

Mass Manifestations and Aspects of Urban Popular Culture in Zagreb during the Second Half of the 19th Century

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I.

Recent historiography has in the last few decades – under the strong influence of modern historical approaches founded in the beginning of the 20th century by the movement of historians around the *Annales* journal and later supported by new tendencies present in German, British, American and other great historiographies – embraced new analytical paths for understanding the past. Problem-oriented social history and cultural history over the decades thus became more and more established, all the while shifting the boundaries of historical research. For many years classically established areas of historical research such as the history of the Habsburg Monarchy had proven themselves resistant to these new tendencies, but in the last few decades even traditional topics have appeared accessible. The historiographical turning points of the late 1960s have thus left a lasting mark, gradually bringing in a new form of cultural history. The term „New Cultural History“ was fully established during the 1980s, only when English became the leading language of international historiography, in no small part thanks to the collection of articles edited by Lynn Hunt.¹ In comparison with the French-speaking area, due to the influence of sociological theories and the *Annales* movement, much more was written about „mentalities“, „the history of mentalities“ and finally about „historical anthropology“. The common thread connecting these approaches was a strong impulse towards innovative research of problems, an interdisciplinary inquiry for „symbolic forms“ of the past, that took into account different forms of representation, rituals, expressions and so forth – which were the basic focus of this new history of culture.

Despite different approaches which developed according to the general status of national historiographies, the common thread connecting all the new tendencies is a wish for the „disenchantment“ of history – as put by the German historian Lutz Raphael – that is a

¹ Lynn Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (University of California Press, 1989).

basis for researching the actors and objects of the past, discovering lost worlds, foreign and distant lands which the new history of culture wanted to reconstruct.²

Oszkár Jászi,³ Arthur J. May,⁴ Hans Kohn⁵ and Robert A. Kann⁶ are great names in American historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy and Austria. Were we to add their British counterparts, renowned scholars such as R. W. Seton-Watson,⁷ Henry Wickham Steed⁸ or A. J. P. Taylor,⁹ it becomes evident that a rich Anglo-American historiography dedicated to exploring the Habsburg heritage in a Central European context had been developing in the time between the last years of Austria-Hungary's existence and the 1960s, concurrently with the position that *Mitteleuropa* represented in the contemporary world. Cultural life, seen by historians such as May or Kann as an anomaly in an ailing Empire did not invite systematic and thorough research: Klimt, Loos, Freud, Hofmannsthal or Wittgenstein had been known very well, but for quite a long time they were of no true consequence for historians. The same might be said of some specific late 19th century phenomena in the Monarchy, such as the „joyful apocalypse“, an intellectual ambivalence noticeable with many thinkers and artists of the time. Profound research which would attempt to connect the cultural flowering of Vienna and the Habsburg Monarchy with the political situation was nowhere to be found. In his own time, Arthur J. May went perhaps furthest in the book *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, in which he dedicated one chapter to the intellectual and cultural ascent of Vienna.

What was characteristic of Anglo-American research in Habsburg history until the 1970s was the work put into defining the political, economic and social problems that had precipitated and caused the break-up of the Monarchy. The key question: why had a great multinational Monarchy ceased to exist in 1918 – did not leave much room for the analysis of culture. On the contrary, the cultural blossoming of Vienna and certain other urban centers of the Monarchy was not a narrative in tune with the story of the dissolution, and could hardly be integrated in these studies of decay and decline.

² Lutz Raphael, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter der Extreme: Theorien, Methoden, Tendenzen von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H.Beck, 2012), 229.

³ Oszkár Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago University Press, 1929).

⁴ Arthur J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy 1867-1914* (New York: Norton & Company, 1951).

⁵ Hans Kohn, *The Habsburg Empire 1804-1918* (New Jersey: D. van Nostrand Company, 1961).

⁶ Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918* (University of California Press, 1980).

⁷ R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable & Co., 1911).

⁸ Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable, 1913).

⁹ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1948).

This situation shifted during the 1960s and 1970s from „within“ and „without“. The changes from „without“ directly influenced and complemented the changes from „within“. Some of the key works in political and diplomatic history, such as the historical synthesis by Robert A. Kann, with its detailed overview of the Habsburg Monarchy in action, brought the analysis of the „missed opportunities“ for saving the Monarchy to its historiographical pinnacle. From „without“, a Cold War mentality, and particularly the changing situation in Central Europe with the shifting of the Soviet bloc westwards and the creation of the people's democracies, mandated a new look at the Habsburg imperial complex. Interwar prejudices of an Empire doomed to fail and of an Austro-Hungarian *Völkerkerker* were now replaced with more affirmative analyses.¹⁰ The impulse of change in historiography on one side, the relative lack for the need to study more political history, and a general shift in the defining of Central European space on the other side, led historians on the path of significant change. The turning points in that sense are the two famous books: William M. Johnston's *The Austrian Mind*¹¹ and Carl E. Schorske's *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*.¹² It was necessary to wait until the mid-1980s and the already mentioned turning point in Anglo-American historiography, for Johnston's and Schorske's research to reach a truly wide audience. Since the end of the 1980s, many works have been published that look at the Habsburg Monarchy, Austria or Vienna through a cultural or intellectual lens, while the frame of these debates is typical of the New cultural history. Johnston's attempt to specify, assess and explain the cultural elites of the Habsburg Monarchy and its member countries from 1848 to 1938 is particularly laudable, and has spawned further case-studies. Equally stimulating was the criticism of Johnston's work, especially its theoretical concept.¹³

As it soon became clear that it was impossible to create a kind of map of the intellectual and cultural elites of the Monarchy that would get to the bottom of their intertwinement. It was also clear that the theoretical approaches of the New cultural history could be tested on the example of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna.¹⁴ The last two decades have thus seen the dominance of case-studies such as those by: Steven Beller, Allan Janik, John Boyer, Janet Stewart, Eve Blau, Maureen Healy, Daniel Unowsky, William Johnston, Robert Lemon and

¹⁰ A very interesting new analysis of the perception and relationship to the Monarchy after its demise can be found in: Adam Kozuchowski, *The Afterlife of Austria-Hungary: The Image of the Habsburg Monarchy in Interwar Europe* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013).

¹¹ William M. Johnston. *The Austrian Mind: an Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938* (University of California Press, 1972).

¹² Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

¹³ See for example: Mirjana Gross „Pogovor“, in: *Austrijski duh* [Austrian Mind, Croatian translation] (Zagreb: Globus, 1993), 509-515.

¹⁴ See for example: Steven Beller (ed.), *Rethinking Vienna 1900* (Berghahn Books, 2001).

Larry Wolff are some of the authors who have gone furthest in their work to show and prove the complexity of Viennese and the Monarchy's cultural history.

Gradually, a need for further explanation stemmed from the criticisms of Johnston's and Schorske's approaches, particularly in Austrian historiography. The question of the social and cultural history of Vienna had to be put on a wider basis and prove that at the turn of the century, the city was made up of different classes, from intellectual to laboring, and that the city was home to numerous different cultures. The best example of this is the excellent study of Vienna's suburbs by Wolfgang Maderthaner, published in 1999 in German under the title *Anarchie der Vorstadt*, in which he found a counterpoint to the analysis of elite culture. Maderthaner wrote:

„If pre-modern popular culture with its grotesque and carnivalesque forms of expression can be seen as the recreation of a population living under a regime of feudal ranks, the arising mass culture should be understood as the organized amusement of uprooted and displaced populations, who had to recompose their life in the impoverished urban environments (...)“¹⁵

Parallel with this kind of work, mass or popular culture was becoming a more established point of research in cultural, intellectual and social history, specifically for 20th century topics, but also for long-term Braudellian research – as in the collection of articles *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (1984). The editor David Hall noted in his introduction the state of the research topic:

„The history of popular culture grows from the perception of division or difference: the culture of “the people“ differs from the culture of “elites.” There is no lack of efforts to draw a line between these types, or to declare that such a line functioned as a real boundary. But it is characteristic of our present situation that we seek more nuance than may have been the case before.“¹⁶

We might also note this conclusion by Lawrence Grossberg:

„Popular culture has been defined formally (as formularized), aesthetically (as opposed to high culture), quantitatively (as mass culture), sociologically (as the culture of “the people”) and politically (as resistant folk culture). Sometimes it is identified with mass culture and condemned for reducing culture (and the masses) to the “lowest common denominator.” At other times, it is located outside of mass culture (...)“¹⁷

These basic tenets are in use today, several decades since the publication of this collection. The postulates which were set in the work of cultural and intellectual historians enable us now to undertake case-studies, to research individual phenomena and situations, that are not in conflict with the imaginary totality of an „elite culture“, but are in fact overlapping. Urban spaces in the 19th century particularly influence the shift in the

¹⁵ Wolfgang Maderthaner-Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Berghahn Books, 2008), 77.

¹⁶ David Hall, “Introduction”, in: *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), 5.

¹⁷ Lawrence Grossberg, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture* (Routledge, 2014), 75-76.

identification of culture – what belongs to the elites and what to the people, are superficial and shallow things tenets of popular culture in conflict with the culture of the learned, is there any aesthetic quality in „low“ popular culture, is „high“ culture ever directed towards the lower classes and does it strive for popularity – these are questions that Kant and Schiller tried to answer already in the 18th century.¹⁸ These questions are posed again today in a changed context. The modern industrialized urban space, which creates visible chasms between the classes, contributes through many factors to the creation of a culture of strict margins. The bourgeois and working classes of urban society openly disregard folk and rural culture, seeking or accepting the new cultural self-identification brought from above.¹⁹ This is the argument of many contemporary historians. Roger Chartier shows how it is difficult for a historian to define the distinction of popular culture vs. elite culture in the 17th century, and that the identification of popular culture is very burdensome, relative and complex.²⁰ Jacques Revel came to similar conclusions, but alongside this he noted the complexity of that which historians see as popular culture.²¹ Following the example of the *Annales* movement, Peter Burke proposed a wide set of references, which would avoid rigid compartmentalization and distinguish the importance of interaction between learned and popular culture.²² The Austrian historian Moritz Csáky suggested an inclusive and all-encompassing concept of „confined communication space“ (*entgrenzter Kommunikationsraum*) which has the goal of comprehending totality.²³ Some individual studies point to this: studies by Lawrence Levine or Paul DiMaggio show that in certain times particular phenomena find themselves in the realm of popular culture, and then later transform into that which we see as elite culture.²⁴ Richard Reichensperger used the concrete example of Vienna and Johann Nestroy to show the

¹⁸ Thomas Hecken, *Theorien der Populärkultur: dreissig Positionen von Schiller bis zu den Cultural Studies* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2007), 11-16.

¹⁹ Hannu Salmi, *19th Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 19.

²⁰ Roger Chartier, „Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France“, in: *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), 229-254.

²¹ Jacques Revel, „Forms of expertise: intellectuals and "popular" culture in France (1650-1800)“, in: *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), 255-273.

²² Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 27-29; see also: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009).

²³ Moritz Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte: kulturelle Verflechtungen. Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2010).

²⁴ On their work from a more general perspective see: Michael Schudson, „The New Validation of Popular Culture: Sense and Sentimentality in Academia“, in: *Popular Culture Theory and Methodology: A Basic Introduction*, ed. Harold E. Hinds (et. al.) (Popular Press, 2006), 85-106.

scientific relativity of the boundary between high and low popular culture, corroborating this with a discourse and cultural analysis of Nestroy's works.²⁵

It should be noted that this approach was somewhat anticipated by the Croatian historian Josip Matasović who researched facets of Croatian culture from various fragments, and in shifting from the Habsburg courtly culture of the 17th and 18th centuries, found connections between elite and popular customs, explaining many minute examples that made the fabric of his cultural-historical mosaic.²⁶ Moving away from this perspective and by accepting modern approaches, the historian's goal is not primarily to evaluate certain cultural phenomena, to identify „popular“ and „less popular“ cultural instances, and then analyze their transformation, their social and intellectual factors, which consequently brings about a greater number of specific studies.

II.

Such individual studies are certainly necessary for historians to look into the structures connecting the elites and masses in the 19th century Habsburg Monarchy, the points of their synchronicity or overlap through common workings. Contemporary historians of urban development in the long term of the 19th and 20th century and the „postmodern“, such as Friedrich Lenger,²⁷ pointed to the connection of demographic, urban, economic and general social change and the modernist shaping of cities, that is, their population. The Habsburg Monarchy is a very interesting area in this sense, as its ambivalent character, a mix of homogenous and heterogeneous qualities (that will also be important for Jászi's idea of centripetal and centrifugal forces in the Monarchy²⁸), gives us on the one hand an immeasurable quantity of case-studies, and on the other can serve as a testing ground for various comparative analyses.

The focus of this paper is to point to several examples, most of them from the history of Zagreb, always keeping in mind the Habsburg context, the forms of popular culture and its audience induced „from above“, those forms spurred by local, national and state levels: mass spectacles. The historical development of Zagreb also points to the creation of a mass culture during the second half of the 19th century, during which the city had affirmed its position as

²⁵ Richard Reichensperger, „Das Zusammenwirken von Hoch- und Populärkultur: Das karikatureske Verfahren als Ursprung der Moderne bei Charles Baudelaire und Johann Nestroy“, in: *Das Gewebe der Kultur. Kulturwissenschaftliche Analysen zur Geschichte und Identität Österreichs in der Moderne* [Moritz Csaky zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet], ed. Johannes Feichtinger, Peter Stachel (Innsbruck: Studienverlag GmbH, 2001), 11-45.

²⁶ Josip Matasović, *Iz galantnog stoljeća. Kulturnohistorijski fragmenti*, knjiga prva (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1921).

²⁷ Friedrich Lenger, *European Cities in the Modern Era, 1850-1914* (BRILL, 2012).

²⁸ Oszkár Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago University Press, 1929).

the unquestionable center of the Triune Kingdom, integrating many cultural tendencies among which were a deep-set German culture, the culture spawned by the national renewal, Hungarian culture, the culture of the Serbian elite at the end of the century, and so on. Zagreb's economic and urban development was stunted during a long stagnation period, almost unchanged since the 17th century, and the situation would not start improving until the 1830s, when the main actors of the renewal movement would craft their programs with ideas for incentivizing the economy, especially trade and crafts – hallmarks of Zagreb.²⁹ The time of the national renewal had a beneficial impact on the cultural life of Zagreb, helping to transform it into a cultural and artistic center: with the Illyrian movement Zagreb was beginning to be thought of as a center for all Banal Croatia; until that time it was an „insignificant market town“.³⁰ One might conclude that the main problem for Zagreb in this long period at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century was a lack of continuous development. Every attempt at growth depended on an individual vision and lasted a limited amount of time, according to possibilities. There was no long-term planning or policy for the capital. Development was left over to individual enterprise or investment (apart from particular projects like the hospital). In the mid-19th century Zagreb was still a small town, with a population of no more than 15 000.³¹ The industrial revolution did not leave an impact on Zagreb, nor did it leave much significant change on the Triune Kingdom. At the time, the population was stagnating. Every significant attempt at growth had to have the support of the Viennese center.

Defining Zagreb as the capital in the time of absolutism certainly contributed to this. With the further development of this relationship and view of Zagreb, there was a need to present and modernize the town as a true Central European hub and city of the Triune Kingdom that was more and more synonymous with Croatia.³² Construction in the Lower City (Donji grad) began in the 1860s. However, the center was still defined by the old nucleus of Zagreb (united Gradec and Kaptol, i.e. Upper City – Gornji grad). The town started spreading and developing after the *Ausgleich*. Foremost among the new construction projects were representative buildings, as it was important to portray Zagreb as a center for political reasons, keeping in mind the degree of provincial freedom in internal matters. These urban development projects were stopped by the earthquake of 1881. It was a very powerful one and many houses were destroyed or badly damaged, as well as churches and other important

²⁹ Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1996), 627-627., 659., 734.

³⁰ Mirjana Gross, Agneza Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 555.

³¹ See: Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1996), 752.

³² Mirjana Gross, Agneza Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 555.

buildings. After the initial shock, the earthquake became a starting point for creating a new visage of Zagreb. Although Zagreb had begun acquiring a new visual identity and was developing in a positive direction, the population numbers and industrial growth kept it out of the range of nearby contemporary European capitals.³³

Not until the turn of the 19th into the 20th century would Zagreb see a significant growth in population numbers, as well as economic, trade and crafts development in general.³⁴ During the intensive process of urbanization and industrialization which was occurring in Zagreb until the beginning of the First World War, the city more than doubled its population in a period of three decades. In 1910 it numbered close to 80 000 inhabitants.³⁵ Historians of the town have not missed the fact that an important impulse for the economic growth of Zagreb was provided by economic exhibitions (the most important is the one held in the city in 1891).³⁶ However, the importance of these manifestations goes beyond their economic component or basic aim. In the second half of the 19th century they represented a mode for the touching of the world of elites and masses in the widest sense of the word. They were a form of creating and perpetuating various concepts of national self-perception, symbols of states and nations, locating the common, a general artistic expression. A growth of the common urban market and consumerism is an important element which gave an added incentive to the creation of various objects indented for mass use and signified with a popular culture identity. The other important element is the media, which followed their Viennese, Budapest and Prague counterparts at the end of the century, and reported far away on goings that were quite out of reach for the wider population, but via the media they became more or less interested or even passive participants.

³³ Mirjana Gross, Agneza Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 556-558.

³⁴ On the development of Zagreb in the late 19th and 20th century see among others: Aleksander Laslo, "Zagreb 1880-1918. Modern-architectural town planning in Zagreb", in: *Shaping the Great City. Modern Architecture in Central Europe 1890-1937*, ed. Eve Blau - Monika Platzer (München-London-New York: Prestel, 1999), 136-144; Sarah A. Kent, "Zagreb", in: *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires: Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, ed. Emily Gunzburger Makaš - Tanja Damjanović Conley (Routledge, 2009), 208-222. Some articles have been written in German. Of these which we might distinguish: Božena Vranješ-Šoljan, "Zagrebs Aufstieg zur kroatischen Hauptstadt" in: *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa: Geschichte, Funktion, nationale Symbolkraft*, ed. Harald Heppner (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1994), 195-209; Eugenia Ehgartner-Jovinac, "Zagreb und die Jahrhundertwende: ein Ort der Moderne?" in: *Kultur - Urbanität - Moderne. Differenzierungen der Moderne in Zentraleuropa um 1900*, ed. Heidemarie Uhl (Wien: Passagen, 1999), 83-137.

³⁵ Božena Vranješ-Šoljan, *Stanovništvo gradova banske Hrvatske na prijelazu stoljeća* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 146-148.

³⁶ Miroslava Despot, „Industrija Zagreba u drugoj polovici XIX stoljeća“, *Iz starog i novog Zagreba V* (Zagreb, 1974), 165-175; Božena Vranješ-Šoljan, *Stanovništvo gradova banske Hrvatske na prijelazu stoljeća* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 146; Iskra Iveljić, *Očevi i sinovi: privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2007), 170-175; Goran Arčabić (ed.), *Korak do novog stoljeća: gospodarska izložba u Zagrebu 1891.* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2007).

Following Friedrich Lenger, who identified London and Paris as the original centers of modernity,³⁷ we find that mass manifestations in the Habsburg Monarchy; the success of the great world exhibitions inspired Francis Joseph I, the Austrian and Hungarian governments to devise similar projects of their own. The later part of Francis Joseph's rule was marked by great celebrations, held primarily in Vienna, commemorating the Imperial Jubilee of the ruling couple (the great celebrations of 1898 and 1908), or round birthdays (in 1900 and 1910), and regularly the name days of Francis Joseph.³⁸ Complementing this, glamorous exhibitions were held, portrayals of the state of the economy, as well as great open-air theme parks (such as the theme parks in Vienna, *Venedig in Wien* 1895, *Adria-Ausstellung* 1913 or the *Kriegsausstellung* 1916 all of which were held in the Prater), and exhibitions in the provinces, such as the Provincial Jubilee Exhibition in Prague in 1891, or the great Hungarian Millennium Exhibition of 1896 in Budapest, as well as imperial celebrations during the travels or inspections across the country (for example, such as the great visits to Galicia in 1851 or 1880, Bohemia in 1854 or 1868, and Dalmatia in 1875). Following a general European trend, particularly present in Victorian England, the Habsburg Monarchy attempted to strengthen loyalty to the ruler and the myth of the dynasty by using these public spectacles that were intended to draw great urban and rural masses – creating elements of one recognizable popular culture meant to be consumed, worshipped or for strengthening the nation and state.

External incentives helped the opening of the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873, which was the first manifestation of its kind in the German-speaking world. According to its size, the number of applicants and exhibited materials, that exhibition outdone all the previous ones (London 1851 and 1862; Paris 1855 and 1867). Although there was a wish to demonstrate the power of the Habsburg state after a war defeat and the *Ausgleich*, and confirm the place of Vienna as counterpart among the European and world capitals, an idea of the exhibition as a „symbol of bourgeois culture“ was apparent from the beginning.³⁹ Excepting this higher level of confirming popular sovereignty for the smaller nations such as Croats (in contrast to Hungary) and self-representation, there was a segment of immediate interchangeability of trends and modern approaches. The appearance of 500 exhibitors, representing the economic, cultural and educational products of Croatia, was an expedition

³⁷ Friedrich Lenger, *European Cities in the Modern Era, 1850-1914* (BRILL, 2012), 11-31.

³⁸ More on this subject: Andrea Blöchl, „Die Kaisergedenktage“, in: *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis: Öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Emil Brix - Hannes Stekl (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), 117-144.

³⁹ Jutta Pemsel, *Die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873: das gründerzeitliche Wien am Wendepunkt* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1989.), 9.

from the Monarchy's periphery to its center – where the „popular“ was received.⁴⁰ In this way the Viennese World Exhibition fostered some smaller local exhibitions in Croatia: the economic exhibition in Rijeka (1889) and Osijek (1899), the fastest developing city in Croatia alongside Zagreb, as well as manifestations such as the already mentioned Zagreb economic exhibition of 1891. With time, these exhibitions fulfilled their primary goal of directly promoting local products, but they also obviously attracted the wider urban and rural masses, offering many accompanying materials, books, pamphlets, objects that were mass produced and sold, and stimulated local collectors.

III.

Encouragement for great manifestations, more frequently presented in Croatia and Slavonia during the late 19th century, did not stem solely from Vienna. It is important to note that in 1882 Croatian exhibitors gained the opportunity to have their own pavilion at that year's artistic and economic exhibition in Trieste. The Provincial Jubilee Exhibition in Prague in 1891 was poorly visited by Croatian exhibitors, as the preparations for the Jubilee Economic and Forestry Exhibition in Zagreb, prepared according to the Prague model, were



A partial view on the Jubilee Economic and Forestry Exhibition in Zagreb (1891)

⁴⁰ Goran Arčabić (ed.), *Korak do novog stoljeća: gospodarska izložba u Zagrebu 1891*. (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2007), 15.

being arranged at the time.⁴¹ Though significantly more modest – due to the economic climate in Croatia and Slavonia, and weak financial backing from the government – this three-month long exhibition was a significant boost for the town's modernization and heralded the continuing industrialization. The participation of exhibitors from Dalmatia served as a show of unity, and many foreign exhibitors were present. It was the main social event of the year. Although the predictions of the numbers were diverse (quite modest numbers were predicted, from 80 000 to 100 000 visitors), the exhibition proved a resounding success: the number of visitors totaled 450 000 people, some 7000 visitors per day, and on the best day during September, a total of 23 500 visitors came to see the exhibition.⁴²

The pavilions were meant to present certain products, but they also pointed to a general feeling of progress. In order to attract more visitors, special restaurants with beer, other alcoholic beverages and food, were erected. A lottery was organized, with very generous prizes, such as a 1000 franc worth carriage and other prizes: of the 100 000 printed tickets, 75% were sold, which testifies to the patron's great interest.⁴³ Foreign guests were greeted by „crowds of visitors“, so their visits became a part of the spectacle, especially in the case of „fraternal“ visits such as the one by the Czech delegation.⁴⁴ The large Hungarian delegation, welcomed by the authorities and organizers, was honored with a banquet and a concert held by popular Zagreb singing groups, and an illumination of the exhibition was also arranged, a *Fontaine Brillante* and *Cascade Lumineuse*.⁴⁵

The Jubilee Economic and Forestry Exhibition served as a template for the general trend in the Monarchy of popularizing patriotic motives: from heraldry of the city, the Triune Kingdom or „Croatia“ to the character of Francis Joseph that was unavoidable: he was present in wooden objects, paintings, soap statues by the local Zagreb soap factory. Celebrations were organized for the Emperor's birthday, and special festive lights were illuminated on his name day.⁴⁶

A visit from certain Dalmatian exhibitors was one of the most important points in the official program, and it had the important function of „representing“ the Croatian culture of the Austrian part of the Monarchy. The Dalmatian visitors were presented to the population of

⁴¹ Goran Arčabić (ed.), *Korak do novog stoljeća: gospodarska izložba u Zagrebu 1891*. (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2007), 16-19.

⁴² Janko Ibler, *Gospodarsko-šumarska jubilarna izložba hrvatsko-slavonskoga gospodarskoga društva u Zagrebu godine 1891* (Zagreb: Tiskarski zavod Narodnih Novina, 1892), 298-299.

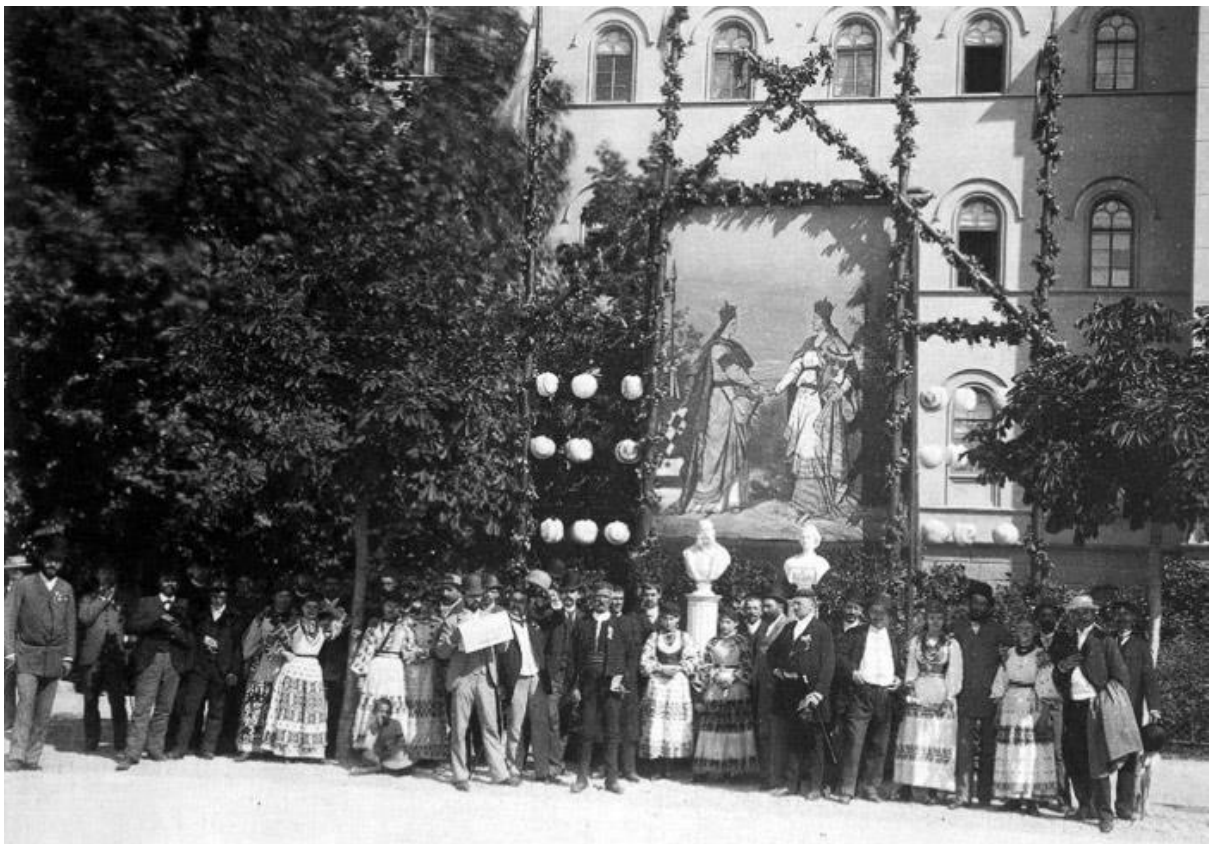
⁴³ Janko Ibler, *Gospodarsko-šumarska jubilarna izložba hrvatsko-slavonskoga gospodarskoga društva u Zagrebu godine 1891* (Zagreb: Tiskarski zavod Narodnih Novina, 1892), 301.

⁴⁴ *Gospodarski list*, 17. X. 1891.

⁴⁵ *Gospodarski list*, 10. X. 1891.

⁴⁶ *Gospodarski list*, 26. IX. 1891; 10. X. 1891.

Zagreb with concrete recognizable products – wine as the most important export product and olive oil. They symbolically participated in the unveiling of the Franciscan popular poet Andrija Kačić Miošić's statue (from Brist near Makarska). Many attractions from Dalmatia were exhibited, such as a hand-made silver wreath with emblems of the Imperial Navy made for the Battle of Vis monument, a gold chalice, a carved relief of the Virgin Mary, eggs painted with folk motives from Knin etc.⁴⁷ This approach is more evident with the Bosnia and Herzegovina pavilion which was criticized for the lack of indigenous products presented. It gave a popularized view of the country – from pseudo-Oriental architecture to folklore costumes.



The assembled Dalmatian delegation on the Jubilee Economic and Forestry Exhibition in Zagreb

„National representation“ was one of the most replicated elements of mass manifestations throughout the Monarchy. Often the sought goal was missed – an idea of patriotic unity through diversity of „Habsburg“ peoples was very difficult to demonstrate. Large shows, such as the Imperial Jubilee of 1908 in Vienna showed how popular culture brought in an almost standardized image (from the Viennese and Austrian perspective) of „foreign“ elements of the Monarchy: this translated into a simplified vision, almost a

⁴⁷ *Gospodarski list*, 17. X. 1891.

caricature, of the distant peoples of Austria-Hungary: *Tableaux vivants* which were cancelled were supposed to portray Croats as savages, „thieves and pillagers“.⁴⁸ The Viennese celebration was lampooned in the Munich satirical journal *Simplicissimus* by Eduard Thöny as a parade of „colorful groups of wild Austrian peoples“ who presented themselves in their folk garments, in fact colorful rags, dancing, playing music, performing tricks with fire and snakes, but also showing a traditional affection for the sovereign, Francis Joseph.⁴⁹ This caused an opposite effect, in that an uneasy feeling was felt in the streets of Vienna, instead of an attraction. The example shows how visions of nations were „popularized“ and presented to the masses, and the image was calibrated according to familiar, general and exotic elements which rarely corresponded to reality.

After the Jubilee Economic and Forestry Exhibition in Zagreb, several similar manifestations were held. A good example is the third visit by Francis Joseph to Zagreb in October 1895. What makes this visit special in the context of the previous visits from 1852 and 1869? Putting aside the different political connotations of 1895, when Zagreb itself was the exclusive objective of the visit. In 1852 the young sovereign wanted to show his face to Croatia and convince his loyal subjects of the Monarchy's stability. In 1869 the imperial couple was travelling through the country to propagate the newly achieved *Ausgleich*. The third visit had to demonstrate stability, but apart from the first two, it was primarily focused on the stability of banus Károly Khuen-Héderváry's regime and its achievements. A very important change can be noticed in the third visit by the ruler, in that it was a spectacle show for the widest possible mass of people. That is why the ruler was not merely welcomed in Zagreb, but also at train stations, such as Križevci, where local dignitaries, schoolchildren, peasants, tradesmen and craftsmen welcomed the emperor in a festive manner. Only at the end of the 19th century was the Triune Kingdom given the opportunity to show its organizational capabilities, to put on a comprehensive spectacle: the earlier celebrations, if they had any basic imperial attributions and were well organized, did not leave a lasting impact on the public at large. Now the citizens of Zagreb and local villages of northwestern Croatia were joined by many outside guests – around 40 000 of them from all parts of the Monarchy – who wanted to take part in the ceremonies.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Marc Ferro, *Resentment in History* (Polity Press, 2010), 90. See also: Elisabeth Großegger, „Der Kaiserhuldigungsfestzug 1908“, in: *Speicher des Gedächtnisses: Bibliotheken, Museen, Archive*, ed. Peter Stachel - Moritz Csáky (Wien: Passagen, 2001), 155-175.

⁴⁹ „Der Wiener Festzug“, *Simplicissimus* 13/11, 15. VI. 1908.

⁵⁰ *Agramer Zeitung* 22. X. 1895.



The festive decoration of the Jelačić square in Zagreb during the visit of Emperor Francis Joseph I. in 1895

A comparative analysis of similar imperial trips by Francis Joseph and Elisabeth, undertaken by Daniel L. Unowsky⁵¹ shows us a similar level of courtly politics in the imperial and dynastic presentation: in Zagreb Francis Joseph I was presented to his people as a kind and loving father, a benefactor who through his donations and acts cares for the poor and those in need, is the supreme patron of art and science. We can also discern the level of the Hungarian government, represented by its minister-president Dezső Bánffy, as well as the Croatian government headed by banus Károly Khuen-Héderváry and the local city government – who tried to put many of their own political motives into the official program, more or less openly using the imperial visit to their ends. What is often overlooked is the working of the media, which published special gate-passes which enabled moving outside the cordoned off areas. In that way, the official and opposition newspapers transmitted the news in the greatest detail for all three days of the imperial visit, explaining the program, sequences and events to those that were excluded or on the margins of the spectacle. Diverging from earlier visits by the Habsburgs to Zagreb, Emperor Francis Joseph probably seemed distant, but at the same time less “magical” and more personal than his predecessors. What's more, a great number of people came into direct contact with him. The Emperor spent most of his time with religious leaders, heads of institutions, leading politicians and reputable aristocratic

⁵¹ Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916* (Purdue University Press, 2005).

families, but also with different delegations from cities across Hungary, actors, painters, sculptors, builders and architects, nurses, teachers and professors, musicians and so on. University students were included in the program (they made a political performance when burning the Hungarian flag, a notable event according to later historiography), alongside various officials, tradesmen and craftsmen who participated in the preparations for the festivities. In spite of this, the wider masses were clearly cordoned off and separated, put aside to the periphery away from the focal points of the events. However, these masses were entertained. They took part in the ceremonial serenade and the torch light parade, viewed from the windows of the Banal House by Francis Joseph and Leopold Salvator, the representative of the dynasty in Croatia, with his consort Bianca. Patriotic and popular songs, many written and composed for the occasion, were performed in these and similar occasions.

The masses had their informal entertainment at several banquets and tavern celebrations, held in parallel with the official banquets and courtly ceremonies. The local population mixed with the guests from other parts of Croatia or foreign visitors. The face of the ruler, the Croatian red, white and blue flag and heraldry were used for commercial purposes: sold as memorabilia, glasses, badges, medals, fans and so on. The local inhabitants were encouraged to purchase flags and decorative materials for their houses and windows. The examples of distinguished Zagreb dignitaries were followed, but there was room for personal ingenuity. Beside the memorial books printed for the dignitaries, many shorter popular books came out during the visit, such as the Memorial-list of the sights of Zagreb in pictures and brief texts or a book on the past and members of the Croatian theatre and the repertoire performed until 1895 (Francis Joseph participated in the opening of the new Zagreb building of the National Theater).⁵² The schoolteacher Franjo Bartuš published a brief book on Francis Joseph, written in a typically panegyric-popular fashion. Famous anecdotes and biographical data are written in the book, and a special emphasis is put on the relationship between the king and the Croats or Zagreb, into which he came „as a happy and joyous father“.⁵³ Even Đuro Klarić, chief of the famous tobacco plant in Constantinople, wrote and printed a poem in honor of the visit, espousing the faith the city of Zagreb invested into its

⁵² Josip Glesinger, *Spomen-spis prigodom prev. boravka Nj. Veličanstva kralja danah 14., 15. i 16. listopada 1895. Znamenitosti glav. grada Zagreba* (Zagreb, 1895); Nikola Andrić, *Spomen-knjiga Hrvatskog zem. kazališta pri otvaranju nove kazališne zgrade* (Zagreb: Tiskarski zavod Narodnih novina, 1895).

⁵³ Franjo Bartuš, *Naš kralj Franjo Josip I. U spomen hrvatskoj mladeži* (Zagreb: Tiskarski i litografski zavod K. Albrechta, 1895), 38.



ruler.⁵⁴ This hope and faith in the ruler who is above the regime, who should be notified of the status of Croatia, was present in almost all contemporary celebratory publications.



Some examples of “collectible” items sold during the visit of Francis Joseph I. in 1895

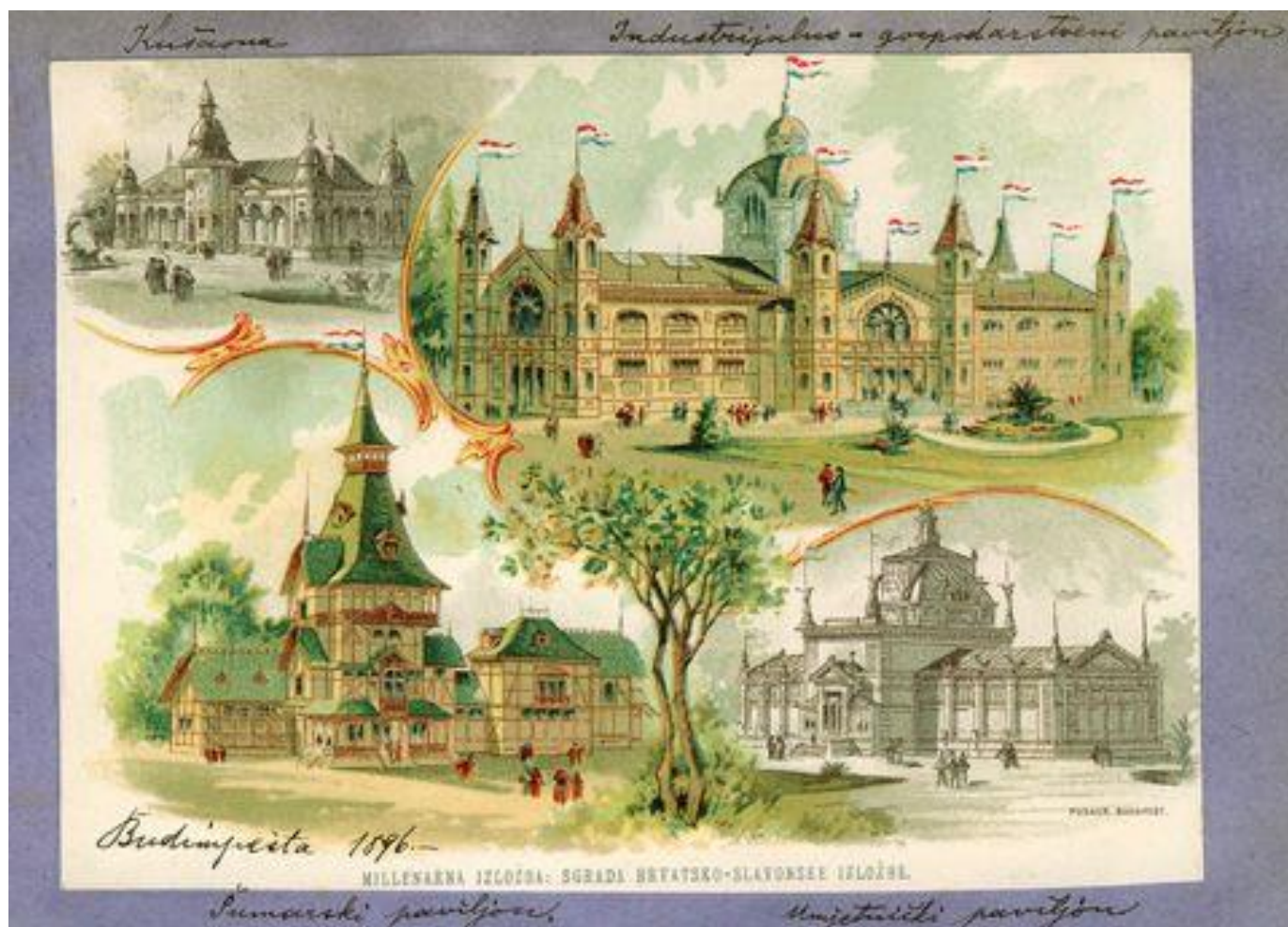
However, the brushes between elite culture and popular culture may be noticed in yet another example: Stjepan pl. Miletić, the general manager of the National Theater at the time, the composer Ivan pl. Zajc, and the painter Vlaho Bukovac, among the most respected Croatian artists at the end of the century, were quite active in the manner of Schiller's view of art being inclusive when the masses are in question. Their works, poems and paintings, and most importantly, the scenic prologue, were „inspired by the people“, nationally involved, wanting to articulate the national sentiment through an artistic expression which would conform to the prevalent norms of aestheticism, and bring in a wider population at the same time. Furthermore, one example shows a similar phenomenon: the „courtly atmosphere“ (a large part of the Viennese court came to Zagreb) of the Banal House in which Francis Joseph stayed, was notably visible during the formal dinners, and was marked with popular music – neutral, popular and entertaining pieces dominated the repertoire – waltzes and polkas, most

⁵⁴ Đuro Klarić, *Pozdrav Njegovu Veličanstvu Franji Josipu I. sa Bospora u Zagreb 1895*. (Carigrad, 1895).

frequently Johann Strauss. The highest social elite circles gathered around Francis Joseph experienced Viennese popular culture of their time in this way.⁵⁵

IV.

Although they were not held in Zagreb, it is important to take note of two more manifestations – the first is the Millennium Exhibition of 1896 in Budapest, and the other is the *Adria-Ausstellung* of 1913 in Vienna.



The Croatian pavilions at the Budapest Millennium Exhibition (1896)

The Millennium Exhibition was a great occasion for the Hungarians – the celebration of thousand years since their coming to the Carpathian basin and the beginning of Hungarian state formation. The year 1896 was chosen as the conclusion of a scholarly commission which concluded that any year between 1888 and 1900 was suitable as the Hungarian migration had

⁵⁵ On Strauss in the context of Viennese popular culture see: Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

ended by 900.⁵⁶ The event itself was a grand spectacle. Influenced by the several already held World Exhibitions, the organizers in Budapest wanted to create the exhibition according to all the established standards and expectations which rose with every new edition. They did not wish to lose any ground because of the national character, which was necessarily dominant. The millennium was announced on New Years' Day 1896 when all the church bells rang hailing the day and signifying the start of the millennium year.⁵⁷ At the end there were around 21 000 exhibitors in 200 buildings and pavilions at a fair ground of 520 000 m².⁵⁸ Although the exhibition concerned Hungary in a more narrow sense, Croatia and Slavonia (as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina) took part in it. It was a result of the described late 19th century political circumstances and the period of banus Khuen-Héderváry. Taking part in the exhibition was supposed to prove good relations between Croatia and Hungary, that is the functioning of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement. The Millennium Exhibition was certainly something „worth talking about“. The preparations for Croatia's cooperation were very popular in the media. The regime paper, *Narodne novine*, portrayed the events with a positive spin, and the opposing side expressed its feelings through *Obzor*, *Hrvatska* and several satirical journals.

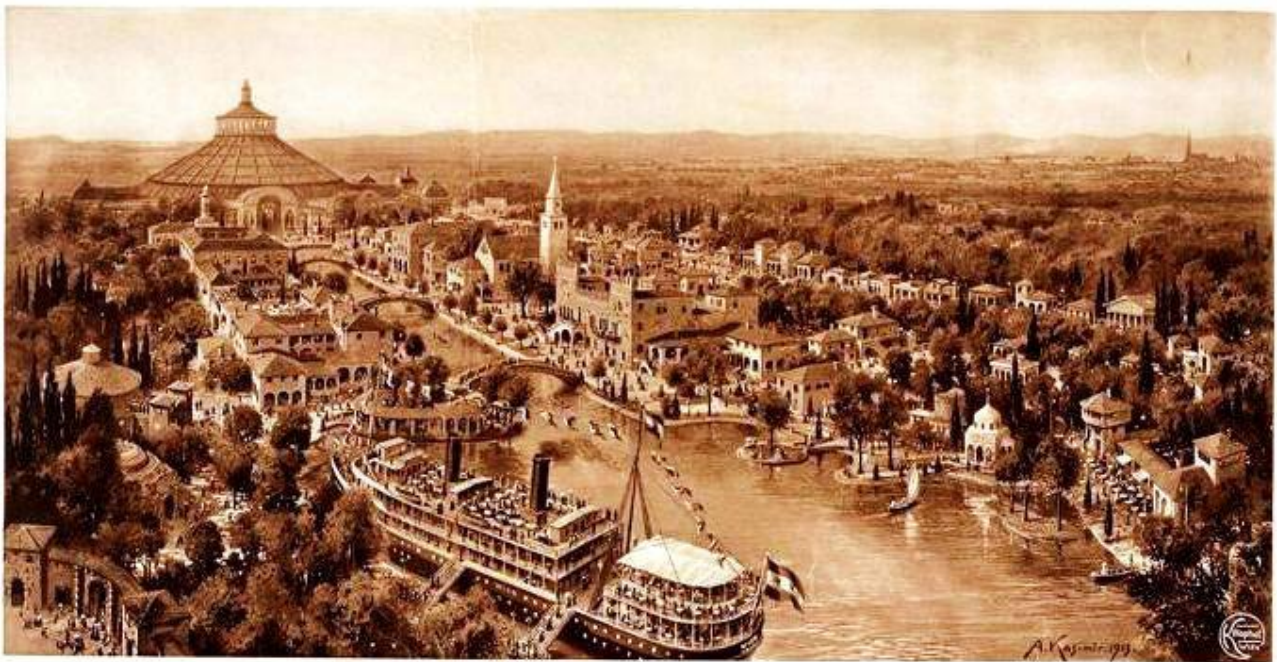
A debate began over the cooperation of Croatia and Slavonia at the Millennium Exhibition, bringing up many historical, legal, political problems and matters of principle. A public opinion was beginning to form, and the result was a weaker than expected number of Croatian visitors to the exhibition. We might attribute this to social conditions (poverty and poor railroad connections). A significant number of teachers from Croatia and Slavonia who were induced by the government to visit Budapest could not mask this simple numerical fact, but actually served to minimize the effect. On the other hand, the silence that the opposition newspapers displayed during the exhibition influenced public opinion and sent a message to the ruling elites. Croatia and Slavonia were represented with four pavilions, of which one – the restaurant – was a very popular element of contemporary exhibitions which appealed to the masses. This element points to the fact how important it was to attract visitors, not only with the exhibits; it was important to keep the visitor in the pavilion for as long as possible. The main element was the entertainment and catering. A reconstruction of the old Buda fort was an important component of the Millennium Exhibition, one with a social function. Its

⁵⁶ Ilona Sármány-Parsons, „Ungarns Millenniumsjahr 1896“, in: Emil Brix, Hannes Stekl (ed.), *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis: öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), 273-275.

⁵⁷ John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900. A Historical Portrait of a City & Its Culture* (Grove Press, 1990), 71.

⁵⁸ Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), 256.

surroundings were a central public space with tables and benches, drinks and food, and in the evening there were many parties and fireworks.⁵⁹ Taking inspiration from the Chicago World's Fair, the second important attraction was a theme park made to look like contemporary Constantinople in Budapest.⁶⁰ A special pavilion was set up to look like an opera hall for the Edison kinetoscope, a cinema for the exhibition.⁶¹ Attention was paid to the tourist potential of Budapest so many schools were turned into hostels, special postage stamps were printed, and millennium coins minted.⁶²



Adria Ausstellung (1913)

The *Adria-Ausstellung* was a different type of exhibition. It was an exhibition that was dedicated to the maritime part of the Habsburg Monarchy, with no specialized pavilions, opened in 1913 (from May to October) in the Prater as a kind of theme park. It was important for Croatia because, logically, most of the Monarchy's seaside was centered in Croatia: Istria, the Littoral and Dalmatia. One might conclude that all the great Viennese manifestations were held on the occasion of a dynastic anniversary that is an anniversary connected to Francis

⁵⁹ Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), 274.

⁶⁰ Alexander Vari, „From Paris of the East to Queen of the Danube: International Models in the Promotion of Budapest Tourism, 1885-1940“, in: Eric G. E. Zuelow (ed.), *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), 107.

⁶¹ John L. Fell, *Film Before Griffith* (University of California Press, 1983), 78.

⁶² Alice Freifeld, *Nationalism and the Crowd in Liberal Hungary, 1848-1914* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), 269-274.

Joseph. The 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna marked the 25th anniversary of his coronation, the Imperial Jubilee was in 1908 (the 60th anniversary of his ascent to the throne), and the *Adria-Ausstellung* marked the 65th anniversary). It had a political background as well.

At a time when war news from the Balkans, political analyses of the instability and crisis in countries such as Albania, Montenegro or Serbia were being published in newspapers, this exhibition served the purpose of reminding its visitors and the population at large that the Monarchy had a long coastline and a basis for developing a strong navy presence. The bridge of a warship was reconstructed and the history of the Imperial Navy was portrayed alongside the navy's current weaponry and the everyday life of sailors.⁶³ There were many themes and spaces, and an entertainment segment was unavoidable: an experimental „Marine-Kino“ was built, an entire entertainment quarter was devised. The Adriacafé was meant to be a special gathering place. The exhibition was visited by something over two million visitors, but there was a deficit at the end as there were not enough visitors.⁶⁴

V.

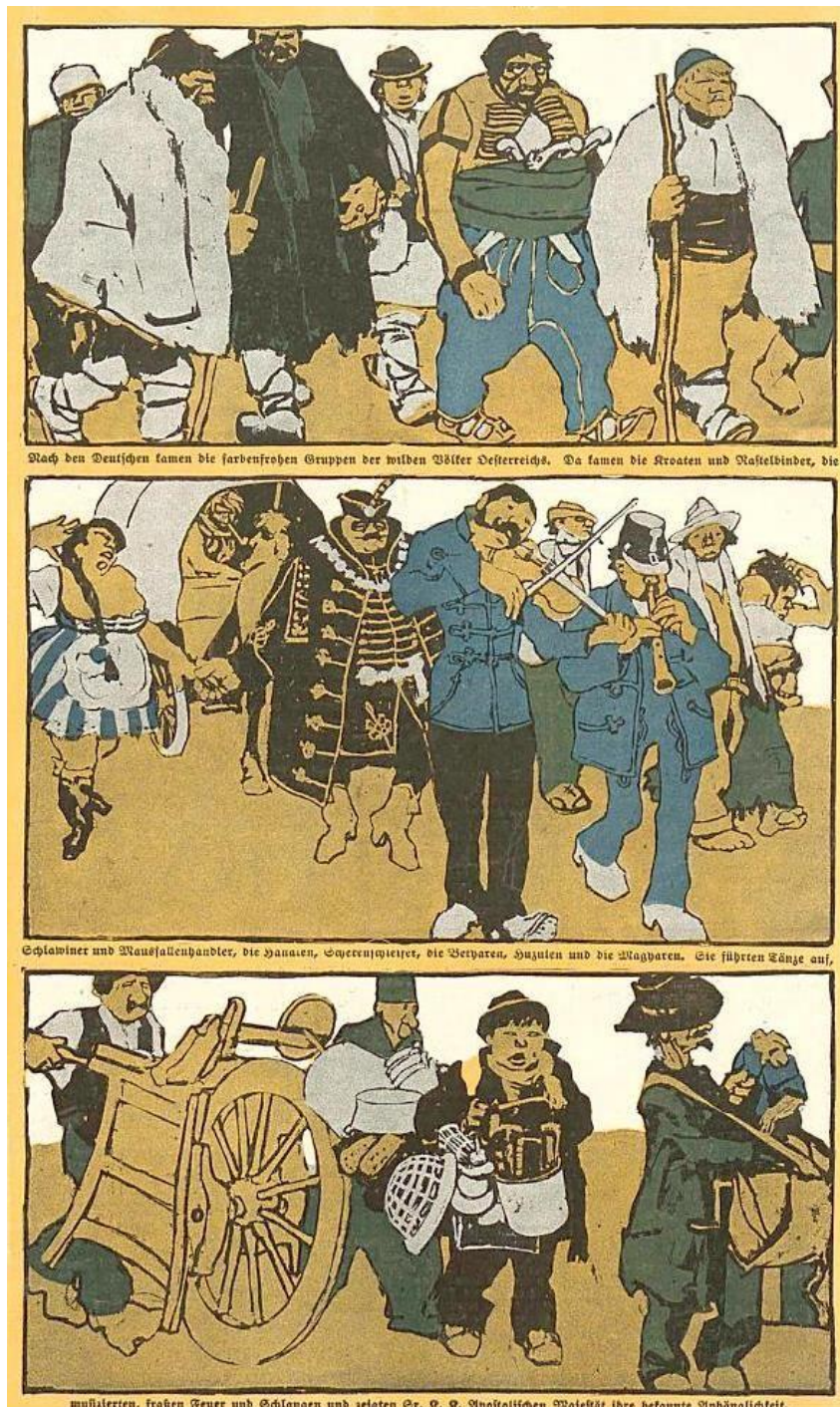
Many facilities which were parts of the exhibitions connected various worlds and created a mass experience. Exhibitions were no longer aimed for certain groups: exhibitors, businessmen, art lovers, scholars etc. Their concept attracted the widest possible range of people, whether they were interested in the business aspect, or the artistic, historical and social ones. Exhibitions were prepared months in advance. The main medium of the time – newspapers – regularly followed the preparations, discussed about the event, providing the possibility for shaping public opinion – positive or negative. If all this was no guarantee of mass participation, curiosity certainly was: one wished to see what was there, perhaps buy or taste something new, experience something exotic or foreign. Foreign exhibitors most frequently compromised with the expected presentation and representation, thereby always presenting something new or exotic, but easily recognizable. The social moment was enlivened with content suited for large gatherings, accompanied by torch light parades, fireworks or serenades. Light was always an important element, especially the permanent lighting of certain city parts. As technology developed, it was swiftly acquired and it always served as an added attraction. The finest examples are many electric machines, domination of

⁶³ Ursula Storch, „Der Süden ist eine Haltestelle unserer elektrischen Geworden.' Die Adria-Ausstellung 1913“, in: Christian Rapp, Nadia Rapp-Wimberger (ed.), *Österreichische Riviera. Wien entdeckt das Meer* (Wien Museum – Czernin Verlag, 2013.), 165.

⁶⁴ *Neue Freie Presse*, 4. V. 1913., Ursula Storch, „Der Süden ist eine Haltestelle unserer elektrischen Geworden.' Die Adria-Ausstellung 1913“, in: Christian Rapp, Nadia Rapp-Wimberger (ed.), *Österreichische Riviera. Wien entdeckt das Meer* (Wien Museum – Czernin Verlag, 2013.), 168.

photography and film projections. This type of manifestation proved very popular and it was often felt that their success was a foregone conclusion. This is evident from the competitive spirit of new hosts, and in the extremely ambitious plans which were not always redeemable. Examples of this tendency are the World's Fair in Vienna and the *Adria-Ausstellung*.

Mass manifestations are not a form of permanently present and consumable popular culture. They were urban phenomena, densely connected to the city space and modern society, although they were not integrated into the individual logic of urban development (such as the suburbs or city districts – as Wolfgang Maderthaner claimed). Their consumption was apparently accessible depending on the organization of the event or manifestation, but it devised some very tangible regulations, content, and finally, expectations.



The famous *Simplicissimus* drawing by Eduard Thöny picturing the „colorful groups of wild Austrian peoples“ at the Imperial Jubilee Celebration in Vienna 1908