

River Crossings and Roman Auxiliary Forts: The Evidence from the River Cetina

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents an overview of civil associations present in the Austro-Hungarian cities of Rijeka, Zagreb and Pula between 1890 and 1910. Following political and social transformations after the establishment of the Dual Monarchy, citizenship acquired new meaning and defined new boundaries between the state and its citizens both in terms of status and practice. By analysing the types and aims of the associations, the paper argues that these newly established social and cultural practices became places of socialisation and social interaction, as well as means of construction of a distinct bourgeois identity. In addition, the public life of this vast scenario of associative experiences enabled a vibrant urban landscape in the fin de siècle modernity.

Key words: civil associations, Austro-Hungarian Empire, urbanity, modernity, bourgeois

Introduction

The second half of the nineteenth century was defined by multiple political, economic and social changes that spread across Europe. In this Age of Empires and colonialism, the most industrialized countries such as the British Empire, France, the Belgian and Spanish Kingdoms and Germany, extended their control and power over other territories around the globe, setting up long-term social, economic and cultural consequences of dependence and subordination reinforced by the ideology of racism. Meanwhile in Britain and continental Europe, the accumulation of wealth supported by rapid improvement of transportation, growth of industrialization, scientific discoveries and urbanization, spread optimism across upper and new middle classes, culminating in the *Belle Époque* movement which launched an atmosphere of prosperity and affluence. Nevertheless, such zeitgeist prompted fragmentation and departure from tradition, manifested in the secessionist art movement and many other innovative endeavours. Thorson argues that along with separation and breaking away, one characteristic feature of modernism was an identification of individuals in terms of gender, class, ethnic, national and religious categories¹. Often, this demarcation was articulated through identity politics marked by the idea of “working together in groups formed through shared experiences of perceived injustice”¹ (p. 18). This was a pe-

riod of national awakening destined to reach its potential in the creation of nation states. In this historical context, both the industrialization process and the increase in power of the State, characterized by the vast growth of official appointments, bureaucratization, control over regulations and legislations of various professions, paved the way for the emerging bourgeoisie² (p. 88-89). Simultaneously, many occupations began a process of professionalization by setting up associations which promoted common interests, supported the development of an articulated common identity and offered symbolic resources that enhanced a sense of belonging.

Such cultural and social transformations can also be detected in the late Austro-Hungarian Empire, which, after the crash of neo-absolutism and the establishment of the Dual Monarchy, went through multiple constitutional changes reflected in the growth of the economy and the establishment of civil associations, regulated, in 1875, by ministerial decree No 388^{3,4}. Despite the fact that, from 1880 to 1910, most cities like Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Zagreb, tripled in size, many rural parts of the Empire remained poor, underdeveloped and predominantly agrarian, marking a clear disproportionate development. For example, such was the case of Dalmatia, the poorest

region of the Austrian part of the Monarchy, with a per capita income four times lower than Lower Austria, the richest province of the monarchy⁵(p. 10). Nevertheless, the substantial industrial and economic growth of the urban areas paved the way for social changes and for the strengthening of the urban middle class, keen on civic engagement⁶ (p. 90). Bruckmuller has argued that, although the Austro-Hungarian bourgeoisie was comparatively rarely in the foreground of public life and felt obliged to show (unconditional) loyalty to the crown, which in return secured the legal framework for their economic activities, this social stratum developed simultaneous multiple loyalties towards their town, class, region or nation⁷ (p. 6). Those sentiments were reflected in their daily activities, often structured around newly established associations. Hence, it was not unusual for an individual to simultaneously belong to half a dozen associations. Based on data collected for the cities of Pula, Zagreb and Rijeka, in this paper we will attempt to support the argument that, along with cafés and reading rooms, these civic associations became markers of a distinct modern culture of European cities, places of socialisation and social interaction, but also spaces of actual and symbolic construction and manifestation of specific local forms of urbanity. Although contextually different, these cities share some common features as places of cultural and linguistic heterogeneity and intercultural practices. Hence, by mapping the nature and context of the associations, this paper will illustrate the character and dynamic space reflected in the social and cultural cityscapes of these three distinct localities. Limited access to primary data, located in the archives of Pazin, Zagreb, Rijeka, Trieste and in the Royal Library in Vienna and University Library in Rijeka, restricted the possibility of reconstructing a complete picture regarding membership, structure and agency of many associations. Therefore, by focusing on and analysing documents such as Statutes and bureaucratic correspondence with authorities, this paper offers a bird's-eye view on types and aims of civic associations established between 1890 and 1914 in the above-mentioned cities.

Civil activities shaping urban life

Although under different administrative jurisdiction and conditions, the cities of Pula, Rijeka and Zagreb experienced a rapid demographic growth, prolific economic and social life creating an articulated multicultural and multilingual environment. Pula, the main Austrian arsenal, was characterised by a predominant military presence. On the other hand, Zagreb, the capital of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, and Rijeka, with its special fiscal exemptions and legal position as *Corpus Separatum*, i.e. one of the “lands of the Hungarian crown”, were becoming strong mercantile and cultural centres with distinct architectural and urban identities. In the case of Zagreb, as well as the rest of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia which was part of the Dual Monarchy, historians Gross and Szabo define the two decades between 1860 and 1879 as crucial in the process of formation of a modern society⁸

(p.558). Like in the rest of Europe, these cities were “a place of modernity, a space of innovation and invention, culture and plurality (...) and a theatre of profound social and political transformation”⁹ (p. 123). A fast or steady development of modern urban culture was set in place here, symbolized and reflected in the culture of the *kavana* (café culture), which according to some authors were the birthplace of European modernity¹⁰ (p. 1-8). These coffee-houses became proper social and cultural institutions, public spaces and a “home away from home”, where new political, social and creative ideas could be born and implemented¹⁰ (p. 4). Rijeka, Pula and Zagreb followed this international trend by opening many *kavanas* on their main squares, boulevards and promenades. *Kavana Bauer*, *Kazališna kavana* (Zagreb), *Kavana Corso*, *Kavana Bors*, *Kavana Grande* (Rijeka) or *Café dei Specchi* (Pula), for example, became new sites of sociability for the bourgeoisie, artists and intellectuals, as well as a distinct product of the city⁹ (p. 123). Following this process of modernization, in 1880 a (re)structuration of the newly formed urban society began. Lower officials, technicians, teachers and administrators (often of lower origin risen by education) were mostly members of reading societies, in Croatian called *čitaonice*, while a distinctive class of wealthy merchants, lawyers, notaries, bankers, doctors and other members of the intelligentsia gathered in various associations. This last group of people, i.e. the proper bourgeoisie, meaning mostly, but not exclusively, those with financial capital and who hired others to work for them, shared a common associational experience which not only created a vibrant urban landscape, but also, as in the case of the city of New York, convincingly argued by Beckert, became a space for class formation¹¹.

In the case of the Dual Monarchy, although not homogeneous, the educated bourgeoisie was culturally very active⁷. In fact, according to Bruckmuller, they formed a “supraregional society” of officers, court nobility and higher bureaucrats along with other groups who were primarily locally bounded societies⁷ (p. 4). According to the author, for these bourgeoisie circles German and Italian were usually the language of use in non-German speaking regions, hence a class language, while their national sentiment or emotions however tended to be somewhere else, i.e. non-German⁷ (p. 13). Following this argument, Iveković Martinis writes about the difference between the actual and the proper use of language in Istria, stating that both multilingual practices and cultural diversity were a part of everyday lives in urban milieus and individuals pursue a variety of different linguistic strategies that cannot be linearly related to their identification processes¹² (p. 3-5). These two groups, the upper and middle bourgeoisie, created two different narratives and representations of their identities and activities fostered in utilitarian associations, charitable organizations and various clubs established with the goal of promoting economic interests, moral guidance for the most vulnerable members of society and cultural and social shaping of city life. By actively participating in humanitarian activities for female shelters, the underprivileged and in orphan-

ages or through the practice of patronage for cultural manifestations, the wealthy educated bourgeoisie sought to transform its capital from economic to symbolic. This capital was consequently activated in the social field for the purpose of social reposition, simultaneously redefining the public sphere. These practices helped foster a shared identity and, at times, these identities translated into collective actions. Each association required a selective admittance, i.e. identification of the potential member as *equal* in economic status, cultural interests or genuinely sharing a common ideal and interest¹¹. An invitation and formal support provided by at least two members were a decisive factor and a necessity. Hence, many prominent figures, benefactors, patrons of that time, like bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, art historian and painter Izidor Kršnjavi and others, were members of various associations, engaged in shaping the life of the cities and laid the foundations for modernization. By the end of the nineteenth century, we can find numerous humanitarian associations, professional corporations, art and sports societies, mutual aid societies and foundations. Yet, the inclusion of lower class citizens as members was slow and the elites were quite disappointed with the level of their active participation. Hence, the modernisation process only reached its full potential when it spread across classes⁸ (p. 572). To sum up, these associations became central for a sense of cohesion and unity for groups of inhabitants who were engaged in different economic, cultural and humanitarian activities of the cities and they held a key role in the process of formation of the bourgeoisie as a self-conscious and potentially powerful political subject^{3, 4}.

A vast universe of different associative experiences

Archival and library material give us an insight into the fundamental settings and activities of associations present in Zagreb, Pula and Rijeka and their different aims which are related to the different context of their establishment. In Zagreb, for instance, there was the oldest, longest operating charity *Društvo čovječnosti* (Philanthropic Society) (1846 - 1947), founded to support the poorest inhabitants of the city with food, firewood and clothing, but also to help with loans to impoverished widows, children and craftsmen. The Ban Josip Jelačić and his wife were prominent members of this charity. Along with this philanthropic society whose activities were directed towards the most vulnerable and underprivileged groups, another charity by the name of *Dobrotvor* (Benefactor) had the basic goal of helping poor schoolchildren. The latter was founded in 1877 by publicist, translator, public worker and city councillor Đuro Stjepan Deželić after the Compulsory Education Law was issued in 1876. The statute of the charity clearly stated that its purpose was to “*odijevati ili pomoći siromašnoj školskoj djeci Zagreba bez*

etničke, rodne ili konfesionalne razlike” (“dress or help poor school children of Zagreb without any ethnic, gender or confessional distinction¹). Hence, one of the terms according to which this charity acted was intercultural dialogue and practice, which is also reflected in the list of its members and sponsors (men and women), who, according to their surnames, belonged to different nationalities.

In Rijeka, charitable organisations were established mostly at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the first decade of the century there were 4 associations operating. *Società di beneficenza delle signore Israelite* (Charitable Society of Israelite Ladies) and *Società degli amici dell'infanzia* (Society of Friends of children) were respectively founded in 1903 and 1905. Both associations were run by noble ladies with the aim to “*esercitare inoltre un'intelligente sorveglianza sull'infanzia con special riguardo al miglioramento fisico e morale dei fanciulli poveri, derelitti e maltrattati*” (“exercise an intelligent surveillance on infancy with special regard to the physical and moral improvement of poor, derelict and mistreated children²). Besides these two, in 1911 two more associations were established with the intent of targeting and reducing so called white female slavery. In fact, according to Nautz, traffickers preyed on women and girls in the poorest regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which in Cisleithania meant Galicia, Bukovina and border regions of Romania and for the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (Transleithania) Székely Land¹³. The problem was so widespread that cooperation between the state and the civil sector became mandatory. Hence, at the beginning of the 20th century the *International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade* with an international office in London was set up and many countries joined with their locally established branches. In the case of Austria-Hungarian Monarchy *The Austrian League for the Protection of Young Women and Children* was founded in Vienna in 1902, and acted as a central office. They held one branch in Trieste called *Società di assistenza e protezione femminile* (Society for Support and Protection of Women). A Hungarian branch office was established in Rijeka in 1911 under the name of *Associazione fiumana per la protezione femminile* (Fiume Society for Female Protection) whose members were police officers, a state attorney, and fifteen women forming the so called *Comitato delle signore* (Ladies Committee)³. Their activities underlined the importance of information and propaganda in order to alert the public. All of the above mentioned organisations acted on the premises of both real imminent danger faced by young women travelling alone to other countries in search for work and moral and religious ideological lines.

Additionally, many other professional associations and mutual aid organizations were established in all three cities. In Zagreb their primary goal was to support sick and helpless members, to settle their funeral expenses and

¹ HR-DAZG-784 Zagrebačko društvo "Dobrotvor"; SIG.22

² Article 5 of the Statute HR_DARI_JU_2_busta_688

³ SVKRI_A_50_223

provide financial aid to their widows and orphans. To mention a few of these associations: *Prvog hrvatskog građanskog i obrtničkog društva za podupiranje bolesnih i nemoćnih članova* (First Croatian Civic and Craftsmen Society for Support of Diseased and Disabled Members) (1881 - 1950), *Prvo hrvatsko društvo podvornika javnih oblasi i zavoda u Zagrebu* (First Croatian Association of Janitors of Public Institutions in Zagreb) (1891 - 1948), *Veteransko pripomoćno društvo Petar Zrinski* (Veteran Support Society Petar Zrinski) (1878 - 1946), *Prvo hrvatsko društvo zidarskih, klesarskih, tesarskih i pokrivačkih obrtnika, Zanatlijsko i pomoćničko društvo u Zagrebu* (First Croatian Association of Masons, Stonecutters, Carpenters and Roofers) (1886 - 1949) and *Prvo hrvatsko zagrebačko obrtničko i radničko društvo* (First Croatian Craftsmen and Workers Society) (1873 - 1948). Along with these two groups, there are several associations founded as professional and workers' unions. Their primary interest was to promote cultural events (music, theatre, literature and art), as in the case of *Hrvatski pjevački savez Zagreb* (Croatian Singing Union Zagreb) (1875 - 1947), *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo „Kolo“* (Croatian Singing Society Kolo), and sports activities, for example *Građansko streljačko društvo* (Civic Shooting Society) (1786 - 1914). All the above mentioned associations were an example of extended national and international networks, bilingual practices and intercultural dialogue.

At the same time, in Istria the social and cultural landscape was even more articulated. Different ethnic and social groups positioned themselves within the economic and social ladder of the expanding primarily military and secondarily industrial city of Pula. In his research conducted in the State Archive of Trieste, D'Alessio found a list of 44 associations in the German language, 66 in Italian and 17 in "Slavic" registered in the city of Pula¹⁴ (p. 244). The aim and purpose of these associations ranged from sports activities (*Associazione sportiva Edera*, *Radnički biciklistički klub „Karl Marx“* (Workers' Cycling Association Karl Marx) or *Veloce klub Polese* (Pula Speed Club)), to culture (*Società Musicale Polese, Austrija* – Music Society of Pula, Austria) and to professional (*Udruženje istarskih sveučilišnih studenata* – Association of Istrian University Students). Often associations were a place of support and help for newly arrived foreigners in an expanding town. Hence, members could act as a group of self-organized individuals seeking mutual support or just promoting various goals and agendas¹⁵ (p. 143). For example, Rimani differentiates three primary goals Slovenian associations in Pula focused on: existential (financial help and education), cultural (history and sport, choirs and music) and political¹⁵ (p. 145). However, simultaneous memberships were not excluded and many people were members of more than one association.

According to Dukovski, the construction of the railway established a link with Central Europe, introducing the cultural heritage of the bourgeoisie still unknown in Istria¹⁶. Trieste became a source of modernisation along with industrialisation, which enabled mass migration into the city¹⁶ (p. 234). At the beginning of the twentieth cen-

tury, many entrepreneurs, builders and businessmen, as well as manual labourers migrated from the from other Imperial lands as well as from Istrian hinterland to Pula. Hence, migration and industrialization went hand in hand influencing the population structure. According to Dobrić, gathering and acting within civil associations was in fact a social practice that was quite well established in Central Europe at the time, but not at all native to Istria⁴. It was therefore through the cultural and social influence of primarily the German and Czech immigrant populations that this particular form of social practice gradually took root, which means that, regardless of their national affiliation, associations as such were initially a foreign cultural element later on appropriated by the local population⁴ (p. 46). The individual ethnic affiliation of the members was not the only element defining their sense of belonging. Hence, people belonging to one language group also joined other circles. For example, in recruiting membership, some clubs and associations, like the association of bar, tavern and hotel owners *Consortio dei trattoria, osti, caffettieri, liquoristi ed alberghatori*⁴ or the society of homeowners *Società dei proprietari di case*, emphasized social status or professional affiliation rather than ethnonational identity as the marker of belonging and element of sharing common interests¹⁴ (p. 241). These associations offered financial help for a potential upgrading of the business, mutual aid and lobbying for the benefit of its members. The Statute of the housing association *Società dei proprietari di case* even states that despite the lack of an explicit political agenda the association could propose its own candidates in the local elections, in order to represent the interests of the group⁵. Even more so, this association was interlinked with the homeowners' association in Vienna, marking a clear international character. This offers a valuable insight into potential role civil associations could assume within the local political landscape and into the repositioning of the wealthy middle class as well as their disregarding of ethnic interests over class and professional ones. It is important to acknowledge such expressions of multiple allegiances due to the vast number of civil associations, which pervaded the city at the end of the long century.

It is not surprising that the largest and most important non-national associations were those of the Navy, like the *Marine-Kasino-Verein* (Navy Officers' Club), the *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Club) and the *Wissenschaftliche Verein der k. u. k. Kriegsmarine* (Scientific Association of the Imperial and Royal Navy). Stressing the importance of military identity, Bruckmüller argues that "those who put on the emperor's uniform belonged to a very specific society which had no fatherland but only a superior commander"⁷ (p. 9). Having spent many years in the army, they went through a process patriotic socialization which created a sense of a "very specific and important kind of Habsburg society", consciously reinforced by the Royal official sponsorship of veterans' associations⁷ (p. 9). They were mainly intended for officers, clerks and other higher-

⁴ National Library, Vienna, 465.551-B

⁵ National Library, Vienna 199919-B

ranking Navy and state personnel (although civilians could also ask to be admitted as members to the *Marine-Kasino-Verein*, which would be decided by a vote among existing members⁴ (p. 48). The non-national, cosmopolitan character of these associations reflects the official ideology of imperial military and state institutions: state patriotism, loyalty to imperial authority and avoidance of any kind of national ideology. This was enforced by a ban on officers joining any kind of political society or a society suspected of harbouring political goals (such as for example the Italian reading club *Gabinetto di lettura*)⁴ (p. 48). The existence of this explicit ban shows that Navy authorities were aware of a potential interest in these associations among their personnel, which meant that there were different levels of loyalty among them and that loyalty to one's nation or ethnic culture must have co-existed to a certain extent with state patriotism. These elaborated examples of associations formed by military personnel remind us of the strongly military character of this city and its modernisation process which was influenced by the heavy presence and implementation of the military and imperial ideology. Some officers were members of the civilian state-patriotic association *Austria* which promoted a supranational and cosmopolitan ideology very similar to that of the Navy, visible by looking at the names of the members of the board of directors: August Milovan, Josef Usmiani, Severin Wängler, Franz Dreslar, Anton Alzich, Karl Trolis, Josef Spetic³ (p. 98 - 99).

A different collage of sports clubs and associations was present in Rijeka due to a prevailing commercial, rather than Pula's military, character of the *Corpus Separatum* with its special fiscal exemptions and legal position. Most associations were organized according to political agenda, attracting members of respective national groups, or economic allegiance. For example, we find a Waiters' Association (*Società dei camerieri*) established in 1908 which was, besides offering mutual aid and promotion of common interests, involved in political protests after the Hungarian constitutional crisis from 1903 till 1907. Hence in the correspondence with the authorities we find a strict ban on the potential involvement of the group in future protests as well as membership of non-citizens. A couple of other associations were mostly focused on cultural and scientific activities. These were *Club dei quindici* (1905) and Adriatic Esperanto Club, *Adriatika Ligo Esperantista* (founded in 1907, preceding the foundation of the Croatian Esperanto Club in Zagreb, 1908), both marked by the international character of their ideal and networks across Europe, as well as in the case of the former a distinct interest in photography, music, socializing and the arts. Although the names and status of the members remain unknown, it is interesting to mention that a later document released in 1906 by the Office for public security (*Ufficio della pubblica sicurezza*) states that the *Club dei quindici* had 160 members "specialmente per la classe operaia" ("mostly members of the working class"⁶). The western part of the city (Rijeka proper) was home mostly

to Hungarian and Italian clubs, while the Croatian ones were established in Sušak, Trsat and other smaller towns on the eastern side of the city. Croatian cultural associations and institutions (e.g. libraries *Narodna čitaonica riečka* and *Narodna čitaonica na Trsatu*, singing associations *Primorski Hrvat* and *Jadranska vila*, etc.) were all, in one way or another, connected to the Croatian/"Slavic" national cause. Therefore most historians write about them in the context of the national revival¹⁷. Especially important were the so-called "reading rooms" (*čitaonice*), which were more than the contemporary meaning of the term suggests, as places where various cultural events were organized. Reading rooms in the Kvarner region were founded as a part of the larger national cultural movement, which first started in Croatia-Slavonia¹⁸. They were usually distinctly Croatian ("Slavic" or "Illyrian") in character, and the adjective "narodna" (*people's*) was used to stress their political motives¹⁸. So, apart from the cultural, the reading rooms also had a political agenda. The latter was expressed in the idea of gathering intellectuals, politicians and other public persons interested in promoting Croatian political interests, e.g. closer cultural and political ties to Croatia-Slavonia and the use of the Croatian language in all areas of public and private life. In Rijeka, *Narodna čitaonica riečka* was the centre of Croatian cultural life, hosting Croatian, Slovenian and Russian artists and organizing various cultural events. Therefore it was not exclusively Croatian in the national sense, but rather sought to promote the culture of all "Slavic" and especially South Slavic peoples¹⁸. On the opposite site of the spectrum the association *Circolo academico fiumano* (Academic Club of Fiume) founded in 1907 was twice denied by the authorities the approval of the Statue. The leaders of the *Circolo* with their president Luigi Cussar, owner of a metal foundry, fiercely responded to these sanctions, claiming that their right to associate was being denied⁷. However, later activities of the *Circolo* and the establishment of an Italian gymnasium were closely related to the Italian irredentist movement.

Hence, the above mentioned examples show how urban associations were an important step in class formation and representation in the public sphere of the city by setting the boundaries of membership and class distinction and necessary moral guidance, such as in the case of charitable organisations. However, in each of the three cities ideological and political battles were taking place in which associations became an important step in the formation of future formal political parties and representation of nationalist movements and interests.

Sports associations; changing patterns of masculinity and new practices in the use of space

The fin de siècle was the arena of another transformation as well. The domestication of foreign cultural and social practices and the development of leisure time signalled the introduction of new sports activities such as cycling and athletics. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, run-

⁶ HR_DARI_JU_2_busta_688

⁷ HR_DARI_JU_2_busta_688

ning, as a competitive discipline, was part of tourist excursions, while its further development in Pula began in 1897 when a branch of the Croatian athletic association established in Zagreb in 1874, *Hrvatski sokol* (Croatian Falcon) was founded and led by Lacka Križa. Simultaneously in Rijeka various sports clubs and associations operated. The football club of the Hungarian state railway company, *Törökves*, and the Italian Athletics Club, *Club Atletico Fiumano* were among the most active ones. The latter cultivated a “*sentimento della cavalleria e dell’amor proprio maschio*” (“sentiment of chivalry and male self-love”)⁸. Another important and long-lasting sports association was *Football Club Quarnero*, which had its roots in the earliest football matches in the country, played at first by the English and Hungarian workers. Among others there were *Olympia*, *Hrvatski sokol Sušak-Rijeka* (formerly *Primorski sokol Sušak*), *Velebit*, *Primorac*, while in Trsat there was the *Slavija* sports club; unfortunately comprehensive literature about these sports associations is lacking¹⁹. Following the establishment of the first cycling club in the world, *Vélocie Club de Paris* in 1868, the first cycling organization in Croatia-Slavonia was *Prvo hrvatsko društvo biciklista* founded in Zagreb in 1885 and followed by *Hrvatski klub biciklista “Sokol”*. By 1886, the first cycling races were held in Zagreb and in 1892 the first competitions took place from Zagreb to Petrinja where eight cyclists competed. In Istria, cycling was introduced from other parts of the Monarchy and the first club *Veloce club Polese*, the oldest one on the peninsula, was founded in 1896. Istrian cycling competitions attracted cyclists from all over Europe when cycling trails entered tourists’ guides and Guido Sambo from Pula became one of the most famous cyclists in the Monarchy. Besides, it is important to notice that both the cycling club *Club ciclistico Falco* in Rijeka and *Veloce club Polese* were open to female membership and members were encouraged to bring along their children between the ages of five and seventeen. Therefore cycling was represented as gender equal and as a sports activity which could include all members of the family. Around the same time another cycling club was active in Pula called *Club ciclistico operaio “Carlo Marx”*, which was predominantly open to working class membership. On an ideological level, cyclists were representatives of technical modernisation due to their use of photography and new infrastructure such as roads which enabled the development of this sport²⁰ (p. 56). Hadas defines cycling as a very outdoor activity which was, unlike clubs, private hunting grounds and other practices performed in secluded areas, in close contact and supported by the public²⁰. “*Cycling initiated radically new processes in the use of space and the nature of the publicity. Its everyday practice did not require a separate location, as open public spaces were perfect for cycling*”²⁰(p. 60).

These new practices of being in public were defining new principles of urban modernity. The latter were also reinforced by a newly found interest in the natural environment outside the city and tourist activities, including mountaineering. At the initiative of Dr. Johannes Frischauf from

Graz, a group of distinguished intellectuals founded the Croatian Mountaineering Society in Zagreb as early as 1874, along the lines of already established alpine clubs in Austria and Hungary, with which it planned to cooperate⁹. In newly established climbing associations like *Club Alpino Fiumano* (1885) and *Società alpina Carsia* (1911) in Rijeka, and Croatian alpine club, *Primorsko planinarsko društvo u Sušaku* (1888) or *Società Escursionisti Istriana Monte Maggiore* (Istrian Tourist Society Monte Maggiore) (1908) in Pula, new understandings and readings of nature and environment were set in motion. In each of these cases the activity of the associations was in close relation with scientific amateurism performed by the membership. The associations aimed at building a substantial book fund, promoting knowledge about mountains and the value of natural heritage through the practice of systematization and categorisation. Besides marking new routes and paths through the mountains, members were strongly encouraged to spread their knowledge and include new potential members and donors. The *Società Escursionisti Istriana Monte Maggiore* with its fifty-five members was part of a regional network which counted in total six hundred and sixty-six members. The main goal of the association was to promote local patriotism: “*Amate quest’Istria nostra, percorretela, studiatela: vedrete quant’essa è bella*” (“love our Istrian peninsula by studying it and running across it: you will see how beautiful she is”)¹⁰.

All of the above mentioned sports activities symbolized a new urban modernity linked to new practices of socialisation and being in public. Mountaineering introduced practices of knowing and valorising natural heritage while groups of hikers walked newly established, or well defined, routes and socialised in mountain huts observing the city from a distance. Athletics and cycling, on the other hand, became visible practices in close contact with the public who cheered and welcomed each achievement. While in the first case a common identity was shared through knowledge and a valorisation process which led to the awakening of a (local) patriotic sentiment, in the second this new modernity projected onto the “*goals of physical health, progress, perseverance, and independence (which op.a.) reflects an ideal of masculinity*”²⁰ (p. 52). Surely, this changing pattern of masculinity was a product of a new ideology related to bodily practices and the use of its physical features which reflected and fostered a healthy (national) spirit. Nevertheless, it was also a demonstration of symbolical presence and physical strength in relation to the newly established social presence of female subjects.

Conclusion

In the fin de siècle modernity, citizenship acquired new meaning and defined new boundaries between the state and its citizens both in terms of status and practice. The

⁹ In a letter written to the County clerk Budisavljević, Frischauf points out that already existing societies have excellent mutual relationship and exchange information, considering them as suitable for drawing close foreign elements. *Hrvatski planinar*, 1/3, 1898, p.39.

¹⁰ HR-DARI-174_Lječilišno povjerenstvo.

⁸ HR_DARI_JU_2_busta_688

above examples are testimonies of various expressions of modernity at the turn of the long nineteenth century. The paper has shown a vast scenario of associative experiences which testify to the coexistence and the meeting between different spheres of citizenship and cultural practices of various kinds (from sports to cultural encounters, charitable organisations to potential political articulations). The archival data analysed corroborate the assumption that the construction of modern urbanity in Rijeka, Pula and Zagreb was only partially homogeneous, highlighting the contextual aspect in which these associations were established. The examples presented in the paper disregard the presence of many female associations, as well as those labour associations influenced by the socialist movement, which deserve a separate elaboration and depict and even more complex dynamics. Hence, most of the cases presented illustrate the process of formation and distinction of the bourgeois class, which at times could potentially develop into a political subject. While many of them were national by name, these societies were modelled after the associations, clubs and societies in Vienna and Budapest, and were open in terms of their membership and often international in terms of their activities. Such cases, thus, call into question any simplistic and stereotypical assumptions about the political orientation and activities of members of individual associations and national groups, as well as the unambiguous and monolithic interpretation of national identification as such.

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GRAĐANSKE UDRUGE I URBANA MODERNOST AUSTROUGARSKE PERIFERIJE KRAJEM 19. STOLJEĆA

SAŽETAK

Rad predstavlja građanska udruženja u austrougarskim gradovima Rijeci, Zagrebu i Puli u razdoblju od 1890. do 1914. godine. Uspostava Dvojne Monarhije potaknula je mnogobrojne političke i društvene promjene uslijed kojih se (re) definiraju granice, u praktičnom i simboličkom smislu, između države i građanina, čija uloga time dobiva novo značenje. Kroz analizu tipova i ciljeva građanskih udruženja prisutnih u navedenom razdoblju, u radu se na temelju iznesenih primjera ukazuje na ulogu i značenje ovih novonastalih mjesta socijalizacije i društvene interakcije u izgradnji specifičnog građanskog identiteta. Osim toga, javno djelovanje različitih iskustava građanskog udruživanja doprinijelo je izgradnji živopisnog urbanog krajolika u *fin de siècle* modernosti.