

Everyday Cosmopolitan Practices of Croatian Patriots in Late 19th Century Zagreb

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Abstract

The paper analyzes the diary of the Croatian writer Ivana Mažuranić which she wrote during her youth from 1888 till 1891, living in the Croatian part of the Austria-Hungary. The diary is analyzed within the context of ethnic tensions during the late imperial period with particular emphasis on the author's attitudes and feelings toward her own national belonging, other ethnicities and circulating languages. Through the analysis of both social relationships and cultural aspirations of the author and her plurilingual practices, the paper has attempted to approach the teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić as an example of seemingly contradictory, but actually quite common co-existence of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices and strong national loyalty or even nationalism in the bourgeoisie of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, which might be termed as cosmopolitan nationalism.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, Austria-Hungary.

Introduction

Research dealing with the last phase of the Habsburg Monarchy (1867-1918), also known in that period as the Austro-Hungarian Empire or Austria-Hungary, tends to focus in a great number of cases on the development of national identities and on political conflict between presumed nationally defined collectivities, whose formation and consolidation was the goal of national movements. Due to the continuing influence of the concept of national history, as well as the role of historiography in the construction of national narratives, scholars researching culturally and linguistically heterogeneous areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire often focus primarily on the situation and activities of one particular ethnic group (usually the one whose language they themselves speak and which is dominant in the country they come from and/or where the funds for the research come from (Bruckmüller, 2006, p. 2). The situation is similar in the Croatian-language

area. Of course, this indeed was a period of intense work on the formation and consolidation of Croatian national identity. Like in other national movements, it required to an extent the emphasizing and promotion of what were considered “authentic” elements of the “national” culture, while downplaying or trying to minimise the role of “foreign” influences. However, the fact that developing national “awareness” among ordinary people required a large, concerted and continued effort on the part of certain individuals and organisations shows, among other things, just how culturally heterogeneous the area was at the time. It also points to the plural, fluid and situational nature of ethnic and national identification, particularly in a culturally diverse environment, which is much harder to appreciate in approaches based on methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). In spite of the emphasis on “pure” Croatian national culture and a strong personal sense of national identity, as well as a critique of “foreign” cultural influences in all spheres of life, members of the more educated segment of the bourgeoisie, who were the main agents of the national movement, tended to also be well acquainted with and appreciative of various cultural forms which, from the purist national perspective, would be regarded as foreign. (It can arguably be said that it was precisely this kind of cosmopolitan education that made the success of their cultural, educational and political efforts possible.)

This paper is part of a wider project¹ that seeks to counterbalance the emphasis of “national” (Croatian) historiography on the national movement and the formation and consolidation of Croatian national identity in the Austro-Hungarian period by turning instead to the numerous and varied indications of transnational mobility and intercultural exchange in the urban centres of present Croatia during this time. Apart from materials from archives in Croatia and abroad, publications such as newspapers, magazines, almanacs, tourist guides, travel literature, diaries and memoirs are used as primary sources, since they provide both information and unique subjective perspectives and experiences of everyday life in these culturally mixed environments.

The paper presents an exemplary case study in this respect: the writer Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić² (1874-1938), the most successful and internationally well-known Croatian writer of children’s literature and one of the foremost Croatian female authors, whose teenage diaries (written at the age of 14-17)

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2 Born as Ivana Mažuranić, she acquired the surname Brlić through marriage. Since the subject of this paper is her teenage diary written before her marriage, she will be referred to here using only her maiden name, although she is generally known and referred to as Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić.

have recently been published (Mažuranić, 2010). Through an analysis of this material, we will attempt to show how practices which can be considered cosmopolitan can co-exist in an apparently contradictory way with performances of strong national identification and patriotism.

Cosmopolitanism and nationalism

Robbins (1998) points out the change in meaning and use of the term “cosmopolitanism” in recent scholarship, in relation to its classical meaning based on Enlightenment philosophy. In the classical sense, “cosmopolitanism” refers to a universal ideal of loyalty and identification with humanity as a whole, rather than a more narrowly defined collectivity, particularly the “nation”. This understanding of cosmopolitanism would entail ethical responsibility toward all people equally, without giving priority to members of one’s own nation; in fact, it would also entail the lack of any significant national identification or attachment to a particular geographical place or area, a specific culture, language and so on. This is seen as an ideal, which means that it is a normative concept, which is historically linked to the cultural, social and political context of the European Enlightenment. More recently, however, it has been pointed out that such a specific cultural form, regardless of its pretension to universality, cannot be considered relevant in a radically different context. Additionally, interest has developed in a more descriptive approach to cosmopolitanism, leading to the coining of the term “actually existing cosmopolitanism” (Malcomson, 1998), which refers to concrete practices, relations, attitudes etc. in concrete situations. This has resulted in a multiplicity of “cosmopolitanisms”, in place of only one universal conception of cosmopolitanism.

Another critique of the classical concept of cosmopolitanism is based on the idea that it presupposes a privileged class of well-off educated people who have the financial, cultural and social capital which allows them to be mobile and “detached”. Some comments from left wing political positions considered these “cosmopolitans” irresponsible and therefore incapable of participating in political life (which means also of playing a role in historical change) due to their supposed detachment from concrete collectivities and their interests. However, more recently it has been observed that cosmopolitanism and nationalism or some form of loyalty to the local and specific, as opposed to the global and universal, are not necessarily opposites, but that they can complement or even stimulate each other. This understanding of cosmopolitanism can disarm critiques of apolitical irresponsibility. Rather than “detachment”, “multiple attachment” or attachment “at a distance” often comes into play. As a result of capitalist globalization, people around the world are unavoidably connected in different ways, while not necessarily aware of it, with a great number of other geographical locations and therefore

with other people with their more local loyalties. Although Robbins (1998) explores contemporary social phenomena, this approach to cosmopolitanism can also be applied in the context of a multi-ethnic empire such as Austria-Hungary, which can be compared (with the necessary caveats) to countries in the contemporary globalized world, in the sense of both internal and external movement and connections between people, ideas, goods, services, institutions and organisations.

Robbins (1998) also points out that claims of the a priori significance of humanity as such are unjustified and unproductive and, instead of the universalist ambition of cosmopolitanism as identification with the entirety of the human species, he suggests a more “humble”, realistic and less strictly defined concept of cosmopolitanism as simply a form of identification and loyalty “broader” than the nation. This form of loyalty always needs to be approached in its specific historical context, with specific circumstances and factors which define its characteristics and “range”.

Skey (2013) adds to this the importance of taking into account the temporal and strategic aspects of cosmopolitanism and suggests that cosmopolitanism can be seen as “a perspective that is periodically articulated, in relation to specific needs, contexts or prompts, rather than being an inherent property of particular individuals, groups or situations” (p. 235; original italics). A more elaborate and specific description of cosmopolitanism is taken from Skrbis and Woodward (2013): “a set of structurally grounded, discursive resources which . . . [are] variably deployed to deal with issues such as cultural diversity, global [sic] and otherness” (quoted in Skey, 2013, p. 239). The “commitments individuals may have to ‘other’ cultures and people” therefore vary as “different forms of ‘otherness’” are encountered in their everyday lives (Skey, 2013, p. 236). Skey (2013) thus suggests using the concept of cosmopolitan practices, rather than cosmopolitan identity or cosmopolitanism as such, and emphasizes the importance of keeping in mind their fragility and limits, “as well as the relations of power that they (re)create” (p. 238).

The concept of strategic cosmopolitanism, as a set of attitudes and skills which serve a pragmatic purpose rather than being an ethical position, also takes centre stage in Ballinger’s (2003) account of Dubin’s (1999) work on Jews in Trieste during the absolutist Habsburg period. She critically approaches the established and widespread “myth” of Habsburg Trieste as a culturally heterogeneous environment where hybridity was the norm and where tolerance and openness to cultural difference prevailed. This idea, she warns, is a result of projecting contemporary understandings of multiculturalism and tolerance on a specific historical situation, which is also nostalgically idealised in the context of post-Cold War political projects in Central Europe. This is contrasted with a call for analysing “really existing cosmopolitanism” in Trieste (here the author also refers to Robbins), which is

far from this idealised image. Ballinger also points out, based on Dubin's research, the co-existence and mutual reinforcement between "cosmopolitan" and nationalist attitudes in the culturally heterogeneous Triestine commercial class. Although they benefited financially from their intercultural and transnational connections and supported the central imperial power, which created and maintained this state of affairs, part of the city's elite also advocated Italian national (and even Irredentist) interests in a bid to protect themselves from the threat that they saw in Germanisation and the growing political demands of Slavic national movements. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism therefore needn't be understood as "totalising identities", which are mutually exclusive and which encompass the totality of a person's existence, but rather as "interrelated ideologies upon which individuals may draw in different realms or moments" (Ballinger, 2003, p. 93). This is another way of formulating Skey's emphasis on the temporal and strategic aspects of cosmopolitanism. When we take into account the equally temporal and strategic aspects of nationalism (and any other ideology or practice), it is clear that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are not at all incompatible and do not form a pair of polar opposites.

A similar point is made, although not using the concept of cosmopolitanism, but focusing on linguistic practices, by Novak in his study of the language biographies of the central figures of the Croatian national movement (Novak, 2012a, 2012b). Through an analysis of their published and unpublished written material, including journal entries and private correspondence, Novak shows the dynamics of language attitudes and practice throughout the lifetimes of mainly bilingual (German-Croatian) individuals in a multilingual, culturally diverse environment. Although their political and cultural-educational activities were aimed at constructing and consolidating a Croatian national identity, a process in which the standardisation and promotion of the use of the Croatian language played a key role, many of them actually regularly used German in their everyday lives or published texts in German and were influenced in their thought and activity by Germanophone authors (see also Iveljić, 2016, pp. 337-338). By focusing on the bilingualism and language contact phenomena which affected the language use and attitudes of the very people who were central in setting the foundations of the Croatian national narrative, as well as the difficulties and struggles they went through in acquiring and using the (new) Croatian standard, Novak, in effect, shows how ideas of national cultural or linguistic "purity" are necessarily constructs which require a great, systematic and persistent effort.

Ivana Mažuranić and her social and cultural environment

Ivana Mažuranić was born in 1874 in Ogulin, a small town in what was at the time the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.³ Toward the end of the 19th century, Croatia-Slavonia was going through a gradual (and, compared to other parts of Europe, belated) process of economic, social and cultural transformation from a feudal to a bourgeois industrial society (Gross, 1981, p. 346). The Mažuranić family played an important role in this process. Ivana's grandfather, Ivan Mažuranić, was the viceroy (Croatian: ban) of Croatia-Slavonia in the period 1873-1880 and he introduced many important and successful reforms, which helped to modernise the country. He was also one of the most important figures in the Croatian national movement (which was most active in the region in the late 18th and in the 19th century), not just as a politician, but also as an acclaimed poet. His important political and cultural role, as well as his strong character and intellect, exerted a decisive influence on his granddaughter. She was raised in a very patriarchal and religious (Catholic) spirit and strong feelings for her homeland and her people are markedly present in her writings from the very beginning (Ažman, 2013, pp. 4-5). As was common for girls in Europe at the time (Pilbeam, 2006, p. 91), Ivana Mažuranić did not receive much formal education. She attended two classes of public elementary school, while the rest of her schooling was organised at home with private tutors, mostly French-speaking. In spite of this unsystematic education, she appears to have been enthusiastic and very good at learning (Lovrenčić, 2006, pp. 43-44). Apart from French, she later had German, Russian and English lessons (Brić-Mažuranić, 1930). This shows that, in spite of her family being quite conservative in terms of gender roles (Zima, 2014, p.131) and very involved in the national movement, they still considered it important to provide some form of education for their daughter and, in particular, it is obvious that the goal of this education was to achieve some level of "worldly" (in other words, cosmopolitan) cultivation.

After moving to Karlovac and then Jastrebarsko, the family eventually relocated to the capital of Croatia-Slavonia, Zagreb, in 1882. From about the mid-nineteenth century, Zagreb increasingly became the political, economic and cultural centre of the kingdom. Due to its role as the source and centre of the Croatian national movement, the city was regarded by many who considered themselves Croats as the most appropriate to become the capital of all "Croatian lands" (which usually encompassed Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia) (Gross, Szabo, 1992, p. 555). However, the city itself, as well as the region of North-western Croatia more generally, was multilingual (Jernej,

³ The official name was the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, although the first two regions were administered jointly as relatively autonomous within the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, while Dalmatia belonged to the Austrian part.

Glovacki-Bernardi & Sujoldžić, 2012). German was dominant in urban areas, since it was a prestige language associated with higher education, administration, the military etc. and the consequences of this can still be observed today in the great number of German-origin words used in ordinary daily oral communication in Northern Croatia (for more on German-Croatian language contact and specifically lexical borrowing, see e.g. Glovacki-Bernardi, 1996, 2007). Hungarian was present to a lesser extent in the public sphere and never acquired the status and social role of German, in spite of repeated attempts to make it the official language (Novak 2012b, p. 397; Jernej et al., 2012). In the largest part of North-western Croatia, the first language of most people was a South Slavic Kajkavian dialect, but the supra-regional Štokavian dialect, which was chosen, codified and promoted by prominent members of the national movement as the new Croatian standard language, was also gaining prestige (Novak 2012b).

In 1888-1891, the time when Ivana Mažuranić wrote her early diaries, the viceroy of Croatia-Slavonia was Károly Khuen-Héderváry, a Hungarian who pursued a policy of ruthless Magyarisation in order to subdue growing aspirations to Croatian national independence. The Hungarian language was increasingly being introduced in the public sphere (most importantly in the administration and the railway system), public freedom of expression was significantly reduced, the election process was manipulated in different ways in order to maintain a political structure which would support Khuen-Héderváry's policies and, in spite of a certain level of economic growth, Croatia remained financially dependent on Hungary.

The diary

In light of this situation, as well as her own position as a member of the well-known, respected and patriotic Mažuranić family, it is no surprise that in her diary Ivana Mažuranić consistently expresses strong feelings for her country and her people, even, in one case, to the point of inciting nationalist violence:

If these boys were boys, but they're all weak. Why don't they go and fight, at once, with no particular cause, to show that they can fight too, and if anyone asks them why: 'because we're Croats and you're not' and when they've beaten up everyone who's not a Croat, all those people will leave this country where Non-Croats help themselves to everything by the shovelful and then let those who fought best rule. That would indeed be best. I would stand up to two or three Magyarons [people who support Hungarian rule in Croatia] and grab one by the neck, the other by the nose and with the third under my feet: 'are you a Croat? or not?' (p. 24).

It is clear, however, when reading the rest of the diary, that this call to “beat up” and expel from the country anyone who is not a Croat can be seen

as hyperbolic, since several people from Ivana's own social circle are designated as members of other ethnic groups. It is more likely that the reference to "Magyarons" can be taken to indicate that "Non-Croats" does not refer to people of different ethnic origin, but rather to people whom she considers Croats, but who support Hungarian rule (and who, as "traitors of their own people", were the subject of intense critique and rage coming from the pro-Croatian side). She also expresses a certain general feeling of frustration and lack of enthusiasm in that particular diary entry, so perhaps the aggressive "outburst" can, at least partially, be attributed to her mood at the time of writing.

Another issue with regard to her strong and unflinching patriotic sentiment that comes to the fore is marriage. She seems to have many suitors at different points in time, but she is absolutely determined to marry only a Croat. Of course, considering her international social circle, this categorical determination is bound to come up against her own feelings at some point. For example, about a disappointed German suitor, whom she obviously likes, she says the following: "If God had created one of our Croats as a Hungarian and made him [the suitor] one of us instead, that would be better. But one shouldn't grumble." (p. 7). It's apparent from the way she writes about him that she is really making an effort to suppress her feelings, especially since he seems to be very much in love with her. So, although she's surrounded in her daily life by people of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, this freedom and pleasure in a culturally diverse social circle stops short when it comes to marriage. As a more public and institutionalized relation than friendship and also one that is at the core of the family (itself one of the central institutions in a social structure and value system built on patriarchy, Catholicism and a strong national identity), marriage is an area where she willingly decides to put her beliefs and strict principles over her feelings and her actual way of life.

However, alongside these (and other) expressions of strong patriotic or even nationalist feelings, there are many instances in her diary which indicate everyday attitudes, practices and relations which can be considered cosmopolitan in the sense of going beyond or not privileging her own national group or even of a preference for the "foreign" or "non-Croatian" in particular situations. The presence of people of other nationalities in her social circle has already been mentioned. This can be presumed on the basis of their names or surnames (e.g. Sachs, Dr Wolff, Olessa, Galliuff, Alexis, Arabella...), but without the possibility of reaching a reliable conclusion, since the language area a name comes from does not necessarily map out onto a particular individual's national affiliation (Ivana herself had three middle names – Cornelia, Emilia and Henrietta [Lovrenčić, 2006, p. 26] – which sound like they could have easily belonged to people from any number of countries). It is much more reliable when Ivana herself mentions a particular nationality

with regard to someone she knows, as in the case of the German suitor. Another example is her good friend Stella, who she writes about quite often, mentioning once that “there is Hungarian blood in her”. In spite of the differences that she perceives between them (which are generally not seen as in any way related to differences in “blood”, apart from Stella being very “passionate” as a result of her Hungarian heritage), Ivana emphasizes how close they are and how much they like each other. Generally, nationality or cultural heritage don not come up as relevant at all when writing about her friends and acquaintances, as opposed to their characters or behaviour, which seems to indicate that the latter played a key role in her social relations and that she was not particularly prone to judging and categorising people, at least those in her social circle, based on their national affiliation. The significant exception to this is the abovementioned issue of marriage, where a person’s individual characteristics, no matter how appealing and admirable they may be, cannot override their non-Croatian affiliation (significantly, however, this does not lead to a prejudiced view of these individuals, only to a definite decision not to engage in romantic relations with them).

Ivana’s best and closest friend is Marietta, a poor French girl who came to Croatia to give private language classes. She and Ivana talk for hours (of course, in French) and share all of their intimate thoughts and feelings. Marietta eventually commits suicide because of unrequited love and Ivana is deeply shaken, saying that this was the moment when her childhood was gone forever. After Marietta’s death, she occasionally writes segments of her diary in French, addressing them to her deceased friend. Here is an example of this, where she starts writing in Croatian and continues in French (the originally French segment is given in both translation and original in italics):⁴

Monday, 24. February 1891

Really, I would be crying if I wasn't laughing ! Ah what laughter this is ! Ah ! where are you!... ah! what a love you had for him ! Ah ! I could not appreciate you yet then... don't be angry. Now I need you. But... you know... he is so beautiful, so beautiful... (Zbilja, plakala bi da se nesmijem ! Ah kakav je to smijeh ! Ah ! ou etez vous! ... ah! de quel amour l'aimiez-vous ! Ah ! je ne savais pas encore vous apprecier... ne vous fachez pas. Maintenant j'aurais besoin de vous. Mais... savez vous... il est si beau, mais si beau... (pp. 132-133).

Compared to her general writing style in the diary, this stands out as a particularly emotional segment, resembling a stream of consciousness, as though she was talking directly to her friend, in an attempt to recreate mentally the relationship she had with her. Since she complains how her mother never

⁴ Linguistically significant quotations from the diary that show Ivana's plurilingual practices are given in all instances with the Croatian original text in parenthesis.

talks to her about intimate matters, it would seem that her most private thoughts and feelings were for a certain period of time expressed almost exclusively to a person from a different country, with a different cultural background, and in a “foreign” language (in the sense of not being her first language). As a result of the fact that there were no Croatian speakers who she had the same degree of intimacy with, a “foreigner” plays the crucial role in her intimate emotional life and, consequently, the French language is almost as close and intimate for her as Croatian (which is why the label “foreign” is not actually appropriate). Of course, this particular relationship is not the only reason for this. Lovrenčić (2006, p. 45), for example, mentions that, while they were still quite young, Ivana’s father used to read Jules Verne to her and her siblings in French, which they knew well enough to follow the story. Also, in a short autobiographical text (Brlić-Mažuranić, 1930) written when she was somewhat older, the author says that the family had a significant number of foreign-language volumes in their library, which she enjoyed reading. Perhaps as a result of this, as well as of being tutored in French, her own first literary efforts only seemed to produce results when she would articulate her thoughts in French. Her first poems, written when she was 12, were in French, including, interestingly enough, a patriotic poem titled *Ma Croatie* (My Croatia).

Apart from the segments in French, she also frequently uses German words and expressions in her diary. Indeed, being a member of the Zagreb bourgeoisie, conversation in German would have been a routine part of her everyday life. This was primarily the case in social situations, since most of the German words in her diary are used in this context, in reference to interpersonal relations and behaviour. Here are some examples (original German is in italics):

I have already had fun with many of them [boys], many of them made my head spin for a moment, while I was having fun with them but ‘nothing more’. (Već sam se sa mnogimi zabavljala, mnogi mi je na čas smešao pamet, dok sam se s njim zabavljala ali ‘weiter nichts’) (p. 15).

Milan was in a ‘grumping mood’ and Bučar in a ‘sleepy mood’. (Milan je bio u ‘Hassenlaune’, a Bučar u ‘Schlafflaune’) (p. 22).

We saw Archduke Johann, too. He ate with us, not at our table, a bit further. Doesn’t impress me at all. He’s quite sweet. (I nadvojvodu Johanna smo vidjeli. Jeo je s nama, ne kod stola baš, malo dalje. Imponiert mir garnicht. Dosta je hertzig) (p. 74).

After having spent some time in the company of several young women, whom she considered boring, unintelligent, overly polite and lacking in spirit, humour and liveliness, the author criticises them, using an expression probably originating in an anti-feminist discourse which must have been widespread in her social environment:

At least if they are all like those in whose company I yesterday had the honour of spending 240 minutes, then 'let the woman question remain the woman question'. (Bar ako su sve onakove kano one u kojih društvu jučer imah čast 240 minutah proboraviti, onda 'lasse die Frauenfrage Frauenfrage sein') (p. 16).

Other instances where she tends to use German words and expressions are when talking about her writing (the diary, as well as her first literary attempts), which she is both proud and yet very critical and sometimes even slightly ashamed of.

So many of them would laugh a lot if, indeed all young people would, if they read my diary. 'Sentimental, boring, really stupid, old story' Milan would say 'all young girls are the same'. (Koliki bi se vrlo smijali da, dapače svi mladi ljudi da moj dnevnik čitaju. 'Sentimentalno, dosadno, baš glupo, 'alte G'schicht' rekao bi Milan 'alle die Mädeln sind sich gleich'.) (p. 20).

God, God, how well I know what everyone would say about my diary. 'Unhealthy sentimentalism.' 'mawkish', 'novel-like', 'a fruit of idleness', all 'imagined', 'a young girl's ridiculous romanticism', and yet, and yet, maybe it's true, maybe it is...(Bože, Bože, kako ja dobro znam šta bi svi o mom dnevniku rekli. 'Nezdrav sentimentalizam.' 'Gefühlsduselei', 'romani uliveno', 'plod nerada', sve 'eingeredet', 'djevojački smiešni romantizam', a ipak, a ipak, možda je istina, možda je...) (pp. 113-114).

In some examples she combines two languages with Croatian - English and French in the first example and French and German in the second:

(...) yes it's a beautiful thing, poetry, but unfortunate. How the fashionable jeunesse dorée has already mocked it! (... da lijepa je stvar ta sirota poezija. Na kakve načine joj se ta fashionable jeunesse dorée nije već narugala!) (p. 20).

You know, today the word 'aprixomatif' is in my head all the time. God knows if it means anything or whether I heard it somewhere. But now 'aprixomative' literature. You know, I'm a 'timid talent or an untimid non-talent'. (Znaš, danas mi se uvijek riječ 'aprixomatif' mete po glavi. Bog zna jeli to šta znači, ili jeli sam gdje čula. Ali sada 'aprixomativna' literatura. Znaš, ja sam 'schüchternes Talent ili nichtschüchternes Untalent') (pp. 79-80).

Ivana's interest in languages comes to the fore during a trip to the Northern Adriatic coast in 1889, during which she made detailed notes of her impressions, later inserted into her diary. She loves traveling and shows a great interest and enthusiasm regarding foreign languages and cultures. She is eager to hear people speaking English in the port of Trieste and is intrigued when she hears a language she can't recognize. A situation encountered on

the train back from Trieste provides an interesting account of multilingual and intercultural communication:

A fat man came in and no one knows which language he's speaking. – This formidable personage is speaking Italian, but with no teeth. Now the car is completely full.(...) That conversation. These people all speak only Italian and they want all kinds of explanations and dad is explaining everything to them in French. Still they somehow understand each other. That formidable man turned out to be a Greek. Now there was a lot of explaining. We told this Greek man that grandma was Greek. The time it took him to understand this! Greek and French and Italian and all languages were used here. He kept talking and asking about something like "pecullo" and "mamiu", but we didn't know what he meant. Three other Italians are in there, but they don't understand him either it seems. I guess he speaks differently. It's funny. Like the Tower of Babel (pp. 69-70).

The author is obviously amused by the difficulties and funny situations arising from attempts at communication between speakers of different languages, but she also seems a bit overwhelmed by the continuous efforts needed in order to achieve some level of mutual understanding. The interesting thing, however, is that these attempts continue in spite of the difficulties; there is obviously a genuine mutual interest in communication and in finding or establishing common ground amid the differences (as in the mention of the Greek grandmother). In the end, the Tower of Babel is invoked, the archetypal reference for multilingual environments and issues of language-related communication problems and a common topos in discussions of Austria-Hungary.

In contrast to this situation, Ivana seems to breathe a sigh of relief two days later, on board a steamship called Hrvatska (The Croat), where she writes: "It feels good to hear only Croatian spoken here" and adds: "It's funny to say this when one hasn't even left Croatia at all"⁵ (p. 75). So, a great interest and enjoyment in the cultural and linguistic diversity of the world and an inquisitive desire to explore it co-exists here with a clear and strong attachment to the familiar, to "home", to what is felt to be "one's own". This attachment is additionally reinforced by the author's strong patriotic feelings and by the ideal that she subscribes to, shaped by the political situation in the country and by broader political, economic and sociocultural tendencies of the time, the ideal of the completely autonomous and self-governing nation-state, clearly dominated by one language, one culture and one people, which are seen as mutually analogous and internally homogeneous.

⁵ She apparently also considers Trieste a part of Croatia, although at the time it was the capital of the crownland of the Austrian Littoral in the Austrian part of the empire.

A cosmopolitan outlook persists, however, in the author's later life as well, which is apparent from her numerous private letters, kept as part of the Brlić family archive. She continued to read literature in several languages and for a period of time kept up a correspondence with authors such as Rudyard Kipling and Selma Lagerlöf. She also regularly read leading European newspapers and attended theatre performances and concerts whenever she had the opportunity (Ažman, 2013, p. 8). She still inserts German words, phrases and whole sentences in her letters, particularly those to her mother (who she writes to very often), which shows that communication (at least partly) in German was a habitual part of their relationship throughout Ivana's life (Majhut & Lovrić Kralj, 2013). Taking care of her appearance was also very important to her and she often wrote to her mother to arrange orders of clothing and accessories from Zagreb and Vienna, following current trends in Viennese and Parisian fashion magazines.⁶ Her love of travelling did not diminish either: in 1930 she writes enthusiastically to one of her daughters while travelling through Italy with her son Ivo, nostalgically remembering her visit to Italy 22 years earlier and lovingly enjoying the sight of her son seeing Venice for the first time and experiencing the awe that she herself had felt (Ažman, 2013, p. 14). Of course, throughout it all she also remained a dedicated patriot.

Conclusion: a cosmopolitan patriot

Fluent in several languages, interacting on a daily basis with a culturally diverse group of people in her private and social life and regularly exposed to elements of different cultures – in this sense the young Ivana Mažuranić is probably a more or less typical representative of the upper classes of the bourgeoisie in Croatia-Slavonia during the Austro-Hungarian period. Her interest in the political situation in Croatia, her strong sense of national identity and her emotional investment in the cause of the Croatian national movement are partly a result of her upbringing and particularly her grandfather's influence, but they are also an example of the growing tendencies towards national identification and aspirations to political independence in Croatia (and in other Slavic regions of the Empire) at the time. This paper has attempted to approach the teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić as an example of this seemingly contradictory, but actually quite common co-existence of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices and strong national loyalty or even nationalism in the bourgeoisie of the late Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this sense, it is a study of “actually existing cosmopolitanism”, of a specific social and cultural milieu shaped by various

6 After her marriage, she lived in the Brlić family house in Brod na Savi (today: Slavonski Brod) in Slavonia.

concrete factors, which in turn shape the varying practices, attitudes and relations of different social actors in very particular ways, making their everyday “cosmopolitanisms” historically contingent.

Ivana’s cosmopolitan attitudes could perhaps also be considered a form of strategic cosmopolitanism, in the sense of being a way to express and simultaneously justify her membership in the “cultured society” of a Europe-wide bourgeois upper class, which presumed a certain type and level of education (such as learning French and playing the piano) and the ability to socialise with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The desire to express belonging to this class might have been all the stronger since, after her marriage, she lived in a small provincial town (hence the importance of following closely Parisian and Viennese fashion trends), but even Zagreb, although it was the capital of Croatia-Slavonia and not very far from Vienna and Budapest, was still peripheral in terms of the Empire as a whole. Apart from French, a level of proficiency in German would have been expected, since it was the main language used by the urban upper classes in Croatia-Slavonia. Of course, this strategic aspect of class-related cosmopolitan attitudes does not exclude other, less pragmatically minded reasons for engaging with “otherness”.

Ivana’s example also contributes to the critique of the abstract concept of “humanity” as the basis for a cosmopolitan worldview, since it exposes “varying commitments (...) to ‘other’ cultures and people” when “encounter[ing] different forms of otherness in [her] everyday li[fe]” (Skey, 2013, p. 236). For example, she mentions dancing a Hungarian dance (the *czárdás*) at a ball, has a partly Hungarian friend and even extends her prayers to Hungarians (p. 149), but her interest and affinity for the Hungarian people and culture do not go any further than that: she does not mention any interest in learning Hungarian or in reading Hungarian literature (in stark contrast to her great interest in some other languages and literatures). The French language, on the other hand, is a very important part of her intimate life, the first language that she felt she could properly express herself in when writing poetry. German, although it is equally or perhaps more present in her daily life than French, plays a much less personal role for her and seems to be used primarily in social situations. Consequently, her use of German in the diary often consists in received ideas or clichés (“let the woman question remain the woman question”, “all young girls are the same” etc.), which she partly accepts and partly rebels against (showing how she is not like “all young girls”).

Cosmopolitan attitudes as something that is periodically articulated, dynamic and situational, rather than a static and totalising identity, comes to the fore particularly in Ivana’s travel notes. While her great curiosity, openness and desire for new experiences and to expand her horizons in

different ways, particularly culturally and linguistically, are very apparent, still feeling “at home”, among “her own” people makes her feel at ease and comfortable. Skey (2013) also points this out based on his own research with a contemporary group of college-age students who are enthusiastic about travelling and had travelled a lot: “There is a very specific hierarchy of place, in operation, and while some foreign places can still provoke amazement and wonder, they, by implication, remain firmly distinguished from another far more significant spatial category, ‘home’. In this respect, the emphasis placed on mobility and cross-border flows, in the current literature, sometime flattens out the world, causing us to overlook the extent to which, for many, particular places matter because they are (seen to be) homely, comfortable and secure” (p. 243; original italics). Adding to Ivana’s general attachment to home is her politicised, but deeply felt patriotism, which, in a colonial situation where cultural and linguistic diversity is often associated with foreign rule and differences in power and prestige, makes her long for a Croat-dominated Croatian state. The same motive is behind her decision not to marry anyone who is not a Croat, in spite of her general acceptance of people of different cultural backgrounds.

The teenage diary of Ivana Mažuranić can therefore be seen as an example of cosmopolitan patriotism (one of the concepts that Werbner (2006, p. 496) writes about as “the crux of current debates on cosmopolitanism”; some others, with slightly different meanings, but the same general theoretical orientation, are: vernacular cosmopolitanism, rooted cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan ethnicity). It shows how cultural diversity and cosmopolitan attitudes and practices need to be seriously taken into account when researching individual and collective loyalties in Croatian lands during the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, not only in a negative sense, in the context of conflict and nationalism, but as elements of a dynamic and rich reality which created entangled and layered loyalties that are not easy to define or categorise, as much as proponents of the national cause (both then and now) would like to present it that way. It also shows that cosmopolitanism and patriotism or nationalism are not mutually exclusive opposites, but that they can perhaps be mutually reinforcing: as the “small nations” of Europe seek to be recognised and accepted by the larger, already established ones and they try to prove their right to this by referring to their “national culture”, by standardising a national language, by claiming a historical right to a particular territory etc., so the upper class bourgeois individual proves that they belong to an international bourgeois class, on the one hand, through their national pride and, on the other, through their “cultured” cosmopolitan attitudes and practices.

In conclusion, this paper attempted to provide an insight into the perspective of another type of participatory, cosmopolitan nationalism, which

contrasts its populist versions, and which seems to be widespread by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in the Habsburg monarchy. It challenges the theoretical opposition between nationalism and cosmopolitanism and shifts attention from identity work to the understanding of everyday social relations of ordinary people, who, while strongly nationalist, clearly displayed a cosmopolitan acceptance of the benefits of cultural diversity. This cosmopolitan nationalism which conceptualizes Habsburg multicultural society in terms of a mix of individuals (and their languages) rather than ethnic or national groups is highly instructive in view of contemporary understandings of inclusionary resources for the acceptance of ethnic diversity within a national framework.

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