> For, notwithstanding the spread of nationalist ideologies in the second half of the nineteenth century, dynastic loyalty, the founding principle of the Austrian *Staatsidee*, held true as the binding motive of the Monarchy until its final demise in 1918. In this context, Judson has pointed to the widespread and persisting commonplace still affecting the public perception of Habsburg history that portrays the Habsburg Monarchy as a decaying polity throughout the nineteenth century and has easily put aside more profound economic, social, and political questions at a wider European level.<sup>862</sup> Emphasis has generally been put on “conflicts between nationalities, which risks reading into the earlier history of the Habsburg Empire the events of 1918.”<sup>863</sup>

Rather, the conflict had more to do with autonomists who were loyal to the Habsburg dynasty, whether in Trieste or Fiume, and small groups of nationalist propagandists. By looking at the strife between autonomism and nationalism in Fiume, it is possible to draw a parallel with Trieste and its clash between autonomy and emerging nationalisms. It might well be suggested that Hungary was for Fiume what in later decades Italy became for Trieste’s upholders of the city’s *italianità*, that is a

<sup>860</sup> Ballinger, ‘Imperial nostalgia’, 98; Körner, ‘Transnational History’, 281.

<sup>861</sup> Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, 9.

<sup>862</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 12.

<sup>863</sup> Körner, ‘Transnational History’, 281.

distant defender of civic rights. That with the turn of the century civic autonomy was superimposed by Irredentism does not rule out the fact that Irredentism had limited appeal in Trieste and Fiume, where attachment to the Habsburg dynasty had been in place for centuries. As Judson explained:

We have tended for many years to define and evaluate the continental empires of Central and Eastern Europe in terms dictated to us largely by the successor nation-states and their ideologies. For example, the empires' multinational character, [...] their so-called authoritarian center-periphery structural relations, their alleged failure to develop a popular shared identity, their supposed suppression of nationalist feeling – all of these are *nationalist* definitions of the characteristics of empires.<sup>864</sup>

It is in this respect that my discussion of the persistence of imperial loyalty, regional allegiances and nonnational identities, in what today is a most national region, sought to be a contribution.

<sup>864</sup> Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 451.



## **Bibliography**

### Primary sources

### Archival Sources

Archivio Comunale di Trieste (ACTS), Mag b. 1071 F 1/6, 1848-1852, Naturalisation and Austrian citizenship (ACTS 1848-1852)

ACTS, Mag b. 1225 F 1/6, 1853, Naturalisation and Austrian citizenship (ACTS 1853)

ACTS, Mag b. F 2/1 1 1854-1857, Naturalisation and Austrian citizenship (ACTS 1854-1857)

ACTS, Mag b. F2/1 1 1858, Naturalisation and Austrian citizenship (ACTS 1858)

ACTS, Magistrato Civico 1853-1908, 1/9-2, Emigrations (ACTS 1863-1867)

ACTS, Trieste civil registry office, Census of the population and dwellings of Trieste, 1851

Archivio di Stato di Trieste (ASTS)

Museo Ebraico di Trieste (TsEbr), Blum and Ara, 'Blum and Ara to Gobbi: September 18, 1848'

TsEbr, Blum and Ara, 'Blum and Ara to Hagenhauer: September 18, 1848'

TsEbrs, Jewish chancellery, 'Report on Abram Terni from Ragusa: October 1, 1848'

Museo Storico del Risorgimento di Trieste (TsRis), 'Ai fratelli veneziani, i Triestini: April 15, 1848'

TsRis, 'Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani: November 14, 1848'

TsRis, 'Ai giovani Dalmato-Istriani desiderosi di combattere per l'indipendenza italiana: December 30, 1848'

TsRis, Dall'Ongaro, F. 'Al popolo di Trieste: April 10, 1848'

TsRis, 'Letter from Trieste to Umago: March 21, 1848'

TsRis, *Lists of the Trieste National Guard*

TsRis, Orlandini, G. 'Proclama ai Veneziani: March 26, 1848'

TsRis, Quadrio, M. 'Quadrio to Lovisato: September 1875'

TsRis, 'Parole pronunciate dal Presidente del Comitato elettorale della Società dei Triestini, 25 June, 1848'



TsRis, 'Protesta dei Deputati di Trieste contro la decisione dell'Assemblea di Francoforte, 1848'

TsRis, Venezian, G. 'Venezian to his family: 1848-1849'

The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA)

TNA, FO 7/714 Consul Perry, Venice, 1866

TNA, FO FO 7/716 Vice-Consul Brock, Trieste, 1866

TNA, FO 7/643 16 May 1862 Lord Russell's recommendation

TNA, FO 7/730 Paton, Dubrovnik, 1867

TNA, FO 608/15/8 Municipium of Veglia to Clemenceau, 15 March 1919

TNA, FO 608/27/9 A. Kelly, Commodore Commanding British Adriatic Force, 6 January 1919

TNA, FO 608/27/9 Major Harold Temperley to General Thwaites, 20 January 1919

TNA, FO 608/55/6 Report from Captain Colam, 8 August 1919

TNA, FO 608/55/6 'Report of the Italian Premier Nitti read in the House of Parliament'

TNA, PRO 30/22/66 Sir James Hudson, Legation in Turin, 1 June 1862

TNA, PRO/30/22/44/30, Dunlop to George Elliott, State of feeling at Trieste, 19 June 1861

TNA, PRO/30/22/44/35, Dunlop to Bloomfield, 9 September 1861, Conversation with Archduke Maximilian

TNA, PRO 30/22/98/47, Lord Russell to Lord Bloomfield, A consul necessary at Ragusa, 14 May 1862

TNA, WO 106/853, British Military Mission, Fiume, Lieutenant Colonel Peck to the Secretary, War Office: forward herewith copy of my Diary for November 3 to November 9 1919, inclusive

Printed and published primary sources

- Alcune parole sulla Guardia Nazionale* (1848) Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco
- Atti della Dieta Provinciale Dalmata* (1864) Zadar: Tipografia Demarchi - Rougier
- Amati, A. and Luciani, T. (1867) *L'Istria sotto l'aspetto fisico, etnografico, amministrativo, storico e biografico. Studi*. Milan: Dottor Francesco Vallardi
- Androvic, J. (1916) *Die Triester Frage in ihrem Verhältnis zu Österreich und Italien*. Graz: Verlag des Verfassers
- Ascoli, G. I. (1873) 'Saggi ladini', in G. I. Ascoli (ed.), *Archivio Glottologico Italiano, vol. 1*. Rome: Ermanno Loescher
- Ascoli, G. I. (1888) 'Il dialetto tergestino', in G.I. Ascoli (ed.), *Archivio Glottologico Italiano, vol. 10*. Rome: Ermanno Loescher
- Bazlen, R. (1973) *Il Capitano di lungo corso*. Milan: Adelphi
- Benco, S. (1910) *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia. Trieste*. Trieste: Maylander
- Bodio, L. (1865) *Saggio sul commercio esterno terrestre e marittimo del Regno d'Italia negli anni 1862 e 1863*. Florence: Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce
- Bonfiglio, S. (1865) *Italia e Confederazione Germanica*. Turin: Paravia
- Burton, F.R. (1893) [1855] *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*. London: Tylston & Edwards
- Casanova, G.G. (1962) [1825] *Histoire de ma vie*. Paris: F.A. Brockhaus Librairie Plon
- Cattaneo, C. (1972) [1848-1851]. *Il 1848 in Italia. Scritti 1848-1851*. Turin: Einaudi
- Cerer, I.N. 'Nepostojane stranke Talijanah u Tèrstu', *Slavjanski Rodoljub*, no. 2, April (1849)
- Czernczitz, G. Hubka von, (1902) *Geschichte des k. und k. Infanterie-Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22: von seiner Errichtung bis zur Gegenwart*. Zadar: Verlag des Regiments
- Danilo, G. (1861) *Sulla civiltà italiana. Lettera dell'ab. Giovanni Danilo professore ginnasiale al signor Vincenzo Duplancich*. Trieste: Lloyd Austriaco
- Formiggini, S., Kandler, P., Revoltella, P. and Scrinzi, J.B. (1858) *Three Days at Trieste*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco
- Giacich, A. F. (1861) 'Reminiscenze storiche del municipio di Fiume dal giorno dell'occupazione dei Croati nel 1848', *Gazzetta di Fiume*, April 27
- Giacich, A. F. (1867) *Il mio ringraziamento all'uscire dalle carceri*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Gliubich, S. (1861) *Intorno la questione dalmatica. Scritti dell'abate Simeone Gliubich*. Venice: Tipografia Giuseppe Grimaldo

*Indirizzo della Società dei Triestini all'Alta Dieta Costituente in Vienna*, 24 October 1848. Trieste: Tipografia Marenigh

Jackson, T. G. (1887) *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press

Jasbitz, G.-B. (1849) *Il teatro della guerra dopo la costituzione del 15. Marzo 1848*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Kandler, P. (1848) 'Sulla nazionalità del popolo di Trieste', *L'Istria*, no. 45-46

Kandler, P. (1848) *Documenti per servire alla conoscenza delle condizioni legali del municipio ed emporio di Trieste*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Kandler, P. (1858) *Storia del consiglio dei patrizi di Trieste dall'anno 1832 all'anno 1809*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Laver, C.J. (1869) *That Boy of Norcott's*. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

'Lettere di un Fiumano sulla questione di Fiume', *Il Cittadino* (1867)

Lukšić, A. (1865) *Die Autonomie der Stadt Triest*. Vienna: Löwer

Marx, K. (2010) *Marx and Engels. Collected Works, Vol. 15, 1856-58*. London: Lawrence & Wishart

Mauroner, A. (1848) *Questioni del giorno in Austria*. Trieste: Michele Weis

Mauroner, A. (1848) 'Risposta ad un articolo inserito nell'Ost-Deutsche Post', in *Il Costituzionale* 11th October

*Memoriale dei Rappresentanti di Fiume all' ill. sign. Ludovico Vucotinovich* (1862), Rijeka

Merlato, G. (1872) *Cenni biografici su Pietro Kandler*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Monti, L. (1861) *Considerazioni sull'annessione del regno di Dalmazia a quelli di Croazia e Slavonia*. Split: Libreria Morpurgo

Morley, J. (1881) *The Life of Richard Cobden*. London: T. Fisher Unwin

Nezbeda, E. (1891) *Der 20. Juli 1866. Memorien aus der siegreichen Seeschlacht bei Lissa zur Feier des 25. Gedanktages*. Vienna: Wallishause

Orosz, A. (1848) *Parole di un disinteressato e leale funzionario dello Stato circa la rigenerazione delle Dalmazia sotto la costituzione*. Zadar: Tipografia Demarchi-Rougier

Paton, A. A. (1849) *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Province of the Austrian Empire. Vol. 1*. London: Chapman and Hall

Pereira-Arnstein, von A. (1906) *Meine Erinnerungen von der Seeschlacht bei Lissa als Korridorkadett auf S.M. Linienschiff 'Kaiser': 1866-1906*. Stuttgart: Dt. Verl.-Anst

Professors of the University of Bologna (1919) *Per il Diritto Italico di Fiume*. Bologna, Università di Bologna

*Schematismo dell'Imperial Regio Litorale Austro-Illirico, vol. 7* (Trieste, 1848)

Slataper, S. (2011) [1912] *Il mio Carso*. Milan: Mursia

Szalay, L. (1861) *Fiume e la Dieta Ungarica*. Rijeka: Ercole Rezza

*Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main, vol. 1.* (ed.) Franz Wigard. Leipzig, 1848-50

Tedeschi, U. (1862) *Sulla lingua d'insegnamento nelle scuole di Trieste*. Trieste: Hermnastorfer

Tommaseo, N. (1847) *Intorno a cose dalmatiche e triestine*. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd

Tommaseo, N. (1861) *La questione dalmatica riguardata ne' suoi nuovi aspetti*. Zadar

Valussi, P. and Resson, C. (1861) *Trieste e l'Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana*. Milan: Libreria Brigola

*Verbali del Consiglio della Città di Trieste* (1866) Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco

Vranyczany von Dobrinović, von G. (1912) *Zur Geschichte der Familie Vranyczany*. Rijeka

Wilkinson, J. G. (1848) *Dalmatian and Montenegro, vol. 1*. London: John Murray

## Newspapers

*Agramer Zeitung* (1848)

*El Buleto* (1872)

*Gazzetta di Fiume* (1861-1867)

*Gazzetta di Trieste* (1848)

*Il Cittadino* (1867)

*Il Costituzionale* (1848)

*Il Diavoletto* (1859)

*Il Telegrafo della Sera* (1848)

*L'Avvenire* (1848-1849)

*L'Eco di Fiume* (1857)

*L'Istria* (1848)

*La Frusta* (1848)

*La Guardia Nazionale* (1848)

*Slavjanski Rodoljub* (1849)

## Secondary Sources

- Alberti, M. (1936) *L'irredentismo senza romanticismi*. Trieste: Borsatti
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* London: Verso
- Applegate, C. (1999) 'A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times', *The American Historical Review* 104, 4, 1157-1182
- Ara, A. (1990) 'Gli ebrei a Trieste (1850-1918)', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 102, 1, 53-86
- Ara, A. (1992) 'The Jews in Trieste', in (ed.) M. Engman: *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited
- Ara, A. (1994) 'The cultural soul and the merchant soul' in R. Robertson and E. Timms (eds.): *The Habsburg Legacy*
- Ascoli, A.R. and Henneberg, K. von (2001) *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento*. Oxford: Berg
- Bachich, W. (1970) 'Maritime History of the Eastern Adriatic' in F. Eterovich and C. Spalatin (eds.), *Croatia: Land, People, Culture. Vol. II*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Ballinger, P. (2003) 'Imperial nostalgia: mythologizing Habsburg Trieste', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8, 84-101
- Ballinger, P. (2011) 'Adriatic Forum: A Comment', *Austrian History Yearbook* 42, 56-63
- Ballinger, P. (2012) 'History's "Illegibles": national indeterminacy in Istria', *Austrian History Yearbook* 43, 116-137
- Ballinger, P. (2013) 'Liquid borderland, inelastic sea? Mapping the eastern Adriatic', in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.) *Shatterzone od Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, Indiana University Press, 423-437
- Banac, I. (1983) 'The confessional 'rule' and the Dubrovnik exception: the origins of the 'Serb-Catholic' circle in nineteenth-century Dalmatia', *Slavic Review* 42, 3, 448-474
- Banac, I. (1984) *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Banti, M.A. (2004) *Il Risorgimento italiano*. Bari: Laterza
- Barany, G. (1975) 'Ungarns Verwaltung: 1848-1918', *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band II, Verwaltung und Rechtswesen*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Bazlen, R. (1973) *Il Capitano di lungo corso*. Milan: Adelphi

- Berger, S. (2006) 'Germany: Ethnic Nationalism par excellence?' in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bezić, M. (2016) 'Semantička adaptacija talijanizama u splitskom govoru', *FLUMINENSIA* 28, 2
- Bialasiewicz, L. (2009) 'Europe as/at the border: Trieste and the meaning of Europe', *Social and Cultural Geography* 10, 319-336
- Bidwell, C. (1967) 'Colonial Venetian and Serbo-Croatian in the Eastern Adriatic: A case study of languages in contact', *General Linguistics* 7, 1, 13-30
- Bihl, W. (1980) 'Die Juden', in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band III/ Teil 1. Die Völker des Reiches*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 880-948
- Boaglio, G. (2003) 'Language and power in an Italian crownland of the Habsburg Empire', in R. Rindler Schjerve (ed.), *Diglossia and Power: language policies and practice in the 19th century Habsburg Empire*. Berlin: De Gruyter
- Boaglio, G. (2012) *Geschichte der italienische Literatur in Österreich. Teil 2*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag
- Bracewell, W. (1992) *The Uskoks of Senj: piracy banditry, and holy war in the sixteenth century Adriatic*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Braudel, F. (1977) *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Breschi, M., Kalc, A. and Navarra, E. (2001) 'La nascita di una città. Storia minima della popolazione di Trieste, sec. XVIII-XIX', in R. Finzi and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719-1918*. Trieste: LINT
- Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. (2000) 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29, 1, 1-47
- Burckhardt, J. (1871) [1950] *Reflections on History*. London: Allen & Unwin
- Camizzi, C. (1982) 'La Dalmazia e il Risorgimento Italiano (1815-1866)', *La rivista dalmatica* 53, 3
- Capano, F. (2018) 'From a cosmopolitan to a fascist land: Adriatic irredentism in motion', *Nationalities Papers* 46, 6, 976-991
- Carmichael, C. (1996) 'Ethnic stereotypes in early European ethnographies: A case study of the Habsburg Adriatic c. 1770-1815', *Narodna umjetnost* 33, 2, 197-209.
- Catalan, T. (2004) 'Ebrei triestini fra ribellione e lealismo all'Austria nel 1848-1849', in L. Ferrari (ed.), *Studi in onore di Giovanni Miccoli*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 229-247
- Catalan, T. (2011) 'The Ambivalence of a Port-City. The Jews of Trieste from the 19th to the 20th century', *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*, 2
- Cattaruzza, M. (1978) 'Italiani e Sloveni nella Trieste asburgica', *Bollettino dell'Istituto regionale per la storia del Movimento di Liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia* 2, 5-13

- Cattaruzza, M. (1987) 'Die Migration nach Triest von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis Zum Ersten Weltkrieg', in F. Glatz und R. Melville (eds.), *Gesellschaft, Politik und Verwaltung in der Habsburgermonarchie 1830-1918*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Cattaruzza, M. (1992) 'Slovenes and Italians in Trieste, 1850-1914', in M. Engman (ed.), *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 189-219
- Cattaruzza, M. (1996) 'Cittadinanza e ceto mercantile a Trieste: 1749-1850', in M. Cattaruzza (ed.): *Trieste, Austria, Italia tra Settecento e Novecento. Studi in onore di Elio Apih*. Udine: Del Bianco
- Cattaruzza, M. (1997) 'Stadtbürgertum und Kaufmannschaft in Triest: 1749-1850', in Robert Hoffmann (ed.), *Bürger zwischen Tradition und Modernität*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 225-245
- Cattaruzza, M. (1998) *Socialismo adriatico. La socialdemocrazia di lingua italiana nei territori costieri della Monarchia asburgica: 1888-1915*. Manduria: Piero Lacaita Editore
- Cattaruzza, M. (2011) 'The making and remaking of a boundary: the redrafting of the eastern border of Italy after the two World Wars', *Journal of Modern European History* 9, 66-86
- Cella, S. (1966) 'Giuseppe Stefani', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 612-614
- Cervani, G. (1974) *Nazionalità e Stato di diritto per Trieste nel pensiero di Pietro Kandler*. Udine: Del Bianco
- Cervani, G. and Buda, L. (1978) *La comunità israelitica di Trieste nel sec. XVIII*. Udine: Del Bianco
- Cisilin, A. (2000) 'L'imposition d'une frontière. Société et idéologie à Trieste, entre municipalité, nationalité et empire, 1717-1914', *Social Anthropology* 8
- Clewing, K. (2001) *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung: Dalmatien in Vormärz und Revolution*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag
- Cohen, G. (1981) *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press
- Cole, J. and Wolf, E. (1974) *The Hidden Frontier*. New York: Academic Press
- Cole, L. (2014) *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Coons, R. (1975) *Steamships, Statesmen, and Bureaucrats: Austrian policy towards the Steam Navigation Company of the Austrian Lloyd, 1836-1848*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag
- Cornwall, M. 2007. 'The Construction of National Identities in the Northern Bohemian Borderland, 1848-71', in L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Corsini, U. 1980, 'Die Italiener', in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918, Band III/2*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften



- Cova, U. (1989) 'Österreich(-Ungarn) und Italien', *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band VI/1*, Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Czeitschner, S. (2003) 'Discourse, hegemony and polyglossia in the judicial system of Trieste in the 19th century', in R. Rindler Schjerve (ed.), *Diglossia and Power: language policies and practice in the 19th century Habsburg Empire*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 69-105
- Čelan, T.J. (2014), 'A Historical Geographical Analysis of the Development of the Croatian-Hungarian Border', *Modern Geográfia*, 14
- D'Alessio, V. (2008) 'From Central Europe to the northern Adriatic: Habsburg citizens between Italians and Croats in Istria', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 13, 237-258
- Davison, R.H. (1990) *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923*. Austin: University of Texas Press
- De Antonellis, L. (1968) *Portofranco e comunità etnico-religiose nella Trieste settecentesca*. Milan: Giuffrè
- De Franceschi, C. (1949) 'Il movimento nazionale a Trieste nel 1848 e la Società dei Triestini', *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia*
- De Lugnani, S. (1986) 'La cultura tedesca a Trieste dalla fine del '700 al tramonto dell'impero asburgico'
- Deák, I. (1979) *The Lawful Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Deák, I. (1984) 'Where Loyalty and Where Rebellion? The Dilemma of the Habsburg Army Officers in 1848-1849', in B. Király (ed.), *East Central European Society and War in the Era of Revolutions, 1775-1856. War and Society in East Central Europe Vol. IV*. New York: Brooklyn College Press
- Deák, I. (1990) *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Deák, I. 2010. 'Antisemitism in Eastern Europe', in A. Lindemann and R. Levy (eds.), *Antisemitism: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deak, J. (2015) *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Deutsch, K. (1953) 'The growth of nations: some recurrent patterns of political and social integration', *World Politics* 5
- Deutsch, K. (1953) *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Do Paço, D. (2015) *L'Orient à Vienne au dix-huitième siècle*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dorsi, P.P. (1996) 'I regnicoli: una componente dimenticata della società triestina', in M. Cattaruzza (ed.), *Trieste, Austria, Italia tra Settecento e Novecento: studi in onore di Elio Apih*. Udine: Del Bianco

- Dorsi, P.P. (2001) 'Stranieri in patria. La parabola del gruppo minoritario tedesco nella Trieste austriaca', in R. Finzi and G. Panjek (eds.) *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste*. Trieste: LINT
- Drakulic, S. (2008) 'Premodern Croatian Nationalism?', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 14
- Driessen, H. (2005) 'Mediterranean port cities: cosmopolitanism reconsidered', *History and Anthropology* 16, 129-141
- Dubin, L. (1999) *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Dubin, L. (2002) 'Researching Port Jews and Port Jewries: Trieste and beyond' in D. Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950*. London: Frank Cass Publishers
- Dubin, L. (2006) "'Wings on their feet ... and wings on their head': reflections on the study of port Jews', in D. Cesarani and G. Romain (eds.): *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*. London: Vallentine Mitchell
- Duggan, C. (2007) *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1796*. London: Penguin
- Evans, R.J.W. (2000) '1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy', in (eds) R.J.W. Evans and H. Pogge von Strandmann: *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Evans, R.J.W. (2006) *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe C.1683-1867*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Falchetta, A. (2010) 'Comunità ortodosse nell'alto Adriatico e in Dalmazia veneta durante il XVIII secolo: spazi politico-sociali, religione, identità', *Annali della Fondazione Einaudi, Vol. XLIV*, 95-130
- Fejtő, F. (1988) *Requiem pour un empire défunt. Histoire de la destruction de l'Autriche-Hongrie*. Paris: Lieu Commun
- Ferguson, R. (2007) *A Linguistic History of Venice*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki
- Ferrero, G. (1942) *The Principles of Power*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons
- Figs, O. (2010) *Crimea: The Last Crusade*. London: Allen Lane
- Finzi, R. (2001) 'La base materiale dell'italofonia a Trieste', in R. Finzi, and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719-1918*. Trieste: LINT
- Fölker, F. and Cergoly, C.L. (1983) *Trieste provincia imperiale: splendore e tramonto del porto degli Asburgo*. Milan: Bompiani
- Frank, A. (2011) 'Continental and Maritime Empires in an Age of Global Commerce', *East European Politics and Societies* 25, 799-784

- Frank, A. (2012) 'The children of the desert and the laws of the sea: Austria, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Mediterranean slave trade in the nineteenth century', *American Historical Review*, 117, 2, 410-444
- Fukuyama, F. (2014) *Political Order and Political Decay*. London: Profile Books
- Gaeta, G. (1957) 'Il *Corriere Italiano* di Vienna (1850-57) ed il suo redattore', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 690-724
- Gellner, E. (1964) *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Gellner, E. (1996) 'Ernest Gellner's reply: 'Do Nations have navels?''', *Nations and Nationalism* 2, 3, 366-370
- Gleason, J. H. (1950) *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Goldstein, I. (1994) 'The use of history: Croatian historiography and politics', *Helsinki Monitor*
- Good, D. (1984) *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Gottardi, F. (2004) *Come parlavamo*. Rome: Società di Studi Fiumani
- Gramsci, A. (1966) *Sul Risorgimento*. Turin: Einaudi
- Gross, F. (1978) *Ethnics in a Borderland: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ethnicity and Reduction of Ethnic Tensions in a One-Time Genocide Area*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press
- Gross, M. (1973) *Povijest pravaške ideologije*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu
- Gross, M. (1979) 'Croatian national-integrational ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia', *Austrian History Yearbook* 15-16, 3-33
- Gross, M. (1981) 'On the integration of the Croatian nation: a case study in nation building', *East European Quarterly* 15, 2, 209-225
- Hametz, M. (2001) 'The Carabinieri stood by: the Italian State and the "Slavic threat" in Trieste, 1919-1922', *Nationalities Papers*, 29, 4
- Hanisch, E. and Urbanitsch, P. (2006) 'Grundlagen und Anfänge des Vereinwesens, der Parteien und Verbände in der Habsburgermonarchie', in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band VIII/Teil 1*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 15-111
- Hanley, W. (2017) *Identifying with Nationality: Europeans, Ottomans, and Egyptians in Alexandria*. New York: Columbia University Press

- Healy, M. (2004) *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Heinemann, S. (2015) 'Tergestino/Muglisano', in Sabine Heinemann and Luca Melchior (eds.): *Manuale di linguistica friulana*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 226-244
- Hirschhausen, U. von (2009) 'From Imperial Inclusion to National Exclusion: Citizenship in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Austria 1867–1923', *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, 4, 551–573.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992) *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Horel, C. (2016) 'Fiume-Rijeka, frontières et identités 1880-1920', *Études balkaniques* 2, 282-312.
- Hroch, M. (2000) *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Hughes, J. (1956) 'The commercial crisis of 1857', *Oxford Economic Papers* 8, 2 (1956), 194-222
- Isabella, M. (2009) *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Isabella, M. (2012) 'Rethinking Italy's nation-building 150 years afterwards: the new Risorgimento historiography', *Past & Present* 217, 1, 247-268
- Ivetic, E. (2014) *Adriatico orientale. Atlante storico di un litorale mediterraneo*. Rovinj: Centro Ricerche Storiche, Rovigno
- Ivetic, E. (2019) *Storia dell'Adriatico. Un mare a la sua civiltà*. Bologna: Il Mulino
- Jászi, O. (1929) *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Jelicic, I. (2018) 'The typographers' community of Fiume: combining a spirit of collegiality, class identity, local patriotism, socialism, and nationalism(s)', *Austrian History Yearbook* 49.
- Jireček, K. (1984) [1901] 'L'eredità di Roma nelle città della Dalmazia durante il Medioevo', *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 9
- Judson, P. (1993) 'Inventing Germans: Class, Nationality and Colonial Fantasy at the Margins of the Hapsburg Monarchy', *Social Analysis* 33.
- Judson, P. (1996) *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire 1848-1918*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- Judson, P. (2005) 'Introduction: Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe' in P. Judson and M. Rozenblit (eds.), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*. New York: Berghahn

- Judson, P. (2006) *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontier of Imperial Austria* Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press
- Judson, P. (2007) 'Changing Meanings of "German" in Habsburg Central Europe', in C. Ingrao and F. Szabo (eds.): *The Germans and the East*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press
- Judson, P. (2013) 'Marking National Space on the Habsburg Austrian Borderlands, 1880–1918', in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.): *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 122-135
- Judson, P. (2014) 'Do multiple languages mean a multicultural society? Nationalist 'frontiers' in rural Austria, 1880-1918" in G.B. Cohen and J. Feichtinger, (eds.), *Understanding Multiculturalism and the Central European Experience*.
- Judson, P. (2016) *The Habsburg Monarchy. A New History*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Kann, R. (1950) *The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848 – 1918*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- King, J. (2002), *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- King, C. (2011) *Odessa. Genius and Death in a City of Dreams*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Kirchner Reill, D. (2007) 'A Mission of Mediation: Dalmatia's Multi-nation Regionalism from the 1830s-60s', in L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70*. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Kirchner Reill, D. (2007) Book Review: 'L'Impero e il Golfo. Una ricerca bibliografica sulla politica degli Asburgo verso le province meridionali dell'impero negli anni 1815-1866', *Austrian History Yearbook* 37
- Kirchner Reill, D. (2012) *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation. Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*
- Kirchner Reill, D. (2020) *The Fiume Crisis. Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Klabjan, B. (2001) "'Scramble for Adria": Discourse of Appropriation of the Adriatic Space before and After World War I.' *Austrian History Yearbook*, 42, 16-32
- Klabjan, B. (2014) 'Puzzling (out) citizenship and nationality: Czechs in Trieste before and after the First World War', S. Rutar (ed.): *beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 265-278
- Klinger, W. (2018) *Un'altra Italia: Fiume 1724-1924*. Rovinj: Centro di Ricerche Storiche Rovigno
- Kohn, H. (1961) *The Habsburg Empire, 1804-1918*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand

- Kojić, B. (1970) 'Die Auswirkungen des Zusammenbruchs der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie auf die Seehäfen Triest und Fiume', in R. Plaschka and K. Mack (eds.), *Die Auflösung des Habsburgerreiches* (Vienna), 483-491
- Körner, A. (2000) 'The European dimension in the ideas of 1848 and the nationalization of its memories', in A. Körner (ed.), *1848 – A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848*. London: Macmillan
- Körner, A. (2017) 'Transnational History: Identities, Structures, States' in B. Haider-Wilson, W.D. Godsey and W. Mueller, (eds.), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Körner A. (2017) *America in Italy: The United States in the Political Thought and Imagination of the Risorgimento, 1763–1865*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Körner, A. (2018) 'National movements against nation states: Bohemia and Lombardy between the Habsburg Empire, the German Confederation and Piedmont', in D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones (eds.), *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Körner, A. (2018) 'Beyond Nation States: New Perspectives on the Habsburg Empire', *European History Quarterly* 48, 3, 516-533
- Koselleck, R. (2000) 'How European was the Revolution of 1848/49?', in A. Körner (ed.), *1848 – A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories of 1848*. London: Macmillan
- Koselleck, R. (2002) *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Kramer, H. (1954) *Die Italiener unter der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*. Vienna: Herold
- Krekić, B. (1995) 'On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik', *Viator* 26, 312-332
- Krueger, R. (2009) *Czech, German, and Noble: Status and National Identity in Habsburg Bohemia*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Laven, D. (1996) 'Law and Order in Habsburg Venetia, 1815-1835', *The Historical Journal* 39, 2, 383-403
- Laven, D. (1997) 'Austria's Italian Policy Reconsidered: Revolution and Reform in Restoration Italy', *Modern Italy* 2, 1, 3-33
- Laven, D. (2002) *Venice and Venetia under the Habsburgs: 1815-1835*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Laven, D. (2006) 'Italy: The Idea of Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Eras', in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 255-271

- Laven, D. (2014) 'Foreign rule? Transnational, national, and local perspectives on Venice and Venetia within the 'multinational' empire', *Modern Italy* 19, 5-19
- Laven, D. and Baycroft, T. (2008) 'Border regions and identity', *European Review of History* 15
- Laven, D. and Damien, E. 'Empire, City, Nation: Venice's Imperial Past and the "Making of Italians" from Unification to Fascism' in S. Berger and A. Miller (eds.), *Nationalizing Empires*. Budapest, Central European University Press, 2015, 511-551
- Le Bon, G. (1896) *The Crowd: a study of the popular mind*. London: Ernest Benn
- Levene, M. (2002) 'Port Jewry of Salonika: between Neo-colonialism and Nation-state', in D. Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950*. London: Frank Cass Publishers
- Levy, R. (2010) 'Political antisemitism in Germany and Austria, 1848-1914', in A. Lindemann and R. Levy (eds.), *Antisemitism: A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- López, R. (2015) 'Richard Cobden's European Tour: Three Unpublished Essays on Spain, Venice and Russia', *History of European Ideas* 41, 7, 948-965
- Lovett, C. (1982) *The Democratic Movement in Italy 1830-1876*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Lughofer, J.G. (2012) 'Ferdinand Maximilian von Habsburg's Literary Work in the Light of his Later Assumption of the Throne in Mexico', *Austrian Studies, Vol. 20, Colonial Austria: Austria and the Overseas*, 75- 95
- Luraghi, R. (1984) 'Italians in the Habsburg Armed Forces. East Central European Society and War in the Era of Revolutions, 1775-1856', in (ed.) B. Király, *War and Society in East Central Europe vol. IV*. New York: Brooklyn College Press
- Macartney, C.A. (1968) *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Magris, C. (1992) 'L'histoire vue de Trieste', *Esprit* 183
- Magris, C. (1999) *Triest. Eine literarische Hauptstadt in Mitteleuropa*. Vienna: Zsolnay
- Malfér, S. (1985) 'Studenti italiani a Vienna, Graz e Innsbruck, 1848-1918', *Il Politico* 50, 3, 493-508.
- Marác, L. (2012) 'Multilingualism in the Transleithanian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918): Policy and practice', *Jezikoslovje* 13, 2, 269-298
- Marušič, B. (2006) 'Die Vereinstätigkeit im österreichischen Küstenland' in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie Band VIII/Teil 1*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 541-585
- Mazhol-Wallnig, B. (1993) *Österreichische Verwaltungsstaat und administrative Eliten im Königreich Lombardo-Venetien 1815-1859*. Mainz: Phillipp von Zabern

- Mazhol-Wallnig, B. (2014) 'Equality among the nationalities and the Peoples (Volksstämme) of the Habsburg Empire', in K. Grotke and M. Prutsch (eds.), *Constitutionalism, Legitimacy, and Power: Nineteenth-century Experiences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Mazower, M. (2005) *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950*. New York: Knopf
- Mazzieri-Sanković, G. (2020) 'Il dialetto fiumano: itinerari identitari e nuove sfide', in I. Mestrovich, M. Sanković- Ivančić, G. Mazzieri-Sanković and C. Gerbaz Giulian (eds.), *Il dialetto fiumano. Parole e realtà*. Rijeka: Consiglio della minoranza nazionale italiana di Fiume and Sveučilište u Rijeci, 23-58
- McCagg, W. (1989) *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- Meriggi, M. (1987) 'Il Regno Lombardo-Veneto', in (ed.) G. Galasso, *Storia d'Italia vol. 18*. Turin: Utet
- Miculian, A. (2001) 'La lotta politica in Dalmazia tra partito autonomista ed annessionista dall'inizio degli anni '60 alla fine degli anni '80 del XIX secolo' in M.P. Ghezzi (ed.): *Atti e Memorie della Società dalmata di storia patria, v. XXX, L'Istria e la Dalmazia nel XIX secolo*. Venice, Società Dalmata di Storia Patria
- Millo, A. (2007) 'Trieste, 1830-70: From Cosmopolitanism to the Nation', in L. Cole (ed.): *Different Paths to the Nation. Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-1870*. Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 60-81
- Milossevich, G. and Bianco Fiorin, M. (1978) *I Serbi a Trieste: storia, religion, arte*. Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane
- Milutinović, K. (1960) 'Nikola Tommaseo i jadransko pitanje', *Jadranski zbornik, IV*. Rijeka-Pula
- Minca, C. (2009) "'Trieste Nazione' and its geographies of absence', *Social & Cultural Geography* 10, 3
- Monzali, L. (2009) *The Italians of Dalmatia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Negrelli, G. (1978) 'Una rivista borghese nell'Austria metternichiana', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 270-285
- Nemes, R. (2012) 'Obstacles to nationalization on the Hungarian-Romanian language frontier', *Austrian History Yearbook* 43
- Newman, J.P. and Scheer, T. (2018) 'The Ban Jelačić Trust for Disable Soldiers and their families: Habsburg dynastic loyalty beyond national boundaries, 1849-51', *Austrian History Yearbook* 49, 152-165
- North, D. (2005) *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press



- Okey, R. (1994) 'Austria and the South Slavs', in R. Robertson and E. Timms (eds.), *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Okey, R. (2001) *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse*. Basingstoke: Macmillan
- Olson, M. (1982) *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Opela, A. (1996) 'Vom Strande der Adria. Aspekte der deutsch-österreichischer Kultur in Triest 1866-1871', in (ed.) K. Amann: *Literatur und Nation*. Vienna: Böhlau
- Otte, T.G. (2010) 'Knavery or folly?': The British "official mind" and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1856-1914, in L. Höbelt and T.G. Otte (eds.): *A Living Anachronism? European Diplomacy and the Habsburg Monarch*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag
- Pappalardo, S. (2016) 'The Betrayal of the *Urbs Fidelissima*: Habsburg Trieste in Robert Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*', *German Quarterly* 89, 2, 169-185
- Pech, S.Z. (1969) *The Czech Revolution of 1848*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press
- Pellegrini, R. (2001) 'Per un profilo linguistico', in Finzi, R. and Panjek, G. (eds.) *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719-1918*
- Peričić, Š. (2011) 'Povijest Zadra u XIX. Stoljeću', in (eds.) M. Stagličić, Š. Peričić, A. Travirka, Z. Rados and G. Rabac-Čondrić: *Zadar za austrijske uprave*. Zadar, Matica hrvatska
- Pichler, R. (2000) *Italiener in Österreich. Österreicher in Italien*. Vienna: Werner Eichbauer Verlag
- Pirjevec, J. (1983) 'Slovene Nationalism in Trieste, 1848-1982', *Nationalities Papers* 11
- Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Polić, M. and Strčić, P. (2017) 'Jezični segment hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda Istre s Kvarnerskim otocima', *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana* 16, 31-64
- Pogge von Strandmann, H. (2000) '1848-1849: A European Revolution?', in (eds.) R.J.W. Evans and H. Pogge von Strandmann: *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Pupo, R. (2019) *Vademecum per il Giorno del Ricordo*. Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia della Resistenza e dell'Età contemporanea nel Friuli Venezia Giulia
- Pupo, R. (2018) *Fiume città di passione*. Bari: Laterza
- Rajšp, V. (2006) 'Das slowenische Pressewesen', in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.) *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band VIII/Teil 2: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Reinhart, C. and Rogoff, K. (2009) *This Time Is Different*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Riall, L. (1994) *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society and National Unification*. London: Routledge

- Riall, L. (2007) *Garibaldi, Invention of a Hero*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Rihtman-Augustin, D. (1999) 'A Croatian Controversy: Mediterranean-Danube-Balkans,' *Narodna umjetnost* 36
- Roksandić, D. (2007) 'Controversies on Cultural Orientation in the "Croatian National Renewal": German Language and Culture in Croatian everyday life, 1835-1848', in (eds) C. Ingrao and F. Szabo: *The Germans and the East*. West Lafayette, IN, Purdue University Press, 129-46
- Rosamani, E. (1999) *Vocabolario Giuliano*. Trieste: LINT
- Rumpler, H. (1997) *Österreichische Geschichte 1804-1914. Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa*. Vienna: Ueberreuter
- Rumpler, H. (2003) 'Economia e potere politico. Il ruolo di Trieste nella politica di sviluppo economico di Vienna', in R. Finzi, L. Panariti and G. Panjek (eds.), *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste 2: La città dei traffici 1719-1918*. Trieste: LINT
- Rusinow, D. (1969) *Italy's Austrian Heritage, 1919-1946*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press
- Schiffrer, C. (1946) *Historic Glance at the Relations Between Italians and Slavs in Venezia Giulia*. Rome: Stab. Tip. Nazionale
- Schiffrl, D. (2019) 'Austrian intelligence and the national interest in the Mediterranean region during the early nineteenth century', in Mika Suonpää and Owain Wright (eds.) *Diplomacy and Intelligence in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean World*. London: Bloomsbury Academic
- Scocchi, A. (1949) *Ispirazione mazziniana della tentata insurrezione di Trieste del 23 marzo 1848*. Rome: Libreria editrice mazziniana
- Scocchi, A. (1951) 'Gli Ebrei di Trieste nel Risorgimento italiano', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*
- Schuchardt, H. (1909) 'Die Lingua franca', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 33, 441-61
- Shawcross, E. (2018) *France, Mexico and Informal Empire in Latin America, 1820-1867. Equilibrium in the New World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Siemann, W. (2010) *Metternich. Staatsmann zwischen Restauration und Moderne*. Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck
- Sirotković, H. (1975) 'Die Verwaltung im Königreich Kroatien und Slawonien', in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie II*. Vienna
- Sluga, G. (1994) *Trieste: Ethnicity and the Cold War, 1945-54*, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29, 2: 285-303
- Sluga, G. (1996) 'Inventing Trieste: History, anti-History, and Nation', *The European Legacy* 1, 25-30

- Sluga, G. (2001) 'Bodies, souls and sovereignty: The Austro-Hungarian empire and the legitimacy of nations', *Ethnicities*, 1, 207-232
- Smith, A. (1996) *Memory and Modernity: reflections on Ernest Gellner's theory of nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Smith, A. (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sondhaus, L. (1989) *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797–1866*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press
- Sondhaus, L. (1990) *In the Service of the Emperor: Italians in the Austrian Armed Forces, 1814–1918*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs
- Sondhaus, L. (1992) 'Croats in the Habsburg Navy, 1797-1918', *East European Quarterly* 26, 2
- Sondhaus, L. (1994) 'Trieste, 1848-49: between Austria, Italy and Germany', in *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe: Selected Papers*
- Sorkin, D. (1999) 'The Port Jew: Notes Toward a Social Type', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50, 1, 87-97
- Stefani, G. (1949) 'Documenti ed appunti sul quarantotto triestino', in *La Venezia Giulia e la Dalmazia nella rivoluzione nazionale del 1848-1849*. Udine: Del Bianco
- Stefani, G. (1960) *I Greci a Trieste nel Settecento*. Trieste: Monciatti Editore
- Stergar, R. (2018) 'Introduction. Forum: The Adriatic, the Alps, and the Danube: Identities, Categories of Identification, and Identifications', *Austrian History Yearbook* 49, 17-22
- Stergar, R. and Scheer, T. (2018) 'Ethnic boxes: the unintended consequences of Habsburg bureaucratic Classification', *Nationalities Papers* 46, 4, 575-591
- Strutz, J. (1992) 'Komparatistik regional – Venetien, Istrien, Kärnten', in P. Zima and J. Strutz (eds.), *Komparatistik: Einführung in die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* (Tübingen: Francke).
- Stuparich, G. (2004) *Trieste nei miei ricordi*. Trieste: Il ramo d'oro
- Švoger, V. (2006) 'Das kroatische Pressewesen', in H. Rumpler and P. Urbanitsch (eds.) *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 Band VIII/Teil 2: Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Tamaro, A. (1924) *Storia di Trieste*. Rome: Alberto Stock Editore
- Tomić, Y. (1996) 'Le mouvement national croate au XIXe siècle: entre yugoslavisme (jugoslavenstvo) et croatisme (hrvatstvo)', *Revue des études slaves*, 68, 4, 463-75
- Toncich, F. (2017) 'Narrazioni e pratiche politiche antislave a Trieste tra città e campagna (1850–1871)', *Acta Histriae* 25, 3, 539-562

- Treadway, J.D. (1998) *The Falcon and the Eagle: Montenegro and Austria-Hungary, 1908-1914*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press
- Umbach, M. (2006) 'Regionalism in modern European nation-states' in (eds.) M. Hewiston and T. Baycroft: *What is a Nation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Unowsky, D. 2005. *Staging Habsburg Patriotism: Dynastic Loyalty and the 1898 Imperial Jubilee*. In (eds) P. Judson and M. Rozenblit: *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*: 141-156. New York
- Urbanitsch, P. (1980) 'Die Deutschen' in A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch (eds.): *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918: Die Völker des Reiches Band III/Teil 1*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 33-153
- Vassilikou, M. (2002) 'Greeks and Jews in Salonika and Odessa: inter-ethnic relations in cosmopolitan port cities', in D. Cesarani (ed.), *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950*. London, Routledge, 155-72
- van Hout, M. (2020) 'In search of the nation in Fiume: Irredentism, cultural nationalism, borderlands', *Nations and Nationalism* 26, 660-676
- Verginella, M. (2001) 'Sloveni a Trieste tra Sette e Ottocento da comunità etnica a minoranza nazionale', in R. Finzi, and G. Panjek (eds.) *Storia economica e sociale di Trieste, Vol. I: La città dei gruppi 1719–1918*. Trieste: LINT
- Verginella, M. (2019) 'The fight for the national linguistic primacy: testimonies from the Austrian Littoral', in M. Prokopovych, C. Bethke and T. Scheer (eds.), *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire*. Brill: Leiden
- Vick, B. (2002) *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Vidović, R. (1974) 'O frekvenciji romanskog leksika talijanskog mletačkog porijekla u splitskom čakavskom govoru', *Čakavska rič* 2, 5–122
- Viscomi, J. (2019) 'Mediterranean futures: historical time and the departure of Italians from Egypt, 1919-1937', *Journal of Modern History* 91, 2, 341-379
- Viscomi, J. (2019) 'Between Italy and Egypt: migrating histories and political genealogies', in (ed.) I. Awad: *International Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Region. Cairo Papers in Social Science*. Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press
- Vivante, A. (1984) [1912]. *Irredentismo adriatico: contributo alla discussione sui rapporti austro-italiani*. Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo
- Vrandečić, J. (2000) *The Autonomist Movement in Nineteenth-Century Austrian Dalmatia*. PhD diss., Yale University
- Wambaugh, S. (1920) *A Monograph on Plebiscites, with a Collection of Official Documents*. New York: Oxford University Press

- Wallerstein, I. (1983) *Historical Capitalism with Capitalist Civilization*. London: Verso
- Wawro, G. (1996) 'Inside the whale: the tangled finances of the Austrian army, 1848-1866, *War in History* 3, 1, 42-65
- Weber, E. (1976) *Peasants Into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Wiggerman, F. (2004) *K.u.K. Kriegsmarine und Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Nationalbewegung in Istrien. Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie*, 28. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Winkler E. 2000. *Wahlrechtsreformen und Wahlen in Triest 1905–1909. Eine Analyse der politischen Partizipation in einer multinationalen Stadtregion der Habsburgermonarchie*. Munich: Oldenbourg
- Wittfogel, K. (1957) *Oriental Despotism. A Comparative Study of Total Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Wolff, L. (2001) *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Wolff, L (2013) 'The Traveler's View of Central Europe: Gradual Transitions and Degrees of Difference in European Borderlands', in O. Bartov and E. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*. Indiana University Press.
- Zahra, T. (2005) 'Looking East: East Central European "Borderlands" in German History and Historiography', *History Compass* 3, 1-23
- Zahra, T. (2010) 'Imagined noncommunities: national indifference as a category of analysis,' *Slavic Review* 69, 1, 93–119
- Zanou, C. (2018) *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ziblatt, D. (2002) *Constructing a Federal State: Political Development, Path Dependence, and the Origins of Federalism in Modern Europe, 1815-1871*. PhD diss., University of California Berkeley
- Zisselberger, M. (2004) 'Cultural nationalism in the twilight of history: Robert Musil's Austrian imagination', *Modern Austrian Literature* 37, 21-45