

# Habsburg Civil Servants: Beyond the State Apparatus



Drawing of the Austrian civil servants' uniform (RGRBKÖ, Jahrgang 1849, n. 377).

## Online Conference January 28th-30th 2022

Link to the event:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/join/register/tZAkcOysqjorEtGUDaggZ7q45GDhBVWkrZs4>

Pre Registration required.



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Design: Design studio, Igor Nađalin s.p.  
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During the long 19th century, the Habsburg civil service grew steadily. The swelling ranks of clerks, inspectors, tax collectors, military recruiters, census-takers, policemen, judges, cartographers, sanitation officials, telegraph operators, and other minor officials did not form an entirely homogenous social group, differentiated as they were by educational attainment, region, rank, and status. They nevertheless formed an important social collective, characterized above all by literacy, but also by novel habits, values, cultural practices, and novel social circumstances.

The administrative apparatus helped bring all imperial citizens together in a common society. Their role in embodying and personifying the state at the local level proved especially crucial on various imperial peripheries, where civil servants formed the main link between villages or small towns with the imperial centre. Civil servants also represented progress, introducing into relatively isolated rural communities secular morality, hygiene, science, and myriad other social and cultural transformations sometimes collectively denoted as "modernity." Like other middle-class professionals, they formed and joined associations, societies and social clubs, promoting charitable causes, local development, and other various causes imagined as conducive to the public good.

As lobbyists for local causes, furthermore, they encouraged local particularism, spread patriotic sentiment, thus contributing to centrifugal political movements. Thus even as civil servants symbolized imperial loyalty, renouncing personal interests to support the state, they proved indispensable to the establishment of civil society, a force which successfully contested imperial absolutism, and contributed to the ultimate downfall of the monarchy.

Their complex role thus raises interesting questions that call for further investigation. Where did their loyalties actually lie: with the emperor, with the state, with their church, with their social class, with their particular Crownland, or with their imagined national community? To what extent did they obey the government's directives, and alternatively to what extent did they attempt to modify, resist, evade, or subvert their instructions? Did they contribute, intentionally or unintentionally, to the spread of nationalism, or to alternate loyalties? What roles did they play in the monarchy's social dramas, both in their working hours and when off duty? What were the cultural consequences of their unique role? How were they presented in journalism, belles-lettres, theatre, or other literary genres?

To explore such issues, Alexander Maxwell and Daša Ličen have organized an online conference. The event is jointly hosted by the Antipodean East European Study Group at Victoria University of Wellington New Zealand, and the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences. We hope it will be an interesting event!

The event will be held on zoom.

There is no conference fee.

Participants are required to preregister here:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/join/register/tZAkcOysqjorEtGUDaggZ7q45GDhBVWkrZs4>

# Habsburg Civil Servants: Beyond the State Apparatus

# First Day



New York (GMT-5) 28 January	Vienna (GMT+1) 28 January	Sydney (GMT+10) 29 January	Wellington (GMT+12) 29 January		
1:00 PM	7:00 PM	5:00 AM	7:00 AM	Welcome by the organizers	
1:10 PM to 2:10 PM	7:10 PM to 8:10 PM	5:10 AM to 6:10 AM	7:10 AM to 8:10 AM	<p><b>Oana Sorescu-Iudean</b> (Centre for Population Studies, Babes-Bolyai University) "New People, Old Practices: The Habsburg Civil Servants in Hermannstadt, 1750-1800"</p> <p><b>Hugo Lane</b> (York College of the City University of New York) "Austrian Officials and the Polish-Ruthenian Divide to 1848"</p>	Officials and early Nationalists
2:10 PM	8:10 PM	6:10 AM	8:10 AM	10 minute break	
2:20 PM to 3:20 PM	8:20 PM to 9:20 PM	6:20 AM to 7:20 AM	8:20 AM to 9:20 AM	<p><b>Oliver Zajac</b> (German Historical Institute, Warsaw) "Czartoryski, Galicia, and plans for a future Polish uprising"</p> <p><b>Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici,</b> (Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca) "The multifaceted identity of state and county officials in Transylvania"</p>	Between National and Imperial
3:20 PM	9:20 PM	7:20 AM	9:20 AM	10 minute break	
3:30 PM to 4:30 PM	9:30 PM to 10:30 PM	7:30 AM to 8:30 AM	9:30 AM to 10:30 AM	<p><b>Peter Becker</b> (University of Vienna) <b>Jana Osterkamp</b> (LMU Munich) "A state and a desk"</p> <p><b>Marco Jaimes</b> (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) "Promotion and Protection: The Cult of Franz Joseph in Education and Law"</p>	The Emperor and his Officials
4:30 PM	10:30 PM	8:30 AM	10:30 AM	10 minute break	
4:40 PM to 5:40 PM	10:40 PM to 11:40 PM	8:40 AM to 9:40 AM	10:40 AM to 11:40 AM	<p><b>Marijan Dović</b> (Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies) "Imperial Censorship and Censors in Carniola during the Pre-March Period"</p> <p><b>Megan Richardson</b> (University of Melbourne) "The Good Bureaucrat: Kafka's Office Writings"</p>	Belles Lettres

# Habsburg Civil Servants: Beyond the State Apparatus

## Second Day



New York (GMT-5) 29 January	Vienna (GMT+1) 29 January	Sydney (GMT+10) 30 January	Wellington (GMT+12) 30 January		
12:00 PM to 1:00 PM	6:00 PM to 7:00 PM	4:00 AM to 5:00 AM	6:00 AM to 7:00 AM	<p><b>Christos Aliprantis</b> (Center for Advanced Studies, LMU Munich) “The transnational dimension of Austrian political police in an Age of Revolutions, 1830-1867”</p> <p><b>David Smrček</b> (Charles University, Prague – University of Vienna) “Bohemian Police during National Riots and Demonstrations around 1900”</p>	<b>The Police in society</b>
1:00 PM	7:00 PM	5:00 AM	7:00 AM	10 minute break	
1:10 PM to 2:10 PM	7:10 PM to 8:10 PM	5:10 AM to 6:10 AM	7:10 AM to 8:10 AM	<p><b>Daša Ličen</b> (Institute of Ethnology, Ljubljana) “State Administrators as the Essence of Change? The Case of Late Habsburg Trieste”</p> <p><b>Wolfgang Göderle</b> (University of Graz) “Bureaucracy in the late Habsburg Empire: The Vipers and Mongooses of Meleda”</p>	<b>Along the Adriatic Coast</b>
2:10 PM	8:10 PM	6:10 AM	8:10 AM	10 minute break	
2:20 PM to 3:20 PM	8:20 PM to 9:20 PM	6:20 AM to 7:20 AM	8:20 AM to 9:20 AM	<p><b>Lucija Balikić</b> (Central European University) “Serving Slavdom”: Southern Slavic Sokol members in public office and the politics of dualism”</p> <p><b>Alexander Maxwell</b> (Victoria University of Wellington) “Habsburg Officials and the ‘Slavic Language”</p>	<b>Officials and Slavdom</b>
3:20 PM	9:20 PM	7:20 AM	9:20 AM	10 minute break	
3:30 PM to 4:30 PM	9:30 PM to 10:30 PM	7:30 AM to 8:30 AM	9:30 AM to 10:30 AM	<p><b>Christopher Wendt</b> (European University Institute, Florence) “Civil Servants’ Struggles to Resuscitate the State in Post-Habsburg North Tyrol”</p> <p><b>Francesco Frizzera</b> (Museo Storico Italiano della Guerra, Rovereto) “Modernity v. Backwardness: Valeriano Malfatti and Rovereto on the outskirts of the Empire”</p>	<b>Governing the Tyrol Alps</b>

# Habsburg Civil Servants: Beyond the State Apparatus

## Third Day



New York (GMT-5) 30 January	Vienna (GMT+1) 30 January	Sydney (GMT+10) 31 January	Wellington (GMT+12) 31 January		
11:00 AM to 12:00 PM	5:00 PM to 6:00 PM	3:00 AM to 4:00 AM	5:00 AM to 6:00 AM	<b>Zdeněk Nebřenský</b> (German Historical Institute Warsaw) “Trade inspectors: State Apparatus and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy”  <b>Therese Garstenauer</b> (University of Vienna) “Manifold loyalties: Organizations of Women government employees in Cisleithania”	<b>Bureaucrats and Labour</b>
12:00 PM	6:00 PM	4:00 AM	6:00 AM	10 minute break	
12:10 PM to 1:10 PM	6:10 PM to 7:10 PM	4:10 AM to 5:10 AM	6:10 AM to 7:10 AM	<b>Orel Beilinson</b> (Yale University) “The Habsburg Civil Service as a Career.”  <b>Sven Mörsdorf</b> (European University Institute, Florence) “Consul Count Crenneville: An Aristocrat's Career in a 'Bourgeois' Consular Service”	<b>Official Careers</b>
1:10 PM	7:10 PM	5:10 AM	7:10 AM	10 minute break	
1:20 PM to 2:20 PM	7:20 PM to 8:20 PM	5:20 AM to 6:20 AM	7:20 AM to 8:20 AM	<b>Ágoston Berecz</b> (Imre Kertész Kolleg, Jena) “The Adversities of Imperial Mapmaking in Nation-state Hungary”  <b>Rachel Trode</b> (European University Institute, Florence) “Reframing Bureaucratic Failure – Civil Servants and the Nature of Habsburg Rule in Bosnia”	<b>Officials Containing Nationalism</b>
2:20 PM	8:20 PM	6:20 AM	8:20 AM	10 minute break	
2:30 PM to 4:00 PM	8:30 PM to 10:00 PM	6:30 AM to 8:00 AM	8:30 AM to 10:00 AM	<b>Mátyás Erdélyi</b> (GEFRES Prague), <b>Thomas Rohringer</b> (LMU Munich) “Administrative Reform Debates in Austria and Hungary 1890-1914”  <b>John Deak</b> (University of Notre Dame) “Visions of the Future in the Final Years of Peace: Two Views from Vienna during the Balkan Wars”	<b>The End of the Empire</b>
3:30 PM	9:30 PM	7:30 AM	9:30 AM	Question and Answer / Information session about publication plans	



# Abstracts

## Christos Aliprantis

(Center for Advanced Studies, LMU Munich)

### **"The transnational dimension of Austrian political police in an Age of Revolutions, 1830-1867"**

This contribution examines the activity of Austrian police officials and agents against political subversion between the Pre-March period and the 1867 Compromise. In a time, when revolutions seemed to threaten the political and social regimes across Europe, the Austrian central government established (political) police services, which often operated at a transnational basis. These police institutions targeted above all liberal, national and radical groups (usually political exiles), who resided mainly across the German and Italian states, France, and the Ottoman Empire, and supposedly aimed to destabilize the empire both before and after 1848. The article scrutinizes from a microhistorical

perspective several individuals, who performed police work, and adds to the debate regarding Habsburg state formation in a variety of ways. First, it seeks to understand the personal agency of mid- and lower rank police actors (civil servants, secret agents, denunciators) and their impact upon state building below high-level statesmen (Clemens von Metternich, Alexander Bach). Second, it investigates under which terms state formation took place abroad and how local circumstances affected the nature and methods of Austrian policing. Third, it grasps how private and/or para-state actors interacted with official police services, and therefore sheds light upon state-society relations as a whole.

## Lucija Balikić

(Central European University)

### **" 'Serving the Slavdom': Southern Slavic Sokol members in the public office and the politics of dualism in late Austria-Hungary"**

From the turn of century towards the outbreak of the First World War in various parts of the Dual Monarchy, an increasing number of civil servants began to engage with voluntary associations which could further their political agenda in a way that the existing institutional framework and the slowly democratizing party politics of the state could not. Through conquering the public space by organizing mass gymnastics events as part of the Sokol nationalist movement, the discontented civil servants could use the bodies of their political subjects to showcase the desired political community, both in form and content. This presentation

will thus explore not only the dynamics of changing of and expressing loyalty to alternative political elites, but also the changing symbolic geographies in their discourse and the process of ascribing ideological meaning to the body politic in question. Lastly, special attention will be paid to the differences between Cisleithania and Transleithania in this context, both in regard to practices of civil servants' participation in Sokol, but also in the state's respective reaction to Sokol's activities and the ideological output thereby produced.

## Peter Becker

(University of Vienna)

## Jana Osterkamp

(LMU Munich)

### **"A state and a desk"**

Emperor Francis Joseph remained the final authority for all legislative and governmental acts. About 350,000 acts of government passed through his desk during his long reign. Public administration was strongly presented among these cases. Until 1914, the emperor retained the final word in personnel management in public administration. This competence stretched from the authority to initiate a massive overhaul of public administration with the setup of an imperial commission in 1912 on the one hand to the promotion of civil servants and to raising the pension of their widows and orphans on the other hand. The desk of emperor Francis Joseph appeared to be the site where

public administration as the main pillar of the monarchy's state was managed even on a detailed level. Based on our statistical database comprising ca. 125.000 decisions of the emperor, covering the decisions of every third year of his reign, we will look at the ways in which the emperor managed the public service. We will be strongly interested in the ways in which he started to share his decision making authority over public administration with other, competing institutions such as the Imperial Court of Justice. The role of the Dienspragmatik, i.e. the juridification of the public service, will be strongly in our focus.

# Abstracts

## Orel Beilinson

(Yale University)

### **"The Habsburg Civil Service as a Career"**

My proposed contribution focuses on civil service as a career choice in imperial Austria and Hungary. It places in its center the not-yet-civil-servant and its parents; it studies attitudes not towards the bureaucracy, but towards the possibilities and limitations of becoming one of them. Stemming from my work on the emergence of the job market and the transition to adulthood in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, this chapter will focus on the bureaucracy both in its period of massive expansion as well as in its period of eventual stalemate, when the Drang nach a civil

servant's life was most lucrative up until the moment when it failed future adults. This inquiry will result in insights into young Habsburg subjects' views on their personal future, work-life, respectability, prospects for social mobility, and familial values and will reflect the differences they exhibit between generations and crownlands. The sources for the study include career choice manuals, contemporary newspapers and fiction, as well as diaries and memoirs written in all major Habsburg languages.

## Ágoston Berecz

(Imre Kertész Kolleg, Jena)

### **"The Adversities of Imperial Mapmaking in Nation-state Hungary"**

After 1867, Hungarian elites were given free rein to put in place nationalizing policies. Large-resolution maps turned out to be a rare domain of civil life where Magyarizing pursuits came up against resistance from Vienna. Although Hungarian governments commissioned maps for school use, only those published by the Vienna-based Institute of Military Geography were suitable for hikers. Therefore, as the nationally-minded Magyar elite discovered hill-walking as a hobby, they turned their ire on "German" mapmakers for featuring Slavic or Romanian topographical names on their maps. On the initiative of Transylvanian hiking activists, the Hungarian delegation

approached the Institute in 1891 to give preference to Hungarian names during its impending reambulation of Transylvania's mountains. However, military cartographers had practical considerations in view when selecting from name versions, and had laid down as a principle to resist nationalist leanings. A comparison between the map sheets in the two versions shows how far an all-imperial agency was willing to depart from its principles under political pressure from Hungary. At the same time, it also showcases the difficulty of applying objective standards to the nomenclature in bi- or trilingual environments.

## Christopher Wendt

(European University Institute, Florence)

### **"From a Pillar of Empire to the 'Scapegoat of Interest Politics'? Charting Civil Servants' Struggles to Resuscitate the State in Post-Habsburg North Tyrol"**

In early November 1918, after more than four years of seeing to the daily tasks of an empire at war, the work of district officials in the Habsburg Crownland of Tyrol came to an ignominious end. Suddenly, amidst military and imperial collapse, directives were no longer followed, and orders went unheeded. In truth, however, this impotence passed as quickly as it arrived. Within days, many were back at their posts, helping to manage a province in material, political, and social distress. But just how seamless was this transition after all? This paper considers how a group of officials near the top of the provincial administrative ladder—district captains (Bezirkshauptmänner)—weathered the post-WWI

transition in Austrian North Tyrol. Above all, it asks to what extent the relationship between the governing and the governed shifted as empire gave way to republic. Drawing on administrative sources and select ego documents, I examine how these officials balanced their substantial social authority with resentment from the war and popular expectations of post-war change. Ultimately, I mean to argue that district captains (among other officials) were indeed compelled to recalibrate their approach to citizens, signaling a shift that had ambivalent consequences for interwar Austria.

# Abstracts

## John Deak

(University of Notre Dame)

### **"Visions of the Future in the Final Years of Peace: Two Views from Vienna during the Balkan Wars"**

On 28 March 1913 news of the fall of Adrianople reached the Dalmatian city of Ragusa / Dubrovnik. A local group of Serbian musicians started a torch-light parade through the streets of the old town. As they played music in celebration, citizens of the town joined in, singing and dancing behind them. The Bulgarian national hymn, shouts of "Viva Serbia! Viva Balkan League" and "Viva King Peter" could be heard. This little episode prompted a paper war between the Territorial Commanders (Generals Oskar Potiorek and Blasius Schemua) and the War Minister and Chief of the General Staff on the one side and local administrators in Dalmatia and the central civilian Ministries in Vienna on the other. What

emerges in the angry exchange of memos (and even the strikingly derisive marginalia as other staff members reviewed them) are notably competing interpretations of these events in 1913, but competing visions of the future of the Habsburg Empire.

My paper will explore these competing ideas at play in 1913 and the larger visions that the Habsburg civil service was putting forward in the final years of peace. The paper will connect strongly to two themes outlined in the call for papers. First, the idea of civil servants as representing progress and advocating for local particularism. Second, as a pillar of the state who defined loyalty much differently than did the other pillar, the military.

## Marijan Dović

(Institute of Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

### **"Anatomy of the "Deadly Silence": Imperial Censorship and Censors in Carniola during the Pre-March Period"**

When Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, the first successful journal in Slovenian, celebrated its twentieth anniversary in 1863, its long-time editor Janez Bleiweis summed up the period from the end of the eighteenth century to the present: "Deadly silence reigned over the dear homeland until our Novice rose again from the grave." In this paper, I analyze the reasons for this silence in the period leading up to the 1848 Revolution: it will turn out that it was largely due to the tightened censorship that, under Chancellor Metternich and Police Commissioner Sedlnitzky, introduced strict control of the printed word throughout the monarchy. At the heart of this control, of course, was the work of the professional imperial

officials. I will examine how the intellectual landscape was shaped by censorship officials at the local level, particularly in Carniola: censors, provincial councilors and auditors such as Jurij Paušek, Anton Stelzich, Jurij Šporer, Janez Vesel, etc., but also prominent Slavic linguists-censors in Vienna, Jernej Kopitar and Fran Miklošič. As it will turn out, perhaps an even more decisive factor contributing to the "deadly silence" was the principled aversion to the (Slovenian) press in Vienna, which manifested itself in the administrative obstruction of newspapers—from the banning of Slavinja (1824) and Ilirske novice / Ilirske Merkur (1840) to the obstruction of Kmetijske in rokodelske novice for several years.

## Mátyás Erdélyi (CEFRES Prague)

## Thomas Rohringer (LMU Munich)

### **"Discovering Dualism in Debate: Administrative Reform Debates in Austria and Hungary 1890-1914"**

Recent historiography stresses that Imperial Austria and Hungary have taken different paths and evolved into two distinct states, only held together by the institutional framework of Dualism. This perspective on Imperial Austria and Hungary leaves open the question, which role Austria-Hungary played, besides its constituent parts. While economic historians have stressed that trade and financial flows increasingly interconnected both 'halves' of the empire and cultural historians have argued that Austria-Hungary constituted "a shared cultural space" (Rampey 2020, 7), histories of state and administration remain limited to the conflictual dimensions of the Dualist framework. The analysis of debates on administrative reform in Austria-Hungary highlights a peculiar 'mediated entanglement' (rather than bifurcation) as Imperial Austrian and Hungarian scholars looked at similar international examples while only Hungarian 'reformers' engaged with the debates in the Austrian 'half'. Scholars from both Imperial

Austria and Hungary shared problematizations of the administrative structures of the respective 'halves' of the empire and, more importantly, developed similar solutions for the problems they had identified. In other words, seemingly different political motifs resulted in commonalities concerning administrative reform as a means of political rule in both parts of the Monarchy. This calls into question the narrative that Imperial Austria and Hungary had developed different logics of how to deal with their populations. The present paper investigates administrative reforms in theory and practice based on three issues that the two states had to tackle between 1867 and 1918: the question of nationalization versus self-administration in local administration; the question of electing or appointing officials; and the reform concerning the territorial structure of the two composite states.

# Abstracts

## Francesco Frizzera

(Museo Storico Italiano della guerra, Rovereto)

### **Modernity versus Backwardness: Valeriano Malfatti and Rovereto on the outskirts of the Empire**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, civil servants in the Italian-speaking region of Trentino played a key role in the modernization process. Copying innovations from other cities of the Empire reinforced feelings of loyalty to the Empire, and helped establish a common path of development. Some civil servants were also active in politics or national associations. In both roles, political arguments frequently focused on the region's economic backwardness, which caused not only financial difficulties, but emigration and various illnesses linked to poverty. In public debate, civil servants blamed the Tyrolean and central government for not promoting development in the peripheral region, but

instead investing enormous sums in unproductive military fortifications. Freiherr Valeriano Malfatti, mayor of Rovereto (1886-1915), deputy to the Tyrolean Landtag (1883-1918) and member of the Reichsrat of Vienna (1885-1918) best embodied this unresolved tension between modernity, which learned into the Empire, and backwardness caused by the institutional framework of the Empire itself. Studying Malfatti's networks and his acts as a politician highlights the complex, competing loyalties felt by civil servants of the Habsburg Empire, loyalties not perceived as mutually exclusive

## Therese Garstenauer

(University of Vienna)

### **"Manifold loyalties: Organizations of Women government employees in Cisleithania"**

The development of infrastructure such as railways, postal and telegraph services, predominantly operated by the state, brought forth a new type of government employees. These new mass civil servants ("Massenbeamten") differed from their traditional Josephinist counterparts in political administration. For instance, they were likely to establish associations, including professional ones acting as precursors for later trade unions. The first women to enter government employment in the late 1860s onward did so in the aforementioned sectors. In my proposed contribution, I would like to explore organizations of female government employees in the late 19th and early 20th century. I would like to

discuss their position with regard to their environments. Firstly, this means their professional environment – e.g. with a view to their male colleagues and their organizations or the civil service and its ethos in general. Secondly, I will look at the relation of these organizations to the Austrian Women's Movement of the era. Thirdly, it will be worthwhile to look at national affinities and international relations. Although the history of the First Women Movement in the Habsburg Monarchy is rather well-researched, I argue that it is rewarding to take a new, intersectional look at the manifold loyalties of organized female government employees.

## Wolfgang Göderle

(University of Graz)

### **"Layers and Archeologies of Bureaucracy in the late Habsburg Empire: The Vipers and Mongooses of Meleda"**

According to new imperial history, the rapid expansion of the Habsburg Monarchy's civil service apparatus during the long 19th century can well be interpreted as a fundamental renovation of the mechanics of imperial rule, which was nothing short of a social transformation of the empire. Well more than 100,000 bureaucrats, their families and employees constituted the backbone of a new central European middle-class, this new group not only stabilized a society in the making, it further defined its values and designed its modernization. The proposed

presentation will look closer upon the empire in action in 1910, by scrutinizing one particular operation: Mongooses were resettled to the island of Meleda off the Dalmatian coast in order to tackle a snake plague there. The case not only provides new insights into different fields of administration on different levels – ministries of interior, trade, agriculture and finance – it particularly illustrates the interaction between those clearly defined strands of imperial power, and it allows to look upon the diversity of civil servants' lives.

# Abstracts

## Marco Jaimes

(University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

### "Promotion and Protection: The Cult of Franz Joseph in Education and Law"

My paper prioritizes the cult of the emperor and demonstrates how the Habsburg civil service sought to be recognized for contributing to and protecting the image of the penultimate monarch, Franz Joseph. I juxtapose two different groups of administrators: school officials, who sought to be included in imperial displays of power and authority; and officials at local prosecutors' offices, who were responsible for legally prosecuting crimes of *lèse-majesté* and thus were responsible for upholding the emperor's image. School officials sought imperial favors for their programs, offering to name schools and programs after the

royal family and hoping to garner the emperor's approval. They organized festivals, ceremonies, and other tributes to Franz Joseph, thereby passing traditions to the next generation. Legal officials, working out of regional prosecutors' offices, enforced these traditions by cracking down on challenges to the emperor's image and seeking to undermine challenges to the imperial image. Ultimately, these officials provide insight to the role of the cult of the emperor in Habsburg society and they were important intermediaries in promoting it to the broader public.

## Hugo Lane

(York College of the City University of New York)

### "Austrian Officials and the Polish-Ruthenian Divide to 1848"

This essay offers a novel interpretation of Austrian officials' attitudes towards the Ruthenians during the 1830s and 1840s that emphasizes the officials' role in opening the way for Ruthenians to declare themselves a separate and distinct nation in 1848. For far too long, the official exchanges that resulted from the submission of a number of manuscripts either written in Ruthenian or about Ruthenians written in Polish have been interpreted in a naive manner that assumed that Austrian officials were surprised by these efforts. This paper shows that the official deliberation about what to do with these manuscripts was in carefully orchestrated as part of a conscious effort by a few

Austrian officials based in Galicia to present the Ruthenians as potential allies against Galician Poles. This campaign bore fruit after the ill-fated 1846 Uprising, when no less than Metternich approved the idea of dividing Galicia into two separate crownlands as a way to manage the Poles in 1847. A year later, the Greek Catholic hierarchy gave its blessing to dividing Galicians according to ethnically defined nationality when a delegation led by the Greek Catholic Suffragan bishop presented the Galician Governor Count Franz Stadion with a petition declaring Ruthenians' loyalty to the Austrian Emperor.

## Daša Ličen

(Institute of Ethnology, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Art)

### "State Administrators as the Essence of Change? The Case of Late Habsburg Trieste"

Members of the Habsburg administrative apparatus accumulated enough cultural and social capital to become ordinary members of the bourgeoisie that strove to modernize, teach, civilize, and liberate the general population, often referred to as the "masses", during the 19th century. Building from the case of two bourgeois voluntary associations from late Habsburg Trieste, *Società Zoofila* and *Società triestina d'igiene*, I attempt to show administrators as proactive members of the local bourgeoisie,

who as such initiated new movements and spread new ideas from within and outside their offices. More concretely, the person who established an animal protection association, accepted its regulations, publicly argued for new animal welfare acts, could also officially punish the "torturers." State administrators thus commonly played a double role as prime movers in supporting new social values and as diligent administrators and supervisors of new norms.



# Abstracts

## Alexander Maxwell

(Victoria University of Wellington)

### **“Habsburg Officials and the ‘Slavic Language’”**

During the nineteenth century, Slavic savants in the Habsburg Empire, most notably the pioneering Slavist Pavel Josef Šafařík, routinely posited a single Slavic “language,” implicitly or explicitly downgrading provincial varieties of Slavic to mere “dialects.” This linguistic pan-Slavism, as its advocates described it, inspired nationalist activism and language planning on behalf of individual “dialects.” Several Habsburg officials also shared this basic assumption of a single Slavic language with different written

dialects. This paper documents linguistic pan-Slavism among officials in various branches of the Habsburg state apparatus. It contextualizes the belief in a single “Slavic language” as compared to belief in multiple particularist Slavic languages. It also estimates the strength of linguistic pan-Slavism in different crownlands, finding that the particularist Polish and Czech languages enjoyed more widespread recognition than Slovak and Slovene.

## Sven Mörsdorf

(European University Institute, Florence)

### **“Consul Count Crenneville: An Aristocrat's Career in a ‘Bourgeois’ Consular Service”**

Consuls, or lower-ranking diplomats stationed at places far away from dynastic courts and capitals, led the way in a global transformation of diplomatic practice in the long nineteenth century. Austria-Hungary participated in this process as a major diplomatic player, but its consular service has received little scholarly attention. My proposed paper discusses the curious case of an aristocratic consul in the largely bourgeois k.u.k. Konsulardienst. Drawing on administrative files as well as letters and a private diary, I will probe into the reasons why Count Crenneville, a young man to whom all doors stood wide open, took on a ‘small’ consular career and how his superior social rank

affected his interactions with his less privileged consular colleagues as well as ordinary people at his diplomatic posts. Crenneville's and his consular colleagues' daily work unfolded both inside and outside what is traditionally perceived as ‘the state’, calling into question simplistic notions on what diplomacy is, where it is practiced, and by whom. I will argue that bureaucrat-diplomats such as Crenneville allow us to re-imagine the Austro-Hungarian foreign service as a complex bureaucracy in which a diverse group of officials engaged in shared social, institutional, and diplomatic practices.

## Zdeněk Nebřenský

(German Historical Institute Warsaw)

### **“Trade inspectors and the Dynamic of State Apparatus and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1884-1914”**

The paper deals with the activities of the trade inspectors in Cisleithania between 1884 and 1914. Following the recommendations of Gary B. Cohen, the article argues that trade inspectors contributed to changes in civil service that was much more considerate of the working and social conditions of industrial workers. Trade inspectors had a duty to check compliance with the trade order and legal rules relating to the protection of workers' lives and health. Trade inspectors regularly published annual reports on the results of their activities. As they initially had very limited competences, their reports were the only

way to draw attention to the social and working conditions of workers. Through these reports, trade inspectors influenced state authorities and the public, who pressed for changes in the industry. At the beginning of the 20th century, a new law on labour and social conditions in factories was passed. Although the trade inspectors did not change the structural determinants of industrial capitalism in the Habsburg Monarchy, without their activities industrialists would not have adopted social measures on the large scale that they did.

# Abstracts

**Judit Pál**

(Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca)

**Vlad Popovici**

(Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca,  
Masaryk Institute and Archive of the Czech Academy of Sciences)

## **"The multifaceted identity of state and county officials in Transylvania (19th to early 20th centuries)"**

The multiethnic and multi-confessional character of Transylvania, present since the Middle Ages, was also reflected, although not always accurately, in the composition of the civil servants' corps. The latter have always been accustomed to wearing more than one hat, usually mediating between the needs and expectations of the political authority on the one hand, and the interest of other institutions, or their personal views and beliefs, on the other hand. Political and social changes in the Monarchy, especially in the last decades of its existence, further complicated their situation. In Hungary, including Transylvania, after 1867, the acceleration of the nation-building process, alongside the growing expectations of the government in Budapest that its officials would become promoters of the idea of a Hungarian nation-state, have often placed civil servants of different ethnic background at a loyalty

crossroads. The main hypothesis of our paper is that civil servants in Transylvania exhibited a multifaceted identity, whose constitutive elements were not always complementary, but sometimes conflicting. This resulted in a tension, and a complicated game of loyalties, between their professional standing and allegiance to the state and government, and alternate identities, such as the ethnic/national, confessional, regional, ideological or cultural ones, both in everyday actions and on the occasion of special events or conflicts. We also aim at discussing the issue of identity versus personal interest as well as the part played by subjective choices and momentary psychological reactions in decisions which seemingly transgress the sense of identity and loyalties explicitly expressed by the respective person.

**Megan Richardson**

(University of Melbourne)

## **"The Good Bureaucrat – Kafka's Office Writings"**

Even as the German sociologist Max Weber was writing about bureaucracy as a rational form of government, others were articulating a different vision. Notable among them was the Bohemian novelist Franz Kafka. In his final unfinished enigmatic novel, *The Castle*, the protagonist "K" arrives in a village, is apparently anointed as a land surveyor in a mysterious telephone call and summoned to the castle to receive his credentials, but against the weight of bureaucratic authority struggles to gain formal acknowledgement of his role or right to be in the village. As Torben Jørgensen puts it, "Max Weber's and Franz Kafka's respective understandings of bureaucracy are as different as night and day. Yet, Kafka's novel *The Castle* is best

read with Max Weber at hand". Thus, while Weber posits an ideal bureaucratic state, Kafka identifies with an individual experiencing bureaucracy's vicissitudes as a marginalized outsider who could represent any of us at a given moment. Yet the irony is that Kafka, in his "day job" as an employee at the Workmen's Accident Insurance Institute in Prague, was not only a bureaucrat but a good bureaucrat who in his professional conduct epitomised the Weberian ideal. This paper will explore the dichotomy between Kafka's *Castle* bureaucrats and his own bureaucratic practice as reflected in his collected *Office Writings*

**David Smrček**

(Charles University, Prague – University of Vienna)

## **"Police Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Bohemian Police during National Riots and Demonstrations around 1900"**

At the end of the 19th century, police found themselves in an unenviable position, as the escalating national conflict caused multiple large riots and demonstrations in Bohemia. Policemen were often forced to balance between their imagined national communities and their duty towards the state. This turned up to be a challenging task during the emotionally charged and tiring interventions during the riots. Furthermore, policemen were frequently blamed for siding with one nation, and, often hand-in-hand, deliberately "terrorizing" the members of the other. To mitigate the criticism, the police force constantly had to strategize not only when acting on the streets but also when

negotiating with other members of the state or local administration (Bohemian governor, minister of interior, city council, e.g.). Thus, police officers were left with very little space for maneuvering. After analyzing Czech and German media as well as police documents, I would like to present the complexity of the position of policemen in Bohemian society, as well as the strategies and mechanisms that law enforcement applied during the demonstrations and riots to prevent the judgment not only from the members of the nation but also from the representatives of the state administration

# Abstracts

## Oana Sorescu-Iudean

(Centre for Population Studies, Babes-Bolyai University)

### **“New People, Old Practices: The Habsburg Civil Servants in Hermannstadt, 1750-1800”**

This paper examines the less visible and more mundane changes experienced by those who joined the Empire from the ranks of the Saxon Nation, based on probate records, correspondence, memoirs, and various official documentation from the local Magistrate of Hermannstadt, during the second half of the eighteenth century. While acknowledging that the Habsburg administration actively worked to reshape the social and political landscape of the province, an attempt often met with striking resistance from the staunchly Lutheran Transylvanian Saxons as it ingressed upon centuries-long autonomies, customs, and

habits, it argues that this prevailing narrative obscures much of the lived experiences of those who entered the imperial administration. Moreover, the examination looks at the interactions between the two administrations – imperial and local-national – in the provincial capital to refocus the artificially dichotomous narrative of national vs. imperial loyalties, drawing a comparison between these two corps of servants, the extent to which they intermingled, and the social-economic spaces they occupied.

## Rachel Trode

(European University Institute, Florence)

### **“Reframing Bureaucratic Failure – Civil Servants and the Nature of Habsburg Rule”**

Following the conclusion of the general strike of Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1906, civil servants of the Habsburg occupation administration attempted to figure out why exactly these events had occurred. Their reports pointed to the pursuits of local actors involved in the workers' movement and efforts to enact agrarian reform, as well as national activists. Interestingly, the civil servants also often blamed administrators on the ground for having failed to act to prevent these moments of social conflict. Traditionally scholars of Habsburg Bosnia have interpreted bureaucratic inconsistencies, deviations, and failures like those of May 1906 in the context of the regime's ongoing

attempts to establish control after 1878. But what if we stepped back to reconsider these instances in their own terms? This paper argues that in the case of May 1906 such moments of perceived failure were often occasions where administrators debated their relationship to local actors as well as to other civil servants, and provide insight into the nature of Habsburg rule in Bosnia. Moreover, the case demonstrates how the reframing of supposed bureaucratic failure can provide a means to investigate the relationship between government, state, and society across the entire monarchy as called for by Cohen and Lindström.

## Oliver Zajac

(German Historical Institute, Warsaw)

### **“The Habsburg bureaucracy as a revolutionary ally? Czarторыські, Galicia, and plans for a future Polish uprising”**

Stereotypically, the Habsburg bureaucracy has been viewed as an anti-nationalist force that loyally served the unitarian and centralistic policy of the Viennese court. Consequently, the politically active members of Central European national movements have been its main enemy. However, the case of Galician bureaucracy and its reflection by the aristocratic Polish emigrational fraction Hotel Lambert tells the opposite story. Josephinian project to transform Galicia into a role-model province was turned upside down during the first half of the 19th century. Instead of promoting Germanisation, Austrian bureaucrats smoothly became a target of Polonisation. The leaders of Hotel Lambert have closely observed this process since they considered Galicia to be one of the critical elements in

their plan to restore the independent Polish state. Therefore, while Czarторыські and his collaborators have approached Austrian bureaucracy as an enemy for a long time, during the late 30s and 40s of the 19th century, they radically change their tone. The (Polonised) Austrian bureaucrats have suddenly become the example that ought to be used in favour of the Polish cause. Not only that, but they should also be publicly praised and honoured! The proposed paper deals with this exciting phenomenon of radical change within the Hotel Lambert discourse about Austrian bureaucracy and analyses the strategies its leaders wanted to apply to use the pro-Polish transformation within Galician bureaucracy.

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