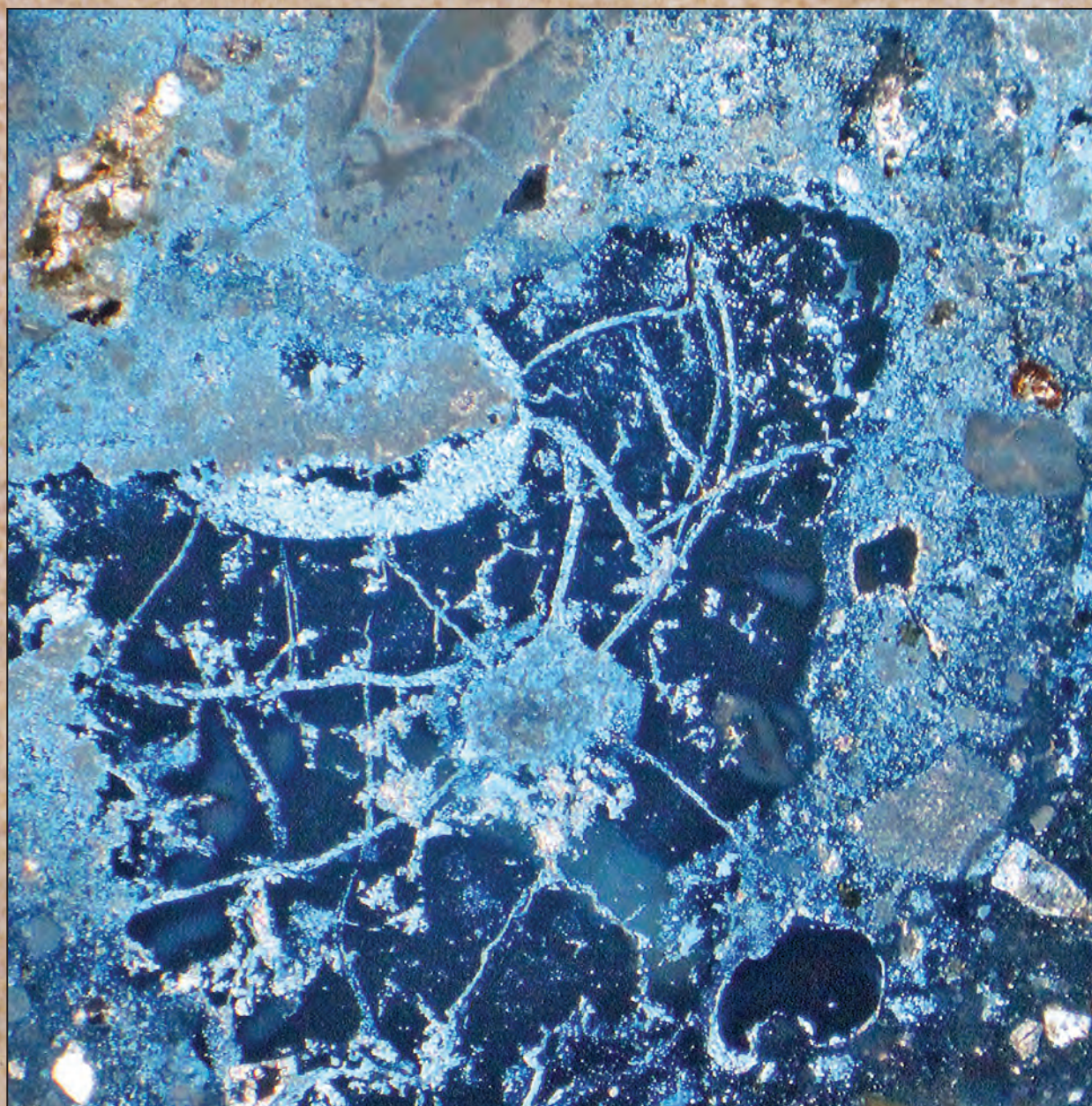


ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterraneei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies
Series Historia et Sociologia, 32, 2022, 4





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Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies

Series Historia et Sociologia, 32, 2022, 4

ISSN 1408-5348
e-ISSN 2591-1775

UDK 009

Letnik 32, leto 2022, številka 4

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Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / *Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria*® / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / *Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment* / *Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente*®

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Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 15. 12. 2022.

**Sofinancirajo/Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS), Mestna občina Koper

Annales - Series Historia et Sociologia izhaja štirikrat letno.

Maloprodajna cena tega zvezka je 11 EUR.

Naklada/Tiratura/Circulation: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Revija Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / *La rivista Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia è inserita nei seguenti data base* / *Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:* Clarivate Analytics (USA); Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) in/and Current Contents / Arts & Humanities; IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); Sociological Abstracts (USA); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MORTARS FROM THE ROMAN VILLA RUSTICA AT ŠKOLARICE (SLOVENIA)

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the results of the analysis of mortars used in the Roman villa at Školarice, Slovenia. The samples were analysed by optical microscopy (OM), scanning electron microscopy coupled with energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDX) and Fourier-transform infrared spectroscopy imaging (FTIR-i). The hydraulicity was determined for the ceramic-lime ("cocciopesto") mortars by chemical dissolution methods, thermo-gravimetric analysis – differential scanning calorimetry (TGA-DSC) as well as binder area analysis by EDX and FTIR-i on the corresponding thin sections. The results helped in the interpretation of the site especially in relation to the extent of use of crushed ceramic as a pozzolanic or waterproofing material.

Keywords: Roman villa, Školarice, historical mortar, FTIR-imaging, hydraulicity index

ANALISI ARCHEOMETRICA DI MALTE DALLA VILLA RUSTICA ROMANA DI ŠKOLARICE (SLOVENIA)

SINTESI

In questo contributo riportiamo i risultati dell'analisi di malte della villa romana di Školarice in Slovenia. I campioni sono stati analizzati mediante microscopia ottica (OM), microscopia elettronica a scansione accoppiata con spettroscopia a raggi X in dispersione di energia (SEM-EDX) e spettroscopia a infrarossi in trasformata di Fourier (FTIR-i). L'idraulicità è stata determinata per le malte a base di calce e cocciopesto con metodi di dissoluzione chimica, analisi termogravimetrica – calorimetria differenziale a scansione (TGA-DSC) e analisi dell'area del legante mediante EDX e FTIR-i sulle sezioni sottili corrispondenti. I risultati hanno fornito importanti spunti per l'interpretazione del sito, in particolare in relazione all'entità dell'uso di cocciopesto come materiale pozzolanico o impermeabilizzante.

Parole chiave: Villa romana, Scoladizzi / Školarice, malte storiche, spettrofotometria in trasformata di Fourier (FTIR-i), indice di idraulicità

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Site

The Roman *villa rustica* at Školarice is located not far from the south-western coast of Slovenia on the very northern edge of the Mediterranean. During the archaeological excavation of the site in 2002, which covered a surface area of 6136 m², several rooms were discovered, mostly consisting of the productive part of the villa but also including a thermal complex. However, the area explored represents only a fraction of the entire ancient villa complex. Due to the site's sloping terrain the complex was built on terraces descending towards the southwest (Figure 1). On the lower, south terrace, a small part of the residential area and baths were discovered, preserved only at the foundation level (Figure 2); unfortunately, large portions of this area were removed during construction work in the 1960s. The upper terrace was built on sloping levels with a large storehouse and rooms used to produce wine, oil and possibly even flour. The remains of a *torcularium* paved with coarse mosaic were found here (Figures 3, 4) as well. Various open areas used as courtyards completed the complex. The villa was erected over an earlier building towards the middle of the 1st century AD, remaining in use until the mid-5th century AD; the development of the site is divided into 6 main phases, partly divided into subphases (Trenz & Novšak, 2004; Novšak & Žerjal, 2008; Sakara Sučević *et al.*, 2015; Gutman *et al.*, 2016; Žerjal & Novšak, 2020). In ancient times the villa was placed in the territory of the colony of *Tergeste*, within the *Regio X (Venetia et Histria)* of Roman Italy, along the Roman road *Via Flavia* that connected *Tergeste* (Trieste) to *Parentium* (Poreč) and *Pola* (Pula). For immediate proximity to the main route of the *Via Flavia*, as also for planimetric reasons (cf. Ventura, 2001), the villa appears very likely to have also functioned as a *mansio* (Zanier, 2012, 316). The site is also near to the Rižana river and could therefore be tentatively identified as *Aquae Risani*, meaning the 'Baths of Rižana', perhaps shown on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as "Quaeri" (symbolized by a road station with baths) (Degrassi, 1939, 68; Bosio, 1991, 232); the later Italian name of the area is "Scoladizzi" (from Italian *scolare*, i. e. 'flow, drain'), transformed into Slovenian as "Školarice" (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 9).

Damage to the southern terrace, which is the residential area of the villa, resulted in the extensive loss of floors and wall paintings. As a consequence, only a few high-quality wall painting fragments with more refined decorative motifs, such as those exhibiting stucco decoration, were collected during the archaeological excavation of the thermal area (Zanier, 2012; Zanier, 2020). Similarly decorated stucco cornices are typical of the final Third and especially the Fourth Pompeian Styles of the second half of the 1st century AD (Riemen-

schneider, 1986; Fröhlich, 1995). Across the entire complex plain wall paintings are predominant; they show fairly homogeneous preparations characterized by very simple decorations including yellow, red, burgundy red, green and black panels, sometimes bounded by white stripes, as well as white panels bordered by broad red bands. These patterns reflect the wide spectrum of plain decorations based on chromatic and modular strings of panels of interchanging colours, which were especially in use from the second half of the 1st through the 2nd century AD (Salvadori, 2012).

Previous Relevant Research and Analytical Overview

Paint layer stratigraphy and painting techniques of selected wall painting samples were studied previously by using optical microscopy, with pigments identified via Raman micro-spectroscopy supported by FTIR-i micro-spectroscopy and SEM/EDS (Gutman *et al.*, 2016). Different tonalities of the red paint layers were composed either by a mixture of red ochre (hematite) and yellow ochre (goethite) or by hematite alone. For yellow paint layers, goethite was used, for green celadonite, for black tones carbon black and for white ones, calcite. Paintings were applied in fresco, but details (fillets and similar) were applied in secco. Green and red paint layers are sometimes applied on yellow underpaint, which was probably meant to have positive effects on the luminescence of the colour (Gutman *et al.*, 2016, 201–204). The pigments used and implied technical solutions (mixtures of pigments, double colour layers, combination of fresco and secco techniques) show that skilled artisans were active here (Zanier, 2020).

The primary tool used for this study of the mortars used at Školarice was the employment of a stepwise protocol of microscopic and micro-analytical techniques performed on polished (uncovered) petrographic thin sections of 12 of the 19 mortars provided; the remaining 7 were studied by microscopy of cross sections and chemical analysis, allowing for correlations to be made with the mortars from which thin sections had been produced. The 12 thin sections were studied in sequence by optical microscopy (OM), scanning electron microscopy and energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDX) and Fourier-transform infra-red spectroscopy imaging (FTIR-i). While these first two techniques are commonly used on thin sections, FTIR-i is less, so this research was performed in an innovative manner. Polished petrographic thin sections preserve the micro-structural features of a mortar, such as the shape and quantity of porosity, relics of the binder source and a wide variety of reaction and alteration products, and importantly how they relate to one another – information that is lost when a mortar is analysed by chemical or thermal dissolution techniques (Elsen, 2006). Studying these features by image-based means is the key to fully understanding both the materials and methods of the responsible artisan, as well



Figure 1: Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations (by J. Jeraša, archive Arhej d. o. o.). Red box – thermal area, yellow box – production area.

as how a mortar has changed over time (Weber *et al.*, 2009; Weber & Baragona 2021; Baragona, 2021).

A portion of the mortars described herein utilized a reaction between reactive ceramic aggregates (pozzolans) and calcium hydroxide to form a hydraulic binder through the pozzolanic reaction to produce calcium-alumina-silicate-hydrate (“C-A-S-H”) (Mehta, 1987; Massazza, 2001; Snellings *et al.*, 2012). In the Roman era, these were often used in areas of high humidity or in direct contact with water, such as flooring or the

walls of a bath or cistern (Adam, 1994; Miriello *et al.*, 2010). These mortars were given special attention, as they are particularly helpful in determining/ confirming the use of a structure. One means of quantifying a mortar’s binder hydraulicity is its hydraulicity index (HI), derived from the formula: $\text{SiO}_2 + \text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 / \text{CaO}$ detected in a binder, per Boynton’s second equation (Boynton, 1980; Elsen *et al.*, 2010).

In our study, this was determined for 5 representative samples by 4 different methods: EDX and FTIR-i on the

binder areas of polished thin sections, as well as both chemical dissolution and thermogravimetric analysis (TGA) of a different portion of the same samples. The method using FTIR-i, described further below is a novel technique developed during the first author's dissertation work at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna. Therefore, determining the HI by these 4 different methods on the mortar of Školarice provided an opportunity to prove the efficacy of the novel technique, in that it gave comparable results to the other 3 (see Section 3.5 and Table 3) and this probably represents the most important contribution of this paper. These results were then correlated with similar samples (that were, in the interest of economy of time and resources, not prepared as polished thin section) from the site to understand where and why these types of mortars were used. The paper reveals the use of the best mortar for each condition and structural need by the builders of the villa at Školarice throughout different structures and building phases. In doing so, they achieved the high-quality standard of construction found throughout the Roman Empire.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Sample Provenance

For the purpose of this study, 19 samples from different locations and phases of the villa were analysed: 13 from the thermal area on the lower terrace and 6 from the productive area situated in the north-eastern, higher part of the complex. Samples were selected with the aim of including potentially pozzolanic mortars, i.e. with visually recognizable ceramic or volcanic aggregates and/or a pinkish binder hue.

Two analysed fragments of painted wall plaster (samples Ško-101.1 and Ško-101.2) were found within

a secondary context of a recent rubble layer extending over the lower terrace of the thermal area. They likely pertained to its decoration, but it is not possible to define the specific room of provenance and phase. One mortar sample (Ško-310) was sampled in room 4 of the thermal area, but in a wall foundation (adjacent to the western wall of room 4) pertaining to an earlier building that predates the construction of the villa. The thermal area has two apsidated rooms (3 and 4) recognizable as *frigidarium* and *calidarium* (Figure 2). In between, there were rooms 5 and 6. The *praefurnia* were identified in room 10. To the west of the baths, there is an open courtyard (the external western courtyard), which was originally paved with irregular stone elements (with sizes from 10 x 9 x 3 to 21 x 20 x 7 cm) bound by mortar (cf. Ško-284). The thermal area was built in phase 1 in the second quarter of the 1st century AD. It was damaged by fire in the first half of the 2nd century AD and was after that renovated.

The 1st phase *frigidarium* basin in the apsis of room 3 was at that time reduced in size and the original coating was replaced by a new mortar layer (cf. samples Ško-318, Ško-294 and Ško-316). The bottom of the basin was probably covered with marble slabs, as can be deduced from rectangular imprints in the mortar; the same is valid also for the 1st phase basin (imprints and small remains of marble elements remain namely also in the 1st phase mortar). The *calidarium* (room 4) was similarly modified in phase 2B (cf. Ško-250, Ško-246 and Ško-170). Also in phase 2, channel structures in the western part of the terrace were built (damaging the original stone paving in the external western courtyard, to which sample Ško-284 relates) and the surface of the courtyard was raised. Only small additions and modifications were completed in the later phases in the thermal area (Figure 2) (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020).

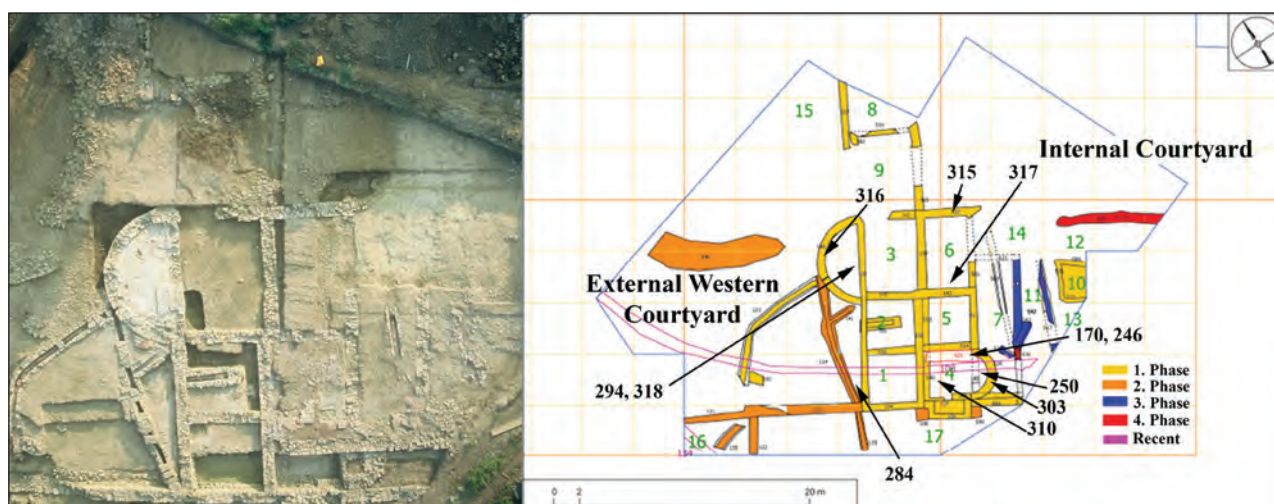


Figure 2: Aerial photograph (by O. Kovač, J. Krajšek, R. Urankar, archive Arhej d. o. o.) and plan (by T. Žerjal, Arhej d. o. o.) of the southern part of the villa with the thermal area.

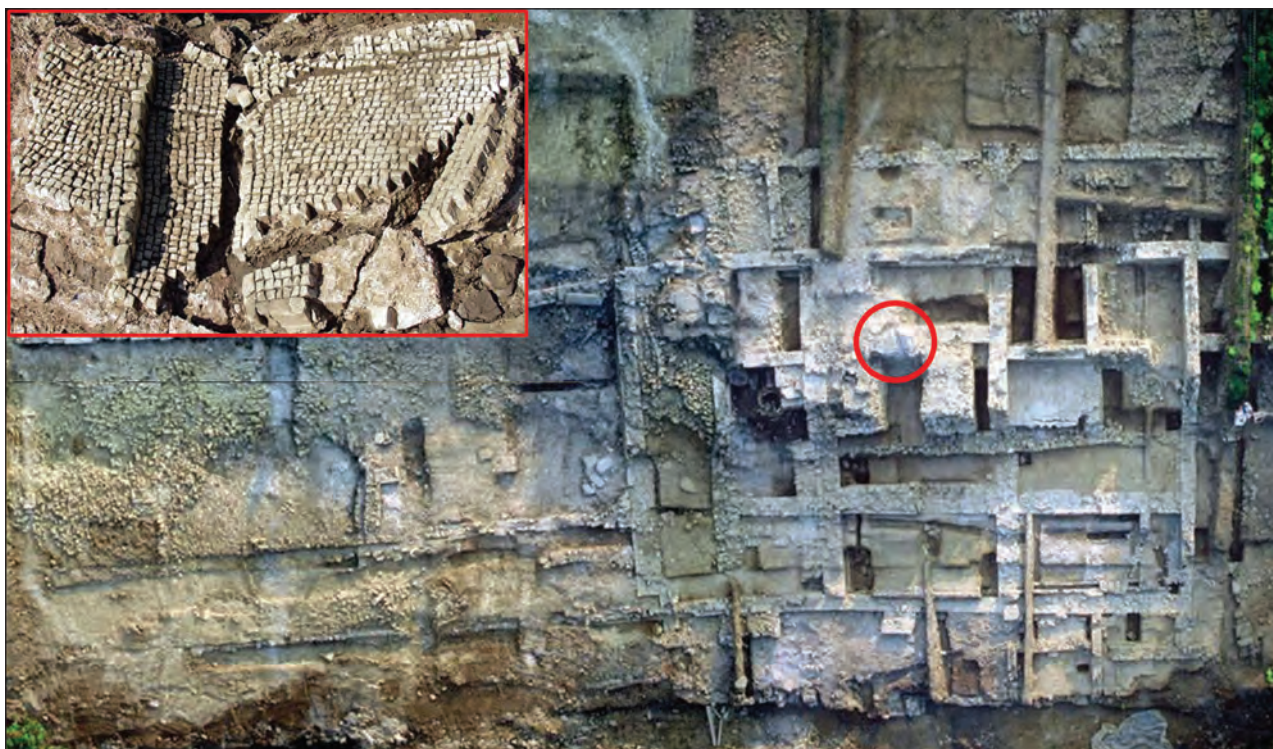


Figure 3: Aerial photograph of the north-eastern part of the villa with the productive area (by O. Kovač, J. Krajšek, R. Urankar, archive Arhej d. o. o.), the marked location of the torcularium channel (circle, detail in inset) between rooms G and L; sample Ško-239 was taken from the mortar bedding layer of the large tesserae mosaic of the channel belonging to this torcularium.

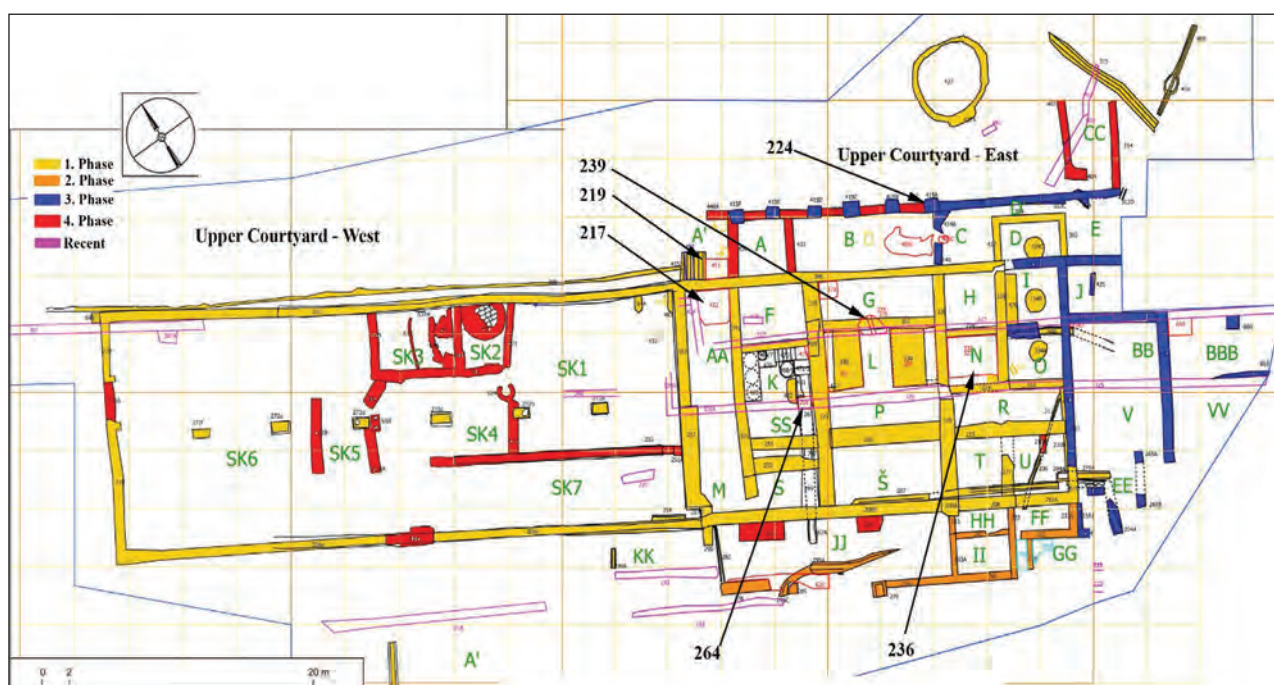


Figure 4: Plan of the north-eastern part of the villa with the productive area and an extensive storeroom to the west (by T. Žerjal, Arhej d. o. o.), with location of the samples.

Sample Ško-316 was sampled from the coating plaster of the apsidal basin in *frigidarium* 3 which was applied in phase 2B, dated to the 2nd century AD. Ško-318 and Ško-294 are taken from the mortar of the structure made of sandstone elements, composing the bench and the border wall of the smaller basin of phase 2B in room 3. From *calidarium* 4, but from the same phase, comes sample Ško-250, which represents mortar of a built platform (built to level up the 1st phase basin) in the apsis of room 4. Next to it a coarse terracotta mosaic, made of big rhomboid and trapezoid *tesserae* (5 x 3 x 2 cm), together with its preparatory layers was laid: Ško-246 is part of the lower, *rudus* layer (12 to 18 cm thick) and Ško-170 of the *nucleus* layer (10 to 15 cm thick).

The other samples come from the productive area in the north-eastern part of the upper terrace, shown in figures 3 and 4 above. This part of the villa was also built in phase 1 during the second quarter of the 1st century AD. It consists of an elongated building, stretching east-west, with sloping levels towards south. The western part of the building consists of a large storeroom with a central row of pillars (room SK* in Figure 4). The eastern part of the building hosts different units used for the production of wine, oil and possibly even flour. Sample Ško-239 is from the bedding layer of the large white *tesserae* mosaic of the channel belonging to the *torcularium*, a wine or oil press, located in rooms G and L (dimensions of the *tesserae*: 2,5 x 2,5 x 4,5 cm; dimensions of the *tesserae* on the border of the channel: 6 x 4 x 7 cm –with the longest dimensions referring to the vertical embedment height) (Figure 3 and inset). This kind of revetment for productive structures, such as *torcularia* is rare, but not exceptional, and it was probably also very effective in its use. A similar example of *torcularium* with mosaic coating is attested in room 3 of the Roman villa of Russi in north-eastern Italy (Mansuelli, 1962; Guarnieri, 2016, 33–34).

Ško-236 belongs to the mortar bedding layer of the *opus spicatum* pavement in room N which could be identified with the *lacus*, i.e. the must collection basin, which could be in that case related to the same press.¹

A similar sample is Ško-217, sampled from the mortar (3–5 cm thick) covering a low structure in room AA, which could also be identified with a productive arrangement or, alternatively, with a simple floor. Sample Ško-264 corresponds to the preparatory mortar layer of a white *tesserae* mosaic (*tesserae* dimensions: 1–1.5 x 1 x 2.5 cm) in room SS and includes a piece of *tessera*; the mortar layer was 3–4 cm thick and was laid over a drainage channel heading south.

North of the building, there was an open courtyard, from which water was collected through a drainage channel along the northern wall of the storeroom SK*. At the very eastern end of this channel, there was a stepped structure with steps made of sandstone slabs of

different length, 20–80 cm, and height, 8–12 cm, as well as depth, 10–20 cm. This is identified with a stepped cascade pertaining to the same water channel, with the stepped chutes used for reducing flow velocity (Chanson, 2000, 47–48). Mortar from between these steps was sampled and analysed (Ško-219). Small interventions can be dated to phase 2. In phase 3 (3rd century AD) the complex was extended towards east and north, with the creation of a porch (room AB) to the north; sample Ško-224 comes from the foundation structure of one of its pillars. This porch was transformed into two rooms in phase 4 (second half of the 3rd century AD), when also consistent interventions took place in order to transform and divide into several smaller rooms the western storeroom (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 26).

Analytical Procedure

Of the samples provided, the 19 that appeared to be most representative of the site were selected for further analysis. The wide variety of procedures described in the following sections was applied in a case-by-case manner in order to resolve specific questions, and therefore, as Tables 1 and 2 below show, not every sample was treated in the same way. The appropriate analytical procedure was determined by the (limited) available time and resources combined with a philosophical assessment of how much *additional* information could be gained from utilizing the full analytical “toolbox”; e.g. if there were two large fraction ceramic aggregate mortars, such as Ško-170 and Ško-239, only one was produced into a polished thin section and analysed by costly methods such as SEM-EDX, FTIR-i and TGA. Thus, of the 19 samples discussed here, the main focus was made on 12 that were prepared as polished (uncovered) petrographic thin sections (shown in light blue in Tables 1 and 2), as well as sample Ško-310 prepared as a highly polished cross-section. Of these, 5 were selected as an important subset (with the analytical procedure shown with bold X's) to which the entire gamut of procedures would be applied, answering in particular the questions of level of hydraulicity of these mortar samples – an important quality in assessing the original intent of the artisanship and thus the functionality of the archaeological object.

Optical Microscopy

The preliminary step of mortar analysis typically involves a selection from the provided samples in order to pick the ones that will tell the most complete story of an archaeological site. Often, observation of a mortar sample by cutting and visual inspection (referred to as “hand section” above) will inform the researcher about the future course of analysis. For this site, the samples Ško-246, Ško-317 and Ško-318 were observed to not be

¹ About the Roman wine production method, also from an experimental point of view cf. Indelicato, 2020.

Table 1: Sample description and preparation.

Sample Name	Room/Phase	Mortar Type	Sample Preparation
Ško-101.1	N.D.	Wall Painting	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-101.2	N.D	Wall Painting	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-170	4/2B	Cocciopesto	Cross Section
Ško-246	4/2B	Ceramic Piece, from rudus	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-250	4/2B	Cocciopesto	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-284	7/1	Cocciopesto	Cross-Section
Ško-294	3/2B	Lime-sand	Cross-Section
Ško-303	4/1	Lime-sand	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-310	4/ pre-1	Cocciopesto	Cross-Section
Ško-315	6/1	Lime-sand	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-316	3/2B	Cocciopesto	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-317	5/1	Tuff Piece, from stone paving	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-318	3/2B	Tuff Piece, from structural mortar	Hand Section Only
Ško-217	AA/1	Cocciopesto	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-219	A/1	Lime-sand	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-224	C/3	Lime-sand	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-236	N/1	Cocciopesto	Cross-Section
Ško-239	G-L/1	Cocciopesto	Pol. Thin Section
Ško-264	SS/1	Cocciopesto	Hand Section Only

mortar, but rather large ceramic (-246) or tuff (-317 and -318) aggregates with a small amount of mortar attached. Because of this, they were excluded from the analytical process². Following this, microscopy was performed on the mortars, with the majority of the results being based on petrographic examination of 11 of the polished thin sections.

Petrography was performed by a combination of 2 different optical microscopes. The first was a Nikon SMZ 1500 transmitted light, stereomicroscope (SM), with an 8x eyepiece, 1x lens, and the ability to zoom from 0.75x to 11.25x, for a range of magnification from 6x to 90x. It includes two attachments: an incident light source (with either direct or raking light) and a rotating polarizer film. The second was an Olympus BX40 polarizing light microscope (PLM) with a 10x eyepiece and 5,10,20,50 and 100x objectives, for a range of magnification of 50-1000x. Both the incident and transmitted light sources are polarizable. With both microscopes, a Cannon EOS 600D DSL camera coupled with the EOS

Utility software was used to capture photomicrographs. Preliminary results from optical microscopy allowed for the further categorization of the mortar samples (shown in Figure 5 below); more in-depth analysis is discussed in the following Results sections, which includes the estimation of the volumetric binder to aggregate ratio (b:a) of each thin sectioned mortar by the application of image analysis in the form semi-automatic pixel-area counting of pseudo-coloured photomicrographs by the Adobe Photoshop® software (discussed in Section 3.3) (per Mertens et al., 2009).

SEM-EDX

The second image-based step of the analytical protocol employed was the examination of the thin sections by SEM-EDX. These tools were used primarily to understand the chemical nature of areas of interest, such as potential reaction rims on ceramic aggregate, and to visualize such areas at high magnification. Analysis by

² Ško-317 was selected as one of the 12 samples for thin sectioning, both to confirm its nature and to open up the possibility of further analysis of the tuff used at Školarice, to be addressed in the conclusions section.

EDX was of particular importance to perform oxide percentage analysis of relic lime clasts in order to determine the source of lime binder, as well as to determine the level of hydraulicity of the mortars' binder matrix. For the latter, both area and point by point measurements were made in order to determine the relative proportions of silica plus alumina oxides to calcium oxide ($\text{SiO}_2 + \text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 / \text{CaO}$), this is shown as a percentage and referred to as the "hydraulicity index" (HI) (Boynton, 1980, Elsen *et al.*, 2010). This is the first of four methods by which the HI was determined (see Table 3, Section 3.5). The device used for this work was a FEG Quanta 250 Scanning Electron Microscope (FEI, U.S.A.) coupled with a Pegasus APEX Energy-Dispersive X-ray spectroscope (Ametek EDAX, U.S.A.) equipped with the Genesis SEM Quant software (SEM-EDX). Images were generally taken in back-scattered electron mode (BSE) at 20 kV with a spot size of 3.5–4.0 nm and a working distance of between 12–15 mm. EDX measurements were typically quantified by oxide analysis (omitting carbon, heavily prevalent in the epoxy resin), so that results are to be understood to represent the proportion of one oxide to another in the target area.

Fourier-transform Infrared Spectroscopy Imaging (FTIR-i)

The final step of the image-based analysis protocol relied on using FTIR-imaging to map the area corresponding to cement hydrates in the polished thin section, in this case calcium-aluminosilicate-hydrate (C-A-S-H) resulting from the pozzolanic reaction (Mehta, 1987). The target spectra for defining these molecules correspond to the detection of carbonates (CO_3 ; stretching around 1350 cm^{-1} to 1500 cm^{-1} , silicates (Si-O stretching between 1100 and 950 cm^{-1} and a hydrate band at ca. 1660 cm^{-1} indicating the interstitial bound (or "crystal") water of C-A-S-H (Baragona *et al.*, 2019a; 2019b; Baragona, 2021; Diekamp *et al.*, 2010; Farcas & Touzé, 2001; Horgnies *et al.*, 2013; Hughes *et al.*, 1995; Paama *et al.*, 1998; Yu *et al.*, 1999); the detection of these species at the same locations in the mortar are taken to indicate co-molecularity (*ibid*). By selecting these bands, the software automatically displays the distribution of the intensity of such bands across the entirety of the image. A colour scale from red (strong) to blue (absent) indicates the distribution of the selected bands, which corresponds to the distribution of chemical species. Combining this information with a scaled image of the mortar creates a pseudo-coloured image of the mortar thin section from which pixel-counting can again be used, this time to determine the percentage of the surface area of the mortar's binder in which C-A-S-H is detected, thus the volumetric content of C-A-S-H in the binder matrix, a direct visualization of a mortar's hydraulicity (Baragona *et al.*, 2019a; 2019b). Put simply, this step combines detection by FTIR-imaging (Yu *et al.*,

1999; Diekamp *et al.*, 2010) with image analysis techniques (Mertens *et al.*, 2009) by way of comprehensive imaging. This is the second way by which the hydraulicity index was calculated (see Table 3, Section 3.5), and is illustrated in Figure 6 below.

The device used was a Nicolet iN 10 MX Infrared Imaging Spectrometer (Thermo-Fischer Scientific, USA), with cooled MCT-A linear array detector, and interfaced with OMNIC Picta software. Spectra were collected in reflection mode, spectral range $4000\text{--}720 \text{ cm}^{-1}$, aperture $25 \text{ }\mu\text{m}$, with 8 cm^{-1} spectral resolution, and spatial resolution $<10 \text{ }\mu\text{m}$. Normal mapping mode was used with a 2 second collection time per step. The spectra were finally vector normalized and baseline corrected.

Chemical Dissolution per RILEM TC-167

Traditional, laboratory-based mortar dissolution testing was performed in parallel to the image-based analysis, in a large part to determine if there was a correlation between results gained by both methods. Two test procedures from the RILEM technical committee publication on the characterization of old mortars (TC-167-COM Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.1.3, Method 2) were selected to characterize the archaeological mortars (Middendorf *et al.*, 2005). First, the mortar was dissolved in hydrochloric acid, separating the binder from the aggregate, thus defining the binder to aggregate ratio gravimetrically (see Table 4). Second, the quantity of soluble silica was determined by treating the remnants of the previous test with a boiling alkali solution, which separates the hydraulic phases from the remaining mortar components. The results of this test are also expressed gravimetrically (see HI Table 3) and represent a third method of determining the HI (soluble silica as a percentage of the total soluble binder). These two sets of results were refined by testing the aggregate separately from the mortar, to determine the aggregates' solubility in acid and alkali. While these dissolution tests provide gravimetric data, the image-based analysis provides volumetric data, which will be considered when drawing conclusions from these data sets in the Results Section 3.5.

Thermogravimetric Analysis

Thermogravimetric analysis (TGA) is a common method used to study historical mortars, in particular to analyse the binder content (Paama *et al.*, 1998; Bakolas *et al.*, 1998; Drdácý *et al.*, 2013; Moropoulou *et al.*, 2000; 2004); it was the fourth method by which the HI was determined for this work. This method allows for both the identification and gravimetric quantification of various contents of the mortar. The components typically measured are free water until $105 \text{ }^\circ\text{C}$, bound water and organic material between $150\text{--}600 \text{ }^\circ\text{C}$ and calcium carbonate starting at $700 \text{ }^\circ\text{C}$. The identification/ quantification of C-A-S-H is related to

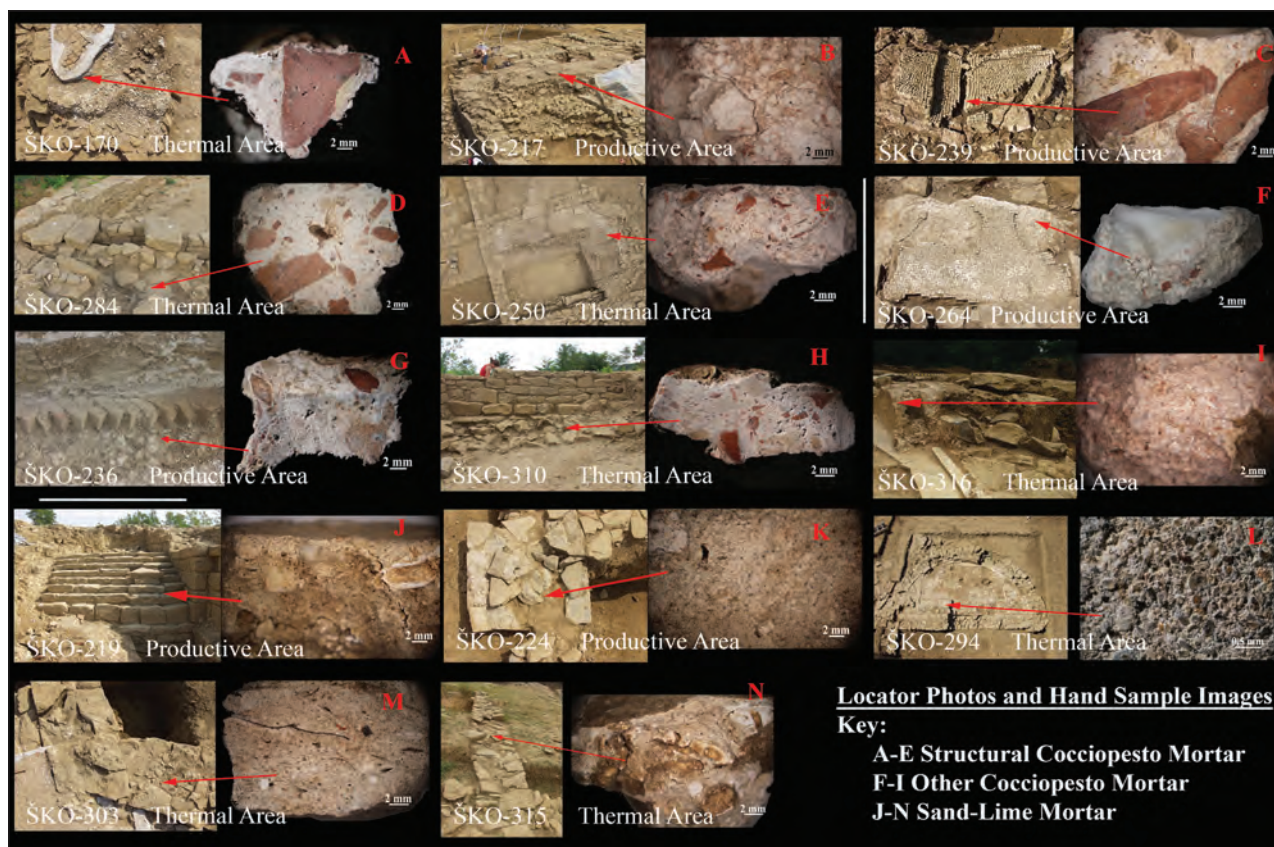


Figure 5: Photos and hand-sample images of the mortars discussed (excludes wall painting and non-mortars). A-E: Ško-170, Ško-217, Ško-239, Ško-284; Ško-250; F-I: Ško-264, Ško-236, Ško-310, Ško-316; J-N: Ško-219, Ško-224, Ško-294, Ško-303, Ško-315 (field photographs: Arhej d. o. o.).

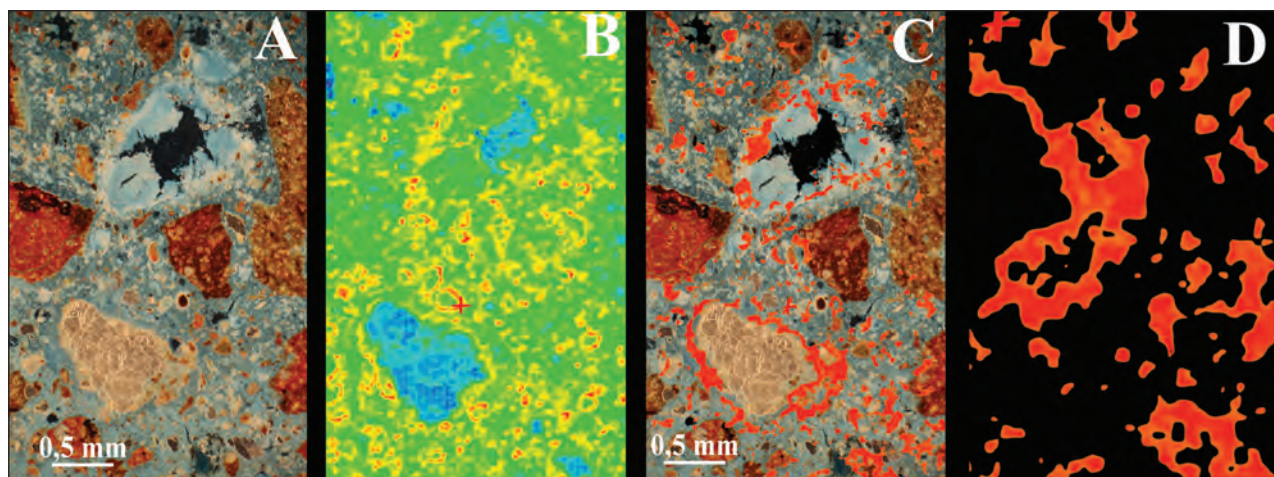


Figure 6: Illustration of the FTIR-imaging technique to determine mortar binder content, per Baragona 2019; 2021. Left to Right: A) SM, transmitted light, darkfield mode image of a cocciopesto mortar (Ško-316); B) FTIR-image of the same mapping the co-molecular carbonate (wavenumber 1410 cm^{-1}) and silicate (wavenumber 955 cm^{-1}) likely indicative of C-A-S-H, note distinctive occurrence at aggregate rims; C) Scaled composite image with peak intensities of the images wavenumbers superimposed over the SM image from 1); D) Detail of area of binder imaged through FTIR-i, scaled with background removed for automatic pixel counting to give a surface area percentage, calculated as a percentage of the surface area of the binder given in the HI results below.

the detected bound water content (*ibid.*). Components can be identified by the temperature at which they leave the system, signified by “peaks” in the thermograph corresponding to the weight loss their leaving causes. Because there can be overlap between peaks, there is some room for interpretation by the operator, however there is often the additional confirmation by mass spectrometry.

Five of the archaeological specimens (Ško-217, Ško-239, Ško-250, Ško-310, Ško-316) were gently crushed in a porcelain mortar and sieved through a 0.063 mm sieve to separate the binder from the aggregates before analysis. The rich-in-binder fraction was subjected to thermal analysis. Thermal analysis was performed using a TA Instruments Discovery SDT Q650. Approximately 20 mg of the sieved fine fraction of the sample was placed in alumina pans. The analysis was performed in a nitrogen atmosphere within the temperature interval from 25 to 1000°C with a temperature gradient of 20°C per minute. The calcium carbonate content and water bound in hydrated phases (CSH, CAH), was quantified as interpreted by the Universal Analysis 2000 software. The results were converted into a percentage (weight loss by dehydration of hydrated phases/ total binder weight loss = weight loss hydrated phases + carbonated phases = decimal result *100 for percentage) for comparison to the HI results given by the three other methods; most importantly to correlate to the results given by FTIR-imaging in combination with digital image analysis on the same 5 samples (Results Section 3.5).

RESULTS

The thirteen samples examined scientifically fall into one of 3 types: finish or decorative mortar (samples 101.1, 101.2, 303 and 219), structural mortar (samples 217, 224, 239, 310, and 315) or waterproofing mortar (samples 250 and 316), while samples 246 and 317 proved to not be mortar. Many samples include ceramic material, which could generally be considered a pozzolan or reactive aggregate; these are samples 217, 224, 239, 250, 310 and 316 of the structural and waterproofing mortars as well as the base “rough coat” of the wall painting fragments sample 101.1. The two waterproofing mortars show a much finer fraction of ceramic material. This would have produced a more strongly hydraulic mortar and perhaps a smoother (and therefore more aesthetically pleasing) finish. Samples 170, 264 and 284, although not analysed scientifically, would appear to be most similar to the ceramic-bearing structural mortars in terms of composition and application. The imagery and discussion in the following Sections 3.1-3.4 describe all of the mortars analysed in a comprehensive way, Section 3.5 that follows provides multi-analytical data pertaining specifically to the level of hydraulicity found in 5 *cocciopesto* mortars, and what this information implies for the interpretation of the site in terms of its construction and archaeological history.

Lime Binder and Relict Clasts

Large, partially burned pieces of calcareous stone can be found throughout the samples; it can be reasonably assumed that these are remnants of the source stone for the lime (“relict lime clasts”) (Hughes *et al.*, 2001). Evidence of calcination is shown by PLM as areas where there is undispersed lime near relict lime clasts (Figure 9, C, D), or nearly fully burned relics that preserve some micro-features of the original stone (Figure 7, Right). These are predominately marble, which is not locally available, but was apparently used as lime source stone from the 1st building phase onwards and also in the wall mortar sample 310 of the structure predating the construction of the villa. All of the *cocciopesto* mortars, the sand-lime mortar samples 219, 224 and 294 as well as both wall painting mortars contain these marble relics (although 294 appears to have both these as well as limestone relics). The marble used in the *intonaco* layers of the wall painting fragments (samples 101.1 and 101.2) matches this marble as well, both optically/structurally (by OM – Figure 7) as well as chemically (by EDX). Samples 303 and 315, pertaining to phase 1, appear to have a different source of raw material, a sandy limestone, which may be of local provenance. It is interesting to note that the *cocciopesto* mortars from this and later construction phases use marble as the lime source stone, while these sand-lime samples appear to have a different source.

In all cases except for the wall painting fragments, the presence of large, undispersed lime lumps can be seen as evidence for a “hot” or rapid slaking technique (Pintér *et al.*, 2011; Weber *et al.*, 2013; 2014). For Roman era *cocciopesto* or pozzolanic mortar a “basket slaking” technique was often employed that would leave these lumps as well (Adam, 1994; Hughes *et al.*, 2001; Elsen, 2006; Baragona, 2021). The *intonaci* of the wall painting fragments lack lumps indicating the use of lime putty. Only two samples (219 and 303, again pertaining to phase 1) contain pieces of charcoal (lime production fuel residue), indicating generally thorough sieving of the quicklime after production, a clean burning wood, or both. The wood species appears to be a softwood (conifer). Preliminary EDX results of both relict lime clasts and undispersed lime lumps reveal a nearly pure (95%+) calcium carbonate composition, again with the exception of samples 303 and 315 in which the sandy limestone relics could include up to 15% silica and alumina by oxide percentage. The limestone was not found to be dolomitic. Additional photomicrographs of the lime binder source stone are shown in Figure 8.

Aggregates and Classification

Petrographic examination of the 12 thin sections allowed for the classification of the mortars, which as presented was done by aggregate type, but could have

Table 2: Analysis performed by sample. Blue-highlighted samples used in Table 3.

Sample Name	OM	SEM-EDX	FTIR-i	Chem.-Diss.	TGA-DSC
Ško-101.1	X	X			
Ško-101.2	X	X			
Ško-170	X			X	X
Ško-246	X	X			
Ško-250	X	X	X	X	X
Ško-284	X			X	X
Ško-294	X				
Ško-303	X	X		X	
Ško-310	X	X	X	X	X
Ško-315	X	X			
Ško-316	X	X	X	X	X
Ško-317	X	X			
Ško-318	X				
Ško-217	X	X	X	X	X
Ško-219	X	X		X	
Ško-224	X	X			
Ško-236	X				
Ško-239	X	X	X	X	X
Ško-264	X			X	X

also been done by mortar function. The former method was chosen to help frame the later discussion regarding binder hydraulicity (of the *cocciopesto* mortars) found in Sections 3.5 and the Discussion. Grouped this way, there were four *cocciopesto* mortars and four sand-lime mortars; the remaining four thin sections consisting of the two wall-painting stratigraphic mortars and two “non-mortars” are discussed in following sections.

In four of the samples (217, 239, 250, 316) plus the base layer of sample Ško-101.1, the predominate aggregate is ceramic material (see Figure 9A-D, K). Low burned ceramic material was commonly used in Roman times as a pozzolan to create a mortar that was both durable and had the ability to set in moist environments, per Vitruvius (Secco *et al.*, 2018; also see Vitruvius II.5.1). Larger pieces of ceramic were often used in subflooring, such as a hypocaust or in sample 239 (Figure 9B), a preparation layer for a mosaic drain channel of a *torcularium* press, dated to phase 1. The ceramic material itself appears in two different colours, reddish and yellowish (sometimes greenish because of intrusion of the blue dye). This is more likely due to differing firing

temperatures rather than different clay sources, as EDX shows a similar oxide composition throughout, and SEM shows similar microfeatures in all samples. Sample 224 also shows a large piece of ceramic perhaps used to help fill a crack in the surrounding masonry as the mortar itself is composed of sandy aggregate, as well as a few loose foraminifera (Figure 9F).

At Školarice, *cocciopesto* mortars were used in a wide variety of applications. Samples 250 and 316 (Figure 9C, D), both pertaining to phase 2B, i.e. a renovation phase (following fire), but from two different rooms of the thermal area, contain mostly finely graded ceramic aggregate and were applied as bedding, waterproofing or a rendering coat; of the samples not prepared as thin sections, number 310 (Figure 9H above) is of similar composition. The remaining samples include a wider range of ceramic sizes and appear to have more of a structural application (as a flooring or subflooring mortar), such as the previously mentioned sample 239, and the analogous (non-thin sectioned) samples 170, 236, 264, and 284 shown in Figure 5 A, D-F. The connection between the ceramic grading, their application and their

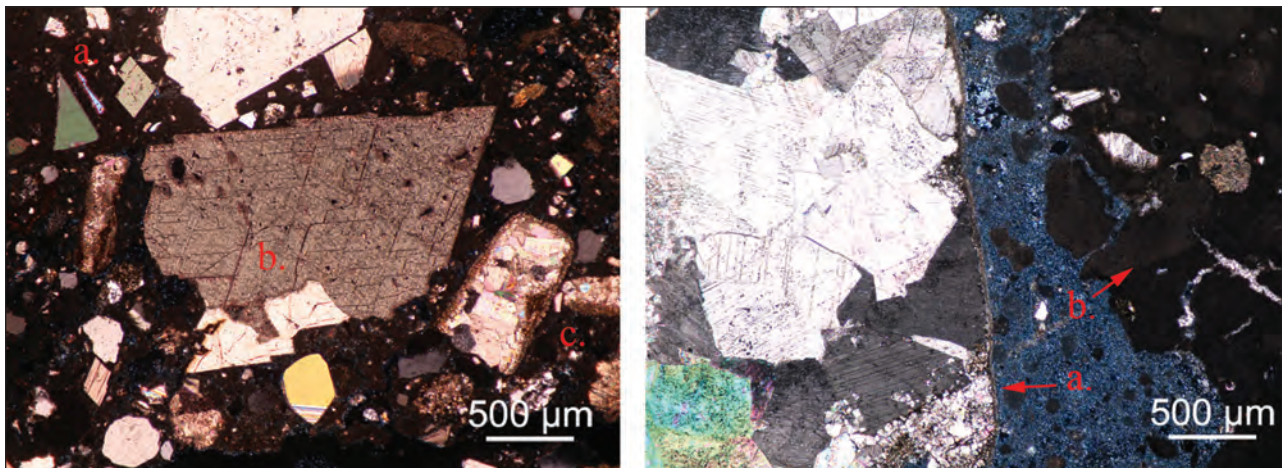


Figure 7: Školarice Intonaco, Lime Source Stone Left Image: Marble fragments used in the middle intonaco layer of sample Ško-101.1. While smaller fragments (a.) may indicate the use of sparite, the larger, polycrystalline fragment (b.) contradicts this. (c.) shows a weathering frontier around another multi-crystal fragment, indicating the marble's exposure before (likely) reuse. Right Image: Large marble fragment in the binder of sample Ško-239 (a.) and corresponding partially burned lime relic clast (b.) with corresponding large grain boundaries indicative of the original cleavage. Both: PLM-Trans. Light, crossed polars.

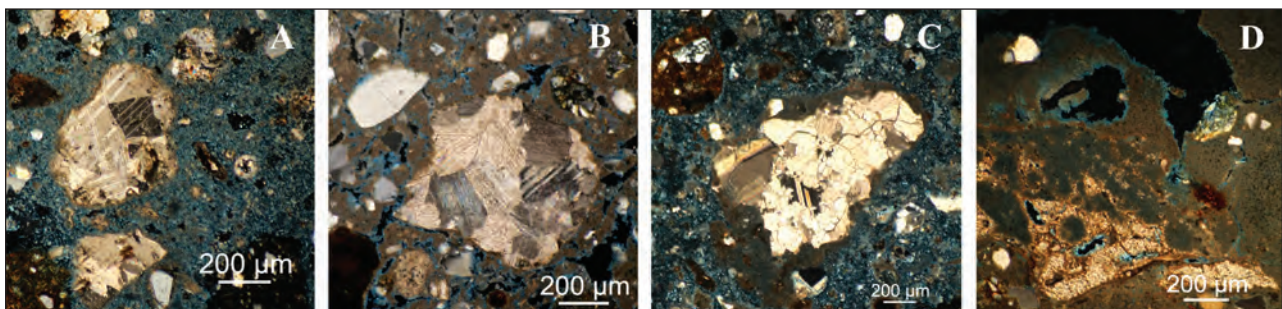


Figure 8: Školarice Lime Lump Examples Left to Right: A) Marble relict, sample 219 (lime-sand mortar); B) Marble relict, sample 250 (cocciopesto mortar); C) Marble relict with attached undispersed lime containing brick dust, sample 316 (cocciopesto mortar); D) Sandy limestone relict with undispersed lime above, sample 315 (lime-sand mortar); all PLM-Trans. Light, crossed polars.

apparent binder hydraulicity is discussed in Section 3.5 below.

The remaining non-wall painting samples are composed of sand-lime mortar; the sand is composed of both silicate and carbonate material and the angularity is typical for sand coming from a small river. The aggregates appear to be nearly all the same size, (“well sorted”), but it is not clear if this is the result of sieving or was natural at the source (Figure 9E-H).

Samples 101.1 and 101.2 (Figure 9K, L) are wall painting fragments found at Školarice, but cannot be associated with a specific building phase, as they were found within rubble layers in the thermal area. Sample 101.1 is a mortar of at least 6 layers (rough coat, 2 arriccio layers and 3 intonaco layers in which the final finish was white. A 6th lime wash layer is at the top surface,

blended with the final intonaco layer composed mostly of lime with small fragments of marble. This is followed by 2 more layers of lime-marble intonaco, with the aggregate size quickly increasing. The sample broke during preparation, not along the intonaco–arriccio boundary, but rather through an arriccio layer. The base layer is highly porous and composed of a mixture of ceramic material with some large calcareous pieces, perhaps unburned lime source stone. Sample 101.2 consists of at least 3 layers. The lack of ceramic material in the base layer indicated that this wall covering was probably not in a room that maintained a moist environment, although it is possible the sample does not include all layers. The top intonaco layer was coated with a layer of yellow ochre. Large lime lumps are prevalent in the lower layers.

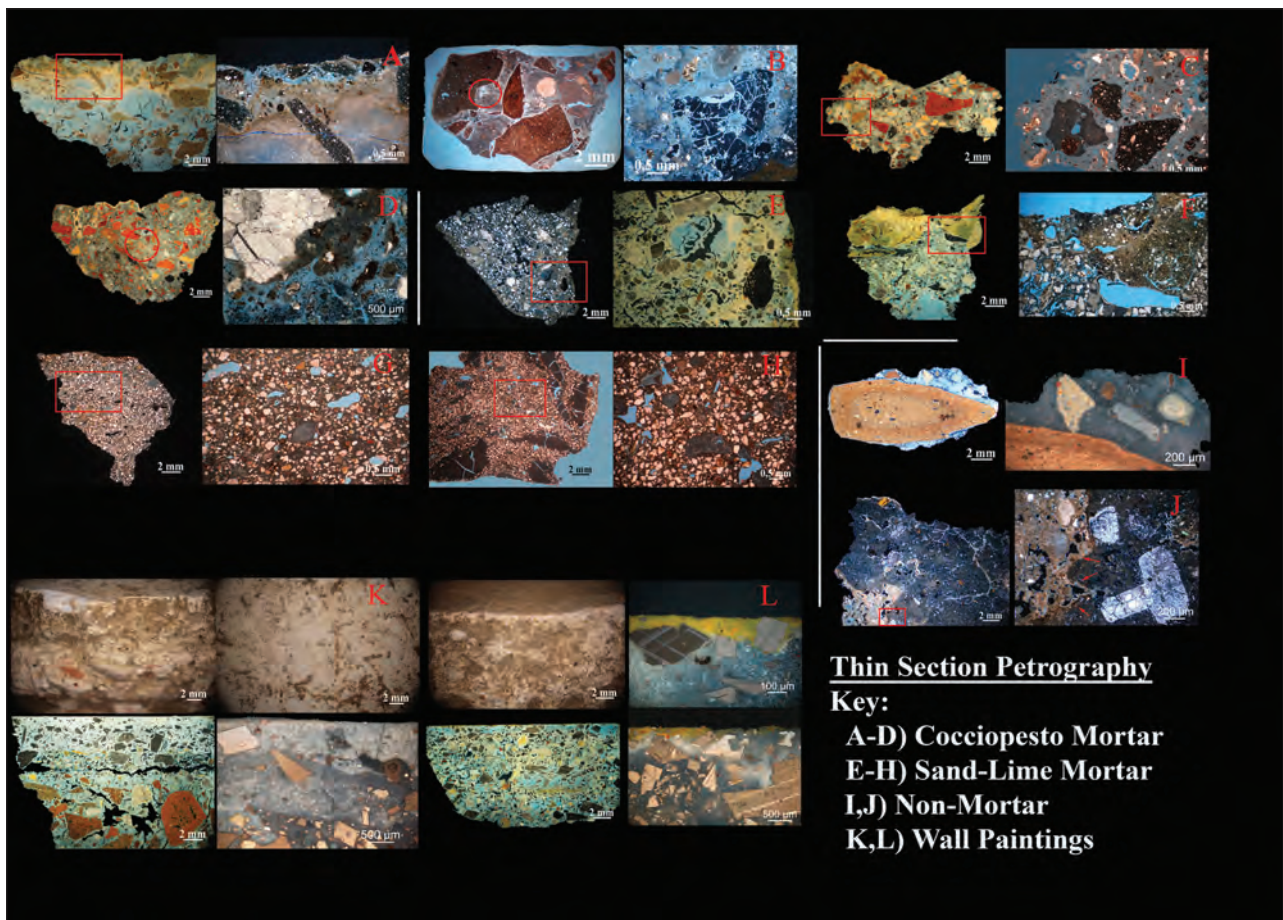


Figure 9: Školarice Petrographic Images: stereomicroscopy (some in dark-field mode) and polarizing light microscopy with descriptions as in the text below.

Finally, samples 246 from the *rudus* layer in room 4 (Figure 9I) and 317 from the stone paving in room 5 (Figure 9J) represent examples of what are likely pieces of fill with small amounts of mortar attached, 246 dominated by a large piece of ceramic and 317, a large piece of tuff. Although they were not examined in detail, 246 may simply be a fragment of a structural mortar with a large, apparently unworked ceramic aggregate, and 317 may be of further interest since tuff is not a locally sourced stone. It appears to be a piece of an ashlar, rather than added as an aggregate, and does not appear to be pozzolanically active (and is not a small enough grain to be so).

Binder to Aggregate (b:a) and Porosity Results

Pseudo-colour images of photomicrographs of a representative area of each mortar prepared as a polished thin section were analysed by point-counting in image editing software (Adobe Photoshop) in order to determine the binder to aggregate ratio (b:a) and porosity (by volume) as described in Section 2.2.1 above; the b:a

was also determined gravimetrically through chemical dissolution as a comparison as described in Section 2.2.4 above. Examples of images produced this way are shown in Figure 10 below. The results of this analysis are given on a sample by sample basis in Table 4 in the Summary below, but in general there was little difference in b:a between mortar type, regardless of analysis type. The cocciopesto mortars have volumetric b:a ranging between 2:3 to 2:1 (40%–67% binder, average 52%, standard deviation of 13.5%), while the sand-lime mortars have a b:a ranging from 3:5 to 2:1 (37.5%–67% binder, average 48%, standard deviation 14%). The gravimetric results are similar with average b:a of 54% (Std Dev. 17%) and 45% (Std Dev. 6%) for mortars with ceramic or sand as aggregate, respectively.

The porosity as determined by image analysis was more divergent; the average porosity of sand-lime mortar was 8% (range 2–14%, Std Dev. 5.6%), while the average porosity of cocciopesto mortar was half as much at 4% (range 1.6%–7.1%, Std Dev. 2.6%). Thus, while both mortar types used a similar amount of lime binder, the cocciopesto mortars were found to be more compact.

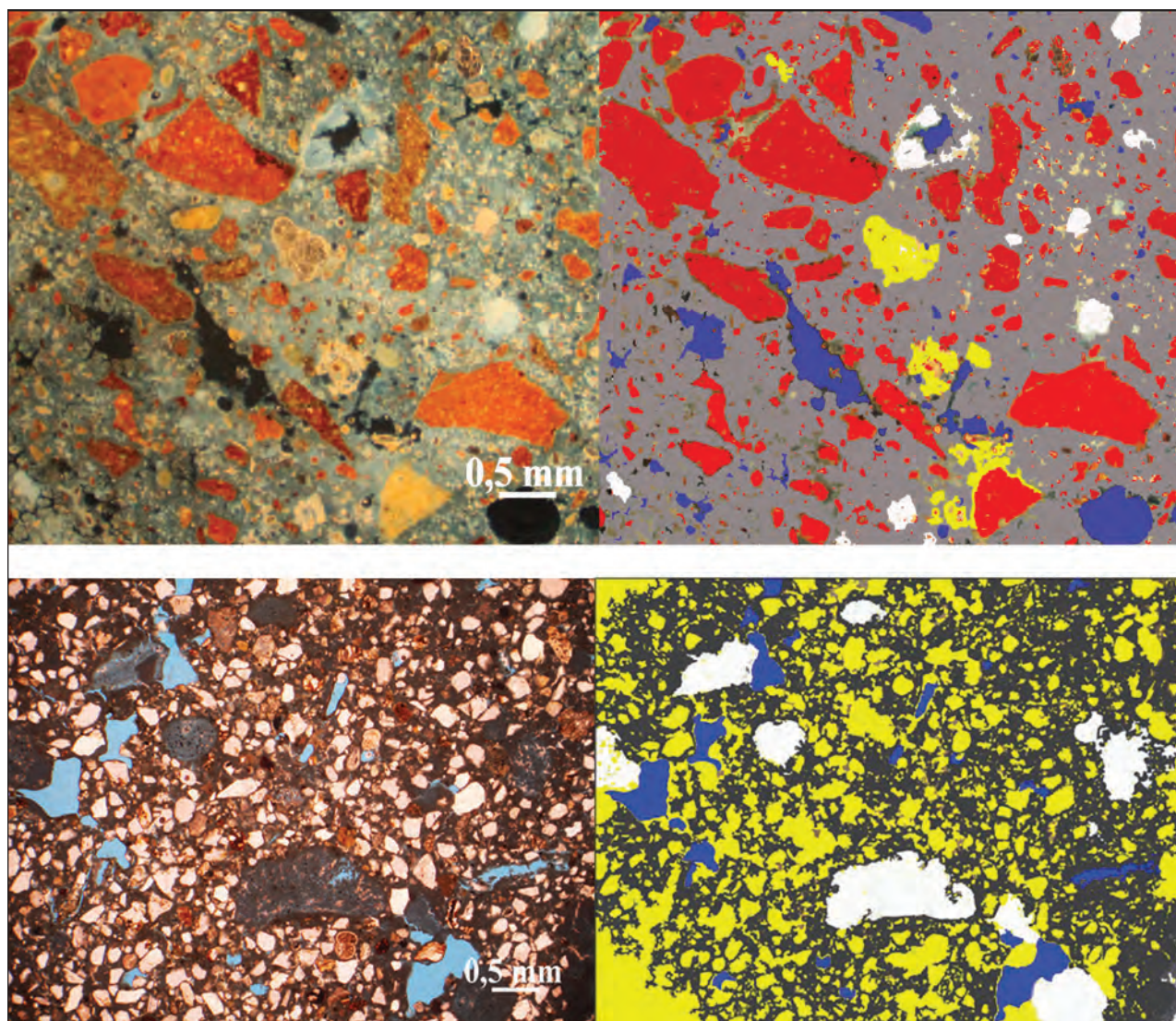


Figure 10: Examples of a *cocciopesto* (above) and sand-lime (below) mortar as pseudo- coloured for b:a and porosity quantification.

SEM-EDX RESULTS

In general, the SEM was used sparingly for analysis of this archaeological site; the EDX function proved to be more useful in determining or confirming the chemical composition of relic lime clasts and lumps, as well as the content of the binder matrix. The results of the former (lime lumps) have already been discussed in Section 3.1 above, while the discussion of the oxide content of the binder matrix will be discussed in Section 3.5 below. Figure 11 below displays images that show the utility of the SEM.

In the first two images (Figure 11A, B), more detail is gained on the nature of the wall painting mortars, such as determination of stratigraphy and identification of pigments. In Figure 11A there is a clear carbonation line between the last layer of intonaco and a layer of

whitewash. The large bright objects in Figure 11B are the yellow ochre pigment particles visualized. Figure 11C confirms the presence of the product of the pozzolanic reaction, displaying small relics of C-A-S-H (needle-like growths) in the crack of an undispersed lime lump, while Figure 11D highlights a (rare) piece of fuel residue. Figure 11E shows a phenomenon that was so unique and noteworthy that EDX mapping was used to investigate the formation of magnesium silicate hydrate, as described further in Figure 12 below. Figure 11F shows a detail of the weathering rim on a piece of marble used in the intonaco for Ško-101.1, indicating that the marble used for both this layer and the lime source for many of these samples was likely recycled (hence the weathering front indicating previous usage/exposure). The last two images (Figures 11G, H) show

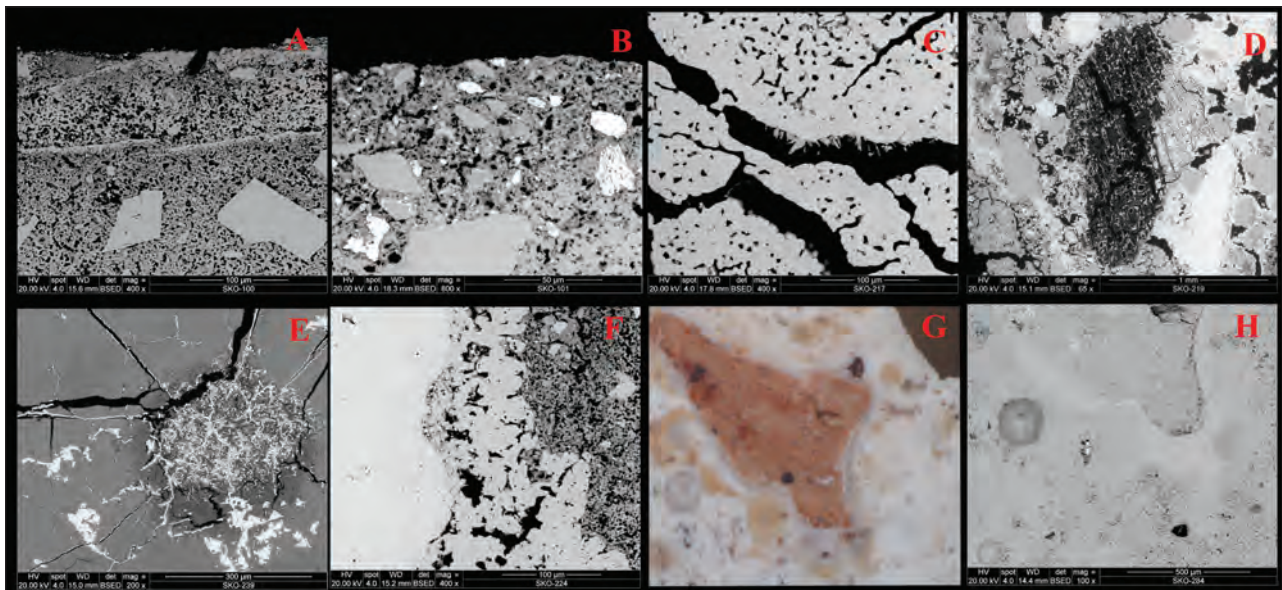


Figure 11: Various phenomena visualized in greater detail by SEM, as described in text.

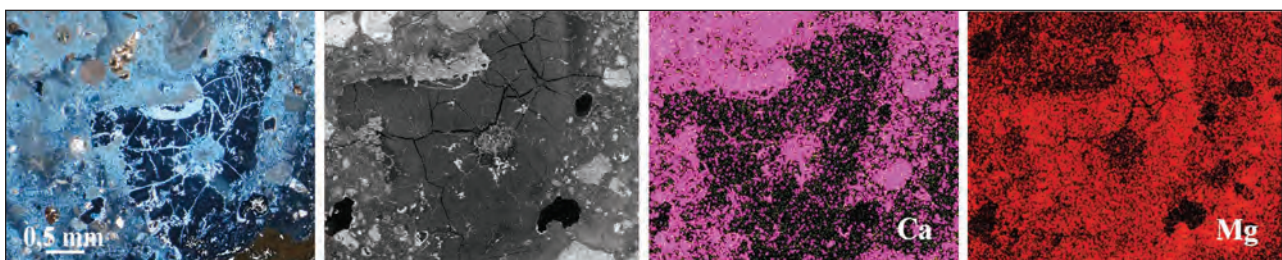


Figure 12: EDX mapping results (left two images) for a magnesium-rich, calcium-poor area of the binder in sample Ško-239.

what can be misconstrued as a reaction ring on a piece of ceramic, but closer inspection shows it to be an area where lime binder has compacted in the space near the rim of a ceramic piece *without* reacting with it.

Figure 12 shows an area of Ško-239 that by petrographic examination, presented itself as a strange, glassy area of the binder near a large piece of ceramic aggregate (as shown in the cross-polarized photomicrograph in this figure). This area was further examined using EDX mapping when point analysis indicated the presence of large amounts of magnesium, but no calcium (or silicon) was present at this location. Although only one example, this area could be the remnants of part of a binder system composed, at least in part, by magnesium-silicate hydrate, a binder (by-)product of recent scholarly interest when found in Roman-era mortar (Secco *et al.*, 2020). Since the lime source stone used in the mortar was not found to be dolomitic, and it can be assumed that seawater was not used in its slaking, the source of the magnesium, and if this can be found elsewhere on the site is a source of potential further study.

Multi-analytical Results Determining the Hydraulicity Index

Special emphasis was given to the determination of the degree of hydraulicity (in this case, pozzolanicity) of five of the mortars found at Školarice in order to examine if particular structures had been built with the need for particularly strong or waterproof mortars in mind, since the type of mortar employed by ancient builders gives evidence of their intent for the structure in which it was employed. In the context of ancient Roman sites, the addition of ceramic to lime mortar was used in a wide variety of applications to improve the qualities of the mortar (Vitruvius II.5.1; VII.1.3; VII.4.1), taking advantage of the pozzolanic reaction to create a hydraulic mortar. Although the reddish hue of the binder of these mortars is taken as empirical evidence that this was done, and indeed as evidence of pozzolanicity, the steps outlined in Sections 2.2.2-2.2.5 above were performed to provide correlative, quantitative

Table 3: Hydraulicity index results by technique.

Sample Name	HI by: Chem.	HI by: EDX	HI by: TGA	HI by: FTIR-i
Ško-217	.08	.09	.16	.06
Ško-239	.21	.25	.20	.20
Ško-250	.13	.22	.25	.15
Ško-310	.21	.30	.16	.25
Ško-316	.25	.50	.21	.31

evidence of the pozzolanicity/hydraulicity of these mortars, referred to herein as their hydraulicity index (HI). Thus, were EDX, FTIR-i, chemical dissolution and thermal gravimetric analyses made of the binder of these five mortars, with the results given in Table 3. The data for the 5 samples are generally consistent based on all four analytical procedures, with the 3 examples with more finely graded ceramic material having on average, a higher hydraulicity index. Except for sample 217, all could be described as moderately hydraulic, which in the case of 239, from the *torcularium* channel, is somewhat unexpected given the dearth of visible small aggregates. As for 217 the low hydraulicity index could be important for determination of the function of the mortar and structure to which it belonged, as it was not clear from the archaeological context. Possible interpretations include either a productive arrangement or a raised floor structure, with the latter option as more plausible in light of the analytical results presented herein. In relation to 250 and 316, hydraulicity was expected because of the archaeological context of the thermal area they come from. This was not the case for sample 310, which came from the wall of an earlier building predating the construction of the villa. Since very little remained of this structure, any additional information, such as the use of a hydraulic mortar is therefore very precious and can be useful for its further interpretation. Figure 13 shows the clustering of results by sample, with the EDX and FTIR-i results having the strongest correlation and TGA as a clear outlier. There is no difference in observed hydraulicity between the samples of different building phases, although this assertion would benefit from the analysis of a larger number of samples.

DISCUSSION

Concluding, 19 mortar samples were analysed, 12 prepared as polished petrographic thin sections. These came predominately from 2 building phases,

but from different types of structures. Samples were selected with the aim to include mortars with ceramic or pozzolanic aggregates, with hydraulic features: they were chosen by macroscopic inspection based on their pinkish colour or observable reddish and blackish grains. Analytical results revealed that macroscopic identification is often not reliable. For example, sample 239 has a higher hydraulic index than sample 217, even though the former displays only large ceramic inclusions and whiteish binder, yet was still found to be moderately hydraulic, while the latter is pinkish with fine ceramic aggregate present. Sample 317, as well as others not included in this work, include tuff, but show no reactivity, hence are not pozzolanic.

A summary of the results of this analysis is given in Table 4 below. Overall, they are remarkable for their consistency with typical Roman building materials and practices of the era. There are several findings that illustrate this. Firstly, the use of marble for both the intonaco layers of the wall painting fragments as well as its (re-)use as the predominate source stone for the production of quicklime in all types of mortars, despite the fact that there is no locally available marble, while limestone can be found in the region. This implies the import of marble specifically for this use or its recycling from previous, earlier structures, from the site or surroundings. The latter option is still more interesting, considering that small portions of an older building predating the construction of the villa were found in place. In the mortars of the 1st phase, it appears that marble was burned for quicklime, but only used in cases when it would be combined with ceramic material to make a pozzolanic mortar; those using sand aggregate appear to use quicklime calcined from local limestone (see Figure 8 above). This adheres generally to the rule laid out by Vitruvius that harder stone should be used for mortars used in structural applications (Vitruvius II.5); the lesser presence of marble in the 1st phase implies that the material was in this early phase hard to acquire, but was nevertheless selected for structural uses that required waterproofing as well. This leads to the second point, that in both most investigated phases (1 and 2B), particular care was taken to produce a robust waterproofing material when making flooring (samples 217, 239) or waterproofing mortars (samples 250, 316); this was not done in samples of structural mortar used outside (sample 315).

As to the methodology used in determining these conclusions, the petrographic and scanning electron microscopic images speak for themselves; the ability to determine conclusive, correlative results that identify mortar constituents and their relation to one another is the primary advantage of the study of thin sections (Elsen, 2006; Baragona *et al.*, 2019a;

Table 4: Summary of results by sample prepared as thin section.

Sample Name	Mortar Type	Binder Type	Binder Hydraulicity	Aggregate Type	B:A Gravimetric	B:A Volumetric	Macro-Porosity Volumetric
Ško-101.1a	Rough coat	Air Lime	Weakly Hydraulic?	Mostly ceramic	N.D.	1:1 (.5)	16.2%
Ško-101.1b	Arriccio	Impure Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Crushed marble / river sand	N.D.	1:1 (.5)	9.3%
Ško-101.1c	Intonaco	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Nearly pure lime	Nearly pure lime	Nearly pure lime	N.D.
Ško-101.2a	Arriccio	Impure Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Mixed	N.D.	2:3 (.4)	10.8%
Ško-101.2b	Intonaco	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Crushed Marble	N.D.	2:1 (.67)	5.7%
Ško-217	Cocciopesto	Lime + Ceramic	Feebly Hydraulic	Mostly ceramic	.42	2:3 (.4)	2.4%
Ško-219	Drainage Render (Exterior)	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Silicate + Carbonate Sand	.36	3:5 (.375)	14.8%
Ško-224	Masonry mortar	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Silicate + Carbonate Sand	N.D.	3:5 (.375)	10.2%
Ško-239	Cocciopesto	Lime + Ceramic	Moderately Hydraulic	Mostly ceramic	.43	2:3 (.4)	1.8%
Ško-250	Waterproofing	Lime + Ceramic	Moderately Hydraulic	Ceramic and relic clasts	.80	3:2 (.6)	5.7%
Ško-303	Wall Render	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Silicate + Carbonate Sand	.44	2:1 (.67)	2.2%
Ško-310	Masonry mortar	Lime + Ceramic	Moderately Hydraulic	Mostly ceramic	.55	N.D.	N.D.
Ško-315	Masonry mortar	Air Lime	Non-hydraulic	Silicate + Carbonate Sand	N.D.	1:1 (.5)	5.1%
Ško-316	Waterproofing	Lime + Ceramic	Mod. – highly Hydraulic	Mostly ceramic	.52	2:1 (.67)	7.1%

2019b). Comparing the two methods of determining the binder to aggregate ratio (detailed in 3.3 above) proves that the method of using pseudo-colouring thin section micrographs is a good analogue for the results found by chemical dissolution, while one should use caution when comparing gravimetric to volumetric data; the results given in Table 4 show values that are similar enough to support this assertion (i.e. there is never a case where the values are drastically different).

The novel technique of using scaled FTIR-image results to determine the hydraulicity index of archaeological mortars shows similarly promising results. The results of the methods given in 3.5 above are compared by means of a scatter chart in Figure 13 below, where the results of analysis of 5 selected ceramic-lime (theoretically pozzolanic) mortars by

the four complimentary methods are shown, listed from left to right by sample with the highest observed average hydraulicity index. Clustering the results shows that by and large, the techniques are comparable, e.g. all 4 methods show sample 217 to be the least hydraulic and 316 to be the most hydraulic, with the others falling in between when the values given by each technique are averaged. Thus, they are likely to be interchangeable in terms of determining how hydraulic a mortar is relative to another one, even if the results given this way are not in the truest sense quantitative. True outlier results are only given by the TGA and EDX results, and only in one instance each. Future studies can therefore likely give good results by just one or two of the above complementing techniques, saving time, money and other resources.

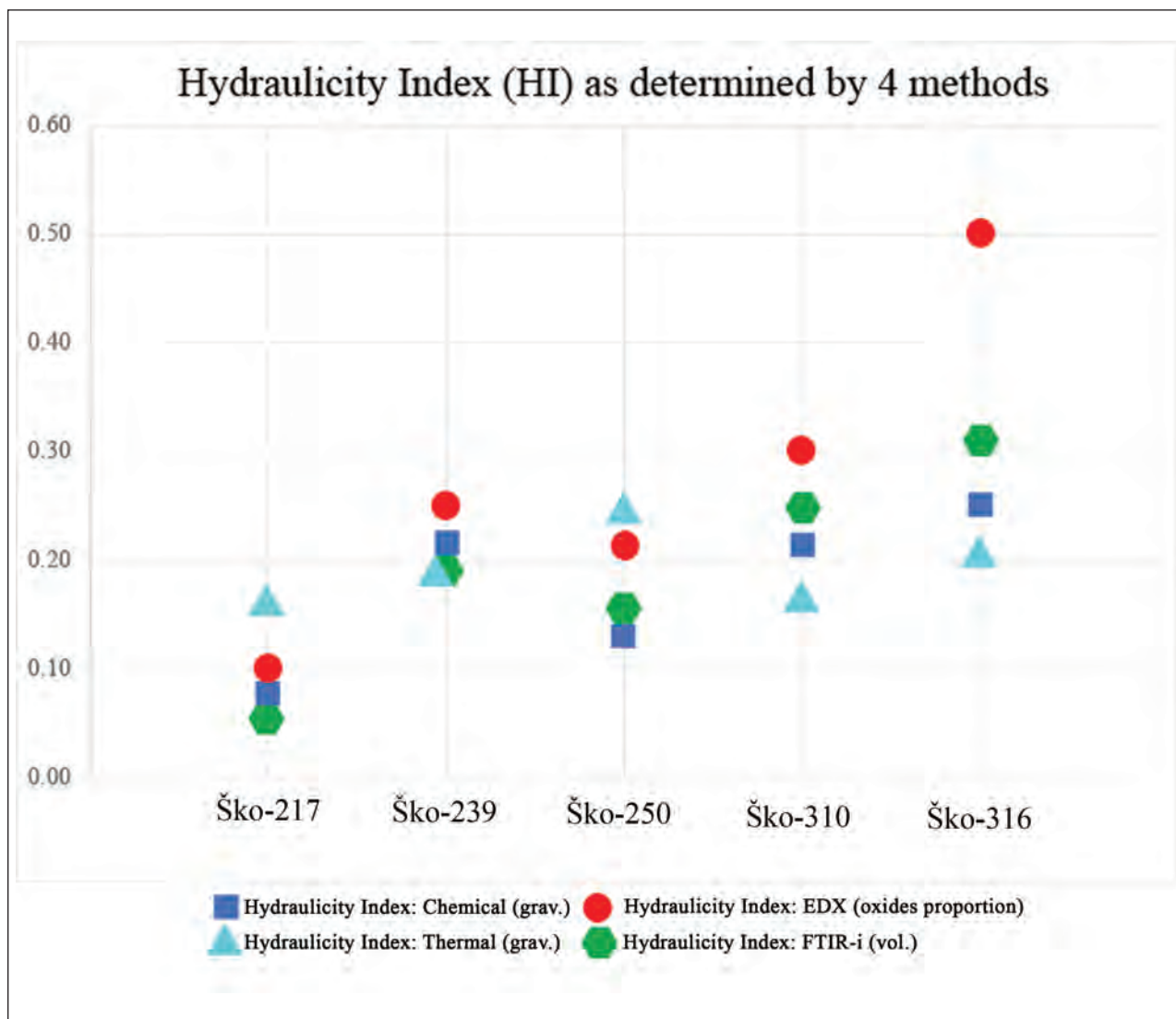


Figure 13: Results of four different, complementary methods for determining the hydraulicity index of a pozzolanic mortar. Key: Green – FTIR-i, Dark Blue – Chemical Dissolution, Light Blue – TGA, Red – EDX oxide percentage.

CONCLUSIONS

This case study provided the opportunity to prove the efficacy of a novel method of determining the hydraulicity index of a mortar by FTIR-i on polished thin sections. This method is invasive, but non-destructive (of the sample) and therefore could be used in cases when there is not enough sample material (or the resources) to make both a thin section and perform chemical or thermal dissolution. All 4 techniques (FTIR-i, SEM-EDX, TGA-DSC and chemical dissolution) are good for determining the hydraulicity index, i.e. pozzolanicity of a mortar. The techniques of TGA and chemical dissolution are destructive. SEM-EDX is not, but it is both more expensive and less definitive than FTIR-i. SEM-EDX shows that the minerals associated with pozzolanicity are in the same

location, while FTIR-i indicates the co-molecularity of the types of silica and carbonate (and sometimes hydroxide) associated with pozzolanicity (Brunello *et al.*, 2019; Baragona *et al.* 2019a; Baragona 2021).

In general, hydraulic mortars were given special attention in research, as they are particularly helpful in determining or confirming the use of a structure. In the Roman era, these mortars were often used in areas of high humidity or in direct contact with water, such as flooring or the walls of baths or cisterns (Adam, 1994), but also productive areas, kitchens, courts and gardens or other areas exposed to the elements as porticoes and facades.

In the case of Školarice, the material destined to be analysed as examples of hydraulic mortars of the site, was in the first step selected because of its function and

context, secondly by optically observing the samples, which were recognized as potential hydraulic mortars for their pale pink colour, due to the presence of crushed brick or of greyish granules hypothetically identified as pozzolana. Here presented analyses show that only a part of them were actual hydraulic mortars. This shows that criteria frequently used by archaeologists on site to identify hydraulic mortars do not comply with reality, and hydraulicity has in fact always to be tested.

The Roman villa at Školarice provides an interesting case study of early Imperial Roman architecture, built over successive building campaigns with a high level of sophistication. A wide range of well-established and the above-mentioned novel analytical technique showed the skillful use of different mortar recipes for a wide variety of applications at this Roman villa, which was probably also a waystation with baths that was additionally a center of agricultural production.

As mentioned before, the villa is arranged on two terraces, with completely different functions, on the lower terrace an elegant thermal complex is arranged, the other one hosts a productive storage area. Analysis showed that mortars of both areas were prepared with similar attention and sophistication, also with regard to the hydraulicity of the mortars, what we would necessarily expect, being one the typical ambience of hydraulic mortars and high-quality architecture and decoration (i. e. baths), the other a space of functional character only tangentially connected to “wet” production activities.

In some cases, the analysis provided important hints for determining the specific purpose of a structure. This was the case of sample Ško-217, sampled from the mortar covering a low structure in room AA, which was tentatively identified either with a productive arrangement or, alternatively, with a simple floor. The low hydraulicity index of the sample makes the latter option more plausible, especially when compared to the hydraulicity index of sample Ško-239, which pertains to a typical productive arrangement, the *torcularium*.

Similarly, the moderate hydraulicity of sample Ško-310 must be pointed out: the sample came from the wall of an earlier building predating the construction of our villa. Rare structural remains (as well as plaster fragments and some small finds) of this earlier building were identified in the thermal area and the use of a hydraulic mortar in its walls could indicate, that also this earlier building had already a similar function.

In this sample, but also in other samples dating from the 1st phase onwards, marble (which is not locally available) was predominately used as lime source stone, whereas mortars with sand aggregate Ško-303 and Ško-315 pertaining to phase 1 showed to have (probably local) sandy limestone as a source of raw material for lime production. The more selective use of marble in the 1st phase implies that the material was at this time (second quarter of the 1st century AD) hard to acquire, but was specially chosen for structural uses

that also required waterproofing. The import of marble in the area of north-western Istria was in Roman times generally very rare, as architectural decoration and sepulchral monuments show here predominantly to be made of limestone from Aurisina / Nabrežina (north-eastern Italy), and only singular marble elements are documented (Krašna, 2022, 44).

On the other hand, the indiscriminate use of marble as a source for lime production in phase 2B (dated to the 2nd century AD) seems to show its wider accessibility. However, sample Ško-294 taken from the structures of the basin in room 3 of the thermal area renovated in phase 2B, stands here out as it shows both marble and limestone as lime source stones. This would indicate that also in phase 2B, limestone was still used for this purpose, but was detected more rarely because there are fewer samples representing this building phase.

Also the sand-lime mortar Ško-224, the only sample pertaining to phase 3 (3rd century AD), includes marble relics, as well as ceramic material, but is at the same time non-hydraulic, showing that marble was used as a lime source from the very first building of the site, predating the construction of our villa, throughout the 1st and 2nd building phases and also until the 3rd one, and this seems to represent a very characteristic feature of this site.

Crushed marble is also used in the intonaco layers of the wall painting fragments (samples Ško-101.1 and Ško-101.2) and they match the marble used as lime source optically/structurally and chemically. A weathering rim on a piece of marble used in the intonaco for Ško-101.1 indicates that the marble used for both this layer and the lime source for many of the samples was likely recycled. This implies that disused marble material was imported for this use, or it was recycled from an adjacent earlier structure. The latter option is still more interesting, considered the older building predating the construction of the villa mentioned before.

At the same time, marble slabs and some other marble features were used especially in the thermal area of our site from the 1st building phase onwards. As they were not sampled for this analysis, we cannot confirm, if they also pertain to the same marble quality. But, in the area of north-western Istria the site of Školarice seems to represent an area of special concentration of marble materials, some of which used as raw material for lime production and as an aggregate in mortars, some as slabs and cornices (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 77, 231–232, 578); parts of a statue of Dionysus dating to the first half of middle of the 2nd century AD were used in the wall of room SK4, created in the area of the large storehouse during the 4th building phase (this is during the second half of the 3rd century AD) (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 134, 204, 632, 633). This concentration of marble materials at this site could as well support the above-mentioned theory that the villa also functioned as a *mansio* (“*Aquae Risani*”) on the route of the

main public road *Via Flavia*, being in this way better connected to the partially centralized logistics of the marble trade.

The intonaci of the wall painting fragments lack any lumps indicating the use of lime putty. Two samples (Ško-219 and Ško-303, pertaining to the 1st phase) contain pieces of charcoal, which we can recognize as lime production fuel residue. In all other samples, the quicklime was apparently thoroughly sieved after production or a clean burning wood was used, or of course both (cf. on this Laycock *et al.*, 2018). The wood species appears to be a softwood, or conifer. Research about paleo-vegetation is still very rare, but the presence of conifers in this area in Roman times could be indicated by the analyses made by Metka Culiberg (1997, 136–137), however to a quite limited extent. It would be also possible that the wood was not necessarily of strictly local provenance but was imported from other nearby areas. This could have been done for construction, with leftover pieces being used as fuel for lime production.

The lime was very likely produced locally and in fact the remains of a lime kiln were excavated near the villa, at Križišče. The lime kiln was located along the road leading from the main road *Via Flavia* to the villa. Individual limestone pieces, which are not from the immediate surroundings, were found in the filling of the kiln and were meant to be burnt to lime. Another filling layer contained burnt earth, charcoal, limestone, and lime remains. Roman pottery was found in the fill as well, but remains of charred wood found inside the firing chamber were radiocarbon dated between 650 and 820 AD (Novšak *et al.*, 2019, 81–82; Kutnar, 2022, 28–31). Despite this, excavators of the site considered this dating apparently incorrect, as they concluded that the lime kiln was used for the construction of the Roman villa at Školarice (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 21), where also a round structure for mixing mortar from the 1st building phase was found in the upper courtyard (cf.

Figure 4, round structure north of the productive area). Inside this structure, ample remains of lime could be documented (Žerjal & Novšak, 2020, 378). These lime remains, both from the lime kiln and from the structure for mixing mortar, were not sampled for this analysis, but will be subject of research in the near future. As mentioned previously, marble was found to be the main source stone for the lime at Školarice, so (containing the lime kiln remains of limestone) it is likely that the radiocarbon dating is correct. Considering the location and Roman finds in it, it is also possible, that the lime kiln was established for the construction or later renovations of the Roman villa and then reused in post-Roman time.

Open questions that could provide more detail into the case of the Roman villa of Školarice and its building materials, involve the provenance of the marble and sandy limestone source stones used for lime production, as well as the tuffaceous material used as paving mentioned above. Additionally, analysis of any organic material that has left traces in the stone or soils of the site, e.g. GC-MS on oils or tannins soaked into the rough stone mosaic of the *torcularium* could be used to conclusively determine the usage of the productive arrangement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank Farkas Pintér at the Austrian Federal Office for Monuments (Bundesdenkmalamt) for the use of his SEM-EDX as a back-up and to corroborate the results of the device mentioned in this work. The authors are also thankful to Maša Sakara Sučević at the Regional Museum of Koper and to Matjaž Novšak from Arhej d. o. o. for allowing us to perform this research. Special thanks go to Tina Žerjal from Arhej d. o. o. for providing photographs and plans from the excavation and for several fruitful discussions. The authors acknowledge the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding No. P6-0247).

ARHEOMETRIČNA ANALIZA MALT Z RIMSKE VILE RUSTIKE
NA ŠKOLARICAH (SLOVENIJA)

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POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni rezultati analize malt, uporabljenih pri gradnji rimske vile rustike na Školaricah v Sloveniji. Analiziranih je bilo 19 vzorcev iz različnih mikrolokacij in faz, še posebej dvanajst vzorcev, ki so bili pripravljene kot polirani petrografski zbruski. Ti vzorci so bili zaporedoma analizirani z optično mikroskopijo (OM), skenirno elektronsko mikroskopijo skupaj z energijsko disperzivno rentgensko spektroskopijo (SEM-EDX) in infrardečo spektroskopijo s Fourierovo transformacijo (FTIR-i), kar je omogočilo celovito analizo širokega spektra značilnosti in, kar je pomembno, kako so med seboj povezane. Posebna pozornost je bila namenjena reaktivnosti agregata in viru veziva apna. Določitev indeksa hidravličnosti veziva malte je pomemben kriterij pri oceni historičnih malt. Določili smo ga za keramično-apnene malte najdišča, in sicer s štirimi različnimi metodami (ki smo jih tako lahko tudi primerjali glede na dosežene rezultate): kemičnimi analizami z raztapljanjem vzorca, termogravimetrično analizo – diferenčno dinamično kalorimetrijo (TGA-DSC) ter analizo površine veziva z EDX in FTIR-i na ustreznih zbruskih. Pri slednji so bili spektralni podatki analizirani z analizo digitalne slike, ki je dala kvantitativne volumetrične rezultate, kar predstavlja novo tehniko za določanje hidravličnosti veziva za malto. S slikovnimi tehnikami smo določili tudi razmerje med vezivom in agregatom in poroznost. Rezultati so pomembno prispevali k interpretaciji vile, zlasti v zvezi z obsegom uporabe keramičnih frakcij kot pucolanskega ali hidroizolacijskega materiala.

Ključne besede: Rimska vila, Školarice, historična malta, FTIR spektroskopija, hidravlični indeks

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INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HABSBURG PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM. MANAGING COMPLEXITY WITHIN THE AUSTRIAN LITTORAL (1849–1880s)

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this essay is to understand the development of the public health system within the Austrian Empire between 1849 and the end of the 1880s. After a contextualisation of the legal and administrative rules of Austrian citizenship and the welfare organisation system, the text provides some examples from documents in the archival collection of the Littoral's Lieutenancy. The essay focuses on the problematic relationship between the new laws for inclusion in Austrian citizenship and the right of indigent persons to be cared for. Health, legal, bureaucratic and socio-economic factors were so intertwined that they form a complicated Gordian knot.

Keywords: Habsburg public health, *Heimatrecht*/Pertinency, indigent people, Austrian Littoral, hospital's costs, provincial funds

DENTRO E FUORI IL SISTEMA SANITARIO PUBBLICO ASBURGICO. GESTIRE LA COMPLESSITÀ NEL LITORALE AUSTRIACO (1849–1880)

SINTESI

Il presente lavoro si propone di comprendere lo sviluppo delle strutture sanitarie pubbliche nella Monarchia Asburgica tra il 1849 e la fine degli anni Ottanta del XIX secolo. Dopo una breve contestualizzazione della struttura legale e amministrativa di inclusione nella cittadinanza austriaca e nell'organizzazione assistenziale pubblica, il testo mostra alcuni esempi illustrativi tratti da documenti del fondo archivistico della Luogotenenza del Litorale. Il saggio si concentra sul rapporto problematico tra la nuova forma giuridica di inclusione nella cittadinanza austriaca e il diritto delle persone indigenti a essere assistite gratuitamente. Aspetti sanitari, legali, burocratici e socioeconomici si intersecano in modo così stretto da formare un complicato nodo gordiano.

Parole chiave: sanità pubblica asburgica, *Heimatrecht*/pertinenza, persone indigenti, Litorale austriaco, costi degli ospedali, fondi provinciali

INTRODUCTION

This article offers some insights into the evolution of public health in the Habsburg Monarchy, in particular in the crownland Littoral/*Küstenland*¹, after the revolutionary year 1848/49. Examining documents from the archival collections of the Littoral's Lieutenancy, the analysis spans from the late 1840s until the late 1880s.

The evolution of public health since the 19th century has been one of the central topics in the larger processes of state building and modernisation of European civil societies (Berridge, Gorsky & Mold, 2011, 23–73). An analysis of the structures of public health is not only a matter of medical history, but also a particularly strategic and dense interdisciplinary point of study: it allows us to observe a wide range of themes and problems, which could otherwise easily remain unnoticed or would be taken into consideration individually. This also concerns the evolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, during one of the most formative phases of its own history, when the complex relationship between the imperial state and civil societies underwent a period of great change and upheaval.

Principally, this study raises two important questions after 1848/49: 1) the relationship between state and society through the creation and development of modern administrative structures and institutions for welfare; 2) the new forms of inclusion into (and exclusion from) the first concept of modern Austrian citizenship.

HEIMATRECHT AND THE "SUPPLY OF POOR PEOPLE": A NEW FORM OF INCLUSION, A NEW FORM OF SOCIETY?

The crisis of 1848/49 led to some important social and economic issues, particularly closely linked to the increasingly urgent question of the political and social participation of new, important forces such as the rising bourgeoisie and the working class. The restored imperial power had to take social demands much more seriously into account (Judson, 2016, 218–221). In the dynamic context after the "March Revolution", the implementation of citizenship and welfare state structures played a crucial role in restoring and re-ordering imperial power – together with the abolition of the IASTs remains of the feudal system (Bruckmüller, 1999). As early as 1849, the Viennese government aimed to reshape the state's rela-

tionships with civil society through the creation of new forms of social inclusion and protection, particularly towards needy individuals.

On 17 March 1849, the "Provisional Municipal Law" (*Provisorisches Gemeindegesetz*) modified the centuries-old legal institution of *Heimatrecht* (Right of Residency or Pertinency²) by using it as the basis for the first model of a modern Austrian citizenship, in addition to updating fiscal and conscription rules (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1849, n. 170). *Heimatrecht* had existed for centuries, at least since the middle of the 16th century, and was mainly intended to control and manage the unstable masses of poor people living and moving within the Empire's territory (Wendelin, 2000, 181–191). This act introduced a new form of *Heimatrecht*, which was then completed by the *Heimatrechtsgesetz* (Residency/Pertinency Act) of 3 December 1863, during the first phase of the "Constitutional era" (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1863, n. 105). The new form of *Heimatrecht* continued to be based on the principle of territorial affiliation, but also started to progressively guarantee inalienable social and civil rights to subjects. *Heimatrecht*, in the law subsection called "*Armenversorgung*" (supply of poor people) (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1863, n. 105, 372–373), defined the legal and administrative means for managing and re-portioning risk and misfortune.

With regards to the development of a modern public health system, the reforms of the *Heimatrecht* in 1849 and 1863 determined that the cost of emergency treatment in public hospitals should be charged to the municipality where the individual was legally registered – either the individual's or their parents' birthplace –, not where they actually lived. The Habsburg system discouraged individuals from changing their *Heimatrecht*: it was practically impossible to obtain a change of pertinency (Wendelin, 2000, 195–216). This structure of inclusion into Austrian citizenship bound individuals even more closely to their "small homelands" (Ivetic, 2014, 222), and, in doing so, legally consolidated centuries-old, pre-nationalised forms of local self-identification.³

Based on the principles of *Heimatrechtsgesetz*, the *Reichssanitätsgesetz* (Imperial Sanitary Act) was instituted in 1870: this law established the grounds for a more standardised, unique and efficient public health organisation in the Austrian half of the Monarchy (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1870, n. 68). The Habsburg public health system had the characteristics of a pre-"solidaristic wel-

1 Since there are usually two (sometimes even more) cultural designations for placenames in the Littoral, I try to reflect this diversity in the text. Only for Trieste/Trst/Triest and Gorizia/Gorica/Görz, which have more than two names, is only the first variant reproduced for practical reasons.

2 Dominique Kirchner Reill uses to translate *Heimatrecht* with the English term "Pertinency" (Kirchner Reill, 2021).

3 This is confirmed in research on the immigration of Slovenian speakers from Carniola, Carinthia and southern Styria into the Triestine emporium in the late 18th and early 19th century, who, despite the "national crystallisation" of the 1860s, maintained a strong localistic self-identification and relationship with their places of origin (Verginella, 2001). Moreover, recent studies have shown how this complex Habsburg system of strong legal ties between individuals and their native "small homelands" had important consequences and continuities in the post-1918 transition period, above all in the process of redefining and renegotiating their national and territorial affiliation and right of citizenship in the post-Habsburg successor states (more in Hametz, 2019; Kirchner Reill, 2021).

fare state” (Baldwin, 1990, 55–65): *Reichssanitätsgesetz* developed new regulations from the traditional “poor policies”, albeit it through a pivotal systematisation and professionalisation of medical facilities and working staff, as well as its bureaucratic structure (Obentraut, 1881, 449–529).

This legislation led to a paradox: in order to receive social protection, medical care and a minimum of financial support in case of illness, needy individuals had to be legally demonstrated their municipality of birth or residence, even if they were living in a different district. However, the new legislation was issued at a time of increasing mobility due to socioeconomic changes, the end of the feudal system, technical innovation and the construction of new infrastructures (Coons, 1975). Moreover, during the 1850s and 60s the Habsburg Monarchy followed the general European trend towards the free circulation of people and goods, so that the Passport Ordinance (*Paßverordnung*) of 1857 abolished the passport requirement for movement within the Monarchy, while in 1865 the abolition of the requirement for passport checks when leaving Austria was also completed (Burger, 2000, 23–25). In such a fluid situation, the Austrian system of *Heimatrecht* and public health automatically led to bureaucratic problems, misunderstandings and illegalities, even on the part of the authorities.

This general problem mostly affected complex crownlands, such as the Austrian Littoral, which presented a composite administrative unit – embracing three provinces with three local parliaments (Dorsi, 1994, 233–245) –, a strong cultural-linguistic differentiation, and tremendous socioeconomic differences – first of all between industrial and commercial port cities and the rural countryside (Verginella, 2008). Moreover, the Austrian Littoral represented one of the most mobile crownlands of the Empire, primarily for working reasons. Trieste was the major focus of imperial and international migration, but there were also significant parallel internal migration trajectories within and among the three provinces of the Littoral (Steidl, 2021, 42–43). In addition to the important international immigration, the labour market of Trieste functioned due to the consistent and constant internal migration from rural, mostly economically depressed provinces and crownlands around Trieste⁴, such as the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, Istria, Carniola, South Carinthia, South Styria, and Veneto (Breschi, Kalc & Navarra, 2001; Verginella, 2001; Cattaruzza, 2012; Kalc, 2013; Tonicich, 2021, 281–298). Among them, Istria represented

the most important province of emigration to Trieste – particularly starting from the 1860s, as a result of the outbreak of cholera and malaria epidemics, as well as of the plant insect phylloxera and plant disease downy mildew, that caused a dramatic crisis for its population and agricultural economy.

WHO PAYS FOR WHOM? BUREAUCRATISING THE HABSBURG PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM

Asymmetries and inequalities in the functioning of the public health system can be easily seen in the documents of the Lieutenancy concerning the refund of medical and hospital costs (*“Verpflegskosten”*) for indigent individuals with different pertinencies. The central question was whether this system was easy to administer, or whether its complexity often led to irregularities and inaccuracies between the various public offices and institutions. This question depended heavily on the high migration of labour towards the more industrial cities of the Littoral, primarily Trieste; the high number of agencies involved; and the interdependent but often asymmetrical imperial administrative structure. Not every municipal and provincial institution involved had the same resources to sustain their own pertinent people, who were living abroad, so that a small rural centre in Istria or Carniola certainly could not compete with the resources available to the richest productive centres of the Littoral.

The legal requirements of *Heimatrecht* often clashed with the pragmatic needs of the working classes in the Littoral, especially those who lived in the unhygienic suburbs and working districts of Trieste (De Rosa, 1981; Cigui, 2008). Most of them were originally from another province or even crownland and were legally pertinent to another municipality of the Monarchy. The legal extraneousness of a sick indigent individual did not imply their ineligibility to receive free health care. In May 1865, the Municipality and the Direction of the Civic Hospital of Trieste made clear their pivotal tasks:

The Municipality of Trieste, and in particular the Direction of the Hospital, welcome with solicitude all the sick who show up at the municipal hospital, whether or not their pertinency has been verified at the time. When the condition of the sick person necessitates it, in accordance with the norms in force, research is required in order to establish their pertinency [nazionale]⁵, and, if the person in question is not a member of this Municipality, a

4 Trieste followed the evolution of other large Habsburg centres, first and foremost Vienna, which were already established by, and functioned thanks to, large masses of immigrant workers from other economically depressed provinces of the empire, in particular from low skilled and cheap labour or groups of specialised artisans (Hahn, 2000). Based on these centuries-old exchanges between rural and urban spaces, the highest rate of socioeconomic and linguistic-cultural diversity and hybridity within and around the Littoral’s centres was established (Csáky, 2002).

5 In some documents, one reads the Italian term *“nazionale”*. It has no national meaning, rather it is one of the Italian terms used to indicate pertinency, together with *“incolato”*, *“indigenato”* and *“pertinenza”*.

copy of the minutes is sent to the political or municipal authority in charge, so that it may confirm the pertinency or make any possible objections. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 8332)

The quotation demonstrates, how the principles of inalienable rights to access public health care were influencing the medical-administrative mentality. It shows at the same time, how the public health system was not just a matter of medical assistance: in addition to the medical and nursing working staff, an administrative and legal bureaucratic department was operating, which, starting from the mid-1860s, was becoming an essential part of the medicalisation. The main task of the administrative bureaucracy in the hospital was to certify the pertinence of the hospitalised people, that is, to discover which institution was going to pay for their public health care.

Examining the hospitalisation procedure of the main Civic Hospital of Trieste, the hospital's administrative staff was responsible for inquiring into their personal data and legal status. In determining a patient's eligibility for free care in a hospital of the Empire, it was not enough merely to determine the pertinency. The hospital's medical and bureaucratic staff had to verify by means of the admission form and interview: 1) the origin/pertinency of the person, 2) the type of illness, that is, the reason for their admission to the hospital, 3) the "wretchedness" (*"miserabilità"*), that is, the state of indigence (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 6252). This took place through an oral interview based on a standard form, which was carried out in the hospital ward by the attending physicians. After this, the administrative and legal departments of the hospital opened the patient's file. Without involving the Municipality or the Lieutenancy of the Littoral, the hospital offices sent the request to the provincial authority of the municipality verbally indicated by the patient or by their documents as the pertinent one. Firstly, this action attempted to verify the truthfulness of the legal affiliation; secondly, it would automatically request reimbursement of hospital expenses to the pertinent "Provincial Fund".

This procedure did not only have a humanitarian purpose. A "Civic Office of Control and Accounting" (*Ufficio civico di controllo e contabilità*) of the Triestine municipality had the main task of studying the status of the patients, in order to make simplifications in the financial management of the hospital (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 12227, 13242, 12731). This office, together with the administration and legal office of the civic hospital, was the link between the hospital and the paying institution such as the competent provincial fund.

In a city of high immigration such as Trieste, this implied that the hospital and the municipality were significantly financially "exposed" to third parties, be they provinces and municipalities of the same Littoral or lieutenancies and district headquarters of other crownlands. This very often led to bitter and prolonged legal disputes between different offices in different districts and regions over requests for payment of health and hospital costs for indigent individuals who were not pertinent to Trieste or other main cities of the Littoral. The most difficult controversies happened with Istria and Carniola, which were the provinces most indebted to Trieste's public hospital.⁶

TOO OLD OR TOO CRAZY TO BE CURED: A CONDITIONAL PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM

During these disputes between hospitals, lieutenancies and provincial districts, legal third parties who had to reimburse costs often used strategies to avoid paying and ease the burden on their own provincial funds. One strategy was to deliberately allow as much time as possible to elapse, so that the paperwork to establish the pertinency would stall of its own accord in the maze of this complicated system, as the Triestine municipality claimed in 1865: "These delays hamper the smooth running of affairs, and often make it very difficult and even impossible to resolve any doubts that may arise concerning the patients' pertinency and the obligation to reimburse the respective costs of care and hospitalisation, thus multiplying the number of letters and correspondence out of all proportion" (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 12227).

Most of the problems stemmed from the principles of a decree issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs (4 December 1856, n. 26641; Haemmerle, 1869, 32–56.), which had initially regulated the admission procedure in the hospitals of the whole Empire. This decree enshrined two principles that remained in the administration of public health in the following decades: 1) a sick person could only be admitted to hospital care after it had been established that there was a real need for treatment; 2) free hospitalisation could only take place for short stays, at least not exceeding three months. These two points became the bone of contention in disputes over claims for reimbursement of medical costs between lieutenancies and provincial district capitals, since, before hospitalising such a patient, the hospital had to inform the pertinent provincial and municipal authority and agree on a hospital stay longer than three months. However, due to the medical urgency and lack of clarity about the pertinency itself, this was not always possible and the hospital proceeded in any case, informing the

⁶ Istria was consistently the province most indebted to the city of Trieste for hospital costs. For instance, in 1862, out of the total annual credit of 88,031.57 florins for all expenses incurred by the city of Trieste paid in advance for indigent patients pertinent in other crownlands, the province of Istria owed as much as 52,517.12 (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 2983).

relevant provinces only months later. From this ministerial order, the Austrian Littoral adopted an ad hoc law in June 1869, which standardised the procedures for the untreatable and/or in need of long and special treatment (Notificazione, 1869).

The mentally and chronically ill or overly elderly patients represented an excessive outlay for the provincial funds due to the length of their stay and the lack of security for their care. The acceptance of an “incurable” patient would have put the provincial fund where the sick person was hospitalised in severe financial difficulties, without any guarantee that the costs would be reimbursed by the pertinent municipality. For these kinds of patients, other facilities, such as hospices or psychiatric hospitals, were available, where the costs were amortised. However, their transportation from the hospital to these facilities was not always possible. This often led the provincial authority responsible for those patients living in Trieste to accuse the Triestine hospital of exceeding their administrative authority, by taking care of non-eligible persons without first seeking the provincial fund’s opinion (cf. ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 6252).

In July 1883, a dispute over the non-payment of hospital fees broke out between Trieste, Carniola and Vienna. Maria Zadnikar was one of thousands of immigrants from Carniola living in Trieste for decades (Cattaruzza, 1979). Between September 1880 and July 1881, for almost ten months – in total about 300 days –, she was hospitalised at the Civic Hospital in Trieste due to severe bronchitis. At that time, she was around 75 years old and came originally from Šujica, a tiny rural village near Dobrova in Upper Carniola (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 18492). For almost two years, the Municipal Hospital of Trieste continually demanded reimbursement for the costs of this long and costly hospital stay, totalling no less than 272.16 florins. In the first moment, the administration of the hospital was acting independently through its internal administration in directly asking the Carniolan Lieutenancy for payment of the costs, without having to go through the Trieste municipality or the Littoral’s Lieutenancy. The Carniolan Lieutenancy had only paid a small part of the costs, just for the first three months, leaving 233 days unpaid (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 14654). The authorities in Ljubljana pointed out the fact that the patient, although pertinent in Carniola, was too old to receive such long and expensive treatment, as her illness was caused by chronic “senile marasmus” (“*marasma senile*”).

The hospital in Trieste justified its actions by proving that Maria Zadnikar was suffering from severe bronchitis that was curable, but she could not be transported to

a “nursing house”, where the costs would have been significantly lower. Only after the partial payment from Ljubljana, did the administration of the Triestine hospital turn to the Lieutenancy of the Littoral, which in turn called in the Ministry of Home Affairs in Vienna. The latter, however, found shortcomings and irregularities in the work of the hospital in Trieste – it had not immediately informed the Carniolan provincial fund about the long hospital stay – and ruled in favour of the Carniolan counterpart on the legal basis of the *Heimatrechtsgesetz* of 1863:

[...] the Ministry of the Interior has recently noticed that the Trieste Public Hospital not only accepts incurable sick persons into hospital care, but also does not hand over such sick persons, if they are fit for transport, to the Trieste Municipal Magistrate for further treatment in the sense of §28 of the Heimatrechtsgesetz of 3 December 1863 – Imperial Law Gazette No. 105 – but restricts itself to merely sending such sick persons to the respective provincial authorities. Since this procedure [...] gives rise to unpleasant recriminations as well as to protracted negotiations, the Governor’s Office is requested [...] to take strict care that the existing regulations are observed punctually on the part of the Trieste Hospital. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 108)

The documents on the Zadnikar case provide further interesting information about the medical-legal management of patients with mismatched *Heimatrecht*: the civic Hospital of Trieste had, in addition to the normal medical staff, a so-called “provincial proto-physician”, who was commissioned by the Ministry of Home Affairs to visit only the patients pertinent in Carniola, who were living in Trieste and hospitalised in its Civic Hospital, and to report on them to Vienna:

[...] the Council implicitly agreed to the further hospitalisation of the sick person; [...] the hospitalisation became an unavoidable necessity and this is proven not only by the declarations of the hospital’s doctors in charge but also by those of the provincial proto-physician Cav. Dr. Zadro⁷, who was charged with examining the Carniolan patients [carniolini degenti] in this charitable institution and reporting to the High Ministry of Home Affairs in Vienna, and who was also convinced that Zadnikar, among others, was unfit for transport at the end of December 1880; [...] (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 14654)⁸

7 Dr. Illuminato Zadro, originally from one of the most important families of Rovigno/Rovinj, is listed as a counsellor of the Lieutenancy, president of the Provincial Sanitary Council, director of the Obstetrical Institute, provincial health spokesman for the Lieutenancy and the Viennese government in 1878 (Almanacco, 1878, 38).

8 Regarding the presence of a proto-physician in the Trieste Civic Hospital at the end of the 19th century, cf. De Rosa (1981, 28).

Among the most frequent cases of difficult and controversial admission for free treatment and consequent refusal of reimbursement were cases of mental illness. Elisabetta/Elisa CASTsulloovich-Missetich/Missetić, originally from Dalmatia (from Pietro della Brazza/Supetar), moved with her husband (from Sebenico/Šibenik) to Trieste ten years before, where she was practicing as midwife. When the dispute arose in 1867, she was already a widow and lived in the Trieste suburb Rozzol (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 7231). The reason for her hospitalisation was “*ebetudine*”, an unspecified state of psychic confusion, thus falling under the classification of special cases identifiable as “untreatable” by the decree of 1856. The dispute with the Dalmatian provincial fund resulted from their refusal to reimburse the expenses, which covered a nine-year confinement. The reason for this was the failure of the medical facilities in Trieste to inform the provincial headquarters in Zara/Zadar in advance, and the related request for acceptance of such a special case. The latter replied in May 1867 as follows:

The reason for this refusal is based on the fact that in opposition to the explicit provisions of Ministerial Decree No. 26641 of 4 December 1856, the homeland authority of the patient Missetić was not informed about her stay of more than three months, on which omission the not insignificant increase in treatment costs for the duration of more than nine years depended. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 7231)

(IN)DEPENDENT WOMEN? PUBLIC HEALTH, HEIMATRECHT AND GENDER

In this IASTs case study, the issue of the inclusion and protection of women in welfare policies emerges with great importance. The pertinency of a woman, who was doing a skilled job and therefore could have been socially and professionally independent, still depended on a male figure in her own family. Consequently, the access to free medical assistance, in case of poverty, depended on the man, whether father, brother or husband, who guaranteed eligibility for the woman. In the above case, the woman was a widow, which meant that her residence depended automatically on that of her deceased husband, as indicated by the *Heimatrechtsgesetz* of 1863. However, what happened if a woman was unmarried and could not show a clear *Heimatrecht*?

Among the flow of independent female workers to Trieste, an important category of specialised and essential professionals was represented by midwives, some of whom were provided as a free service by the Triestine municipality for the assistance of indigent classes (De Rosa, 2020, 77–136). A constant in the cases of midwives was their professional and social importance,

even their independence. Among the papers of the Lieutenancy on the reimbursement of hospital costs, one finds a few cases of midwives treated in Trieste, although with different pertinences.

Of greater interest is the case of the Istrian Maria Depangher, a “certified midwife” (“*geprüfte Hebamme*”), who is reported to have lived and worked in Trieste alone, not following any man (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 1334). She was hospitalised in Trieste, where she passed away in September 1865, probably without having been able to indicate her pertinency. Among her private belongings, a passport for internal travel within the Monarchy issued by the authority of Capodistria/Koper in 1851 (that is, in the period before the abolition of internal passports in 1857) was found. Although through research her birth and baptism records were found in the parish office of the same town, doubts were still raised as to her pertinency. The point was that Maria Depangher was a single woman, so before her legal status could be established, it had to be fully corroborated by matching and comparing it with that of the male figures in her family, namely her father and brothers. The father had died in Pisino/Pazin in 1845, when Maria was around twenty years old and was living there with her parents. After the father’s death, she returned to Capodistria/Koper with her mother and siblings, and later she moved to Trieste to work as midwife. The doubt was therefore between different Istrian municipalities due to her father’s work and changes of domicile as a k.k. officer in Pinguente/Buzet and Pisino/Pazin (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 1641). Eventually, what removed any doubt was a cross-check with all the documents concerning her pertinency and the legal status of the two brothers, that is, through the registration for military service of one of them:

[...] any doubts as to the legal pertinency of this family to Capodistria are removed by the witness of Domenico Depangher, another of Maria’s brothers, who was enrolled in military service in Capodistria on behalf of that municipality in the Royal Navy on 28 February 1853, after the family’s repatriation, and to this end he was expressly sent from Montona, where he was at the time. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 7252)

1866, THE LONG POST-WAR PERIOD: CHANGING BORDERS, REDEFINING PERTINENCES THROUGH PUBLIC HEALTH

Faced with the increasing importance of cheap migrant labour – seasonal or fixed – from the 1850s, the Austrian government provided bilateral agreements for the mutual support of indigent individuals and payment of their care and health costs. For instance, the Eisenach Convention with the states of the German Confederation in 1853 (Reichsgesetzblatt, 1854, n. I/6), the Declaration

with some Swiss cantons in 1857, the agreements with the Italian Kingdom in 1859 and 1866 (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 4685).⁹ In addition, these international agreements covered all kinds of illnesses, except for mental and/or chronic illnesses.

The public health of the Littoral, particularly the coASTsal area, was peculiar, since it was far more exposed to international labour migration and transformations of the international geopolitical order, first of all the reorganisation of borders and citizenships of the neighbouring Lombardy-Venetia. In October 1868, the Triestine mayor, Carlo Porenta, declared, that, since “the condition of Trieste [was like] a seaport open to everybody”, the regulation of hospital costs for foreign workers in Austria was “a vital and urgent matter”, especially after 1866. This happened precisely during the period of the beginning of the works for the enlargement of the port infrastructure (Millo, 2002, 191): Porenta’s main preoccupation was that “such major works preferably attract workers from the neighbouring Italian provinces, who resort to this hospital when they fall ill”. From his point of view, it was a fatal mistake for the Triestine provincial fund to enter into agreements with the Kingdom of Italy through diplomatic channels only after the start of construction works on the new port, which would have brought in masses of poor manual labourers from Veneto and other parts of Italy “without the municipality being able to legally claim reimbursement for the considerable expenses involved” (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 5416).

The war of 1866 and the long post-war period represented a crucial watershed for the management of public health in the Littoral and for the related issue of citizenship and costs for indigent people. The shift of the Empire’s borders implied a reconsideration about pertinency and the right to free care and protection for indigent workers coming from Veneto but living in the Littoral. During the peace conference in Vienna in the autumn of 1866, the Italian and Austrian diplomats and ministries negotiated an agreement about the legal status of reciprocal subjects/citizens living in both countries, also concerning the eligibility for public health care. The peace treaty of Vienna in 1866 recalled the previous treaty of Zurich in 1859 between Piedmont and Austria, and the right of Lombard subjects to decide their citizenship: the same principle was extended to the Venetian provinces seven years later (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 13572). This led to a difficult question concerning the pertinency of the Venetians and their eligibility for public health care in the Littoral.

In July 1871, Maria Lavezzo, originally from Veneto, was hospitalised in Trieste as an indigent woman, though without a clear right of pertinency. She was the widow of the Venetian Luigi Lavezzo, who, during the war of

1866, was himself hospitalised in Padua as a soldier of the Austrian Army. During his convalescence, he had the option to choose his – and consequently also his wife’s – citizenship, either to maintain their previous Austrian citizenship or to take Italian citizenship. He remained loyal to the Austrian Empire, so he was transferred and hospitalised in Leoben, in South of Styria, where he received his new *Heimatrecht*. After his death, his widow Maria left Leoben and moved to several cities in order to obtain financial substance. In Trieste, she became ill and the Triestine hospital was struggling to ascertain her pertinency so that, six years after the change of her husband’s *Heimatrecht*, she was still considered to be “homeless” (“*heimatlos*”) (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 340, 8646). After complicated research, a year later, in August 1872, she was declared pertinent to the Styrian crownland, on the base of the Residency Act of 1863:

According to new information received from Maria Lavezzo, her late husband Luigi Lavezzo, who at the time of the cession of Veneto had already been admitted to the Invalids’ Hospice in Padua, was questioned by the former Army Headquarters in Veneto as to whether he intended to retain his Austrian citizenship in accordance with Article XIV of the Peace Treaty of 1866, and declared himself to be an Austrian subject, as a result of which he was transferred to the Invalids’ Hospice in Leoben. According to §2 of the Austrian Residency Act of 1863, every Austrian subject must belong to a municipality, and consequently Lavezzo also had to belong to an Austrian municipality, which had to be Leoben. In the case of changes in the right of domicile, the wife follows her husband or retains the right of domicile as a widow in the municipality in which her husband had it at the time of his death (§11 of the Act). Maria Lavezzo, widow, belonged and should still belong to Leoben, and even if she were to be regarded as lacking the right of domicile in accordance with §10 No. 2 of the above-mentioned Act of 1863, she should also be assigned to Leoben, where she remained for a long period before the question of her husband’s entitlement arose. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 340, 10571)

The sources concerning this case study reveal a more general fact: the post-war period after 1866 signified a long and difficult transition for the Austrian Littoral. It put the administration of the crownland, in particular the structure of inclusion and provision of welfare and citizenship, under stress for the next decade.

⁹ Besides these agreements, the regulations with further foreign states (e.g., Great Britain, France, USA, Russia, Spain, Turkey etc.) remained unclear and resulted in the fact that the costs for indigents patients from these countries often remained at the shoulders of the treating hospital, with no possibility of requesting payment back.

It also highlighted the Austrian Littoral's character as a maritime "borderland". Maritime Istria was particularly affected by the events of 1866, that is, the ex-Venetian Istria until 1797, which continued to maintain close economic, professional, and familial relationships with Venice and Veneto until the end of the Monarchy (Toncich, 2021, 192–200).¹⁰ The daily interdependence between maritime Istria and the Venetian shore emerged in the more general debate of mutual free health care assurances for indigent individuals with different pertinencies (in this case now with different citizenship). In September 1867, the head of the Parenzo/Poreč district declared to the Triestine Lieutenantcy that "*it is of great interest to the writer, regarding Istria's close relations with Italy and especially with Veneto, to clarify this emerging doubt as soon as possible [...]*" (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 368, 12373). Venetians, who only a year before were compatriots but now were to be considered "aliens", continued to reside and work in Istria, and vice versa Istrians in Venetia. Maritime Istria, far more than Trieste, was particularly affected by this international change and the issue of the illness of indigent (new) "aliens". Public health became a pivotal legal tool for re-defining new political borders and "otherness", even regarding categories which until that moment were included in the very same system.

CROSSING INTERNAL BORDERS: INEFFICIENCIES OF THE LOCAL BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM

Looking back at the internal situation in the Austrian Littoral, the frequent and continuous changes of domicile of workers often caused problems. In addition to the economic issue of reimbursement of hospital expenses, the systemic inefficiency of the local administrative offices often emerged. With the reforms of the 1840s and 1850s, the focus of the legal inclusion of citizens was increasingly shifted to the more local centres. However, the professional skills of local municipal bureaucrats often clearly left a lot to be desired, and it affected the issue of conferring *Heimatrecht*.

Questions about public health and managing costs could intertwine with questions of cultural/ethnic categorisation and the territorial affiliation of the patients. Problems arose when the residency of sick individuals was no longer clear and clashed with "particular" cultural categories or mobile individuals. This was the case of an unlucky Istrian Roma-Sinti family (Poropat-Levacovich), who was arrested in Rovigno/Rovinj in June 1885 for occupying a house without permission. While in prison, some members of this family fell seriously ill with malaria. From interroga-

tions and research, it emerged that these people did not have a valid *Heimatrecht*, as the districts in Istria they indicated as their original municipalities did not have any document concerning them. To this end, the couple Marco Poropat and Elena Levacovich could not show valid proof of their marriage because the marriage certificate could not be found at the parish they indicated in Visignano/Višnjan. This meant that the children, even young babies, were illegitimate (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 9711).

The discussion about who had to pay for their treatment was fiercely contested: a long dispute between the Lieutenantcy of Trieste and the municipal authorities of Rovigno/Rovinj, Grisignana/Grožnjan, Lussinpiccolo/Mali Lošinj, Veglia/Krk took place from June to September 1885, as no municipality wanted to cover the costs. Meanwhile, the health of the family deteriorated, so that the costs increased (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 2335). Eventually, an official of the municipality of Rovigno/Rovinj intervened in the dispute and verified the illegality of this situation. The municipality appealed directly to the Ministry of Home Affairs due to a lack of accordance with the *Heimatrecht* as well as the individual rights from the Austrian Constitutional Law of 1867, and demanded the release of "these poor Gypsies who are suffering unjustly":

The nine gypsies may not, as they are without fault, remain further locked up in civic detention until the final fulfilment of the legal procedures for the verification of their pertinency. This is against the §8 of the State's constitutional law; and precisely in order to prevent such prolonged illegal detentions, the current law of pertinency in §18 stipulates that, as it is not possible at the moment to verify the pertinency of a person, that person must be assigned to a municipality. (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 2242)

Illegality was not self-inflicted, but was the product of the municipal authorities themselves. These people had been arbitrarily excluded from the legality of the *Heimatrecht*, following a generalised practise of exclusion of Roma-Sinti individuals – considered as a feared "in-between diversity" (Zăloagă, 2013) – from the legal body of communities in Western and Central Europe since the modern era (Fasanelli, 2010; Zahra, 2017). The complaint of the municipality of Rovigno/Rovinj against this double illegality seemed to be successful, as already in September 1885 the nine people received the *Heimatrecht* from their competent municipality of Dubašnica/Dobasnizza on the Isle of Veglia/Krk (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 16864).

¹⁰ An example of this still high contact between the two Adriatic shores is the Istrian doctor and professor Lodovico Brunetti, born in Rovigno/Rovinj in 1813, who graduated in surgery at the University of Padua, where he became one of the most renowned professors and luminaries. He continued to maintain close ties with his "homeland", so much so that he returned there frequently to perform special operations (Brunetti, 1876) or as a cholera doctor (Toncich, 2021, 244).

However, this lack of clarity regarding the *Heimatrecht* was not just an exception concerning a stigmatised and excluded cultural minority: it could also happen to individuals, mostly needy workers, who transferred from one municipality to another, even within the same province (Kalc, 2013). This was the case of Anton Pahor, who, in March 1883, was declared “*geistesschwach*” (“mentally deficient”) by the medical authorities of Gorizia. Pahor needed to be hospitalised, but the question of costs emerged: the political authorities of Gorizia were unable to establish to which district Anton Pahor belonged. He was born in 1834 and grew up in Merna/Miren (in the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, in the district of Gorizia), yet in 1855 he moved with his family to Pieris (in the same County, but under the jurisdiction of Gradisca). However, in the *Volkszählungslisten* (lists of censuses) he was found neither in one nor the other district (ASTs, IR LL, AG 1, 363, 4064).

This case highlights a common problem with these Lieutenancy documents: the municipal authorities often turned out to be inefficient in their vital task of conferring *Heimatrecht*. Yet as these situations of illegality emerged, they were corrected on an ad hoc basis in times of necessity for medical reasons.

CONCLUSION: CURING THE BODY, CORRECTING THE LEGAL STATUS

The Habsburg public health system, which was affected by the post-1849 reforms of the *Heimatrecht*, was shaped by the conservative exigencies of the imperial power, however it responded to the social and economic requirements of civil society. During the administrative and legal re-ordering after 1848/49, the more the empire shifted the focus of administrative action to local institutions (i.e., municipalities and their civic hospitals), the more administrative-political

structures of the Empire became interconnected. The interconnection was between municipalities within the same region, although, in a period of increased mobility, also among different crownlands and even with other countries. The complex imperial system of social and civic inclusion and welfare functioned through this combination of localism and interregional interconnection. However, it was based on strong economic inequalities and asymmetries, what led to recurrent administrative problems in the functioning of the public health system.

Within these intricate bureaucratic interconnections, multiple and complex forms of inclusion and exclusion of needy people emerged. These individuals found themselves suspended between complicated social and familial relationships, gender hierarchies, localisms, border changes, and exclusion as persecuted ethnic groups. In addition to all this, the vital issue was personal and public health.

From the perspective of the Austrian State, public health served as a key weapon to control poor and unstable parts of the population, and make this control widespread even in rural areas far from urban centres. More importantly, public health became a means to measure the acceptance of post-1849 reforms and to correct possible irregularities. Public health policies served to penetrate deep into local societies, even into pockets of poverty far distant from the “eye of power” (Foucault, 1977). The management of public health and citizenship represented a pivotal moment of encounter between individuals, who often lived on the edge of legality – sometimes even outside – and the state bureaucracy. The concern about spending public resources allowed these irregularities to emerge for the first time: the hospital became not only a space for curing the body of the patients, but also for correcting their legal/bureaucratic position.

VKLJUČENOST IN IZKLJUČENOST IZ HABSBURŠKEGA JAVNEGA ZDRAVSTVENEGA SISTEMA. UPRAVLJANJE KOMPLEKSNOСТИ V AVSTRIJSKEM PRIMORJU (1849–1880)

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POVZETEK

Po krizi v letih 1848/49 je imelo uvajanje državljanstva in struktur države blaginje ključno vlogo pri obnovi in ponovni ureditvi imperialne moči. Reforma *Heimatrecht*, ki je stopila v veljavo 17. marca 1849, je spremenila način vključitve v avstrijsko državljanstvo in določila novo fazo dostopa do brezplačne javne zdravstvene pomoči za revne ljudi. Ta zakon je določal, da se stroški nujnega zdravljenja v javnih bolnišnicah zaračunajo občini, v kateri je bil posameznik uradno registriran – bodisi v rojstnem kraju posameznika ali njegovih staršev –, in ne v občini, kjer je dejansko bival. Na podlagi zakona *Heimatrecht* je bil leta 1870 uveden Zakon o uredbi javne zdravstvene službe za celotno cesarstvo. Ta zakonodaja je privedla do paradoksa: da bi bili pomoči potrebni posamezniki deležni socialne zaščite, zdravstvene oskrbe in minimalne finančne podpore v primeru bolezni, so morali uradno dokazati svoj kraj rojstva ali prebivališča, tudi če so v času neprestanih selitev zaradi dela živeli drugje. Ta splošni problem je najbolj prizadel kompleksna območja monarhije, kot je bilo Avstrijsko Primorje, ki je bilo zaznamovano s sestavljeno upravno enoto, velikimi kulturno-jezikovnimi in socialno-ekonomskimi razlikami – predvsem med industrijskimi in trgovskimi pristaniškimi mesti ter podeželjem – in močnimi migracijskimi tokovi. Asimetrije in neenakosti v delovanju javnega zdravstva je mogoče zlahka razbrati iz dokumentov deželnega glavarstva o povračilu zdravstvenih in bolnišničnih stroškov (*Verpflegskosten*) za revne posameznike z različnimi pripadnostmi v tržaški civilni bolnišnici.

Ključne besede: Habsburško javno zdravstvo, *Heimatrecht*/pertinentnost, revno prebivalstvo, Avstrijsko primorje, stroški bolnišnic, deželna sredstva

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COMPARISON OF SOCIAL INSURANCE LEGISLATION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY AND THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA – LEGAL INHERITANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares the social insurance legislation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy with the postwar general social insurance legislation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia. The social legislature within the labour legislature was set up after the First World War and represented an important step towards the development of the social institutions in Yugoslavia. Similarities and differences in the development of the pillars of modern social states will be represented by a comparative analysis of the legislation in the field of health insurance through several aspects: differences between inherited social laws in the Kingdom; share of the Habsburg legislature in the new unified Law on Workers' Insurance (1922) and implementation of the law.

Keywords: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, Austro-Hungarian monarchy, social insurance, workers legislation, Central Office for the Insurance of Workers, the interwar period

CONFRONTO TRA LA LEGISLAZIONE DELLE ASSICURAZIONI SOCIALI DELLA MONARCHIA AUSTRO-UNGARICA E DEL REGNO DI JUGOSLAVIA – EREDITÀ LEGALE

SINTESI

L'articolo mette a confronto la legislazione sulle assicurazioni sociali della monarchia austro-ungarica con la legislazione generale sulle assicurazioni sociali del primo dopoguerra del Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni/Jugoslavia. La legislatura sociale, all'interno della legislatura del lavoro, istituita dopo la Prima guerra mondiale, ha rappresentato un passo importante verso lo sviluppo delle istituzioni sociali in Jugoslavia. Le somiglianze e le differenze nello sviluppo dei pilastri dei moderni stati sociali saranno rappresentate da un'analisi comparativa della legislazione nel campo dell'assicurazione sanitaria attraverso diversi aspetti: le differenze tra le questioni sociali ereditate nel Regno; la parte del legislatore asburgico nella nuova legge generale unificata sull'assicurazione dei lavoratori (1922) e l'ulteriore implementazione della legge.

Parole chiave: Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni/Jugoslavia, monarchia austro-ungarica, assicurazioni sociali, legislazione sui lavoratori, Ufficio centrale per l'assicurazione dei lavoratori, periodo interbellico

INTRODUCTION

The social policy encompasses a whole range of activities from practical social activities to teaching discipline in education.¹ Definitions of social policy are therefore numerous and different and depend on the context of usage, along with a range of concepts and categories such as social organization, social health, child care, social rights, social insurance, social services, the welfare state, social security, and laws, etc. From a historical perspective, the emergence of social policy is related to the introduction and development of worker's protection and labour legislation on the part of the state, followed by the insurance system of health care, social retirement system invalidity, etc. (Milosavljević, 2007; Titmuss, 1968; 1974).

During the second part of the 19th century, in the wake of growing industrialization and the strengthening of the working classes, social insurance constructs became an increasingly important political component of social rights. Compulsory social insurance was first introduced in Germany in the early 1880s as a social and political measure to improve workers' positions in certain fields of the economy.² Social policy and social rights³, including health insurance and employment security, have come a long way from its inception in the late 19th century. Initially, employment rights only covered basic job protections, though today they include a whole range of social issues. From a contemporary perspective, social rights discourse was important in the formation of the welfare system after WW2 in Europe. Today, The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, guarantees rights to social security, the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to education, and the right to benefits of science and culture (MacMillan, 1986; Garland, 2015).

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, social insurance was narrower and relied on

pre-war social, political, and economic systems, which varied in type, scope, and coverage of social insurance between European countries. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, social insurance⁴ assumed insurance in case of illness, accidents, exhaustion,⁵ old age, death, and unemployment. Legislation in 1922 regulated social insurance enacting the *Law on Workers' Insurance* (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922). In addition to just mentioned *Law*, there were also a series of laws that covered various professions ranging from miners and traffic employees to private/state clerks. (Glaser, 1925a, 66; Perić, 1931, 6).

Social legislation was largely inherited from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's legal system. We will focus here on comparing the Austro-Hungarian general social insurance legislation (insurance covering illness and accidents), and the Yugoslav *Law on Workers' Insurance* from 1922. Aiming to understand the problems of social security and its (dis)continuity, we will also discuss the existence of laws on social insurance for workers that were not included in the aforementioned laws and the legal implementation of main social insurance laws.

The general context will be presented, as well as the guidelines for three problematic questions: differences between inherited social legislations of the Kingdom of SCS; the contribution of the Austro-Hungarian legislation in the new unique social legislation of Yugoslavia; and the legal implementation of the *Law on Worker' Insurance*. Comparative analysis between laws of the three Countries – Austrian, Hungarian-Croatian and Yugoslav, as well as the legal implementation of certain laws on the regional level in the Kingdom, will show similarities and differences of each State's social insurance constructs.

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The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes inherited different systems of social insurance with existing funds. The territories under the Austro-

1 This paper is a result of a project in The Institute of Recent History of Serbia financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, according to the Agreement on Realization and Financing Research and Development in 2022. Nr. 451-03-68/2022-14/200016 from 4. 2. 2022.

2 Prussian laws represented the bases for social insurance in Europe and the first of such laws was implemented in 1845. It scheduled auxiliary treasuries for apprentices and auxiliary workers in case of illness. The Law on Illness Insurance was passed in 1833 providing accident insurance in factories in 1884 and the Law on Insurance in case of exhaustion in 1889. The German example of compulsory insurance was followed by governments in Austria (1887, 1888), Hungary (1891), Italy (1898, 1906), Kingdom of Serbia (1910), Great Britain (1911), and Russia and Romania (1912) (Glaser, 1925a, 66–67; Kresal, 1970, 212; 1998; Perić, 1931, 17).

3 In literature the term social rights is synonymous using with "human rights," "welfare rights," "social and economic rights," "rights to well-being" or "positive rights" (MacMillan, 1986; Garland, 2015).

4 The question of Yugoslavian social legislation (Pešić, 1957), especially health insurance in the period between the wars, was discussed by various authors across a broad spectrum of workers' rights questions (Milenković, 1999; Milenković, 1981; Milosavljević, 1972; Kolar Dimitrijević, 1973; 1982) or in the works about social questions with a focus on singular territorial units (Kresal, 1970; 1973; 1998; Kolar Dimitrijević, 1973; 1982; Petrović, 2011; Čalić, 2004).

5 The term "exhaustion" in this case is defined by Yugoslav law from 1922: it implies a person who, due to illness, old age or other disabilities, is unable to earn a third of what a healthy person earns for the same or similar work. In the case of one's exhaustion, the law provided for the receipt of a disability pension (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, § 66, 146).

Hungarian monarchy had the most thorough and longest insurance, while the territories under the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro remained on a declarative level or there was no social insurance at all. As a part of Austria, Slovenia (without Međimurje and Prekmurje) and Dalmatia first introduced laws legislating social issues in the mid-19th century. The employees of mines, state-run railways, and civil/private servants were given social insurance in the form of health, accident, and pension guarantees through fraternal funds that were gradually introduced during the 19th century up to the First World War⁶ (Glaser, 1925b, 10–11; Kresal, 1970, 210; 1973; 1998, 22, 187). General compulsory accident insurance for, mostly industrial workers, was introduced in 1887⁷ followed closely by illness insurance in 1888.⁸ Until the First World War, labour protection was further strengthened by changes through new laws and amendments, the last of which covered social insurance for maritime workers in 1913 (Glaser, 1927, 431; Kresal, 1998, 19, 23; Kresal, 2005, 162; Milenković, 1981, 110; Dobaja, 2009).

In the territories of Croatia, Slavonia (with Srem), Banat, Bačka, Baranja, Prekmurje and Međimurje, general compulsory social insurance for illness was introduced through Article XIV of the mutual Hungarian-Croatian Parliament “on the support of the trade and factory workers in the case of illness” in 1891. Certain professions had insurance before the enactment of Article XIV in the aforementioned territories, for example: miners had insurance based on the *General Mining Act* (1854) as well as insurance in case of disease for craftsmen based on the *Trade Act* (Obrtni zakon) of 1872 and amended in 1884. which did not fully take effect. The next step in general compulsory social security in these territories was the enactment of Article XIX in 1907. Article XIX improved illness insurance as well as enlarging and modifying accident insurance. (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, 13–14, 24–25; Pešić, 1957, 26–29) Due to the specific status of Croatia in Hungary, minor differences in insurance were present. The most important difference owed to the fact that in Hungary, as well as Banat, Bačka

and Baranja, insurance for agricultural workers⁹ was introduced in 1900 (Glaser, 1927, 431; Milenković, 1981, 113).

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, part of the Habsburg Empire from 1878, miners were considered as a special group of workers that already had illness and pension insurance based on the *Mining Law* of Bosnia and Herzegovina enacted in 1881. This law, like all other mining laws of the era, required the establishment of a Fraternity Fund which designated monetary help for injured or killed miners and their families. A law implementing compulsory illness insurance for workers in commerce, industry and trade was introduced on 15 February, 1909, inspired by the Austrian illness insurance format (Glaser, 1927, 431; Helebrant, 1925 51; Milenković, 1981, 113–114; Perić, 1931, 156; Pešić, 1955, 50).

The Serbia *Shops Act* (*Zakon o radnjama*) was introduced in 1910 and its articles 85–97 covered compulsory insurance in case of injury and illness of the workers, and voluntary insurance in case of exhaustion, old age and death. The Act was never applied due to political and military reasons, with the exception of the miners and state railway workers who had illness insurance, old-age pensions in fraternal funds. Officers and certain state officials also had pension insurance. The territories which were incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbia after the Balkan wars 1912/1913, and the Kingdom of Montenegro, as an independent state, had no regulations or laws on social insurance and protection of workers (*Zakon o radnjama*, 1910; Perić, 1931, 155; Pešić, 1955, 65–73; Milenković, 1981, 120–121).

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The period from the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (hereafter the Kingdom of SCS), until the passing of the *Law of Workers' Insurance* in 1922, can be characterized as a transitional period for social insurance. With the separation of territories from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, a series of problems arose in the field of social security. Primarily this was in the form of separate legislative

6 Insurance for the case of illness of workers of the Austrian state railways and the Society of Southern Railways has been carried out since 1858 through hospital support funds (Bolniške potporne blagajne), insurance for accidents at work since 1869, and pension insurance in Slovenia since 1844/1854. Fraternal fond as social security institutions were legislated by the Mining Act of 1854 in Austria, which marked the introduction of social insurance in Slovenia for miners and smelters (Kresal, 1998, 181, 188; Pešić, 1955, 5–6, 8; Keber, 2011).

7 Zakon od 28. decembra 1887, 1888., Amended by-laws from 20th July 1894, 9th August 1908, 29th April 1912, 11. February 1913 (for sailors), 30th December 1917 (Helebrant, 1925, 49).

8 Zakon od 30. marta 1888, 1888. The Law was amended several times and came into force on 4th April 1889, 11th February 1913 (for sailors), 20th November 1917 (Helebrant, 1925, 49).

9 Insurance for agricultural workers was based on *Legal Article II. 1898 on the regulation of legal relations between employers (landowners) and agricultural workers* (Zakonski članak II. 1898. o regulisanju pravnih odnosa između poslodavaca (zemljoposjednika) i poljoprivrednih radnika). It implied the existence of a concluded contract between the employer and the worker (there were two types of workers), and landowners had to take care of sick workers, but no longer than 8 days. If the illness lasted longer than 8 days, he was obliged to report the case to the municipal authorities. Also, the threshing workers were insured in case of accidents, which was paid for by the employer (Milenković, 1981, 119–120).

insurance except that the territories were left without insurance carriers and funds. To maintain continuity, social insurance was regulated by inherited legal norms and post-war laws of central and provincial governments (Milenković, 1981; Perić, 1931, 95–98). Along with these temporary laws, the government – more precisely the Ministry of Social Policy, worked on the Labour Insurance Act, which was supposed to be unique and general for the entire territory of the Kingdom of SCS.

The facts of the enactment of the *Law on Workers' Insurance* necessary for a full understanding of the model and influence on the *Law*, are only partially available. The archival materials of the Ministry of Social Policy, the creator of the *Law* and thus the relevant body, are incomplete and insufficient for understanding of this issue (Ašković, 1978).

The enactment of the general, unified, *Law on Workers' Insurance*, proceeded relatively rapidly. At the end of January 1919, the Ministry of Social Policy drafted the *Basic Law on Workers' Insurance*. The *Basic Law* provided mandatory insurance for workers in case of illness and accidents, while other types of insurance were to be implemented successively. The revised *Basic Law* was presented to workers, entrepreneurs, and institutions such as universities, medical associations, and various ministries. In December 1920 it got its final form, and was proclaimed as the *Regulation on the insurance of workers in case of illness and accidents* on June 27, 1921 (Pešić, 1957, 106–110). The *Regulation* was the basis for the *Law* brought up later. During the same period, the Vidovdan Constitution was enacted. Its articles 31 and 33 enabled special law on insurance of workers at the territory of the Kingdom of SCS “in cases of accident, illness, unemployment, invalidity, old age and death” (Glaser, 1927, 432; *Zakon o osiguranju radnika*, 1922, 209–210). Finally, the *Law on Workers' Insurance* was adopted on May 14, 1922, promulgated in the Official Gazette on May 30, 1922, and come into force on July 1, 1922 (Glaser, 1924, 226; Helebrant, 1925, 52–53; *Petnaest godina Središnjeg*, 1938, 3–9; *Zakon o Osiguranju radnika*, 1922). Certain aspects of the *Law on Workers' Insurance* had been changed over time by the amendments, and various decrees. Amongst them are regulations on payment of hospital expenses, exemption of postage, state subsidy, taxes, etc. (*Petnaest godina Središnjeg*, 1938, 22–45; *Radnička zaštita*, 1940, 157; Kresal, 1998, 51).

Enactment of the *Law on Workers' Insurance* was a part of a set of laws from the domain of workers' legis-

lation, such as the *Regulation of the 8-hour Work Shift* (1919), the *Law on Work Inspection* (1921), the *Law on the Protection of Workers* (1922), etc. (Milenković, 1999, 108; Nikolić, 1994, 71; Rafailović, 2014). It should also be pointed out that national social policy was influenced by new social changes in the times of discontinuity and restructuring after the First World War. The Treaty of Versailles, new international institutions (League of Nations and the International Labor Organization), and The Washington Conference held in 1919 were all influential.¹⁰

Law on Workers' Insurance, as we will see, basically contained the principles of both Austrian and Croatian-Hungarian legislation. In his exposition, the Minister for Social Policy, Vjekoslav Kukovec, stated that the *Law* was regulated on the basis of Article XIX from 1907 because

it adopted a system that was applicable to the largest part of our current territory: Vojvodina, Croatia, and Slavonia. That system seemed to be modern and more conservative than the one in Slovenia and Dalmatia, where workers had 2/3 of the management, and the employers had one-third. Croatia and Vojvodina have ruling parity. I adopted this second principle in an agreement with business representatives from the Chamber of Labor [...] in my opinion, they rightly pointed out that our country is not yet economically developed enough to be able to put workers' insurance in the hands of workers' representatives only, [...] so that principle was adopted in an agreement with conservative business circles. (Stenografske beleške, 1922, 391; Pešić, 1957, 111–113)

The basic principles of social insurance as proclaimed in the *Law on Workers' Insurance* were: the broadest compulsory insurance and complete unification of all kinds of insurance; centralization in one institution along with self-governing organizations based on equal representation of employers and employees in all bodies of the institutions; universality, territoriality, and reciprocity of insurance; state monitoring by the Ministry of social policy and the courts of labour insurance (Mudrinić, 1938, 230). According to Milan Glaser (Humski & Dimitrijević, 1998), the leading expert on social insurance and the director of Central Office for Workers' Insurance (Središnji ured za osiguranje radnika, SUZOR) since 1924, “all principles of modern

10 The basic institution to monitor the implementation of the labour legislation and to direct its development was the International Labor Organization, established upon the 13th part of the Versailles Peace Treaty as a part of the League of Nations. The first General Labor Conference was held in 1919 in Washington and its conclusions were the basis of the workers' goals in the period between two world wars (about 8-hour work day; unemployment; employment of the women before and after childbirth; night work of women, minimal age (14) of children to be employed and night work of children in factories) (Adžija, 1925, 167–177; Perić, 1931, 77–94; Rodgers et al., 2009, 1–15, 172–178; Čalić, 2004, 216; AJ-MTI 65-46-246).

insurance have been adopted, and as a result, it is possible to implement workers insurance in a way that it will be able to fully delivery in all circumstances" (Glaser, 1925a, 69). However, there were also some problems that characterized the law, such as: postponing the implementation of insurance for exhaustion, old age and death until 1937; exception from the obligation of Law a number of categories of workers (state, municipal, city and village administration, private clerks, mining workers...); reduction of state subsidies; little or no financial support to servants and domestic workers and vague categorizations of seasonal workers in the case of an accident, etc. (Petnaest godina Središnjeg, 1938, 61–68; Čalić, 2004, 217–218).

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As already mentioned, on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, two different general legislation systems in the field of compulsory social insurance were in use - Austrian (1887, 1888) and Hungarian-Croatian (1907). There were also special insurance laws for different professional groups. On the following pages, the most important issues of these two general legislations will be compared with the *Law on Workers' Insurance* (1922). The legislators themselves emphasized several fundamental subjects - which we will also refer to - what types of insurance should be implemented, the scope of insurance, the amount of support and the cost coverage, and the organization of insurance (AJ 65-1008-1896). The structure of the *Law on Workers' Insurance* was similar to the Hungarian-Croatian model, with certain modifications, and a more modern approach in some of the articles. The *Law on Workers' Insurance* had a total of 213 articles divided into 5 parts - 1. actual regulations 2. organization of insurance 3. resolution of disputed issues; 4. supervision 5. various penal, transitional, and final provisions (Zakon o Osiguranju radnika, 1922). The Hungarian-Croatian law had 209 articles and almost identical 4 units: 1. actual institutions 2. organization of insurance 3. procedure for resolving conflicting issues and supervision 4. various provisions regarding penalties, transitions and other institutions (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909).

The Yugoslav *Law on Workers' Insurance* anticipated insurance in Article 1 in case of illness, accidents, exhaustion, old age and death (insurance for the insured's family), and Article 2 predicted insurance in case of unemployment (announced as a later regulation, but has never been implemented in the form of insurance, only through other social institutions). Of the above mentioned, only the illness and accident insurance were clearly defined and implemented from the day the law passed. Insurance in case of exhaustion, old age and death (pension and insurance for the

insured's family) according to the *Law on Workers' Insurance* from 1922, was supposed to be carried out by 1925, but it was postponed until September 1, 1937, when the *Decree on the implementation of insurance for workers in case of exhaustion, old age and death* was passed (Pešić, 1957, 149–153; Kresal, 1998, 51, 152, 153; Mudrinić, 1938, 230–234; Glaser, 1925a, 66). Austrian law provided special legal solutions for accident insurance (*Zakon od 28. decembra 1887*, 1888) and illness (*Zakon od 30. marta 1888*, 1888). Hungarian-Croatian law, i.e. article XIX from 1907, defined and regulated insurance in case of illness and accident, but not retirement insurance. (*Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih*, 1909)

Insurance eligibility was defined as "all persons who, in the territory of the Kingdom of SCS, permanently or temporarily based on any employment relationship, lend their physical or mental strength, regardless of sex, age and nationality" (*Zakon o siguranju radnika*, 1922, § 3). According to the Austrian law, illness insurance covered all workers in the industry, trade, commerce and mining, as well as in the Hungarian-Croatian law (*Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih*, 1909; *Zakon od 30. marta 1888*, 1888). None of the three laws provided for the insurance of agricultural workers and day labourers; the Yugoslav one excluded prison inmates, houseworkers and certain occupations (Krajčević, 1937, 26; *Zakon o osiguranju radnika*, 1922, § 6). Specific to all three laws is that the staff of state transportation institutions, along with miners, civil servants and some other professions, had special insurance, which will be discussed later.

From the financial aspect, insurance costs in the Kingdom of the SCS were determined according to the salary of the worker and the type of insurance. All workers were insured regardless of their salary, but their salary was insured up to 48 dinars per day. The insurance contribution was paid based on the earnings of insureds (guaranteed wages) and according to the category of salary classes prescribed by the Ministry of Social Policy. The number of wage grades varied from 12 to 18 from 1922 to 1940, with a minimum wage of 2.50 dinars. The amount of contribution per insured person in case of illness was 6%–8% of the insured wage. For accident insurance, contributions were paid based on the guaranteed wage, according to the percentage of risk, and based on a certain tariff, which amounted to 5%–8% of the daily guaranteed wage for 100% risk. The prescribed insurance costs were paid by the employer, and the contribution was divided in half by the employee and the employer so that the employer can deduct half from the employee's salary. In case of an accident at work or occupational disease, the insurance contribution was borne exclusively by the employer (*Zakon o osiguranju radnika*, 1922, §§ 21–44; Glaser, 1925b, 50–51; Gojković, 1936, 77–81, 91–106).

A similar principle of the financial basis existed in the Austrian law, which was valid in the territory of Slovenia and Dalmatia. Insurance cost was based on a salary range, and according to the worker's qualification. There were 5 pay grades that mostly corresponded to real earnings in a particular field. Two-thirds of the amount was paid by the workers, and one-third by the employers, with the workers' contributions not being allowed to amount to more than 3% of their wages (Kresal, 1970, 216, 217; Zakon od 30. marta 1888, 1888, §§ 26, 24). Accident insurance was separated from health insurance under Austrian law and thus separately organized. There were insurance institutions where employees were insured in the form of premiums that were borne 90% by the employer and 10% by the employee. Contributions were calculated according to the tariff determined by the insurance company and approved by the state, according to the employee's wage and the assessment of job risk. (Bratož, 2018, 121; Kresal, 1970, 216; Milenković, 1981, 113; Zakon od 28. decembra 1887, 1888, §§ 16–17).

In Croatia, there was a somewhat different insurance financing system. Similar to the previous two laws, the contribution was paid based on the "cross-wages class", but the classes were determined by the State Treasury for the support of sick workers, especially for workers under 18 years of age. According to Article XIX of the Law, since 1907 workers paid for a membership card; then workers and employers paid half of the contributions for insurance in case of illness. The contribution at the expense of the worker could not be lower than 2% nor higher than 4% (The maximum contribution was 8 Kruna), and employers paid contributions for accident insurance (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, §§ 24–40, §§ 41–49).

In a broader sense, the *Law on Workers' Insurance* from 1922 forward, differentiated between benefits for illness, childbirth and death of employee and minimum benefits for family. In case of illness, insured members had the right to have: 1. free medical care during an illness of up to 26 weeks, with the possibility to extend for another 26 weeks; 2. medicine, bathing, healing waters, auxiliary medical devices (glasses, crutches, artificial legs, foot gaiters), and necessary bandages for 26 weeks. There was the possibility of extending the period for another 26 weeks for treatment devices as well as a food allowance (social allowance during sick leave) if an illness lasts longer than three days, in the amount of 2/3 of the guaranteed wage per day (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, § 45).

The Austrian law from 1888 provided for free medical treatment from the onset of illness, including obstetric care, as well as necessary medications and other therapeutic aids for a period of 20 weeks. For each day of sick leave longer than three days, the worker received 60% of the specified daily wage. Hospital treatment was limited to 4 weeks, and the costs of hospital treatment alone could not exceed the amount charged if a person had been treated at home (Zakon od 30. marta 1888, 1888, § 6; Kresal, 1970, 216–217). The Croatian-Hungarian law ensured free medical assistance as long as an illness lasts. Up to the twentieth week workers had the right to free medicine, bathing, medicinal waters, and auxiliary medical devices (glasses, crutches, artificial legs ...) also for a period of twenty weeks; food allowance, if illness lasts longer than three days, in the amount of 50% of the guaranteed wage per day, up to 20 weeks (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, § 50).

The laws also provided support in case of childbirth. According to Yugoslav law, mothers-to-be had the right to free midwifery and medical assistance, maternity leave in the period of 2 months before and 2 months after childbirth in the amount of 3/4 of the guaranteed salary; aid for the child's equipment in the amount of fourteenth of the guaranteed salary (if the child was born alive). The assistance for breastfeeding mothers was half of the provided daily wage, but at most 3 dinars per day. Women who did not breastfeed were entitled to child food assistance. According to the law, from 1922, women had to be employed and insured continuously for three months to receive maternity benefits. Later in 1937, the law was amended¹¹ and it was necessary to have 10 months of insured service in one year or 18 months in the last two years (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, §§ 45 & 49). The Austrian law provided for medical assistance to women in labour for four weeks after childbirth, and the Hungarian-Croatian provided for food allowance for a period of up to 6 weeks after childbirth, if a woman was insured for three months during one year (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, §§ 50 & 53; Zakon od 30. marta, 1888, § 6).

Childbirth allowances were particularly criticized by employers in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Business owners felt that it was "too much of a burden on our insurance industry..." and that financial assistance to mothers was disproportionately large. They required women to work more than nine months to gain the right to insurance, not only three months as regulated by law. For example, Ante Mudrinić, director of the Zagreb district office,

¹¹ The law regarding grants in the event of childbirth was amended by the Law of 5 December 1931 relating to the granting of grants in the event of childbirth, Official Gazette, 285a, XCIV, 1937 (Radnička zaštita, 1940, 157).

justifying the views of the employers, presented the example of Helena Hudovernik, a worker who gave birth to four children from 1924 to 1927, and who between 1922–1927 earned a total of 1,910.80 dinars, but received 4,319.60 dinars for maternity leave (Zapisnik III konferencije predsjednika ravnateljstva, upravnika i glavnih lekara mesnih organa Središnjeg Ureda za osiguranje radnika, 1927, 567–590).

Family members who lived with the insured person and had no income, had the right to free medical treatment, medications and medical devices for 26 weeks and to maternity assistance 4 weeks before and 4 weeks after childbirth, in the amount of 1.50 dinars per day. They also received support for necessary equipment. According to amendments to the law on workers' insurance from 1931, assistance to unemployed family members was limited to assistance to women after childbirth in the form of medical and midwifery support (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, § 45). The Croatian-Hungarian law provided for the same type of assistance for unemployed family members of the insured person: free treatment, medications and medical devices for 20 weeks and assistance in case of childbirth (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, § 50).

In case of death of an insured member, the family received support for the funeral in the amount of thirty insured wages (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, § 45), and according to the legislation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1888, 1906) families had the right to funeral allowances in the amount of 20 daily wages (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, § 50; Zakon od 30. marta 1888, 1888, § 6).

According to the *Law on Workers' Insurance*, the organization and implementation of workers' insurance were under the jurisdiction of the Central Office for the Insurance of Workers (SUZOR) with headquarters in Zagreb (Zakon o osiguranju radnika, 1922, §§ 119–158). SUZOR provided insurance for workers in case of illness and accidents from 1st July 1922 throughout the Kingdom of the SHS, and from September 1, 1937, insurance for all workers in case of exhaustion, old age and death. The mentioned institution originated from the *National Treasury for the support of sick workers and insurance against accidents*, that is, from the Hungarian-Croatian system of insurance. SUZOR was the only insurance carrier for workers included in the *Law on Workers' Insurance*. Insurance was carried out through its local bodies and the district offices.¹² There were also, as local committees of SUZOR, three private social health funds in the Kingdom for

the insurance of clerks and commercial assistants (Beograd, Zagreb and Ljubljana). SUZOR, as well as the district offices, were based on the self-governed principle and were headed by administrative committees, the general assembly, the directorate and the supervisory board comprised of workers and employers (Petnaest godina Središnjeg, 1938; Milenković, 1999, 113–115; Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, §§ 119–158).

In Slovenia and Dalmatia, hospital insurance was not centralized. Health insurance was provided through independent funding (hospital funds), i.e. health funds, which could be: district, business, co-operative, social and fraternal (for miners) (Zakon od 30. marta 1888, 1888, § 11). An entrepreneur who employed more than 100 workers could establish a health fund, that is, an illness fund. The mentioned funds were independent in their operations, but they were obliged to be members of the Association of health insurance funds, which covered the workers against accidents, and whose headquarters were in Trieste and Graz; the responsibilities of these associations were small. The exception was insurance for private officials which was centralized, with offices in Graz (Carinthia and Styria), and Trieste (Carniola, Austrian Littoral (encompassing Trieste, Gorizia, Gradisca, Istria) and Dalmatia) (Kresal, 1970, 216; Kresal, 1998, 193).

As already mentioned, SUZOR inherited the Croatian-Hungarian model of insurance organization. Accident and illness insurance in Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina was carried out through the *National Treasury for the Support of Sick Workers and Accident Insurance*, based in Zagreb for Croatia and Slavonia, and in Budapest for Hungary. The National Treasury worked through the local bodies of the district treasuries for workers' insurance and the entrepreneurs' treasury for the support of the ill. The same as in Yugoslavia, the system was based on the principle of self-government, with an organization of the general assembly, directorate, and supervisory boards in which insured persons and employers were represented in the same number. Insurance was supervised by a special state office for workers' insurance, which resolved all disputes as a last resort (Zakon o osiguranju obrtnih, 1909, 98–155).

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Continuing the practice from the pre-war period, entire classifications of workers were exempted from the *Law on Workers' Insurance* (1922), and had special insurance in the Kingdom

¹² District offices for workers' insurance in the mid-twenties were in Belgrade, Niš, Skopje, Vršac, Veliki Bečkerek, Subotica, Sombor. Novi Sad, Zemun, Osijek, Brod, Bjelovar, Varaždin, Sušak, Karlovac, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Split, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, Banjaluka, Mostar... The largest district office was in Ljubljana with 75,000 members, and the smallest was in Tuzla with 5,000 members (Glaser, 1927, 435).

of Yugoslavia. Certain insurance applied to the entire territory of the Kingdom, and some only to narrower areas. Mining workers were insured by the Fraternity Treasurer according to the *Regulation of the Fraternity Treasurer for the Insurance of Miners and Personnel at Mining Enterprises* from 1924/1925. Miners employed in mining companies, as well as their families, had insurance in case of illness, accident, exhaustion, old age and death (pension insurance), and since 1937 in case of unemployment, according to *The Mining Law*. *The Regulation* was created upon the *Law on Workers' Insurance*, and the hitherto different regulations of inherited mining insurance were unified and extended to the entire country and to accident insurance. Miners were in a slightly better position compared to other workers according to *Law on Workers' Insurance*, in terms of pension rights and the amount of some benefits, but they also paid higher premiums (10% in case of illness). *The Regulation of the Fraternity Treasurer* was amended and changed over the years, but significantly in 1928/1929, 1933 and 1937. Mining insurance was carried out by the Fraternity funds, with headquarters in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Split and local fraternity funds through three sections – Illness, Disability and Pension Funds (Grčević 1939, 257–258, 251–266; Pešić, 1957, 156–163; Perić, 1931, 179–192; Radnička zaštita, 1940, 157). State traffic personnel also had special insurance. They were insured in case of illness and accident on the basis of a special Order of the Minister of Transport dated in May 1922. From 1923 they had pension insurance per the *Law of State Traffic Personnel*. The insurance was provided through the Health Fund for traffic personnel at the Ministry of Transport (Pešić, 1957, 163–169; Perić, 1931, 179–192).

Officials in civil service, public and private companies were a separate category and had different insurances depending on their position (clerks, banovina clerks, state and banovina diarists, part-time and contractual clerks, municipal clerks, permanent monopoly workers, etc.). For example, civil state servants (except contract clerks and diary clerks) and staff of the National Bank of SCC were excused from the insurance obligation under the *Law on Workers' Insurance* in 1925; employers in public works companies 1922, 1925; workers and officials of water cooperatives 1927, etc. (Helibrant, 1925, 69; Pešić, 1957, 135–138).

The following example also shows the difference in insurance. The pension insurance of private officials was based on legacy insurance that existed in Slovenia and Dalmatia since 1906 (which came into force in 1909). After the War, in January 1919, Temporary General Retirement

Clerks' Fund was established in Ljubljana (instead of the General Pension Institute in Vienna, under the branch in Graz), which was granted to Dalmatia in August 1919. In June 1921, the *Decree on the temporary regulation of the pension insurance of officials in the former Austrian territory of the KSCS* was passed and became *Law* in 1922, and again it was amended and refined in 1933. It was finally regulated by the mentioned law from 1937 on pension insurance of workers. It should also be noted that insurance in case of illness for civil servants was carried out through the private social illness fund: Illness fund of the Belgrade merchant youth, Treasury of the trading and support society in Ljubljana and Illness fund of the society of commercial and private clerks Merkur, Zagreb (these funds were local organs of SUZOR) (Radnička zaštita, 1940, 157; Pešić, 1957, 156–183; Kresal, 1998, 152–153; Perić, 1931, 179–192).

Insurance of seafarers was carried out in terms of certain provisions of the *Law on Workers' Insurance*. Various issues of administrative and technical nature were resolved by the agreement with the representatives of shipowners and seafarers. Insurance for sea fishermen did not exist. It was postponed based on Article 6 of the *Law on Workers' Insurance*, because there were neither regular employers nor employees, since the fishermen didn't receive a salary for their work but shared the catch. However, supplementary insurance for seafarers employed on merchant navy ships was mandatory from September 1, 1937, in the case of old age and death (Radnička zaštita, 1940, 161, 247).

The statistical review confirms what has been said so far – social legislation did not equally cover all strata of the working population. It primarily covered employees in industrial, commercial and trade enterprises, state and private administration, miners and traffic workers, excluding the agricultural population. Also, there were cases where workers were employed for most of the year and were never registered, which completely circumvented the social legislation. This was a common case in the construction industry (Izveštaj Beogradske radničke komore o radu, 1932, 211). The number of average insured members, and thus persons with the possibility of health insurance by SUZOR was as follows: In 1923, - 439,164 insured, and by 1931, the number had grown to 609,190, the year the end of the Great Economic Crisis, 1935, there were 564,287, and before the beginning of the Second World War in 1938, 715,186 (Statistički godišnjak, 1934, 412; Statistički godišnjak, 1941, 409). Workers' insurance also did not equally cover the territory of the Kingdom. According to data from

1934, excluding Belgrade as a specific economic entity, the highest percentage of the population was insured in Dravska Banovina - 7.57% of the total population, that is, within SUZOR 15.93%; in Savska banovina 5.39%, within SUZOR 26.77%; and Dunavska banovina 4.27%, within SUZOR 18.74%. Dravska, Savska and Dunavska Banovina were to a lesser or greater extent the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy where, it was observed, social insurance had a stronger and longer tradition. These were also the territories that had a higher level of industrial development and thus employed workers (Glaser, 1935, 238).

With the *Law on Workers' Insurance*, all the principles of modern insurance were adopted, at least declaratively, and it represented one of the most important workers' laws in the history of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Representing, to the greater extent, an amended and more modern version of the Austro-Hungarian laws from 1887, 1888 and 1907, marked a big step towards the development of economic institutions. The law came to life, but

not entirely, because the institutions in charge of implementing it were not stable and strong enough to carry it out.

Implementing workers' insurance was not an easy task for the ruling circles and SUZOR. *The Law on Workers' Insurance* brought with it a series of difficulties arising both from the inconsistencies of the law and subsequent by-laws and decisions, as well as from the non-enforcement of the law by business circles and some authorities. Among other things, the fact was that the agricultural population, which made up the absolute majority, was not insured. Thus, the labour legislation covered a smaller number of inhabitants compared to millions of peasants who did not get state welfare protection. The other problems related to the *The Law on Workers' Insurance* were: delaying the implementation of insurance for exhaustion, old age and death until 1937; weakness of unemployment insurance; reduction of state subsidies to SUZOR, minimal or no support to servants, domestic workers and vague categorizations of seasonal workers in the case of an accident; exemption from the obligation of *The Law* persons employed in the state administration, private clerks, mining, traffic personnel, etc.

PRIMERJAVA ZAKONODAJE O SOCIALNEM ZAVAROVANJU AVSTRO-OGRSKE
MONARHIJE IN KRALJEVINE JUGOSLAVIJE – PRAVNO NASLEDSTVO

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POVZETEK

Zakon o zavarovanju delavcev v Kraljevini Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev/Jugoslaviji je bil sprejet leta 1922. Bil je sodoben zakon z najširšim obveznim zavarovanjem in popolnim poenotenjem vseh vrst zavarovanj; centraliziran v eni ustanovi in je zagotavljal univerzalnost, teritorialnost in vzajemnost zavarovanja; z državnim nadzorom ministrstva za socialno politiko in sodišč za delovno zavarovanje. Združil je vse razlike med podedovanimi socialnimi zakonodajami Kraljevine SHS, ki so se opirale na habsburško zakonodajo – avstrijsko (1887, 1888) in madžarsko-hrvaško (1907). Analizirali smo osnovna vprašanja teh treh zakonov: katere vrste zavarovanj so se izvajale, obseg pravic iz zavarovanja, višina podpore in kritja stroškov ter organizacija zavarovanja. Analiza je pokazala, da je v Zakonu o zavarovanju delavcev iz leta 1922 večina zakonskih rešitev v večji ali manjši meri napisana po madžarsko-hrvaškem vzoru, z določenimi spremembami, dopolnitvami in sodobnejšim pristopom v nekaterih členih zakona. Izvajanje zavarovanja delavcev je prineslo vrsto težav, ki so izhajale tako iz nedoslednosti zakona in poznejših podzakonskih aktov in odločb kot tudi iz neizvajanja zakona s strani poslovnih krogov in nekaterih organov.

Ključne besede: Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev/Jugoslavija, Avstro-ogrska monarhija, socialno zavarovanje, delavska zakonodaja, Osrednji zavod za zavarovanje delavcev, medvojno obdobje

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»KRUHA IN DELA«: O REŠEVANJU SOCIALNIH VPRAŠANJ V ISTRI IN TRSTU 19. STOLETJA

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IZVLEČEK

Članek skuša predstaviti nekatere značilnosti habsburškega socialnega 'sistema' na območju Istre v 19. stoletju, kakor jih je mogoče zaznati predvsem skozi perspektivo delovne (ne)zmožnosti kot ključnega kriterija za ugotavljanje upravičenosti do socialne pomoči. Avtorica opazuje naslavljanje socialnih vprašanj v tem času, pri čemer se kot eden temeljnih spodbujevalcev socialnih podpor – zlasti v primerih starosti, bolezni in brezposelnosti – izkazujejo predvsem krizne okoliščine. Pozornost je posvečena tudi vprašanju financiranja dobrotelnosti, ki je v večji meri slonelo na posameznih občinah, obenem pa tudi pomembnemu segmentu ubožnih fondov – zasebni dobrotelnosti, ki jo je mogoče razumeti v kontekstu meščanske etike.

Ključne besede: habsburška monarhija, Istra, Trst, socialne politike, revščina, meščanstvo, krize

»PANE E LAVORO«: SULL'ASSISTENZA SOCIALE ISTRIANA E TRIESTINA DELL'OTTOCENTO

SINTESI

L'articolo cerca di presentare alcune caratteristiche del "sistema" sociale asburgico nell'area dell'Istria nel XIX secolo, percepite soprattutto attraverso la prospettiva dell'(in)abilità al lavoro come criterio chiave per determinare l'ammissibilità all'assistenza sociale. L'autrice osserva le modalità di approccio alle questioni sociali in questo periodo storico, in cui gli interventi a sostegno della vecchiaia, della malattia e della disoccupazione sono spesso incentivati dalle crisi. L'attenzione è rivolta anche alla questione del finanziamento della carità, che dipendeva in gran parte dai singoli comuni, e a un fonte importante dei fondi sociali – la beneficenza privata, che può essere collocata nel contesto dell'etica borghese.

Parole chiave: monarchia asburgica, Istria, Trieste, politiche assistenziali, povertà, borghesia, crisi

UVOD

Preden je delavski razred postal ključna sfera vladnega delovanja na področju socialne oskrbe v zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja (Scheutz, 2005, 70) in je Avstrija po nemškem zgledu vpeljala sistem socialnega zavarovanja, so se delavski in nedelavski sloji zanašali večinoma le na dobrodelnost in kolektivno samopomoč, ki sta sicer kasneje sobivali z novimi ukrepi socialnih politik (Kresal, 2005, 162). Izhajajoč iz predpostavke, da v času večine 19. stoletja sicer težko govorimo o socialnih politikah (prim. Čeč, 2012, 41), ter da je bilo socialno skrbstvo bolj usmerjeno v kratkoročno reševanje trenutnih kriz, v katerega večinoma ni bila neposredno vpeta država, bo skušal prispevek podati nekakšen prerez socialnega 'sistema' na območju Istre in Trsta, kakor ga je mogoče zaznati predvsem skozi perspektivo delovne nezmožnosti. Ta ni narekovala le različnih tipov podpor, ampak je predstavljala tudi ključen kriterij za utemeljevanje (ne)upravičenosti do socialne pomoči (prim. Pančur, 2012, 145).

Socialna oskrba na območju Istre, zlasti v času pred uvedbo socialne zakonodaje v poznem 19. stoletju, ki je zadevala delavstvo, je bila doslej deležna le manjše mere historiografske pozornosti, predvsem pa je bila ta v različna s tem povezana vprašanja usmerjena razdrobljeno in parcialno. V okviru zgodovine socialnega skrbstva na Slovenskem je bilo narejenih nekaj splošnejših pregledov (Anžič, 2002; Grošelj, 2018; o pravnih vidikih pa Dobaja, 2009), a tudi temeljnih študij o različnih kulturnozgodovinskih vidikih revščine (npr. Čeč, 2012; 2016; 2020), ki pa so zajeli predvsem tiste dežele, ki so po prvi svetovni vojni prešle pod Jugoslavijo, ne pa tudi primorskega dela, ki je pripadel Italiji.¹ Nekoliko izdatneje pa je ta problematika razdelana za habsburški Trst (omeniti velja zlasti dela, kot so Fabi, 1984; Finzi, 2001; Scartabellati, 2006 idr.), čemur je gotovo botrovala večja dostopnost ohranjenega gradiva.²

V prispevku se želimo posvetiti prav primorskemu prostoru, in sicer v obdobju 'dolgega 19. stoletja'.³ Če opazujemo socialno oskrbo na območju Istre (in tudi Trsta kot sedeža deželnega namestništva za Avstrijsko primorje) v času avstrijske nadvlade – torej skorajda celo 19. stoletje, do začetka prve svetovne vojne – lahko zaznamo predvsem razpršenost socialnih ukrepov, po drugi strani pa vztrajanje mehanizmov, ki so tu obstajali že dolgo pred tem, pod drugimi političnimi sistemi.⁴ To je čas, ko je specializacija socialnih (in zdravstvenih) ustanov potekala še zelo počasi, ker so bile podpirne institucije še v veliki meri multifunkcijske, saj so na nek način nadaljevale delo novoveških špitalov – ti so še vedno bili, vsaj deloma, nosilci javne oskrbe (Scheutz, 2005).⁵

NAČINI OSKRBE IN TIPI PODPORE

Tipizacija podpore in oskrbe v grobem ločuje med neinstitucionalno oskrbo (ki vključuje t. i. 'zunanjo dobrodelnost', predvsem stalno ali občasno prejemanje podpor v denarju⁶ ali dobrinah – živilih, obrokih, oblačilih ipd.) in institucionalno oskrbo (nastanitev v socialnih ustanovah).⁷ O stalnih podporah je podatkov malo, zlasti tam, kjer ni bilo ubožnih inštitutov, ki so sicer take podatke denimo redno beležili. Slednji so bili rezultat jožefinskih reform in so nastali kot sistem razdeljevanja socialne pomoči, a to ni veljalo za Istro, ki je v 18. stoletju še pripadala Beneški republiki, je pa Ubožni inštitut seveda deloval v Trstu.⁸

Drugi tip pomoči je bila institucionalna oskrba, ki je bila predvsem v obliki ubožnic oziroma oskrbovalnih hiš namenjena zlasti onemoglim, ostarelim in bolnim,⁹ saj je bila pogosto povezana tudi z bolnišnično oskrbo. Dobrodelne ustanove tega tipa so se v obravnavanem prostoru financirale v glavnem od najemnin, prodaje pridelkov (ter zakonskih dohodkov, npr. od določenih glob, v Trstu npr. tudi davka na vino (prim. Di Fant

1 O socialnih sistemih v času med obema vojnoma na območju istrskega prostora v okviru Italije prim. Lee Downs (2018); Vinci (2012); Bratož (2021); za slovenske dežele v okviru prve Jugoslavije pa npr. Dobaja (2018).

2 O bogatem gradivu tržaških socialnih ustanov prim. Fabi (1980).

3 Članek je nastal v okviru ARRS raziskovalnih projektov 'Jadranske socialne države. Socialne politike v transnacionalni obmejni pokrajini od sredine 19. do 21. stoletja' (J6–1800) in 'Kulturno–zgodovinski vidiki staranja' (J6–2572).

4 Gre za območje, ki je vse do konca 18. stoletja spadalo pod Beneško republiko in se je nahajalo v neposredni bližini Avstrijskega cesarstva, pod katerega je sodil Trst.

5 Npr. koprski špital je v novem veku deloval tudi kot ubožnica in sirotišnica oz. najdenišnica ter zavetišče za neporočena dekleta, delno pa tudi kot bolnišnica; sprva so tovrstne ustanove v Istri delovale v okviru laičnih bratovščin (o tem prim. Bonin, 2018; Bonin, 2009).

6 Običajno je bil to, zaradi finančne teže, najmanj prisoten socialni ukrep. Tudi v Trstu zgodovinarji (prim. Fabi, 1984, 38) ugotavljajo, da je zaznati izrazito težnjo po zmanjševanju denarnih podpor ter njihovo nadomeščanje z manj dragimi oblikami pomoči.

7 Kot poudarja Woolf (1988, 37), pa ni mogoče govoriti o dveh povsem ločenih segmentih pomoči, saj sta bila pogosto bolj kot ne komplementarna.

8 O njem prim. zlasti v Di Fant (2011 in 2012) ter v priložnostno izdanih publikacijah, kjer se poroča o njegovem delovanju, npr. Rossetti & Formigini (1903) ter Cenni (1859).

9 Med drugim so bile ubožnice v Kopru, Piranu, Motovunu, Lovranu, Balah, Umagu, ... (Handbuch, 1855; prim. Madonizza, 1857). Po statistiki za leto 1885 je bilo v Istri 20, na Kranjskem pa 225 ubožnih ustanov, kar je sicer za posamezne dežele pomenilo 1 ustanovo na 14.186 (Istra) oziroma na 2.129 prebivalcev (Kranjska), v Trstu pa naj bi edina ubožna ustanova statistično pokrivala kar 141.709 prebivalcev. Hkrati se je po podatkih o 1 podprtem revežu na število prebivalcev Trst uvrščal v sam vrh (37), Kranjska v povprečje med vsemi deželami (80), Istra pa med tiste z manj podprtimi reveži (1 na 278 prebivalcev) (Österreichische Statistik, 1888, XLVIII).



Slika 1: Primer potrdila o revščini, izdanega na koprski občini (PAK, SI-PAK-KP-7, t. e. 208, št. 1070).

(2011, 80)), volil in dobredelnih donacij.¹⁰ Seveda je imela vsaka občina v svojem proračunu predvideno postavko z nazivom ‚dobrodelnost‘, a potrebno je poudariti, da je bila tu pravzaprav mišljena zdravstvena oskrba,¹¹ saj so v to kategorijo sodile bolnišnice in zdravstvene ustanove, namenjene duševnim bolnikom, porodnicam, najdenčkom, gluhozemim ipd., lokalne skupnosti pa so morale poleg tega poskrbeti za revne nasploh, torej so morale pokriti tudi vse preostale segmente socialne pomoči (prim. Scheutz, 2005, 68).

V predmarčni dobi je bila socialna oskrba v splošnem nekakšna simbioza med ubožnimi inštituti (kjer so ti obstajali), zasebno dobrodelnostjo in cerkvenimi ustanovami, po letu 1848 pa se že začelja premeščanje administrativne avtonomije na tem področju na lokalno (občinsko) raven (Scheutz, 2005, 66). Sprva je bil – tudi v Istri – še deželni fond tisti, ki je kril institucionalno oskrbo.¹² Dežela naj bi, tako 3. marca 1863 razpravljali v istrskem deželnem zboru, imela veliko stroškov s kritjem bolnišnične oskrbe revnih prebivalcev Istre, kar so na eni strani pripisali svobodi slednjih, da se prosto gibljejo po deželi, na drugi pa dolžnostim javnih bolnišnic,¹³ da v oskrbo sprejmejo vsakogar, ne glede na pertinenco, ter lahkotnosti, s katero naj bi se izdajala potrdila o revščini (Atti, 1863, 377).

Ob koncu istega leta se je odgovornost za (institucionalno in drugo) socialno oskrbo, kakor so upali tudi v deželnem zboru, prenesla na posamezne občine, kar je pomenilo, da so te skrbale tudi za dotok in razporejanje sredstev, to pa je pogosto zahtevalo veliko iznajdljivosti. Šlo je za zakonske spremembe, ki so zadevale določitev domicilnosti (Scheutz, 2005, 67; Anžič, 2002, 210; Grošelj, 2018, 210; Dobaja, 2009, 50), torej so bile občine pristojne za revne z domicilno pravico, oziroma so lahko za tuje reveže zahtevale povrnitev stroškov od njihovih domovinskih občin.

Zakon o urejanju domovinskih razmerij iz leta 1863 je namreč določal, da v kolikor ubožna oskrba presega pristojnosti in sredstva (dobrodelnih) ustanov, je dolžnost skupnosti, da podpre tiste ubožne, ki so v občini pristojni (Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt, 1863, § 22). To sicer ni bila radikalna novost, saj so tovrstne pravice v praksi obstajale že od 16. stoletja¹⁴ (Kirchner Reill et al., 2022; prim. Steidl, 2020, 36–37); sprva je ta pravica terjala odgovornost za socialno oskrbo od rojstnega mesta, obenem pa je obstajal institut odgona.¹⁵ Do sredine 19. stoletja se je to spremenilo tako, da ‚domicilnost‘ ni bila več vezana na rojstno mesto, temveč je bila določena bodisi po očetu, oziroma po neporočeni materi, poročene ženske so jo prevzele po možeh, sirote pa po kraju, kjer so bile zapuščene itd. (prim. Kirchner Reill et al., 2022), kar je zapletlo določanje pristojnih občin ter otežilo socialno oskrbo priseljencem,¹⁶ zlasti delavcem, ki so se začasno nastanili v ekonomsko privlačnejših mestih.

Vendar pa je svobodno razpolaganje občin s sredstvi za dobrodelne namene pomenilo tudi različne kriterije za določanje, komu ta pomoč pripada, kakor ugotavljajo tudi nekatere evropske študije (prim. Zimmermann, 2011, 12). Vse bolj se začnejo ugotavljati individualne okoliščine prosilcev, ki postanejo merilo za razdeljevanje podpor (te teme denimo pogosto postanejo točke dnevnega reda na sejah občinskih svetov), obenem pa občinske uprave odločajo o dodelitvi domicilnih pravic (Stariha, 2007, 41; prim. Globočnik, 1880, 70). Presojanje o upravičenosti do socialne pomoči in določanje vrste in načina oskrbe (kar je vključevalo tudi izbiro ustrezne institucije) je bilo v teh primerih naloga vodstvenih struktur, ki so izhajale iz meščanskih elit.¹⁷ Dodati je potrebno, da za Istro ni bilo posebnega ubožnega zakona¹⁸

10 Za podrobnejše podatke o tovrstnem financiranju na primeru koprške ubožnice (ki je bila priključena mestni bolnišnici) prim. zlasti Bonin (2012, 455ff).

11 Ta je bila v času razvoja javnozdravstvenega sistema namenjena večinoma revnim, ki na svojem domu niso imeli ustreznih pogojev za zdravljenje, ravno tako pa ne sredstev za plačilo zdravnika; za osebe, ki niso formalno izkazovale revščine, je bila oskrba v bolnišnicah plačljiva, ravno tako tudi obisk zdravnika na domu, ki je bil sicer tudi večinoma v praksi.

12 Z dekretom namestništva 1. marca 1855 je bilo že določeno, da bolnišnici stroške povrne tista dežela, ki ji pripada oskrbovanec (Atti, 1863, 377).

13 Od leta 1856 naj bi tiste ustanove, ki so imele status javne bolnišnice (ni pa to veljalo za občinske bolnišnice) za povračilo stroškov lahko zaprosile pristojno deželo (Atti, 1863, 377).

14 Domicilna pravica naj bi bila najprej formalizirana s cesarskim odlokom 1754 in dekretom dvorne pisarne 1789, ki sta predpisovala, da se domicil pridobi bodisi s posestvom hiše, pridobitvijo meščanske ali obrtne pravice ali z neprekinjenim 10-letnim bivanjem. Naslednje s tem povezano določilo je bil konskripcijski patent iz leta 1804, ki je kot ‚domače‘ štel vse v kraju rojene osebe, sledil pa je provizorični občinski zakon leta 1849 (razlikovanje med občani in tujci). Zadnja faza je zajela občinski (1859) ter domovinski zakon (1863), ki je uredil domovinske pravice (Stariha, 2007, 40–41). Potrebno pa je dodati še novelo 1896 (ki stopi v veljavo leta 1901), s čimer se je v avstrijskem delu monarhije nekoliko olajšala pridobitev te pravice, saj se je obudil – z domovinskim zakonom ukinjen – pogoj 10-letnega neprekinjenega bivanja v občini (prim. Steidl, 2020; Kirchner Reill et al., 2022).

15 Odgon kot ukrep je bil v rabi vsaj od prve polovice 18. stoletja, natančneje zakonsko urejen pa je postal leta 1871 (prim. Grošelj, 2018, 40–41; Čeč, 2010). Z določili o domicilnosti je prišel še posebej do izraza, saj je bil predstavljen kot način ščitenja občin pred tujimi berači, potepuhi, storilci kaznivih dejanj, katerih bivanje je bilo – ko so postali breme občin – smatrano kot nezakonito (ibid.).

16 Predvsem je z večanjem mobilnosti narasla potreba po evidentiranju krajeve pripadnosti in dejanske prisotnosti posameznikov, kar je omogočilo vračanje oseb, ki so potrebovale oskrbo, v njihove domovinske kraje, oziroma izterjevanje povračil za stroške nudene oskrbe (Kalc, 2016, 117).

17 Pomemben podatek je denimo, da so donatorji, ki so za Ubožni inštitut v Trstu letno prispevali vsaj 50 gl., imeli volilno pravico in so lahko postali člani njegove direkcije – ta je bila nadrejena ubožnim očetom, ki so na terenu ugotavljali upravičenost do podpor (Di Fant, 2011, 82).

18 Ti so se oblikovali po ukinitvi ubožnih inštitutov (Scheutz, 2005, 68), do katere je prišlo leta 1883 (Dobaja, 2009, 52).

(kakršnega je denimo leta 1883 dobila Kranjska; prim. Anžič, 2002, 40ff), ampak so se upoštevala določila domovinskega in občinskega zakona (Pančur, 2012, 145). So pa bili tu kljub temu na ravni občin oblikovani ubožni fondi, ki so bili med drugim namenjeni vzdrževanju dobrotelčnih ustanov ter socialni oskrbi.

SOCIALNA POMOČ V KRIZNIH ČASIH

Potrebe po socialni pomoči so se dodatno povečale v kriznih časih, denimo ob ekonomskih krizah, epidemijah ali naravnih nesrečah. Tako se je Istra leta 1855 po hudi epidemiji kolere soočila še z izredno draginjo,¹⁹ ob tem pa so se porajala vprašanja, ali bo veliko pomanjkanje pravočasno vodilo do iskanja pomoči in kdo bi jo bil sploh pripravljen ponuditi (PAK, SI-PAK-KP-7, t. e. 42, št. 1386).

Tudi v takih primerih, zlasti v desetletjih zatem, so bile izredne podpore breme občin, a v kriznih razmerah je mogoče deloma zaznati tudi pomoč na deželni (redkeje in v manjši meri tudi državni) ravni. Razdeljevanje sredstev s strani dežele sicer ni potekalo sistematično oziroma po vnaprej določenem ključu, temveč se je oblikovalo glede na prošnje posameznih občin oziroma okrajev²⁰ (Atti, 1863, 310). Sredstva se je zbiralo preko osebne dobrotelnosti, včasih je bila prisotna tudi pomoč vojske, ponekod pa je razvidno, da je občina v časih krize dajala posameznikom tudi posojila za izredne stroške, za katera je potem pričakovala povračilo (Bratož, 2017, 181). V Trstu z močno gospodarsko elito se je, zlasti od sredine stoletja dalje, oblikovala kopica različnih zasebnih meščanskih fundacij, ki so svoja sredstva letno namenjale tudi določenemu številu revnih posameznikov ali družin, vdov z otroci, v manjši meri pa tudi ostarelim brez vira prihodka in delavcem, ki so postali dela nezmožni (letno 4 nezmožnim ter 2 ostarelima nad 70 let).²¹ Na prehodu v 20. stoletje naj bi sicer figure filantropov (kakršen je bil denimo Pasquale Revoltella ali pa Cecilia de Rittmeyer idr.) postajale vedno redkeje – ‚zasebna dobrotelnost‘ je doživljala zaton, posameznike pa so začela nadomeščati združenja, društva, pogosto politično motivirana, ki so dobrotel-

nost uporabljala za doseganja soglasij in podpore (Di Fant, 2012, 19, 30).

V kriznih letih se je pravzaprav še jasneje pokazala ranljivost sistema, ki je bremenil občine, katerih zmogljivosti pa niso bile enakovredne. Jasno je, da si številne občine niso zmogle vselej pomagati same, posebej, ko je prišlo do povečanja potreb po socialni pomoči. Domovinski zakon (1863) je občinam naložil veliko finančno breme, kar so še posebej občutile manjše med njimi (Fejtová & Hlavačka, 2017, 17).²² Ta je sicer določal tudi, da lahko deželna oblast sprejme finančne ukrepe, s katerimi občinam olajša njihovo obveznost, da poskrbijo za revne, ki jim je bila naložena z zakonom (Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt, 1863, § 22), vendar so bili tovrstni ukrepi pogosto dokaj medli. Dežela, ki se je hotela izogniti povečevanju izdatkov v času izrednih razmer, ker je imela veliko stroškov že s kritjem bolnišnične oskrbe revežem,²³ je denimo spodbujala tudi medobčinsko solidarnost. Tovrstno pomoč sosednjih lokalnih skupnosti, ki bi jih neka kriza v bližini lahko tudi neposredno ogrožala, je mogoče zaznati še pogosteje kot deželno.

Zlasti tržaška občina je za Istro, ki je veljala za posebej revno deželo²⁴ pogosto, čeprav le priložnostno, namenjala sredstva. Vsaj v letih 1854, 1859 in 1863 je šlo za Istro iz občinske blagajne v Trstu po 1.000 gld. Leta 1861 pa je bil 30-odstotni delež postavke izredni stroški (‚spese varie straordinarie‘), za katere je bilo v proračunu predvidenih 10.000 goldinarjev (in ki so vključevali zelo različne reči, od pogozdovanja do nakupa artefaktov za mestni muzej), namenjen tudi dodatnim potrebam za namene dobrotelnosti, zlasti za tržaški teritorij in Istro (Verbali, 1861, 143).

Ključno pri tem je, od kod so se sredstva za tovrstno dobrotelnost črpala; videti je, da je velik del slonel na prostovoljnih donacijah. Potrebno je izpostaviti, da je bila dobrotelnost pomemben sestavni del meščanske etike (o tem npr. Čeč, 2012, 49–50; Čeč, 2020, 323), zato so se lahko oblastne strukture zanašale nanjo kot na vir dodatnih sredstev. Motivirana je bila s čustvenimi in verskimi vzgibi, stanovsko solidarnostjo,

19 Nekatera živila, denimo meso, maslo in sladkor, naj bi se celo stoddostno podražila.

20 Tako je bilo na primer leta 1863 22 % razdeljenih sredstev namenjenih okraju Poreč, okrog 10 % Motovunu in Pazinu, Kopru pa nekaj več kot 13 % (Atti, 1863, 310).

21 Npr. fundacija L. Riessa, ustanovljena v letu 1873, ter tudi fundacije barona P. Revoltelle, M. Radicha in druge (L'amministrazione, 1903, 306ff). Tu pa niso všteta delavska podporna društva, ki so nastajala že od prve polovice stoletja, na primer Bratovščina klobučarjev, Društvo za vzajemno pomoč trgovcev, Društvo za vzajemno pomoč sodarjev idr. (Bratož, 2018, 122).

22 To posredno kažejo prilivi v tržaški občinski proračun (dolgovale so ga druge občine, pristojne za tiste ‚tujce‘, ki so medicinsko oskrbo iskali v Trstu), ki so bili že leta 1865 nesorazmerno večji (53.472 gld.) od povračil, namenjenih za zdravljenje tržaških meščanov na območjih drugih občin (1.995 gld.) (Verbali, 1867, seduta 4 aprile 1867).

23 Primer Istre priča o tem, kako je bil s temi stroški (domnevno tudi zaradi zlorab) obremenjen deželni proračun (tu je dežela prevzela 4/5 stroškov institucionalne oskrbe). Stroški dežele za bolnišnično oskrbo so sicer v obdobju 1861–69 letno znašali okrog 15.000 gld., leta 1875 približno 25.000, desetletje kasneje pa že 35.000 gld. (Apollonio, 1896, 19–20).

24 »... quella povera provincia che nei frequenti flagelli da cui fu tormentata, trovò sempre nella filantropica e generosa Trieste un lenimento alle sue piaghe« (Verbali, 1863, 35). Razpravljanj o revščini v Istri je bilo veliko, pogosto takih, ki so vzroke zanjo iskala v ekonomiji. Rešitve, ki naj bi ta problem poskušale odpraviti, je z besedami »delo, kruh in oprostitev plačila davka«, denimo povzel dokument iz leta 1855 (PAK, SI-PAK-KP-7, t. e. 42, št. 1386).

gospodarsko-kariernimi motivi, zlasti z označevanjem statusa in utrjevanjem ugleda ipd. (Čeč, 2020, 320; Čeč, 2012). Nenazadnje je bila lahko povezana tudi s strahom pred revščino, ki je botroval 'čiščenju mestnega prostora' (prim. Čeč, 2016; Fabi, 1984, 27). V Trstu naj bi tako mnogi dobrodelneži znatno povečali svoj letni prispevek Ubožnemu inštitutu, le da bi se – z izgradnjo nove ubožnice – čim prej znebili pouličnih beračev (Rossetti & Formiggini, 1903, 68).²⁵ Donacije zasebnikov so se večinoma zbiralale preko javnih pozivov; na primer leta 1863 (šlo je za izredne okoliščine, močno sušo in slab pridelek, kar je povečalo število pomoči potrebnih) je bil tak poziv za donacije za potrebe Istre in tržaškega teritorija podan prebivalcem Trsta. Čeprav je bila s strani državne zakladnice dodeljena subvencija v višini 20.000 gld., to ni zadostovalo in je tržaško namestništvo računalo tudi na donacije zasebnikov (Atti, 1863, 399). Podobno se je dogajalo ob pogostih epidemijah (zlasti kolere), ki so vplivale tudi na preskrbo družin, saj so številne ostale brez (dela zmožnih) nosilcev prihodka: »[...] nella maggior parte delle epidemie, comuni intere vengono colpite, pochi sono i risparmiati dal male e specialmente fra la classe povera ed agricola; e quindi molte braccia vengono tolte al lavoro ed all'industria; restano abbandonate le campagne, molte famiglie anche non povere sbilanciate nella loro economia domestica, per la impossibilità di procacciarsi col lavoro e coll'industria il loro sostentamento, o per la necessità d'altronde di provvedere con straordinarie spese alla propria esistenza e conservazione«, je bilo zapisano v aktih istrskega deželnega zbora (Atti, 1864, 253). Prav tovrstne krize pa so pogosto delovale kot dodaten spodbujevalec dobrodelnosti;²⁶ zasebni donatorji so denimo dobrodelnim ustanovam prispevali ob smrti sorodnikov, ali pa so sodelovali pri organizaciji dobrodelnih dogodkov, denimo plesov, predstav ali tombol (Rossetti & Formiggini, 1903).

Izbruh kolere v Izoli je bil denimo leta 1886 tudi motiv za izprositev dela sredstev iz deželne blagajne za trenutne potrebe za tiste dele oskrbe, ki jih običajno dežela ni krila. V dopisu, ki so ga namenili deželnim oblastem, so občinski predstavniki potožili, da je morala občina na pomoč priskočiti številnim prizadetim, v pomanjkanju živečim družinam. Ker bi morala vsota zadostovati tako za bolničarje, straže in drugo osebje, kot tudi za kopico nepredvidljivih izdatkov, je občina s

to utemeljitvijo zaprosila za 2.000 gld. Naposled jim je bilo iz deželnega fonda namenjenih le 700 gld., druge deleže finančne pomoči, ki so se stekli v občinsko blagajno, pa so prispevali vlada (100 gld.), ter zasebniki, zlasti nekateri politični akterji iz regije (te donacije so predstavljale slabo četrtno dodatnih prihodkov).²⁷

Kakor sicer ni bila redkost niti drugod po Evropi, so tudi v tem prostoru ob povečanju potreb po sredstvih za namene dobrodelnosti v okviru občin ustanavljali posebne komisije (npr. komisija za dobrodelnost, za »javno pomoč«, ...). V Istri je videti, da so bili to večinoma začasni *ad hoc* organi, ki se formirajo zlasti v kriznih razmerah (posebno ob epidemijah) in delujejo kot posredniki; njihova naloga je bila običajno zbirati zasebne donacije ter revežem priskrbeti bolničarje, zdravila, perilo in hrano, občasno tudi skromnejše podpore v denarju. Praviloma so jim načelovali predstavniki lokalne oblasti, cerkve ter medicinske stroke. Tudi tam, kjer ubožnih inštitutov ni bilo, so tovrstne komisije pod okriljem mestnih oblasti in s pomočjo načelnikov mestnih četrti (ti so namreč – po analogiji z ubožnimi očetmi – najbolje poznali prebivalce posameznega mestnega predela) vodile sezname revnih. Na podeželju so nalogo posrednikov za dodeljevanje podpor opravljali duhovniki (prim. Verballi, 1863, 96). Videti pa je, da administrativna mreža za socialno oskrbo ni bila poenotena, saj so v istrskem deželnem zboru leta 1865 posebej predlagali ustanovitev odborov za dobrodelnost za vse tiste občine (ali župnije), kjer je bil ubožni fond prepuščen prostim rokam občinske uprave in posebnih dobrodelnih struktur ni bilo (Atti, 1865, 226). Morda je to dodalo spodbudo tudi za ustanovitev društva za pomoč revnim v Kopru leta 1866, ki je preko predstavnikov mestnih četrti vodilo sezname revnih ter skrbelo za razdeljevanje živil, oblačil in posteljnine (PAK, SI-PAK-KP 7, t. e. 79, a. e. 215).

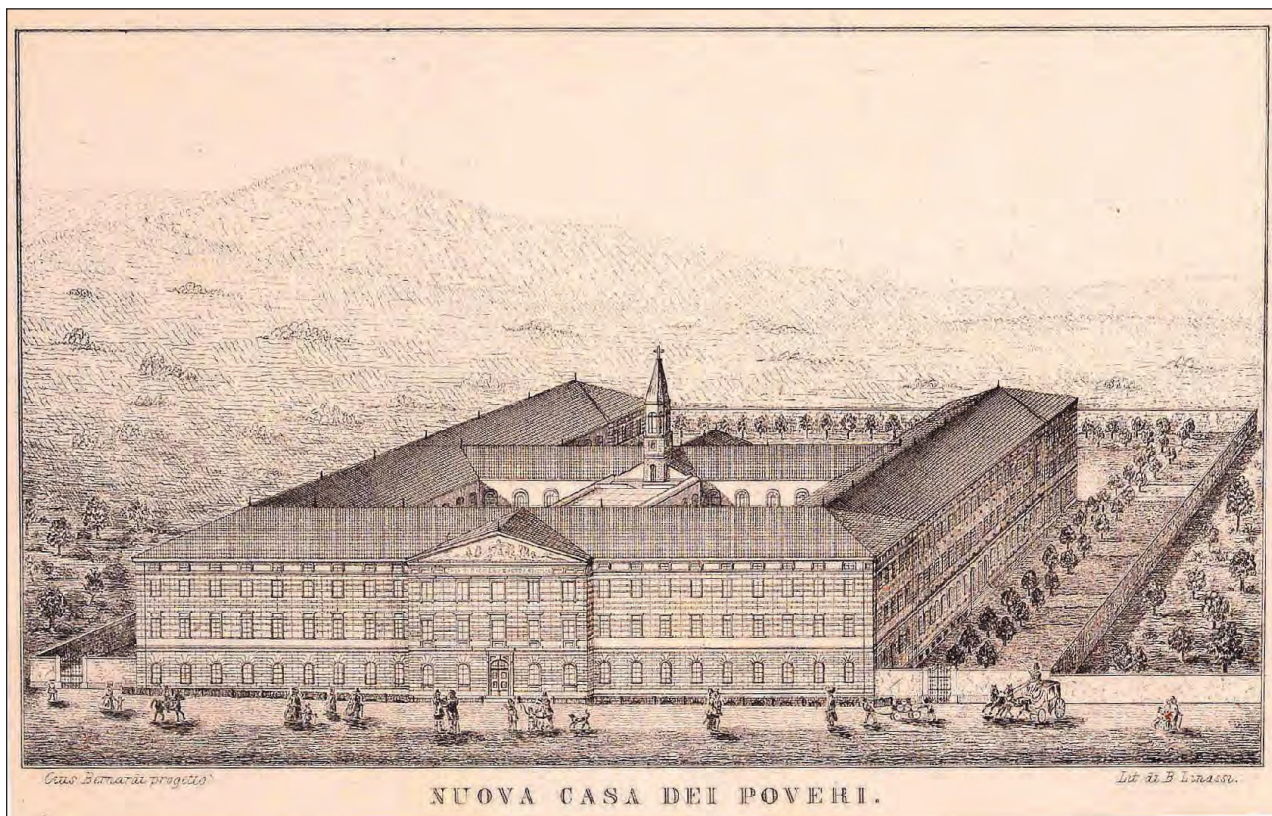
Pomen tovrstnega posredništva, ki so ga igrale take komisije, ni bilo le uspešno zaznavanje revščine v posamezni skupnosti, temveč tudi zagotavljanje diskretnosti, saj je bila samopercepcija obubožanega človeka, ki se je v taki vlogi znašel zaradi neke trenutne krize,²⁸ lahko tesno povezana z občutkom sramu. Tako naj bi odbor za 'skrivno usmiljenje' pri tržaški izredni komisiji za dobrodelnost v letu 1855 ob večji epidemiji kolere poskrbel, da je skrivnost o pomanjkanju posameznih družin ostala na varnem in so se te lahko »izvlekle iz pomanjkanja, ne da bi pri tem spravile v nevarnost svoje samoljubje« (Bratož, 2017, 115).

25 Drugače povedano, obstoj pomoči revnim je bil za elite koristen v ekonomskem, družbenem, političnem, zdravstvenem in moralnem smislu (Leeuwen, 1994, 611).

26 O teh vidikih dobrodelnosti, ki je bila spodbujena tako s kolektivnim strahom (npr. pred socialnimi posledicami kriz) kot s pragmatičnimi cilji, kakršen je bil verjetje v možnost izogiba bolezni (Čeč, 2020, 314).

27 Istega leta so v Kopru, a še pred izbruhom epidemije kolere, razdelili skupaj nekaj več kot 88 goldinarjev izredne denarne podpore, ki so jo prejela 203 gospodinjstva (Bratož, 2017, 187–188), saj se je število pomoči potrebnih zaradi slabe letine povečalo. Običajnejše je bilo sicer razdeljevanje pomoči v naravi, sploh na podeželju. V »letu usodnega pomanjkanja« (1854) so denimo na istrskem in tržaškem podeželju razdeljevali koruzo in (belo) moko (PAK, SI-PAK-KP-7, t. e. 40, akti (1855), št. 343).

28 Da so v času bolezni lahko v revščino zapadle tudi dobro stoječe družine, potrjujejo tudi drugi avtorji (Čeč, 2020, 320), saj je bil njihov akumuliran kapital premajhen za soočanje z večjimi krizami.



Slika 2: Nova tržaška ubožnica, kakršna je zrasla v drugi polovici 19. stoletja (Cenni, 1859).

O DELU, KI PREPREČUJE REVŠČINO

Leta 1864 je tržaška občina vzpostavila posebno komisijo (»,Commissione sul pauperismo«), sestavljeno iz dveh občinskih svetnikov ter štirih predstavnikov dobrodelne direkcije, katere naloga je bila preučiti in predstaviti predloge za izboljšanje stanja na področju socialnega vprašanja. V poročilu (o njem prim. Fabi, 1984, 145–146; Rossetti & Formiggini, 1903, 87; Finzi, 2001, 416ff; Scartabellati, 2006, 40ff), ki ga je komisija po zaključku svoje naloge predstavila, se je izpostavila tudi problematika pomanjkanja dela. Ob tem je mogoče pritrditi ugotovitvam, da so bili prav starost, bolezen in brezposelnost tisti ključni socialni problemi oziroma spodbujevalci revščine tudi v istrskem prostoru (prim. tudi Scheutz, 2005, 59). Tu pa ni mogoče mimo pomembnega diskurza, povezanega z upravičenostjo do socialne pomoči oziroma razprav o »pravi« in »nepravi« revščini. Zahteva po delitvi revnih na dve skupini (zaposljive berače na eni ter revne, ki se niso mogli preživljati npr. zaradi starosti ali zdravstvenega stanja, na drugi strani) je obstajala v posvetnih oblasteh skozi celoten novi vek,

razsvetljenstvo pa je nato, kakor ugotavljajo nekatere razprave, le pospešilo institucionalizacijo v reševanju tega problema v urbanem prostoru, npr. z uvedbo delovnih hiš in prisilnih delavnic (Fejtová & Hlavačka, 2017, 10). Zato je razsvetljenska miselnost, ki je vztrajala v meščanski etiki še zagotovo vse 19. stoletje, ključna tudi pri teh vprašanjih. Zlasti imamo tu v mislih ekonomsko upravičeno (merkantilistično) moraliziranje, po katerem je človek s svojim delom koristen za državo in njeno blaginjo. Diametralno nasprotje delu kot vrednoti je bila lenoba, brezdelje, s katerim pa so pogosto povezovali dela zmožne revne. Po tej logiki so bili zares usmiljenja vredni (in do pomoči upravičeni) zgolj tisti revni, ki iz objektivnih razlogov niso mogli delati (torej ostareli, bolni, invalidni ipd.), kratka delovno – povsem ali delno – nezmožni.²⁹ Na preostale revne so večinoma, že od 18. stoletja, gledali kot na neizkoriščen potencial delovne sile. Pomembna distinkcija je bila sicer tudi med *trajno* in *začasno* delovno nezmožnostjo; če se je slednjo skušalo čim prej sanirati (tudi v okviru obstoječih zdravstveno-socialnih ustanov), je prva običajno že implicirala dodeljevanje določene vrste socialne oskrbe.

²⁹ Takole so bili »pravi reveži« definirani v pravilniku Ubožnega inštituta v Trstu iz leta 1818: »I realmente poveri si distinguono in quelli, che per disgrazia, difetti corporali o vecchiaia si sono resi affatto inabili a procacciarsi col lavoro il loro sostentamento, ed in quelli che per simili circostanze sono divenuti soltanto in parte inabili al lavoro, che non possono procacciarsi il loro intiero sostentamento da sè stessi, ma bensì almeno una parte del medesimo« (Kandler, 1861, 11).

Delo kot vrednota in zagotovilo osebne sreče ter družbenega blagostanja je bilo trdno zasidrano tudi v meščanske kulturne kode 19. stoletja, pri čemer naj bi bila naloga družbe pridobiti čim več delovno zmožnih (koristnih) družbenih členov.³⁰ O tem je denimo leta 1845 pisal Carlo Combi – tedaj vodja uradniškega osebja Ubožnega inštituta v Trstu, ki je v svojem razmišljanju povzel miselnost tržaške trgovske elite in splošno prisoten diskurz o pavperizaciji (urbane) družbe – ter idejo, da je »*izobraziti in moralizirati*« ključna naloga filantropije in dobrodelnosti, ter da mora obstajati tudi javna (ne le zasebna) dobrodelnost, ki ne prispeva le k začasnemu reševanju težav, temveč tudi k dolgoročnejši odpravi vzrokov revščine za javno dobro.³¹

Vendar pa naj tudi javna dobrodelnost v smislu prevzgoje revnih ne bi bila izvedljiva za vse; odrasli (med njimi zlasti starostniki) so bili po Combijevih besedah »*za družbo že izgubljene rastline*«, ki jim je bodisi starost odvzela za delo potrebne moči, bodisi so bili iz moralnih, fizičnih ali drugih razlogov (kompetence) prikrajšani za zaposlitev. Tudi ob odprtju nove tržaške ubožnice leta 1862 so iz inavguracijskih nagovorov odmevala sporočila o tem, da dobrodelne institucije ponujajo dve stvari – zatočišče in delo, ter da je to največ, kar lahko revež zahteva od družbe (Rossetti & Formiggin, 1903, 68). Tedanje doktrine so namreč promovirale verjetje v to, da se z zagotavljanjem dela izvaja resnično in dobronamerno usmiljenje³² ter da tako vsakdo, glede na lastne zmožnosti, določene s spolom, starostjo ter fizičnimi močmi, prispeva k skupnemu dobremu. Iz tega naj bi bili tako izvzeti le dela nezmožni (Rossetti & Formiggin, 1903, 66).

Za namene socialnega discipliniranja oziroma tovrstne prevzgoje – brezdelje je bilo namreč dojetje tudi kot eden ključnih pogojev za vznik kriminala – so se v evropskem prostoru ustanovljale prisilne delavnice in delovne hiše (o teh prim. Scheutz, 2005, 62), ki pa so bile za istrski prostor manj značilne (kar sicer ne velja za Trst³³), obstajale pa so razne obrtne šole, namenjene vzgoji in usposabljanju mladih iz nižjih slojev (v Kopru npr. Grisonijev inštitut; o njem prim. Bonin, 2012). Cilj teh je bil vzgojiti mlade, da

bodo postali »koristni ne le zase, ampak tudi za širšo skupnost in družbo,« zato je Combi tudi predlagal nekaj, do česar v njegovem času še ni prišlo – diferenciacijo takih ustanov oziroma ločitev na ustanove, namenjene oskrbi odraslih ter na tiste za zaščito in vzgojo otrok/mladih. Kljub temu so tudi »običajne« ubožnice do določene mere doktrino o delu in njegovih koristih infiltrirale v svoje delovanje; v teh ustanovah se je namreč v zameno za bivanje običajno pričakovalo tudi brezplačno delo, v kolikor ga je bil posameznik zmožen opravljati.³⁴

Omeniti je treba tudi *začasno* delovno nezmožnost zaposlenih delavcev; tem so lahko stisko deloma blažila nadomestila v okviru delavskih podpornih društev, zavarovalnic ipd., seveda če so zanje plačevali prispevke. Avstrija je leta 1887 vpeljala nezgodno, leto kasneje pa tudi zdravstveno zavarovanje, a že v desetletjih pred tem so obstajale organizirane oblike samopomoči, namenjene delavcem. V koprskem društvu za vzajemno pomoč (ki je bilo – sicer sprva le za moške delavce – ustanovljeno leta 1869,³⁵ v letu 1882 pa je bilo v Istri že 14 takih društev) je včlanjenim delavcem ob začasnih delovnih nezmožnostih (zaradi bolezni ali poškodbe) pripadala podpora. Ta je bila zmanjšana za tretjino, v kolikor je bolezen trajala 4 mesece oziroma za polovico, če je trajala več. V okviru takih društev je sicer potekala tudi pomoč pri iskanju zaposlitve za brezposelne člane (Bratož, 2018).

Tisti, ki dela *trajno* niso bili zmožni opravljati, pa so bili upravičeni do enega ali drugega načina socialne podpore (čeprav praviloma nezadostne); razen institucionalne oskrbe v ubožnici so lahko bili prejemniki pomoči v hrani ali dobrinah. Zlasti pogosto je bilo (npr. v večjih mestih, kot je bil Trst) razdeljevanje brezplačnih obrokov (juhe) pod okriljem Ubožnega inštituta – potreba po teh naj bi od leta 1837 do 1845 (zaradi ekonomsko motiviranega priseljevanja delavstva) narasla z 800 na 2.000 in več razdeljenih obrokov (Fabi, 1984, 41).³⁶ To razdeljevanje brezplačnih obrokov naj bi sicer predstavljalo širšo obliko dobrodelnosti, ne ozko vezane na domicilno pravico, vendar praviloma začasne (Di Fant, 2012, 22 in 30).

30 O ideologiji, povezani z delom več v Studen (2012); Stariha (2007), v kontekstu potepuštva pa tudi npr. Wadauer (2011).

31 Ubožni inštitut je bil nasploh ključni regulator zasebne dobrodelnosti oziroma se je predstavljal kot edini veljavni posrednik za zasebno dobrodelnost, ki bi lahko bila zlorabljena s strani lažnih revežev, če se ne bi kanalizirala preko institucije, ampak posameznikov (Di Fant, 2012, 23). V tem kontekstu je lažje razumeti skrb, da bi afera, ki jo je v Trstu s svojim okoriščanjem z javnimi sredstvi povzročil Combi (Fabi, 1984) nevarno ogrozila kredibilnost podpornih institucij v rokah meščanske elite, ki jo je skrbela lastna javna (moralna) podoba.

32 »... *col dare lavoro si opera la veritiera e benefica carità*«

33 V Trstu je dodelitev institucije za oskrbo prosilcev narekovalo načelo delovne sposobnosti; tisti, ki so še lahko postorili kakšno delo (tudi manjše, denimo tesarsko, krojaško, čevlarsko ali drugo delo) – četudi si denimo zaradi visoke starosti niso mogli zagotoviti preživetja – so bili dodeljeni oskrbovalni hiši Ubožnega inštituta, popolni invalidi pa civilni bolnišnici (Di Fant, 2011, 88).

34 Gl. denimo pravilnik izolske ubožnice Besenghi (PAK, SI-PAK-KP-250, t. e. 1, m. 3).

35 Takrat je nastalo tudi tržaško društvo (*Società Operaia Triestina*), ki je združevalo vse delavce, saj so pred tem obstajala le posamična društva za vzajemno pomoč, namenjena točno določenim poklicnim skupinam (Scartabellati, 2006, 52).

36 Tudi kasneje (1862) se poroča o 1.200 do 2.000 dnevno skuhanih brezplačnih obrokih za vse pomoči potrebne izven oskrbe institucij, katerih število se je spreminjalo glede na potrebe in sezono (Rossetti & Formiggin, 1903, 67).

Deloma so bile verjetno utemeljene tudi sočasne pritožbe glede tega, da je socialna oskrba zgoščena pretežno v urbanih prostorih oziroma premalo pride nasproti potrebam, ki se izkazujejo v ruralnem okolju. V Trstu je bilo denimo razdeljevanje obrokov (mineštre) namenjeno tudi prebivalcem sosesk in vasi (okolice),³⁷ vendar je bilo ponje treba priti v mesto, kar pa je lahko predstavljalo težavo za ostarele, ki so živeli zunaj njega. Ti poleg tega tudi niso mogli sodelovati pri še enem ‚socialnem ukrepu‘, in sicer koriščenju plačljivih javnih del (popravilu cest³⁸), za katera je občina leta 1863 namenila več sredstev,³⁹ ki so bila nato izplačana udeležnim delavcem. Ravno brezposelnost, tudi začasna, je bila pereč problem, ki je povečeval kvoto pomoči potrebnih (Verbali, 1863, 35). Večkrat se je opozarjalo, da je revščina na podeželju sezonska⁴⁰; »durante l'estate tutti lavorano o la campagna, od in un modo o nell'altro, e nell'inverno sono quasi tutti poveri« (Verbali, 1864, 215). To so občasno skušali reševati z ukrepi, kot je bilo omogočanje javnih del v zimskem času, ter razdeljevanje dobrin (moke, soli, ...). Veliko revnih s podeželja je sicer iskalo priložnosti v mestu – imeli so tudi dostop do institucionalne oskrbe (ubožnica), vendar pa so bili ob splošnem netoleriranju in kriminalizaciji beračenja v ustanovo običajno odvedeni prisilno; leta 1864 naj bi bilo v Trstu 715 arestov beračev, od tega so 28-im odredili oskrbo, 516 jih je bilo – kot tujcev – predanih policijski direkciji, 171 pa sorodnikom, ki so obljubili njihovo vzdrževanje (Fabi, 1984, 147⁴¹). Po navedbah iz občinskih zapisnikov je sicer v tržaški okolici od skupno 493 družin podporo⁴² v tem času prejemale 193 družin, 275 pa jih je dobivalo (tudi) brezplačen obrok (Verbali, 1864, 215). Število družin, ki so prejele podporo, bodisi v denarju ali živilih, je v Trstu nato še naraščalo vsaj do leta 1881, kljub temu pa ni moglo slediti naraščanju povpraševanja po socialni pomoči (Scartabellati, 2006, 88–89).

ZAKLJUČEK

Če bi skušali podati nekakšne splošne zaključke, je mogoče trditi, da je bilo naslavljanje socialnih vprašanj v obravnavanem času pretežno usmerjeno

k sprotnemu reševanju posameznih problemov, ne pa k nekim sistemskim in dolgoročnim rešitvam, kar pomeni, da so bili spodbujevalci socialne oskrbe v 19. stoletju zlasti krizne okoliščine.

Za zajem celotnega konteksta je pomembno razumevanje vloge, ki jo je imela meščanska delovna etika, ki je odpravljanje revščine razumela predvsem na način, da se posamezniku, ki živi v pomanjkanju, zagotovi delo ali se ga zanj usposobi, da se lahko vsaj deloma preživlja sam. Seveda v primerih delovne nezmožnosti (predvsem zaradi starosti ali invalidnosti) tovrstni ukrepi niso prišli v poštev. V teh primerih so se posamezne občine, na katerih je večinoma slonelo finančno breme za tiste vrste podpore, ki niso bile v proračunu deželnega fonda (po uvedbi domovinskega zakona pa tudi del institucionalne oskrbe), morale angažirati na področju spodbujanja dobrotelčnosti, pri čemer so se v veliki meri lahko zanašale na meščansko etiko filantropizma. Ravno zato, ker je bilo breme za socialno skrbstvo na lokalnih entitetah, ki so lahko težave reševale na različne načine, je pri raziskovanju teh vprašanj ključnega pomena tudi izvajanje mikrostudij.

Gotovo je, da vprašanja socialne oskrbe niso bila rešena sistematično, niti ukrepi niso bili naravnani dolgoročno, obenem pa je bilo premalo narejenega tudi za zagotavljanje (dodatnega) dela tistim, ki so se bili sposobni preživljati, a so bili zelo odvisni od številnih zunanjih dejavnikov, katerih spreminjanje jih je lahko pahnilo bodisi v sezonsko ali trajnejše pomanjkanje. Čeprav je dejansko razsežnost revščine (torej tudi tisto, ki se izmakne morebitnim statistikam odobrenih podpor) običajno težko ugotavljati, pa razmeroma velik obseg občasne socialne pomoči nakazuje, da je veliko ljudi živelo tik pod pragom revščine, čez katerega so jih hitro lahko pahnile spreminjajoče se (krizne) okoliščine. Na drugi strani pa se raziskovalcu običajno izognejo različne nebeležene oblike neformalne solidarnosti, ki so gotovo v veliki meri prispevale k reševanju pogosto spregledanih socialnih vprašanj, vsekakor pa so pomenile tudi ključno dopolnilo formalnim oblikam podpore.

37 Od skupno 580 družin, ki so v Trstu prejemale brezplačni obrok, jih je bilo več kot 47 % iz okolice, to pa je obenem predstavljalo skoraj polovico razdeljenih obrokov (Verbali, 1864, 215).

38 Pa tudi na železnici, vendar naj bi bilo v ta dela vpeto le v bližini živeče prebivalstvo (Atti, 1873, 76).

39 V vrednostih 1.400 (Bazovica), 720 (Padrič), 204 (Bane), ter 700 gld. (Lonjer) (Verbali, 1863). Tudi na območju Istre je bil del sredstev, »v pomoč zdravemu in delovnemu človeku«, dodeljen v obliki javnih del (Atti, 1863, 310).

40 Ni pa to veljalo le za agrarne delavce; pozimi so bili pogosto brez dela tudi pristaniški delavci, saj je vreme ladjam onemogočalo plovbo, podobno pa so bili brez zaslužka tudi ribiči (Fabi, 1984, 42) in ti so lahko postali občasni /priložnostni reveži.

41 Prim. Verbali (1864), kjer je zapisano, da so večinoma prihajali s podeželja.

42 Ni sicer razvidno, v kakšni obliki; morda je šlo za pomoč v naravi, saj je strošek za izredne denarne podpore naveden ločeno.

»BREAD AND WORK«: ADDRESSING WELFARE ISSUES IN 19TH-CENTURY
ISTRIA AND TRIESTE

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SUMMARY

The article aims to present some of the characteristics of the 19th-century Habsburg welfare 'system' in the province of Istria, as perceived mainly through the perspective of (in)ability to work as a key criterion for determining eligibility for social assistance. Welfare issues were not addressed in a sufficiently systematic way at the time, nor were they long-term measures, but instead they mainly involved ad hoc solutions to individual problems, which suggests that the drivers of social welfare were mainly crisis circumstances. Seasonal poverty was also a pressing problem, especially in rural areas, but in general old age, illness and unemployment were identified as central drivers of poverty. The bourgeois work ethic (which helped to shape the regulation of charity) is also relevant in this context, since it understood the alleviation of poverty primarily in terms of providing work or training for individuals living in poverty. At national and provincial levels, the concept of charity was limited to institutional care, which covered only a small part of the social issues. The financial burden for all other forms of welfare rested with the municipalities, which had to find their own ways of providing resources, relying to some extent on the bourgeois ethic of philanthropism, but also on inter-municipal solidarity.

Keywords: Habsburg monarchy, Istria, Trieste, welfare policies, poverty, bourgeoisie, crises

VIRI IN LITERATURA

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A HABSBURG LEGACY: SEX AND SOCIAL POLITICS IN VENEZIA GIULIA AND SLOVENIA BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

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ABSTRACT

The governments of the newly formed and expanded states of Habsburg Central Europe began remaking society in formerly imperial spaces following Austria-Hungary's defeat in 1918. Austria-Hungary's demise as a geopolitical unit did not mean the disappearance of its administrative and juridical apparatus, some of which functioned well into the interwar era. Because bureaucratic transition did not necessarily parallel political transition, there was often no immediate, dramatic change in the regulation of prostitution—or the treatment of prostitutes and women assumed to be prostitutes—in these states. Some officials/police maintained that prostitution was a “necessary evil,” and sought its continued regulation, while others sought its abolition. This article analyzes continuity and change in the treatment of prostitutes in prewar/wartime Cisleithanian Austria and postwar Venezia Giulia and Slovenia. Neighboring provinces under the Habsburg Monarchy, Italy occupied the former in late 1918, while the latter became part of Yugoslavia.

Keywords: First World War, Habsburg Monarchy, Maribor, military, prostitution, Slovenia, Trieste, venereal disease, Venezia Giulia

UN'EREDITÀ ASBURGICA: SESSO E POLITICHE SOCIALI NELLA VENEZIA GIULIA E IN SLOVENIA TRA LE DUE GUERRE MONDIALI

SINTESI

Dopo la sconfitta dell'Austria-Ungheria nel 1918, i governi degli Stati espansi di nuova formazione dell'Europa centrale asburgica cominciarono a ridisegnare la società negli spazi un tempo imperiali. La scomparsa dell'Austria-Ungheria come unità geopolitica non significò la scomparsa dei suoi apparati amministrativi e giuridici, alcuni dei quali funzionarono fino all'epoca interbellica. Poiché la transizione burocratica non andava necessariamente di pari passo con quella politica, spesso in questi Stati non si verificarono cambiamenti immediati e radicali nella regolamentazione della prostituzione o nel trattamento delle prostitute e delle donne che venivano ritenute come tali. Alcuni funzionari/poliziotti sostenevano che la prostituzione era un “male necessario” e cercavano di continuare a regolamentarla, mentre altri cercavano di abolirla. Questo articolo analizza la continuità e il cambiamento nel trattamento delle prostitute nell'Austria Cisleitania del periodo prebellico/bellico e nella Venezia Giulia e Slovenia del dopoguerra. Province confinanti sotto la monarchia asburgica, l'Italia occupò la prima alla fine del 1918, mentre la seconda divenne parte della Jugoslavia.

Parole chiave: Prima guerra mondiale, Monarchia asburgica, Maribor, esercito, prostituzione, Slovenia, Trieste, malattie veneree, Venezia Giulia

INTRODUCTION¹

The empire was dead, long live the empire? In the liminal period between the 11 November 1918 Armistice on the Western Front and the first Treaty of Rapallo two years later, many governments in the newly formed and expanded states of Habsburg Central Europe began the complicated task of remaking their societies in formerly imperial spaces. Diplomatic, economic, legal, and political historians have long considered wars and revolutions to be key historical ruptures. But even as Austria-Hungary disappeared as a political entity, parts of it lived on, administratively, juridically, and socially/morally.²

There was often no immediate, dramatic change in the regulation of prostitution—or in the treatment of prostitutes and women assumed to be prostitutes—in the newly created and/or expanded nation-states, formed from the defunct multi-national Monarchy beginning in late autumn 1918. Moreover, some of these “nation-states” were in reality “mini-multinational states,” which would have important implications for attitudes toward commercial sex between the wars. Across the former Habsburg lands, some officials sought to continue regulating prostitution. We can only speculate on the reasons why: Regulation of prostitution remained a popular policy, reflecting the long-held belief that prostitution was a “necessary evil,” owing to men’s physical needs, and that it helped channel some men’s baser needs away from the bourgeois marriage bed. The continuing regulation of prostitution may also have owed to bureaucratic inertia or the tenacity of ideas about women’s sexuality, among other things. European responses to prostitution after the first heady days and months of independence varied but were almost all closely interlinked with new laws on venereal disease (hereafter VD, today designated sexually transmitted infections) and public health, owing to heightened awareness of the problem in the wake of the war. VD rates had skyrocketed during wartime and did not drop immediately after 1918.³ In some places, responses also owed to greater feminist-abolitionist interventions and to the growing influence of eugenic-racial ideas.⁴

Postwar legislation still incorporated various forms of control, which reflected social concerns about and attitudes toward sexuality, particularly female, even as changes in sexual behavior and morality that had begun before 1914 persisted and deepened. This was the case in the southern territories of defeated Austria-Hungary that became part of interwar Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (from 1929, Yugoslavia, which I use in this text) owing to the provisions of the Paris Peace Conference and subsequent treaties, which are the geographic focus of this article. Sometimes, as in Slovenia, brothels were soon closed while in others, like Italy, brothels remained open, and the government continued to tolerate prostitution.

The European-wide tension between police and physicians over who should oversee the regulation of prostitution—and how—that began around the fin de siècle also influenced prostitution and public hygiene policies in the late Habsburg Monarchy and the successor states. Employing a variety of archival and other contemporaneous sources, this article analyzes continuity and change in attitudes toward prostitutes, registered and clandestine (women not registered with police), from the late imperial era through the early interwar period. It also examines their treatment for venereal disease in Slovenia and Venezia Giulia (the Adriatic “New Provinces,”⁵ those formerly Habsburg lands that came under Italian military rule at the war’s end).

Unlike Italy, where the so-called Cavour Regulation of February 1860 was extended to unified Italy by 1871, creating a centralized, nationwide practice for regulating prostitution (Gibson, 1999, 27–34), in Austria regulation had remained both outside the law and decentralized until the Monarchy’s dissolution in 1918. While prostitution was tolerated throughout the dual Monarchy, Austria and Hungary each had their own system of regulation as did Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁶ Local police had jurisdiction over commercial sex across the Monarchy. Regulations varied by locality but were driven by government, military, and popular concerns about public morals and public health, as well as about the effectiveness of the armed forces.

1 I would like to thank—and profusely—Director Nina Gostenčnik and Reading Room Head Leopold Mikec Avberšek of the Regional Archives Maribor for kindly providing me the material on the incident at Maribor discussed here. I also thank Melissa Bokovoy, Kate Densford, Maura Hametz, Lisa Kirschenbaum, Andrea Orzoff, Jennifer Rodgers, and Rok Stergar for reading earlier versions of this article.

2 On maintaining regional liberties in formerly Habsburg regions to smooth transition to Italian sovereignty see Hametz (2005, 18–19). For a good overview on the topic, see Egry (2022, 81–102).

3 In Vienna, the former imperial capital, VD rates began to drop only in 1922 (Wingfield, 2019, 110). VD rates in newly constituted Poland continued to climb after 1918, with the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1921 prompting a new wave of the disease (Stauter-Halsted, 2015, 324).

4 See for example Cassata (2011) chapter 2, *Eugenics and Dysgenics of War*, and chapter 3, *Regenerating Italy (1919–1924)*.

5 Imperial Austria’s Adriatic provinces had been the Austrian Littoral (from 1861, it was divided into the Free City of Trieste, Istria, and Gorizia and Gradisca, which had their own administrations and assemblies, but were all subject to the governor in Trieste) and Dalmatia.

6 The regulations for prostitution in Croatia after the 1868 *Nagodba* (the Croatian–Hungarian settlement governing Croatia’s political status within the Kingdom of Hungary), and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which the Habsburg military occupied in 1878, and annexed in 1908, were independent of, but paralleled, the practices in Austria and Hungary (Filipović, 2014, 145; Kasumović, 2018, 45–46, 48).

In contrast to Italy and some other European countries, which before 1914 had instituted versions of neo-regulation, which offered professionalizing physicians greater authority over the medical supervision of prostitutes concerning VD at the expense of the vice police, there had been no such development in the Habsburg Monarchy. In fact, there had been little discussion of neo-regulation, demonstrating the persistence of Austria-Hungary's traditional treatment of prostitution as a "necessary evil" and its supervision by police. But after 1918, newly founded and existing states evinced growing interest in the health of their citizens, expanding their welfare programs. In some countries this expansion ran parallel with the adoption of neo-regulationist policies.

Concerns about public morality did not fade even as war and revolution in central and eastern Europe slowly ground to a halt and the Monarchy was dissolved. Austrian—and formerly Austrian—civilians still expended great energy denouncing one another for immoral behavior, especially illicit sex.⁷ In many post-Habsburg regions, clandestine and regulated prostitution remained an important option for economic survival among working class women in the first postwar years. At the same time, police officials in the successor states, some of whom were holdovers from the Monarchy, continued to monitor regulated prostitutes and to employ methods of stemming clandestine prostitution similar to those used during wartime.⁸ Across the former Monarchy, police, sometimes joined by the military, continued to target those women who lingered in low-end coffeehouses, pubs, or on certain dark streets and in alleys. They arrested women and girls—many young and unemployed, but also the occasional skilled worker—whom they caught in flagrante, had them examined for venereal disease, and forced those who were infected to report to the hospital immediately for treatment (Brunner, 1922, 91; Stauter-Halsted, 2015, 214–219; Wingfield, 2017, 247; Wingfield, 2019, 109–110). Sometimes police forced these women to register as prostitutes. Sometimes they expelled those who had *Heimatrecht/pertinency* elsewhere, after having ascertained their municipality of registration.⁹ These deportations might now be across international borders.

Throughout the successor states, as exemplified by the provinces discussed in this article, new governments experimented with civilian-military cooperation to address

prostitution. Specifically, local police worked closely with the military, which had been concerned about its soldiers and VD throughout the war. Military intervention into prostitution persisted into the early interwar era in the New Provinces and Slovenia, representing an important historical continuity with the Monarchy (ASTs, CGCVG; Wingfield, 2017, 227–229). Elsewhere in the former Monarchy, the local garrison and political administration cooperated on vice-police inspection of local brothels after 1918 in postwar Reichenberg/Liberec, Czechoslovakia (Wingfield, 2017, 248). The Habsburg military had been interested in public morals and public health only as far as they affected its soldiers' ability to fight. Venereal disease resulted in loss of manpower, and the "cure" (abatement of symptoms) was both expensive and time consuming. Civilian-military collaboration on the surveillance of prostitutes and women suspected of being prostitutes intensified in the successor states after 1918, because the new authorities were concerned about the restoration and maintenance of bourgeois social order in the wake of war and, sometimes, revolution. They were also concerned about building and maintaining strong "national" states. Interwar militaries, like the Habsburg military before them, remained obsessed with venereal disease, which weakened their fighting forces (Wingfield, 2017, 227–229, 248). And like the Habsburg-era police raids, the interwar police/military raids continued to target those women they assumed were illicitly engaging in paid sex. They ignored the men with to whom these women were alleged to have sold their bodies. In both the Habsburg Monarchy and its successor states, local police and national militaries identified, arrested, and forcibly tested women suspected of prostitution; they focused on women, not men, as the source of venereal disease and its consequent disruption. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. Or, perhaps, not very much change.

COMMERCIAL SEX IN VENEZIA GIULIA

Italian military occupied Trieste in the immediate wake of the armistice on 4 November 1918. Shortly thereafter it began occupying the territories in the former Austrian Littoral (Küstenland) and Dalmatia that were promised to Italy by the Treaty of London. In November 1920, the first Treaty of Rapallo settled the new Yugoslav-Italian border, affirming Fiume's status as an international

7 I have discussed the wartime and postwar treatment of prostitution and VD in Habsburg Central Europe in chapter 7, "Morals and Morale during the Great War," and the epilogue of my book, *The World of Prostitution in Habsburg Central Europe* (Wingfield, 2017).

8 In the Austrian scheme of regulation, police rather than statutory criteria governed prostitution. Prostitution was illegal, but the police were not obliged to apply criminal law to those women who registered with them. Regulation occurred at the local level, so there was variation within provinces as well as between them. How—even, if—prostitution was to be tolerated was a local decision. Women who placed themselves under police supervision had to submit to weekly, sometimes, bi-weekly vaginal examinations for venereal disease and to obey other restrictions. Clandestine prostitutes, who constituted the vast majority of women who engaged in commercial sex on a regular or intermittent basis, did not register with the vice police.

9 See discussion of non-resident clandestine prostitutes' precarious situation in early postwar Fiume, today, Rijeka, in a recent analysis of *Heimatrecht/pertinency*, which municipality was responsible for providing individual registered there their social benefits (Reill et al., 2022).

city and awarding Trieste, Istria, Gorizia-Gradisca, and the western part of Carniola as well as Zara and several Dalmatian islands to Italy (Bucarelli & Zaccaria, 2020). Venezia Giulia, whose capital was Trieste, was subject to the General Secretary of Civil Affairs under the Supreme Command of the Army until the Ministry for the New Provinces was established in July 1919.

The regulation of prostitution in the New Provinces constitutes a little-known example of continuity from the rule of imperial Austria to that of interwar Italy. In the New Provinces, the Italian government simply maintained much Habsburg-era regulation and civil legislation rather than adopting the neo-regulatory approach common in other Italian lands. Although before 1914, the Habsburg surveillance of registered and clandestine prostitutes had primarily focused on protecting the bourgeois family, it expanded during wartime to the defense of the military. The governments of rump Austria and the New Provinces remained focused on the wellbeing of the military after 1918.

The rest of Italy would shortly move away from neo-regulation, however. As historian Victoria de Grazia has explained, soon after Benito Mussolini seized power in October 1922, his fascist government employed new public security laws in their efforts to remove illicit sexuality from public space (de Grazia, 1992, 44). Mussolini overhauled first the health system in 1923 and then the entire legal system at the end of the 1920s. In practice this meant abandoning the neo-regulationist system that had been in place for several decades. Brothel and independent prostitutes across Italy as in the New Provinces, were soon issued health books, which contained the record of their regular vaginal examinations for VD.

Multi-ethnic Trieste, the fourth most populous city in the Habsburg Monarchy, and by far the largest of the cities in the New Provinces, was the focus of much of the Italian army's attention to commercial sex and venereal disease. From the very outset of the occupation, Italian military officials analyzed commercial sex above all in the context of their soldiers' health. Indeed, the military's correspondence with the relevant provincial health officials in Venezia Giulia included reports on prophylactic measures for venereal disease in relation to prostitution in Trieste, as well as provisions for the functioning of brothels in the city.

A flurry of correspondence beginning in November 1918 among the military, police, and the Venezia Giulia provincial health office epitomizes the postwar discussion in Trieste about the relationship between prostitution and the spread of venereal disease that highlighted ongoing concern about the spread of VD in the military. Authorities evaluated the city's brothels in terms of hygiene, cleanliness, and supervision, reflecting assumptions about the military's need for regulated prostitution, also in times of occupation and demobilization. An 11 November report observed that the number of brothels operating in Trieste had dropped to twenty at the war's end. This

decline reflected the relatively limited number of clients the women had served during four years of mobilization of most able-bodied men. Although the Triestine brothels could house a total of 200 women, the report noted that they had only 130 residents, "mainly Hungarians and Slavs" (ASTs, CGCVG, Oggetto = *Relazione sulla profilassi celtica in rapporto con la prostituzione nella Citta' di Trieste Prostituzione Ufficiale*, 23. 11. 1919).

The correspondence from late 1918 described the deleterious conditions in several of the city's brothels, some of which were meant to be used by the military. Many brothels had already been in bad condition even before the war. Now some were dirty or the rooms were too small; while others lacked running water, toilets, and sufficient light. While some brothels could be brought up to acceptable standards, the report stated, others should simply be promptly shuttered. Indeed, in December 1918, the police had ordered five brothels be closed immediately.

But local women soon began requesting to open or reopen various Trieste brothels, which promised them a livelihood. Permission to open/reopen was often contingent on bringing existing brothels up to their hygienic and safety standards, including installing electric or gas lighting and running water, or sometimes simply refurbishing them. Owing to the presence of Italian troops in the New Provinces, there were also proposals to open brothels to service the military, even brothels meant solely for the military. The report (*cf. infra*) recommended that the ten-bedroom brothel at Via del Sale, 8, "perhaps the best of the brothels [in Trieste]" for officers' use, and one of the largest brothels, a sixteen-room establishment located on Via Altana, for that of the rank and file (ASTs, CGCVG (1919-1922), Gabinetto 24, 23/11/1918).

Employing Habsburg-era language, officials described the brothel as a "necessity," because of the large number of troops stationed in the vicinity. Trieste was not, however, the only city in the New Provinces where there were plans to open brothels above all to serve the military. Applications to open brothels exclusively for the military came from across the newly Italian northeast Adriatic. They included a proposal from December 1918 for a brothel in Gorizia, some 46 kilometers north of Trieste, suitable exclusively for the use of officers. A similar request in March 1919 to open a brothel in Rovigno, a town of some 11,000 people, in what is today, Rovinj, Croatia, in a building specifically designed for commercial sex was couched in the same terms that had been so common in imperial Austria: "morality" and "decency," as well as hygiene and preventing clandestine prostitution.

In immediate postwar Trieste, the vice police (Section III of the Police) undertook surveillance of clandestine prostitutes with "zeal and profit." The language of surveillance was more aligned with the coercive imperial Austrian practices rather than with the somewhat more liberal neo-regulatory practices of voluntary treatment still in place elsewhere in Italy (Gibson, 1999, 151–206). As

had the Habsburg vice police before and during the First World War, so now the Triestine vice police apprehended women suspected of practicing clandestine prostitution in bars, cafés, dance halls, low-end restaurants, and the like. Many of these women, police asserted, suffered from VD. In late December 1919, Aldo Marziani,¹⁰ the physician in charge of the prevention of venereal disease (*Il Medico incaricato della profilassi celtica*), informed the health department of the General Civilian Commission (*Commissariato Generale Civile*) that for the past several months, police had subjected an average of one hundred women per month to venereal disease examinations. While the police had sent most of these women to the hospital because they suffered from contagious venereal disease, those women whose VD symptoms were latent were treated on an out-patient basis. However, Marziani complained, the previous month, there had been such a lack of surveillance that only thirteen women had been examined for venereal disease. The deleterious effect of this lack of surveillance and apprehension of alleged clandestine prostitutes and failure to test them for VD was clear from the increased number of civilian and military patients treated at outpatient clinics for VD. Marziani's solution to the problem was the even more rigorous surveillance of women thought to be engaging in clandestine prostitution, because VD was, he asserted, so prevalent in Trieste (ASTs, CGCVG, Atti di gabinetto, Marziani, 20. 12. 1919). The language in Marziani's report, which postdates return to civilian rule, is that of control. He notes that women were being examined because they were "suspected" of clandestine prostitution and "sent" to the hospital. His assertion indicates that the treatment of suspected prostitutes with respect to medical examinations was one that deprived them of agency.

Not only the Triestine vice police, but also the military in numero us towns and cities elsewhere in the New Provinces continued to focus on clandestine prostitutes, the women who had been the source of so much concern as sources of VD during wartime.¹¹ The military played an active role in seeking out the clandestine prostitutes whom they believed were continuing to infect soldiers. When these women lacked local or provincial *Heimatrecht*, they were expelled to their municipality of origin (ASTs, CGCVG, Gabinetto 23, File 17 – Prostituzione, 30. 1. 1919).

Idria (today, Idrija, Slovenia), a small town about 56 kilometers northeast of Trieste and home to the largest mercury mine in Europe, exemplifies both the close cooperation between Italian military and civilian authorities under military rule, and the unexpected complications that could arise in the battle against clandestine prostitution. In addition to migrant laborers, Idria's postwar population

included Italian soldiers newly stationed there. In early May 1919, the Civil Commissioner of Idria announced a decision to compile a list of all clandestine prostitutes in municipalities across the region. One member of the local police force, a 27-year-veteran and holdover from the Habsburg Monarchy, made such a list of women in Idria and surrounding areas. Despite the confidentiality with which the police were meant to act, word of this list, and the names on it, got out. Two young women wrote to complain about their names being included on the list.

The Civil Commissioner reported the contretemps to the Venezia Giulia's Office of Civil Affairs in Trieste (*Governatorato della Venezia Giulia, Ufficio Affari Civili-Cabinetto Trieste*). His detailed report from 27 June 1919 makes it clear both how seriously the military took the issue and just how difficult it was in a small town to keep such juicy information secret from the gossips who worked at city hall. The report raised more questions than it answered, one of which was whether a certain Captain Bruno, who had been extraordinary commissioner for the municipality of Idria, was responsible for the leak, an accusation Bruno denied. Correspondence dated 6 June described the two young women in question as always having had reserved and serious demeanors. A report by a local police official (Tenenza) in Idria who subsequently investigated the women described them very differently, however. He characterized the two, who hailed from working-class families (their fathers were employed in the mine), as being of dubious morality. Indeed, the official claimed that the young women had had "overly familiar relationships" with Austrian soldiers formerly stationed there and now were apparently having similar relationships with Italian soldiers, especially some officers (ASTs, CGCVG, 24. 6. 1919 & 27. 6. 1919).

Elsewhere in Venezia Giulia, attempts to stem clandestine prostitution, and thus, the spread of venereal disease, attracted less attention. Reports from Cisleithanian Austria's former chief naval port, Pola (today, Pula in Croatia), in southern Istria show that throughout the 1920s, the police regularly arrested young women and girls, most of whom hailed from that city or elsewhere in Istria and who were described in the records as clandestine prostitutes, for "reasons of morality" (violating prostitution regulations). What the records do not show is any success at limiting numbers of clandestine prostitutes or stemming venereal disease (DAP, 1927).

In the postwar New Provinces, the police continued to regulate prostitution as they/their predecessors had under the Monarchy. Sometimes aided by the military in the early days of the occupation, the police searched out women they considered clandestine prostitutes. They suspected the same kinds of women and found

¹⁰ Marziani's first name does not appear on any of the archival documents I have seen, but a specialist of this name worked in Trieste during this time.

¹¹ When delegates to an international Congress for Military Medicine shortly after the war called for vigorous campaign against the widespread problem of venereal disease in the army, they cited the need to stem its spread in the civilian population to keep it out of the military (Anti-Venereal Campaign, 1920, 547–548).

them in similar places: younger, poor, under-, or unemployed, in low-end cafes, restaurants, and taverns, or on the street. They found them because clandestine prostitution still offered working class women means—if a poor one—of supporting themselves, especially during the economic and social disruption that followed the war.

TALES OF A MARIBOR BROTHEL

In the wake of the First World War, the government in newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes did not immediately move to unify the state's patchwork legal landscape, and some forms of regulated prostitution continued to be permitted. Most Austrian criminal legislation remained valid in formerly Habsburg parts of the country, and prostitution was regulated, until a new penal code was introduced in 1929 in parallel with the royal dictatorship. It replaced the earlier local and regional prostitution regulations. Thus, between 1929 and 1934, regulated prostitution was abolished, and prostitution criminalized (Petrungaro, 2019, 125–126; 2021, 42; 2022, 178).

Although the Habsburg policy of tolerated prostitution initially predominated in Slovenia, provincial representatives precipitously—and, according to Maribor General Hospital physician Ivan Matko, without consulting the medical specialists or the police whom he considered the most competent authorities on regulation—moved to close all brothels on its territory in March 1919 (Matko, 1919, 669). A 19 March 1919 directive from the Slovenian provincial government and Department of Interior informed the police commission in Maribor, formerly Marburg, a large predominantly German-speaking city in southern Styria close to the Austrian border, that the provincial government in Ljubljana decided to close all brothels in its territory with immediate effect. This directive foresaw the expulsion from the province of those brothel-based prostitutes (presumably those women lacking *Heimatrecht* in Slovenia) who did not plan to stop engaging in commercial sex and take up a respectable form of employment. The local police were to control very strictly those prostitutes who were permitted to stay in Slovenia, treating them on the basis of the provisions of legislation from 25 May 1885, the so-called “Vagabond” Law of the Austrian Criminal Code, specifically referring to Paragraph 6, which concerned being sent to a *Zwangsarbeitanstalt* (forced labor institution). As had long been the practice across Austria-Hungary, police were to make every effort to root out clandestine prostitution. With this goal in mind, they were to patrol the streets rigorously, as well as all suspicious inns, cafes, and drinking establishments that sold cheap schnaps. The central authorities in Ljubljana further expected the police to provide reports on both

the shuttering of the brothels and plans for controlling clandestine prostitution within fourteen days. Maribor authorities originally complied with this directive.¹²

Some of the Maribor police and other local authorities appear to have subscribed to several traditional bourgeois Austrian notions about male sexuality, public health, and prostitutes that influenced their views on the regulation of prostitution. They believed that men, in this case, soldiers, needed sex; and that commercial sex was best controlled in the confines of a tolerated brothel, where the women who sold their bodies were placed under medical surveillance for VD. Late that summer, local police chose to contravene the provincial government's decree. They had support from the head of the surgical department at the Maribor hospital who noted explicitly in a 21 August letter that brothels were needed in a town like Maribor that had such a large military (and worker) population. On 27 August 1919, a local police decree permitted the temporary opening of a brothel, which police asserted would be under strict control. Based on Habsburg regulations, Maribor's regulations included the traditional twice weekly vaginal examination of prostitutes, with the city bearing the cost of this medical service. Other requirements included appropriate ventilation and cleanliness of clothing. Moreover, prostitutes and their clients were strictly forbidden to drink alcohol on the premises. Failure to follow the rules, police officials threatened, would result in severe penalties, up to and including the immediate revocation of the brothel permit.

Maribor's tumultuous early postwar history (Friš et al., 2020), which accounted for the large military population, perhaps had something to do with decision to reopen the brothel. Maribor had been under military occupation/authority since 23 November 1918 when Slovene volunteer forces seized control of the city and declared it part of what would become the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Following unification with Serbia on 1 December 1918, Serbian troops began arriving in Maribor. It had been the site of “Bloody Sunday,” an uprising in protest of the city's inclusion in Yugoslavia in January 1919, and a local military uprising in July 1919. The nearby border with Austria was often closed owing to smuggling and was otherwise difficult to cross.

The military's presence in Maribor was reflected in brothel requirements, which included planned entrances on separate streets for soldiers and civilians. Moreover, local authorities envisioned a military patrol to keep order in the building. The brothel regulations were translated into Croatian, German, Serbian, and Slovenian, reflecting the different languages that prospective clients might speak. Posted in the halls and rooms throughout the building, they stipulated that without exception, every visitor was to be examined immediately upon entering the brothel to confirm his sexual “health.” Before leaving, the client was to disinfect himself following intercourse

12 Specifics on the entire Maribor brothel saga can be found in PAM, SI_PAM/0005, AŠ 514, spis 528.

with a prostitute. We can assume that sexual “health” is a reference to being free of venereal disease symptoms. The expectation that a client would disinfect himself after intercourse with the prostitute was one of several requirements that recalled provisions from the former Monarchy.

It should be no surprise that some of the Maribor regulations were reminiscent of those in imperial Austrian brothels. The correspondence does not indicate who was to confirm that male visitors were “sexually healthy,” a problem that authorities in late imperial Austria came up against when such inspection was proposed in the wake of the scandalous 1906 trial of Viennese brothel keeper, Regine Riehl. Who would be willing undertake this task? Physicians were unlikely to; among those suggested were older women, possibly former prostitutes (Wingfield, 2017, 103–104). Moreover, regulated prostitutes and clients had long been provided post-coital prophylaxis in many imperial Austrian brothels. The use of prophylaxis had become more common and more important during wartime (Grošelj, 2006, 462; Knežević, 2011, 329), sometimes based on the earlier experiences of brothels in Pola.

On 7 September, shortly after the Maribor brothel had been issued its permit, the internal affairs department of the provincial government sent a missive to Maribor authorities unbraiding them for overriding the regional government. Under the aegis of the Health Department for Slovenia and Istria,¹³ and with the consent of the local police superintendent, but against the unanimous decision of the provincial government, read the document, the city had opened a brothel. Indeed, the provincial government accused Maribor officials of acting “completely on their own,” failing to ask permission. The Ljubljana government thus forced the brothel’s closure and demanded a written apology from the Maribor authorities. Austrian criminal legislation would, however, remain in force in Slovenia until the passage of Yugoslavia’s new constitution in 1929.

Why did the Maribor city fathers choose to act against the provincial government’s edict on prostitution? Why did the provincial government want to end regulation? In the immediate postwar period, during the time of formation of new governments, there was more space for local authorities to act/attempt to act in ways they considered appropriate. While we may never know these men’s intentions, it is worth noting that like many Habsburg police officials and other bureaucrats before them, some obviously believed that registered prostitutes in tolerated brothels offered the safest source of commercial sex. They also may have had the habit of acting with more autonomy, given that in the Habsburg Monarchy, regulation of prostitution had been in the hands of local authorities. Moreover, according to Matko, the rise in

VD cases following the initial closing of local brothels confirmed this belief (Matko, 1919, 669).¹⁴ Safe outlets for commercial sex were an important consideration in a city with a large military presence.

THE BATTLE AGAINST VENEREAL DISEASE

The interwar period saw new “solutions” to an old problem, venereal disease. Despite the formation of the new states, many attitudes had not changed: Bureaucratic transition did not necessarily parallel political transition. Shortly after the war’s end, however, Austria and its successor states began adopting new and varied solutions to the vexed problem of venereal disease. At the same time, many post-Habsburg Central European governments and their vice police evinced similar concerns about prostitutes as the source of venereal disease as had their predecessors. This owed both to continuity in attitudes toward class, gender, and sexuality, and to the rise in national-racial rhetoric about “strange, unknown, in part racially foreign and hostile peoples,” who were afflicted with “all possible venereal diseases,” that had helped increasingly to set prostitutes apart as Other in Austria-Hungary during wartime (Veress, 1916, 333). The successor-state governments drew upon Austria-Hungary’s wartime experiences in the connections they made among public hygiene, prostitution, venereal disease, and military strength. It was commonly accepted that the experience of the war had demonstrated that venereal disease was spread primarily through extramarital relations and prostitutes were still popularly condemned as the main culprits (Wingfield, 2017, 250–251).

During the war, Austro-Hungarian military physicians had warned of the threat the invading Russian army posed to its citizens and soldiers the occupied eastern provinces of Bukovina and Galicia. They alleged that contagious diseases, including venereal infections, were rampant in the tsarist army because of the Russian military’s abject lack of medical services. The Austrian government sought to resolve the problem beginning in 1918 by employing sanitary surveillance for returning soldiers and civilian refugees from Bukovina and Galicia, which had changed hands several times during the war. After 1917, soldiers returning from Russian POW camps were to be interned at one of 524 border stations established along the Eastern Front, where they would undergo medical examination in order to avert epidemics and limit the spread of venereal disease. They were also checked for their political health, that is, their continued loyalty to the Habsburg Monarchy (Zaharia, 2017, 292). The strict sanitary surveillance at border stations was meant to prevent these men from eluding the control and bringing disease back into their families (Weindling, 2000, 114).

¹³ The use of Istria in the Health Department’s name was surely aspirational because Istria went to Italy under the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo.

¹⁴ Some of the details in Matko’s account do not precisely parallel the information from the city archives, but the pro-regulation attitude of relevant local officials is clear in both.

Syphilis and gonorrhea both continued to pose significant challenges to public health. The former continued to be blamed for stillbirths and the latter for causing blindness and sterility; both were thus a threat to future generations. Certainly, natalism was a concern for the former belligerents across Europe owing to wartime population losses.¹⁵ In Yugoslavia, venereal disease, thought to have been spread during the war by occupying Habsburg troops and afterward by returning soldiers, continued to spread rapidly after 1918. This may have been one of the reasons the Yugoslav government moved so quickly in late 1921 and early 1922 to open clinics to treat VD (Petrungaro, 2019, 129; Grošelj, 2006, 463).

Both the postwar Italian and Yugoslav governments used repatriation stations. Those the Italian government had opened along the borders in late 1919 employed “intensified supervision” to examine soldiers for a variety of diseases as well as their political leanings. Among other things, it required former Habsburg soldiers returning to the New Provinces from “infected countries,” by which they meant above all Galicia and elsewhere in newly reconstituting, Poland, Russia, to be checked for lice (ASTs, CGCVG Atti di Gabinetto, Intendenza Generale, Commissione Ispettiva di profilassi, 30 January 1919). The Yugoslav government, as Branka Grošelj has written, fearing the spread of venereal disease in the wake of the disintegration of the Habsburg army, and that former female military employees might also be carriers, issued an order on 13 November 1919 that obliged these women, including nurses, to be subjected to the same kind of medical examination as male soldiers. But it was not only women associated with the military who were feared as possible carriers of VD. Indeed, according to the medical association every second woman in Slovenia’s capital, Ljubljana, between the ages of twenty and forty had venereal disease, and thus proposed premarital medical examinations. The *Društvo za čuvanje narodnega zdravja v Sloveniji* (Slovenian Society for the Protection of National Health) established outpatient clinics for “fallen girls” to staunch the spread of VD (Grošelj, 2006, 462).

As Stefano Petrungaro has pointed out, health authorities believed that VD posed a threat to the foundations of the Yugoslav project and weakened the future of Yugoslav society, which was increasingly conceived in terms of race and eugenics (Petrungaro, 2019, 123). As elsewhere in Europe, social medicine as it developed in Yugoslavia between the wars altered the relationships among physicians and state authorities, including the police, as physicians seized ever more control over supervision of prostitution. Medical confrontations did not result in one unified discourse about the efficacy of abolishing/regulating prostitution for purposes of health

and morals. Rather there were competing discourses, as the reopening of the Maribor brothel demonstrates (Petrungaro, 2022, 171).

Following at least a decade of attacks on Yugoslavia’s convoluted system of prostitution regulation, prostitution would be totally abolished 1 January 1930, when Yugoslavia’s modern, unified legal system came into practice. It both closed brothels and criminalized prostitution. Petrungaro demonstrates that new paradigms of public health had emerged, which resulted in the introduction of a new radical abolitionist system between the beginning of Yugoslavia’s authoritarian monarchy in 1929, and 1934. The *Zakon o suzbijanju spolnih bolesti i prostitucije* (Law on the Suppression of Venereal Diseases and Prostitution), came into force in August 1934, in the wake of the revised penal code.

Democratic successor-state Czechoslovakia was among the countries the Yugoslav government looked to in designing its new law. In Czechoslovakia solutions to prostitution had been subsumed under the pressing need to eradicate venereal disease in the immediate postwar period. Pressed by female abolitionists, the Czechoslovak parliament passed Law No. 241, *O potírání pohlavních nemocí* (Combating sexually transmitted diseases), on 11 July 1922 (241/1922 Sb. - Beck-online), which had soon met pushback from advocates of regulation.¹⁶ They claimed that the abolition of prostitution neither got rid of prostitution nor stopped the spread of VD (Wingfield, 2017, 252). Although both the Czechoslovak and the Yugoslav laws were in some ways gender neutral, they contained paragraphs that dealt specifically with female prostitution, which was abolished in all forms and regulation canceled. Moreover, both laws introduced free, universal, and compulsory treatment for venereal disease, but it was mandatory for physicians to report anonymously cases of the disease and transmission (Petrungaro, 2021, 42–43).

The public attention to prostitution, the moral panic, even, that began in late imperial Austria persisted in the Habsburg successor states—anxiety about venereal disease and public hygiene, as well as public morals—yet with a modern inflection. While long-held prejudices about sexuality continued to shape the prostitution debate, international and domestic feminist activism contributed to the development of new stances toward women’s social rights and gender social equality, some of which were reflected in changing attitudes toward and interwar legislation on prostitution and venereal disease. This was certainly the case in Yugoslavia, where feminist movements flourished, although women would not be enfranchised until 1945.¹⁷ The issue of how to treat most effectively and limit venereal disease remained of con-

15 The literature on pronatalism between the wars is large. For Italy, cf. Forucci (2010), and Saraceno (1994).

16 Abolitionist Czechoslovak National Socialist parliamentary deputies Luisa Landová-Štychová and Fráňa Zemínová led an earlier attempt to close brothels and abolish prostitution in September 1919. It failed.

17 Ženski pokret was the most important feminist journal in interwar Yugoslavia. On feminists and other Yugoslav women’s organizations, cf. de Haan, Daskalova & Loutfi (2006); Kardum (2020, 223–230); and Lilly & Bokovoy (2003, 91–96).

cern worldwide during the interwar era and through the Second World War. In 1932, the general assembly of the Paris-based *Union Internationale contre le Pêril Vénérien* (International Union against Venereal Diseases) issued the results of a broad international survey comparing the results of the voluntary treatment system and the system of compulsory treatment of venereal diseases. Although many national governments had expanded their scope to include infectious males, the female prostitute remained the primary focus of the questionnaire.

Eugenics, which drew on prewar and wartime scientific understandings and practices, became an ever-more dominant discourse in Habsburg Central Europe between the wars. The connections among public hygiene, which was sometimes analyzed in terms of “racial health,” prostitution, venereal disease, and military strength were increasingly made after 1918. Owing to concerns about their viability, emphasis on racial degeneration became more pronounced in Austria and many of the successor states between the wars (McEwen, 2010, 170). The battle against prostitution and VD were closely linked in Yugoslavia as elsewhere in Habsburg Central Europe, not least because, as the Minister of Health stressed, VD affected the health of future generations.

Prostitution was not dangerous only to military readiness but indeed to the nation/state. Disease and degeneration were no longer just biological; they were also “national.” Those people who suffered from venereal disease—and those who were considered responsible for infecting them—were increasingly regarded as potential enemies of the state in the racially saturated sexual politics of the interwar era. Slovenian anthropologist and eugenicist Niko Županič named VD, together with alcoholism, moral and medical decadence, and others, in his list of “plagues” that were destroying the (Slovene) nation in a 1921 article in *Slovenski narod* (Polajnar, 2009, 131). In the nationally mixed successor states of Habsburg Central Europe, and that was most of them, the prostitute—and the brothel keeper—could be, in addition to a social outlier, both a sexual and a racial one, indeed, a national threat.¹⁸ As historian Maria Bucur has argued about Romania after 1918, an ethnically Hungarian prostitute in nationally mixed Transylvania was viewed as a eugenic threat to ethnic Romanian men, while an ethnic Romanian prostitute posed a dysgenic threat only if she infected a Romanian man with venereal disease (Bucur, 2007, 337–338; 349).

The police treatment of two brothel keepers in Trieste in the late 1920s offers examples of the treatment of those perceived racial and social outliers in Mussolini’s Italy. When Trieste resident Giovanna Sopotnich appealed the closing of her brothel at Via Pescheria, 7 for violating

police regulations, her perceived racial/ethnic infractions received as much attention as her moral ones. While her husband was alleged to have spent the night in the brothel and the prostitutes in her employ to have used cocaine and provided it to clients, she was described as “having Slavic sentiments and being opposed to the [Italian] regime,” and accused of banking all her earnings in neighboring (Slavic) Yugoslavia (ASTs, PT, Gabinetto, busta 172).¹⁹ In another incident, Triestine police ordered Rosa Bastianetto’s brothel at Via S. Filippo, 5 permanently closed because the cards advertising her brothel incorporated an Italian national tricolor in the upper right corner, an apparent affront to “order and morality.” She appealed to get the penalty lessened. Calmer heads appear to have prevailed and it was suggested that the brothel’s operation merely be suspended for a specific period of time (ASTs, PT, Gabinetto, busta 172). These incidents reflect the continued disdain and suspicion with which commercial sex—and nationally different Slavs—were met in that particular part of ethnically mixed Italy; perhaps, even, that those involved somehow stood outside the nation.

CONCLUSION

Women were identified as the problem in terms of commercial sex between the wars, but how the successor states interpreted the significance and assigned the penalties changed with the shift to increasing centralization, even authoritarianism. Moreover, the growing nationalization of identity would have important implications not only for prostitutes, but also for any suspect woman who was allegedly *leichtsinig* (foolish/frivolous) or *arbeitsscheu* (work shy). Such identities might have earned her the designation “asocial” and a stint in a reform school or expulsion from a town or province before the First World War. While prostitution laws changed in much of Habsburg Central Europe over the course of the interwar period, popular attitudes, developed over decades, about what kind of women sold sex, had not. The fascists condemned prostitutes as preying on the weakness of Italian men. Petrunaro has pointed out the growing centrality of prostitutes’ “asociability” owing to her “work shyness” for some interwar Yugoslav police, jurists, and physicians in their concerns about these women (Petrunaro, 2022, 171–172). During the authoritarian/fascist era, a designation as “asocial” could cause far more serious repercussions because women—especially those who escaped social control and were caught selling their bodies for sex—still remained outside, and might be excluded from, larger society. In northeastern Italy, this, too, was a legacy of Habsburg regulation, one that continued throughout the interwar era, and beyond.

18 On the national threat that prostitutes and venereal disease were considered to pose elsewhere in Central Europe, see Stauter-Halsted (2017, 320–322).

19 See Hametz’s article, The State of Uncertainty: Anxious Italians in the Upper Adriatic, 1918–1924, in this issue of *Annales* as well as (2001, 559–574), for discussion of Italian anti-Slavic attitudes in Trieste in general.

HABSBURŠKA DEDIŠČINA: SPOLNOST IN SOCIALNE POLITIKE V JULIJSKI KRAJINI IN SLOVENIJI MED SVETOVNIMA VOJNAMA

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POVZETEK

Članek analizira kontinuiteto in spremembe v obravnavi prostitutk v predvojni/vojni Cislajtanski Avstriji ter povojni Julijski krajini in Sloveniji. Sosednji pokrajini pod Habsburško monarhijo je Italija zasedla konec leta 1918, medtem ko je druga postala del Jugoslavije. Po porazu Avstro-Ogrske leta 1918 so vlade novoustanoavljenih in razširjenih držav habsburške srednje Evrope začele preoblikovati družbo na nekdanjih imperialnih območjih. Propad Avstro-Ogrske kot geopolitične enote ni pomenil izginotja njenega upravnega in pravnega aparata, ki je deloma deloval še v medvojnem obdobju. Birokratska tranzicija ni nujno potekala vzporedno s politično tranzicijo, zato v teh državah pogosto ni prišlo do takojšnjih, dramatičnih sprememb pri urejanju prostitucije ali obravnavi prostitutk in žensk, za katere so domnevali, da so prostitutke. Nekateri uradniki/policijski uslužbenci so trdili, da je prostitucija »nujno zlo« in si prizadevali za njeno nadaljnje reguliranje, drugi pa so si prizadevali za njeno ukinitve v novoustanovljenih in/ali razširjenih nacionalnih državah, ki so nastale iz propadle večnacionalne Monarhije. Nekatere od njih so bile v resnici „mini večnacionalne države“, kar je pomembno vplivalo na odnos do trgovine s spolnimi uslugami med vojnoma. Napetosti med policijo in zdravniki glede tega, kdo naj nadzoruje urejanje prostitucije – in kako –, ki so se začele okoli fin de siècle, so vplivale tudi na politiko prostitucije in javne higiene v pozni Habsburški monarhiji in državah naslednicah. Med vojnoma so bile ženske opredeljene kot problem v smislu trgovine s spolnimi uslugami, vendar se je s prehodom k vse večji centralizaciji in celo avtoritarnosti spremenilo to, kakšen pomen so države naslednice pripisovale problemu ter kako so določale kazni.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, Trst, prva svetovna vojna, Habsburška monarhija, Maribor, vojska, prostitucija, spolno prenosljive bolezni, Julijska krajina

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SAFE WATERS. AUSTRIAN SEAFARERS BETWEEN CHARITY AND WELFARE, CA. 1850–1920

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to highlight the characteristics and criticalities of the measures aimed at “ensuring” the “safety” of Austrian seamen, their families and the communities to which they belonged from the so-called Gründerzeit of the 1850s to post-WWI. Since seafaring exposed the workers and their families to the risk of poverty, the charitable foundations represented a pillar on which the Austrian shipping sector rested. In the last decades of the 19th century, the Austrian seafaring industrial revolution changed the scenario, not the seafarers’ welfare regulatory framework. In the meantime, seafarers’ socio-economic role and public image underwent a sort of transilience.

Keywords: Social security for seafarers, compulsory work-related injury insurance, compulsory sickness insurance, Austrian shipping industry, industrial breadwinner masculinities

ACQUE SICURE. I MARITTIMI AUSTRIACI TRA CARITÀ E PREVIDENZA SOCIALE, C. 1850–1920

SINTESI

L’articolo vuole mettere in evidenza caratteristiche e criticità delle misure rivolte a garantire la “sicurezza” dei marinai Austriaci, delle loro famiglie e delle comunità a cui appartenevano dal Gründerzeit degli anni ‘50 del XIX secolo al primo dopoguerra. Poiché il lavoro marittimo esponeva sia i lavoratori che le loro famiglie al rischio di povertà, le fondazioni di beneficenza rappresentavano uno dei pilastri su cui poggiava il settore della navigazione commerciale. Negli ultimi decenni del XIX secolo, la rivoluzione industriale marittima austriaca cambiò lo scenario ma non il quadro normativo previdenziale per i marittimi. Nel frattempo, il ruolo socio-economico e l’immagine pubblica dei marittimi subirono una sorta di transilienza.

Parole chiave: Previdenza sociale per marittimi, assicurazione obbligatoria contro gli infortuni sul lavoro, assicurazione sanitaria obbligatoria, industria armatoriale austriaca, mascolinità del capofamiglia in età industriale

Today, as in the past, seafaring is one of the riskiest and most dangerous professions.¹ When the “well-being” of this particular type of worker is taken into consideration, it is necessary to juggle a large number of variables: the alternation between different modes of production, the (unbalanced) interdependence between classes, the dominant cultural and moral frameworks and, finally, the (unequal) relations of power and economic dependence between genders. The fact that the multinational Austro-Hungarian state was not a maritime empire – and therefore its maritime sector was tiny – does not make things easier. On the contrary, this circumstance forces us to confront, even if only indirectly, the present-absent element of national affiliation when dealing with forms of social and political citizenship in the Habsburg Empire (Judson, 2018).

The aim of the following pages is to trace the evolution and highlight the characteristics and criticalities of the measures aimed at “ensuring” the “safety” of the Austrian seamen, their families and the communities to which they belonged. Alongside the analysis of the functioning and socio-economic role of charitable foundations in favour of seafarers, the focus will be on two aspects in particular: the labour welfare regulatory framework – also related to seafaring – in the Austrian part of the Monarchy, and the issue concerning the prosperity and security of the waterfront, specifically that of Trieste. Concerning the former, given its self-explanatory nature, it is not necessary to bring any legal or legislative facet forward here. As for the waterfront – or “sailortown”, although the two terms do not always wholly overlap – it was both the liminal environment where a specific frontier society – i.e., the lower strata of the urban-maritime population – lived, worked and spent its leisure time (Milne, 2016, 2, 63 et passim; Beaven et al., 2016, 7), and a space of strategic importance within the framework of the mercantile activities of a port city (Fingard, 1982, 8). Clearly, that space – that “frontier” – was a reason for great control anxieties on the part of the authorities and economic stakeholders. In that context, alongside policing, an important instrument of disciplining and repression of sailortown communities was represented by charity activities and welfare measures.² Also, like any other socio-economic and labour *milieu*, a sailortown and its populations are not al-

ways identical. They adapt to various solicitations and absorb all the consequences brought about by socio-economic, institutional, political, and, finally, technological transitions. In this regard, it is important to remember that the proletarianised seafarers of the age of steam were anthropologically different from their older brothers on sailing vessels (Burton, 1999, 92; Nilson, 2016, 79; Beaven, 2016). Moreover, a waterfront is also a place where the given womanliness’ and manliness’ patterns were constantly (re)negotiated and normalised according to class and politics demands and where charity and welfare measures might play a pivotal role to that effect (Burton, 1991 and 1999; Milne, 2016, 75; Dennis, 2011). As we will see, not even Trieste’s waterfront was unaffected by those dynamics.

AUSTRIAN SEAFARING AS A BOY

On 24 April 1854, at the Augustinian Church in Vienna, the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I married the Duchess of Bavaria Elisabeth, the eternal Sissi. It was the wedding of the century. In a polished Vienna, the wedding celebrations lasted a week. Many subjects of the newly-wed imperial couple wanted to celebrate the happy event, and some chose to donate sums of money to charities. This generalised impulse of generosity also involved charitable foundations in favour of the Austrian seafarers. The fact was reported by the trade magazine *Rivista Marittima* which, considering the uniqueness and importance of the circumstance, decided to dedicate a long article to the charitable organisations (*pii Istituti*) of the Austrian merchant marine.

In the piece, one can read:

The retribution in old age of the labours, which during the years of vigour and robustness wear down man to the advantage of society and its single members, has always appeared to be an obligation of humanity and dutiful gratitude. Thus, the poor knows that once unable to work, he can aspire to the offering of charity. Knowing that he is entitled to mercy after honourable service, he bears more gladly his condition; he acknowledges and respects the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty with greater resignation and sets out to work with hope and courage. (ASTs-GM, 1157, 5541)

1 This article was written within the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie project “We Can Do It! Women’s labour market participation in the maritime sector in the Upper Adriatic after the World Wars in an intersectional perspective” (acronym: WeCanIt; grant agreement no. 894257; host institution: University of Ljubljana).

2 In this work, it is impossible to account for the vast literature on the nexus between charity/welfare measures and seamen and sailortown control and vigilance. To name a few: Fingard, 1978; Press, 1989; Williams, 1991; Kennerley, 2002; Kennerley, 2016; Nilson, 2016; Cadge & Skaggs, 2018.

Therefore, it seems that the working class had to accept its condition of the “working poor”: it was simply an ineluctable fact, established even by God. There was no way out, no possibility of improvement or redemption beyond the “charity of the rich ones” (cf. Fabi, 1984).

On the other hand, the *grandeur* of the wealthy Austrian classes – particularly the merchant one – is almost understandable. We are at the very beginning of what is known as *Gründerzeit* (ca. 1848–1873), the golden age of the Austrian (and German) “rich ones”. After the turmoils of 1848 and in contrast with the political claims of the Springtime of the Peoples, major institutional reforms – especially of an economic nature – were implemented in the Empire. First of all, serfs were emancipated (*Gudentlastung*). Then, a formal customs union between Austria and Hungary was implemented, easing the domestic tariff system. Finally, a Ministry of Commerce in Vienna and chambers of commerce all over the Austrian territories were established (Good, 1990, 210). For these reasons, many would agree with Eduard März when he observed that the 1850s represented the beginning of the industrial age of the Empire (März in Rudolph, 1990, 135).

As far as commercial shipping is concerned, it had its fulcrum in Trieste, the emporium-city and free port of the Empire. However, in this case, the economic revival began earlier than in other imperial territories. Trieste’s *Vormärz* was characterised by the establishment of three economic giants that would affect the maritime and mercantile activities of the Empire in the following decades: the *Imperial Regia Privilegiata Compagnia di Assicurazioni Generali Austro-Italiche* in 1831, the *Österreichischer Lloyd-Lloyd Austriaco* in 1833 and, finally, the *Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà* in 1838. Concerning the maritime sector, the reformist climate of the 1850s concretised, especially on the institutional side, with the establishment of the *Central Seebehörde* (*Governo Centrale Marittimo*) in Trieste in 1850.³

In contrast, there were no changes to the working conditions involving the merchant ships’ crews. In the Austrian Empire, maritime work was regulated by the Political and Navigation Edict

(*Editto Politico di Navigazione Mercantile Austriaca*) issued by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774, and it remained the main legal framework regarding the rights and duties of the crew until the dissolution of the Empire in 1918. Thus, much of the treatment reserved for seamen depended on the captains and ship-owners.

As for the seafarers and the alms they “earned” after a lifetime of work, the aforementioned *Rivista Marittima*’s article specifies:

This debt of gratitude is particularly felt towards sailors who, since childhood, renounce motherly caresses to give themselves to the harrowing ordeal of a life full of deprivation. Exposed to the thousands of dangers inherent in their profession, they sail the seas quickly passing from torrid to glacial areas. Bold individuals who face the wrath of the elements shaken by storms are capable of any generous action. At the end of all this wear and tear, these men have only enough to support their families without being able to count on the benefit of their savings, which are absorbed by the need for honest recreation imperiously required by the long abstinence of sailing. (ASTs, GM, 1157, 5541)

Such a generous and compassionate approach towards seafarers must undoubtedly be due to the joyful atmosphere of the celebrations of the imperial marriage. In this regard, it should be noted that we know practically nothing about the attitude of the imperial authorities towards seafarers and very little about the characteristics of the Austrian sail-ortowns. However, Lucio Fabi’s fresco of poverty and charitable institutions in 19th-century Trieste can give us some clues as to how the authorities attempted to control and repress the class – i.e., the working class and the so-called “underclass” or, in other words, the Marx’s *Lumpenproletariat* – to which the seafarers belonged.

As for Trieste during the “roaring ’50s”, Fabi notes the complete absence of the municipal ruling and merchant classes in matters relating to assistance to the poor. It seems that the *Statthalter* (Governor/Lieutenant) – the highest imperial city and Littoral’s (*Küstenland*)

3 The *Central Seebehörde* was established in 1850 in force of ordinance no. 178 (BLI, 1850, 178) of the Ministry of Commerce – thus by direct will of the baron von Bruck, founder in 1833 of the *Österreichischer Lloyd-Lloyd Austriaco*. It was the “intermediate” institution between the Ministry of Commerce and the imperial maritime socio-economic entities. It was competent in all matters relating to the merchant marine, e.g.: navigation regulations, police and medical port offices, shipbuilding, fishery, registration, assistance and education of seafarers, implementing maritime laws, etc. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 also affected the organisation of the imperial maritime sector. That year, the city of Rijeka was annexed to the Hungarian crown as a “special body” (*corpus separatum*), making the city the port of Hungary. This circumstance led to the establishment in 1870 of a twin institution of the Trieste’s *Seebehörde* in Rijeka (*Magyar Királyi Tengerészeti Hatóság iratai - Pomorska oblast za ungarsko-hrvatsko primorje - Governo Marittimo per il Littorale Ungaro-Croato*) with jurisdiction over the Hungarian-Croatian riparian areas. More information on port organization and maritime health in the Austrian part of the Empire in Terčon, 1993.

authority – was the only institutional figure to deal with the issue, constantly urging the municipality to help the poor with their “pertinency” (*Heimatrecht*) (Fabi, 1984, 131–132).⁴

As for the “Fathers of the City” (i.e., the municipal council members), their attitude ranged from open hostility to smug paternalism towards the poor, especially if they were young and a little daredevil. Their aversion to “wandering kids” (*ragazzi girovaghi*) was such that it led them to implement forms of “institutional crimping”.⁵ From the minutes of the meeting of the Major Council of Trieste dated 15 June 1849, we learn that the municipal Public Security Committee – together with the Police Directorate and the Harbour Master – had created a task force whose purpose was “to remedy the just complaints of the population, in particular of the merchant class, for the thefts that occur during the unloading of vessels and barges, both at sea and on the waterfront; and to prevent theft in general and guarantee the security of the property”. The third point on their measures list ordered that, “as established by the current mercantile code, the compulsory embarkation of boys without any occupation on merchant ships has to continue with full energy”,⁶ and that the public authorities should have taken action with the military authorities “so that the Royal Navy will take Trieste’s boys as deckhands” (AGCT, 5 C.1-1849, 5107). However, some were making more sophisticated – and hypocritical – proposals. During the same session, councillor Luigi Lutschaunig submitted his plan to solve the “wandering kids” problem. Like his colleagues, he was worried about the lack of safety in the streets of Trieste sailortown, not so much for the damage that this circumstance could cause to trade “as for the consequent corruption of customs that ensues for the idle youth”. However, Lutschaunig wished

to make one point clear: he did not want this youth – “who are mostly made up of young delinquents” – to be punished. On the contrary, he wanted “to give them a way to get an honest crust of bread”. Thus, he wrote:

I take the liberty of proposing [...] to have an old warship stationed permanently in our port with duties of harbour guard and, at the same time, asylum for those low-class youngsters who mainly loaf around all day in our streets. This harbour guard should be considered a forced or voluntary shelter. In the first case, a lad caught in the act of theft would be detained or punished in some way to be established and, later, transferred aboard some warship – eventually, this should be the subject of a specific regulation. In the second case, when a young man volunteered, declaring that he wanted to dedicate himself – either out of desire or out of need – to seafaring, he should find immediate shelter there. [...] I humbly believe that such a measure would result in two good things. On the one hand, our seafaring would acquire a reinforcement of good seamen over time and on the other, without resorting to acts of severity [sic!], society would be enriched with useful men who, without such a provision, would perhaps have become its abomination. (AGCT, 5 C.1-1849, 5107)

Perhaps, few other cases taken from historical sources can fit so well with Goffman’s definition of a “total institution”,⁷ where issues relating to the “assistance” of vulnerable or at-risk individuals, public safety – even “decorum” –, social exclusion and coercion are intertwined inexorably and perversely.

4 The Austrian Empire never had a single Poor Law common to all domains. However, all the imperial provinces shared the *Heimatrecht* (pertinency, residence) framework, which represented the basis for all forms of assistance to the needy (Glaser, 1912, 246). It was introduced by the Provisional Municipal Law (*provisorische Gemeindegesetz*, issued on 17 March 1849) and then confirmed by law no. 26 – in particular by § 2 – of 1862 (Kiefer & Schausberger, 2009, 43; BLI, 1862, 26). However, *Heimatrecht* was definitively systematised in law no. 80 of 1863 (BLI, 1863, 80). The law guaranteed the right of undisturbed residence in a municipality and assistance in destitute circumstances from one’s municipality of residence (§ 1). Section four of the law dealt with the municipalities’ obligation to provide for the poor. In particular, it ordered that: assistance was limited to subsistence and the provision of medical care in the event of illness (§ 24); the poor unemployed, if able to work, could be forced to work (§ 26); a municipality was obliged to take care of poor “foreigners” (non-residents) in a state of need (maintenance and medical care) or to provide for their burial in the event of death, but it could later ask for compensation from the municipality of residence of the poor in question (§§ 28–31). As for poverty data, in 1889, the year in which the two Austrian framework laws of the workers’ security system were approved, the 10,940 institutions for the poor in the Cisleithania assisted 288,742 people (112,190 men, 39%; 176,552 women, 61%) (Statistik, 1889, XLII).

5 Crimping or “sailor thieves” – a phenomenon also known by the exotic expression “shanghaiing” – was the practice of kidnapping men to make them serve as sailors on merchant ships.

6 The Political and Navigation Edict (*Editto Politico di Navigazione Mercantile Austriaca*) of 1774 and the subsequent legal provisions that supplemented it – i.e., the regulatory framework on which the Austrian merchant marine was based until the end of WWI – did not order anything of the kind of course.

7 “A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work [in our case also education] where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life” (Goffman, 1961, XIII). It is worth highlighting that a similar process of seamen criminalisation and the implementation of a naval system of disciplines were also taking place at the same time in Germany (Gerstenberger, 2001).

The “Fathers of the City” told us how many low-rank seafaring careers started and how – using the *Rivista Marittima* words again – many Austrian “sailors, since childhood, renounce motherly caresses to give themselves to the harrowing ordeal of a life full of deprivation”. Seafaring was a “high-risk” profession, full of hardships in many respects indeed. It constantly exposed the worker – in most cases, a male worker – and his family to the risk of poverty. Therefore, turning to a charitable foundation during one’s working life was expected, and it became necessary when one stopped working due to old age. As for seafarers’ families, seeking help from this kind of institution was almost an unavoidable fact in the event of the head of the household’s death. In this context, alongside labour and capital, charity can be considered the “third pillar” on which the Austrian seafaring rested.

THE CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS

Usually, welfare and social security measures can be implemented under a public regime through state legal instruments which regulate and organise social policies; otherwise, they can be actualised through commercial means, i.e., by contracts concluded with an insurance institution. In the latter case, the market has the leading role. However, things worked differently for the Austrian seamen of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Until 1913, there were no laws to protect these workers in the event of illness or injury in the workplace. Indeed, some of them could turn to insurance companies to secure health and workplace accident insurance policies and, perhaps, even old-age pensions.⁸ Nevertheless, in general, this category of workers and their families had to resort to other bodies in case of need: the charitable foundations.

The two main relief foundations of Austrian seafaring were *Pio fondo di marina Austro-illirico* (Österr.-illyr. Marine-Unterstützungsfond) and *Pio fondo di marina dalmato* (Dalmatinischen Marine-Unterstützungsfond). The *Pio fondo di marina Austro-illirico* originated in the brotherhood of Saint Nicholas in Trieste as early as 1588. In 1783 brotherhoods were abolished, but that of Saint Nicholas was allowed to remain, with the name *Istituto di marina*. It was suppressed during the French occupation but reactivated in 1814. As far as Dalmatia is concerned, the *scholae* of Saint Nicholas and Saint John of Nepomuk⁹ existed

there since the early modern period; they had the same purposes as the brotherhood of Saint Nicholas in Trieste. In 1820, probably in Zadar, an *Istituto di marina* similar to that of Trieste was founded for Dalmatia (ASTs, GM, 1163, 4430).

After establishing the *Central Seebehörde* in Trieste in 1850, both foundations were administered by this new government body. After the creation of the second Maritime Government in Rijeka with jurisdiction over the Hungarian-Croatian riparian areas in 1870, the framework would remain stable until the 1920s: the *Pio Fondo di marina Austro-illirico* for Trieste, Istria and the Kvarner islands; then, the *Pio Fondo di marina dalmato* for Dalmatia.¹⁰

The people selected to receive a subsidy followed a bottom-up process. In the first instance, grant applications had to be submitted to the relevant local commission. Those bodies were made up of three ship-owners and three sea captains chosen from the members of the local merchant class; finally, the local port captain chaired the gathering. After an initial screening, applications for subsidies were passed to the Central Commission for the administration of the two relief foundations – composed of delegates from the Chambers of Commerce of the Littoral and Dalmatia – at the Maritime Government (*Seebehörde* - *Governo Marittimo*) in Trieste. The Central Commission had the final say and could order the subsidy payments of between 10 and 40 *Kronen* per month (ASTs, GM, 1160, 4820; cf. 1161, 32291). Naturally, this system was not without its faults. In 1911, 38 seafarers of Mali Lošinj – including at least six captains – communicated to the Maritime Government their discontent regarding the composition of *Pio fondo* local commission. They reported that the commission, which had been established for years at the local Harbour Master’s Office, did not respect the characteristics prescribed by the regulations (Maritime Government’s notice no. 2570, 14 April 1871). It also included people who were not – and had never been – merchant captains or ship-owners such as, for example, a town clerk, a pharmacist, and a wine merchant. For this reason, the petitioners requested that the commission be dissolved (ASTs, GM, 1160, 4820).

As for resources, they were drained mainly by fines for fishery violations, with surtaxes on tonnage and port taxes, and finally from donations. Most of the resources obtained through those methods were invested in state bonds or other financial products (e.g.,

8 It is important to mention that some shipping companies had their welfare funds. In 1848, the Austrian Lloyd established the *Istituto pensioni per gli impiegati della Società di Navigazione a Vapore del Lloyd Austriaco*, whose purpose was to provide its members’ widows and orphans with pensions or other forms of economic support (Babudieri, 1964, 78).

9 From the 16th century onwards, the cult of Saint John of Nepomuk spread very quickly in Central and Eastern Europe. The patron of Bohemia, Saint John is also the protector of all those related to labour activities on waters (sailors, fishermen, millers, etc.) (Hupalo, 2019, 21). For a general overview of the role of faith, beliefs, and superstitions within the maritime world, see Gambin, 2014.

10 It is important to underline that the territorial jurisdiction of the two *Pio fondo* was not rigid. Since the first half of the 19th century, the *Istituto di Marina* of Trieste also subsidised seafarers from other maritime provinces of the Empire (Babudieri, 1964, 77).

Table 1: Pio fondo di marina Austro-illirico beneficiaries per gender and age.¹¹

Year	Men	Men - %	Women	Women - %	Minors	Minors - %	Total
1854	432	62%	261	38%	–	–	696
1894	410	39%	617	59%	16	2%	1,043
1897	410	39%	617	59%	20	2%	1,047
1899	382	37%	619	60%	22	3%	1,023
1902	427	37%	688	60%	37	3%	1,152
1905	438	35%	749	60%	57	5%	1,244
1907	425	34%	779	62%	59	4%	1,263
1909	545	35%	880	58%	85	7%	1,510
1911	591	36%	957	58%	104	6%	1,652
1913	656	36%	1,047	57%	131	7%	1,834

Table 2: Pio fondo di marina dalmato beneficiaries per gender and age.¹²

Year	Men	Men - %	Women	Women - %	Minors	Minors - %	Total
1894	68	43%	89	57%	–	–	157
1897	68	42%	93	58%	–	–	161
1899	65	36%	112	63%	2	1%	179
1902	42	30%	93	66%	5	4%	140
1905	42	29%	92	65%	8	6%	142
1907	52	33%	96	61%	10	6%	158
1909	95	37%	141	55%	21	8%	257
1911	120	33%	201	56%	37	11%	358
1913	113	33%	187	55%	38	12%	338

Prestito della città di Milano 1866, lottery loans, and other debentures) to get annual financial incomes. Although they were intended as a protection instrument for (male) seafarers, as reported in the tables below, and at least starting from the last years of the 19th century, both foundations assumed an essential role in supporting seafarers' families (widows and orphans) in the event of the male breadwinner's death.

Pio Fondo di marina Austro-illirico and *Pio Fondo di marina dalmato* were not the only relief foundations to which seafarers and their families could turn in times of need. In 1919 a further four smaller

foundations established by Trieste's merchant class members also existed in *Venezia Giulia* (Julian March). They were *Fondazione Erminia ved. Bussoli*, favouring two sailors' widows of Trieste and Piran; *Fondazione Giuseppe ed Antonia coniugi Clivio*, which provided two scholarships for students of the Trieste Nautical Academy; *Fondazione Federico De-seppi* for fishermen; and finally, *Fondazione Marco Domenico Garofolo* for seamen, their widows and orphans of Trieste and the islands of Silba and Lošinj. The capital of these smaller foundations was managed by the Maritime Government of Trieste

11 Source: ASTs, GM, 1157, (year 1854) 5541, (year 1894) 7081; 1158, (year 1897) 7016, (year 1899) 7526; 1159, (year 1902) 6920, (year 1905) 13267; 1160, (year 1907) 18402, (year 1909) 15555; (year 1911) 26950; 1161, (year 1913) 16881.

12 Source: ASTs, GM, 1157, (year 1894) 7081; 1158, (year 1897) 7016, (year 1899) 7526; 1159, (year 1902) 6920, (year 1905) 13267; 1160, (year 1907) 18402, (year 1909) 15555, (year 1911) 26950; 1161, (year 1913) 16881.

Table 3: Assets and returns of Austrian seafarers' relief foundations in 1923.¹³

Foundation name	Net asset (nominal value)	Net return (nominal value)
Pio fondo di marina Austro-illirico	1,021,500 Lire and 523,680 Kronen	170,000 Lire
Pio fondo di marina dalmato	373,000 Kronen	2,500 Lire
Fondazione Federico Deseppi	400 Lire	20 Lire
Fondazione Giuseppe ed Antonia coniugi Clivio	8,900 Lire and 1,800 Kronen	445 Lire
Fondazione Marco Domenico Garofolo	24,000 Kronen	920 Kronen
Fondazione Erminia ved. Bussoli	1,000 Lire	50 Lire

(ASTs, GM, 1163, 4430).¹⁴ As regards the beneficiaries' selection, the criteria were established by the foundations' statutes. Usually, applicants had to produce a certificate attesting to their condition of indigence and good morals, evidence of the duration of the service aboard, and any other document that could support their application. In some cases, as already mentioned, candidates had to prove they were originally from a specific locality. However, in other cases, the statutory instructions are much more "detailed". For example, one of the two scholarships, *Fondazione Giuseppe ed Antonia coniugi Clivio*, was intended for an applicant from Bakar, preferably belonging to the Imoquina or Schnautz families (AST, GM, 1164, 5964). The statute of *Fondazione Marco Domenico Garofolo* also had a "familyist" purpose – sometimes, in business or trade organisations, it is considered a facet of "social capital" (cf. Jones, 2012, XI). Even in that case, the beneficiaries not only had to be from a specific locality, but they also had to demonstrate some degree of kinship with the prominent Marco Domenico Garofolo (ASTs, GM, 1157, 10411). So – since she could prove she was Garofolo's first cousin – the widow Anna Pizzoli from Mali Lošinj was able to secure a subsidy from *Fondazione Marco Domenico Garofolo* for many years (ASTs, GM, 1164, 8920).

It is essential to highlight that these foundations maintained their functions even after the approval of the seafarers' social security scheme in 1913, during the war and the post-WWI transition.¹⁵ In 1921, the Italian *Cassa invalidi della marina mercantile* extended its authority also over the Julian March (GU, 221, Royal Decree 1921/1231) and, in 1929, *Pio fondo di marina austro-illirico*, *Pio fondo di marina dalmato*, and *Pio fondo di marina per Fiume e Senj* were absorbed into the Italian *Cassa Nazionale delle Assicurazioni Sociali* in force of the Royal Decree 24 January 1929 no. 158 (LF-II, 1837, 1893). In this way, the ex-imperial relief foundations for seafarers ceased *de facto* to exist. However, despite the currency's devaluation due to rapid inflation in the post-WWI period, as seen from the table below, some foundations still had considerable assets and returns in 1923.

THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS' SOCIAL SECURITY SCHEME

Between 1887 and 1888, the Imperial Council issued the two laws that formed the framework of the Austrian workers' social security system. The first, approved in December 1887, was the law concerning the extension¹⁶ of workers' insurance against workplace accidents (BLI, 1888, 1), and, in March of the following

¹³ Source: ASTs, GM, 1164, 5964.

¹⁴ Before the outbreak of WWI, there were more charitable foundations which dealt with the assistance of seafarers and their relatives in need. There were also, for example: *Fondazione Francesco Giuseppe I* to support Istrian seafaring; *Fondazione Scaramangà* favouring the widows and orphans of the Littoral seafarers; *Fondazione Maria ved. Tercig* to support sailors' widows.

¹⁵ Moreover, in 1916 in Vienna, a specific relief committee was established to subsidise seafarers, fishermen and their families in a state of poverty due to the war (ASTs-CPT, 19, 17525 ex 1916). Also, it is worth mentioning the charity that, in a private capacity, some tycoons of the Austrian shipping industry did for the families of its employees in such a difficult moment. From June 1915 to June 1922, Diodato Tripovich paid 200 *Kronen* (later 200 *Lire*) per month to the widow and orphans of the engine driver Paglietach. Tripovich stopped the subsidy in July 1922 following a lump sum of 2,400 *Lire* (ASTs-ST, 198).

¹⁶ The first chapter of law no. 1 of 1888 bears the wording "insurance extension", but it is a bluff aimed at making it appear that Germany has beaten the times in social policy matters. The "precedent" to which the law of 1888 implicitly refers is the law of 1854 on mining (BLI, 1854, 254). The ninth and tenth chapters of the latter law explicitly addressed the issues relating to relations between workers and employers (§§ 200–209) and social security (§§ 210–214). As for the latter aspect, the law obliged the mine owners to set up brotherhood relief funds to support miners in need, their widows and orphans (§§ 210; 212; 214). For their part, miners were obliged to contribute to the fund (§ 211). Although these provisions were very far-sighted – representing the framework of the following measures for workers' social security – they were designed solely to improve working and living conditions and to prevent forms of revolt of a specific category of workers subjected to particularly strenuous work.

year, the law regarding workers' insurance in case of illness was also approved (BLI, 1888, 33). Following the German social policy scheme, the Austrian social security system was the second to be implemented worldwide.

As for the Austrian context, it is important to underline that the adoption of compulsory workers' insurance was intended to protect workers and their families in the event of loss or reduction of wages due to circumstances that prevented or diminished the worker's ability to work (Manuale, 1919, 9).¹⁷ As regards specifically the insurance for accidents at work, the Austrian "General Civil Code" (*Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* – ABGB) established that involuntary damages must also be compensated (§ 1306) and that the burden of proof was on who had suffered the damage (§ 1298). However, in some cases – such as railway accidents – the burden of proof was reversed. In Germany, before work-related accident insurance, the shifting of the burden of the proof applied to the whole large-scale industry (Manuale, 1919, 10). Therefore, beyond the political question of anti-socialist action, it seems that in Germany, the adoption of the law against accidents at work had also found a not-insignificant reason in the will to overcome the existing legal practices, which did not favour the industrial sector at all.

The subject of the Austrian occupational accident scheme (BLI, 1888, 1) was the compensation for damage deriving from an injury or death of the insured (the employee) following an accident at work. Similarly, the subject of workers' illness insurance programme (BLI, 1888, 33) was granting subsidies in case of illness and covering burial costs in the event of the insured's death. Both laws were in force on all territories of Cisleithania and required that all businesses owners such as factories, shipyards, transport and logistic facilities (e.g., port warehouses), construction sites, and other trades¹⁸ must ensure all employees, without any distinction of duties, gender, or citizenship. So, it was not essential to be an Austrian citizen or have the "pertinency"/residency in a specific place to benefit from the two insurances. Both laws guaranteed the right to sickness and accident allowances simply because of a subordinate employment contract with an Austrian business. If the person entitled to com-

pensation for injury was a foreign subject or permanently resided abroad, the insurance institution could compromise on the annuity and liquidate the insured with a good exit administered at one time (BLI, 1888, 1, § 42). The basis of both the allowances and the insurance premiums was the worker's actual salary. The latter also included piecework, benefits in kind, cost-of-living subsidies and tips if they were used to complete the fixed salary. So, the type of remuneration was irrelevant for insurance purposes. Paying the premiums to the insurance institutions was the employer's responsibility. If specific categories of businesses were not obliged to take out insurance, entrepreneurs could still choose to insure voluntarily. Regarding workplace insurance, in the event of the insured's death, the law also provided for the survivor's pension up to 20% of the accrued indemnity (BLI, 1888, 1, § 7). So, to sum up, both insurances consisted of the simple fact that a certain amount was taken from the salary of the employee, which the entrepreneur had to pay to the public/state insurance institutions. In the event of a worker's illness or accident at work, the state provided compensation, also for the next of kin in the event of the insured's death. The latter is not a circumstance to be taken for granted.

A final important aspect related to the 1887–1888 laws approval worth mentioning was the one related to bureaucracy. First of all, new public bodies were established: the District sickness funds (in Italian *Casse distrettuali per ammalati*) and the Institutes for insurance against accidents at work (in Italian *Istituti d'assicurazione per gli infortuni sul lavoro*).¹⁹ Then, a public official class specialised in social security matters gradually began to be created. As for our seafarers, they remained excluded from any form of protection in the event of illness or workplace injury. Ten years after the approval of the laws and the creation of the institutions mentioned above, those public officials complained that all their proposals and recommendations to improve the social security system were never incorporated by the government authorities. In particular, they criticised the fact that law no. 168 of 1894 extended the insurance against accidents at work to workers such as chimney sweeps and stonemasons. However, it completely disregarded seafarers, despite the fact they were among the categories of workers

17 Besides the laws regarding workplace accidents and health insurance, those that regulated the compulsory workers' insurances in force in Cisleithania were the following: concerning miners' relief funds no. 127 of 1889, no. 14 of 1890, no. 3 of 1892 and no. 178 of 1892; regarding white-collar, old-age pensions no. 1 of 1907; about damages caused by a car no. 162 of 1908; relating to compensation no. 29 of 1909; regarding some specific construction workers no. 96 of 1912; concerning seafarers no. 24 and 25 of 1913; about miners no. 523 of 1917; reform of the law on accidents at work (1/1888 and 168/1894) no. 363 of 1917; and finally, the reform of the law on health insurance (33/1888 and 39/1889) no. 457 of 1917.

18 For example, law no. 168 of 1894 extended the insurance's obligation to cleaning companies too.

19 It is worth remembering that the territorial jurisdiction of the Institutes for insurance against accidents at work of Trieste extended over its territory, Littoral, Carniola and Dalmatia (Statut, 1913).

most at risk, and the provision would have been met with favour from the ship-owners (Rapporto, 1900, 3). In 1905, their frustration reached its limit. In the Ministry of the Interior reform programme dating back to the previous year, seafarers continued to be excluded from any provision. The Ministry justified this exclusion because it was complicated to equate seafarers with other workers and, before proceeding with the approval of the social security schemes in their favour, first an organic revision of the legislation on commercial navigation was necessary. It is worth mentioning that public officials (sarcastically) welcomed the fact that at least the Government had taken “an insignificant step” forward, that is, that it moved “from absolute denial to theoretical recognition” of the seafarers’ social protection issue (Questioni, 1905, 45–46).

THE AUSTRIAN SEAFARERS’ SOCIAL SECURITY SCHEME

Already in 1853, understanding the economic scope of the issue, the Chamber of Commerce – still named *Deputazione di Borsa* – of Trieste solicited the opinions of the seafarers’ class about the measures to be taken to avoid the loss of goods and human lives in the event of sea accidents along the Austrian coasts. Among the various measures, a commission of experts chosen within the Navy and among the members of the port authorities, insurance and shipping companies suggested the creation of a “Shipwreck Institution” based on the British model,²⁰ the execution of periodic seaworthiness inspections of the vessels and the free distribution among the captains of an Italian translation of the *Traité de sauvetage par Conseil* (ASTs-DBCCIT, 34, 553).²¹ Nevertheless, the political authorities did not seem to adopt the proposed measures.

About 30 years later, in Germany, moves towards adopting social policy measures would become more pressing and influential. The Austrian seafaring class immediately grasped the famous message of Kaiser Wilhelm I to the *Reichstag* of November 1881 on social security. In December of the same year, a commission created for the purpose submitted to the attention of the Maritime Government of

Trieste a proposal for a compulsory old-age pension scheme for the seafarers of the Austrian merchant marine also be extended to sea fishing fishermen.²² Again, the proposal came to nothing. Given the context, it is reasonable to suppose that other events and circumstances proved to be more persuasive.

On the night of 14 April 1912, in the waters off the coast of Newfoundland, the largest ocean liner in service at that time – described as “unsinkable” by the international press – the steamer “Titanic” collided with an iceberg. It sank in less than three hours, causing the death of more than 1,500 people. It is regarded as one of the deadliest peacetime maritime disasters in history. The “Titanic” sinking was also a workplace accident of international significance (ca. 685 crew members lost their lives) and a big scandal that had major consequences within the global maritime capitalism of that time. Although it is not appropriate to go into detail, suffice to say that the families of the crew members who perished during the disaster asked for compensation from the ship-owner, the White Star Line company. It was the British Workmen’s Compensation Act of 1897 that made the survivors and relatives of the crew members that passed away eligible for compensation from the shipping company, not the state (Moses, 2018, 162–163). Anyway, less than a year after the “Titanic” tragedy, protection in the event of illness and accident in the workplace was finally extended to Austrian seamen.²³

On 11 February 1913, both the law on compulsory health insurance (BLI, 1913, 24) and the law concerning compulsory injury insurance (BLI, 1913, 25) for seafarers and fishermen were issued. They followed the structure, intentions and modalities of the two previous framework acts and, also in the seafarers’ case, in the event of a worker’s illness or an accident at work, the state provided compensation. Both laws ordered the businessperson – i.e., the ship-owner, the representative of the ship-owner’s consortium or the shipping company owing vessels flying under the Austrian flag – to insure the subordinate workers, regardless of their duties or rank aboard, gender, nationality or citizenship.²⁴ The obligation was not limited to commercial shipping but also included the crews of training and science

20 In all likelihood they meant the National Institution for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck.

21 Most likely they were referring to de Godde de Liancourt, 1841.

22 The old-age pension programme designed for seamen and fishermen was simple and functional. It provided a compulsory contribution equal to 5% of the annual income. So, considering that a sailor earned an average of 200 *Forint* and a merchant captain about 500 *Forint* in a year, the contribution should have been 10 and 25 *Forint* respectively. At the age of 60, a sailor would have acquired the right to receive an annual allowance of 120 *Forint* and a captain of 300 *Forint*, in both cases 60% of the annual income. Austrian seafarers and fishermen working on foreign-flagged vessels could have voluntarily contributed to the pension fund (ASTs, GM, 1163, 3633 ex 1881).

23 Similarly, in June 1913, the law establishing the invalidity fund of the merchant marine (*Cassa invalidi della marina mercantile*) was approved in Italy too (GU, 167, law 1913/767).

24 Exceptions for the insurance of foreign subjects if employed only temporarily were allowed (BLI, 1913, 25, § 3).

ships and sport boats (ASTs, GM, 827, 32573).²⁵ As far as accident insurance was concerned, diseases such as cholera, plague, yellow fever and beriberi were equated to injuries (BLI, 1913, 25, § 3). In the case of seafarers, the law provided for the survivor's pension in case of the insured's death, both in the event of a shipwreck and for the vessel's disappearance (BLI, 1913, 25, §§ 4-5). A particular branch of the Institute for Accidents at Work of Trieste dedicated to the seafaring workforce had jurisdiction over all the Austrian vessels, shipping companies and ship-owners' consortia.

The law that insured seafarers in case of illness did not differ from the framework scheme dating back to 1888. The most interesting aspect of health insurance for seafarers concerns its organisational and institutional aspects. The law provided that a vessel crew had to be insured at the district sickness fund of the locality where the vessel was registered (BLI, 1913, 24, § 5). However, this provision seemed challenging to implement. Thus, shipping companies and ship-owners created their company sickness funds, organising them into a federation (*Federazione delle Casse Marittime di Malattia della Marina Mercantile*) whose headquarters was in Trieste. At the end of WWI, and following the extension of the jurisdiction of the Italian *Cassa invalidi della marina mercantile* to the newly acquired territories, the social partners of the Venezia Giulia commercial navigation (for employers, the *Federazione degli Armatori della Venezia Giulia*; for workers, the *Federazione della Gente di Mare*) decided to accept the conditions of the Italian collective contract for the recruitment of seafarers. From this circumstance arose the need to follow the "Italian model", creating something similar to what in Italy was called "business fund" (*cassa d'esercizio*) (ASTs, GM, 837, 1649). So, in 1921, the general sickness fund for seafarers in Julian March (*Cassa Generale di Malattia per Marittimi nella Venezia Giulia*) was created. Similarly, the Institute for Accidents at Work of Trieste's maritime branch was no longer functional in the post-war scenario. Therefore, in 1920, the Mutual insurance consortium for seafarers' work-related accidents (*Sindacato d'assicurazione mutua per gl'infortuni della gente di mare*) was established in Trieste.

Both 1913 Austrian seafarers' insurances became fully operational on 1 January 1914. They had only 6–7 months to test their effectiveness, and then the scenario and the priorities would change drastically.

TRIESTE WORKING-CLASS HERO: THE "IRON SAILOR"

With the roar of the "guns of August", Trieste immediately began to bleed dry of people (Fabi, 1996, 16, 61; Scartabellati, 2006, 161), jobs (Fabi, 1996, 20; Manenti, 2015, 78–80) and capital (Mezzoli, 2015). Following the entrance of the Anglo-French naval forces into the Adriatic basin on 13 August 1914, Trieste military authorities ordered the city's military evacuation too (Marzari, 1992). In 1915, Italy entered the war, a circumstance that led to the expulsion or internment of almost all of the city's Italian population (*regnicoli*). In the third year of war in 1916, war-weariness was beginning to be felt significantly, in Trieste as elsewhere. In particular, food shortages, the deterioration of working conditions and the rise in prices due to inflation resulted in civil and industrial unrest throughout the Empire. The situation also worried the military, who feared that a possible home front collapse could affect the soldiers' willingness to fight (Obinger, 2018, 78–79). In that desolation, a (working-class) hero was needed.

On the eve of WWI, Trieste was a *great city*/port, the fourth largest city in the Empire (Cattaruzza, 1979, 5). It was also a synthesis of the political-economic architecture and of the moral and material culture that the 19th century produced in its breathtaking race towards *progress*. In that context, some had run better and faster than others, namely the maritime industry and, particularly, the shipping sector (Cattaruzza, 2002, 176–178). From 1879, the year that marked the beginning of the merchant marine reform process, to the eve of WWI, Austrian industrial navigation (i.e., steam navigation) experienced an amazing evolution. The tonnage of Austrian commercial steam shipping increased sevenfold, and the number of registered seamen nearly tripled. It is indeed appropriate to say that in the context of the Austrian capitalist economy, a seafaring industrial revolution was taking place.

The proscenium of that formidable success was Trieste. Here the tonnage of the commercial steam navigation grew by five times, and the seafaring workforce more than doubled. In 1912, more than two-thirds of the tonnage of Austrian industrial shipping and its workforce – which consisted mainly of men – were concentrated in Trieste. Moreover, 60% of Austrian steamers also had Trieste as their home port.

25 An interesting aspect of the seafarers' social security laws is that they used different criteria from the Austrian framework law on merchant marine (BLI, 1879, 65) to distinguish between different types of maritime navigation. The 1913 laws distinguished between "small" (vessels less than 50 gross tons) and "large" navigation (vessels over 50 gross tons). Since the laws provided for the compulsory registration of all Austrian maritime enterprises with the Institute for Accidents at Work of Trieste, we know that the size of the Austrian merchant marine on the eve of WWI was 759 units: 410 businesses related to the "large" navigation and 349 businesses related to the "small" one (Rapporto, 1915, 3).

Table 4: Austrian industrial navigation.²⁶

	1879	1890	1900	1912
Steamers	101	135	199	394
Tonnage	60,139	87,474	190,620	422,368
Crew	2,432	2,857	3,919	6,667

Table 5: Trieste's industrial navigation.²⁷

	1879	1879 - %	1890	1890 - %	1900	1900 - %	1912	1912 - %
Steamers	93	92%	113	84%	127	64%	236	60%
Tonnage	59,932	99%	84,584	97%	156,482	82%	324,357	77%
Crew	2,391	98%	2,707	95%	3,207	82%	5,025	75%

In this picture, it is also necessary to mention the extraordinary increase in industrial production and commercial traffic that crossed the city in the same years (Cattaruzza, 2002, 176–184), a circumstance also due to Trieste's intermodal transport system.²⁸ As an example, in 1913, only in the area of the free port of Trieste (617,000m², five docks, 3,100m of quays) 2,146 vessels (both steam and sailing ships; overall 3,042,403 tons) docked to unload the goods they transported (Statistica-Statistik, 1913, 149). A trade of this magnitude naturally represented a significant opportunity for ashore maritime work, first for the (male) workers who dealt with loading and unloading goods from the ships' holds, then also for the shipyards' workers. As Joy Parr highlighted in her study on Ontario's industrial communities, the "specialisation" of a community in a particular type of economy (i.e., one-industry community) also has consequences in its inner workings regarding class and gender relations (i.e., jobs' sex labelling and "gendered" communities) (Parr, 1990). As for our case, it is possible to affirm that, considering its economic characteristics, Trieste was a "working-class" and "men's city" during the last decades of the 19th and the first of the 20th centuries at least. At the same time, in the "West" a direct interdependence between industrial capitalism and patriarchal gender relations was settling down: the male sole-breadwinner paradigm was establishing itself as the dominant working-class family model (Rose, 1986, 114; Soccombe, 1986, 54). As Valerie

Burton has shown, seafaring labour – maybe, the entire spectrum of maritime work – is particularly receptive to the interactions between modes of production, relations among social classes and power relationships between genders. The development of industrial (i.e., steam) navigation, and the subsequent formation of social relations shaped by industrial capitalism, exposed seafarers to a greater extent to the norms and conventions of the ashore communities. Thus, more or less wittingly, in the late 19th–early 20th century, also seafarers – and the other maritime workers – gave credit to the male sole-breadwinner industrial capitalist *diktat* (Burton, 1991, 180–181, 189 et passim).

During WWI, most of the activities related to commercial shipping and fishery stopped. The issue of the social security system for seamen was no longer on the agenda. Now, pre-war seamen, fishermen and maritime workers were infantrymen on the battlefields or sailors of the imperial navy. As in other cases other than Trieste and the Littoral, women, children, and the elderly were "only" wives, children and parents to support before the war. They belonged only to the private sphere. However, with the prolongation of the war, the question relating to the livelihood of those people's categories assumed a public and "strategic" character.

At the beginning of July 1916, posters began to appear in the city announcing an unusual event for Trieste (cf. Benco, 1919a, 181): the inauguration of the "Iron Sailor" (*marinaio in ferro*), one of the many nail men (*Nagelmänner*) erected in the

26 Source: Statistica-Statistik, (year 1879) 6; (year 1890) 6; (year 1900) 12; (year 1912) 12.

27 Source: Statistica-Statistik, (year 1879) 3; (year 1890) 3; (year 1900) 3; (year 1912) 3.

28 The port of Trieste was connected to the railway in 1857.

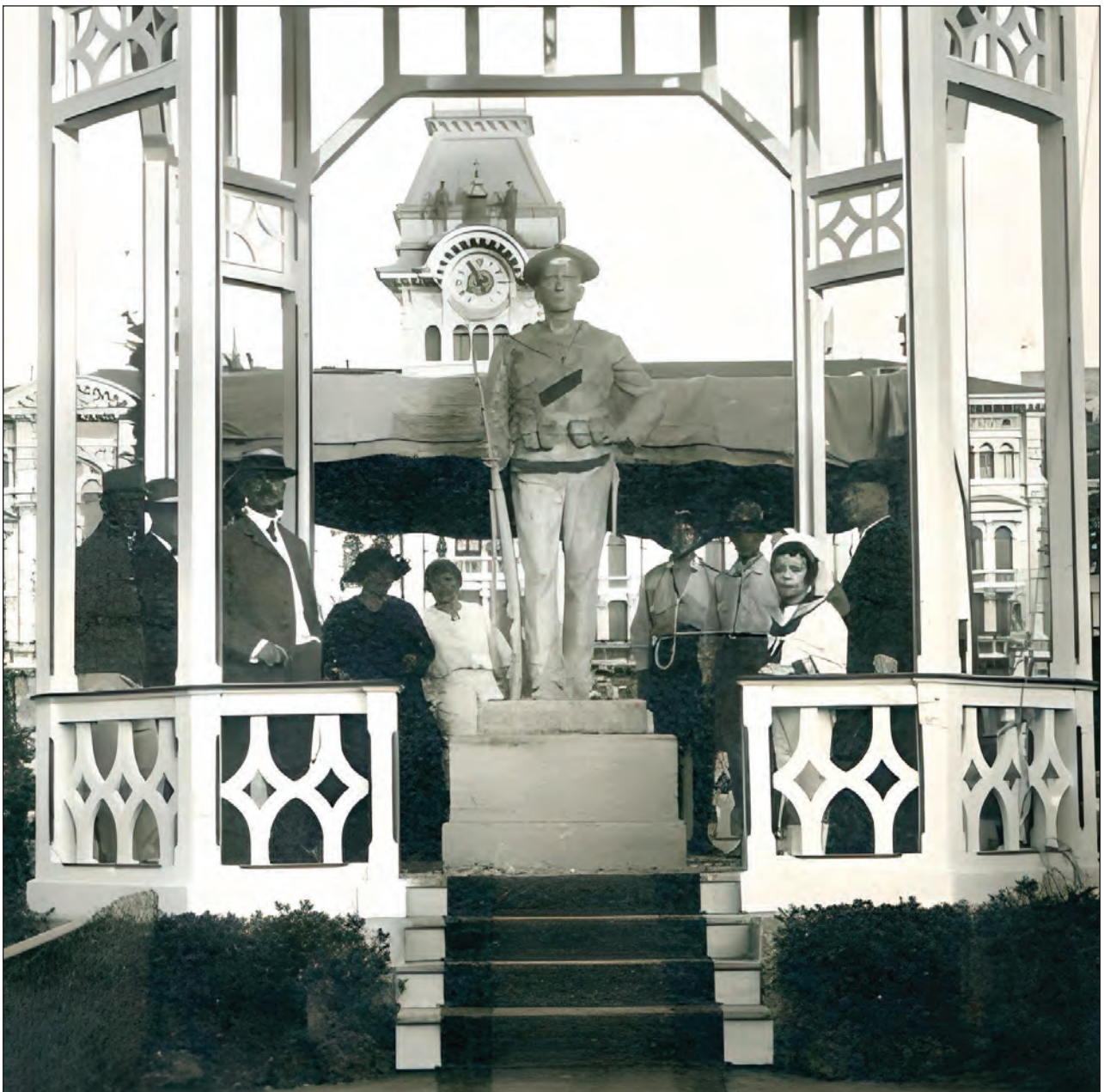


Figure 1: Inauguration of the “Iron Sailor” nail man (Trieste, Piazza Grande, 9 July 1916) (Source: CMSPCT-SZ, f. 10, it. 19).

Austro-Hungarian and German Empires during WWI.²⁹ The occurrence scheduled on 9 July 1916 in Piazza Grande (now Piazza Unità d'Italia) was promoted by the “Società Triestina Austria” as-

sociation. According to their intention, the “Iron Sailor” was “destined to [become] destination of pitiful pilgrimage by those citizens who, with the corresponding offering of their forces, would like

²⁹ They were wooden monuments in which nails of iron, silver or gold were hammered in exchange for offerings, later donated to charitable cause (Bellucci, 1919, 1–34). Interestingly enough, in the Ottoman Empire, a “wooden cannon” – called “Souvenir of Bravery” in Turkish *Hâtra-i Celâdet Topu* – was established during WWI too. In November 1915, the activists of the Association for the Support of Needy Soldiers’ Families (*Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*) were granted permission to install a wooden canon in Istanbul’s Beyazıt Square. Also in this case, contributors could drive a nail into the monument in return for an offering. The proceeds would have been donated to the families of the soldiers, particularly the *muinsiz aile*, the soldiers’ families whose sole male breadwinners were enlisted (van Os, 2011, 269; Akın, 2014, 22 et passim).

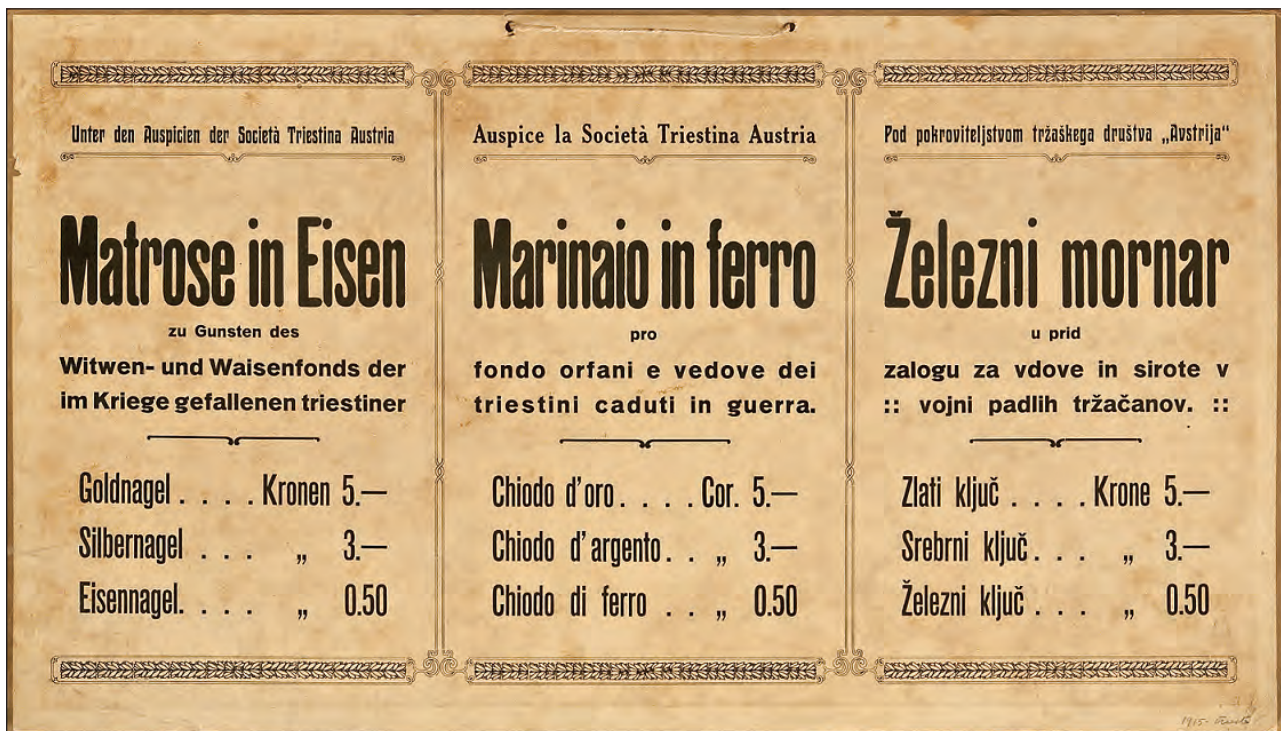


Figure 2: Flyer in German, Italian and Slovenian showing the prices of the nails for the “Iron Sailor” (Source: CMSPCT-DT, 15).

to pay due tribute to the heroism of the brave ones who, as an unshakeable bulwark, stand in defence of Trieste and the great homeland”. All proceeds would be donated to the relief foundation in favour of the widows and orphans of Trieste’s conscripts (BCAH-SM, 14).

The day following the inauguration, the front page of the newspaper *La Gazzetta di Trieste* read:

It was time! Trieste, the kind city whose big heart wins over anyone who visits it. Trieste, which for its traditions well deserves the appellation of ‘most faithful’, could not wait any longer. It could not be inferior to its sister cities in Austria and not possess its “iron man” and express, even in this form – a visible and material symbol – its iron will for victory and sacrifice. Now she had it! [...] In the middle of Piazza Grande’s garden, in an elegant kiosk painted in white with red trimmings, a virile figure of a sailor stands, with his eyes turned towards the sea and his weapon at his foot. [...] The handsome sailor, whom an artist’s hand raised here in front of us in the centre of the city of Trieste, must be for us a symbol of our defensive strength.³⁰

Naturally, all the civil and military authorities of the city participated in the celebration, “along with people made up of citizens of all classes”.³¹ The occasion was ecumenical, both from the point of view of class belonging and national affiliation. For its “iron man”, Trieste was called to mobilise as a unique community of people. After all, nothing different could be expected from “Societä Triestina Austria”, an association that had as its first statutory purpose the “union and solidarity among people of chaste customs and patriotic sentiments”, at least formally, independently from any other identity attribute (Societä, 1907, 3). In any case, due to the peculiarities of the city’s economic system and labour market, that “handsome sailor” – who as a civilian would undoubtedly have been employed in the maritime sector – could have been the son, the brother, the betrothed, the husband or, finally, the father of any Triestiner regardless of national affiliation.

However, it must be said that at least a part of Trieste forgot its “iron man” over time. In May 1918, someone wondered what happened to the monument and addressed the question to a newspaper, likely the socialist newspaper *Il Lavoratore*. The answer, which appeared in the column “Petty correspondence” (*Piccola posta*), was blunt and harsh:

30 *La Gazzetta di Trieste*, 10 July 1916: La solenne inaugurazione del “Marinaio in ferro”, 1.

31 *La Gazzetta di Trieste*, 10 July 1916: La solenne inaugurazione del “Marinaio in ferro”, 1.

“We know nothing of the miserable end of the ‘Iron Sailor’, which was... wooden!”.³² This response was noticed by a reader who decided to entrust the information he had about the “Iron Sailor” to another newspaper, *La Gazzetta di Trieste*. So, we learn that the “iron man” was currently placed in the spaces of the Trieste’s War Exhibition (*Esposizione di guerra*) and that, thanks to that charity mode, more than 35,000 *Krone* had already been raised. The editorial staff of *La Gazzetta di Trieste* also decided to reply, asserting that they could not understand how some were unable to see around the “Iron Sailor” “a swarm of children whose greatest support – the father – is gone anymore and that, weakly supported by mourning mothers, extend their hands in supplication towards that symbol”.³³ From that moment on, there was no further news on the “Iron Sailor” until the end of October 1918, when the city uprisings marked *de facto* the end of WWI in Trieste. During these uprisings, the crowd tore its “iron man” to pieces in the same square where his effigy was unveiled. The remains were then burned and thrown into the sea (Benco, 1919b, 127; F-CMSA, 8963).

Trieste’s “Iron Sailor” was not the only “iron man” of WWI. Also in 1916, Jack Cornwell, a 16-year-old working-class boy gave a lesson of gallantry and manhood to the entire British Empire. However, in this case, we are rather dealing with a “golden boy”, where the hero is the “son of the nation”: the one boy’s heroism and sacrifice stood for the martyrdom of a whole valiant generation of young men (Conly, 2009, 160–192). In contrast, Trieste’s “Iron Sailor” was the material portrayal of the manly and mature “call of duty”. It was the prototype of the working-class hero and male (sole) breadwinner who, in peacetime, had the responsibility of feeding and supporting his family while, in times of war, was called to defend the safety of the whole community to which he belonged and that the war put in danger. Therefore, in this context and in the case of Trieste’s “Iron Sailor”, it seems that other forces were at play and had taken over, unlike the Czech scenario depicted by Tara Zahra where, during the conflict, “each nation only cares for its own” (Zahra, 2006).

CONCLUSION

The relationships that bind philanthropists and the poor are complex and perverse, and the case of charitable activities in favour of the Austrian seafarers and their families during the 19th and early 20th centuries is no exception. In our case,

they went far beyond the “mere” relations between classes determined by economic power relations but involved cultural, moral and even “population politics” variables. They are perfectly situated within the framework of power relations depicted by Stuard Woolf, where the poor were only partially one of the products of the socio-economic context of reference. Rather, as Stuart Woolf noted, the poor were poor also because they were “drawn that way” by the elites. Moreover, “the essence of this construct was the acceptance by the poor themselves of a condition of dependence on others” (Woolf, 1986, 63). As we have seen from the article in *Rivista Marittima*, the charity was aimed precisely at helping the working poor to accept with greater resignation – and, at the same time, to work more and better – their condition of poverty as desired by God. However, before the elites could spare any loose change, it was necessary to take a preliminary step: to separate the “deserving” poor who, due to their moral qualities, had earned charity from the “undeserving” ones who, for the good of the community, had to be removed, ostracised, possibly, locked up (Woolf, 1978, 1062–1063). In this regard, it seems that in Trieste in the mid-19th century, for some of those “undeserving” poor, the practice was that of being kidnapped and put to forced labour by city institutions. That labour was seafaring, and it represented the first form of “charity” that young, male and a little “hot-headed” individuals received from the city elites. In this way, those young men began a hazardous, precarious, poorly paid and badly reputed profession. A job that would have required constant recourse, in particular by his family members, to the support measures offered by the charitable foundations set up, financed and administered by the same elite who had previously marginalised him and aggravated his socio-economic condition.

Priorities change over time, regardless of the will of a few influential people. Although the Spring of Peoples in Austria faded immediately, after 1848 everything was different in the Empire. Moreover, in the second half of the 19th century, a new sensibility towards workers’ agencies and the state’s role in dealing with social issues emerged in Europe (Moses, 2018, 57). As noted by Michael Keating, welfare can also represent an essential instrument for the territorial integration of a state. In particular, because “it provided equal standards of service across the national territory, [...] aimed at compensating for economic change and drawing underdeveloped territories into the national economy” (Keating, 2021, 331). Regarding the economic

³² *La Gazzetta di Trieste*, 8 May 1918: Contro la carità, 2.

³³ *La Gazzetta di Trieste*, 8 May 1918: Contro la carità, 2.



Figure 3: 1 Kronen stamp, whose proceeds would have been donated to the Royal Imperial relief fund for Austrian military widows and orphans. In the image, the wording “The fallen heroes for the Homeland” (Source: AST-GM, 1163, 15634).

unification of the Imperial territories, in 1775, Maria Theresa created the Cisleithanian common market, and one of the most significant reforms of the years 1848–1849 was the establishment of the customs union between the Austrian and the Hungarian territories of the Empire (Komlos, 1983, 29, 25). In that context, the laws relating to the workers' social policy scheme of 1887–1888 – in force on all the Cisleithanian territories – were conforming to that spirit, representing a piece in the picture of the Austrian post-1848 "revolution from above". In this case, however, it was not the market or capital at the centre of the political and governance agenda but labour. Moreover, as Julia Moses noted, "industrial modernity, characterised by factory work, male breadwinners and urban living, created new social problems that requires novel solutions" (Moses, 2016, 3). Nevertheless, Austrian seafaring labour was not even touched by that wave. Again, it appears that the safety and well-being of the seamen and their families remained dependent on the will of, in the words of Karl Polany, a certain "society that was not subject to the laws of the state, but, on the contrary, subjected the state to its own laws" (Polanyi, 1944, 116).

When, in 1914, WWI broke out, the social security programme for seafarers had just been approved. So, it was no longer an item on anyone's agenda; in any case, the war was bringing about other and new issues that were higher priority. On the one hand, the war represented a total upheaval of reality; on the other, some daily life realities found themselves in the circumstances of showing their most pertinent face. Besides, some issues took on new meanings too. This is the case for Trieste and, in general, Austrian seafarers who saw themselves being transfigured into the nail man "Iron Sailor", Trieste's WWI "iron man". Trieste's "Iron Sailor" indeed represented a male figure with

somewhat rough manners, but also gallant because he was courageous and loyal; bold and, at the same time, reassuring because he was considered solid and reliable; finally, politic and of-the-people at the same time because he was "ecumenical" from the point of view of national affiliation. The "wandering kid" who had to be captured, embarked by force and, therefore, removed for the common good of the 1850s during WWI had become the stable working-class family man and sole male breadwinner "next door" who was fighting to preserve the common good, everyone's security and well-being, and the *status quo* too. Thus, between the 19th and 20th centuries, we witness a dramatic twist in the masculinity of the Austrian seafarers, and of those of Trieste in particular: from embodying the "immature" – i.e., in need of charity due to poverty, thus unable to support themselves and their family – and marginalised masculinity of the mid-19th century urban underclass, to representing a typology of those that Raewyn W. Connell identifies as "men of reason" (Connell, 1995, 164–181), so, in our case, complicit masculinity to the hegemonic patriarchal culture. The degree and quality of the transilience are astounding. The question of how close to reality this construct was and how much it resulted from ideology is a matter that needs further research. Anyway, what is certain is that the war brought to light and magnified a process underway before the outbreak of the conflict. As Valerie Burton noted, industrial (i.e., stem) shipping capitalism restructured seafarers' masculinity and breadwinner roles (Burton, 1991, 196). This observation seems to be true also for the case of Trieste and Austrian seafaring. The reasons for this circumstance must be explored in the new mechanisms and exigencies of a social, economic and cultural nature triggered by the extraordinary exploit of the Austrian and Triestine shipping industry of the last decades of the 19th century.

VARNE VODE. AVSTRIJSKI POMORŠČAKI MED DOBRODELNOSTJO IN
SOCIALNO ZAŠČITO, OKOLI 1850–1920

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POVZETEK

Namen članka je izpostaviti značilnosti in kritične točke ukrepov, namenjenih zagotavljanju "varnosti" avstrijskih pomorščakov, njihovih družin in skupnosti, ki so jim pripadali, od *Gründerzeit* v petdesetih letih 19. stoletja do zgodnjega poveljnega obdobja. Delo v pomorstvu je v številnih pogledih zelo tvegan poklic. Zlasti v preteklosti je delavca, običajno moškega, in njegovo družino, nenehno izpostavljalo tveganju, da zapadejo v revščino. Obračanje na dobrodelne ustanove v času delovne dobe in ob odhodu iz službe zaradi starosti je bilo zato nekaj običajnega. Kar zadeva družine, je bilo iskanje pomoči pri tovrstnih ustanovah skoraj neizogibna okoliščina v primeru nezmožnosti glave družine za delo. Zato lahko, poleg dela in kapitala, dobrodelne ustanove štejemo za tretji steber, na katerem je slonel trgovski ladijski sektor v avstrijskem cesarstvu. V zadnjih desetletjih 19. stoletja se je v Avstriji zgodila prava pomorska industrijska revolucija, ki je korenito spremenila družbenogospodarsko okolje, ne pa tudi okvira socialne varnosti pomorščakov. Kljub temu sta se družbenogospodarska vloga in javna podoba pomorščakov spremenili.

Ključne besede: Socialna varnost pomorščakov, obvezno nezgodno zavarovanje pri delu, obvezno zdravstveno zavarovanje, avstrijska ladjedelniška industrija, moškost poglavarja družine v industrijski dobi

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received: 2022-08-03

DOI 10.19233/ASHS.2022.37

ANXIOUS »ITALIANS«: SECURITY AND WELFARE IN THE UPPER ADRIATIC, 1918–1924

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ABSTRACT

This article suggests that cultural trauma and insecurity fueled pervasive anxiety in the former Habsburg Adriatic Littoral in the wake of WWI and affected the development and implementation of social welfare policies. In the Italian successor state's eastern border provinces, the creation of a secure and stable society relied on authorities' ability to include and support individuals and on individuals' ability to negotiate their place as citizens and to define themselves as worthy of state assistance.

Keywords: anxious populations, Adriatic Littoral, interwar period, social welfare, citizenship, precarity

GLI »ITALIANI« IN ANSIA: SICUREZZA E PREVIDENZA SOCIALE NELL'ALTO ADRIATICO, 1918–1924

SINTESI

Questo articolo sostiene che il trauma culturale e l'insicurezza hanno alimentato un'ansia pervasiva nell'ex litorale adriatico asburgico all'indomani della Prima guerra mondiale e hanno influenzato lo sviluppo e l'attuazione delle politiche di assistenza sociale. Nelle province di confine orientali dello Stato italiano successore, la creazione di una società sicura e stabile si basava sulla capacità delle autorità di includere e sostenere gli individui e sulla capacità di questi ultimi di negoziare il proprio ruolo di cittadini e di definirsi degni dell'assistenza statale.

Parole chiave: popolazioni ansiose, Litorale austriaco, periodo interbellico, assistenza sociale, cittadinanza, precarietà

Owing to their “ancient Italianness,” Trieste/Trst, Istria/Istra, and Dalmazia/Dalmatia/Dalamcija¹ should be treated as an integral part of victorious Italian state not as a part of a conquered territory or vanquished state in dissolution, wrote Mayor of Trieste Alfonso Valerio in May 1919 (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 17).² Valerio petitioned Italian negotiators at the Paris Peace to remind them of the irredentist aspirations (passions which he had shared) that had enticed Italy into war and to convince them that the former Habsburg Adriatic provinces were comprised of lands, populations, and resources that were “truly Italian.” His entreaty also reflected anxiousness – a permeating sense of unease that those in the former Habsburg Adriatic Littoral, occupied as Venezia Giulia, would not be sufficiently Italian to fit into the Italian nation and successor state.

War-weary populations in the Adriatic provinces assigned to Italy in the Paris Peace agreements and subsequent treaties faced a chaotic and contested landscape. International disagreements over borders, the allocation of resources, and the status of property in the new Italian lands quickly soured individuals’ jubilation and relief at the cessation of war hostilities, and anxious populations faced an uncertain future. The Italian state similarly faced uncertainties as anxiety fueled affective politics and on-going instability and violence. Economic distress strained fragile cultural and social community bonds, and demobilization, dislocation, and economic hardship impeded the development and function of political policies and networks designed to insure social welfare. Italy administered the formerly Habsburg Adriatic lands as the territory of Venezia Giulia, Zara/Zadar, and, after 1924 Fiume/Rijeka. The local populations’ access to social welfare and services relied on national and local authorities’ ability to parse legal requirements and interpret the stipulations of the peace treaties in the context of their inclinations to integration. Social welfare needs cast in the mold of Habsburg subjecthood had to be framed and reframed in disjunctures of transition from the Habsburg Monarchy to first Liberal and then Fascist Italy. The creation of a secure and stable society relied as much on individuals’ ability to secure a place in the emerging society as on the state’s ability and willingness to provide that space inside Italian borders. Pervasive anxiety induced the Italian government to soothe ontological security concerns through negotiation with local authorities and new citizens. But, this search for ontological security was not simply a question of return to stability and normalcy. As Christopher Browning and Pertti Joen-

niemi have suggested, it required “adaptability, i.e. openness toward and the ability to cope with change” (Browning & Joenniemi, 2017, 32).

ANXIOUS POPULATIONS

Scholars have debated the anxiety’s usefulness as an analytical category (Hunt, 1999), nonetheless it is an attractive concept to examine deep causal processes in the aggregation or amplification of individual responses to social insecurities or change. Since the 1950s, scholars like Franz Neumann have explored anxiety’s role in shaping political action and identity politics (Neumann, 1957). Since 2000, and particularly since 9/11, anxiety has evolved as a category of analysis in the context of ontological security and the contours of affective politics in uncertain, performative or “anxious” contemporary, neoliberal states (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020). Although social scientists most often associate anxiety with contemporary, post-World War II states and with modernization, capitalism, the post-colonial experience and understandings of alterity, “anxiousness” has certainly long permeated politics in unstable or uncertain political environments. In the wake of World War I, where populations emerged from imperial subjecthood under the Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Russians and “lost their stabilizing anchor” (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020, 246), omnipresent anxiety may have been the greatest obstacle to social cohesion in the reconstruction of peacetime society.

Defined as a sense or mood of unease, nervousness, or discomfort and associated with uncertainty oriented toward the future, anxiety is a “diffuse, unpleasant and vague sense of apprehension that exists prior to and relatively independent of any given actual threat” (Kinnvall & Mitzen, 2020, 241). Giddens has linked it to cognitive and emotional disorientation and a lack of faith in “the coherence of everyday life,” whereas he sees fear, by contrast, as an emotional response directed at a “specific threat” and with a “definite object,” that prompts urgent, adaptive action (Giddens, 1991, 37–38, 43–45). Fear lay at the core of violent action and reaction which, in the Adriatic borderlands, fed cyclical ethnic and economic based violence. Existential anxiety had to be addressed in political and social practice and was the aim of Italian social welfare policies and practices that evolved after 1918 in the new territories.

After World War I, in the volatile atmosphere where the successor states of Italy, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (or the South Slav state), and the short-lived Free State of Fiume came together at the

1 In the Adriatic region, the multiplicity of placenames reflects the complex ethnic and national history of the region. For clarity, place-names here are listed first as they appear in the documents and then in other languages used at the time or in use today.

2 Thank you to the Centre of Science and Research (ZRS) Koper and the Institute for Historical Studies for support of this research, to the participants in the May 2022 Adriatic Social Welfare conference and anonymous reviewers for thoughtful comments and suggestions, and especially to Nancy Wingfield for her generous assistance and gracious support.

crossroads of the ethnically German, “Slavic” (Slovene and Croatian), and Italian worlds, authorities taking charge in Italy’s “new territories” sought to assure disquieted populations of the benefits of Italian sovereignty while, at the same time, trying to deal with rising nationalist and ethnic conflict related to the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy and the need to reconcile contradictory nationalist calls for assimilation and international promises to respect the rights of ethnic minorities (Cattaruzza, 2017, 83–122; Apollonio, 2001).³ The extension of social welfare, networks, benefits, and policies to protect those most vulnerable became a proving ground of the Italian government’s earnestness and a measure of its successes and failures in integrating borderland populations.

While scholars recognize that “everyday” violence (Ebner, 2011) associated with military and paramilitary actions (Klabjan, 2018) provoked fear that played an important role in escalating conflict and counterviolence in the Adriatic territories, on-going anxiety based in the diffuse sense of cultural trauma rather than the threat of physical harm governed the new authorities’ response to social insecurity. In April 1920, Trieste’s political commissioner warned authorities in Rome of the dangers of the unsettled “general political situation.” Citing the “nervousness and hyper-sensibility that agitates all social classes,” he blamed agitation on the “new economic conflict,” and he feared that, “[g]iven the decidedly antinational elements (socialists, slavs, and austrophiles), a general political movement in the Kingdom could, here in Trieste and I believe in Venezia Giulia, assume not only a socialist Bolshevik, but a preeminently antinational and separatist character” (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 85). Measures could be taken to target insecurity associated with present circumstances, but their effects in alleviating future-oriented anxiety were less clear. And, the question of who was responsible for developing and implementing policy for the long term remained, writ large.

SOCIAL WELFARE

After World War I, Italian authorities in the new provinces of Venezia Giulia had to restore the civil bureaucracy and establish clear lines of authority in the new environment of Italy. The Italian government pledged in 1916 to preserve Austrian social welfare benefits in Trieste, Tyrol, and other Habsburg lands in the event of annexation (Ferrera, 2018, 108–111). But, competing interests and aims as well as contradictory impulses to conserve existing laws, policies, and practices in the name of stability and to introduce Italian norms to hasten integration marked the administrative transition, overseen by Italian military occupation

authorities from November 1918 to July 1919 and then by the General Civil Commissioner until official (de jure) annexation in January 1921 (Apollonio, 2001; Capuzzo, 1992; Bresciani, 2021, 186–190).

Most Central European successor states emerged with national agendas from the fragments of defunct multi-national empires, but in the Upper Adriatic the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, a new multi-ethnic state, emerged alongside the established Kingdom of Italy. Borderland populations shared the experiences of the former Habsburg Adriatic Littoral and awaited decisions of international negotiators to settle their fate, but from the Armistice in November 1918 to the annexation of Fiume/Rijeka in February 1924, in lands presumed to be destined for inclusion in Italy integration rather than formation of statal systems was of paramount concern. Individuals trying to anticipate Italian expectations, maneuvered to define and redefine themselves and sought to navigate the uncertainties of competing systems of extant laws and practices, treaty requirements, and new regulations.

Before World War I, Italy’s “patchy, hazy” social welfare system was underdeveloped in comparison to that of other European states (Pavan, 2019, 837), including Cisleithan Austria, which had developed on models of Bismarckian social insurance with Swiss style labor protections influenced by Catholic social views (Obinger, 2018, 69–70). World War I triggered reform in Italy, particularly after 1916 when the state coordinated nationwide relief efforts to ensure that wartime damages, casualties, and other losses did not destabilize the home front. Mobilized against a common enemy and influenced increasingly by Catholic politics, the population responded to state intervention in the time of national emergency. By 1917, compulsory old-age and disability insurance were introduced (Pironti, 2020, 194–197). The wartime Italian Ministry of Military Assistance continued to function until November 1919, when the General Directorate in the Treasury Ministry took over its responsibilities (Pavan, 2019, 856). For those in “old Italy,” transfer to civilian bureaucracy was a nightmare of red tape and led to delays in receiving benefits. For new citizens in the borderland, it created an even worse tangle of regulations and requirements.

Inhabitants of the New Provinces struggled to navigate systems of Italian social welfare that took three forms: charity (*beneficenza*) rooted in the traditions of the church and generally private or church-based with aims to benefit or assist the individual directly; social assistance (*assistenza sociale*) based in liberal economies and industrial society with aims to alter society by providing state-monitored public assistance; and social insurance or social security

3 While Italy considered autochthonous “non-Italians” as ethnic minorities, in parts of the new provinces Slovenes and Croatians constituted a majority of the population.

(*previdenza sociale*) conceived in the interests of the state and based on calculations of societal risk designed to manage aggregate liabilities (Horn, 1988, 397–400). These categories of assistance were superimposed on extant Habsburg frameworks and manipulated to fit expectations of populations in the provinces transitioning to Italian control.

No matter how complex or confusing the social welfare system appeared or which measures, regulations, and programs appeared to be in force, a greater problem confronted individuals living in the borderland. Access to welfare systems and social benefits required proof of legal eligibility, and many seeking assistance found evidence of identity and verification of legal status elusive. Anxious individuals seeking proper legal documentation and facing an uncertain future in Italy confronted equally anxious local authorities unsure of how to proceed in the new and dynamic political environment. In Venezia Giulia, individuals had a one-year grace period following the Paris Treaties' coming into force to regularize citizenship and secure claims to property and benefits, but borders continued to shift until 1924, requiring regular monitoring and reconsideration based on individuals' circumstances, place of residence, and place of birth. Furthermore, due to wartime dislocations, basic services remained haphazard and disorganized. In Trieste, the largest urban center in the new Adriatic provinces, it was the Fascist government that finally coordinated urban services in 1923, organizing the welfare system with the division of the city into eight police and health services districts (ASTs, PT, UC VI, busta 21).

REFUGEES, AID, AND REPATRIATION

In the wake of war, authorities' immediate concerns focused on repatriation of dislocated individuals and the provision of emergency aid to military refugees as well as civilians in the Adriatic provinces and particularly the port city of Trieste. The Armistice in November 1918 precipitated a refugee crisis in the eastern Adriatic provinces as tens of thousands of Italian soldiers and prisoners of war released by the Austrians made their way to the Adriatic coast to seek transport to the Italian peninsula. In the immediate crisis that lasted nineteen days, the American Red Cross provided more than 700,000 meals to demobilized soldiers in hastily constructed camps in the city's port zone. Until the dangers of winter had passed in March 1919, Red Cross "*beneficenza*," continued to provide food, clothing and necessities, to populations in the Adriatic provinces including poverty stricken villages on the Istrian coast and war stricken provinces of eastern Italy as well as devastated communities around the Piave (Bakewell, 1920, 189–201).

But "*beneficenza*" could not meet the needs of those living in, repatriating, or migrating to the new Italian Adriatic provinces, who required more permanent forms of social assistance or social insurance. Some had voluntarily left the Adriatic zone during the war and could rely on personal resources; others had fled in the panic of wartime or had been forcibly removed and required aid to re-establish their lives. At the onset of hostilities Habsburg officials expelled or interned tens of thousands of Italian citizens (*regnicoli*) working and living in the Habsburg Adriatic Littoral, targeting them as "enemy aliens." In addition, thousands of "Italian" Habsburg subjects judged unreliable or disloyal were interned (Caglioti, 2019, 130–139; Stibbe, 2019, 66–76). Many sought to return to their prewar communities at the cessation of hostilities.

To enforce order, increase stability, and reduce social liabilities, occupation authorities limited access to the new border territory. Scholarly attention has focused on the ethno-cultural character of authorities' decisions to allow re-entry to the borderlands, citing evidence of the ethnic transformation of Venezia Giulia in the years immediately following the war, the immigration of 40,000 from Italy to the new provinces, and the contours of nationalist political violence in the region (Purini, 2002; Cecotti, 2001; Bresciani, 2021; Koren Testen & Paradiž Cergol, 2021; Reill Kirchner et al., 2022). But territorial realities also played a significant role. Returning Italians (*regnicoli*) expelled from the Habsburg Littoral at the beginning of the war sought return as internal Italian migrants. Former Habsburg subjects in the South Slav State or other successor states had to cross an international border to return. For occupation authorities permission to repatriate was a socio-economic tool to limit state liabilities. Authorities generally welcomed back those with means and the well-connected, while the less fortunate had a more difficult time (Hametz, 2013, 795–797). They encouraged servants, assured of posts to with the return of employers and their families, to migrate or remigrate from the Italian peninsula (Koren & Paradiž, 2021), but discouraged those without assured means of support, particularly young men without local ties seeking employment. In a February 1919 memo, distributed in some 200 copies to various Italian ministries and to each prefecture in the Kingdom, military occupation authorities begged officials in "old Italy" to disabuse small merchants and industrialists, travelling salesmen, and diverse workers of "fantasies of quick earnings" and to dissuade travel of those whose "presence is not necessary or at least cannot be useful" (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 35).

As David Horn suggests, welfare measures entailed a "set of social priorities" that revealed "operations of power" and "cultural constructions of categories"

(Horn, 1988, 396). Italian authorities' ethno-cultural aspirations played a role in "categorizing" populations, but they identified "enemies" for their potential threat to the social fabric rather than on the grounds of ethnic association. As Eric Weitz has suggested for Weimar Germany, the "nervous tension" associated with economic crisis and unpredictability could not be quantified but was "very real" and pervasive anxiety was heightened by the struggle to identify "enemies" who profited at society's expense (Weitz, 2018, 136–137). Italian authorities denied Francesco Lukovic, formerly an official in the district of Pisino/Pazin (now in Croatian Istria), permission to return to Trieste in February 1919, because as Lieutenant Colonel Celoria noted, "the entire population hated him, Italians and Slavs alike." His "Slavic nationality," may have contributed to making him an object of suspicion, but his strong pan-Germanist sympathies tied him directly to the former enemy. His crimes including intimidating those unwilling to buy Austrian war bonds and absconding with funds from the sale of seized Austrian property earmarked for distribution to the poor (Hametz, 2013, 797–798; ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 35) further implicated him. Lukovic did not pose a violent or nationalist threat, but he violated the public trust and plundered public coffers.

Attempts to reweave the social fabric to increase social welfare and safety included facilitating emigration. Military authorities recommended facilitating former Austrian railway employee Mario Adrario's emigration to Austria. Military commander Arduino Garelli found no grounds to arrest Adrario, who was denounced for making threatening comments on a train travelling the Trieste – Santa Lucia (Venice) line. Adrario purportedly boasted that he had disseminated anti-Italian propaganda and that the phone line in the tunnel between Podbrdo and Bistrica could be used to pass intelligence to Yugoslav officials (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 36). The tenor of the overheard remarks marked Adrario as an "enemy," as Alexander suggested, someone to be blamed for the wartime trauma and the continuing uncertainty that it provoked (Alexander, 2004, 15). Public suspicions of Adrario, a native of Podbrdo in the Slovenian Littoral near the Austrian border, demonstrate the high level of societal tension and "collective trauma" in the Adriatic provinces after the war. Understood as a cultural crisis that shakes a society to its core and coalesces in a shared narrative of social suffering (Alexander 2004, 8–15), cultural trauma was reflected in the pervasive mood that reflected the memory of wartime destruction and violence, internment, and dislocation, but also in continuing social and labor unrest, economic hardship, and memory of suffering that manifest in "barbed wire" disease and shell shock (Manz et al., 7–12).

Government response to a derailment in May 1919 on a branch rail line to the Carpano-Vines (Krapan) mine near Albona/Labin reflected official and public anxiousness in the tense atmosphere that marked the Red Biennium in Italy and throughout Europe. Military authorities arrested two railway workers on the scene, leading to a showdown between worker's federation president Comich and police Captain Aimò, "known for his somewhat excitable character." On investigation, Major Filiberto Dalmazzo found a brakeman and a machinist negligent in the accident and no intentional threat to public safety. However, he underlined that the workers' arrest had been justified given the "known discontent" of labor at the nearby mine, and he urged greater calm and "maximum delicacy" in future relations between the director and workers (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 41).

In the immediate aftermath of the war, railways in the province of Trieste were a locus of violence. The parastatal nature of the transport system made it a particular target of labor action related to continuing unemployment and economic hardship. Police responded to reports of shots fired at trains, sabotage, and obstructions of rail traffic at small stations and between stations where the "unknown culprits" proved difficult to identify (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 111). Restoration of regular rail traffic was intimately tied to the government's ability to provide postwar relief. In January 1919, the military command in Trieste prioritized the restoration of regular rail service as one of the four major initiatives for social assistance, along with providing emergency health and medical care, offering identification and location services, and providing food aid (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 41).

Port security and the restoration of port traffic were likewise regional and international priorities. The Magazzini Generali or Central Warehouse Authority in Trieste, the para-statal entity that controlled port activity, called repeatedly on Italian military authorities to provide additional personnel and resources to ensure the safety of the port (ASTs, CGC–VG, Gab., busta 15). The sequestration of Trieste's merchant marine as assets of the Monarchy, the dissolution of preferential Adriatic tariffs and special customs arrangements, and Trieste's concurrence with other Italian ports caused significant economic distress and anxiety (Jangakis, 1923, 71–78). Of more immediate concern in terms of social welfare was the war-damaged port infrastructure, which impeded the flow of international aid, and insufficient port security, which eroded international actors' trust in the port's efficacy for aid distribution. The Magazzini Generali and local government's attempts to increase stability through what Browning and Joenniemi have called "securitization" (Browning & Joenniemi, 2017, 33), instead fed the traumatized public's anxieties. Perceived as a crackdown on labor and a political power play, increased policing fueled labor agitation.

CITIZENS?

Despite the new occupation authorities' inability to stabilize the local economy or deal effectively with rising ethnic tensions in the post-World War I nationalist environment, and while Italy appeared, as RJB Bosworth suggests, to be the "least of the Great Powers" in the international arena (Bosworth, 1979), many in the Adriatic provinces accepted Italian sovereignty as the preferred option in the contest between the South Slav and Italian successor states. For some, Italy was the only viable, legal option. Others chose Italian citizenship based on ethno-national affinities, language, family ties, or pragmatic political and economic considerations. While considerable ink has been spilled on the weakness, fragmentation, and failures of the Risorgimento state, Italy offered what Giddens has identified as "security of being" (Kinvall & Mitzen, 2020), which rested, at least in part, on established systems of laws and government developed in the liberal tradition (Fabbri, 1931). While this did not directly guarantee access to social welfare and benefits, it did instill confidence that social insurance or security would be available to those in the Italian state.

Italian citizenship offered greater, or at least more established, protections than citizenship in new successor states like the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. "Clauses Relating to Nationality" in the Paris Peace treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon outlined eligibility, requirements, and rights of citizenship for those in all of the successor states to the Habsburg Monarchy. But, those in Italy had additional guarantees and protections grounded in Italian citizenship laws of 1865 and 1912 and in citizenship practices developed over decades before World War I (Donati, 2013). And, as a victor state, Italy enjoyed special latitude in Articles 70 and 71 of the Treaty of Saint Germain, which included limitations on full right (*plein droit* or *pieno diritto*) citizenship acquisition not afforded to other states. Most in the Adriatic provinces received full rights of citizenship automatically based on birthright and residence in the lands assigned to Italy. Further provisions, which outlined processes for election or option,⁴ offered latitude and a measure of self-determination to individuals, but these were predicated on a mixture of rights by birth (or soil) and rights by inheritance (or blood) that caused considerable uncertainty and anxiousness (Hametz, 2021; Hametz, 2019). Statal relations

relied as much on individuals' willingness or desire to embrace the nation as on the state's willingness to embrace them (Fortier, 2021, 403–404), and while the contours of Italian authorities' decisions have been understood in the context of nationalizing tendencies and persecution of non-Italians, in the interwar period economic concerns and concerns for security, stability, and community welfare were at least as important in determining individuals' status.

Determining who was a citizen of Italy had implications with respect to state liabilities. For example, the Citizenship Commission in Trieste, one of several local bodies created in the eastern borderlands to adjudicate cases of uncertain or contested citizenship after the expiry of the one-year grace period designated in the treaties for the settlement of claims, queried the Ministry of the Interior in 1924 with respect to the status of Vojeslav (or Ermanno) Ipavec. Born in 1890 in Prosecco/Prosek, a village outside Trieste, and with official residence (*pertinenza*) in Gargaro/Grgar in Gorizia, Ipavec gained *pieno diritto* citizenship in Italy automatically under the provisions of Saint Germain. In 1921, he moved to Maribor to for a teaching position, a state post in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Triestine civil servants wondered if acceptance of the position constituted a "tacit declaration" of option for the South Slav state, especially as Ipavec was of "Slavic nationality" (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3457), and they asked if they could strike him from the citizenship rolls in Trieste. Such "housekeeping" of official records coincided with nationalizing and standardizing aims of the Fascist government, but it also could reduce state liabilities that required care for citizens abroad. In Ipavec's case, the Interior Ministry, relied on international law, and informed the local authorities that citizenship granted automatically could not be revoked (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3457).

In the new borderland, both Italy and the South Slav State sought to limit financial liabilities and responsibility for social welfare, pension or insurance payments. Cases were particularly tricky for those born or with official residence in parts of Dalmatia and Istria that remained contested.⁵ Recent discussions of acquisition of citizenship have tended to focus on national questions from the perspective of the Monarchy and the definitions, meaning, and implications of the loss of Habsburg *Heimatrecht* (Reill Kirchner et al., 2022). But legally, the basis for the treaty stipulations rested in western notions of *pertinenza* not understandings of *Heimatrecht*.⁶

4 Election applied to those born and resident in part of the Habsburg Adriatic Littoral assigned to the South Slav State who claimed to be part of the Italian minority or wished to be considered Italian. It required application to Italian authorities. Option afforded those born outside of the Habsburg border provinces (generally outside the Littoral) an avenue for citizenship that required formal renunciation of foreign ties, the ability to meet linguistic, residency, and/or property requirements, and in some cases the payment of a fee.

5 Territorial arrangements in the former Habsburg Adriatic Littoral remained fluid in the interwar period until the Rome Accords of 1924.

6 The text of St. Germain makes this explicit in Article 70, which refers to "*pertinenza*" both in French indicating *personne ayant indigénat* and in German indicating *Personen die das Heimatrecht* (St. German Treaty, 2022).

Italian authorities' disposition of citizenship cases reflected desires to foster stability and community well-being, to ensure individuals' security, and to minimize threats to the state. Members of the Citizenship Commission in Pola/Pula, the former Habsburg naval port at the southern tip of Istria, asserted that in their work determining individuals' fitness for Italian citizenship in contested or unclear cases "clemency constitute[d] a permanent danger to the State." Heightened anxiety relating to the safety of the national community resulted in securitised citizenship policies (Bassel et al., 2020, 261–262), and authorities justified particular "scrupulousness" and "rigor" in decision making given the continued presence of pro-Austrian elements (including ethnic Croats, Serbs, Hungarians and Austrians), the agitation of Bolshevik leaning elements in the shipyard, and the potential for violence due to "huge stocks of munitions and defensive materiel" in the former naval stronghold (ASTs, PT, Gab., busta 333).

While the government sought to limit liabilities and promote stability, individuals sought to retain or gain benefits. Continued uncertainties and on-going questions related to citizenship and treaty requirements evoked a panicked and angry response from local officials in Trieste when the Ministry of the Interior in Rome reminded them that local power to adjudicate citizenship under the treaties would expire in January 1922. An official bulletin put out by the Civil Commission of Venezia Giulia in March 1922 clarified and updated procedures for gaining citizenship, identifying groups vulnerable to contested citizenship including those domiciled in communities in the New Provinces but born outside the new borders, those who lost domicile rights (*pertinenza*) in the New Provinces as a result of their work (on behalf of the former Monarchy), married, widowed, and divorced women, children under 18 years of age, and orphans and children of unknown parentage or widows (L'Osservatore Triestino, 1922). Regularizing the status of women and children, and particularly of widows and orphans of pensioners ("worthy of maximum consideration"), was of particular importance to the local citizenship commission in Trieste, which urged "in the name of justice, equity, and humanity" that "subsidies, subventions, and grants continued to be paid" until such time as their citizenship could be regulated or defined (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3455).

Women were vulnerable to vicissitudes of state policy in what Isabell Lorey has argued are the gendered aspects of "government precarization," the embedding or instrumentalizing of insecurity as a function of the government's tendency to assume and cater to the normative "bourgeois" male citizen (Lorey, 2015). In October 1918, the Italian legal conception of families was significantly expanded and the family defined in broader, more secular terms allowing for "de facto" attestation of family status outside of marriage

(Pavan, 2019, 840–841), but women and the families and children remained reliant on men and remained constrained by dependent citizenship (tied to father's or husband's status) and gendered expectations incorporated into the treaties. Anxiety resulted not only from government attempts to "sift citizens," as Eric Lohr has labelled the process of ascertaining fitness and assigning access to citizenship on the dissolution of empire (Lohr, 2012, 138–145), also from gendered expectations for "proper behavior" that affected women's access to state assistance.

Women's dependent citizenship extended to all aspects of legal status. In the Adriatic provinces, it affected their ability to repatriate, and permission to return relied on the status and reputation of their husbands or fathers rather than on women's own background or circumstances (Hametz, 2013, 794–799). Government efforts to minimize strain on social welfare networks meant restricting a woman's right to return, if she were likely to require public assistance. The families of employees of Lloyd Triestino Shipping transferred to Vienna at the beginning of the war returned in July 1919, despite having spent the war in an enemy capital. Wives of men without clear means of support and widows faced considerable difficulties if they did not have automatic claims to citizenship and were not native to the region.

In terms of citizenship acquisition, unsettled cases arose from conflicting aspects of international agreements, national legislative interpretations, and local administrative understandings. The status of women like Giovanna Lemut was unclear. A widow born outside the new provinces who gained *pertinenza* on marriage and then automatic citizenship from local authorities on that basis in 1921, was then disqualified by national clarifications of the treaty requirements sent to Trieste in 1922, which required election or option for those widowed before their husbands gained Italian citizenship. Erminia Francovig had declared her intention to opt for Italian citizenship in 1921 but withdrew the petition for fear that that she would forfeit pension payments being paid to her by the Czecho-Slovak state. Czechoslovakia did not recognize her claim to Czech citizenship, and so she became stateless. Local authorities working with the citizenship commission and finance office noted in 1922 that in "not a few cases," widows and orphans were ignorant of which laws pertained and were misled by arbitrary or erroneous advice and actions by local administrators (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3455).

Perhaps the most complicated and vexing questions regarding citizenship and eligibility to social welfare in the Adriatic lands related to the Free State of Fiume/Rijeka. Uncertainty regarding the status of its citizens and their access to resources contributed to anxieties throughout the region from 1920 to 1924. While emphasis has been on Gabriele D'Annunzio's

theatrics, Benito Mussolini's machinations in Italian takeover and annexation, and the cultural Italianization of Fiume/Rijeka in the period from 1918 to 1924, in legal terms, as in the popular imagination (Reill, 2020; Jeličić, 2020), Habsburg norms and laws remained in force and the basis for local practice in the absence of a clear international solution. The Free State carved from Hungarian or Transleithan territory was governed by the Trianon Treaty Treaty of Trianon, 2022). Italy and Hungary did not share a border after the war, so the treaty provided no clear grounds for reciprocal border relations. The treaties' nationality clauses referred to recognized nationalities of the former Habsburg Monarchy, but Fiumians were never designated a nationality. The clauses, therefore, did not include them. The Free State's anomalous status rendered women and children particularly vulnerable due to the lack of guidance for their protection and care and the lack of resources necessary for investment in social welfare systems. By 1923 Fiumian citizenship statutes came into force based on the Santa Margherita Accords (Accordi di Santa Margherita, 1923) between Italy and the South Slav state. In the following year, authorities in Venezia Giulia received 380 cases of contested or uncertain citizenship to adjudicate (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3455), before definitive annexation to Italy in 1924 resolved the situation.

The case of Egone Premuda, who inquired in 1924 about his citizenship, reveals the legal conundrums that Italian officials faced. Born in Fiume in 1890, Premuda acquired residence in Trieste in 1912, and served as a surveyor for the Istituto geografico militare in Florence. Living in Fiume after the war, he sought Italian citizenship. Because he had acquired domicile in Trieste after his birth and was not born in a territory that was transferred to Italy by the treaties (Fiume's fate was left open), he (and those like him), despite clear Italian national associations were at a disadvantage to "Slavs or Germans" in territories transferred to Italy or the South Slav State (ASTs, PT, UC, busta 3455).

WIDOWS AND PENSIONS

Due to their vulnerable status, widows and orphans are particular liabilities for states, but they also offer opportunities as "instruments of governing," who help to mold the social order and articulate the state's expectations (Fortier, 2021, 398). State coffers opened wide for widows of "martyred" irredentist volunteers recognized as national heroines. Italian military pensions were introduced in 1895 for active-duty career personnel (Pironti, 2020, 191). In 1912, pensions and special supplements for veterans were included in the state pension system (Ferrera, 2018, 103). The terms of the Paris Peace entitled war widows to social benefits. Bonus payments, first provided in 1921, demonstrate the state's "moral gratitude" (Pironti, 2020, 202). To

memorialize the "martyr" Cesare Battisti, an irredentist agitator from Trent who enrolled in the Italian Alpine troops and was executed by the Austrian military for high treason, Italian authorities awarded his widow Ernesta Bittanti an extraordinarily annual payment. In Venezia Giulia, several volunteers' families were nominated for grants. These included mothers like Elisa Sanson, who lived in desperate economic circumstances and whose son Virgilio Sanson had enrolled in the Italian infantry, served in the Aviation Corps, and died in service in 1918, and was remembered as a "splendid figure of a worker, inspired by great love for the Fatherland." But, widows were generally the ones singled out to receive supplemental payments. Authorities wholeheartedly supported a grant to Nina (Caterina) Sauro (née Steffè), widow of the noted naval captain Nazario Sauro, famed as the martyr of Istria. A native of Capodistria (Koper) and father of five, Sauro had volunteered for the Royal Italian Navy, spied on Austrian naval forces for Italy, was captured on an Italian naval mission and executed for treason in August 1916 (ASTs, PT, Gab., busta 33).

Lidia Bugliovaz, the widow of Francesco Rismondo, presented a more complicated case. Rismondo, a noted irredentist, sportsman, and cyclist (bersagliere) volunteer distinguished for his service in the taking of San Michele on the Italo-Austria front in 1915, hailed from "a well-known and esteemed" family in Spalato/Split. Gabriele D'Annunzio celebrated his martyred memory in the "Assumption of Dalmazia," an allusion to Rismondo's heroism for Italy, uncertain end, and the failure to retrieve his corpse. Rome offered Bugliovaz an additional 6000 lire per annum on her 500 lire per month pension (effectively doubling her yearly pension) to honor the sacrifice of her husband. But, local police and officials balked. The Prefect of Trieste reported in December 1922 that the police found her "moral conduct a bit uncertain." She wore "expensive and elegant clothing" that appeared "incompatible with her modest resources." Further, authorities pointed out, using delicate and seemingly euphemistic terms, she "demonstrates a certain philosophy which doesn't leave a good impression." The Fascist state recognized her with the supplement nonetheless (ASTs, PT, Gab., busta 33). The shift in emphasis from state priorities to meet immediate needs and counter pervasive anxiety, and from emphasis on beneficenza or charity to social insurance and emphasis on molding the state was evident in the Fascist daily *Il Popolo di Trieste's* reporting on the award in 1923. "For the Widow of Francesco Rismondo" read the headline on 9 January, and the article did not even mention Bugliovaz by name. Under Fascism, women were valued increasingly as social resources. Even widows' benefits were decreased as they were pulled from the workforce by demographic policies that promoted home and motherhood (Pironti, 2020, 210).

SUSPICION AND SUBVERSION

Catarina Kinvall and Jennifer Mitzen suggest that in response to anxiety, states increasingly assert safety or certainty in a singular, often linear, reading of the nation, history, culture, and people. As individuals struggle for legitimation and begin to turn on “others” or “outsiders,” far-right parties gain momentum in the exclusionary model of state building characteristic in the rise of authoritarianism (Kinvall & Mitzen, 2020, 241–244). In Italy, initial enthusiasm for comprehensive and universalist social welfare plans ebbed, and reform slowed and stalled after July 1921 (Pavan, 2019, 863–864) as political fractiousness, particularly on the Left, weakened the government; the middle classes aligned with big business; and Italy moved toward fascism. By 1923, fascist authorities had stoked the pervasive sense of apprehension to transform local associations that had provided community and social assistance into subversive organizations in a process that Isabell Lorey has labeled “government precarization.” Precarization, a “steering technique” employed by the government, seeks to balance insecurity with minimal safeguards to maintain a threshold of social vulnerability that the state can harness against those whose vulnerability has been enhanced through “othering” processes (Lorey, 2015, 40). In February 1923, Police Commissioner Filippo Montalbano targeted 42 “Slovene, Croat, German and subversive associations” in Trieste. The list included professional organizations from those serving commercial traders, industrialists, and lawyers to those representing agricultural and railroad trade unionists and workers’ organizations. Choral groups and literary societies, whose membership was viewed as hostile to or incompatible with Italian nationalist aims, were targeted as were leisure organizations including six Sokol chapters and the Balkan cycling society, associated with ethnic advocacy and paramilitary training, and the Alpinista organization cited for “reformist, masonic tendencies.” The Italian Republican Party and affiliated associations and church and philanthropic groups associated with ethnic minority populations or Catholic politics also appeared on the list. Surrounding communities including Mavhinje/Malchina, Gabrovizza/Comeno, Sežana/Sesana, and Nabrežina/Nabresina provided their own lists; indeed, the Vice-Prefect of Komen/Comen included a note explaining that cultural organizations were a front for subversive activities to undermine Italianizing efforts (ASTs, PT, Gab., busta

31). The Fascist repression of traditional aid societies, organizations, and institutions disrupted individuals’ lives and narrowed options for social services and activities, enhancing precariousness and forcing reliance on emerging Fascist social welfare networks.

CONCLUSION

In the Adriatic lands, the Italian state’s extension of social benefits and welfare intended to align the new provinces with “old provinces” of the pre-World War I Liberal state and to alleviate anxieties through “normalization” or standardization of social relations had the effect, instead, of accentuating the distinctions between the peninsula and the newly annexed territories of the former Habsburg Adriatic Littoral. Instead of easing security threats by providing a sense of state control and a clear path for acceptance and assistance by the state, Italian policies and expectations limited or constrained individuals seeking to navigate social, political and cultural disruptions in the postwar environment. The state’s rigidity isolated and antagonized populations either unable or unwilling to adopt “normative” Italian identities. Social welfare policies, which relied on conformity to Italian nationalist ideals, polarized and alienated autochthonous populations, increasing social anxieties and cultural tensions. They fed suspicion of and resistance to government intervention in all of its forms, including in social welfare policies designed to ameliorate postwar suffering.

At the same time the multiplicity of identities of border populations caused anxiety for the state, exacerbating uncertainties related to the integration of new territories and populations, which included “minoritized” ethnic and restive political elements. A concurrence of factors related to wartime disruption and postwar instability exacerbated tensions and created volatility in central governing structures and on the state’s peripheries. The resulting insecurity led the Italian government, particularly as the influence of fascists and Fascism increased, to accept and even embrace precarization or social *insecurity* as part of the fabric of social normality. Anxiety became a tool of governance wielded through central structures and woven into social welfare policies that accustomed those in the borderland to antagonism and erupted in the development of the violent and oppressive border fascism that convulsed the Adriatic lands in the inter-war period.

ANKSIOZNI »ITALIJANI«: VARNOST IN BLAGINJA
V ZGORNJEM JADRANU, 1918–1924

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POVZETEK

V nekdanjem Avstrijskem primorju je italijanska država s širjenjem socialnih podpor in blaginje še povečala razlike med polotokom in na novo priključenimi ozemlji nekdanjega habsburškega Avstrijskega primorja, kar je omejilo zmožnost oblasti in posameznikov, da si izborijo varno mesto v nastajajoči italijanski družbi. Namesto da bi pomirile zaskrbljenost zaradi nestabilnosti in upoštevale potrebe po večji varnosti, so italijanske socialne politike in pričakovanja, oblikovana v etnično-nacionalnem kontekstu in odraz ekonomskih težav, povečale napetosti in zaskrbljenost v zvezi z integracijo v italijansko državo. Politike in prakse repatriacije in državljanstva so odražale pravne sisteme in državne prioritete, ki so v medvojnem obdobju marginalizirale najranljivejše in povečale negotovost prebivalstva Jadrana. Državni poskusi integracije novih ozemelj in prebivalstva, ki so vključevali „manjšinske“ etnične in restriktivne politične elemente, ter vse bolj omejujoče in represivne politike ob prehodu italijanske liberalne države v fašizem so zaostrovali napetosti in krepili družbeno nestabilnost. Anksioznost je postala sredstvo upravljanja, obvladovano prek centralnih struktur in vtkano v politike socialnega varstva, ki so prispevale k razvoju nasilnega in represivnega obmejnega fašizma, ki je v medvojnem obdobju pretresal jadranske dežele.

Ključne besede: anksiozno prebivalstvo, Avstrijsko primorje, medvojno obdobje, socialna blaginja, državljanstvo, prekarlost

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YOUTH LABOUR BRIGADES IN YUGOSLAVIA AND REPRESENTATIONS OF VOLUNTEERISM: A STUDY OF PARTICIPATION IN RESTORED FEDERAL LABOUR ACTIONS BY THE PEOPLE'S YOUTH IN THE DISTRICT OF KOPER

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ABSTRACT

The author discusses the issue of volunteerism in labour actions in Yugoslavia raised by several scholars, distinguishing between different phases, which mostly corresponded to changes in the socialist regime and society in general. With its research based on literature and archival sources, the question of the voluntary character of the youth labour actions is explored. The district of Koper in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the crucial period in the process of the transformation of youth labour actions, is paid particular attention, drawing on the experiences of the brigadiers and the challenges that the People's Youth had to face.

Keywords: youth labour actions, volunteerism, socialist Yugoslavia, People's Youth, Koper

BRIGATE DI LAVORO GIOVANILE IN JUGOSLAVIA E RAPPRESENTANZE DEL VOLONTARIATO: UNO STUDIO DELLA PARTECIPAZIONE DELL'ORGANIZZAZIONE GIOVANILE NEL DISTRETTO DI CAPODISTRIA A RINNOVATE AZIONI DI LAVORO FEDERALE

SINTESI

L'autore affronta la questione del volontariato nelle azioni giovanili in Jugoslavia sollevata da diversi studiosi, distinguendo tra diverse fasi, che per lo più corrispondevano ai cambiamenti del regime socialista e della società in generale. Basando la ricerca sulla letteratura e sulle fonti d'archivio, viene esplorata la questione del carattere volontario delle azioni di lavoro giovanile. Un caso di studio si concentra sul distretto di Capodistria tra la fine degli anni Cinquanta e l'inizio degli anni Sessanta, il periodo cruciale nel processo di trasformazione delle azioni del lavoro giovanile, attingendo alle esperienze dei brigadieri e alle sfide che la organizzazione giovanile ha dovuto affrontare.

Parole chiave: azioni di lavoro giovanile, volontariato, Jugoslavia socialista, organizzazione giovanile, Capodistria

INTRODUCTION¹

The beginnings of youth labour actions (YLA) in Yugoslavia can be found during the Second World War, where focus was placed on medical aid, farming and, through the last months of the war, intensively on the reconstruction of homes and economic infrastructure, largely undertaken by women. Post-war reconstruction and modernisation were thus a continuation of these labour actions, with a praise of the ideals of brotherhood and unity, anti-Fascism, solidarity, and equality, distinctively emphasising the cult of labour (cf. Baković, 2015; Petrović, 2020). The Communist leadership had, as it was (re-)interpreted, acknowledged the youth an active role in the building of a 'new Yugoslavia' by contributing to the moulding of a new regime of Yugoslav socialism internally and representing the image of Yugoslavia abroad. The issue of the voluntary basis of labour actions – the youth enthusiastically creating, upholding, and improving the social wellbeing of the people in Yugoslavia – is the focus of this article. Based on archival research of youth labour brigades from the local Slovenian Youth Organisation of Koper,² the article concentrates primarily on the process of mobilisation, i.e., the recruitment of brigadiers in the late 1950s and early 1960s as the activity most of the concerned 'irregularities' stemmed from.

Yugoslavia was left in a devastating condition after 4 years of occupation and the civil war: more than 1 million people died either in the battle, in concentration camps and as a result of forced labour, or as victims of ethnic and ideological violence. Almost 3.5 million people lost their homes, road and railway infrastructure was greatly damaged, 56% of the agricultural inventory was destroyed, while the total war damage was, according to some estimations, 47 billion dollars. Even though the most important industrial centres, located mostly in Slovenia and Croatia, were mainly intact, production in 1945 did not reach half of what it had been in 1941 (Pirjevec, 1995, 156).

Immediately after the war, the funds for the reconstruction and development of the country – besides the reserves of the National Bank and monetary institutions, and the youth labour actions (Urbanc, 1983), were of decisive importance. Thereby, various forms of organised shock work (*udarništvo*) were first established, starting with shock work in factories and mines on a daily and weekly basis (Burcar, 2019,

185). In the years 1945–1946, approximately 12.8 million dinars were invested into reconstruction, with over 80% of this being funnelled into the economy. Hence most of the infrastructure, farming, industry, and facilities of other branches of the economy were renovated across just 2 years, involving large masses under the motto 'No rest while we're building!' (scr. *Nema odmora dok traje obnova!*). The youth were at the forefront of the 'builders' of the new Yugoslavia, while also representing the majority in all socio-political and even authoritative organisations, e.g., in August 1945 63.2% of members of the Communist party were between 17 and 26 years old (Urbanc, 1983).

'Socialist competition' for efficiency and full span of knowledge impacted the rhythm of progress, the goal of which was to raise the standard of living and create a welfare society. Workers were to find their main purpose in this interest even when they were in the direct role of self-manager (Duda, 2017, 12–13). The first Five-Year Plan in Yugoslavia started with a propagandist action praising industrialisation and the electrification of the country as fundamental conditions for the implementation of socialism. Consequently, between 1945 and 1950, at least 1.2 million people moved from the countryside to the industrial centres, resulting in rapid urbanisation and the stratification of farmers with the formation of a new class of workers-farmers. According to Pirjevec, the cult of physical labour, which was incited by the authorities and aimed to modernise the country as quickly as possible, manifested most noticeably through the early post-war labour actions and the overpopulation in the cities from the late 1950s onwards. The side effects of this involved serious health problems (e.g., in 1948, Yugoslavia had the highest incidence of tuberculosis in Europe), as well as increased delinquent behaviour following the 'record-breaking' second Five-Year Plan (Pirjevec, 1995, 168–169, 243).

This massive project was undertaken to promote progress in accordance with the propagated idea of a better world – where the end justifies the means, i.e., sacrifices of (almost) all – and supposedly standing as an antithesis to the capitalist market economy. The core of that ideology, as Calic argues, consisted of the socialist theory of growth and labour aiming to generate employment and wealth, breaking away from the circle of economic and political dependence on foreign powers and forming a socialist society that was to be better, happier, more just, and more humane. To achieve this, the Yugoslav leadership turned to

1 This article is a result of the research programme P6–0434 (Constructive Theology in the Age of Digital Culture and Anthropocene) and research project J6–1800 (Adriatic Welfare States. Social Politics in a Transitional Borderland from the mid-19th until 21st Century), both funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS).

2 I am referring to the organisation of the communist youth *Ljudska mladina Jugoslavije* (scr. *Narodna omladina Jugoslavije*; eng. the People's Youth of Yugoslavia) that was established in 1948 when SKOJ (League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) and USAOJ (United Federation of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia) – the latter incorporated interwar organisations of different religious, national, political and social backgrounds – merged. The very same organisation bore different names: the League of Youth of Yugoslavia (1963–1974) and the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (1974–1991).

the Soviet model (Calic, 2019, 170–171). The break with Stalin, followed by subsequent reforms and re-orientations also affected the modernisation project and labour actions, alongside various technological developments, higher standards of living, and changing values and priorities (Pšeničny, 1976, 42). The introduction of socialist self-management led to an increasingly decentralised public administration, a stronger role for market forces, more individual freedom in terms of self-organisation, and greater independence from the state for enterprises and other organisations (Rakar & Kolarič, 2020, 134), including the Youth organisation. Moreover, as Bing points out, self-management was at the same time the origin of political autonomy that encouraged critical thinking unimaginable in other socialist states and a constraint imposed as the primary ideological-political project designed and imposed by the top of the Communist Party (Bing, 2019, 10).

The planned adaptation and approach towards citizens continued in the 1960s, when administrative and constitutional solutions sought to resolve the dilemma between traditional 'macro-socialism' and modern 'micro-socialism'. Developed theoretical insights on socialist self-management intended to lead to the inclusion of 'the largest possible number of 'everyone', which should have contributed to the de-bureaucratisation of relations and de-totalitarisation (Duda, 2020, 735).

Furthermore, in the congress report of the People's Youth of Slovenia (PYS) in 1962, we find that in comparison to labour actions in the post-war years, labour actions after 1955 were different in terms of their organisation and system of management, as well as in their activities and relationships, with these actions signifying self-management and economic independence (Pšeničny, 1976, 42).

To elaborate, we observe a gradual change of the youth brigades from the 'semi-military type' of organisation of life and work based on the ideal of the partisan struggle in favour of a less authoritative way of leadership according to the model of socialist self-management. This transformation followed a 'certain crisis' of the People's Youth arising as a result of the communists not finding their way in the new conditions under which they partially lost control of the problems of the youth. The refusal to organise federal youth labour actions based on decentralisation and the introduction of a new economic system (1953–1957) also contributed to the mentioned crisis of the youth organisation in the 1950s (Senjković, 2016, 187). In other words, we can trace the transformation of labour actions out of duty or necessity to labour actions as prestige or a privilege (cf. Matošević, 2015, 96) and finally to a recreational social experience (cf. Popović 2010; Atanasovski & Petrov, 2015, 23).

Almost synchronously, the perception of volunteerism had changed: in the beginning 'voluntary' work frequently seemed to be a required social activity, while the entire organisation of YLA was already, in the late 1950s, strictly monitored to ensure that the attendance of all participants was of their own free choice, with the avoidance of any false promises given during the recruitment and the guarantee that brigadiers returned home well and satisfied.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH LABOR ACTIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA THROUGH DIFFERENT PHASES

The state-led youth labour actions in Yugoslavia were developed under global and local influences. Externally the labour actions were based on the Soviet Stakhanovite movement, which functioned alongside the system of shock-work, public works and competitions present in all socialist countries, as well as in the interwar corporatist societies. On the local level, their origins can be traced back to the pre-modern tradition of communal labour during harvests and civilians' help to the partisan army by harvesting crops already in 1941/1942 in parts of Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Baković, 2015, 29–30; Švajncer, 1980, 43).

Based on the character and circumstances of the youth labour actions, we can distinguish between 6 phases, the classification which is commonly used in literature pertaining to YLAs (Senjković, 2016, 13–14):

1. the war period (1941–1945);
2. post-war federal labour actions (1945/1946–1952);
3. the phase of local labour actions (1953–1957);
4. reviving federal labour actions (1958–1964);
5. the phase of local labour actions (1965–1967), and
6. the final phase (1968–1990) (cf. Mihailović, 1985, 8–9; Poglajen, 1998, 11–25).

During the war, SKOJ started with recruitment – usually called mobilisation – of the youth into the partisan resistance movement, to carry out sabotage actions, courier service duties, etc. In Yugoslavia, the first youth labour brigade was formed in June 1942 in Sanica Valley in Bosanska Krajina to gather in the harvest. During the same period, in the liberated regions of Slovenia, the youth started to collect weapons and clothes for partisans, cultivate the land, gather herbs with medicinal properties, provide medical aid, and to transport food, etc. In January 1943, the League of Slovenian Youth expanded to include all Slovenian youth (Oblak-Čarni, 2000, 13, 21, 24, 28–32). The YLAs intensified in Slovenia in 1944 and 1945 on the liberated and semi-liberated territories, focusing also on the reconstruction of homes and economic infrastructure, largely performed by women (Stibilj, 2015, 100–102). The youth continued to help with the reconstruction of destroyed homes and infrastructure after the war, soon followed by major modernisation projects.



Image 1: Burnt village of Smrje in Brkini region, 1945 (Koper Regional Museum).

The second phase distinguishes itself from the first phase – besides by the absence of the war – by the fact that previously, only local actions were organised, while in the early post-war years the participation in federal actions was much incited, while labour had wider social-economic relevance: the ideas behind it were mainly for the youth from different ethnic, social, religious, and other backgrounds to meet and bond in (mostly) secluded places, learn the customs of the local population, and the dissemination of socialist ideals. The competitive aspect was greatly emphasised not only during the actions, but also in the newspapers, literature, films, and propaganda. However, it was transgressed by the constantly evolving ideal of ‘brotherhood and unity’, aiming to create a ‘new Yugoslav’ (Dobrovojević, 2015; Atanasovski & Petrov, 2015, 23; Stibilj, 2015, 102; Potrč, 1949; Slovenski Jadran, 1958, 1; Slovenski Jadran 1959, 4) and to decrease the economic differences between and within the republics. Furthermore, the promotion of socialism included the recruitment of prospective young people into the

Communist Party/League of Communists and youth communist organisations, with the topics often covered in the ‘afternoon classes’ critically discussing the role of the Church in socialist society, not lacking in anti-clerical sentiments and aimed at encouraging an atheist worldview.³

For each participant at the YLA, brigade commanders – by unwritten rule Communist Party members – wrote personal evaluations for two main purposes: for the archive of the local youth organisations when they would decide whom to mobilise for the next year’s YLA and, more importantly, to determine whether they would support or block the brigadier’s nomination for membership in the communist organisations. The outline for the evaluations was the same: they gathered data on the individual’s year/place of birth, their nationality, social background, family standing during the war, and (non)participation in the Liberation Struggle, as well as the categories for the assessment of their character, which entailed their attitude towards authority, physical effort at work, participation

3 Cf. PAK, SI PAK-236, 18, Minimalni program ideološko-političkog rada za brigadiste seoskih ORB u 1960. g.

in classes, treatment of state property, behaviour, inclination to (self)criticism, and comments on their private life (Baković, 2015, 39). Particularly noteworthy is the following example of the evaluation of one brigadier, reproached to be both too serious for his age and an overthinker, which assumingly made him seem aloof and introverted. The remarks that followed, commending him to be a disciplined and comradely individual, indeed outweighed his 'deficiencies'.⁴

Over the period between 1942 and 1990, over 2 million young Yugoslavs were involved in projects ranging from major federal actions to more local initiatives (Popović, 2010; Atanasovski & Petrov, 2015, 23). Until the split between Tito and Stalin, youth from other socialist countries attended the labour actions and vice versa, with the additional participation of the Western bloc (see: Thompson et al., 2020). After 1948, this transnational character was preserved, especially in later years with the involvement of the member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Up until 1952, when the first Five-Year Plan was concluded, 1.3 million brigadiers, almost without any mechanisation, built 70 key new facilities, including 11 railways (Brčko–Banovići, Šamac–Sarajevo, Banjaluka–Doboj, Nikšić–Titograd, Foča–Kopač, Preseče–Borovnica, Sežana–Dutovlje, Goleš–Belačevac, Kučevo–Brodice, Gradačac–Modriča, Puračić–Doboj), 6 road sections (the most famous was 'The Brotherhood and Unity Highway', which was finished at a later date) and 5 hydroelectric power stations. In just 7 years (1945–1952), such individuals worked more than 60 million voluntary (and involuntary) hours (Burcar, 2019, 184; Pšeničny, 1976, 5, 16; Stefanović et al., 1976, 32). Despite the focus on 'productivity' and 'efficiency,' it is important to recognise the larger scope of the experience at these working sites: for the youth, it was also a joyful social gathering, as well as the first important ritual of Yugoslav integration (Calic, 2019, 171).

Anti-Fascist ideology, as one of the keystones of youth labour actions, was particularly emphasised throughout the initial years (1945–1947), especially in the region of the former Julian March. In youth labour brigades established in Zones A and B of the Julian March, Italian anti-Fascist youth also participated. A significant part of this was the praise directed towards the cooperation between Italian and Slovenian/Yugoslav youth, which included joint agitation for the inclusion of the territory to Yugoslavia, but then again, it was not completely without its challenges. However, when it was clear that a

large part of the region would be assigned to Italy, the fight against imperialism and capitalism came to the forefront (Stibilj, 2015).

In the Yugoslav-Italian border region, the building of a new city of Nova Gorica facing the 'old' Gorizia/Gorica, which was in the process of demarcation assigned to Italy, was particularly noteworthy. In fact, the building remains distinctive amidst the entire Yugoslav context, despite resembling partly the building of Novi Travnik and Novi Beograd (cf. Ramšak, 2017, 364). This was probably the most significant contribution of YLAs in Slovenia, especially when considering that only minor preparatory works for the port of Koper were performed by the brigadiers. The construction of Nova Gorica started as a federal action in 1947 (with 5194 brigadiers participating) and continued for 2 years as a local action, when gradually skilled (employed) workers and mechanisation took over (Ramšak, 2015, 87). This also occurred elsewhere, with the exception of continued local initiatives (e.g., building local roads, community houses, sports centres, etc.), until the reintroduction of federal actions in 1958 and grand projects with inclusion of the youth again. As articles in the Gazette of the Liberation front *Nova Gorica* demonstrated, the volunteer efforts should have been the sign of endeavours of the new man, creating future prosperity for themselves and, through this, 'liquidating all the remnants of the old mentality and capitalistic worldview.' (Ramšak, 2015, 86–87)⁵

With the progress of technology, the maintenance of youth camps and the organisation of brigadiers' extra-labour activities cost more than the hiring and lodging of qualified workers. Still, Tito, as pointed out by Baković (2015, 30–31), never underestimated the value of such endeavours for the ideological indoctrination of young Yugoslavs, whose loyalty was won by offering them professional, social, and intellectual resources otherwise unavailable in their native environment. In other words, the expected costs of the construction of the Ljubljana–Zagreb highway entrusted to the organizers of the YLAs were approximately 5.5 billion dinars (the supervision and cooperation with the construction companies included), with the costs of using just the youth labour brigades totalling 4.96 billion dinars (4.1 billion for the work alone), while construction companies were willing to complete all of the work for 360 million dinars less, but required two additional years. Only the social security, liability insurance, medical service, cultural, and sports activities were evaluated by the labour action headquarters of the Central Committee of the PYS to cost 300 million dinars.⁶

4 PAK, SI PAK-236, 13, I. koperska MDB 'Srečko Kosovel', Prždevo, 27. 6. 1959; PAK, SI PAK-236, 11J. Zaključki tretje redne seje štaba za delavne akcije pri CK LMS, Ljubljana, 6. 3. 1958.

5 Nova Gorica: glasilo Osvobodilne fronte za goriški okraj, 18. 6. 1948: Položili smo temelje Nove Gorice, 1.

6 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Zaključki tretje redne seje štaba za delavne akcije pri CK LMS, Ljubljana, 6. 3. 1958.

This fact – which cannot be applied to all labour actions, and especially not the early post-war reconstruction at the local level⁷ – may present a solid ground against the criticism of the Communist Party extorting the youth full of elan.

Not long after the conclusion of the Zagreb–Beograd ‘highway’ (1948–1950), and mainly due to the introduction of industrial mechanisation, the perception of the labour actions as needless and expensive, primarily due to a decline of ‘revolutionary working enthusiasm’, and, presumably, the lack of suitable construction sites for such massive labour actions (Jurinčič, 2017, 18; Prinčič, 1997, 39), followed a phase without federal YLAs (1953–1957). However, the local actions remained; mostly concentrated on local infrastructure and buildings, usually in the economically deprived areas and every so often also as a continuation of the (unfinished) work of federal actions (cf. Martelanc, 1998, 212–247). In addition to this, YLAs partly remained a channel for social promotion, especially among the population that lived in the countryside, and certain parts of Yugoslavia, improving economic and social prosperity.

In the scope of the preparations for the VI. Congress of the People’s Youth of Yugoslavia in 1958, an opinion poll was conducted among the youth, which included the question of whether they were interested in joining the federal youth labour action. 84% replied in the affirmative. Thus, 250,000 brigadiers joined the federal actions in the 1958–1964 period when much better technical equipment was available, the work was better coordinated, more ideological-political training and education (different courses, such as exams for driving motorbikes and tractors, photography course, amateur radio course, etc.) was available, and more competitions were organised. They (nearly) finished the Brotherhood and Unity Highway, connecting Ljubljana with Gevgelija on the Yugoslav–Greek border (Pšeničny, 1976, 39).

After it took three years to certify the Second Five-Year Plan (1955–1957) and a political (and economic) crisis over the question of federalisation loomed on the horizon, the leadership seemed to try to boost (once again) the ‘brotherhood and unity’ through the passion of the youth. Using major labour actions as a ‘social glue’ due to ‘a certain divide between the youth by republics, nationalities, etc., that ha[d] arisen’,⁸ and placing ‘unifying’ projects, such as building the highway connecting most of the republics, at the forefront, thus helping to accelerate the economic development of deprived regions, interestingly coincided with the time of strikes, which started in the mining region of Zasavje in Slovenia, the economic stagnation and

subsequent reforms (Prinčič, 1997, 48, 51–52; Čepič, 2016, 171–173; Režek, 2005, 169–190), as well as the start of the Non-Aligned Movement. To expect of YLAs to be a corrective mechanism for the situation, when the principles of self-management became the instruments for differentiation on a national basis on the level of republics as nation-states (Čepič, 2016, 172), would be illusionary, but it may have been a successful temporary – if rather populist – measure.

In the 4th phase of the youth labour actions, which also constitutes the prime focus of this paper, several significant changes occurred in terms of the organisation and nature of the labour actions:

- the construction mechanisation comprised three-quarters of the work, resulting in less exhausting labour;
- overall living and working conditions improved at the youth camps, shorter shifts were introduced, and the restrictive ‘military’ character of the actions and the competitive stance of the work gradually weakened, e.g., the awards were assigned to the entire camp as ‘solidarity to the social community’ (Popović, 2010, 289; Senjković, 2016, 191);
- much more attention was given to the well-being of the brigadiers with rigorous health check-ups and mandatory vaccinations (Pogljajen, 1998, 18; Senjković, 2016, 209);
- the propagandist pressure also eased, the content of political work, the social activities and leisure time was adapted to the new conditions, labour actions became less and less reminiscent of tradition and of the past, while emphasis was placed on the education of young people as future citizens who would later act within the framework of social self-management (Supek, 1963, 199);
- the organisation of labour actions changed: representatives of the brigades entered the council of the youth camp in 1960 and, in 1961, a series of measures were introduced, ‘which meant an immediate transition to a democratic leadership system, according to a model of social self-management as a general social system,’ leading to almost 50% of the brigadiers being involved in various commissions and administrative bodies of the settlement (Supek, 1963, 187);
- the selection of the participants became more careful than in the early post-war years (see the concept on ‘prestige’ in the continuation of this article).

⁷ To give one example: the work force of youth brigades assumingly saved 1,060,000 of 1,680,000 dinars (total estimated value of the investment) by building railway Otovec–Bubnjarci in Bela krajina in 1946 (Glasilo ‘MDB’ sektorja Otovec–Bubnjarci, 1946, 4).

⁸ See Tito’s speech at the 6th Congress of the People’s Youth of Yugoslavia in January 1958 (Davidović, 2021).

A short phase then followed, once again without any federal YLAs (1965–1967), while in the last phase (1968–1990), the ideas of self-management previously introduced in the 4th phase, were emphasised even further. Such actions were granted a more pronounced ideological purpose and participants saw them more as an opportunity to travel, socialise and have a good time, while still nevertheless upholding core Yugoslav communist principles. As a result, labour actions from the 1950s onwards became increasingly recreational in nature (Popović, 2010, 280; Atanasovski & Petrov, 2015, 23). For example, ‘brigadiers’ weddings’ became quite a common event in the mid-1970s (Jurinčič, 2017, 106, 137–138), a relaxed stance that would be practically inconceivable in the 1940s and early 1950s, when all intimate relationships were prohibited. It is also worth mentioning other changes that were effectuated: research in early 1970s showed great improvement in the physical condition of the brigadiers after their participation in the YLAs, the number of participants dropping out of the YLA prematurely fell to just 1% in 1981 (in 1971 was still 20%), fewer girls, students, employed young people and the rural youth attended the labour actions, while the number of (mostly male) secondary school students and those unemployed increased in the 1970s and 1980s. After 1974; however, courses that allowed for the acquisition of various professional qualifications ceased to be organised. Despite the lack of a ‘formal solution’ to the ‘problem of self-management’, the brigadier no longer ‘simply accepted anything that was not created on the basis of his self-management action, based on his democratic rights’ (Senjković, 2016, 224–228, 230–232, 238). Researchers confirmed the capacity of the YLAs for the (self)rehabilitation of ‘children of the streets’ into the ‘children of the society’ and thus recognised labour actions as ‘a place of gathering, coming together through work, education and entertainment, a place of discovering individuality, national differences in conditions of cooperation and fraternal solidarity,’ a place which marked the principle of self-management, and enabled brigadiers to undertake work and participate in social activities (Senjković, 2016, 234–236).

In Slovenia, a major part of the local and republic actions – and also various federal actions – provided aid to less economically developed regions, such as Brkini, Kozjansko, Kobansko, Bela krajina, Suha krajina, Goričko, Zasavje, and Soča Valley after the earthquake of 1976, etc. (cf. Filipčič, 2016; Slanšek et al., 2018), which was also strongly emphasised in the last phase in the 1970s and 1980s. In the second half of the 1980s, youth research camps were introduced in parallel as a sort of alternative (Pogljajen, 1998, 23–25; Vaupotič, 1998, 57–65).

THE (AB)USE OF THE IDEALISM OF VOLUNTEERISM IN THE LABOUR ACTIONS

Some scholars and critics have raised the question of whether youth labour actions were indeed completely based on volunteerism. To adequately address this issue, previous distinctions between different phases of the labour actions, especially war-related circumstances and the subsequent phases, is necessary to avoid partial and biased assessments (cf. Lilly, 1994; Kos, 2022), in order to strive towards drawing a full(er) picture of a complex, politically motivated but highly popularised and ever-changing phenomenon.

A great collective effort was needed to run the YLAs, both financially and logistically. Given the meagre financial resources available to the new country in the initial post-war years, since most of the economy had been destroyed, a wide network of mutual aid had to be activated to establish and supply the YLAs and to carry out and complete the construction tasks themselves. In this regard, YLAs, therefore, played one of the key connecting roles in Yugoslavia (Burcar, 2019, 185).

Volunteering in youth brigades that adopted the organisation and naming of military formations was considered a great honour – especially if awarded the title of shock brigade and shock worker – considering the high attendance, some may have felt obliged to participate, which is also Mihailović’ argument (Stibilj, 2015, 34). On the other hand, active mobilisation took place, which was often far from an easy task for the organisations involved, precisely because it had to be conducted on a strictly non-coercive basis, while they were pressured to fulfil the required quotas. Almost exclusively in the early post-war years, there were cases of coercive collective recruitment, with political prisoners and captured soldiers also having been taken to construction sites as a part of their sentences, and some men completing their military service obligation by participating in labour actions (Baković, 2015, 35; Prinčič, 1997, 37).

The contemporary criticism suggesting coercion, manipulation, and deception by propaganda and ideology, Petrović argues, lacks the experiential aspect of people attending the actions and is influenced by the perception that such collective voluntary labour in socialism cannot be ‘sincere’ and ‘authentic’. The state-organised collective actions were in contradiction with most of the ‘Western’ perceptions of volunteering as a feature of a ‘democratic’ society, non-governmental actors, and individuality (Petrović, 2020, 161; Ljubojević, 2020). While I agree with most of the arguments put forward by Petrović, I cannot; however, avoid discussing occurrences of coercion and/or manipulation in the first organisational phase, something which was mentioned also in the interviews and memoirs of the participants (cf. Matošević, 2015, 96–100; Kos, 2022, 25).

The radical difference in the organisational process of YLAs, especially concerning how to ensure massive attendance, efficiency, and satisfaction, is probably best illustrated by two – not completely mutually exclusive – concepts introduced by Matošević: duty and prestige. The first can apply to the post-war period and the ‘military type of organisation’ when ‘patriotism was measured by voluntary and overtime work’ (Matošević, 2015, 96), and when coercive mobilisation, and particularly ‘societal pressure’ was relatively frequent.⁹ Subsequent labour actions that took place in what can be called the second organisation phase during the late 1950s and 1960s had a completely different organisational impulse and content. Participants’ claims that their work was completely voluntary and relaxing during this later period are legitimate, although even early post-war labour actions were only to a lesser extent fulfilled by coerced participants. This basic shift reflects the high interest to attend YLA: a principle of selection was introduced, and it thus became a privilege to attend the labour actions, rather than a necessity. The ‘prestige’ of post-war actions originates from an entirely different pattern of values: pleasure in exertion, asceticism, and abstinence, where ‘utopia’ was supposed to be a motivational drive in ‘making the impossible’ young builders’ goal (Matošević, 2017, 68; Matošević, 2015, 97; cf. Supek, 1963, 62).

Moreover, throughout these years, regions (and republics), seasons, and social backgrounds, the interest in participation varied significantly. While some districts often struggled to fulfil the assigned quotas of participants while still upholding the basic requirements of who could join the brigades, others had lots of work with the selection of numerous young men and women wishing to join. Supposedly, they even had to deny attendance to Tito’s grandson, because he had one poor school grade.¹⁰

In August 1958, the Presidency of the Central Committee of the People’s Youth of Yugoslavia sent a letter to all district committees raising and condemning some worrisome observations regarding the process of recruitment, including that a few brigadiers at the worksite of the Zagreb-Ljubljana highway did not come to the action voluntarily (not naming from which part of Yugoslavia those came from). Secondly, brigadiers were given various promises that could not have been fulfilled later: employment after a labour action, com-

pletion of some professional courses, trips to distance cities, etc. Courses were organised, but mostly tended to be amateur courses (e.g., motorbike and tractor courses [theory and practice], amateur radio courses, photography courses, etc.) in which brigadiers certainly obtained valuable and useful skills, especially those who came from economically less developed regions and/or did not have other opportunities to gain such skills. They also did not receive the certificates they had wanted and which had been, in some cases, promised to them.¹¹

Furthermore, it seemed that some of the youth who had already decided to volunteer for the youth brigades experienced some pressure from the municipal committees of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was considered harmful and unnecessary. Other issues unrelated to the question of volunteerism that they addressed included the unresponsiveness of the youth from rural areas, who were needed at home to help with agricultural work. One of the consequences of this was a fairly large number of 14- or 15-years-olds in the brigade, which was a ‘disadvantage’ as it reduced the working capacity of the brigade as a whole. In addition to this, the leadership of the People’s Youth supposedly did not make sufficient and timely political preparations for mobilisation into working brigades, often just letting the youth form the opinion of labour actions on their own.¹²

From the documents, it can be deduced that in some Slovenian districts, at least across the years 1957 and 1958, indeed saw the making of unrealistic promises, such as those concerning the above-mentioned courses. Individuals were occasionally told that they would be paid for their work, and that the labour action would only last one month, rather than two, etc. More worrisome is information about labour actions in 1957, during which various incidents of orphans being forced to join the brigade and being threatened with the removal of their scholarship were reported, as well as promises concerning free afternoons. Another pressing issue in 1958 was a presumably loose selection of participants. The report mentions that many of the brigadiers were unemployed and of ‘dubious character’ (e.g., some had joined hoping to avoid going to the prisons that they had been sentenced to) and therefore the number of thefts increased. Several others were also allowed to join the brigades without passing the medical exam

9 Matošević also indicates a testimony of a woman, stating that the whole village – girls and elderly people – were forced to help during the construction of the Lupoglav–Stalije railway in Istria (Matošević, 2015, 98).

10 Cf. PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Central Committee of the PYS, Headquarters for the youth labour brigades: short analysis of the mobilisation of the youth for federal and local actions in the year 1958, Koper, 18. 11. 1958; Matošević, 2015, 102.

11 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Predsedništvo centralnog komiteta Narodne omladine Jugoslavije – svim sreskim komitetima narodne omladine Jugoslavije, 2. 8. 1958; PAK, SI PAK-236, 18, Mladinci in mladinke V. koprskе brigade ‘Tone Tomšič’, Lipovica, 31. 5. 1960.

12 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Predsedništvo centralnog komiteta Narodne omladine Jugoslavije – svim sreskim komitetima narodne omladine Jugoslavije, 2. 8. 1958.

and receiving the mandatory vaccinations, resulting in hospitalisations and even one death.¹³ The response of the PYS was strictly requiring recruiters to carry out any future mobilisations presenting 'real conditions' of life and work in the brigades, stressing the comradeship, the possibility of the youth across the whole of Yugoslavia getting to know each other, and clearly stating that the courses would not provide professional qualifications.¹⁴

The problems brigadiers encountered on the construction sites and how they dealt with them presented another aspect of the organisation of YLAs. Several reports show that it was the most challenging for the first 'shifts' coming to the worksites in spring as they often had to prepare the lodging and establish relations with the construction companies, including the norms – the quintessential in the whole underlying competitive basis of the actions and, when surpassed, the 'source' of pride for the shock workers – that would be realistic to achieve and fairly recorded. This sometimes resulted in internal conflicts that led to exclusions of brigadiers from the labour action.¹⁵

There were also differences between the republics in attendance. For example, in 1949 at the federal labour actions, the youth from Slovenia showed the least enthusiasm. As Vejzagić states, all republics sent more participants as required, with Bosnia and Herzegovina breaking the planned quota by 27%, and Slovenia 'just' by 3.7% (Vejzagić, 2013, 52–53; Baković, 2015, 37). Without full records, it cannot be argued that the Slovenians were generally the least motivated to participate in federal YLAs. Especially in the later phases, they may have just undertaken a stricter selection of the candidates, adhering to – but not exceeding – the quotas. Still, finding brigadiers who would fulfil all of the requirements in order to be recruited, especially those pertaining to the 'diversification' (e.g., location and social background), obtaining the medical clearance, and the verification that the candidates had 'good personal character', seemed to be quite challenging, therefore raising the importance of the brigadiers' satisfaction at the local actions. Them sharing their positive experiences was one of the most successful ways to attract new participants.

Increasing differences were observed in the final phase between the labour actions in Slovenia and other republics: actions in other republics were designed as

large economic-orientated 'companies' and spaces for political indoctrination, while the youth in Slovenia accepted YLAs mainly as opportunities to help people in need in economically less developed areas, to socialise with young people from all over Yugoslavia, and to have fun. In the 1980s, however, the interest in YLAs generally dropped, although some local actions continued and maintained the focus on solidarity, socialising, tolerance, and learning new skills, much like what is considered volunteering today. According to the special research that was conducted, labour actions were marginalised by wider societal and global processes, socially devaluing YLAs. As a result, the youth according to Vaupotič no longer saw any sense in 'free' manual work if the same could be achieved with machinery (Vaupotič 1998, 47–49). This opinion; however, is not new, in one report from 1960, we read:

*In my opinion, today's youth actions take on a completely different character than we would like, especially for us Slovenians. The Slovenian youth [...] sees today that it is not possible to build a highway to their detriment, and claims that if they came voluntarily, this must be taken into account. Namely, in the camp, you can immediately see the life of the other brigades, and their way of working is quite close to military discipline. For other nations, it is quite understandable, but for our man [Slovenians, comment added by G. M.] it **must no longer** [emphasis added by the author] be given any consideration. On the other hand, the norms are used rather deficiently and unrealistically.¹⁶*

MICROSTUDY: THE DISTRICT OF KOPER

To further explore the organisational transformation of youth labour actions since the 'founding period,' focus will now be turned to the fourth phase of youth labour actions in the district of Koper.¹⁷ In the period between 1958 and 1964, during the revival of federal actions, the social inclusion of the youth was crucial. The 'processes of social-economic transformation, accelerating development of engineering and science and increasing affirmation of the system of socialist

13 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Central Committee of the PYS, Headquarters of the youth labour brigades to the Headquarters for the youth labour brigades to the district committees, Ljubljana, 11. 4. 1958; PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Central Committee of the PYS, Headquarters of the youth labour brigades to the district committees: medical checkups of brigadiers, Ljubljana, 11. 9. 1958; PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Zaključki tretje redne seje štaba za delavne akcije pri CK LMS, 6. 3. 1958.

14 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Headquarters for the youth labour brigades Koper, Koper, 3. 7. 1958.

15 PAK, SI PAK-236, 18, Zaključno poročilo V. kopske 'Tone Tomšič' [from the construction site in Lipovica], Koper, 1960; Glasilo 'MDB' sektorja Otovec-Bubnjarci, 1946, 5.

16 PAK, SI PAK-236, 18, Diary of Bounasisi Vinko, referee for the construction site, VI. Koper youth labour brigade 'Rudi Brkinc', Ranutovac, 26. 6. 1960; cf. Logar, 2006.

17 The district encompassed the following municipalities: Koper, Postojna, Ilirska Bistrica, Sežana, Izola, Piran, Divača, Pivka, and Hrpelje.

democracy' – quoting the Report of the Central Committee on the work of the PYS from the 4th until 7th congress (1961) – demanded the youth organisation to adapt to the new social conditions (Jeraj, 2000, 52).

The archival material from the late 1950s and early 1960s pertaining to the PYS of the district of Koper shows that some organisational irregularities at YLAs were also found in this period. As subjective as these types of sources based on the reports of the members of the organisation are, and particularly documents expressing criticism – even when downsized – ensure relevant data for the analysis.

From the local 'mobilisation reports' in Koper, we can deduce that the problems with recruitment were similar to those in other Slovenian districts, mostly related to the difficulties persuading rural youth to join, workers who were on holiday and undertaking premilitary training, and the inflexibility of medical doctors, especially in Izola, who did not want to sign the medical clearance documents without the Central Committee of the People's Youth vouching for the well-being of the brigadiers, especially in cases when brigadiers had not been vaccinated within the required timeframe (several weeks before their departure), something which happened on occasion due to cancellations and quotas. Interestingly, the local youth organisation gave instructions to the enterprises where youth workers were employed to guarantee the brigadiers 50% of their salary when they were away at labour actions, since when returning from the highway, they could not be left without any income. Most agreed, a few did not, and even various public proclamations were made stating that such brigadiers should use their holidays without pay. Then again, some enterprises did pay them a full wage, which, however, caused distress among the brigadiers due to unequal treatment. As equality was considered a core value, the PYS advised against this practice. The major problem that the district committee of the youth organisation in Koper had were the requests to find jobs as they felt obliged to help hard-working young people. No false promises in this regard were mentioned, however. As a result, the impression from these reports would be that the worst they did was to promise various courses that were not run (such as an advanced tractor course).¹⁸

There are some interesting facts about the local action of helping to build the port in Koper in 1958, with a large number of brigadiers enlisted for local actions: 533 (cf. Petrinja, 1998, 98; Petrinja, 1999; Terčon, 2015, 183–185). An agreement was signed between *Vodna skupnost Koper* (Koper Water Authority) and the PYS, Headquarters for youth brigades, on the basis of which youth workers were temporarily employed and received some payment, entitled to receive the same bonuses, and to work in the same conditions as other workers.¹⁹ It is possible that this agreement was later discarded, as in the main literature on the building of the port of Koper and youth labour brigades in the region (cf. Petrinja, 1993; Petrinja, 1998; Terčon, 2015; Jurinčič, 2017) any reference to this 'anomaly' is missing. Moreover, I could not find the additional agreement regarding the details relating to the payment of the brigadiers, mentioned in the agreement between Koper Water Authority and the PYS. Peculiarly for this action, brigades from Primorska region were not present. Instead, brigadiers from the Koper district were sent to the nearby Brkini region, while the participants were mostly from the district of Ljubljana.

Quite surprisingly, the same company, Koper Water Authority, that was apparently open to pay the brigadiers at their working site, was one of the rare companies in the district that refused to financially support their own employees when attending labour actions (Petrinja, 1998, 98).²⁰

In the 1958 actions, across all nine brigades together, including those combined with other districts that the youth from the Koper district participated in, the share of men was 70.6% and the share of women was 29.4%. In fact, the high share of women was in the post-war YLAs, e. g., in the construction of the Brčko-Banoviči railway, quite a Slovenian particularity (Šmid & Štrumbl, 2014, 237). Still, there were limits imposed on the number of women per brigade in Slovenia: the maximum was set at 30 (and, interestingly, at least 25 communists, well below the norm in other Yugoslav republics (40–60)). Expectedly, workers dominated, followed by secondary-school students (in summers), since this type of recruitment was the easiest to organise, while in terms of the issue of rural youth, which has already been discussed, their numbers remained low, even though they were a 'target group', mostly across the spring months to avoid the busiest time at

18 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Central Committee of the PYS, Headquarters for youth labour brigades: short analysis of the mobilisation of the youth for federal and local actions in the year 1958, Koper, 18. 11. 1958 (cf. Jurinčič, 2017, 110).

19 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The agreement signed between *Vodna skupnost Koper* (Koper Water Authority) and the PYS, Headquarters for youth brigades about the employment of 4 youth labour brigades on construction sites of *Vodna skupnost Koper*, Koper, 24. 2. 1958.

20 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, Zapisnik sestavljen na razširjeni seji štaba MDB Koper, 27. 2. 1958; PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Central committee of the PYS, Headquarters for the youth labour brigades: short analysis of the mobilisation of the youth for federal and local actions in the year 1958, Koper, 18. 11. 1958 (cf. Jurinčič, 2017, 110).

Table 1: Participants and labour actions from the district of Koper in 1958 (social composition).²³

The number of all members of the People's Youth	6035
The number of working-class youths	256 (51.9%)
Rural youth	34 (6%)
Secondary-school students (15 years +)	155 (31.4%)
Office staff	19 (3.8%)
Apprentices	25 (5%)
University students	4 (0.8%)
The sum	493

the farms. The number of young people in the district of Koper involved in the PYS is known to us: 6035. Thus, in 1958, approximately 8% of members of the People's Youth joined the YLAs.²¹ This number is even more pertinent when considering the situation in the mid-1980s, when around 1% of the youth of Yugoslavia was still participating in the labour actions, a number which was once an astounding 80% in 1947 (Mihailović 1985, 9–10). Moreover, it reinforces the contrast between attendance out of necessity and attendance out of prestige.

Furthermore, another significant observation can be made showing the changes that were already emerging in the late 1950s – and even more so across the following years and decades: the brigadiers occupying the leading positions in the PYS in Koper – at the worksites and 'in the office' – agreed that the right course of action was to move away from the military character of the brigades, and gave recommendations to avoid the penalisation and sanctioning of the brigades 'if possible', which was a general tendency in Slovenia.²³

As can be seen from the reports, much attention has been given to the well-being of the participants, and a clear difference is noted compared to the attitude present in post-war labour actions, emphasising new priorities – with the competitive aspect also gradually losing its importance in what should (and was) a volunteering activity – while keeping some old ones:

Our way of working is strongly reflected in the successes on the route. No brigade showed as much concern as our brigade, let it be for the patients, with which we had great difficulty, particularly in helping them to be recognised as sick leave, or in the rain so that the brigadiers did not get wet and caught an unnecessary cold. [...] Despite the good successes on the route, we never fought for percentages, but at every meeting, we emphasise that the quality of the work we do is also important, that the personal life of the brigadiers is important, that it is important how free time is used.²⁴

Even the ideological propaganda evident in the recruitment of brigadiers and providing a 'socialist education' had some positive effects by encouraging the youth to read and to join in discussions, with each brigade even having a small library. In the post-war labour actions, literacy courses were organised, brigadiers learnt Cyrillic script and Italians joining from the Yugoslav-Italian borderland attended courses in Slovenian language (Stibilj, 2015, 213; Baković, 2015, 46). In the first phases of the YLAs, Slovenians from the region also undertook the courses to improve the standardised variety of the Slovenian language, which they could not learn in Italy during Fascism. The efforts of the youth in helping to rebuild and modernise the

21 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Headquarters for the youth labour brigades Koper, Koper, 3. 7. 1958.

22 PAK, SI PAK-236, 11, The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Central Committee of the PYS, Headquarters for the youth labour brigades: short analysis of the mobilisation of the youth for federal and local actions in the year 1958, Koper, 18. 11. 1958.

23 PAK, SI PAK-236, 13, Marija Vogrič, the president of The Koper District Committee of the PYS to the Headquarters of the I. Koper brigade 'Srečko Kosovel', Koper, 5. 6. 1959.

24 PAK, SI PAK-236, 13, The reply of the Headquarters of the I. Koper brigade 'Srečko Kosovel' to the letter from the Koper District Committee of the PYS, Prždevo, 1959.



Image 2: Youth labour brigade in Šmarje pri Kopru, 23. 11. 1947 (Koper Regional Museum).

country, including in the wider region in question – i.e., some of the key infrastructure (the port of Koper, roads in the Brkini region, the waterworks in Koper, etc.), industry, the new city of Nova Gorica, etc.²⁵ – were an important instrument in moulding and representing a new regime of Yugoslav socialism both internally and internationally. Moreover, for several young people of the later generations without the experience of fighting in the war, joining the ‘brigades’ was a real, memorable, *rite de passage*, a test (dis)proving that they were worthy members of (socialist) society.

CONCLUSION

It is not the purpose of this article to give any definite conclusion – and by no means speculation – on whether it is justified to characterise labour

actions in Yugoslavia as ‘voluntary’. As has been demonstrated, such collective actions thoroughly changed over time, and while coercion and manipulation surely constituted more than just a rare practice in the early post-war era, this was not the case from the 1950s onwards. Some ‘irregularities’ nevertheless occurred, but these were exceptions. The youth organisation on the local, republic, and federal levels wanted to ensure only voluntary enrolment, since successful mobilisation into the next ‘shifts’, actions yet to come, largely based on satisfied brigadiers whose experiences they would share were of great importance. It was, therefore, crucial to choose a very competent workforce to ensure efficient work – the success of the brigade was strongly publicised and represented a source of great pride – as did the rich ‘leisure time activities’, i.e., sports, cultural activities, political-ideological and other

²⁵ From the number of solely federal labour actions observation can be made, that the region in the interwar years part of Italy received quite a lot of support on the highest level (cf. Martelanc, 1998).

classes, various courses, etc. In this context, we also explored the reports of the youth organisation in the district of Koper, stressing the need to at least soften the military character of the brigades and to try to avoid the penalisation and sanctioning of the brigadiers, that were completely in line of the changing organisation, representation, and approach to the YLAs. The influence of the People's Youth was also evident – even on a regional level in the district of Koper – in recommending the enterprises to continue paying (part of) the salary to the brigadiers undertaking YLAs, displaying some autonomy of the youth organisation within the system of self-management. Examples like these and the general tendency – in Slovenia the most prominent, especially in the 1970s

and certainly in the 1980s – show the transformation from a Soviet-like 'Stakhanovite movement' to what we today commonly consider as values and goals of volunteerism, eventually with the introduction of youth 'research' camps, which reflected a similar scale. Throughout the history of Yugoslavia, YLAs were also seen as a kind of 'declaration', mirroring the consent of young people to the 'course' of political leadership (Senjković, 2016, 8).

The significance of the reappearance of youth labour actions among (smaller) groups of university students in Slovenia in 1999 (cf. Študentska delovna brigada, 2015; ŠOUM), and the fact that many veteran organisations of former brigadiers are still active, may be the subject of another paper.

MLADINSKE DELOVNE AKCIJE V JUGOSLAVIJI IN REPREZENTACIJE PROSTOVOLJSTVA: ŠTUDIJA SODELOVANJA KOPRSKEGA OKRAJA LJUDSKE MLADINE NA OBNOVLJENIH ZVEZNIH DELOVNIH AKCIJAH

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POVZETEK

*V članku je naslovljeno vprašanje prostovoljnega značaja delovnih akcij v Jugoslaviji, katerega so, večino-
ma obstransko in neredko pomanjkljivo, odprli že drugi avtorji in avtorice. Raziskava pojava kolektivističnih
delovnih akcij, ki je tekom obdobja Jugoslavije močno spremenil svoj osnovni smisel in organizacijski pristop,
posledično zahteva obravnavo po ločenih fazah oziroma obdobjih, kar hkrati omogoča umestitev znotraj
sprememb režima in širše družbene transformacije. Na podlagi raziskave literature in arhivskih virov mladinske
organizacije v koprskem okraju, so v študiji primera o mladinskih delovnih akcijah, ki so potekale v »pre-
lomnem« času poznih 50-ih in zgodnjih 60-ih let 20. stoletja, ko so se ideje socialističnega samoupravljanja
postopoma prenašale tudi v strukture mladinske organizacije, družbene in politične spremembe analizirane
tudi skozi regionalno prizmo. V kolikor primeri prisile oziroma različnih načinov »spodbujanja« širših množic
k udeleževanju na delovnih akcijah usmerjenih v nujno obnovo domov, ponovni zagon gospodarstva ter mo-
dernizacijo države tik po vojni, niso bili zgolj redkost, so se razmere in organizacijski pristop od petdesetih let
20. stoletja dalje precej spremenili. Nekaj nepravilnosti predvsem v smislu zavajanja ob novačenju brigadirjev
so se vseeno dogajale, vendar so bile to izjeme in bolj stvar prvih let ponovne vzpostavitve velikih gradbenih
projektov na ravni zveznih mladinskih delovnih akcij. Vrh države je te skupinske akcije kot enega od temeljev
ideologije »bratstva in enotnosti« in povečan angažma mladine ter polaganje zaupanja vanjo dojemal kot
(dodatno) možno sredstvo ohranjanja sloge med republikami in med različnimi narodi, ki pa je, podobno
kot drugi načrti, sčasoma dobilo vse bolj lokalistični značaj. K spremembam sta izrazito prispevala tudi
razvoj tehnologije in splošna mehanizacija v gradbeništvu, kar je omogočilo cenejše delo kot na takšen način
organizirano mladinsko prostovoljno delo in s tem temeljito zamajalo smiselnost masovnih delovnih akcij.
Tega niti prilagojeni organizacijski pogoji z večjo skrbjo za dobro počutje brigadirjev niso zmogli preprečiti,
sploh z določenimi spremembami odnosa do družbenih vrednot, ki takšnim velikim projektom zlasti od 1980.
let dalje niso bili več naklonjeni.*

Ključne besede: mladinske delovne akcije, prostovoljstvo, socialistična Jugoslavija, Ljudska mladina, Koper

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received: 2022-07-28

DOI 10.19233/ASHS.2022.39

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE AND SOME ASPECTS OF POLICY IN BORDER TRADE UNION STRUGGLES: COMPARING THE 1968 GENERAL STRIKE IN TRIESTE AND THE 1970 WORK STOPPAGE IN PORT OF KOPER

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ABSTRACT

The article details the press coverage of the general strike that took place in Trieste in June 1968 and the work stoppage at Port of Koper in March 1970. It shows the ways in which the workers' protests were covered by the local press on both sides of the border and the social impact of the workers' demands. It also highlights the cross-border alliances in place for the duration of the strikes in question, both in the media and in politics.

Keywords: dock workers, strike, North-Eastern Adriatic, press coverage, trade union struggles

COPERTURA GIORNALISTICA ED ALCUNI ASPETTI POLITICI NELLE LOTTE SINDACALI DI CONFINE: CONFRONTO TRA LO SCIOPERO GENERALE DEL 1968 A TRIESTE E L'INTERRUZIONE DEI LAVORI NEL PORTO DI CAPODISTRIA NEL 1970

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta la copertura giornalistica dello sciopero generale di Trieste del giugno 1968 e dell'interruzione dei lavori nel porto di Capodistria del marzo 1970. L'articolo mostra il modo in cui le manifestazioni di protesta dei lavoratori sono state riportate dai giornali locali da entrambe le parti del confine e l'impatto delle richieste dei lavoratori nella società. Inoltre, evidenzia le collaborazioni transfrontaliere che si sono sviluppate durante il periodo degli scontri, sia a livello mediatico che politico.

Parole chiave: lavoratori portuali, scioperi, Adriatico nord-orientale, copertura mediatica, lotte sindacali

INTRODUCTION¹

In the second half of the 1960s, an intense strike wave spread throughout the ports of the Northern Adriatic. It began in Trieste, where struggles based on a long tradition of workers' organising, focused on fierce opposition to the CIPE plan,² the full implementation of which would have brought about the closure of St Mark's shipyard in Trieste. Social unrest, however, also crossed the Yugoslav border during the major protests in Trieste in 1966, 1968 and 1969, with work stoppages in the Port of Rijeka in 1969 and 1971 and the first work stoppage in Port of Koper in March 1970 (Rutar, 2020, 390).

In Yugoslavia, strikes were frequently referred to as work stoppages. While the socialist state recognised the possibility of social conflict even under socialism, it did not take a clear position on strikes in the 1960s. In the 1970s, even within the Law of Associated Labour framework of the 1976, they are not discussed directly. Within the section on work related dispute resolution, however, strikes are addressed in such terms as work stoppages and forced meetings, or more generally as workers' discontent (Hadalín, 2020, 302–303; Kavčič et al., 1991, 75–85).

The region's position along the most open border between the West and the East (Repe, 1998, 262) aided both technological and cultural transfer. From the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, the liberalisation of the border was accelerated by agreements that facilitated border crossings. Those became more frequent from the mid-1960s onwards (Čepič, 2018, 664) when the agreements started to materialize. As a result, goods, ideas, worldviews and mindsets were exchanged. In terms of the economy, one can see this in the technological transfers that (more or less successfully) modernised the Yugoslav industry, while the cultural transfer was manifested above all through encounters with western thought currents. These transfers can also be seen as a recontextualization of cultural elements in the broadest sense from one environment to another, and through this we can observe a cross-cultural influence that results in a certain degree of cultural hybridity (Štuhec, 2020, 194). Contemporary research in the field of New Labour History (Rutar, 2014) sheds light on how this approach can be useful. For example, in the late 1960s, directors of Yugoslav companies kept modern management and marketing manuals from the West in their offices alongside Marxist classics (Archer & Musić, 2020, 399). The middle

classes, on the other hand, saw their mentalities change as they came into contact with consumerism and the standards of the West (Repe, 2017, 590). The port workers in the border area of the North Adriatic, the central subject of the present discussion, were introduced to strike culture (also) through the activism of their comrades on the western side of the border (Rutar, 2020, 389). Cooperation between Italian and Slovene Communist Parties was active, and there was also talk of social struggles in Italy, for example when representatives of Partito Comunista Italiano (hereafter PCI) reported to the Club of Deputies in Ljubljana in 1970 on the so-called *autunno caldo* (the hot autumn of protests) of 1969,³ which had sparked protests in industrial centres throughout Italy, the most high-profile of which were in Turin (Giachetti & Scavino, 1999, 7–11).

It is also important to point out the contrasting number of strikes by dockworkers in Trieste and in Koper. In Trieste, dockworkers went on strike nine times in the 1960s and as many as twenty-seven times in the 1970s. It should be added, however, that in the 1970s many of the strikes were symbolic in nature and involved international political events, including strikes against the war in Vietnam and the military *coup d'état* in Chile. The 1968 strike is thus chosen here because it stood out in terms of its attachment to local development and because it transcended the port sector to become a general city-wide strike. In the case of Port of Koper, the work stoppage in 1970 was the first and remained the only large stoppage at the port until the independence of Slovenia. During the 1970s, it was followed only by a smaller work stoppage in 1976 (Dato, 2006, 216–217; 219–220).

The main purpose of the analysis is to present how both Italian and Slovenian local newspapers covered the two selected workers' protests. We will be interested in how the local press characterised the (il)legitimacy of the protests, described the demands of the workers and gave the reasons for the difficult economic situation of the dockworkers.

The coverage of both strikes will be presented through the reporting of the newspapers *Il Piccolo: giornale di Trieste* (a conservative newspaper from Trieste), *Primorski dnevnik* (a pro-Yugoslav, Slovene newspaper from Trieste) and *Primorske novice: glasilo socialistične zveze delovnih ljudi* (the main newspaper from Koper and the Slovene Littoral). These newspapers were chosen because they are closely connected to the border area, which they regularly report on,

1 I would like to thank Urška Lampe and Egon Pelikan for their comments on earlier versions of this article, which were very helpful in the process of writing and editing the final version.

2 CIPE is the official abbreviation of the *Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica*, the Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning, which was adopted by law on February 27, 1967, and regulated the strategic planning of economic development on local, state and interstate levels. For a detailed description of the activities of CIPE in the 1960s and 1970s, see Mobilio (2013, 138–162).

3 *Primorski dnevnik*, 14. 3. 1970: Tajniki treh deželnih komitejev KPI o lanskim socialnih bojih v Italiji, 1.

taking into account matters both domestic and cross-border. They were considered as the most important newspapers in the region. Ten articles from *Il Piccolo*, four from *Primorski dnevnik* and one from *Primorske novice* covering the Trieste strike were analysed. It should be noted here that the articles in *Primorski dnevnik* were longer and concentrated on a smaller number of reports, whereas in *Il Piccolo* the articles were shorter and larger in number. As per coverage of the work stoppage at the Port of Koper, the analysis consisted of four articles from *Il Piccolo* and three articles each from *Primorski dnevnik* and *Primorske novice*. The sample of articles presented includes all relevant articles on both events that appeared in the selected newspapers up to one month after each strike/work stoppage.

GENERAL STRIKE IN TRIESTE, JUNE 21–25 1968

The CIPE plan and technological transformation: the struggle for survival of Trieste port workers

Before taking a closer look at the general strike of June 1968 in Trieste, it is necessary to present the necessary context of Trieste port sector development under the Italian state. In the inter-war period, when Trieste first came under Italian rule, the port sector began to downsize and, at the same time, the part of the city's economy unrelated to the port sector grew. This was triggered above all by the increasingly transit-oriented nature of the port. This resulted in a reduced need for post-arrival cargo-handling services. The situation for those working in the port sector deteriorated after the end of World War II. From 1949 onwards, workers' trade union struggles had focused on the right to work in the port. This was a struggle against private companies being able to bring their own workforce into the port to handle cargo (Persoglia, 1986, 85, 104).

The creation of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia autonomous region also expedited the shift away from the dominance of the port sector in the city. This change had increasingly turned the city of Trieste, which still claimed to be a shipbuilding and port centre, into an administrative and political centre, at the expense of the city's distance from industrial sectors (Bednarz, 1986, 318–319).

In the 1960s, there was a marked decline of the port of Trieste as the cargo was increasingly diverting to both competing Italian as well as foreign ports. In addition to cargo volume reduction, the port increasingly turned to bulk cargo, which does not require additional treatments. This in turn generated an increase in trade union activity of port workers (Persoglia, 1986, 106–107). The outbreak of discontent that had been spreading among the workers for several years was caused by the news of the approval of the CIPE

plan, which reached Trieste on the eve of October 7, 1966. Implementing the plan in its original form would have meant, among other things, the liquidation of St Mark's shipyard. The very next day, there was a mass protest by workers in the shipyard, the port, and some other sectors, accompanied by groups of students. The protest was directed against the "tertiarization" of the city (Sema & Bibalo, 1981, 402) and aimed at preserving Trieste as an industrial city, as there was a fairly broad consensus that the city's success could only be ensured through further development of industry and the port sector (Fragiacomo, 2012, 186).

The outcome of these struggles, and the adoption of a modified CIPE plan, was a compromise solution that mitigated the original intentions but satisfied neither side. The shipyard was preserved, but despite the successful retention of the majority of jobs, the number of employees in the industrial sector as a whole declined noticeably. From December 1963 to August 1968, the Trieste industrial sector recorded a loss of 8276 jobs, 4509 of them in the 1966–1968 period alone (Sema & Bibalo, 1981, 404, 414). The still-unresolved compromise solution thus brought a new momentum to trade union struggles in 1968, and the spirit of the student movements of '68 also appealed to Trieste's hitherto more conservative student population, which was becoming more and more progressive and joined the general strike that spread across Trieste in large numbers on 21 June 1968 (Sema & Bibalo, 1981, 410–412).

The general strike in Trieste lasted from June 21 to June 25, 1965. It started as a protest rally at the opening of the Trieste Fair, but the strike, which had been planned to last only a few hours, turned into a multi-day protest. The protest was a general city-wide strike organised by the dockworkers, who were joined by many other citizens to save the jobs at St Mark's shipyard. During the protests, there were several clashes between protesters and police. Protesters formed several barricades for protection, mainly on the Largo Barriera Street. Sixteen civilians and around fifty police were injured.

Il Piccolo

Il Piccolo is a daily newspaper published in Trieste since 1881. It has had a pro-Italian nationalist orientation from its initial support for Italian irredentism at the end of the 19th century to its conservative nationalist orientation after World War II. Let us examine how it reported on the 1968 general strike in Trieste.

The June 21 edition, which outlined the planned course of the strike and briefly summarised the positions of the unions, the city authorities, and the communist opposition in the city council, presented the event as a three-hour strike, after which the workers would return to work. The news of the announced strike itself is only

found on page four of the paper, and above it there was the news of a productive meeting with the regional authorities on the implementation of the CIPE plan.⁴

Although the account of the protests is rather restrained, and the protest itself is positioned as one of the many that have been taking place in the city over the years, the seriousness of the problems facing Trieste is nevertheless highlighted. It is stated that “The economic problem, which has now become a moral and psychological problem in Trieste, must be seriously addressed and immediate solutions found to decisively improve the livelihood of our people.”⁵ Journalists of *Il Piccolo* pinned their hopes for a revival of the city’s job prospects on the International Trade Fair, which also opened on June 21, and the strike was not coincidentally aligned to this. They made their demands to the fair guests, among them Giulio Andreotti, the then Italian Minister of Economic Affairs, who was the inaugural speaker at the fair’s opening.⁶

They took the coverage much more seriously on Saturday, the day after the general strike. The front page of the newspaper was clearly headlined by the fact that Trieste had been paralysed for twelve hours, together with a photograph of the crowd attending the protest rally following the strike. Andreotti, after the workers’ intervention at the fair, received their representatives at the end of the day and assured them that he would take their message to the government in Rome. Some individual incidents at the rally are mentioned, with praise for the police response and the protest leaders’ self-restraint. There are reports of some twenty-five injured police and dozens of injuries among the protesters.⁷

Throughout the coverage, including in subsequent issues, the police side of the situation was at the forefront, followed (to a lesser extent) by the protesters’ point of view. In a more extensive report in Saturday’s issue (page 4) we find a picture of a smoke-filled tram route blocked by protesters. The afternoon’s violence was attributed solely to protesters, with the police merely protecting the participants in the rally, which caused “hours of intense drama and unrest”⁸ from the afternoon until late in the evening. The afternoon part of the protests, however, was represented as the work of a small group of students who were said to have continued to cause disturbances in the city until the evening. There is a contradictory element in play here since the

police were present in large numbers and were unable to disperse those present without the threats of physical force. The protesters then improvised barricades as they fled, throwing stones in the direction of the police. The article also draws a parallel with the 1966 strike, as the rioters had come into conflict with the police then too, and *Il Piccolo* described the afternoon scenes as very similar. The situation is said to have calmed down only after the police physically pressured the protesters at around 7:30 PM. The persistent younger protesters were labelled as extremists, from who the trade union leaders had distanced themselves.⁹

In Monday’s edition, reflecting on the situation, it was noted that solutions should be sought first and foremost with those responsible for modifying the CIPE plan, so that dialogue could be established at least at regional level. Hope was expressed that Andreotti would pass on the protesters’ requests to the government. The archbishop of Trieste, Antonio Santin, also reacted to the clashes that had engulfed the city and appealed for non-violence.¹⁰ The article also clearly delineates who the victims and aggressors were in the event. The photo section shows several young activists defending themselves behind a barricade and a single police officer on the other side, throwing smoke bombs at them.¹¹ The hectic events of Friday and Saturday are then described in a separate article as “the longest days”, from which the people of Trieste were only able to take a break on Sunday. Eight protesters were detained, and two Molotov cocktails were seized. In addition to praising the police response, the role of the municipal security is highlighted, who took an active role in the escalation to restore order. However, when some of the more prominent representatives criticised the excessive violence of the repressive authorities, it was explicitly stated that each of them was a communist (either of PCI or of other parties/movements of a communist and socialist orientation).¹²

Thus *Il Piccolo* (rather predictably) established a dichotomy between the official representatives, who addressed the desire for change at the institutional level, and the extremists, who are also equated with communist institutional representatives representing through PCI the local and national opposition.

The conservative *Il Piccolo* also stressed the need for reforms and the establishment of a clear economic

4 *Il Piccolo*, 21. 6. 1968: Proficuo «vertice» alla Regione sullo stato del piano C.I.P.E., 4; *Il Piccolo*, 21. 6. 1968: Stamane nuove sciopero di tutti i metalmeccanici, 4.

5 *Il Piccolo*, 21. 6. 1968: Stamane nuove sciopero di tutti i metalmeccanici, 4.

6 *Il Piccolo*, 21. 6. 1968: Andreotti inaugura stamane la 20.a edizione della Fiera, 4; *Il Piccolo*, 21. 6. 1968: Trieste affida alla Fiera il suo messaggio di operosità, 8.

7 *Il Piccolo*, 22. 6. 1968: Trieste paralizzata per 12 ore, 1.

8 *Il Piccolo*, 22. 6. 1968: Giornata di grande tensione in città, 4.

9 *Il Piccolo*, 22. 6. 1968: Giornata di grande tensione in città, 4.

10 *Il Piccolo*, 24. 6. 1968: Si apre una settimana di speranze, 4.

11 *Il Piccolo*, 24. 6. 1968: Due volti di una stessa realtà, 4.

12 *Il Piccolo*, 24. 6. 1968: Bilancio dei “due giorni più lunghi”: in carcere otto dei trentacinque fermati, 4.

policy for future development of Trieste. They expected, above all, for Trieste to be integrated into the national economy, but with a special purpose. On Monday June 24, a second coordinated general strike took place, this time joined by the CISL trade union, which did not support the first strike. *Il Piccolo* praises the unitary stance (they also did not publish their newspaper on the 24th) and the more orderly and organised rally. They conclude by reflecting that for Trieste, it is necessary to "[d]efend a past of traditions and positive results in the field of labour."¹³

Primorski dnevnik

Primorski dnevnik has been published in Trieste since 1945, first as *Partizanski dnevnik*. It received financial support from socialist Yugoslavia and remained pro-Yugoslav until its dissolution.

The reporting of *Primorski dnevnik* starts on June 21, the first day of the protest, just as *Il Piccolo*'s did, as they too did not expect the strike to last longer than the announced three hours' absence off work, and the news of the strike is somewhat overshadowed by the opening of the International Trade Fair as well. The subtitle of the *Primorski dnevnik* article points out that the procession will draw public attention at the opening of the Fair. This was only mentioned indirectly in the text of various articles and was not specifically highlighted in the reports by *Il Piccolo*. The headline also emphasized the repetitive nature of the strikes, which better articulated the long-standing discontent of the workers.¹⁴

The difference in reporting becomes apparent after the strike unfolded on a much larger and more hectic scale than expected. *Primorski dnevnik* focused on the demonstration in front of the Fair, which was also the main focus of the trade unions that organised the strike. The front-page headline on June 22, the day after the had protests begun, clearly states that the message of the protest is the fight of the workers for their jobs. They also report on the riots that broke out in the afternoon, but unlike *Il Piccolo*, which was stressing the dichotomy between institutional commitment to reform and the violent tactics of the extremists, *Primorski dnevnik* established a dichotomy between the workers who have taken up the struggle for their own jobs and the decision-makers who do not care about establishing a clear economic programme for the Trieste area.¹⁵

Before the protest began, there was a brief shower. *Il Piccolo* wrote that the workers dispersed and scattered, while *Primorski dnevnik* reported: "Although there was downpour of rain at the time of the official opening, the workers stayed outside the main entrance, which was blocked by a strong police force, whistling and shouting as various representatives of the authorities arrived."¹⁶ There was no talk of whistling at the authorities in the reporting of *Il Piccolo*. In addition, the images also show a different focus of the reporting: *Primorski dnevnik* only published photos of the workers at the demonstration in front of the Fair while *Il Piccolo* only published photos from the afternoon rally in the city centre.¹⁷ In *Il Piccolo*, the aforementioned meeting of the trade union representatives with Andreotti was presented as a satisfactory conclusion to the strike. *Primorski dnevnik*, on the contrary, wrote that the meeting was, as usual, unfruitful and that this outcome was the reason why the general strike was prolonged.¹⁸

The coverage of the strike continues not only on the front page for two editions after the end of the major unrest, but also on the entirety of the first two pages of two subsequent editions (June 22 and 26). In *Il Piccolo*, except for the day after the protest, strike covering is moved from the front page to page four, into the Events in the City section. The images in the following issues are also in stark contrast to each other. *Primorski dnevnik* publishes many more pictures, including large ones, and it shows the crowds in the main squares, the speakers who addressed the participants, and police intervention where there is not just a single officer pitted against the crowd (as there was in *Il Piccolo*), but a large number of police officers intervening. They also publish a picture of an injured person among the protesters.¹⁹ Thus, the police are not portrayed as some kind of passive victims of the extremists. Rather, *Primorski dnevnik* clearly states that "The police unnecessarily attacked the crowd using tear grenades."²⁰ Moreover, the usefulness of institutional dialogue with the stakeholders about the future development of the city is called into question. The position is represented by the statement that "Certain groups talk about future progress, but what kind of progress is this if the number of employees is constantly shrinking?"²¹

In the coverage of the two Trieste newspapers presented here, the discourse of the city and state authorities belonging to the Democrazia Cristiana

13 *Il Piccolo*, 26. 6. 1968: La città difende un passato ed è in ansia per l'avvenire, 4.

14 *Primorski dnevnik*, 21. 6. 1968: Danes zopet splošna stavka delavcev kovinarske stroke, 2.

15 *Primorski dnevnik*, 22. 6. 1968: Ob otvoritvi tržaškega velesejma nastop delavcev v obrambo delovnih mest, 1.

16 *Primorski dnevnik*, 22. 6. 1968: Ob otvoritvi tržaškega velesejma nastop delavcev v obrambo delovnih mest, 1.

17 *Primorski dnevnik*, 22. 6. 1968, 1, 2.

18 *Primorski dnevnik*, 22. 6. 1968: Splošna stavka, 2.

19 *Primorski dnevnik*, 26. 6. 1968, 1, 2.

20 *Primorski dnevnik*, 26. 6. 1968: Popoln zastoj vse dejavnosti v mestu in okolici zaradi splošne protestne stavke vseh kategorij, 1.

21 *Primorski dnevnik*, 26. 6. 1968: Popoln zastoj vse dejavnosti v mestu in okolici zaradi splošne protestne stavke vseh kategorij, 1.



Image 1: Clashes on the streets of Trieste.²²

political party and those belonging to the city and state opposition PCI are quite evident. This division, which characterised Italian post-war politics for several decades, then softened in the 1970s and transitioned to that of rapprochement, constituting the “compromesso storico”, the historic compromise of cooperation in 1973 described by Enrico Berlinguer, then Secretary of PCI.²³

Primorske novice

Primorske novice started to be published in 1953. First it covered mainly the Gorizia region, but in 1963 following the merger with *Slovenski Jadran* it became the main newspaper for both Koper and the wider Littoral region. The political orientation of the newspaper was evident from the extended version of its name, namely *Primorske novice: Glasilo socialistične zveze delovnih ljudi*, ‘Newspaper of the Socialist Alliance of Working People’.

As we have seen, the Trieste press, regardless of its political orientation, undoubtedly paid a great amount of attention to the general strike. On the other hand, *Primorske novice*, the main newspaper for the city of Koper, devoted only one article to the Trieste strike. It should be stressed that *Primorske novice* was a weekly and not a daily like the Trieste papers, but comparatively speaking the coverage was still undoubtedly marginal. In the June 22, 1968 edition, a day after the first and most tumultuous day of the strike, there was no mention of the events in Trieste.

The only report of the events was published in the June 29 edition, which was not an article covering the entire strike, but merely an account of a press conference organised by PCI members of the Italian Parliament at the party’s headquarters in Trieste in response to the end of the strike on June 26. They note that the demonstrations held a high profile throughout Italy; nevertheless there is no lengthier comment on the events on the following pages or in the subsequent

²² *Primorski dnevnik*, 26. 6. 1968, 2.

²³ On the path of the PCI from 1968 to the strategy of cooperation with the Democrazia Cristiana, cf. Pons (2006, 3–41).



*Image 2: The only photo of the strike in Trieste in Primorske novice.*²⁴

issues. In addition to the need to preserve the industrial character of Trieste, the inappropriate violence by the police against the participants in the strike rallies is also highlighted. It should be noted that the only (tiny) photo of the events depicted a crowd of workers under a trade union banner. The article adds that the strike took place on Tuesday, even though Tuesday's strike day was the last day of the wave lasting from Friday June 21 to Tuesday June 25. The dates are only used in the article to refer to the arrival of PCI MPs in Trieste on Tuesday and Wednesday. The reader thus does not learn that the strike lasted for several days, and the workers' demonstration is labelled as "the latest events in Trieste", without in any way describing the length and magnitude of the strikes and demonstrations, even though the word "events" is pluralized.²⁴

WORK STOPPAGE AT PORT OF KOPER,
MARCH 27, 1970

Who needs Port of Koper? From its foundation to the fight for the railway

In 1954, the London Memorandum determined Trieste's territorial fate. The Slovenian coast remained cut off from its former regional centre, and consequently it was necessary to establish a new regional centre for the area and, above all, to build a local economy that would no longer be dependent on Trieste. For Slovenian shipping and port sectors, this meant years of construction and investment, with *Splošna plovba* (the main Slovene shipbuilding company) established in 1954 and Port of Koper (*Pristanišče Koper* until 1961, then *Luka Koper*)

²⁴ Primorske novice, 29. 6. 1968: Vprašanje Trsta pred rimski parlament?, 3.

²⁵ Primorske novice, 29. 6. 1968: Vprašanje Trsta pred rimski parlament?, 3.

obtaining an investment plan in 1957 and starting to dredge the seabed to enable larger ships to reach the port site and to utilize materials to create new usable areas for its own development. The first berth was completed on December 7 1958, and the port was officially opened (Panjek, 2007, 446, 449; Jakomin, 2004, 58).

The port was seen by the local and republican authorities as a competitor to the ports of both Trieste and Rijeka, while the federal authorities were only interested in competing with the port of Trieste. This was evident from the financing structure of the construction and expansion of the Port of Koper, which was built mainly with the enterprise's own funds and loans. Nevertheless, the support from the Slovene government was important, and this was most evident in the 1970s. This goes against the received local version of the events saying that the port was built solely on individual initiatives, even if said individuals were competent indeed. In fact, individual inputs had to be supplemented by republican government's support, even if the understanding of on-field requirements was less than perfect (Terčon, 2008, 53–55; Terčon, 2019, 122).

The key problem preventing the further expansion and development of the port soon became the transport infrastructure of its hinterland. Post-war Koper was not yet connected to the railway—until 1967 it was only connected to its hinterland by a two-lane road (Petrinja, 1999, 45). The long negotiations on the necessity of building a 31-kilometre railway link between Koper and Prešnica, connecting the port with Ljubljana and central Europe, were only resolved when the Port of Koper itself took over the role of investor and finally opened the line on December 2 1967 (Jakomin, 2004, 68–69).

On the other hand, it was the financing of transport infrastructure and the constant expansion of the port from the company's own resources that held back both improvements in working conditions and increases in wages. During the 1960s, the standard of living in Slovenia improved drastically (Rendla, 2009, 343). At the Port of Koper, however, the standard of living of the employees fell in the second half of the 1960s due to the above-mentioned resource allocation priorities. This was most evident between 1967 and 1968, when wages at the Port of Koper were reduced to cover the costs of building the railway link (Dato, 2006, 220). This created a clear gap between the growth of cargo traffic and the workers' standard of living. As a result, labour turnover began to

increase sharply, which also had an impact on the internal work organisation. Nevertheless, by 1970, the Port of Koper had become the second port in Yugoslavia, after Rijeka, in terms of the volume of cargo handled. On March 27, 1970, tensions over the management's demand for higher standards of labour discipline boiled over and crystallised in a strike and a mass rally of workers from the port to the centre of Koper (Rutar, 2015, 278–279).

On March 27, 1970, the Port of Koper workers set off from the port and started marching around Koper. The assembled workers first headed towards the Tomos factory before arriving in the centre of Koper, so they covered the city considerably well with their presence. Their goal was Tito Square, the main square of the city. Miro Kocjan, then the President of Koper Assembly, was summoned with loud shouts to *Pretorska palača* on Tito square, where he tried unsuccessfully to appease the workers. They demanded a personal meeting with Danilo Petrinja, the director of Port of Koper since 1959. After his arrival (he had been called back from sick leave), the workers returned to the port, and twenty workers' representatives negotiated with the management in the company canteen until the evening. Thus the work stoppage ended.

The demands were mainly directed at the distribution of income and other benefits, which the workers considered to be unfairly distributed. It went so far that Petrinja offered his own resignation, which was not accepted by the Workers' Council. The workers, however, successfully demanded a review of the management's performance and a commitment to investigate the possibility of raising the employees' standard of living. The very next day (Saturday March 28) a meeting took place between the management, the city representatives, and the socio-political organisations with Stane Kavčič, then the President of the Executive Council of Slovenia, to discuss the Port of Koper problems. They summed up their dissatisfaction in a request to the decision-makers to "try to correct the ratio between investment and personal income in favour of the latter as soon as possible".²⁶

It is worth noting that on Sunday March 29, a very serious fire occurred in a cotton warehouse in the port. In addition to firefighters from all over the Slovenian Coast, firefighters from Trieste and Ljubljana were also needed to quell the fire. Arson was suspected, and an inquiry was ordered, which found no correlation with the work stoppage.²⁷

26 Primorske novice, 4. 4. 1970: O prekinitvi dela v luki Koper, 11.

27 Primorske novice, 4. 4. 1970: Velik požar v skladišču bombaža. Primorske novice, 11.

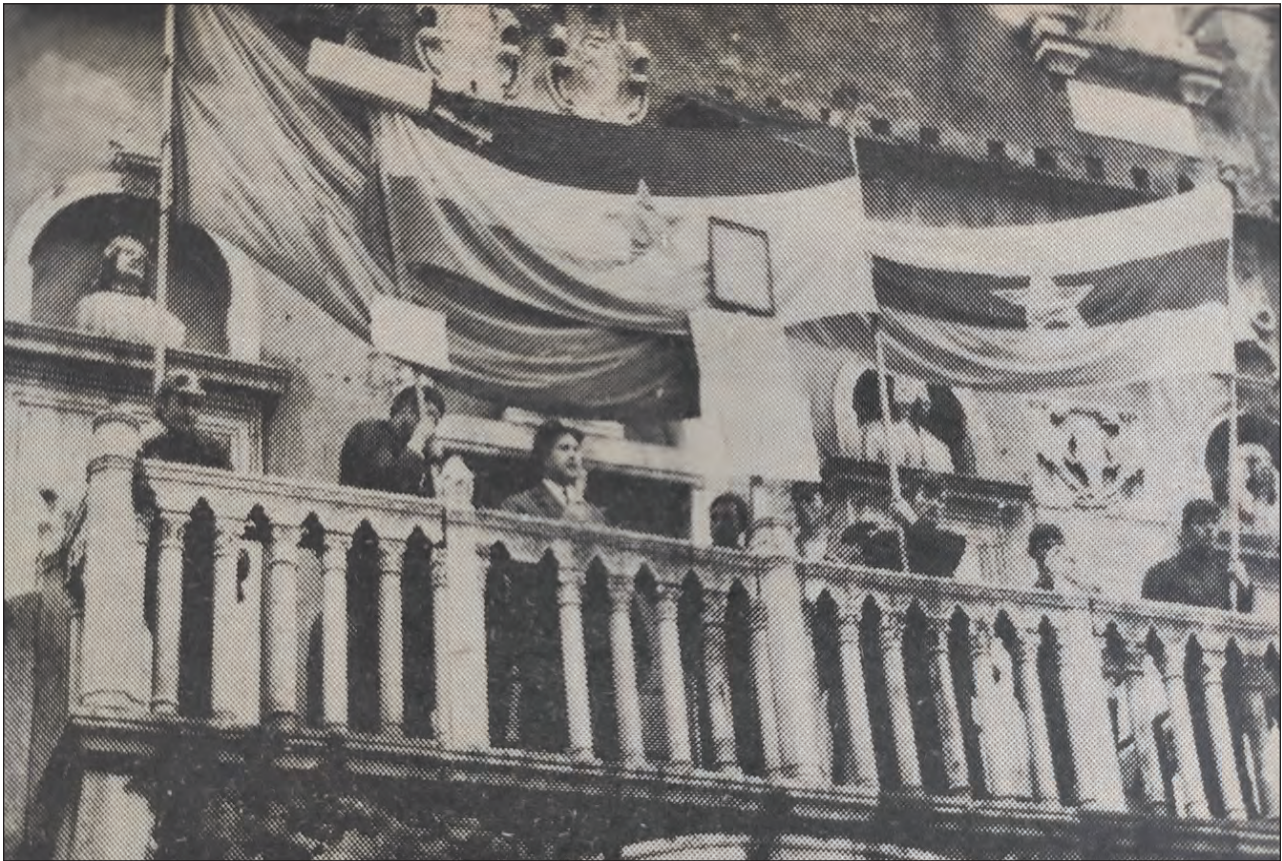


Image 3: Port Workers on the balcony of the Pretorska palača.²⁸

Primorske novice

After their modest account of the Trieste strike, let us look at *Primorske novice's* report on the 'home ground' work stoppage at the Port of Koper. The March 28 edition, the day after the work stoppage, did not yet report on what was happening, so the first (and extensive) report is given in the April 4 edition. In it, the picture of the workers' protest rally on the balcony of *Pretorska palača* in Tito Square, displaying the Yugoslav flag, is at the top of the front page. The workers' march from the port to the city centre is described under the picture as a very peaceful procession in which "[t]he workers of the port of Koper marched [...] to Tito Square and, carrying banners and flags, ascended to the *Pretorska palača* balcony".²⁹ Symbolically, like the student movement representatives of the time, they stood for the values of socialism, which they felt were not present enough, thus demonstrating their allegiance to the state system (Repe, 1992, 60).

However, the events were a nervier affair than the peaceful procession described above.

A more detailed picture of events was described in a longer article in the same issue on page eleven. For a robust description of said events, the reader is referred to the final part of the previous section of the present paper.³⁰

Reporting was then interrupted in the next edition, and a final analysis followed in the April 18 edition. This was a report on the analysis of the situation within the port by a three-member commission of the Coastal Conference Committee of the League of Communists, whose aim was to examine the causes that led to the work stoppage. It was agreed that there was a complex series of causes. Among the structural ones, they pointed to the way in which the port is financed, which is heavily burdened with infrastructure loans, and the problem of high labour turnover. Another major problem was seen to be the unsettled self-management relations within the company itself. The

²⁸ *Primorske novice*, 4. 4. 1970, 1.

²⁹ *Primorske novice*, 4. 4. 1970, 1.

³⁰ *Primorske novice*, 4. 4. 1970: O prekinitvi dela v Luki Koper, 11.



*Image 4: Firefighters in action against the fire at Port of Koper.*³²

responsibility for this situation must have lied with the communists within the company, especially those in higher positions. For it is precisely “[t]he way in which the port collective chose to deal with the accumulated problems [that] shows that self-management relations were not sufficiently developed.”³¹

Through such a conclusion, the overcoming of structural problems is transferred primarily to the collective, which should have been able to improve the situation through a proper regulation of self-management relations. At first sight, such a shifting of responsibility seems to be a matter of capitalist rather than socialist relations, yet such an analysis is in line with Kardelj’s thought that “[i]n our self-governing society, instead of the old relationship of worker-state-social affairs, there must inevitably be

a direct relationship between the workers of production and the workers of social affairs” (Kardelj, 1977, 21).

The fact that politicians presented the workers’ dissatisfaction with the situation at the Port of Koper as an underdevelopment of self-management relations is also in line with the attitude towards workers’ strikes in Yugoslavia in general. As already mentioned, strikes had no place in the political jargon of self-management and were therefore referred to as work stoppages. Although the ideological leaders of self-management accepted a small degree of social conflict as plausible even under socialism, they never really managed to incorporate the phenomenon of workers’ strikes into the system of self-management. Even if strikes were very rare at the Port of Koper, in the Yugoslav context they

31 Primorske novice, 18. 4. 1970: Več skrbi za delovnega človeka, 17.

32 Primorski dnevnik, 31. 3. 1970: Silovit požar v koprskem pristanišču povzročil za milijardo in pol dinarjev škode, 2.

were not a niche phenomenon that could be easily ignored (Hadalín, 2020, 308–309).

Primorski dnevnik

In *Primorski dnevnik*, unlike *Primorske novice*, we can read a report on the events as early as on March 28, the day after the work stoppage. The account is condensed and factual, which is understandable since, as the article notes, the late afternoon discussions between the workers and management had not yet been concluded by the time the edition went into press. It points out the same factors as *Primorske novice* as the reasons for the strike. It, however, puts a different emphasis on the relationship between structural and internal factors of the financial problems, summarising its reflection in the statement: “It is true that not enough attention has been paid to the self-management link between the management and the workers, but the reasons for the port being in the situation it is in must also be found outside the port.”³³ These external factors were located in the inadequate financing structure of the port, which was forced to take out loans to expand.

In the next issue, there was to be a report on the end of the Workers’ Council meeting, which spent seven hours discussing the situation at Port of Koper, a brief summary about achieving slightly better salaries, and adopting decisions aiming to improve working conditions.³⁴ A comprehensive report is given on the large fire in the cotton warehouse on the Sunday after the work stoppage, which is more than *Primorske novice* reported on. There are three possibilities given as the cause of the fire: spontaneous combustion, negligence, and arson. In addition to more technical information about the course of fire suppression, the broader picture of the possible causes is thus outlined. The report concludes with the work of the commission which was examining the fire, and which was keen to reach clear conclusions as soon as possible since “the event itself [...] has greatly upset public opinion in Koper and on the coast”.³⁵

The reporting of *Primorski dnevnik* thus follows the main lines of the reporting found in *Primorske novice*, even if in the end there are some minor differences in opinion pertaining to the Port of Koper work stoppage, and a somewhat more in-depth reflection on the possible causes of the fire outbreak. The key difference in the reporting on the work

stoppage is the criticism of the financing structure of the port. This also includes the criticism of the state funding of the port, which *Primorski dnevnik* perceives as insufficient. In view of the development in Port of Koper up to 1970, it can be argued that *Primorski dnevnik*’s review most closely resembles the complex situation at the port leading up to the work stoppage.

Il Piccolo

Il Piccolo first reported on the work stoppage at the Port of Koper on Sunday March 29 with a short note. Of the newspapers analysed, the situation in the Port of Koper was described in *Il Piccolo* in the most pessimistic terms. The workers’ talks with the local authorities and the top management of the port were described as inconclusive. In line with this statement, there was no indication that the work stoppage on Friday evening had ended. Instead of reporting on the return to work, the articles concentrated on listing the economic consequences that the strike had. In addition, it is claimed that, according to local authorities, the equipment in the port of Koper was inadequate for the increased volume of cargo arriving in the port and that, as a result, several shipowners were already diverting cargo to both Rijeka and Trieste.³⁶

Sunday’s fire at the Port of Koper got more attention in *Il Piccolo* than the work stoppage. A large photo of the firefighting is published on the cover of the first issue following the event.³⁷ Interestingly, it is only in *Il Piccolo*’s reporting that a link was made between the work stoppage and the outbreak of fire. Alongside two pictures of ships waiting to unload outside Port of Koper when the situation returned to normal, we find the statement: “The strike was then suspended due to a serious fire.”³⁸

The longer report on the fire presents the situation that followed the fire as a tense and dramatic crime drama. The port was “surrounded by agents armed with machine guns”, all persons in the area were brought in for questioning, and the police officers maintained “the strictest confidentiality” about the causes of the fire.³⁹ Only halfway into the article does it state that the cause of the fire was probably spontaneous combustion. It was also written that some people thought that the fire was related to the workers’ protest rally. Who these “some people” were is not entirely clear, as the article goes on to

33 *Primorski dnevnik*, 28. 3. 1970: Delavci kopske luke zahtevajo ureditev razmer, 2.

34 *Primorski dnevnik*, 29. 3. 1970: Položaj v koprski luki se je včeraj normaliziral, 8.

35 *Primorski dnevnik*, 31. 3. 1970: Silovit požar v koprskem pristanišču povzročil za milijardo in pol dinarjev škode, 2.

36 *Il Piccolo*, 29. 3. 1970: Sciopero a Capodistria dei lavoratori del porto, 2.

37 *Il Piccolo*, 31. 3. 1970: Incendio nel porto di Capodistria, 1.

38 *Il Piccolo*, 31. 3. 1970: Il primo sciopero portuale a Capodistria, 5.

39 *Il Piccolo*, 31. 3. 1970: Si aggirano intorno al miliardo i danni dell’incendio a Capodistria, Ragusin, 6.

point out that this link was categorically rejected by the Port of Koper management, as well as by a good part of the workers they spoke to. Perhaps some of the workers hinted at the link? Given that they would be the main suspects in this case, it does not seem likely. The investigation into the cause of the fire then concludes with a note that the police is looking into all possible scenarios.⁴⁰

The criticism, which in *Primorski dnevnik* originated from reflecting on the development and financing structure of the Port, was replaced in the case of *Il Piccolo* with an overly negative and speculative description of the situation at Port of Koper. That a right-wing newspaper in Italy should criticise a strike in Yugoslavia is, of course, not surprising. Describing the events as excessively chaotic probably also served to discredit one of the main rivals of the port of Trieste.

PRESS, CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND POLITICS

Beyond the various ideological preferences in reporting both on the strike in Trieste and on the work stoppage at Port of Koper, the fact that the workers' standard of living had been deteriorating on both sides of the border is evident. It is interesting that *Primorske novice* does not use the general strike in Trieste to give more explicit support to Italian workers' organisations and to criticise the capitalist system. The Italian *Il Piccolo* adopts a conservative stance in both its reports, and a parallel can be drawn with *Primorske novice* in that they both emphasise institutionalised dialogue and see the solution to the unrest in the strengthening of such dialogue—naturally from different ideological positions, either emphasising self-management or glorifying the role of the police in maintaining law and order. *Primorski dnevnik* turns out to be the most resolute supporter of the protests and provides a slightly more in-depth reflection of the events. Covering the protests in Trieste, it shows clear photographs of police repression that were not present in *Il Piccolo*, which misrepresented the magnitude and manner of police work. However, on the pages of *Primorski dnevnik* there is noticeable reticence in reporting on the events in Koper, which is understandable from their position since they are a pro-Yugoslav newspaper of the Slovenian minority in Italy. There appears to be a clear restraint present in *Primorske novice* in its coverage of the events in both Trieste and Koper.

These were times of political tensions on both sides of the border. In the summer of 1969, Slovenia as well as Yugoslavia were gripped by the “road affair”, which began to seriously undermine Kavčič's

“liberal” reform plans (Repe, 1992, 48). Italy, on the other hand, had been affected by the so-called *anni di piombo* (years of lead) since 1968, culminating in the 1970s, when political activism took over most of society and turned into years of confrontations, many of them literally explosive (Giannuli, 2008, 7–10). The relations between the two countries at the end of the 1960s were positive, ranging from support for economic integration to the common goal of defending the Adriatic against possible intervention by the Soviet Union after the Prague Spring (Meneguzzi Rostagni, 2011, 216). The last years before the Treaty of Osimo in 1974 brought back the tensions that had been present since the negotiations pertaining the Trieste Question. These tensions, however, became more manageable with the pressure exerted by the international community on Italy, eventually leading to de-escalation and agreement on border placement (Pirjevec, 2015, 389).

Cross-border cooperation also concerned media space. Thus, during the days of the strike in Trieste, we can read of a joint meeting between Italian and Yugoslav journalists in Koper, where the representatives of both delegations advocated mutual cooperation and support in carrying out their own reporting. They also agreed on “[t]he exchange of newsletters and experiences, the exchange of regular information on international activities of the two organisations, and possible joint appearances at international meetings.”⁴¹

CONCLUSION

The analysed newspapers give us a basic insight into the modalities of reporting, and an initial exploration of workers' problems on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The analysis therefore presents itself as a fragment of a hitherto relatively unexplored topic. Beyond the analysis of media discourse, it seems important to delve deeper into labour relations at both ports to better understand the position of the participants in the protests described.

In terms of protest legitimisation outside the institutional dialogue by the selected media in our analysis, two positions emerge. On one hand, *Il Piccolo* and *Primorske novice* saw workers' discontent as a kind of excess that should only be resolved through official agreements; on the other hand, *Primorski dnevnik* tried to present the workers' discontent as a cause in both protests, and was also the most committed to the workers' right to protest.

In addition to supporting the workers' protests, *Primorski dnevnik* has also been the most outspoken proponent of workers' demands, in particular the

40 *Il Piccolo*, 31. 3. 1970: Si aggirano intorno al miliardo i danni dell'incendio a Capodistria, Ragusin, 6.

41 *Primorski dnevnik*, 22. 6. 1968: Sporazum o sodelovanju in medsebojni izmenjavi, 2.

right to work in Trieste by fighting to preserve jobs in the port sector. In its coverage of the events in Koper, it clearly supported the need for increased state support, not only for the development of the port, but also for a suitable standard of living for workers. *Il Piccolo* did not directly address the workers' demands. Concerning the economic future of Trieste, it did clearly show the concern and the need for action by the authorities, but primarily for a clear plan for economic development, not for the demands of the workers. *Primorske novice* did not address the demands of the workers in Trieste, and apart from a rough description of what was happening, it was only critical in its condemnation of police violence. In the case of the work stoppage in Koper, it sought to incorporate the workers' demands into the system of workers' self-management, or rather to claim that the workers are not doing enough to make it work. It did not, however, address the criticism of the system of workers' self-management itself or of the financial

support from the state. Thus, we are presented with a somewhat paradoxical situation, where the only newspaper seeking the reasons for workers' discontent with the situation in the enterprise primarily in the workers themselves is the very newspaper which openly presents itself as socialist.

The links established above show that the division of workers' organising strictly along the lines of Western and Eastern Bloc is not very useful, and that it is necessary to look at developments on both sides of the border in parallel for a more complex and complete picture. As already mentioned, irrespective of the differences in the political system, the problems of workers on both sides of the border appear to be strikingly similar, ranging from the lowering of the general material standard to the decreasing influence in the labour process. In the light of these and other parallels we have mentioned, the boundary between the two blocs, at least in the case we have analysed, becomes rather blurred.

ČASOPISNO POROČANJE IN NEKATERI POLITIČNI DEJAVNIKI V OBMEJNIH SINDIKALNIH BORBAH: PRIMERJAVA SPLOŠNE STAVKE V TRSTU LETA 1968 IN PREKINITVE DELA V LUKI KOPER LETA 1970

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POVZETEK

V drugi polovici šestdesetih let se je v pristaniščih severnega Jadrana razširil močan stavkovni val. Ta val se je najprej pojavil v Trstu, kjer so se na podlagi dolge tradicije delavskega organiziranja sindikalni organizatorji osredotočili na ostro nasprotovanje načrtu CIPE, katerega popolna uresničitev bi pomenila zaprtje ladjedelnice svetega Marka v Trstu. Družbeni nemiri so med večjimi protesti v Trstu v letih 1966, 1968 in 1969 prestopili tudi jugoslovansko mejo s prekinitvami dela v pristanišču na Reki v letih 1969 in 1971 ter prvo množično prekinitvijo dela v Luki Koper marca 1970. Položaj regije ob najbolj odprti meji med Zahodom in Vzhodom sproža vprašanja o medsebojni povezanosti socialnih vprašanj, trenj na delovnem mestu znotraj pristaniške panoge in metodah spoprijemanja z njimi. Za vpogled v poročanje o stavkovnih aktivnostih preko 'železne zaves' je v članku podrobneje predstavljeno novinarsko poročanje o splošni stavki, ki je junija 1968 potekala v Trstu, in o prekinitvi dela v Luki Koper marca 1970. Članek prikazuje način poročanja na obeh straneh meje ter družbeni odmev delavskih zahtev. Nakaže tudi na čezmejna povezovanja, ki so se odvijala v obdobju prikazanih stavk.

Ključne besede: Pristaniški delavci, stavka, severovzhodni Jadran, poročanje v medijih, sindikalni boji

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received: 2022–08–23

DOI 10.19233/ASHS.2022.40

MAPIRANJE IN ANALIZA TEMATSKEGA POLJA ZGODOVINE V ŠTIRIH ZNANSTVENIH REVIJAH MED LETI 2009 IN 2021 S POUČENOM NA POVEZANOSTI Z ANTROPOLOGIJO

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IZVLEČEK

Avtorja se v prispevku osredotočata na vprašanje o integriranosti antropologije v znanstvenem polju slovenske zgodovine v zadnjem desetletju. Prispevek temelji na analizi 1707 znanstvenih in strokovnih prispevkov, ki so bili objavljeni med leti 2009 in 2021 v štirih reprezentativnih znanstvenih revijah s področja zgodovine, in sicer *Studia Historica Slovenica*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, *Acta Histriae* in *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*. Preko analize vsebine obravnavanih prispevkov članek analizira glavna tematska področja, razkrije integriranost tematskega polja zgodovine in obravnava vpetost antropoloških vsebin v širše tematsko področje slovenske zgodovine v analiziranem obdobju.

Ključne besede: zgodovina, antropologija, analiza vsebine, tematsko mapiranje, povezava med antropologijo in zgodovino

MAPPATURA E ANALISI DEI CAMPI TEMATICI DI STORIA IN QUATTRO RIVISTE SCIENTIFICHE NEL PERIODO 2009–2021 CON PARTICOLARE RIFERIMENTO ALL'ANTROPOLOGIA

SINTESI

Gli autori si concentrano su questioni relative all'integrazione dell'antropologia nel campo scientifico della storiografia slovena nell'ultimo decennio. Il contributo si basa sull'analisi di 1707 contributi scientifici e professionali pubblicati tra il 2009 e il 2021 in quattro riviste scientifiche di rilievo nel campo della storia, vale a dire *Studia Historica Slovenica*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, *Acta Histriae* e *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*. Attraverso l'analisi del contenuto dei contributi esaminati, l'articolo analizza le principali aree tematiche, rivela poi l'integrazione del campo tematico della storia e infine analizza l'integrazione dei contenuti antropologici nella più ampia area tematica della storiografia slovena durante il periodo analizzato.

Parole chiave: storia, antropologia, analisi dei contenuti, mappatura tematica, legame tra antropologia e storia

UVOD

Antropologija je še do nedavnega uživala sloves študije oddaljenega, nenavadnega in eksotičnega. V eni od svojih klasičnih koncepcij je bila osnovana na štirih stebrih, in sicer na socialni in kulturni antropologiji, fizični oziroma biološki antropologiji, lingvistični antropologiji in arheologiji (Rabinow, 1984; Morris, 2012). Kljub temu, da je ta koncepcija do določene mere še vedno relevantna in da tudi sloves oddaljenosti, nenavadnosti in eksotičnosti še vedno vztraja, je antropologija danes bistveno bolj kompleksna in integrirana. Za razliko od antropologije nekoč, sodobna antropologija (Goodenough, 2002, 435):

[...] pokriva skoraj vse vidike človeškega obstoja in človeško zgodovino od samih začetkov. Kot dokazuje študija, je bil na številnih področjih dosežen pomemben napredek, ki vključuje interdisciplinarno sodelovanje ne le med pod-področji antropologije, ampak tudi z drugimi znanstvenimi in humanističnimi disciplinami. Verjetno prihaja najpomembnejši prispevek k občemu razumevanju in socialnim politikam prav skozi demonstracijo, da je kulturne razlike potrebno iskati v zgodovini in ekologiji, in ne biologiji.

Primeri dobrega disciplinarnega sintetiziranja, ki vključujejo tudi zgodovino in antropologijo, so številni (prim. Mathur, 2000), med najodmevnejšimi naj omenimo le deli Jareda Diamonda (2003) in Yuvala N. Hararija (2014). Vseeno pa na disciplinarni ravni ostaja vprašanje, kakšen je odnos med zgodovino in antropologijo. Kljub temu, da tako zgodovinarji kot tudi antropologi prepoznavajo pomembnost integracije obeh ved, pa generalnega odgovora na vprašanje povezanosti obeh ved ni. Ena redkih študij, ki se je dejansko osredotočala na odnos med obema vedama, je študija Saloni Mathur z naslovom »History and Anthropology in South Asia: Rethinking the Archive« (2000). Avtorica se je skozi preučevanje odnosa med zgodovino in antropologijo v Južni Aziji v zadnjih dveh desetletjih osredotočala na prispevek obeh ved na oblikovanje intelektualne prakse post-kolonialne antropologije. V svoji študiji je analizirala korpus interdisciplinarnih študij, objavljenih v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, s poudarkom na zgodovinopisju. V svoji analizi je preko identifikacije vzajemno povezanih tem identificirala 5 vzajemno povezanih tem, in sicer (1) *problem* Evrope, (2) interpretacije moči in znanja v kolonialnih arhivih, (3) iskanje indigenih oblik znanja, (4) fenomen nasilja in etničnega konflikta ter (5) specifične teme, vezane na spol in feministično kritiko. Avtorica (Mathur, 2000, 89) poudari,

da »[...] antropologije v Južni Aziji ni več mogoče izvajati, ne da bi se posvetili eni ali več od teh petih tem. Kakršna koli skrb za sodobne transnacionalne ali kulturne konfiguracije v Južni Aziji ali bodočimi post-kolonialnimi nacionalnimi državami, mora biti povezana s kolonialno zgodovino in specifičnimi formacijami modernosti, ki jih je ustvarila«.

Kljub temu, da ima študija številne omejitve, predvsem geografsko in konceptualno zamejenost, pa hkrati predstavlja pomembno metodološko inovacijo. Dokazuje namreč, da se je mogoče s pomočjo izbranih pristopov iz analize vsebine, kot je na primer tematsko mapiranje zgodovinskih besedil, v kombinaciji z antropološko interpretacijo, dokopati do pomembnih sklepov, ki so relevantni tako za antropologijo, kot tudi zgodovino.

Tematsko mapiranje je postopek, ki omogoča identifikacijo in vizualizacijo vsebinskih fokalnih točk v vzorcih besedila, designiranega za analizo. Širše je pristop mogoče umestiti v področje kvalitativne analize vsebine (Drisko & Maschi, 2015), kjer je konceptualno blizu metodi tematske analize (Boyatzis, 1998), predvsem zaradi aplikacije kodiranja kvalitativnih informacij, kar deluje kot most med kvalitativnim in kvantitativnim raziskovanjem. Metoda temelji na analizi ključnih besed, ki služijo kot indikatorji vsebine, pri čemer sta v analizo vključena tudi njihova pozicija v analiziranem besedilu in odnosi med samimi ključnimi besedami, izraženi kot sopojsnost. V kontekstu zgodovine je nekaj primerov študij, ki demonstrirajo uspešnost te metode. Kot primer lahko navedemo študijo Grivel, Mutschke & Polanco (1995), v kateri so avtorji s pomočjo uporabe SDOC pristopa oblikovali tematski in strukturni načrt ključnih besed in tem, vezan na zbirko besedil s področja socialne zgodovine. Med vsemi izsledki raziskave je za pričujočo razpravo najpomembnejši tisti, ki demonstrira, da je zraven tradicionalnega načina analize vsebine mogoče analizirati tudi klusterske odnose in povezave med ekstrahiranimi ključnimi besedami ter temami.

Pričujoči članek temelji na raziskovalnem vprašanju, kakšno je mesto antropologije v polju sodobne slovenske zgodovine. Iz raziskovalnega vprašanja smo izpeljali naslednje raziskovalne cilje:

1. analizirati glavna tematska področja,
2. razkriti integriranost tematskega polja zgodovine in ga obravnavati skozi relevantne metapodatke, in
3. analizirati vpetost antropoloških vsebin v širše tematsko področje slovenske zgodovine.

METODOLOGIJA

Za potrebe pričujoče razprave je bilo analiziranih 1707 znanstvenih, preglednih in strokovnih člankov iz

Tabela 1: Struktura obravnavanega vzorca člankov.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Skupaj
SHS	30	31	35	24	38	29	33	21	43	32	26	26	23	391
ZČ	13	11	12	12	16	15	16	15	15	15	14	14	8	176
AH	39	39	37	42	46	53	41	44	48	52	35	36	42	554
ASHS	32	37	29	47	37	25	67	60	61	56	45	46	44	586
Skupaj	114	118	113	125	137	122	157	140	167	155	120	122	117	1707

revij *Studia Historica Slovenica* (SHS), *Zgodovinski časopis* (ZČ), *Acta Histriae* (AH) in *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* (ASHS), ki so bili objavljeni med leti 2009 in 2021:

Revije so bile izbrane na podlagi kriterijev znanstvene in vsebinske relevantnosti, časovno obdobje pa je bilo definirano ob detekciji časovne točke, na kateri so vse vključene revije začele omogočati dostop do vsebine v univerzalnem in za analizo primernem digitalnem formatu. Vzorec je zajemal 1660 izvirnih znanstvenih člankov, 35 preglednih in 11 strokovnih člankov. Med vsemi obravnavanimi objavami je velika večina enoavtorskih (1397), med prvimi avtorji pa prevladujejo moški (987 avtorjev in 720 avtoric). Večina objav je bila spisanih s strani avtorjev, ki prihajajo iz Slovenije (1164 člankov, 68,2 % vzorca), sledijo pa avtorji iz Italije (9,3 %), Hrvaške (6,8 %), Črne Gore (2,3 %), ZDA (1,6 %), Avstrije 27 (1,6 %) in Srbije (1,4 %). V vzorcu so bile zajete tudi objave avtorjev iz drugih držav, vendar predstavljajo te manj kot odstotek celotnega vzorca in vseh zaradi prostorskih omejitev pričujočega članka posebej ne bomo navajali.

Analitično interpretativni pristop pričujoče razprave temelji na principih analize vsebine. Analiza vsebine je ena od klasičnih metod kvalitativnega raziskovanja, ki s pomočjo uporabe kategorizacijskih predlog omogoča redukcijo in analizo gradiva. Zаметke sodobnega pristopa je mogoče najti že v sredini dvajsetega stoletja (prim. Berelson, 1952) in do danes so bile razvite številne sodobne in specializirane različice (prim. Flick, 2014; Drisko & Maschi, 2016). Sami smo sledili Krippendorfovi konceptiji (2013 v Drisko & Maschi, 2016, 2), ki definira analizo vsebine kot: »raziskovalno tehniko za ustvarjanje reprikabilnih in veljavnih sklepov, vezanih na besedila (ali druge oblike relevantnega materiala) in kontekste njihove uporabe.« Ta konceptija v prvi vrsti omogoča analizo vsebine onkraj manifestne ravni besedila, ima pa tudi druge prednosti. Glede na že navedene cilje pričujoče raziskave je ta pristop najprimernejši tudi zato, ker omogoča analizo širokega nabora tekstualnega

gradiva, visoko stopnjo neodvisnosti od oblike oziroma vira (Bauer, 2000), hkrati s tem pa tudi oblikovanje oziroma adaptacijo kategorizacijskega modela, ki omogoča tematsko analizo večje količine zbranega gradiva (Flick, 2014).

Postopek analize je bil opravljen s pomočjo računalniške opreme MS Excel (za zajemanje in urejanje podatkov), QDA Miner 9 (za obdelavo zajete vsebine in relevantnih metapodatkov), WordStat 8 (za oblikovanje in aplikacijo kategorizacijskega modela, statistične analize vezane na analizo vsebine ter vizualizacije rezultatov) ter SPSS (za dodatne statistične analize).

Postopek analize vsebine je temeljil na naslednjem protokolu:

1. Oblikovanje raziskovalnega vprašanja.
2. Selekcija relevantnega tekstovnega materiala in virov – relevantnost virov je bila ocenjena na podlagi vsebinskega profila revije, pri čemer so bile izbrane revije humanističnega in družboslovnega profila, pri katerih je glavni fokus osredinjen na zgodovinske teme. Časovni interval je bil definiran po kriteriju zagotavljanja čim večje dostopnosti člankov v vseh revijah, kar je po opravljeni inventuri dostopnosti člankov definiralo za obdobje 2009 do 2021.
3. Oblikovanje inicialnega kategorizacijskega modela – inicialni model je bil oblikovan za potrebe zajemanja podatkov in je za potrebe analize definiralo naslednje ključne parametre: naziv revije, leto izdaje, številka izdaje, naslov članka, ime in priimek avtorja/avtorjev, spol, afiliacija avtorja, habilitacija oziroma področje specializacije avtorja, država afiliacije avtorja, izvorna klasifikacija članka (izvirni znanstveni članek, pregledni znanstveni članek, strokovni članek), ključne besede (v slovenščini in angleščini), povzetek (v slovenščini in angleščini) in celotna vsebina članka.
4. Segmentacija zbranih podatkov – na podlagi inicialnega kategorizacijskega modela je bil vsak

Tabela 2: Kategorizacijski model.

Tematsko področja	Ključne besede
VOJNE	Vojna, vojne, državljanska vojna, konec vojne, velika vojna, II, obdobje med vojnama, osvoboditev, mobilizacija, mobilizirajte, mobilizirani, mobilizacija, mobilizacije, mir, (iz)gradnja miru, mirno, mirovniki, mirni čas, (vojni) ujetniki, vojni čas, orožje, orožja, svetovna vojna, prva svetovna vojna, druga svetovna vojna
NACIONALNA IDENTITETA	Kulturna (identiteta), zgodovinska (identiteta), zgodovina (identitete), nacionalna (identiteta), nacionalna identiteta, (nacionalna) osvoboditev, (nacionalna) preteklosti, nacija, slovensko nacionalno, slovenska nacija, slovenski nacionalni (o)
KULturna DEDIŠČINA	Arhitekturna dediščina, kulturna dediščina, kulturna krajina, (kulturni) razvoj, (kulturna) dediščina, lokalno, lokalna populacija, raziskave prostorske pokrajine, prostorski razvoj, prostorsko načrtovanje, turizem, turistično
AVSTRO-OGRSKA	Avstrijska avtoriteta, Avstrijsko cesarstvo, Avstro-Ogrska, Avstro-Ogrsko cesarstvo, Avstro-Ogrska monarhija, Habsburška (o) monarhija, madžarski imperij, madžarska vojska, madžarske čete, madžarsko cesarstvo
VOJSKA IN VOJAŠKE ENOTE	Militant (no, ni), militantnost, militanti, vojaško, militarizem, militaristično, militarizacija, vojaška, vojaška avtoriteta, vojaške operacije, vojaška služba, vojaške enote, milica €, oficirji, partizani, partizanske enote, Rdeča armada, slovenska vojska, vojaki, teritorialna obramba, JNA, JLA, jugoslovanska (ljudska) armada ...
EVROPSKE DRŽAVE	Evropa (vzhodna, zahodna, južna, severna), evropsko, srednje evropsko, (centralno) evropske (države), (evropska) diplomacija, diplomatski odnosi, evropski, Evropska unija, zunanja politika, mednarodni odnosi, politika ...
LOKALNE TEME	(lokalna) skupnost, (lokalni) svet, župan, Maribor, Ljubljana, mestni svet, nacionalno združenje, provincialni (o), županske volitve ...
POLITIKA IN STRANKE	komunistična partija, komunistična partija Jugoslavije, demokracija, demokrat, volitve, volilni, nacionalna stranka, komunistična (e, i), volitve, volilni, (politično) ideološka, nacionalna stranka, stranka, komunistična (stranka), ljudska stranka, politična (o, i), političnogeografsko (i), politično motivirani, politični subjekt, politični razvoj, politične spremembe, politična participacija, stranke, politična stranka, politična moč, (v) političnem smislu, politik (i), politizacija, politizacija, politika, politično, slovensko politično, slovenska politika, socialistično, social demokrati, jugoslovanski (politični), jugoslovenska demokratska stranka, jugoslovansko politično ...
PRAVO IN ZAKONODAJA	Pravo, pravice, otrokove pravice, zločini, kazni, kriminalci, kriminalizacija, kriminalnost, kriminalizacija, kriminaliziranje, kazenskega pravosodja, kazensko pravo, kriminologija, človekove pravice, zakon (i), tožilec (e), odvetnik, pravniki, pravni, legaliziran, zakonitost, legalizacija, legalizirajte, legaliziran, legalizacija, pravno, zakonodajno, zakonodaja, zakonodajno, zakonodajalec, zakonodajalci, preganjanje, pravice, rimsko pravo ...
BIOGRAFSKE TEME	Anton Bonaventura Jeglič, Anton Korošec, Anton Martin Slomšek, Jože Plečnik, avtobiografija, (ljubljski) škof, Branka Jurca, Franc Kovačič, Franz Jožef, Gregor Žerjav, Ivan Cankar, Ivan Hribar, Ivan Tavčar, Ivan Šusteršič, Janez Pavel, Janez Krstnik, Jožef II., Josip Broz Tito, Jožef Ajlec, kralj Aleksander, Mitrov Ljubiša, Rudolf Maister, Sv Krištof ...
VARNOST IN OBVEŠČANJE	obveščevalna služba, obveščevalne službe, britanska obveščevalna služba, ameriška obveščevalna služba, nacionalni arhiv(i), politična policija, tajna policija, (nacionalna) varnost, varnost, varnostna administracija, varnostna služba, tajna policija, posebne operacije ...
BENEŠKA REPUBLIKA	Benetke, beneška (o, i, e), beneška republika, benečanka, ostanki (beneške republike), Istra, Koper, Piran ...
KRALJEVINA ITALIJA	Kraljevina Italija, (italijanski) Jadran, (italijanska) jadranska obala, Trst, fašist(i), fašistični režim, italijansko nacionalno, beneška regija ...
ŠOLSTVO IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE	Didaktično (i, a, e), didaktike (a), izobraževalni, izobraževanje, izobraževalne institucije, šola, izobraževalni sistem, gimnazija, osnovna šola, srednja šola, učbeniki, pismenost, literalizacija, literarizacija, pedagoški, pedagogi, pedagogika, učenjak, učitelj, učenost, štipendija (e), šolstvo, šolar (ji), učbenik (i)
MESTO IN URBANIZEM	Arhitekt (i), arhitektura, arhitekturne tave (e), mesto, mestno (a), mestna uprava, mestna občina, gradnja, zgrajeno, razvoj mesta, župan, urbanizacija, urbaniziran, urbanizem, urbanistično, urbanost, urbaniziran, urbani (dizajn, prostor), prostorski razvoj ...
KRALJEVINA SHS	Hrvati, Srbi, Slovenci, Kraljevina (SHS), Kraljevina Jugoslavija ...
JEZIK IN LITERATURA	Jezik, dvojezično, dvojezičnost, narečje, tuj jezik, lurilingvistično, jezika, jezikovni, literarna, literarni jezik, literarna besedila, pismeni, literatura, slovenski jezik, sociolingvistika (čna), besedila, pisno...
CERKEV IN RELIGIJA	vera, vernik (i), nadškof, škof, duhovnik (i), katoliška cerkev, cekveni mecen (i), cerkev, cerkve, cerkovniki, cerkev svetega, fara, romanje romar, romarji, politični katolicizem, molitev, moliti, molitvenik, religija, religije, religioznost, verski, religioznost, slovenka katoliška, spiritualnost, duhovnost, duhovno, teologija, teolog (i), teološki, katoliška cerkev, duhovno...
ANTROPOLOGIJA	akulturacija, prednik, predniki, predniško, predništvo (ancestral), anekdotično (st), anekdote, antropocentrično, antropocentrizem, antropogeno, antropogenično, antropološko, antropolog, antropologi, antropologija, antropomorfnost, antropopresija, arheobotanično, arheobotanika, arheologi, arheologija, arheolog, umetnina (artwork), umetnost (artworks), asimilirati, asimilirano, asimilacija, asimilirajoči, asimilacijsko, aksiomatično, ksionatično, kanibalizem, kanibali, kolonialno, kolonializacija, kolonializem, kolonialist, kolonije, kolonizacija, kolonizacijskost, kolonizacije, kolonizirano, kolonizirani, kulturno, kultura, kulturno, kulturemi, kulture, kulturološko, dialekt, dialektično (dialectic), dialektično (dialectal), dialekti, dialektološko, dialektikolog, dialektikologi, dialektikologija, dialekti, dialekti (dialects), utelešeno, epistemično, epistemično (epistemically), epistemološko, epistemološko (epistemologically), epistemologija, etnično, etnično (ethnically), entičnost, etno, etnoantropologi, etnobotanično, etnobotanika, entocentrično, etnokultura, etnografsko, etnografija, etnolingvistično, etnolingvistika, etnološko, etnologi, etnologija, etnomuzikološko, evropeizacija, zgodba (fabula), zgodbe (fabule), femilnost, feminizem, feministično, feministi (ke), terensko delo (fieldwork), ljudstvo (folk), folklor, folklori, folkloristi, folklorne, folklori, hrana (foods), hrana (foodstuffs), Foucault, genetolingvistično, habitus, hermenevitično, hermenevitično (hermeneutical), hermenevitično, idiom, idiomatsko, idiomatizacija, idiomatizacija (idiomatizing), idiomi, italianizacija, italinizirajoče, kultura, kulturna zneza (kulturbund), kulturni boj, kulturna, kulturni, jezik (lingua), lingvist, lingvistično, lingvistično (linguistically), lingvistično (linguisticly), lingvistika, lingvisti, lingvokulturologija, muzikologija, muzikološko, mitično, mitično (mythical), mitizirajoče, mitološko, mitologizirano, mitologija, miti, pravljice (maerchen), sošeska, palatalizacija, palatalizirano, patriarh, patriarhično, patriarhalnost, patriarhat, patriarhično, fonem, fonemično, fonetično, fonetično (phonetical), fonetika, fonološko, fonologija, frazeološko, frazeologizem, frazeolog, fraze, fraziranje, poetično (poetic), poetično (poetical), poetično (poetically), poetika, rasizem, rasist, obredi, ritual, ritualistično, rituali, žrtveno, semantično, semantično (semantically), semantika, semiotično, semiotika, socializirano, socializacija, socialne, družba (societa), družbeno (societal), sociokulturno, socioekonomsko, družbeni spol, socio (-loško, -kulturno), socio (-loško, -kulturno), sociologi, sociopolitično, simbolizem, sinhrono, sinhronizacija, vokalizacija, tradicije

članek diseciran¹ po predvidenih segmentih v skupno tabelo.

5. Evalvacija zbranih podatkov in inicialnega kategorizacijskega modela – ko so bili podatki zbrani, je bil opravljen njihov konceptualni (evalvacija zbranih podatkov z vidika raziskovalnega vprašanja) in vsebinski pregled (pregled tipkarskih napak in vsebinskih nepopolnosti), opravljena pa je bila tudi evalvacija inicialnega modela.
6. Analiza zbranih podatkov z oblikovanjem analitičnega kategorizacijskega modela oziroma *slovarja* – analitični kategorizacijski model temelji na indeksih sopojavnosti področno specifičnih besed, ekstrahiranih iz ključnih besed (*key words*) in daljših povzetkov (*summary*) ter je zajemal naslednje korake:
 - a. pregled frekvenčne distribucije vseh relevantnih besed,
 - b. pregled frekvenčne distribucije fraz, ki vključujejo 2 do 5 besed in imajo v besedilu minimalno frekvenco pojavnosti 3,
 - c. pregled frekvenčne distribucije glavnih tem.

Področno specifične besede, fraze in teme so bile uporabljene za izgradnjo analitičnega kategorizacijskega modela² (priloga: Tabela 2), ki je v obravnavani vsebini omogočal lociranje glavnih tem in njihovih gradnikov, ter mapiranje disciplinarnega polja skozi analizo njihovih povezav (*link analysis*). Analitični kategorizacijski model je v svoji zadnji različici vseboval 471 disciplinarno specifičnih besed, ki so bile uporabljene za disciplinarno mapiranje. Za potrebe analize prisotnosti antropologije v polju zgodovine pa je bil oblikovan kategorizacijski model, ki je vključeval ključne besede, ki jih je mogoče locirati v polje antropologije (priloga: Tabela 2, segment obarvan sivo). Oblikovanje tega kategorizacijskega modela temelji na klasični konceptiji antropologije, ki vključuje socialno in kulturno antropologijo, fizično antropologijo, lingvistično antropologijo in arheologijo (prim. Rabinow, 1984; Morris, 2012). Iz analiziranega besedila je bilo ekstrahiranih 188 ključnih besed, ki jih je bilo mogoče vključiti v model na podlagi te konceptije.

ANALIZA TEMATSKEGA POLJA SLOVENSKE ZGODOVINE V OBJAVAH MED LETI 2009 IN 2021

Mapiranje tematskega polja temelji v pričujoči analizi na dveh ključnih korakih. Prvi korak je usmerjen v detekcijo tem, ki jih je mogoče ekstrahirati iz objav v obravnavanem obdobju. Detekcija tem omogoča vpogled v kategorizirano vsebino, zraven tega pa zagotavlja tudi odgovore na vprašanja o njihovi dominantnosti v samem polju in preferiranosti med avtorji. Drugi del analize je usmerjen v odkrivanje odnosov, povezanosti in prekrivanja tem. Ta korak omogoča v prvi vrsti detekcijo strukturiranosti polja slovenske zgodovine, kar predstavlja empirično podlago za sklepe o integriranosti tematskih področij v obravnavanem polju. Pričujoča analiza temelji na kategorizacijskem modelu (glej Tabela 2), upoštevajoč faktorje sopojavnosti ključnih besed:

Grafikon 1 prikazuje frekvenčno distribucijo ekstrahiranih tem (stolpiči levo) in njihovo povezovanje v aglomeracijsko strukturo (povezave desno). Glede frekvenčne distribucije je iz grafa razvidno, da je teme mogoče razdeliti na tri skupine:

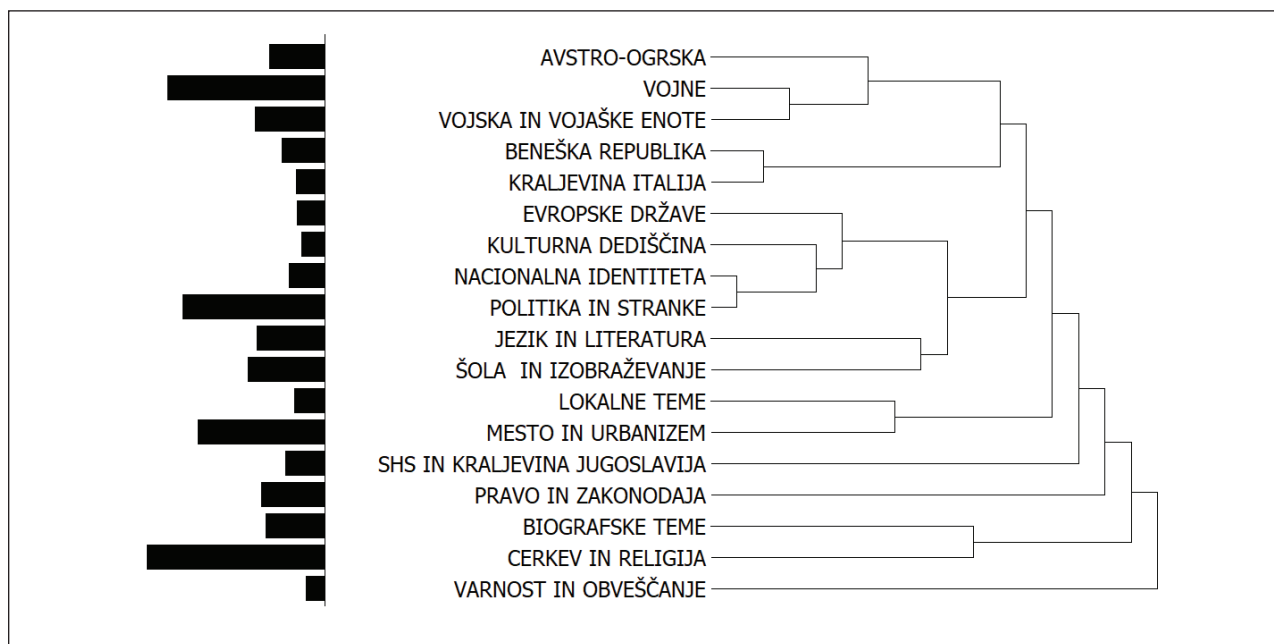
1. najmočnejše so zastopane teme, ki so vezane na *Vojno, Politiko in politične stranke, Mesto in urbanizem*, ter teme, vezane na *Cerkev in religijo*;
2. številčno nekoliko manj prisotne so teme, vezane na *Avstro-Ogrsko, Vojsko in vojaške enote, Šolo in izobraževanje, Jezik in literaturo, Pravo in zakonodajo, Beneško republiko*, in *Biografske teme*,
3. frekvenčno najšibkejšje teme, ki so vezane na *Kraljevino Italijo, Evropske države, Kulturno dediščino, Nacionalno identiteto, Varnost in obveščanje* ter *Lokalne teme*.

Aglomeracijski red (glej Grafikon 1, povezave desno) kaže, da temelji struktura tematskega polja zgodovine na štirih temah, ki so hkrati frekvenčno najmočnejše. Teme *Vojna, Politika in stranke, Mesto in urbanizem* ter *Cerkev in religija*, je torej zraven največjih tem, mogoče razumeti kot tematska središča, na katera se druge teme vsebinsko navezujejo. Klasterska analiza³ tem

1 Disekcija je vključevala segmentiranje strukturnih delov celotnih besedil v ločene razdelke posebno oblikovane tabele (npr. razdelek, ki v besedilu vključuje ključne besede avtorja, je bil premeščen v ločen razdelek Ključne besede, razdelek Povzetek je bil iz celotnega besedila premeščen v ločen razdelek Povzetek in tako naprej). Disekcija predstavlja pri analizi vsebine večjega obsega gradiva enega od nujnih korakov, saj omogoča jasnejšo, bolj fokusirano in hitrejšo analizo.

2 Kategorizacijski model (tudi kategorizacijski slovar oziroma slovar) je model, ki vključuje besede, besedne zveze in fraze, ekstrahirane iz tekstovnega materiala in so v odnosu do vsebine materiala razumljene kot ključne besede. Te ključne besede so kategorizirane bodisi v skladu s teoretsko podlago, cilji raziskave ali v skladu z drugimi relevantnimi ključi (npr. faktorji sopojavnosti). Takšen kategorizacijski model omogoča (1) redukcijo zbranega materiala, (2) kvantifikacijo kvalitativnega gradiva in (3) statistično analizo.

3 Klasterska analiza je proces združevanja elementov v skupine oziroma klastre, pri čemer izkazujejo člani skupine drugo do drugega višjo stopnjo podobnosti, ter posledično nižjo, če jih primerjamo s člani drugih klastrov. Klasterska analiza je v pričujoči razpravi temeljila na faktorjih sopojavnosti tem, kar pomeni, da so teme, ki se v obravnavanih gradivih pojavljajo skupaj, razumljene kot vsebinsko tesneje povezane, ta povezanost pa predstavlja osnovo za njihovo članstvo v klastru. Osnova tako za izvedbo klasterske analize, kot tudi izračuna faktorjev sopojavnosti, je distančna matrika oziroma analiza razdalje med vsebinskimi elementi (ključnimi besedami in temami), ki so predmet klastriranja.



Grafikon 1: Tematska struktura polja zgodovine v obravnavanih objavah med letoma 2009 in 2021.

je pokazala, da obstajajo v obravnavanem polju štirje vsebinski klastri (glej Grafikon 1 in 2), in sicer:

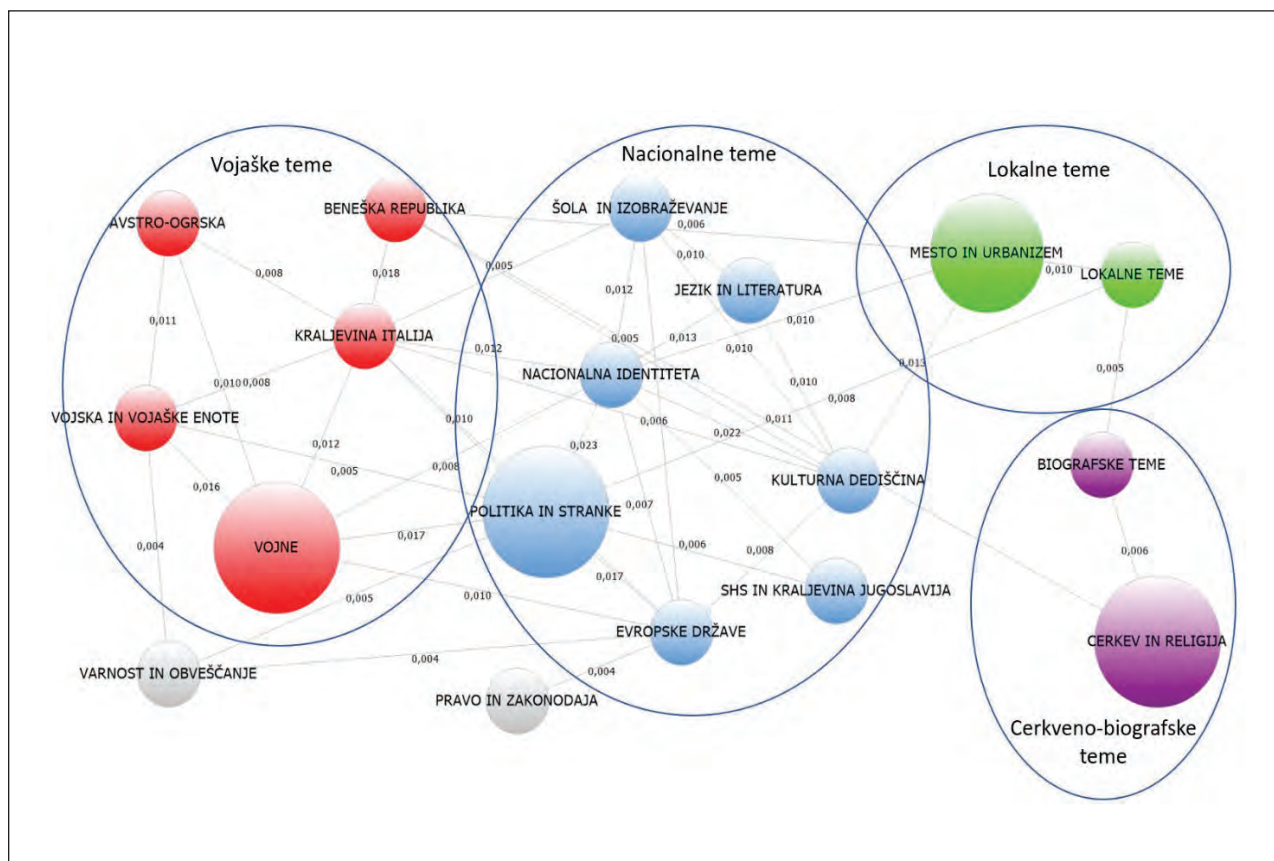
1. *Klaster nacionalnih tem*, ki je osrediščen okoli jedra v temah s področja *Politike in strank*, nanj se navezujejo teme s področja *Nacionalne identitete*, *Kulturne dediščine* in *Evropskih držav*, ter teme s področja *Jezika in literature* ter *Šole in izobraževanja*;
2. *Klaster vojaških tem*, ki je osrediščen okoli jedra v temah s področja *Vojn*, nanj se navezujejo teme s področja *Vojske in vojaških enot* ter teme s področja *Avstro-Ogrske*, in teme s področja *Kraljevine Italije* ter *Beneške republike*;
3. *Klaster lokalnih tem*, osrediščen na temah s področja *Mesta in urbanizacije* ter drugih *Lokalnih temah*; in
4. *Klaster cerkveno-biografskih tem*, ki je osrediščen na temah s področja *Cerkve in religije*, na katere se navezujejo *Biografske teme*.

V klasterški analizi se pojavljata tudi dva osamelca, in sicer teme s področja *Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev* in *kraljevine Jugoslavije*, ter teme s področja *Varnosti in obveščanja*. Kljub temu, da ti dve skupini izkazujeta ustrezno frekvenčno zastopanje v tematskem polju, pa besede v kategorizacijskem modelu izkazujejo izjemno nizke faktorje sopojavnosti z drugimi tematskimi področji, kar pomeni, da teh dveh tematskih sklopov ni bilo mogoče ustrezno klastirirati, in da v tematskem polju obstajata relativno izolirano.

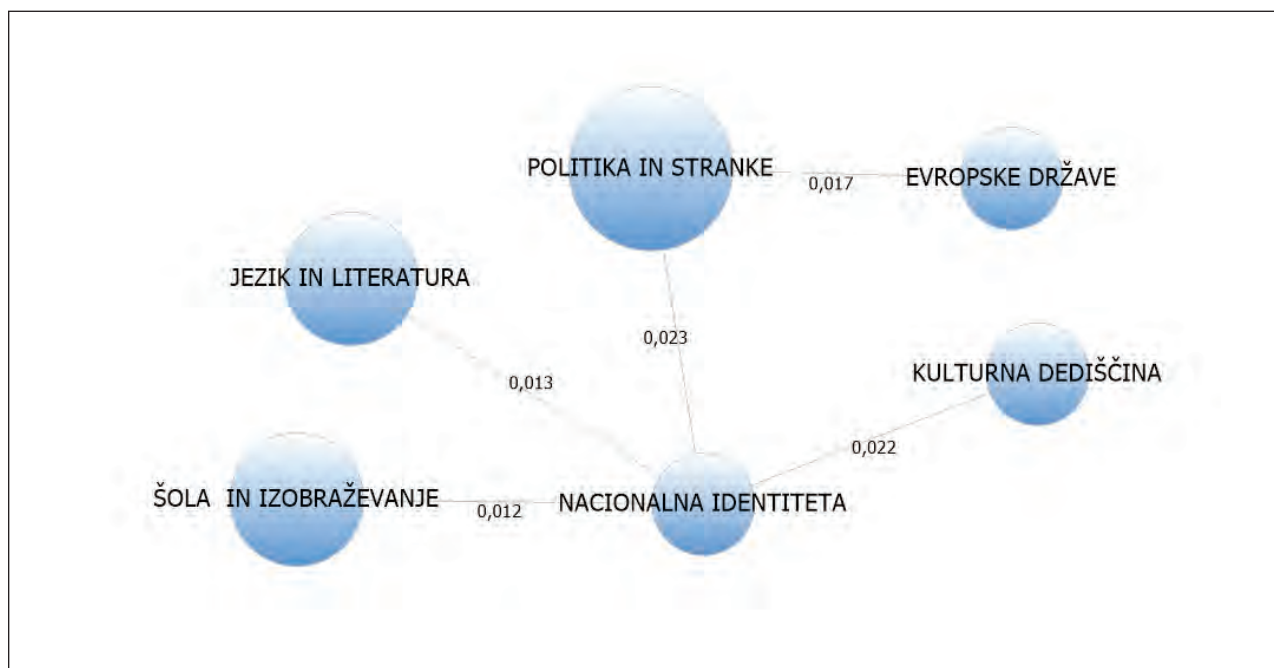
Za potrebe analize integriranosti polja, smo za vsakega od tematskih sklopov opravili podrobnejšo analizo povezav med temami (*link analysis*). Analiza temelji na indeksih sopojavnosti (*co-occurrence index*) in podobnosti (*similarity index*), ki izražajo tesnost povezave med dvema temama (popolna povezava izražena s številko 1, popolna odsotnost povezave z 0). Kot prvo smo analizirali skupino *Nacionalnih tem* (glej Grafikon 3). Analiza je pokazala, da v frekvenčnem smislu najštevilčnejšo skupino predstavljajo teme s področja *Politike in strank*, vendar pa te teme niso centralne v strukturnem smislu. Glede na to, da praktično vse teme, z izjemo *Evropskih držav*, izkazujejo povezave s temami *Nacionalne identitete*, lahko te teme razumemo kot strukturno središče tega sklopa.

Tudi podrobnejša vsebinska analiza potrjuje to ugotovitev. V besedilih, kjer se pojavljajo teme, vezane na nacionalno identiteto, so te izjemno pogosto vezane na bodisi politiko, jezik, literaturo, izobraževanje ali kulturno dediščino. Ilustracijo povezanosti nacionalnih tem z omenjenimi najdemo na primer pri Grandi (2017), Perovšku (2019a; 2019b) in Darovcu (2021). Teme, vezane na Evropske države, predstavljajo sicer pomemben del tega tematskega sklopa, vendar so znotraj tega klastra v periferni poziciji, saj je njihovo mesto v skupini zagotovljeno zgolj preko tem, vezanih na politiko.

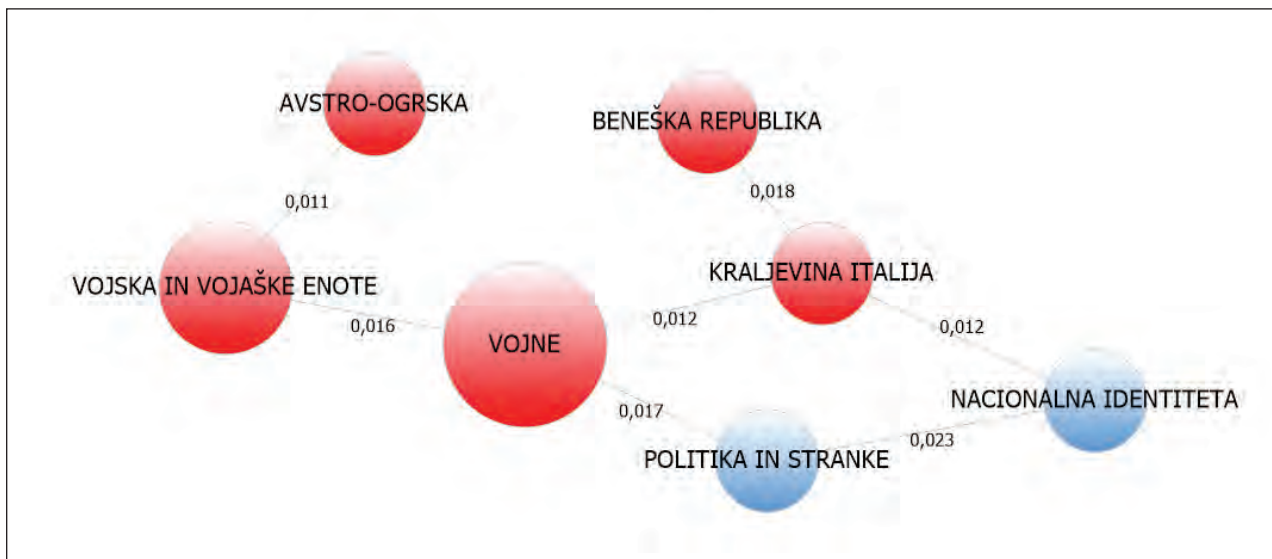
Druga skupina, ki smo jo analizirali, je skupina *Vojaških tem*. Teme, vezane na *Vojne*, predstavljajo frekvenčno in strukturno tematsko jedro, na katerega se navezujejo dve tematski veji (glej Grafikon 4). Prva vključuje teme s področja *Vojske in vojaških enot*, te pa se povezujejo s temami, vezanimi na teme, vezane na



Grafikon 2: Struktura tematskega polja zgodovine med leti 2009 in 2021.



Grafikon 3: Načrt tematskega klastra Nacionalne teme.



Grafikon 4: Načrt tematskega klastra Vojaške teme.

Avstro-Ogrsko. Ilustracijo povezovanja takšnih tem najdemo na primer pri Miru Hribniku (2009), Jožici Čeh Steger (2015) in Blažu Torkarju (2019). Iz obravnavane vsebine izhaja tudi druga veja omenjenega tematskega sklopa. Ta v prvem redu vključuje teme, vezane na italijanski socio-kulturni in zgodovinski prostor.

Na tej točki je potrebno izpostaviti tudi, da se ta sklop relativno tesno povezuje s tematskim sklopom *Nacionalne teme* (v grafikonu obarvano modro). Stičišči sta dve. Teme, vezane na *Vojne*, izkazujejo relativno visoko sopojavnost s temami *Politika in stranke*, medtem ko teme *Kraljevina Italija* izkazujejo relativno visoko sopojavnost s temami *Nacionalna identiteta* – (1) tesna povezava, (2) različna klastriacija in (3) več stičnih točk kaže na to, da sta tematski skupini *Vojaške teme* in *Nacionalne teme* relativno dobro integrirani.

Analiza klastera *Lokalne teme* je pokazala dva pomembna rezultata (glej Grafikon 5). Kot prvo iz grafikona izhaja, da je sklop osrediščen na temah, vezanih na *Mesto in urbanizem*, na katere se navezujejo *Lokalne teme*. Primere, ki ilustrirajo takšno povezavo, najdemo v objavah, ki se osredotočajo na mesto kot specifično socialno, politično in ekonomsko formacijo (tak primer predstavlja Perovšek, 2014), pa tudi v tistih, ki obravnavajo vsakodnevno življenje v mestu, kot na primer Studen (2010). Potrebno je poudariti tudi, da ta tematski sklop ne vključuje zgolj objav, ki na izrazito zgodovinski način pristopajo k obravnavi teme. Številne od teh namreč z drugimi disciplinarnimi optikami in pristopi pristopajo k vsebini, ter na ta način zagotovijo interdisciplinarno in tematsko pestrost polju zgodovine. Primere, ki lahko služijo za ilustracijo te ugotovitve, najdemo pri Bugariču (2009) in Jutraž & Zupančič (2015). Ob koncu je potrebno poudariti tudi, da se ta klaster relativno tesno nave-

zuje na sklop *Nacionalnih tem*. Jedro sklopa *Mesto in urbanizem* je namreč relativno tesno povezano tako s *Kulturno dediščino*, kot tudi z *Nacionalno identiteto*, kar zraven povezanosti obeh sklopov, nakazuje tudi na to, da *Nacionalna identiteta* predstavlja strukturno jedro analiziranih objav.

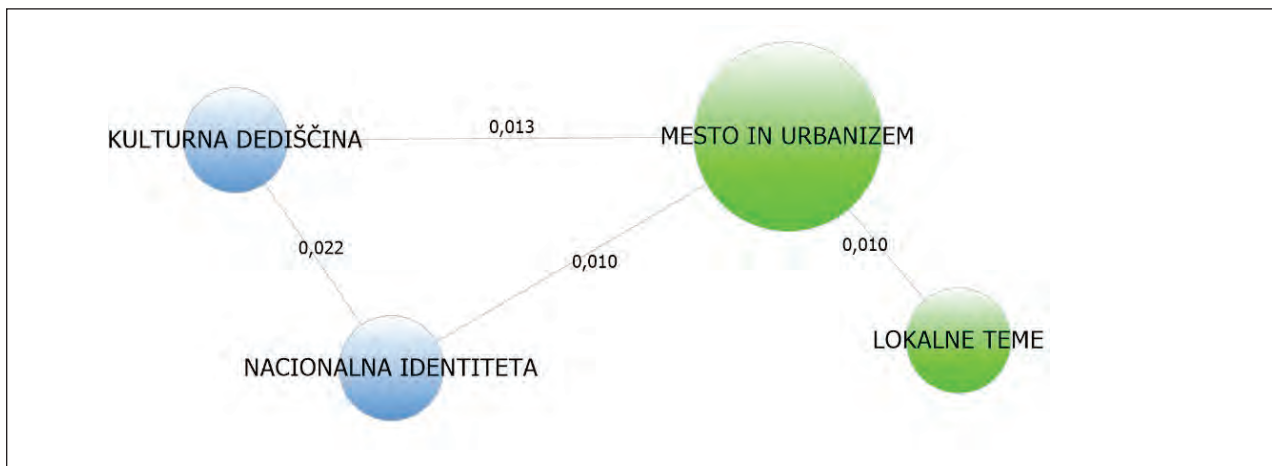
Zadnja skupina tem, ki smo jih analizirali, je skupina *Cerkveno-biografskih tem*. Ta je osrediščena na teme s področja *Cerkve in religije*, na katere se navezujejo *Biografske teme*. Ilustracije najdemo na primer v objavah Čoralič (2011), Griesser-Pečar (2013) in Matan (2013), je pa potrebno poudariti, da je povezava nekoliko šibka. Je pa na drugi strani nekoliko močnejša povezava s sklopom *Vojaških tem*, in sicer preko skupine tem, vezanih na *Beneško republiko*. Primer, ki ilustrira to povezavo, predstavlja Košak (2016).

ANALIZA TEMATSKEGA POLJA SKOZI METAPODATKE OBJAV

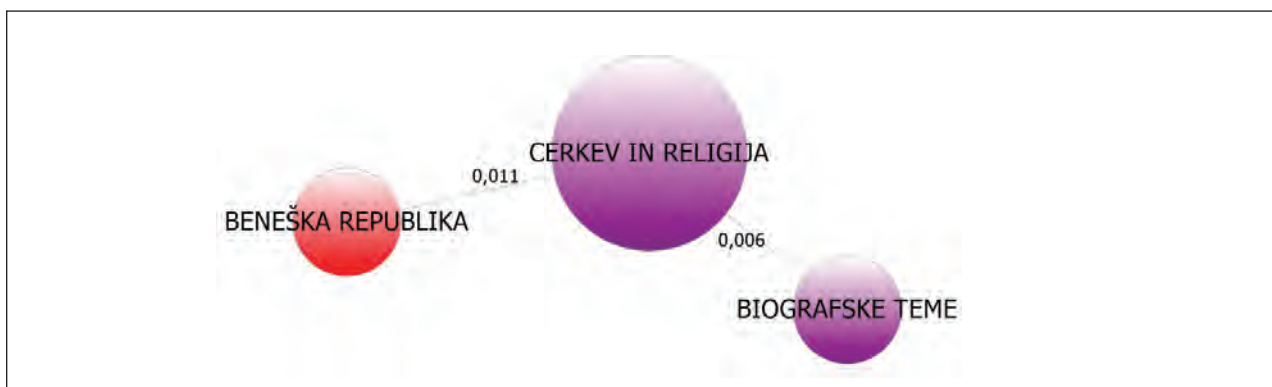
Drugi del pričujočega članka je namenjen analizi tem, skozi metapodatke objav, iz katerih so bile teme ekstrahirane. Ta analiza je sestavljena iz treh korakov:

- prvi se osredotoča na oblikovanje ocene longitudinalne stabilnosti tematske strukture polja,
- drugi na analizo tematskih preferenc glede na spol in habilitacijsko oziroma ekspertizno umeštevitev avtorjev objav, in
- tretji na znanstveni domet ekstrahiranih tem.

Da bi ocenili longitudinalno stabilnost tematske strukture polja, smo opravili analizo prisotnosti jedrnih tem v obdobju od leta 2009 do leta 2021 (glej Grafikon 7). Analizo smo zaradi omejitev pričujočega članka in za zagotavljanje preglednosti omejili na jedrne



Grafikon 5: Načrt tematskega klastra Lokalne teme.



Grafikon 6: Načrt tematskega klastra Cerkvene teme.

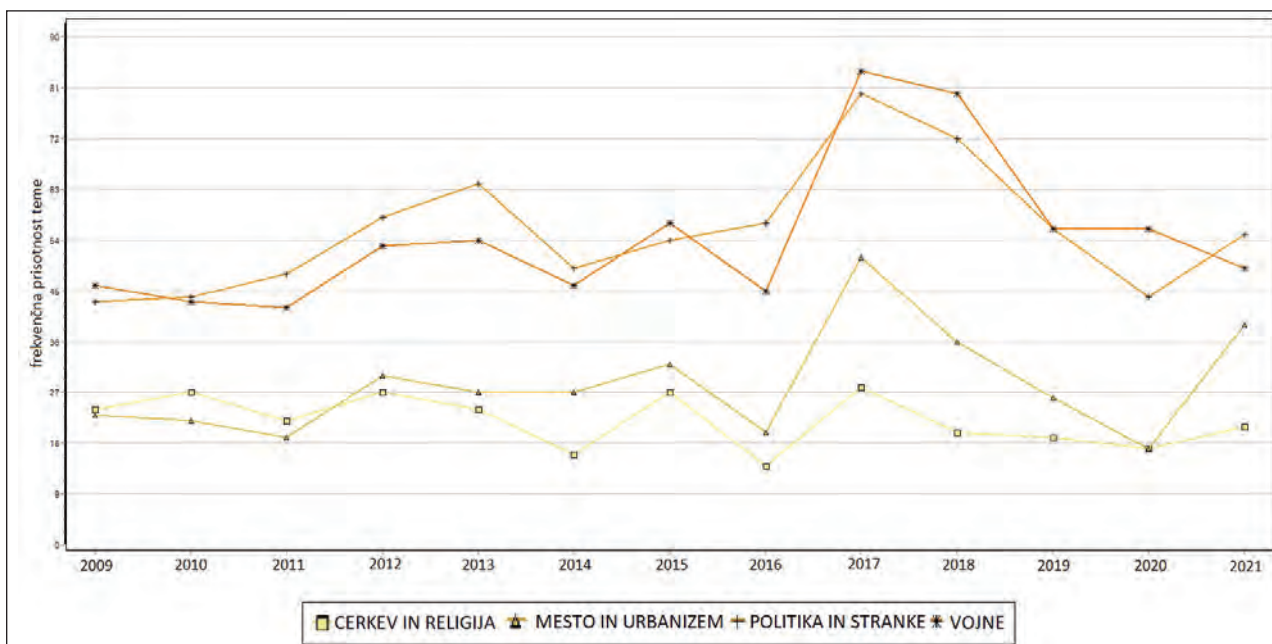
teme, seveda ob sprejeti predpostavki, da stabilnost jedrnih tem predstavlja stabilnost tematskih klastrov in posledično tudi stabilnost celotnega tematskega polja. Analiza je pokazala, da so jedrne teme prisotne relativno stabilno in kontinuirano skozi celotno obravnavano obdobje. Vsako od tematskih jeder ima sicer svojo dinamiko, vendar je pomembno prepoznati, da razmerja med temami ostajajo relativno stabilna. V grafikonu nekoliko odstopa leto 2017, ko se generalno dvigne frekventnost vseh tem. Kljub poglobljeni analizi številnih potencialnih dejavnikov (npr. morebitni jubileji, tematske številke in podobno), ki bi lahko razložili generalni porast tem leta 2017, nam ni uspelo odkriti njihovega skupnega imenovalca.

Zbrani metapodatki objav so omogočili tudi, da opravimo analizo tem, glede na (1) spol avtorjev, njihovo (2) habilitacijsko področje in (3) ARRS klasifikacijo. Glede na spol avtorja oziroma prvega avtorja podatki kažejo, da je razmerje med moškimi in ženskami približno 2 : 1

in da je celotno tematsko polje relativno močno maskulinizirano⁴ (0,62). Med najbolj maskuliniziranimi temami izstopajo teme, vezane na *Avstro-Ogrsko* (0,73), *Kraljevino SHS in Jugoslavijo* (0,70) in *Biografske teme*, medtem ko med najbolj feminiziranimi temami izstopajo *Jezik in literatura*, *Kulturna dediščina* ter *Šola in izobraževanje*. Tudi multipla korespondenčna analiza (glej Grafikon 7) je potrdila, da med avtoricami prevladujejo teme, vezane na jezik, kulturno dediščino in šolo ter izobraževanje, medtem ko avtorji preferirajo biografske teme, in teme vezane na kraljevino SHS, kraljevino Jugoslavijo ter Avstro-Ogrsko:

Zaradi velikosti vzorca avtorjev in izjemne fragmentiranosti njihovih habilitacijskih področij je bilo nemogoče oblikovati pregledni grafikon, ki bi jasno prikazal njihovo znanstveno raziskovalno ozadje, izraženo v habilitacijskem področju. Med vsemi avtorji je bilo največ takšnih s habilitacijo s področja zgodovinopisja (788), sledijo pa jezikoslovje in literatura (149), socio-

⁴ Ob uporabi terminov *maskulinizirano* in *feminizirano* je potrebno poudariti, da se ta nanaša na prevladujoči biološki spol avtoric oziroma avtorjev in sicer na način, kot ga je bilo mogoče ekstrahirati iz podatkovnih baz ter vključiti v analizirane metapodatke.



Grafikon 7: Longitudinalna analiza prisotnosti jedrnih tem med leti 2009 in 2021.



Grafikon 8: Tematske preference glede na spol avtorjev.

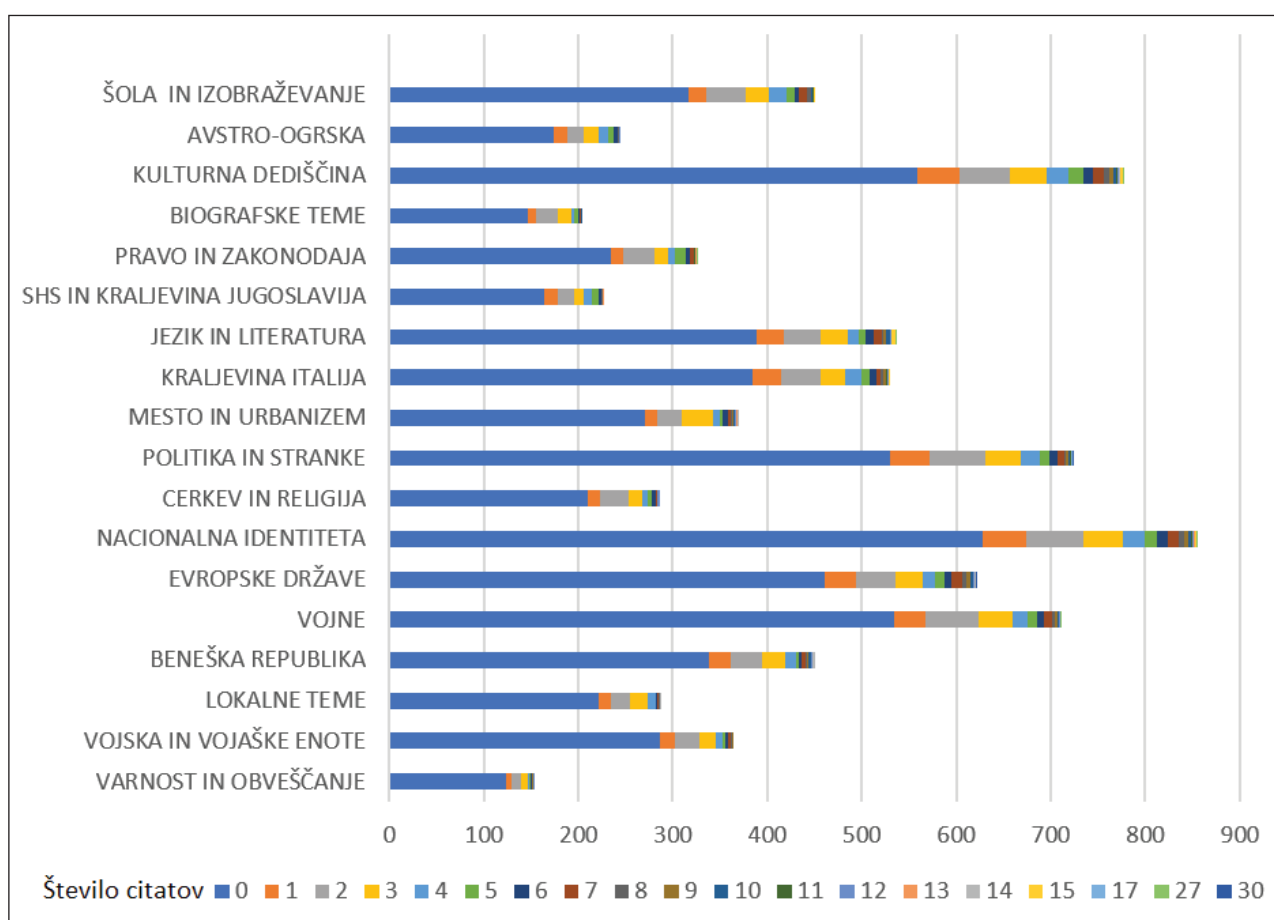
logija (73), politične vede (47), umetnostna zgodovina (43), urbanizem (42), geografija (33), arhitektura (33), filozofija (28), pravo (25) in ekonomija (21). Druge discipline so sicer prisotne, vendar jih zaradi omejitev na tej točki posebej ne bomo navajali. Zaradi lažjega prikaza presečišča med ekstrahiranimi temami in ekspertizami avtorjev, smo metapodatke, vezane na habilitacijska področja avtorjev, preoblikovali v ARRS področja⁵, in sicer humanistika (6), družboslovje (5), biotehnika (4) in naravoslovje (1). Tako modificirani vzorec avtorjev je pokazal, da je bila večina objav spisana s strani avtorjev,

s habilitacijo v humanistiki (1294 objave, 75,8 % vzorca vseh objav), sledijo avtorji s habilitacijo v družboslovju (392 objavi, 23 % vzorca vseh objav), najmanj pa je objav avtorjev s habilitacijo na področju naravoslovja (11 objav, 0,6 % vzorca vseh objav) in biotehnologije (10 objav, 0,6 % vzorca vseh objav). Teme smo s pomočjo multiple korespondenčne analize razporedili v prostor z dimenzijami družboslovje (5) in humanistika (6), zavoljo poenostavitve grafikona pa smo na podlagi nizke prisotnosti v vzorcu izključili naravoslovje in biotehnologijo:

⁵ Preoblikovanje je temeljilo na klasifikaciji Javne agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije, ki v svojem klasifikacijskem in šifrantskem sistemu opredeljuje Raziskovalne vede, področja in podpodročja (<https://www.arrs.si/sl/gradivo/sifranti/sif-vpp.asp>). Pričujoča razprava sloni na razumevanju družboslovja in humanistike kot dveh sorodnih in tesno povezanih ved, med katerima pa vseeno obstajajo nekatere značilnosti. Medtem ko je glavna značilnost družboslovja osredotočanje na družbo, družbene odnose in družbene pojave, pa daje humanistika več poudarka človeku in kulturi.



Grafikon 9: Ekstrahirane teme glede na ARRS klasifikacijo avtorjev.



Grafikon 10: Teme glede na število navedkov/citativ objav v bazo Google Scholar.

Analiza je pokazala, da avtorji s habilitacijo oziroma ekspertizami s področja družboslovja preferirajo teme s področja *Vojske in vojaških enot*, *Vojne*, *Evropskih držav*, *Prava in zakonodaje*, *Cerkve in religije* ter *Kulturne dediščine*. Na drugi strani pa avtorji s humanistično umestitvijo preferirajo teme s področja *Lokalnih tem*, *Kraljevine SHS in Jugoslavije*, *Politike in strank*, *Avstro-Ogrske* in teme,

vezane na *Mesto*. Iz grafikona je razvidno tudi, da teme s področja *Biografij* in *Varnosti in obveščanja* predstavljajo hipotetično tematsko stičišče med obema poloma. Zaključimo lahko, da je v celotnem vzorcu razmerje med humanistično in družboslovno orientacijo 4 : 1, kar je tudi podlaga za sklep, da je polje slovenske zgodovine močno humanistično orientirano.

V zadnjem koraku pričujočega prispevka smo naslovili vprašanje geografskega in znanstvenega dometa ekstrahiranih tem. Domet tem smo ocenili na podlagi citatov oziroma navedkov objave, v kateri se tema pojavlja v bazi Google Scholar:

Analiza je pokazala, da velika večina tem prihaja iz objav, ki nimajo v omenjeni bazi niti enega navedka oziroma citata in glede na to, da je povprečje navajanosti tem 26,3 % lahko sklenemo, da je domet tem v znanstvenem smislu relativno omejen. Med vsemi temami glede navajanosti prednjačijo teme s področja Šole in izobraževanja (stopnja navajanosti je 0,30), sledijo pa ji teme s področja Avstro-Ogrske (0,29), *Kulturne dediščine* (0,28) ter *Biografske teme* (0,28). S stopnjo navajanosti 0,19 so najmanj navajane teme s področja Varnosti in obveščanja (0,19).

ANTROPOLOGIJA V POLJU ZGODOVINE

Za analizo vpetosti antropologije v polje zgodovine, smo s pomočjo kategorizacijskega modela (glej Tabela 2) iz obravnavanih besedilih ekstrahirali ključne besede, fraze in teme, ki jih je bilo mogoče umestiti v štiridelno konceptualizacijo antropologije. Ta konceptualizacija sicer vključuje socialno in kulturno antropologijo, arheologijo, fizično in lingvistično antropologijo, je pa bilo disciplinarno specifičnih ključnih besed v analiziranih besedilih premalo. Ker je bila kot posledica onemogočena analiza, ki bi detektirala antropološka podpodročja, na primer lingvistično ali fizično antropologijo, v modelu nastopa antropologija kot enotno in homogeno področje. Pri selekciji ključnih besed, fraz in tem je bil za vsakega od ekstrahiranih elementov posebno pozorno analiziran kontekst, v katerem se je pojavil. Šele na podlagi ugotovitve skladnosti konteksta z enim od omenjenih pod-področij antropologije, je bil element vključen v kategorizacijski model.

S pomočjo kombinacije klusterske analize in analize sopojavnosti smo v prvem koraku kartirali umeščenost antropologije v polje zgodovine (glej Grafikon 11)⁶. Grafikon prikazuje štiri dimenzije, in sicer (1) mesto antropoloških tem v polju zgodovine, (2) prve sosedje, kamor sodijo teme s področja *Nacionalne identitete*, *Kulturne dediščine* in *Jezika in literature*, (3) druge sosedje, kamor sodijo teme s področja *Politike in strank*, *Šole in izobraževanja*, *Evropskih držav*, *Beneške republike*, *Vojn in Kraljevine Italije*, ter (4) druge teme v polju zgodovine, s katerimi antropologija nima posebno močnih povezav.

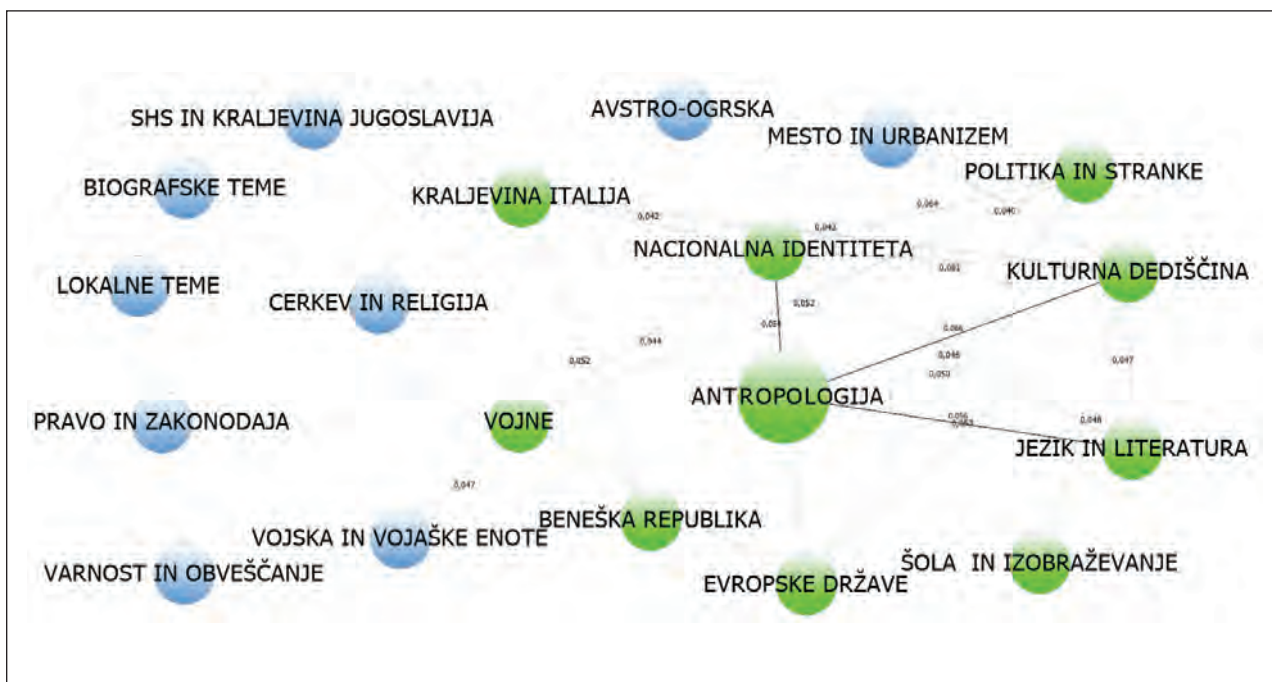
V skupino *prvih sosedov* antropologije spadajo teme s področja *Kulturne dediščine*, *Jezika in literature* ter teme s področja *Nacionalne identitete*, najtesnejša poveza je razvidna prav v odnosu do tem s področja *Kulturne dediščine* (0,066). Primeri, ki ilustrirajo to povezavo, so

številni, najočitnejša pa je v objavah Popana, Aruna & Baileya (2020) ter Mansfielda & Potočnik Topler (2021). Prva od obeh navedenih objav se osredotoča na ovire pri integraciji otrok iz priseljenskih okolij v britanske šole in pri tem ugotavlja, da: »[...] zunajšolska družbena sidra, ki jih razvijajo skupnostne in verske šole, pomagajo prepoznati vrednost kulturne dediščine s krepitvijo skupnosti in spodbujanjem umetnosti kot oblike razvoja občutka pripadnosti.« (Popan et al., 2020, 613). Medtem ko se Popan, Arun in Bailey osredotočajo na nesnovne aspekte kulturne dediščine, Mansfield in Potočnik Topler analizirata kulturno dediščino v luči dediščinskega turizma v Evropi. V svojem članku prikažeta: »/.../ kako je mogoče z namenom odkrivanja in predstavljanja turistične vrednosti nesnovne kulturne dediščine (NKT) na različnih turističnih prostorih uporabiti inovativno metodo literarnega potopisnega pripovedništva (Mansfield & Potočnik Topler, 2021, 197).« V skupini *prvih sosedov* je relativno močna povezava tudi s področjem *Jezika in literature* (0,053). Študije, ki demonstrirajo to sopojavnost, segajo od etnobotanike (npr. Fišer Pečnikar, 2018; Vitasović-Kosić, 2021) preko hrane (npr. Mansfield & Potočnik Topler, 2021) pa vse do glasbe (Jumagaliyeva et al., 2015) ter kulturne in jezikovne dediščine (Vrbinc & Vrbinc, 2012). Na področju glasbe gre kot ilustracijo omeniti prav študijo Jumagaliyeye, Sakharbayeve, Ulkenbayeve in Janseitove, ki na primeru tradicionalne kazaške glasbe uporabi kulturološke pristope in metode kognitivne analize, da razkrije konceptualne in jezikovne podobe sveta. Avtorice odkrijejo, da je: »[...]eden najpomembnejših dejavnikov, ki opredeljujejo etnične poteze v podobi kazaškega sveta, (je) edinstvena harmonija med človekom in univerzumom, človekom in kulturo, človekom in družbo« (Jumagaliyeva et al., 2015, 245). Študija prav tako predstavlja izjemno ilustrativno transdisciplinarno metodološko navezavo na antropologijo, saj je bil:

[...] eden od pglavitnih raziskovalnih ciljev "potop" v zgodovinsko oddaljeno kulturo, pri čemer je hermenevtična metoda postala sredstvo spoznavanja kulturne "kode". Metoda etimološke analize nam je omogočila odkrivanje kulturnih informacij, ki so sodobnemu človeku skrite. Etimološko preučevanje konceptov je razkrilo spremembo v semantiki in v področju delovanja, prepletanje različnih pomenov, ki presegajo skupni izvor in področje delovanja. (Jumagaliyeva et al., 2015, 245)

Kot dober primer podobnega tematskega in transdisciplinarnega pristopa lahko služi tudi študija Zerzer (2009), ki se osredotoča na doživljanje večjezičnosti na Koroškem, Primorskem in v Trstu. Avtorica ugotavlja, da je

⁶ Kartiranje predstavlja v pričujoči razpravi grafični prikaz povezanosti antropologije z drugimi temami na podlagi faktorjev sopojavnosti. Kartiranje je zajemalo faktorje sopojavnosti antropologije v odnosu do prvih sosedov (teme s katerimi ima neposredno povezavo), drugih sosedov (teme s katerimi imajo posredno povezavo, preko prvih sosedov) in tem, s katerimi nima povezave.



Grafikon 11: Antropologija v tematskem polju zgodovine.

pristop »transdisciplinaren in vključuje teorijo in metode s področij politične teorije, sociologije prostora, sociolingvistike, etnografije, vizualnih kultur in multimodalne analize diskurza. Raziskovalni poudarek je na družbenih konstrukcijah prostora, ki jih ustvarjajo heteroglosni ljudje v svojem vsakdanjem življenju in z reprezentacijami jezikov v njihovem življenjskem okolju« (Zerzer, 2009, 1).

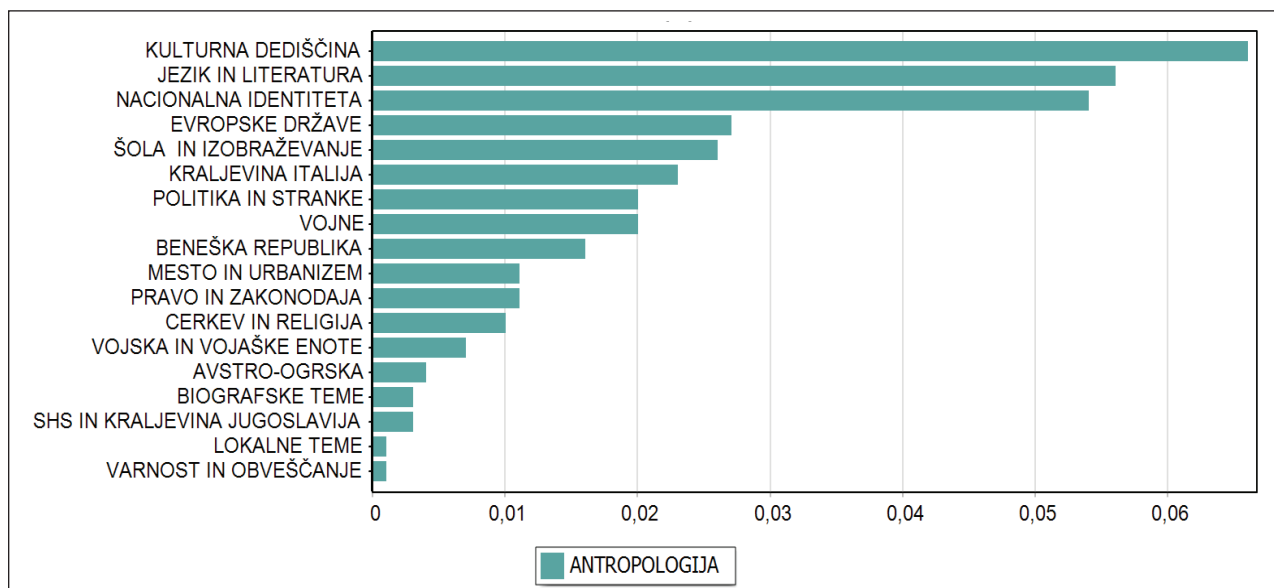
Med prvimi sosedi se kot slednja pojavlja navezava antropologije na teme s področja Nacionalne identitete. V tej navezavi najdemo številne študije, ki zaobjemajo področja socialnih in kulturnih posegov v krajino (prim. Paliaga et al., 2016), medetnične odnose (prim. Kralj et al., 2013), urbano identiteto (Urošević, 2013) in umetnost (Golob & Berlot Pompe, 2018) ter že omenjene teme, vezane na hrano (npr. Mansfield & Potočnik Topler, 2021) in glasbo (Jumagaliyeva et al., 2015). Poleg enonodične povezave med zgodovino in antropologijo je prav na podlagi teh mogoče ilustrirati tudi tematska presečišča, ki združujejo različna področja v interdisciplinarne sklope (glej Grafikon 11, povezave med prvimi sosedi). Kot primer lahko ponovno omenimo študiji Mansfielda & Potočnik Topler (2021) ter Jumagaliyev s soavtoricami (2015). Študiji se sicer osredotočata na *hrano* in *glasbo*, vendar v tem podjemu obdelata tudi vprašanja nacionalne identitete in kulturne dediščine, hkrati s tem pa uspešno združita zgodovinske in antropološke disciplinarne ter metodološke specifične.

Skupina *drugih* sosedov antropologije v polju zgodovine vključuje teme s področja Evropskih držav, Šole in izobraževanja, Kraljevine Italije, Politike in strank, Vojn in Beneške republike, je pa za to skupino značil-

no, da so faktorji sopojačnosti relativno šibki ($\approx 0,050$). V tej skupini najdemo nekoliko močnejšo povezavo med antropologijo in temami, vezanimi na *Evropske države* ter *Šolo in izobraževanje*. Kot primer študije, vezane na evropske države, lahko navedemo študijo Lovca in Crnčeca (2014), ki se osredotoča na procese evropeizacije v kontekstu Slovenije. Avtorja v članku prideta do številnih pomembnih zaključkov, med katerimi za ilustracijo prisotnosti antropologije v polju zgodovine nedvomno izstopa tisti, ki postulira sledeče:

[...] z vstopom Slovenije v EU so se povečale razlike v moči med Slovenijo in starimi državami članicami, ki se kažejo v večji relativni trgovinski in finančni odvisnosti. Povečanje relativnih pritiskov na slovensko gospodarstvo, mešani in protislovni vplivi procesa evropeizacije na razvoj slovenskih institucij ter povečanje odvisnosti Slovenije od EU tako podpirajo kritično realistični pristop. (Lovec & Crnčec, 2014, 231)

Kot primer študij, ki jih je mogoče uporabiti za ilustracijo povezave antropologije in tem, vezanih na šolo in izobraževanje, pa lahko navedemo študijo Ane Kralj, Tjaše Žakelj in Martine Rameša (2013). Komparativna študija iz treh držav preko uporabe kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih metod analizira medetnične odnose v družbenem in šolskem kontekstu in ugotavlja, da: »[...] (prvič) sprejemanje »drugih« še vedno močno temelji na predsodkih in stereotipih, ki odražajo hierarhično pozicioniranje etničnih skupin. In drugič, medvrstni-



Grafikon 12: Analiza bližine antropologije v odnosu do drugih tem v polju zgodovine.

ško nasilje v šolah (še posebej pa zunaj šole in na območjih z manj izrazitim nadzorom odraslih) temelji tudi na izpostavljanju etnične pripadnosti.» (Kralj et al., 2013, 245).

Ker so navezave na druge teme v skupini *drugih sosedov* še nižje, jih na tej točki ne bomo podrobneje analizirali. Ob tem je potrebno izpostaviti tudi, da antropologija nima povezav s področji, vezanimi na druge zgodovinske teme (glej Grafikon 10, modra skupina), kar samo po sebi predstavlja posebno zanimiv rezultat. Teme, vezane na lokalno okolje, mesto in urbanizem ter religijo, tradicionalno so namreč integralni del polja antropologije (prim. Seymour-Smith, 1986; Rapport & Overing, 2003), vseeno pa naša analiza ni pokazala povezav s temami v polju zgodovine. Povezava s temami, ki bi jih lahko imenovali *tretji sosedje*, sicer obstaja pri temah, vezanih na *Vojsko in vojaške enote* ter *Mesto in urbanizem*, vseeno pa se integracija polja antropologije v polje zgodovine na tej točki konča.

Za potrebe validacije opisane vpetosti antropologije v polje zgodovine smo izvedli analizo bližine (*proximity plot*) med temami v odnosu do antropologije (glej Grafikon 12). Grafikon potrjuje zgoraj opisano mesto in vpetost antropologije v tematskem polju slovenske zgodovine. Iz grafikona je razvidno, da so teme, ki so najbližje antropologiji, vezane na Kulturno dediščino, Jezik in literaturo ter Nacionalno identiteto. Na drugi strani pa so teme, ki so najbolj oddaljene od antropologije in te vključujejo Biografske teme, SHS in kraljevino Jugoslavijo, Lokalne teme ter Varnost in obveščanje. Na podlagi tega je torej mogoče predstavljene rezultate razumeti kot validirane in sklepe o vpetosti antropologije v polje slovenske zgodovine kot utemeljene.

SKLEP IN DISKUSIJA

Pričujoči članek temelji na osnovnem cilju odkriti, kako je slovenska antropologija vpeta v tematsko strukturo polja slovenske zgodovine med leti 2009 in 2021. Prispevek članka je mogoče povzeti v naslednjih ključnih ugotovitvah, in sicer da:

- (1) obstaja v polju slovenske zgodovine v obravnavanem vzorcu 18 distinktivnih tematskih področij;
- (2) je teme mogoče kategorizirati v 4 tematske skupine, in sicer:

- (a) *Nacionalne teme*, s središčem na temah s področja *Politike in strank*, na katere se navezujejo teme s področja *Nacionalne identitete*, *Kulturne dediščine* in *Evropskih držav*, ter teme s področja *Jezika in literature* ter *Šole in izobraževanja*,
- (b) *Vojaške teme*, s središčem na temah s področja *Vojn*, na katere se navezujejo teme s področja *Vojske in vojaških enot* ter teme s področja *Avstro-Ogrske*, *Kraljevine Italije* ter *Beneške republike*,
- (c) *Lokalne teme*, s središčem na temah s področja *Mesta in urbanizacije* ter drugih *Lokalnih tem*,
- (d) *Cerkveno-biografske teme*, s središčem na temah s področja *Cerkve in religije* v povezavi z *Biografskimi temami*.

- (3) frekvenčna prisotnost in razmerja med centralnimi temami med leti 2009 in 2021 nakazujejo relativno stabilnost vsebinskega polja;
- (4) se tematsko polje kaže kot relativno močno maskulinizirano;
- (5) ima tematsko polje močno osnovo v humanistiki;
- (6) teme izkazujejo relativno omejen znanstveni domet;

(7) antropologija predstavlja integralni del polja slovenske zgodovine, in sicer:

- (a) preko povezave s *prvimi sosedmi*, kamor sodijo teme s področja *Kulturne dediščine, Jezika in literature* ter *Nacionalne identitete*, in *drugimi sosedmi*, kamor sodijo teme s področja *Evropskih držav, Šole in izobraževanja, Kraljevine Italije, Politike in strank, Vojn* in *Beneške republike*;
- (b) preko oblikovanja tematskih sklopov (mednodolnih povezav), ki manifestirajo disciplinarne in metodološke specifičnosti obeh ved.

Glede na prvi cilj pričujoče razprave lahko sklenemo, da je polje slovenske zgodovine bogato z vidika števila objav in pestro z vidika prisotnih tem. Teme, ki v tem prostoru dominirajo, so vezane na vojne, politiko, urbanizem in cerkev, kar za sabo potegne nekoliko presenetljiv sklep in sicer, da je slovenska zgodovina, vsaj kar se tiče obravnavanih revij, relativno ozko tematsko in časovno profilirana. V polju zgodovine bi bilo ob predpostavki, da ta veda obravnava celotno človeško zgodovino, upravičeno pričakovati prisotnost (1) širšega nabora časovnih obdobij, (2) širokega nabora tem, ki so relevantna za različna časovna obdobja in (3) močne disciplinarne povezave s komplementarnimi vedami, na primer arheologijo. Po opravljeni analizi lahko tako sklenemo, da se polje slovenske zgodovine razvija kot (1) selektivno, ekskluzivno oziroma celo eklektično glede preferenčnih tem in (2) časovno relativno ozko profilirano. Na primer teme, ki so vezane na stari in srednji vek, so relativno redke, kar posledično pomeni, da so tudi ta obdobja in disciplinarne povezave z vedami, specializiranimi za tovrstna raziskovanja, šibke. Širitev nabora tem bi zagotovila pestrost vsebine in bi hkrati, seveda ob zagotovljeni integriranosti med druge teme, pripomogla k nadaljnjemu razvoju slovenske zgodovine kot znanstvene discipline.

V zvezi z analizo integriranosti, kar je drugi cilj pričujoče raziskave, je mogoče skleniti, da je generalno polje slovenske zgodovine relativno dobro integrirano. Ta sklep je mogoče utemeljiti na relativno tesnih povezavah (1) med temami v tematskih sklopih, (2) med samimi tematskimi sklopi, in, kar je še posebno zanimivo, (3) z osamelcema. Dobra integriranost je pospremljena tudi z relativno visoko stopnjo longitudinalne stabilnosti polja, kar napoveduje kontinuiteto v razvoju slovenske zgodovine. Vsekakor bi vpeljava novih tem in časovnih obdobij pozitivno vplivala na integriranost in kontinuiteto, še posebej če bi se ti procesi odvijali koordinirano, ciljno in postopno.

Podoben sklep se ponuja tudi glede tretjega cilja pričujoče raziskave, ki naslavlja vpetost antropoloških vsebin v širše tematsko področje slovenske zgodovine. Da so antropološke teme močno integrirane v polje

zgodovine se kaže v ugotovitvi, da si obe področji delita kar 65% tematskega polja (antropološke teme izkazujejo tesne povezave z 11 od 17 zgodovinskih tem). Zraven očitnega sklepa, da obstaja tesna povezava med antropologijo in zgodovino, ti rezultati kažejo tudi na (1) pozitivne komplementarne učinke disciplinarnega sodelovanja in (2) močne humanistične temelje obeh ved. Glede na rezultate gre pričakovati nadaljevanje tega trenda, uvajanje novih tem in časovnih obdobij v polje slovenske zgodovine pa bo integriranost antropologije še okrepilo.

Izhajajoč iz pregleda literature predstavlja pričujoča analiza enega prvih poskusov empiričnega mapiranja tematskega polja slovenske zgodovine s poudarkom na iskanju presečišča z antropologijo. S tega zornega kota so ključni prispevki članka v detekciji tem in orisu strukture ter integriranosti polja, pa tudi v vpogledu v metapodatke objav. Ob tem, pa ima analiza tudi nekatere omejitve:

Analiza temelji na objavah iz relativno omejenega vzorca revij. Kljub temu, da gre za revije, ki so v slovenski znanstveni in strokovni javnosti prepoznane kot najbolj relevantne, bi razširitev nabora nedvomno zagotovila večji vzorec objav, višjo stopnjo kompleksnosti kategorizacijskega modela, in posledično višjo stopnjo rafiniranosti načrta polja slovenske zgodovine;

Analiza temelji na vzorcu, ki se nanaša zgolj na znanstvene publikacije, kar glede na to, da se velik del slovenske zgodovine odvija v akademski sferi, ne predstavlja posebne težave. Vseeno pa bi bilo model mogoče nadgraditi z objavami v drugih virih (npr. strokovne revije, razstave, konference) in na ta način zagotoviti nove dimenzije v tukaj predstavljenem orisu polja slovenske zgodovine;

Nabor metapodatkov temelji na podatkih o objavah, ki so v veliki meri vezani na bazi SICRIS in ARRS, kar predstavlja določeno omejitev pri analizi teh podatkov. Z razširitvijo nabora metapodatkov bi bilo mogoče tudi razširiti in poglobiti vpogled v kontekstualne značilnosti tem ter tako dopolniti prikazano podobo tematskega polja slovenske zgodovine.

Zraven predlaganih izboljšav, pa je mogoče prihodnje delo na tem področju razširiti tudi z novimi raziskovalnimi vprašanji, predvsem takšnimi, ki predstavljajo ekstenzijo pričujoče razprave. Eno pomembnejših vprašanj, ki se že na tej točki, je vprašanje intelektualnega ozadja avtoric in avtorjev, ki delujejo v polju slovenske zgodovine. Če intelektualno ozadje avtoric in avtorjev razumemo kot serijo elementov, ki zajemajo vse od njihovih habilitacij in specializacij, do literature, ki jo uporabljajo pri svojem znanstvenem delu, lahko analiza le te-teh, v presečišču z vsebinami njihovih objav, pomembno pripomore k razumevanju polja slovenske zgodovine in vseh ostalih disciplin, ki so z njim povezane.

MAPPING AND ANALYSIS OF THE OVERLAP BETWEEN HISTORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY IN FOUR SCHOLARLY JOURNALS BETWEEN 2009 AND 2021

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SUMMARY

*This article examines the integration of anthropology in Slovenian history over the last decade. It is based on an analysis of 1,707 papers published between 2009 and 2021 in four representative history journals, *Studia Historica Slovenica*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, *Acta Histriae* and *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*. A content analysis of papers reveals the integration of the field of history and analyzes the embedding of anthropological content in Slovenian history. The results show (1) that there are 18 distinctive thematic areas in Slovenian history research in the sample under consideration, (2) that the topics can be categorized into 4 groups: (a) National topics (b) Military topics, (c) Local topics and (d) Church-biographical themes, (3) that the presence and relationships between the central themes appears to be uniform from 2009, (4) that the field appears to be strongly masculinized, (5) that history has a strong basis in the humanities, (6) that the themes show a relatively limited range, and (7) that anthropology comprises an integral part of the study of Slovenian history.*

Keywords: history, anthropology, content analysis, thematic mapping, connection between anthropology and history

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IN MEMORIAM

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IN MEMORIAM

Dr. ANDREJ STUDEN

(1963–2022)

Andrej, pozdravljen, kjerkoli že sedaj si. Vest o tvoji smrti v medijih tistega novembrskega dne me je osupnila, za nekaj trenutkov sem kar odrevenel. Sledile so minute in ure spominov in razmišljanj, končno pa še boleče vprašanje: Kaj je res, kaj sedaj sega že po nas, pa jih nismo dopolnili niti šestdeset? Spominov na leta najinih študentskih druženj se je nabralo za poln koš. Dovoliš, da jih obelodanim, da izpovem, kako sva posta(ja)la zgodovinarja?

Pisalo se je leto 1982. Po predhodnih prijavah na študij na ljubljanski filofakulteti, takrat edini v naši republiki, sva prišla septembra na pisanje sprejemnega izpita, saj se nas je prijavilo kar nekaj več kot je bilo vpisnih mest. Vstopili smo v legendarno stodojko (102) na oddelku, ki naj bi nas vzgojil v privržence preteklosti, se tesnobno spogledovali, poslušali kratek nagovor prof. dr. I. Vojeta, zatem pa je vstopila Nataša Stergar in dejala, da smo brez izpita sprejeti vsi na podlagi možnosti vpisa do 10% nad dejanskim številom mest. Kakšno olajšanje!

Po celoletnem služenju vojaščine smo se v začetku oktobra 1983 znova zbrali na oddelku z vseh strani Slovenije, od Istre in Primorske do Murske Sobote, tudi več kolegic s Celjskega s teboj vred, in menoj, edinim iz Maribora. Minil je dober mesec, ko se nas je družčina kakih devetih – desetih pričela zbirati pred in po predavanjih na nujni kavi ali čem drugem. Tako se je začelo.

Kar nekaj dvopredmetnih študentov nas je vpisalo tudi sociologijo, ti kulture, jaz občo, kar je bil še dodaten razlog za prve razprave, izmenjave mnenj in tkanje medsebojnih vezi. Od prvih (seveda ustnih!) kolokvijev pri prof. Vojetu naprej smo se spodbujali pred in med izpiti, z indeksi v rokah vstopali in izstopali iz profesorskih pisarn ter prebrodili prvi letnik, ko se je že pokazalo, iz kakšnega testa je kdo bil. Tudi ti si kot večji del ostalih sprva imel nekaj problemčkov s privajanjem na študentski vsakdanjik, pa si jih uspešno odpravil. Komentiranje predavanj, izpitov (in profesorjev) je postalo ena naših stalnic. Hkrati smo spoznavali kolegice/kolege iz starejših generacij na oddelku, poslušali njihove zgodbe, usode ... V drugem letniku je bilo druženja nekaj manj, saj smo se pripravljali na delne prvostopenjske diplomske izpite, jih opravili



Andrej Studen (Foto: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino).

ter ‚šli naprej‘. Kmalu je prišlo leto 1986, v marsikaterem pogledu za nas prelomno. Se spomniš, kako si mi predlagal, da se udeleživa zagovora doktorske disertacije takratnega asistenta Rajka Bratoža? Bil je res enkraten dogodek za vse prisotne. Nama pa se je v sledečih pogovorih privikrat sploh zazdelo, da bi raziskovanje zgodovine znalo biti celo nekaj privlačnega. Tebe je sicer že kar močno vleklo tudi v sociološke vode, poslušali smo Rastka Močnika z odprtimi usti in razmišljali o čedalje globlji družbeni ter ekonomski krizi. Pred našimi očmi se je pričejala razkrajati država.

Bila sva med ‚najglasnejšimi‘ študenti na oddelku tisto leto, ko smo ob 15-letnici znanih dogodkov (1971) predstavniki z vseh oddelkov uprizorili stavko, zasedli stavbo fakultete in več dni zborovali ter ugotavljali nemogoče stanje na mnogih študijskih smereh. Skupaj s še nekaterimi sva dala pobudo, naj bi tudi dvopredmetnim študentom na oddelku omogočili obvezne ure latinščine in nemščine, pa nam je moral sam takratni dekan fakultete, sicer profesor na oddelku, skrušeno dopovedati, da to ne gre, da naš študijski program tega ne prenese. Novembrsko oddelčno brucovanje, ki smo ga kot 4. letnik organizirali v legendarnem Riu, pa nama je ponudilo enkratno priložnost narediti skupni spektakel, in smo ga: celjska kolegica kot kraljica, koprski kolega kot kralj, ljubljanska kolegica kot dvorna gardedama, ti kot spovednik v redovniški kuti in jaz kot dvorni norček s še drugimi smo naravnost uživali

v dogajanju. Pritegnil naju je tudi decembrski prihod akademikov SANU na čelu s starešino srbskih zgodovinarjev, Radovanom Samardićem, na oddelek, ki so nam razlagali njihovo videnje krize mednacionalnih odnosov v državi.

V naslednjem 1987. letu so se zaključevala naša redna predavanja, zato sva imela polni glavi misli na diplomske izpite na sociologiji in na izdelavo diplomskih nalog. Zatem smo se v 1988. večina odpravljali še na zadnje diplomske izpite in zagovore. Oba sva takrat diplomirala in se podala v svet vprašanj osebne eksistence, kar pa vsaj nama ni delalo težav. Postal si raziskovalec v Ljubljani in jaz v Mariboru. Skupnih srečanj je bilo odtlej manj. Našla sva nove znance in kolege iz najine stroke, tako ti predvsem trdno celjsko navezo v Ljubljani živečih oz. študirajočih. V letih mojega mag. študija na ljubljanskem oddelku sem v prestolnico še kar redno prihajal in te obiskal na Kongresnem trgu, kjer si delal. Nato pa je tudi to minilo, srečanja so izostala. Poslej sva se srečevala le še priložnostno, največkrat v okviru strokovnih zborov kot zborovanja zgodovinarjev ali naši mariborski simpoziji, pa pri tebi na inštitutu.

Ni, ne bo več več tvojega značilnega rahlo zafrkantskega govora z mnogimi humornimi vložki, tvojih predirnih pogledov in iskreno izrečenih zdravic. Andrej, shranil sem si tvoje fotografije, najine spomine in tvoj nepozabni »Kva je?«.

Andrej Hozjan

OCENE
RECENSIONI
REVIEWS

Massimiliano Afiero:
THE 29TH WAFEN-SS GRENADIER DIVISION,
ITALIENISCHE NR. 1' AND ITALIANS IN
OTHER UNITS OF THE WAFEN-SS:
AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY.
Atglen, PA, Schiffer Military, 2022, 128 str.

Ameriška založba Schiffer Publishing je v okviru svoje zbirke Ilustrirana zgodovina (*An Illustrated History*) izdala delo italijanskega avtorja Massimiliana Afiera, ki je poznan po številnih publikacij, primarno glede nemških enot iz časa druge svetovne vojne. Predhodno je bila dotična publikacija izvirno objavljena v italijanščini (*Italiani nella Waffen-SS*) leta 2019.

Po kratkem enostranskem uvodu avtorja sledi prvo poglavje glede splošne zgodovine italijanskih prostovoljcev v Waffen-SS. Italijanski fašisti, predvsem iz vrst dotedanje milice (*Milizia*), so pričeli vstopati v vrste paravojaške organizacije Waffen-SS po italijanski okupaciji septembra 1943, čeprav so prvi italijanski prostovoljci poskušali pristopiti že konec julija istega leta. Po kapitulaciji se je nekaj sto Italijanov prostovoljno pridružilo nemškim enotam, vključno z Waffen-SS, kjer so sprva bili vozniki in mehaniki za italijanska vozila, ki so jih nemške sile zaplenile, nato pa so tudi prestopili v bojne enote. Prav tako so italijanski vojaki vstopali v enote Waffen-SS izven italijanskega škorinja, kot na Hrvaškem, v Franciji itn.

V drugem poglavju se avtor posveti italijanskim prostovoljcem v 1. esesovski tankovski (grenadirski) diviziji LSSAH. Slednja je bila po bitki pri Kursku poslana v severno Italijo (logistični del je ostal na avstrijski strani meje), kamor je prispela avgusta 1943. Tu je divizija prejela nove tanke, oborožitev in podporna vozila, saj je vsa vozila (kolikor niso bila uničena med samo bitko) pustila na vzhodni fronti. Hkrati so se pričeli pripravljati na morebitno zasedbo italijanskih vojaških položajev in razorožitev italijanskih enot, kar se je dejansko zgodilo neposredno po razglasitvi kapitulacije. V prvih treh dneh je tako divizija zajela več kot 68 tisoč Italijanov, več kot 38 tisoč pušk, 428 mitraljezov, 391 letal, 10 topov in havbic, 49 protiletalskih topov, 46 protitankovskih topov, 27 tankov in 270 minometov. Istočasno so v vrste sprejeli kot prostovoljne delavce skoraj tristo Italijanov.

Tretjo poglavje je namenjeno prvi italijanski enoti Waffen-SS. 24. septembra 1943 je esesovski državni vodja Heinrich Himmler ukazov ustanovitve italijanske oborožene formacije (pozneje poi-

menovana kot legija), ki je bila sprva le »priključena«¹ Waffen-SS. Iz vrst črnosrajčnikov so pričeli ustvarjati tudi enote *Waffen Miliz*, ki so predstavljale oboroženo silo italijanske esesovske legije; urjenje in oblikovanje enot je bilo izvedeno v Nemčiji in na Poljskem. Do konca leta 1943 je tako v Waffen-SS pristopilo že okoli 15 tisoč Italijanov, pri čemer so nekatere črnosrajčniške enote v celoti prestopile na stran Waffen-SS. *Waffen Miliz* je bila tako ob novembra 1943, ko je bila poslana nazaj v Italijo, sestavljena iz dvanajstih bataljonov, medtem ko je bil oblikovan še trinajsti delovni bataljon, iz prostovoljcev nezmožnih za boj. Bataljoni so bili sprva poslani v dolino reke Pad, kjer so bili namenjeni za protipartizanski boj. V začetku leta 1944 se je pričelo preoblikovanje in popolnjevanje *Waffen Miliz*, tako da so februarja 1944 ustanovili 1. jurišno brigado italijanske prostovoljne legije (*1. Sturmbrigade der italienische Freiwilligen Legionen*), pri čemer so pripadniki brigade nosili mešanico italijanskih in nemških uniform (redne kopenske vojske), brez kakršnih oznak Waffen-SS (razen seveda nemškega osebja).

Naslednje poglavje govori o uporabi italijanskih esesovskih enot v boju proti zavezniški invaziji pri Anziu in Nettuni konec januarja 1944. Tu so se številni italijanski prostovoljci izkazali v bojih z ameriškimi in britanskimi enotami, tako da so bili tudi prejeti nemška odlikovanja. A nemške enote niso mogli zavrniti zavezniške invazije, tako da se je oblikovala fronta na jugu italijanskega škorinja.

Peto poglavje je nato posvečeno udeležbi italijanskih esesovskih enot na novovzpostavljeni italijanski fronti, natančneje delovanju 2. bataljona 1. polka italijanskih esesovskih enot. Naslednje poglavje nato sledi oblikovanju Italijanskih oboroženih enot SS (*Unità Armate Italiane delle SS*), ki so nastale s preoblikovanju italijanskih prostovoljnih legij, pri čemer je osnovo predstavljala brigada z dvema polkoma (vsak z dvema bataljonoma). Brigada je bila sprva poslana v deželo Piemont, kjer se je borila proti lokalnim partizanom.

V sedmem poglavju avtor piše o preoblikovanju brigade v 29. divizijo Waffen-SS, kar se je zgodilo februarja 1945. Divizija je nato nadaljevala boj proti italijanskim partizanom, dokler ni aprila 1945 prvič vstopila v boj proti ameriškimi enotami. Večina divizije se je konec aprila 1945 predala anglo-ameriškimi enotami na italijanskem ozemlju.

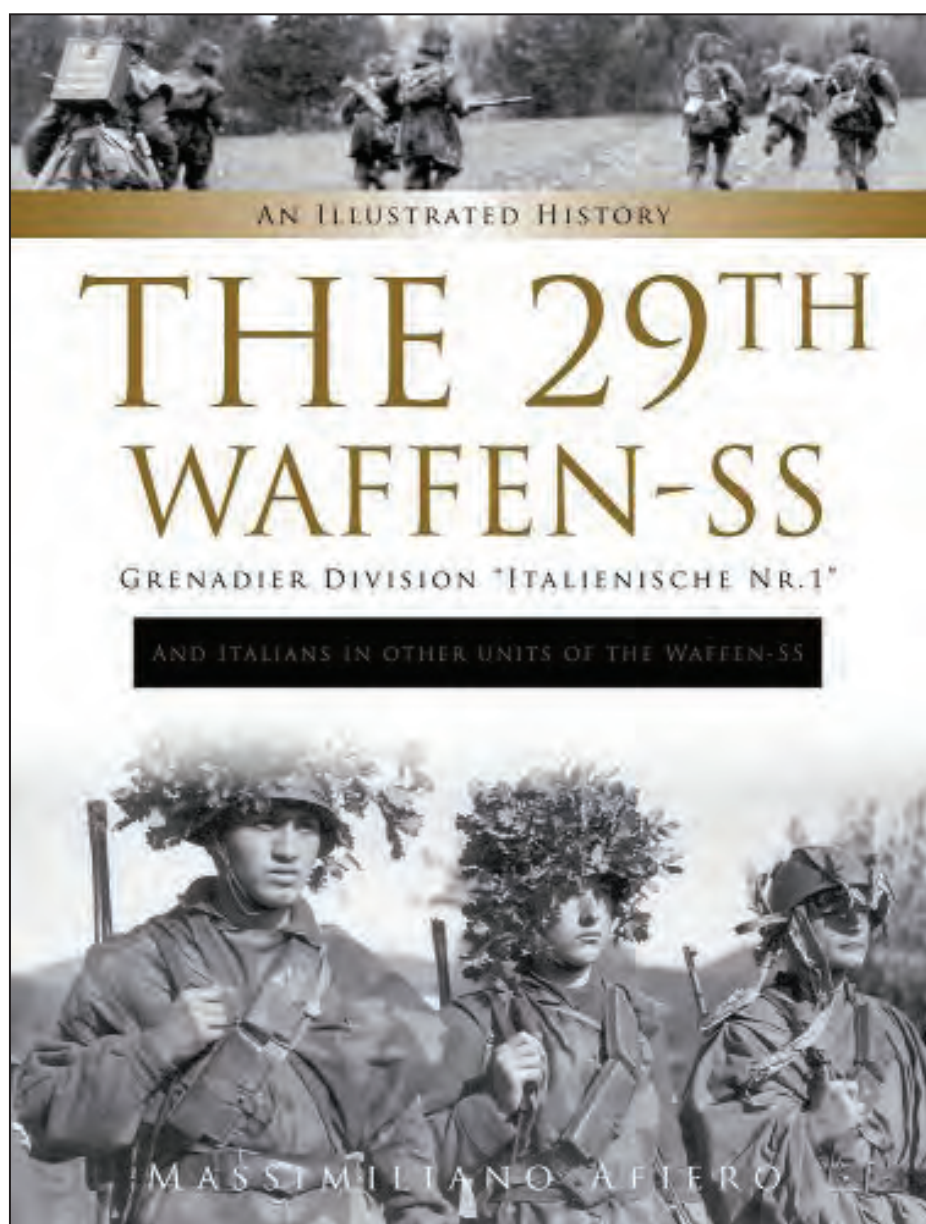
Osmo poglavje je še najbolj zanimivo za slovenske bralce, saj je namenjeno kraškimi lovci. Po italijanski kapitulaciji so prvi Italijani vstopili v vrste bataljona kraških lovcev kot pomožno osebje (vozniki, vodiči, prevajalci), nato pa so poleti 1944 pričeli tudi rekrutirati Italijane (vključno z vsemi drugimi narodnostmi operacijske cone Jadranskega primorja) za bojne enote. V začetku leta

145 so tako Italijani predstavljali tretjo največjo narodnostno skupino med kraškimi lovci (za Nemci in folksdojčerji). Kraški lovci so se ob koncu vojne uspeli umakniti v Avstrijo, kjer so se predali zavezniškim enotam.

Naslednje poglavje se ukvarja z esesovskim policijskim polkom Bozen (*SS-Polizei-Regiment Bozen*), ki ni bila formacija Waffen-SS, ampak nemške redarstvene policije. Polk je bil ustanovljen oktobra 1943 z rekrutacijo Južnih Tirolcev, italijanskih državljanov nemške narodnosti. Sprva so polk uporabili za boj proti italijanskim partizanom, dokler ga niso marca 1945 poslali na Madžarsko, kjer so polk integrirali v 31. esesovsko

divizijo. Na vzhodni fronti so se Južni Tirolci borili do konca vojne.

Deseto poglavje sledi življenjski zgodbi dveh bratov (Giorgio in Guido Gardini), ki sta bila sprva pripadnika Republikanske narodne garde (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*), nato pa sta prestopila v Waffen-SS, kjer sta postala častnika. Oba sta preživela vojno, a sta bila po vojni za več let zaprta v Italiji. Tudi naslednje poglavje spremlja življenjsko zgodbo italijanskega esesovskega častnika Pia Filippini-Ronconija, mogoče enega najbolj znanih italijanskih esesovskih častnikov. Poglavje je zapisano kot povzetek intervjuja z njim, ki je bil opravljen leta 2005. V na-



slednjih šestih poglavjih so nato predstavljeni še drugi italijanski pripadniki Waffen-SS, pri čemer sta zadnja dva predstavljena služila v 4. esesovski policijski diviziji, ki se je borila v Grčiji.

Kot že razkriva sam podnaslov, je knjiga primarno sestavljena iz množice medvojnih fotografij, ki ilustrirajo relativno kratke zapise o delovanju posameznih enot; npr. poglavje o kraških lovcih je dolgo le štiri strani. Prav tako celotno besedilo nekritično govori o enotah in pripadnikih Waffen-SS. Če se ponovno vrnemo h kraškim lovcev, avtor tako piše, da so bili »vpleteni v protipartizanske operacije, z odličnimi rezultati« (*engaged in antipartisan operations, with excellent results*), pri čemer navaja, da so se borili (le) na območju Furlanije. Nič o bojih na slovenskih tleh, nič o

vojnih zločinih, storjenih s strani kraških lovcev. Na koncu pa doda tudi trditev, da so bili po vojni mnogi Italijani, ki so se želeli vrniti domov na »ozemlja, okupiranih s strani komunističnih partizanov« ubiti in vrženi v fojbe ali usmrčeni s strani improviziranih ljudskih tribunalov.

Na splošno lahko rečemo, da je besedilo napisano zelo površno in pristransko, kot tudi da v veliki meri ne prinaša nobenih novih dognanj (razen določenih poglavij o posameznikih). Fotografski material je deloma že poznan strokovnjakom s tega področja, a vseeno se najdejo vmes tudi kakšne predhodno neobjavljene fotografije.

Klemen Kocjančič

KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: *Školarice, petrografski posnetek* (Universität für angewandte Kunst Wien, Institut für Konservierung und Restaurierung).

Slika 1: *Školarice: Rimska vila, izkopavanja 2002* (J. Jeraša, Arhej d. o. o.).

Slika 2: *Školarice: Rimska vila, izkopavanja 2002* (Arhej d. o. o.).

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Slika 5: *Školarice: Rimska vila, izkopavanja 2002* (J. Jeraša, Arhej d. o. o.).

Slika 6: *Školarice: Rimska vila, izkopavanja 2002* (Arhej d. o. o.).

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Slika 8: *Školarice: Rimska vila, izkopavanja 2002* (Arhej d. o. o.).

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Figure 2: *Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations* (Arhej d. o. o.).

Figure 3: *Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations* (Arhej d. o. o.).

Figure 4: *Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations* (Arhej d. o. o.).

Figure 5: *Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations* (J. Jeraša, Arhej d. o. o.).

Figure 6: *Školarice: Roman villa, 2002 excavations* (Arhej d. o. o.).

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