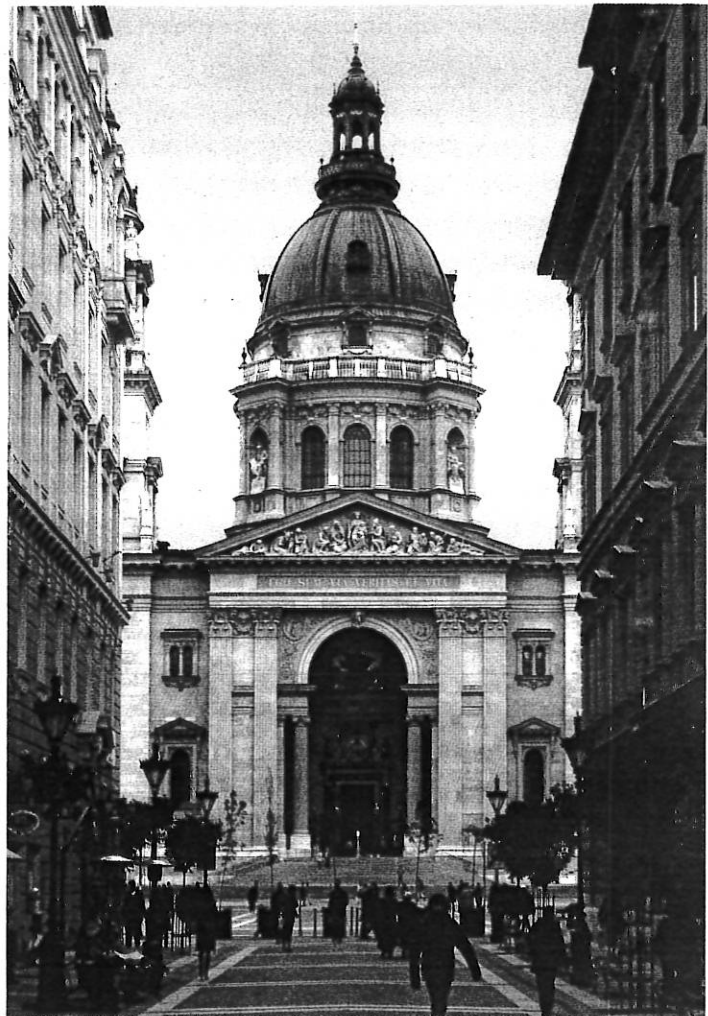


The Super-ego of the Empire: Church and State

The most lasting changes that took place in the relationship between the Church and the State were brought about in the reign of Joseph II (1780–1790). Joseph began with the premise that society as a whole had common interests, and therefore concluded that he had to initiate comprehensive ecclesiastical policies. This primarily meant a revision of the role played by the Catholic Church as well as a declaration of religious tolerance towards non-Catholic Christian denominations. This defined the life of the Empire's religious institutions until 1918.

After 1790 a legal basis was formed in Hungary and Transylvania granting freedom of religion to the Lutheran, Reformed, Greek Orthodox and Unitarian Churches, albeit with more restricted rights than those enjoyed by the Catholic Church. At the same time, the state reserved the right to appoint the bishops of the Catholic Church.

As a result of the increasing liberalism of the first half of the 19th century, a struggle was waged in both the eastern and western halves of the Empire to restrict the privileges of the Catholic Church and achieve equality between all denominations, much of which was indeed ensured by the constitutions of 1848. The suppression of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848–1849 created a fundamentally new situation. In the 1850s, absolutism became popular again. This resulted in a questioning of the conduct of many of the Hungarian bishops during the Revolution, which forced many of them to step down from their positions. At the same time, another group of leading churchmen retained their politically conservative opinions. At the beginning of this period, the Church was unhappy with the measures introduced by Franz Joseph to curtail Joseph II's policies (which were known as Josephinism) and in 1855 this process led to the concordatum signed between the Holy See and the Habsburg Empire. The state fully embraced the standpoint of the Catholic Church in the area of marriage law and furthermore ensured the predominantly Catholic nature of education. The objective of Archbishop Rauscher of Vienna was for the political unity of the Empire to be coupled with religious unity. However, the Hungarian episcopate was not able to fully enjoy the numerous advantages granted to them by the concordatum, since the agreement did not take into account the independence of the Hungarian Catholic Church. At the same time, the ecclesiastical



Above: The construction of Saint Stephen's Basilica in Budapest, designed by the architect József Hild, was begun in 1851. Because of construction delays and Hild's death the church was finally built in the Neo-Renaissance style according to Miklós Ybl's design.

Percentage of denominations in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the time of the 1880 census

	Catholics Total	From all Catholics		Greek Orthodox	Lutheran	Calvinist	Unitarian	Israelite	other
		Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic*						
AUSTRIA									
<i>Lower Austria</i>	93.96	93.86	0.10	0.09	1.49	0.22	–	4.08	0.16
<i>Upper Austria</i>	97.63	97.62	0.01	0.01	2.13	0.02	–	0.13	0.08
<i>Salzburg</i>	99.46	99.45	0.01	0.00	0.42	0.04	–	0.07	0.01
<i>Styria</i>	99.06	99.06	0.00	0.02	0.72	0.04	–	0.15	0.01
<i>Carinthia</i>	94.93	94.93	0.00	0.01	5.01	0.01	–	0.04	0.00
<i>Krajna</i>	99.80	99.76	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.03	–	0.02	0.00
<i>Coastal region</i>	98.29	98.27	0.02	0.50	0.23	0.11	–	0.79	0.08
<i>Tyrol and Vorarlberg</i>	99.69	99.68	0.01	0.01	0.18	0.06	–	0.06	0.00
<i>Bohemia</i>	96.04	96.02	0.02	0.01	1.01	1.14	–	1.70	0.10
<i>Moravia</i>	95.23	95.18	0.05	0.03	1.05	1.63	–	2.05	0.01
<i>Silesia</i>	84.48	84.48	0.00	0.00	13.960	0.02	–	1.52	0.02
<i>Galicia</i>	87.72	45.43	42.290	0.05	0.62	0.06	–	11.520	0.03
<i>Bukovina</i>	14.35	11.14	3.21	70.87	2.32	0.17	–	11.790	0.50
<i>Dalmatia</i>	83.38	83.35	0.03	16.540	0.01	0.01	–	0.06	0.00
<i>Total</i>	91.35	79.86	11.490	2.23	1.31	0.49	–	4.54	0.08
<i>Population</i>	20,229,825	17,645,648	2,544,177	493,542	289,005	110,525		1,005,394	15,953
COUNTRIES OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY									
<i>Hungary</i>	58.07	47.22	10.850	14.110	8.07	14.740	0.40	4.55	0.06
<i>out of this Transylvania</i>	40.36	12.68	27.680	31.870	9.59	14.050	2.64	1.44	0.20
<i>Fiume (and environs)</i>	98.38	98.24	0.14	0.19	0.44	0.49	–	0.43	0.07
<i>Croatian/Slavonia</i>	71.71	71.15	0.56	26.300	0.81	0.45	0.00	0.71	0.02
<i>Total</i>	59.77	50.18	9.59	15.560	7.18	12.990	0.37	4.08	0.05
<i>Population</i>	9,350,183	7,849,692	1,500,491	2,434,890	1,122,849	2,031,803	55,792	638,314	8,271
AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY									
<i>Population</i>	29,580,008	25,495,340	4,044,668	2,928,432	1,411,854	2,142,328	55,792	1,643,708	24,224

*Including data about Armenian Catholics (3,223 in Austria, 2,854 in Hungary; 6,077 persons in total).

Source: Statistisches Handbuch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Neue Folge. Vienna, 1888. pp. 6–7.

The above table illustrates that in Austria (Cisleithania) – with one or two marked exceptions – the Catholic Church was clearly dominant, while there was a diverse range of denominations in the Kingdom of Hungary. The old Austrian hereditary provinces (Upper Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Krajna and Tyrole) were almost homogeneously Catholic, but Bohemia and Moravia also had a high proportion of Catholics at some 95 per cent. There were significant minorities of Lutheran Germans in Silesia and Greek Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia. Galicia was the only independent province in which there was no absolute majority of one denomination. This was because of a significant number of the Rusyn-speaking Catholics, with a similar proportion to those following the Latin liturgy. It is worthy of note that some 70 per cent of Bukovina's population was Greek Orthodox. Both Galicia and Bukovina had a significant proportion of Jews.

policy of absolutism regarded the strengthening of the Catholic Church's influence in Hungary as important, and this approach was initially expressed by the re-establishment of the Hungarian Jesuit order in 1853. From the end of the 1850s the letter and spirit of the concordat were increasingly less adhered to in Vienna.

The development of the relationship between State and Church in the two halves of the Empire

Directly following the Compromise of 1867 the most important issues of ecclesiastical policy concentrated on two problems: on the one hand, how the State would deal with the legacy of the concordatum (to be more precise, how they would put an end to it while at the same time keeping the Church's interests in mind), and on the other hand, to what extent the State would be capable of realising reforms in ecclesiastical policy, and the division of State and Church demanded by a society undergoing modernisation. After 1867 the revival of the liberal heritage determined ecclesiastical policy in both halves of the Empire. It was true throughout the entire history of the Monarchy that although the Compromise created the opportunities of equality before the law in principle for all denominations, certain privileges harking back to feudalism were still retained by the Catholic Church. The State exercised its right of patronage towards the Catholic Church and of supervision towards the rest of the religious denominations. The Catholic Church received financial support from the State budget but was able to supplement this with income derived from its position as the most important landowner in the Empire, while other established churches were only able to supplement their respective incomes from the State with what could be collected from their parishioners.

The focal point of the most important reforms in ecclesiastical policy was the 1870s in Austria (Cisleithania) and the 1890s in Hungary. Austrian liberals had been preparing for social reforms as early as the first half of the 1860s and on the eve of the Compromise the dissolution of the concordatum became the symbol of constitutionality for them. Their aspirations were demonstrated by the Austrian Basic Law, passed at the end of 1867, which ensured among its fundamental rights of the individual a declaration of complete freedom of religion and conscience, including the right to the free practise of religions not formally recognised by law. However, the revived Hungarian generation of 1848 and those liberals who had returned from emigration were far more concerned that the validity of the civil laws of 1848 should be recognised, which inevitably included issues in regard to the relationship between State and Church. The concordatum issue, which was seen as a sensitive issue in Austria, was not even raised in Hungary, since in the Hungarian interpretation the concordatum was signed in a period when the constitutional independence of the country did not exist.

In the summer and autumn of 1867, the concordatum issue tested the strength of the liberals preparing for government. The relevant draft bills had been drawn up, and it

Below: Europe's biggest synagogue is in Budapest. It was built in the Romantic style, between 1854 and 1859, and was designed by Ludwig Förster with the collaboration of Frigyes Feszl. There are over 3,000 seating places in the three-aisled hall church.



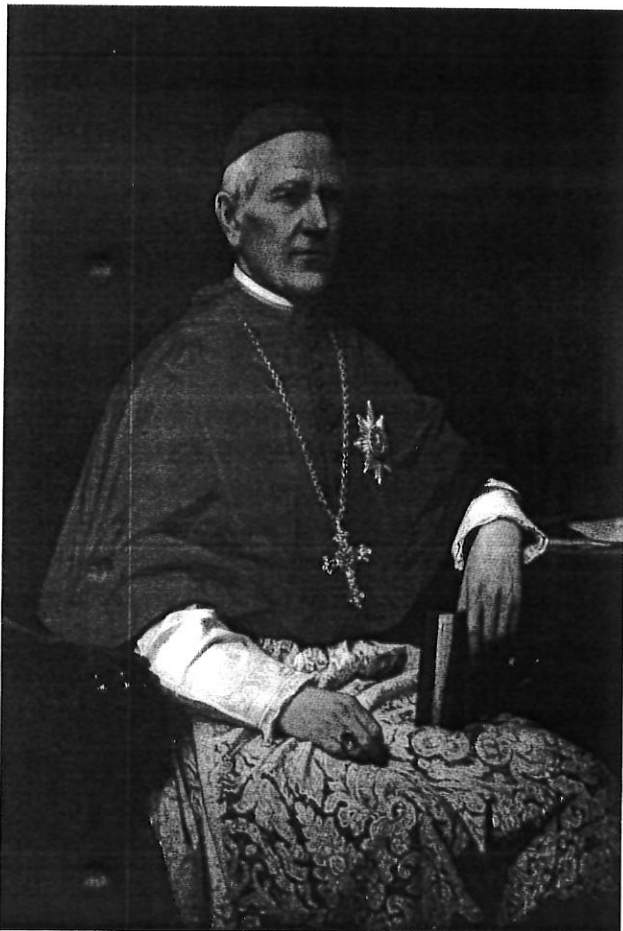
Above: The Graz Cathedral between the buildings of the old town.

was no coincidence that 25 prelates submitted a joint supplication demanding that Franz Joseph uphold the integrity of the concordatum, which was especially emphasised by Pope Pius IX (*see painting, top right*). At the beginning of 1868, Eduard Herbst, the Minister of Justice in Karl Ausburg's cabinet, submitted three draft bills relating to the basic pillars of the concordatum. In cases where the Church opposed the conclusion of marriage, civil marriage was offered as an alternative, while marriage trial cases were taken out of the hands of Church courts. The 'imperial public education act' upheld the practice of compulsory religious education and the observation of the religious fundamentals of moral upbringing, but at the same time it stipulated eight years of compulsory education independent of any religious denomination, and in addition laid down the State's most important supervisory rights in issues of education policy. These acts, which had a markedly liberal tone, were sanctified by the ruler on the 25 May 1868.

At the end of the 1860s, József Eötvös, the Minister of Religion and Public Education in Hungary's Andrassy cabinet, sought before all else to base future reforms in ecclesiastical policy on the provision of autonomy for the Catholic Church. The reason for this was that the Hungarian episcopate would only support the government if its interpretation of the reintroduced ecclesiastical act of 1848 did not promote secularisation and endanger the monopoly the Catholic Church had over educational policy. While Eötvös regarded an autonomous Catholic Church as a joint self-governing organ of the priesthood and believers, the prelate of the Catholic Church, led by the Bishop of Esztergom János Simor (*see painting, left*), saw it as a self-defensive initiative aimed at avoiding the possibility of State intervention. The 1868 public education act made it possible to establish schools independent of religious denomination as well as inter-denominational primary level schools, all of which was regarded by the Catholic Church as an attack upon the monopoly it had enjoyed in school affairs. A storm of a similar scale was stirred up by the issue of mixed marriages and in a wider sense by the general regulation of marriage law, both of which became the starting point for debates that ensued about ecclesiastical policy. The relevant passage of the act on 'the reciprocity of established Christian religious denominations' declared that in future children born out of a mixed marriage would follow the religion of their parents

according to gender. In contrast, the Catholic Church wished to maintain the practice whereby its priests would only bless mixed marriages if the Protestant partner in the marriage declared that their offspring would be baptised in the Catholic faith. Although these recognizances had lost their State validity, the Catholic Church wished to continue employing them, even though in legal terms they ended up christening children that were registered by law as a different religion.

By a twist of fate, in the summer of 1870 the conservative-leaning Austrian government, led by Count Potocki, facilitated the termination of the concordatum. This created a new situation, opening the road towards further reform in ecclesiastical policy; however, this was then hindered by the liberals being ousted from governmental office as a result of their defeat in the election of 1870 as well as by the coming to power of the

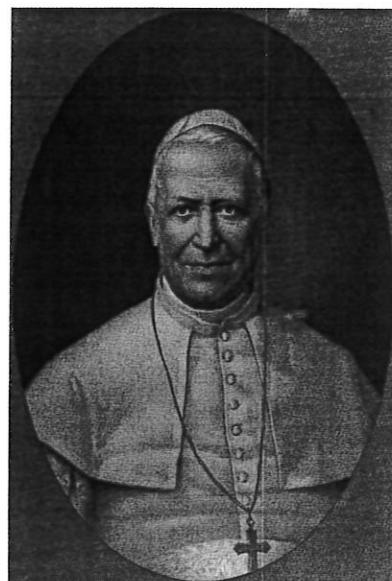


Above: Prince primate János Simor, who crowned Franz Joseph King of Hungary on 8 June 1867, had been awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Stephen two days earlier. His portrait, which is now preserved in the Esztergom Christian Museum, was painted by Sándor Liezen Mayer in 1886.

conservative leaning Hohenwart cabinet that put aside the relevant draft bills. The Hungarian government was in a far more uncomfortable position at the time of the Vatican council: at a time of uncertainty, when the main objective of the government was to stabilise the system created by the compromise of 1867, the Andrassy government had no desire to open up new fronts, for example with the Catholic Church, but at the same time it had clearly stated that council decisions contrary to Hungary's traditions and interests would be rejected. In the end, the Hungarian episcopate – similarly to the Central-European bishops – did not participate in the final vote. One consequence of the conflict involving the placetum in Hungary was that during the period of 1874–1875 a comprehensive draft bill to regulate the relationship between Church and State was drawn up upon the demands of the liberals in the Hungarian parliament.

In Vienna, the aspirations of liberals who believed in the separation of Church and State accelerated in the first half of the 1870s. The Constitutional Party pressed for 'bills on ecclesiastical policy replete with real and true spirit, and real reform', and primarily for mandatory civil marriage to be codified into law. In the parliamentary debates on the proposals numerous representatives of the Constitutional Party made demands that went beyond the government's proposal (e.g. that civil registration of births be made compulsory), calling for the settlement of the situation of the old Catholic parishes that had rejected papal infallibility and for the State supervision of religious denominations to be guaranteed. The Catholic Church interpreted every change as an attack against their Church and Christianity (according to Archbishop Rauscher the government's plans 'carry on them the peculiar mark of distrust and mercilessness'), and the Pope renewed his protest. In the spirit of returning to the tradition of Josephinism, the cabinet argued that the reforms were not directed against the Catholic Church and that their aim was rather to realise a model of State–Church relationship that was in line with a modern society. The situation of the old Catholics was finally settled, and the achievements of the school act were ensured in this spirit. The acts on ecclesiastical policy introduced in the mid-1870s fundamentally defined the ecclesiastical policy in Cisleithania until the end of the Monarchy, and no radical reform took place after this point. No further results could be expected from 1879, when the conservative Taaffe cabinet was formed. Yet, the liberals did not suffer a defeat, since during the development of a fundamentally State–Church (absolutist) system, they were able to place the relationship between State and Church in Austria onto a new foundation. The two spheres were separated to such a degree that there could no longer be any doubt that the State was secular in nature. The Church's influence became increasingly focussed on its own internal affairs, and it was allowed to assume its role in the public sphere only within the existing framework provided. Back in 1871 Franz Joseph had clearly stated that he was aware of Stremayr's proposals; however, he was not willing to go beyond them.

In Hungary, the governments which followed that of Gyula Andrassy devoted less attention to ecclesiastical policy due to the uncertainty that existed in internal affairs (they did not wish to burden public life with new conflicts), and in a paradoxical way the same can be said of Kálmán Tisza's long period in office as prime minister (between 1875 and 1890). The process of separation between Church and State continued mostly in the area of educational policy, especially in regard to the secondary school act of 1883. In 1881 a proposal was prepared to allow marriage between Christians and Jews, although



Above: *During his long papacy (1846–1878) Pius IX was unable to change the thinking or behaviour of the Catholic Church to make it conform with the needs of the period.*

Below: *The conservative Joseph Othmar von Rauscher, the bishop of Saint Stephen's Cathedral (Stephansdom) in Vienna, conducted the wedding ceremony of Elizabeth and Franz Joseph in 1854.*



Tisza wanted to postpone this because of the anti-semitic sentiments that were aroused by the 'blood trial' of Tiszaeszlár both in internal and external politics. This was the trial in which Jewish koshers were accused of murdering a 12-year-old girl to use her blood in a ritual sacrifice. Nevertheless, the proposal failed in the Upper House of Parliament due to the opposition of the episcopate.

In Cislaitania, during the period of the Taaffe government the Church and the conservative-clerical political forces that were allied with it made several attempts to trim earlier reforms. In the course of these efforts their most significant success was in 1883, when they achieved the revision of the school act. The new act not only declared that communities would have recourse to their own scope of authority in deciding whether to introduce six or eight years of elementary education, but also that pupils' religious affiliation should be taken into consideration and that religious education in schools should only be directed by Catholics. The period of the Taaffe government is also marked by attempts to improve the financial lot of the clergy through both minor and more significant measures. For example, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was followed by the introduction of an act in 1912, which granted State recognition of the Islamic faith.

The Hungarian government had long procrastinated in dealing with the problems inherent in ecclesiastical policy but in the end they were no longer able to avoid the issue; in fact, after a while they did not even wish to. The government urged the regulation of the most important issues of marriage law as the number of mixed marriages continually increased. Furthermore, it wanted to address the problem of the heterogeneous regulation in regard to canon law of established Christian denominations. The 1868 act of reciprocity provided only a

partial solution to issues that emerged in the Monarchy with a population of many nationalities and denominations living together. Another problem was that the legal basis for the separation of Church and State was seriously lacking. However, what for the liberals was a trifling matter was an extremely shocking one for the Catholic Church. One of the passages of the penal code of 1879 sanctioned the acceptance of individuals aged under 18 into a non-Catholic denomination. The Minister of Culture, Ágoston Trefort, published a decree that made it obligatory for pastors who baptised children 'away from the Catholic Church' to forward the certificates of baptism to the legally competent parish. The Catholic Church opposed the very mention of this decree and rather sought to trim away at the legal basis of the measures introduced by the act of 1868. In 1890, the decree prohibiting the baptism of children 'away from the Catholic Church' was renewed by a text that took religious interests into consideration more than ever before; yet, the response of the Catholic Church was one of rejection and a stormy campaign ensued from the pulpits as well as in the press.

The government even tried to find a path that would lead to agreement with Rome; however, in his response to the government's initiatives Pope Leo XIII made clear his insistence that the act of 1868 'trampling upon the rights of the Church' should be abolished. The government was forced to take a certain approach because the papal letter resulted in mass opposition from the Church, and internal political tension was created by the punishment of priests who carried out baptism away from the Catholic Church. There remained no other recourse than to again turn to the alternative of State



Above: Sándor Wekerle on his village estate with his wife. As prime minister, Wekerle was committed to bringing about ecclesiastical reform.

birth certificates and the related issue of civil marriages. The conservative religious political forces were confident that having succeeded in postponing the drawing up of ecclesiastical policy acts through compromises they would also be able to block it for good. In 1891 Simor was succeeded in his seat of archbishop by Kolos Vaszary, who at the outset showed himself to be more open to compromise. However, by this time the government did not want a half solution, and thus put forward proposals on civil marriage and State birth certificates. In the meantime, the post of prime minister was occupied by Sándor Wekerle (1892–1895), who was committed to bringing in ecclesiastical policy reform. For the Catholic Church the stakes were enormous: to preserve what was left of the State–Church heritage and to prevent the rules of law required by a developing middle-class society from being introduced.

In the autumn of 1893, in his encyclical letter beginning *Constanti Hungarorum* devoted entirely to Hungary, the Pope expressly exhorted the Catholic Church and its adherents to follow the path of opposition. However, shortly after this (following the draft bills proposing equal rights before the law for Israelite denominations, the introduction of State registration of births and the free practise of religion) the bill on mandatory civil marriage was prepared. This time Franz Joseph – in line with Cisleithanian practice – did his utmost to keep liberal demands to a minimum. At the same time, an interesting situation arose in the Hungarian parliament: the acts on ecclesiastical policy that the liberal opposition had long demanded were now advanced by the government side; thus presenting the liberals with a dilemma whether they should support the government or reject their own initiatives.

The parliamentary debate had to be suspended following the death of the 92-year-old Lajos Kossuth (*see box below*). The Catholic Church did not officially participate in the mourning and went so far as to prohibit bell ringing in connection with the event. After a



'At Kossuth's funeral everybody was there who counted the least bit in Hungary ... Hundreds and hundreds of thousands occupied the streets because it had been declared in advance by what route Kossuth's body would be conveyed to the cemetery,' reported Gyula Krúdy in his piece entitled The Dead Kossuth in Pest.



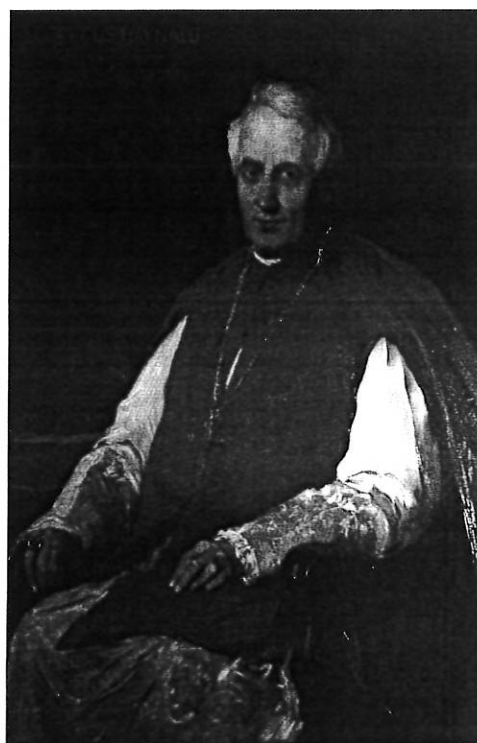


Above: *Dezső Bánffy, who was unpopular in liberal circles, also found himself in conflict with the representatives of the radical line of the Church. In April 1895 the new papal legate, Agliardi, arrived in Hungary and called for people to fight the anti-ecclesiastical laws. He even declared a crusade against modern legislation. Bánffy's protests led to diplomatic complications and the resignation of the joint minister for foreign affairs.*

lengthy parliamentary tug-of-war the liberals finally won with a narrow majority, while Wekerle even gained the sanctification of the Emperor by threatening to resign. The acts on civil marriage and the State registration of births took away the monopoly long enjoyed by the Catholic Church, creating equality before the law for all denominations and providing the conditions for the actual realisation of a secular state. The act on the religion of children revived the provision of 1868 (i.e. that a child adopts the religion of his/her parent of the same sex) and also provided the opportunity for parents to freely decide prior to getting married which denomination, if it happened to be one other than their own, they wished their children to be baptised into. However, this agreement had to be sanctioned before State and not Church officials. Wekerle was succeeded in his post by Dezső Bánffy and it was during his prime ministership that the Israelite religion was declared as established, and the act sanctifying the freedom of religious practise was passed, which crowned the success of ecclesiastical reform. The act declared that everybody was free to follow any kind of religious conviction, within of course the limitations set by public order and morality. It provided complete freedom in the area of choosing one's religion and indeed, in keeping with Austrian legislative practice, it also declared the opportunity to remain outside of any denomination. From the aspect of State, ecclesiastical law denominations fell into one of three groups: established denominations, groups recognised by law and groups not recognised by law. The established denominations were granted a wide range of licences, such as being entitled to a share of the public budget and the maintenance of their institutions. It was a clear indication of the legislator's intention that at the time of the act being passed the category of 'recognised by law' was still blank, since the possibility was left open for new religious movements that were willing to adapt themselves to society in a legal way. For example, in 1905 the Baptist Church was declared as legally recognised by ministerial decree, and later in 1916 Islam attained the same kind of status on the basis of this legal authorisation.

At the turn of the century the attention of the Catholic Church in Austria was increasingly directed at the revival of religious life in the face of a religious crisis, which occurred in parallel with the development of Christian socialism. Also playing a role in the

revival of religious life was George Schönerer's pan-Germanic movement, which initiated the *Los vom Rom Bewegung* (Away from Rome Movement; meaning a step away from the Catholic Church) which primarily promoted the idea of converting to Protestantism. During the early 1900s, the movement caused a deep division within the Catholic Church in some provinces (Czechia, Lower Austria and Styria) with the number of converts to the Protestant faith numbering tens of thousands. The Catholic Church did its utmost to rise to the challenge, primarily by the revival of religious associations. They



Right: *This portrait of Lajos Haynald, now preserved in the Hungarian National Gallery, is one of the few that Mihály Munkácsy painted of pontiffs. The painting, like many of Munkácsy's others, has darkened over the years. A copy made in 1893 by Jozef Hanula is now in the treasury of the archbishopric of Kalocsa.*

received significant help from the city of Vienna through its mayor, Karl Lueger.

In Hungary, one of the repercussions of the ecclesiastical policy acts worthy of note was that political Catholicism, which had to this point been latent, now underwent a process of organisation at lightning speed, developing from mere movements into parties with their main political objective naturally being to revoke the acts on ecclesiastical policy. Although later governments also insisted on keeping the ecclesiastical policy system unchanged, they did respect the Catholic Church's demands in regard to more minor issues, demonstrating that they were not oppressive anti-Church governments. In 1898 an act was passed granting a supplement to a state salary for non-Catholic clergymen, which in 1909 was extended to the Catholic lower clergy. The most important event in regard to ecclesiastical policy was the setting up of the Greek Catholic Episcopate in the town of Hajdúdorog in 1912. The members of the episcopate were – in the words of the German Chief Consul in Budapest – ‘more like patriots than Roman prelates’. In other words, they concentrated on activities connected to public life and did not strive for the revival of the Catholic Church in the midst of a period of social transformation. They primarily wished to repel the challenges posed by liberalism through political means, as well as through concluding agreements with the government. The Catholic general assembly became the venue of the main forum for the awakening and consolidation of religious consciousness, while the first assembly to work for a truly societal movement and revival of the Church took place in 1900.

Even the Catholic Church, which played a dominant role in ecclesiastical processes, was burdened with problems relating to nationalities. It could be said that the Catholic Church had exclusive influence in Croatia, which enjoyed wide-ranging independence. This was further consolidated by the fundamental role Catholicism had played in strengthening Croatian national consciousness. The impact of the Croatian Catholic Church in public life and politics increased as a result of the system that developed with the Compromise and also because it counterbalanced the national and religious aspirations of the Serbs, who accounted for approximately one quarter of the population, and in addition facilitated the realisation of political objectives in regard to the union with Dalmatia. The aspirations of the Catholic Church in Czechia can be described with similar characteristics in regard to Austria. It usually supported the respective governments, although, despite their German origins, they were not always insensitive to the cause of Czech national independence (in the case of bishops Schwarzenberg and Schönborn). The nationality issue was especially acute for



Left: Cardinal Friedrich Schwarzenberg, the archbishop of Prague, painted by František Fienišek. The painting is preserved in the bishop's palace in Prague. Schwarzenberg was an advocate of state secondary and primary schools taking on a spiritual leaning.



Above: In 1912, Vienna organised the 23rd Eucharistic World Congress, which was also regarded as a demonstration of Austria's commitment to Catholicism.

the Catholic Church in Hungary. In the years following the Compromise individual bishops did try to develop parishes of different nationalities, although later such aspirations were shunted into the background. Assimilation within the Church was far more moderate, with, for example, Kolos Vaszary supporting the Slovak-speaking priests while the bishop of Pécs supported the German and Croatian speaking ones. Within the Catholic school system the number of schools for each nationality remained

a pertinent issue. The role played by the Church and the priesthood was especially important in the Slovak nationality movement, for example through the activities of the parish priest Andrej Hlinka, who represented a position of self-defence.

The Ruthenians (Transcarpathian Ukrainians) of Hungary were almost exclusively of the Greek Catholic faith and their religious organisation was comprised of the episcopate of Munkács and Eperjes. Their bishops proclaimed peace between all nationalities. Similarly to other nationalities, it was the religious associations that provided the background for the Ruthenians to practise their linguistic cultural rights. Alongside the vigorous assimilation of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic priesthood, a typical and also important process of the period was the often successful Schism Movement, the objective of which was to convert Greek Catholics to the Greek Orthodox Church, an endeavour which to a large extent was supported by Russians (and American immigrants). Approximately one third of Romanians belonged to the Greek Catholic Church and they sought to express their strong national aspirations within the Monarchy. In 1868, the independent Romanian Greek Catholic hierarchy was recognised by Hungarian legislation, along with its equal rights in the civil and political areas and the self-government of its diocese. It was in 1900 that it



Above: During the 1870s the motor behind the reforms in ecclesiastical policy was the ministry of culture led by Karl von Stremayr (pictured above). Laws passed in May 1874 enforced minimal liberal demands, the substance of which provided the State with the right to interfere in every ecclesiastical matter that did not strictly belong to the Church's internal scope of authority.

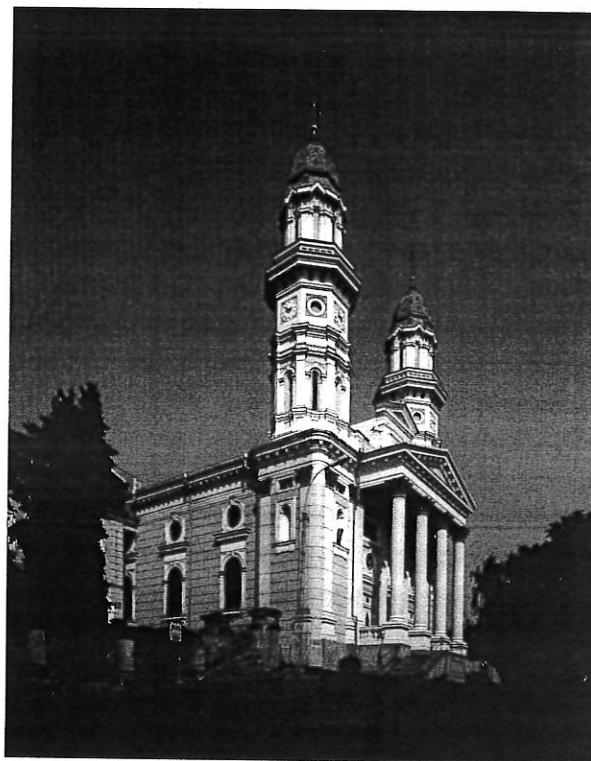
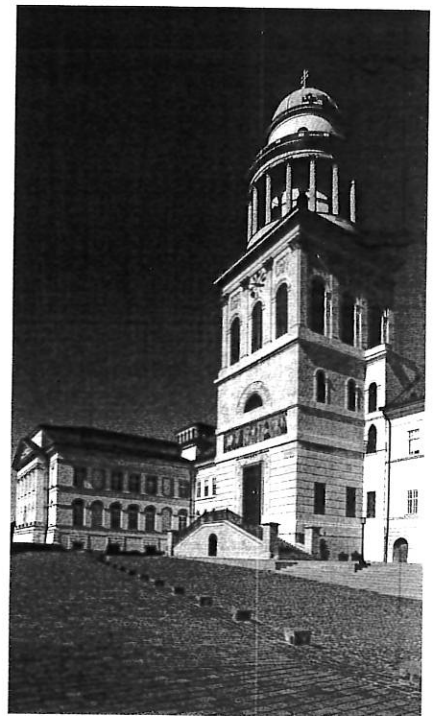
expressed a renewed forthright declaration calling for independence from the Bishop of Esztergom. A visible indication of a strengthening of the nationality movement within Roman Greek Catholic circles was in 1893, when one of their priests, Vasiliu Lucaciu, was found guilty as one of the chief defendants in the Memorandum trial.

The other large group of Romanian nationality at the turn of the century comprised of some 1.7 million adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church. In the middle of the 19th century and during the years of absolutism, Andrei Saguna, the bishop and later archbishop of Nagyszeben who became known for his policy of dedicated loyalty to the emperor, played a major role in the Romanian national movement. Following the Compromise The Greek Orthodox Church protested bitterly against coming under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian government through Hungary's union with Transylvania, although in 1868 the Hungarian legislature affirmed the independence of the main Greek Orthodox diocese in Nagyszeben. With its 90-member local government, one third of which was from the Church, it enjoyed wide-ranging authority in religious and school affairs. Priests from the Greek Orthodox Church were the first to play a major role in the Romanian national movement; however, their role was increasingly taken over by secular members. Another reason why their position was weakened was that the Hungarian government regularly tried to block financial aid received by the Church from Romania. Some one million Serbs lived in the Kingdom of Hungary but there were significant numbers of them living in Croatia and Dalmatia too. The Greek Orthodox Church was traditionally an institution of Serb culture and the Serb nationality movement, and under the leadership of Bishop Josip Rajačić it had made an alliance

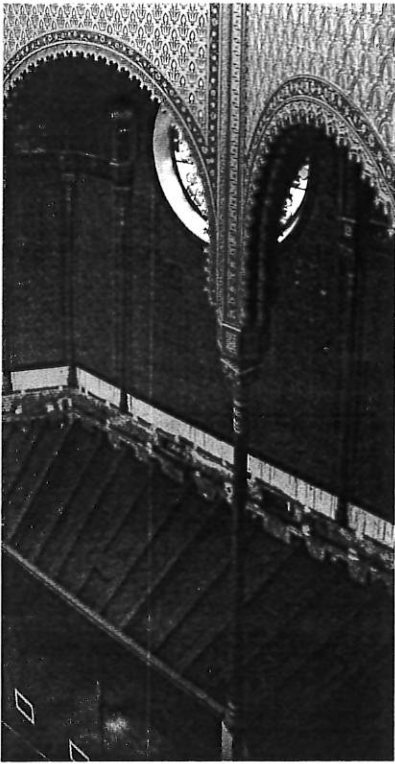
with the Austrian absolutist government (similarly to the Romanians) against the Hungarians' Struggle for Independence in 1848–1849. After the Compromise, the Hungarian legislation recognised the Serb local government, which operated under the authority of the Serb Congress, the basis of which was popular representation rather than feudal, and in 1875 this recognition was again endorsed by the ruler. Their funds and educational affairs were managed by a body operating under the direction of a bishop. In the years following the Compromise the Serbs were the most active nationality; however, after the vigorous intervention of the Hungarian government they restricted their activities to the framework of national-religious local government, and gradually relocated their political activities from the southern Hungarian counties to Croatia. In the 1890s the Serbs strove harder to co-operate with the government in Hungary in order to act as a countermeasure against secular Serb nationalist and separatist aspirations, in which an important element was the fact that the emperor took into consideration the Hungarian government's recommendation when he confirmed the elected patriarch in office. The Serb prelates were capable of extended co-operation with coalition as well as later governments; however, even they demonstrated their antipathy when the local government of the Serb Church was suspended, the role played by secular members in decision-making was terminated, and a government commissioner was appointed to handle the financial funds of the Church.

The Calvinists living in the Monarchy mostly lived in Hungary and when there was a census they professed themselves to be Hungarian nationals. The Hungarian Calvinists accepted the system created by the Compromise and on the whole were the beneficiaries of the enacted ecclesiastical policy laws providing for the equality of denominations before the law and reducing the privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Church. Problems only arose, however, when for example the poorer Calvinist communities were unable to procure the school equipment that the 1868 public education act prescribed, and they therefore had to convert into State- or local government institutions. However, during the years of dualism a far greater problem arose. Although the attention of their leadership was focused on the struggles of public life, the process of laicisation appeared unavoidable. It gradually became obvious that the Calvinist ecclesiastical model had characteristics which put them in a disadvantaged position compared to other denominations. The internal life of the Calvinist Church was also rendered more difficult by the fruitless debates between adherents of religious liberalism and 'Orthodox Calvinism'. The attitude taken by the liberal thinkers was more in line with the requirements of the period and therefore they were more accepting of the need to transform the traditional system of religious institutions. In contrast, the 'Orthodox' members of the Calvinist Church were rigid and uncompromising in regard to the preservation of tradition. This paralysed the missionary impetus of the Church, which would otherwise have had the opportunity to bring new members into the faith as a result of the new acts providing the freedom to convert to any denomination and to choose one's religion.

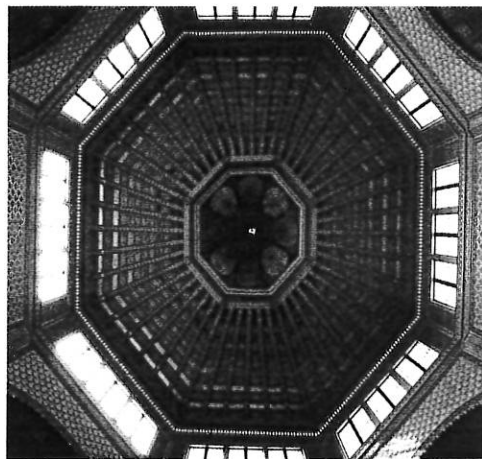
Below: *The basilica of Pannonhalma Abbey.*



Above: *The Greek Catholic Cathedral, Ungvár.*



Above and right: *The numbers of Jews varied from province to province, but it was higher in urban centres. This synagogue, in Budapest's Rumbach Sebestyén Street, was designed by 27-year-old Otto Wagner. The building was constructed from 1870–1873 and although it did not fit in architecturally with the residential buildings in its immediate vicinity, nobody would think that it is actually an octagonal synagogue. 'Coloured light comes into the inner space from the octagonal raised roof through the lantern and the large, round lateral windows accentuate the sacred character of the building', wrote Wagner researcher Otto Antonai Graf.*



In 1881 a countrywide synod was held in Debrecen, which fundamentally restructured Church organisation. Although it recorded that the Church would keep its bottom-up structure it nevertheless regulated the setting up of presbyteries. It declared that a central governing body, called the general convent, would preside over the five dioceses and that the general synod would be the main legislative body. The most important changes introduced by the synod only manifested themselves later, but the conditions for the so-called home mission movement were created. Significant numbers of Lutherans lived not only in Hungary but also in the province of Silesia, which was dominated by a German-speaking population. About 35 to 40 per cent of Lutherans living in the Hungarian Kingdom declared themselves to be native Slovak, while another almost one third were of Hungarian or German nationality. The Lutheran population

traditionally lived in urban areas, except the Slovak speaking Lutherans who lived primarily in Upper Hungary and south-eastern Hungary. The cultural centres of the Lutheran Church (Budapest, Pozsony or Bratislava, Eperjes, Sopron, Lőcse, Selmecbánya, Brasov) were ethnically diverse; however, there was a marked increase in the number of Hungarians during the years of dualism. The Lutheran deaneries of northern Hungary protested

against the modification of dioceses introduced in 1893, which gave preference to ethnic interests over other issues. (They were afraid that the nation in majority would want to turn the Slovak Lutherans into 'Hungarian Calvinists'.)

The life of the Lutheran Church demonstrated many similarities with that of the Reformed Church. 'Liberals' and 'Orthodox' Lutherans were involved in theological debates, one of the consequences of which was the revival of the missionary movement

after the turn of the century. The Lutheran Church organisation was the same as the Reformed one in many respects with an important difference being that Transylvanian Saxons did not have a separate diocese but instead formed their national Church, independent of the Hungarian Church organisation. Among other things, the Saxon Lutheran Church, which was regarded as the most important institution of Saxon national and cultural autonomy, did not welcome the 1867 union of Transylvania and Hungary. Until the end of the Monarchy, it was also regarded as the most important institution propagating Saxon national and cultural autonomy. Although they eventually found their place in the system created by the Compromise, they always had



Right: *An 18th-century tombstone with Hebrew inscription in a cemetery in Northern Hungary.*

their small conflicts with the Hungarian State. In Hungary it was the legislative synod of Budapest in 1891–1892 that created a unified structure of Lutheran Church organisation. The main central organ became the general synod, and the elected bodies – similarly to those of the Reformed Church – were organised on a parity system, which meant that half of the members were ecclesiastical and half of them non-ecclesiastical.

Although only active in Transylvania, the Unitarian Church, which was regarded as having equal status with other churches and accepted by law, was rather significant in regard to the number of its followers. While its seat was in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and its members consisted almost exclusively of the Hungarian nationality the Unitarian Church remained a community preserving its own Protestant ideology and at the same time one that continued to leave behind lasting achievements in the spheres of intellectual and spiritual life until the very end of the period. It was only from the turn of the century that more vigorous attempts were made to establish Unitarian congregations in Budapest and in other towns.

The Israelites played a key part in the embourgeoisement process of the era, since their acceptance (problem areas of assimilation and emancipation) determined the state of society and political modernisation in general. The number of Israelites varied greatly in the various provinces of the monarchy. The Jewry concentrated in cities and towns was as follows: in 1910, almost one-quarter of the urban population was Jewish; there were greater numbers in Krakow and Lemberg, while it was around 8 per cent in Vienna and Prague. In Cislaitania the ecclesiastic acts passed in 1868 linked the declaration of Jewry's individual equality before the law with the declaration of the equality of denominations, among other things, whereas in Hungary the former was announced after the Compromise and the latter only in 1895.

Modernisation and the legal act of asserting the equality of Jews also affected the internal life of Israelite parishes. Debates about the various possibilities and restrictions in regard to cultivating religious traditions as well as about the degree and ways of assimilation to a majority society continuously took place in the religious communities. In Hungary these debates even led to a formal separation within the Israelite community, something without parallel anywhere else in Europe. The objective at the first general assembly (congress) of the Israelites that convened in 1868–1869 was to set up a nationwide representation for the parishes; however, the conservative members did not approve of this – thus founding the Orthodox Israelite parishes – while the majority established the Neolog (congressional) parishes. Those that did not accept the point of view of either side qualified themselves as *status quo ante*. The situation that resulted from this separation was acknowledged by the Hungarian parliament in 1871, which also encouraged the proliferation of different interpretations of certain Jewish religious tenets (liturgy, attire, use of tombstones, etc.). The parishes that were active in Czechia and Austria usually belonged to the modernist wing, while the ones in Galicia, Bukovina and

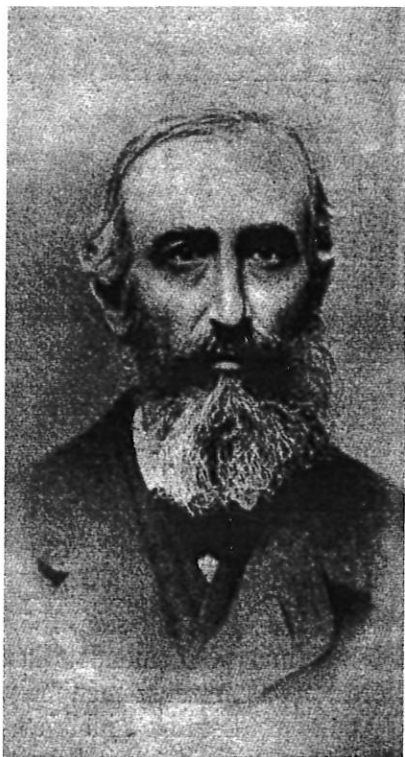


Above: Immanuel Löw, who was a botanical scientist, Judaist, Orientalist and folklorist, was born in Szeged in 1854. He completed his university and theological studies in Berlin. From 1878 he was the chief rabbi for the Jewish community in Szeged. He played an important role in compiling the catalogue of the Somogy Library, and he regularly enriched the collection with donations of books. On the occasion of the 150-year anniversary of his birth the town of Szeged erected a statue to him in the National Pantheon on Dóm Square. He died in 1944, during the Second World War, in the Budapest ghetto.

northeast Hungary insisted on the strict upholding of traditions. Assimilation in regard to language use and identity accelerated in the Neolog communities, which manifested itself in the increased use of German in Austrian communities and in the Hungarian language in Hungarian communities. The emancipation of the Israelites, i.e. the way they utilised the opportunities offered by a modern liberal state, could be truly regarded as a success

story. This was indirectly indicated by the emergence of modern political anti-semitism, which in return affected the Jews. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the Monarchy became the birthplace of Zionism, one of the major intellectual-political Jewish movements. The previously mentioned 'blood trial' of Tiszaeszlár was an instructive example of how far the acceptance of assimilation by non-Jews could go, as was the general anti-semitism of Austrian Christian socialists and of the conservative movements in Hungary.

At the turn of the century newly emerged religious movements started to spread at a faster pace in the Monarchy. In the western part of the Empire Old Catholics were present in great numbers. Some other congregations of interest included the Herrnhut, Mennonite and Lippovan communities, which advocated rigorous moral principles and represented a radical trend of Reformation. In Hungary the Nazarene movement was similar to these; Baptists attracted an especially high number of believers, and the first Adventist, Methodist, and Jehovist preachers appeared on the scene. The historical Christian churches urged that strict measures be used against these small religions, and some Catholic and Protestant theologians warned that the success of these 'sectarian' preachers also reflected the general criticism expressed towards the activities and moral standing of the old established churches.



Above: Kálmán Tisza's slogan with regard to ecclesiastical policy was 'quieta non movere' ('let sleeping dogs lie'). He was able to secure the cooperation of the Church's prelates for his economic and social policy reforms, which he regarded as more important than ecclesiastical policy.

Parties and Associations

The political structure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was basically paradoxical. On the one hand, the traditional political ideologies, primarily liberalism and conservatism, were 'operated' by the objective of obtaining power in the government, which was in line with the tendencies of modern political development. On the other hand, however, the formation and activities of parties were not governed by a commitment to some ideology but by how parties interpreted the public law system that came into being after the Compromise (the relationship between the two parts of the empire after the Compromise of 1867 is called the public law system). Parallel party structures developed but politics was not determined by constantly shifting powers since any party political turn would have posed a potential threat to the maintenance of the system that came into being in 1867. The party structures were fundamentally determined by the legislation in Vienna and in Budapest, and in addition to the parties' relationship with the system that appeared after the Compromise two factors also exerted great influence: one was the 'conventional' movements organised along specific values and the other one was the national movements which initiated the establishment of independent parties. These influences could be equally felt in both parts of the Monarchy. The Compromise of 1867 was realised by the liberal generation of the first half of the century. In addition to traditionally understood liberal values, both sides considered it important to maintain the unity of the Empire, as well as the central role it played in Central Europe. It can be generally stated that all governments that came to power typically began their activities by initiating liberal economic- and social

political reforms, and only then did they start emphasising the importance of preserving the Empire's unity and the role it fulfilled. Prior to Taaffe's coming to power, Vienna was dominated by the liberal Constitutional Party. Their social base had become narrow by the 1880s, they were forced to give up a significant number of their positions, and their return to power was practically made impossible when Taaffe's electoral reform was introduced. (By decreasing the property qualification in voting the conservatism of anticapitalists, clerical traditions and Slavic nationals gained significantly more importance.) Numerous parliamentary clubs and associations appeared (the Progressive Party, the United Left, the Young Liberals, etc.) in addition to the Constitutional Party, partly formed from members who had left the latter. While undergoing constant change, these new organisations tried to enforce their own interests. From this time onwards, the elements of conservatism began to dominate, even though the conservative and liberal trends did not clearly separate. Taaffe was only able to form a stable coalition – the objective of which was to avoid government crises – by entering into agreements with the old conservatives and the Slav federalist (primarily Czech and Polish) elite. It is no surprise that this formation was named the 'iron ring'. Taaffe's 15 years as prime minister can be characterised by the concessions made to the Czechs and Slovenes as well as by a conservative social policy. The electoral reform of 1906 had a crucial role in the crystallisation of the party structure in Cislaitania. Due to the general suffrage (although applicable only to men), certain social groups (the agrarian party, radicals, etc.) were now represented in the party system. Furthermore, the 'compromises' with the various nationalities offered the alternative of a conservative orientated yet functional party system. The governments in Vienna and the imperial council underwent many crises; however, the system of dualism was preserved throughout the existence of the Monarchy, although it cost them a great number of special deals. The fact that the liberals lost ground after the turn of the century can be linked to the emergence of German nationalism and the manifestation of political Catholicism in the form of a popular party. The headway made by the radical right wing parties only accelerated this process.

In Hungary, after the Compromise, the party that gathered round Ferenc Deák was not strong enough to efficiently counter those opposing the public law system. Having left behind his earlier oppositionary sentiments Kálmán Tisza established the Liberal Party in 1875 and managed to realise the kind of stabilisation that Taaffe achieved in the other part of the Monarchy. Tisza's strong government, which enjoyed the firm support of parliament, made it possible for the numerous acts on modernisation as well as economic development to take place in the 1870s–1880s, while it integrated the conservatives who wished to preserve the Compromise. The Independence Party, which formed the opposition, often stood on the same liberal platform as the government. By the 1890s it had become obvious in both parts of the empire that the original system provided by the Compromise was outdated. The strong foundation of the party system on public law is illustrated by the fact that after the defeat of the Liberal Party in 1905 (and the ensuing transitional government crisis) Sándor Wekerle became the prime minister of a cabinet dominated by the Independence Party. In 1910, conservative tendencies prevailed in the Party of National Work, a reorganised version of the

Below: The name of Ottokár Prohászka, the bishop of Székesfehérvár, is linked to the founding of the theoretical basis of social Christianity in Hungary. With his Puritanism and the energetic role he played in public life Prohászka stood out among the bishops of his day. In his addresses against the ecclesiastical laws he made vehement attacks peppered with anti-Semitism. He translated the encyclical letter Rerum Novarum, published in 1891, into Hungarian. Many called this the 'magna carta' of Catholic social teaching.



former liberal government, which manifested in the form of a growing intolerance towards national minorities.

Political movements organised around special social programmes played an important role in the Monarchy. The varieties of political Catholicism can be counted among these. Catholic social and political associations were organised in Cislaitania right after the Compromise. The strengthening of Christian social and conservative Christian movements can be linked to the policy of Pope Leo XIII's, called *ralliement* policy (accepting some aspects of the emerging middle-class society and modernisation), while the final impetus to these developments was given by his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). Catholic political organisation in Cislaitania was rather of a social nature, which meant that it set out to repair social injustices based on the social mission of Christianity. However, political Catholicism in Hungary focused more on public affairs, and the emergence of the movement was triggered by aspirations to counter the reforms of ecclesiastical policy in the 1890s. It was Karl Lueger, who turned the Christian Social Association into a strong political party in 1889. He coupled social Christianity with a conservative, anti-democratic and anti-semitic programme, which was met with the wide-ranging support of the lower middle class. The Christian socialists in Austria achieved their greatest success in 1897, when the leader of their party was elected mayor. After the turn of the century they formed a significant faction of the imperial council; what is more, their conservative aspirations were welcomed by the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand. Lueger and his party gave priority to loyalty to the Habsburgs over pan-Germanic sentiment. In Hungary, the Catholic People's Party emerged in 1895, under the patronage of Nándor Zichy. Early disagreements within the party soon came to an end and it was agreed that Catholic politics could only take a conservative direction, and be loyal to the dynasty. They expressed their allegiance to the system provided by the Compromise, which led to their participation in government between 1906 and 1910. The Hungarian Christian socialists first formed an association and then, in 1907, established a nationwide party with Sándor Giesswein as the main organiser. It is important to note that while Lueger's party enjoyed popularity in Vienna in the early 1900s, the Christian socialists in Hungary, who tried to take the 'sound and cleansing spirit of Christianity' to the Budapest city hall, were unable to break out of their isolation. Christian social trade unions achieved successes primarily in the industrial regions of Cislaitania, and the movement's central committee was established in 1909. In Hungary, the first such trade union had been established earlier, in 1898, in Győr; however, it did not manage to play a significant role in the area.

From among the parties of the labour movement it was only the social democrats who operated in both parts of the empire. They established their party in Austria and in Hungary in 1888 and in 1890, respectively, with Viktor Adler, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer playing a significant role in the former, and Pál Engelmann in the latter. Besides the issues of representing workers' interests and their struggle for the right to vote, both parties had to address the issue pertaining to nationalities. The solution proposed by the 1899 Brno Congress was a programme of granting equal rights to nationalities living in the Monarchy, while the social democratic party programme in Hungary outlined a far more moderate solution. At the same time, it must be noted that social democrats in Hungary did not play a substantial part in parliamentary politics up to the end of the Monarchy but their counterparts in Austria did from the turn of the century. Due to the different social structure in the eastern part of the Monarchy, parties such as the Peasant Party, the Independent Socialist Party, etc., the objective of which was to organise agricultural workers, were accorded at least as much importance as the social democrats.

When trying to represent their interests, agrarians encountered limits imposed by the prevailing economic policy, the objective of which was to facilitate industrialisation; as a

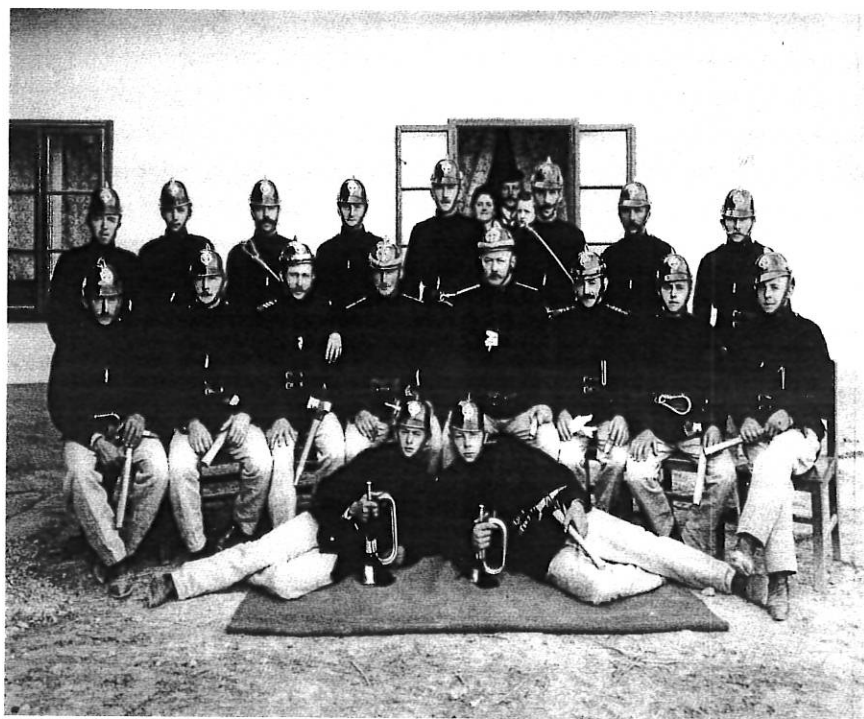


Above: *Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905) was the bishop of Dakovo (Djakovar). He was the founder of the Croatian National Museum, the Croatian Academy and the University of Zagreb and supported these institutions with his donations.*

reaction, they demanded the protection of traditional agriculture and for restrictions to be introduced in regard to the free buying and selling of land. Political anti-semitism was also hotly discussed, and while it was linked primarily to Christian social and pan-Germanic parties in Austria, an independent anti-semitic party was nevertheless formed in Hungary. In areas with a population composed of various nationalities, parties were established on an ethnic foundation in addition to the great parties based on 'countrywide' politics. The two most important trends in Czechia were the Old Czechs, favouring absolute co-operation with Vienna, and the Young Czechs, who wanted to achieve greater autonomy within the Monarchy. In parallel with these two political trends, an independent party structure with national demands as well as a social programme gradually developed. For example, the Czech-Slavic Social Democratic Workers' Party later became the strongest party of the Second International. The Agrarian Party, embracing agricultural interests, and the Czech Progressive Party, attracting the middle-class intelligentsia, emerged around this time. At the time of the Compromise, the Croatian Constitutional (Unionist) Party came to power in Croatia, in accordance with the interests of Vienna and Pest-Buda. One of the leaders of the opposition National Party was Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (see painting on page 168), who played a major role in the adherents of the autonomist movement accepting the model provided by the Compromise.

The fundamental issue in Croatian politics was determined by the public law position of their own country, and this also applied in the cases of Czechia and Hungary. The formation of a party that caused the greatest stir was that of the Croatian Party of Rights led by Ante Starčević. Until 1903, the Independent Serbian Party had sympathised with the leadership led by the 'ban' (viceroys) and had taken Hungarian interests into consideration, but they then decided to form a coalition with the Croats. The Croatian Social Democratic Party was founded in 1894, followed by the Peasants' Party, which, along with the spreading of cultural associations, was a clear indication that the party structure based on public law was being eroded. Miletić, the mayor of Novi Sad, founded the most influential organisation among the Serbs in Hungary, the Serbian National Liberal Party. It was able to gain its positions primarily through exerting influence on congressional elections and wished to achieve the expansion of local government rights in the Hungarian parliament. Of at least the same importance was Omladina, the social association of young Serbian intellectuals, which spread its operations abroad. Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary started working on establishing a form of political representation straight after the Compromise when they founded the Romanian National Party. Their 1881 programme demanded that the injustices committed against Romanians and the damage (from their perspective) resulting from the Transylvanian Union be repaired. In addition to the party, which expressed serious demands under the presidency

Below: The charity, burial, benevolent and firemen's societies, which formed in the early 19th century, carried out diverse social tasks following the Compromise. The events they organised fundamentally contributed to the creation of public spaces which defined the everyday life of citizens and the way they thought.





Above: Franz Joseph took pains to ensure that he was not just regarded as the Austrian emperor but also as the Hungarian king. In this interesting photomontage the royal couple are dressed in Hungarian attire.

of Ioan Ratiu, an association organised by radical youth, Liga Culturala, played an important role. Among the Slovaks it was also a cultural association called Matica Slovenska that first carried out public duty. It was dissolved in the mid-1870s, which resulted in grave disappointment, as did the closing down of Lutheran Slovak secondary schools. In addition to secular associations, religious ones also played a significant role. The Slovak National Party, for example, was established under the initiative of Lutheran intellectuals, and only later, in the 1890s, did it form political ties with the Catholic People's Party of Hungary. The latter turned its attention towards the injustices suffered by the Slovak Catholics with utmost sympathy, while the intertwining of religious and national sentiments recruited the support of the Slovaks towards the party's conservative programme. The conservative programme with religious elements which was announced by the Catholic People's Party eventually led to the emergence of a radical Catholic movement which operated within an ethnic framework.

Due to the natural process of self-organisation, associations flourished in the Monarchy during the period of dualism. In addition to the nationwide and regional trade, cultural and public associations, local initiatives by people to form organisations in their respective areas of residence greatly contributed to the strengthening of the middle-class. In addition to the local branches of nationwide associations, the



Above left and right: The Saint Stephen procession took place in 1913 on the streets of Budapest. It was here that János Csernoch appeared for the first time in his capacity of primate.

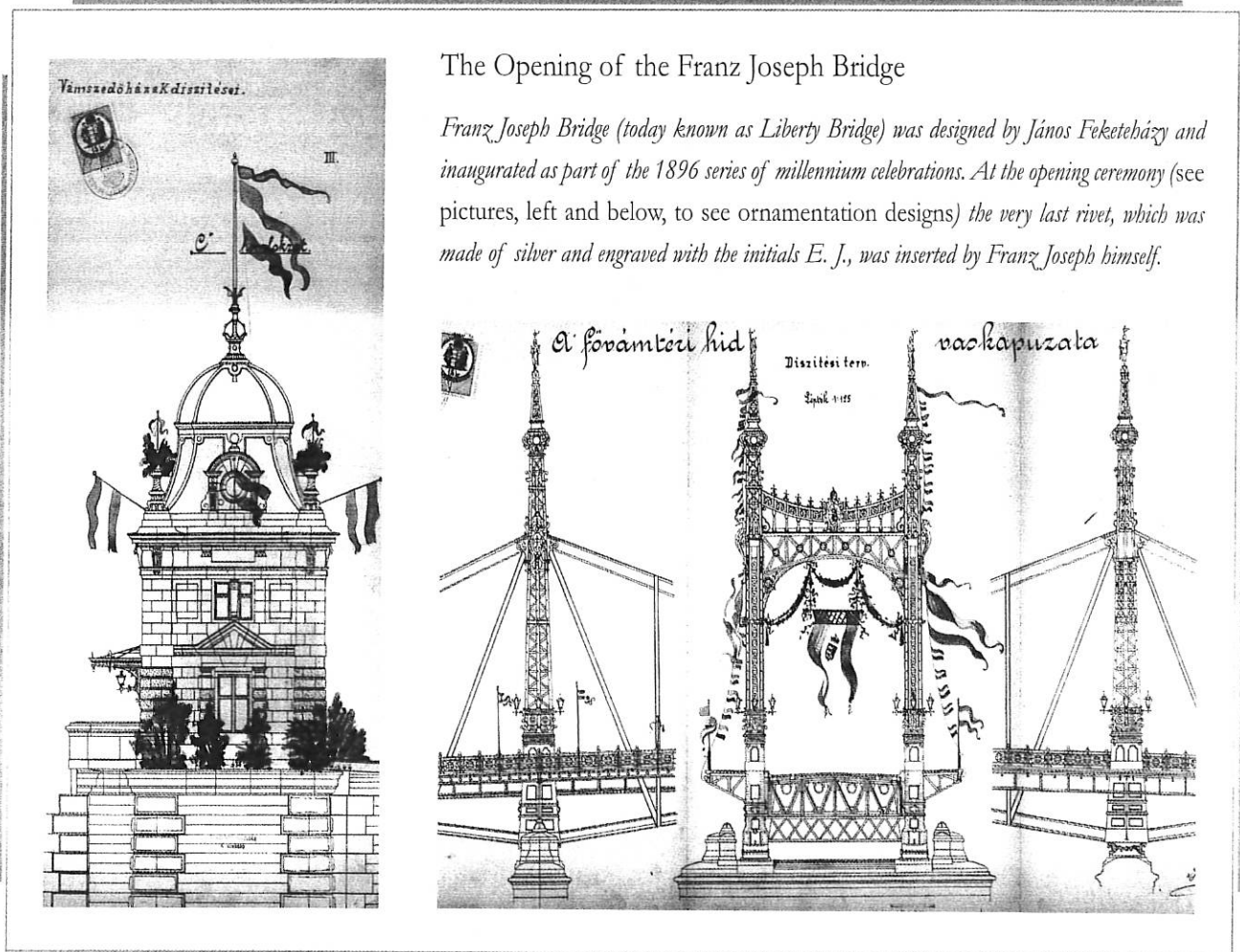
importance of charity and recreational (sports) associations must be highlighted. The foundation of associations as well as the supervision of their lawful operation were regulated (mostly under the competence of the ministry of the interior) in both parts of the Empire. Supervision was typically carried out by the mayor's offices in towns and cities, while elsewhere it was the responsibility of the municipalities. The development of associations is well indicated by the following figures: 265 associations were registered in Budapest in 1875 and almost 1,000 in 1914, furthermore by this time the original 120

thousand membership had reached half a million. After the Compromise, the charity, burial, relief and fireguard associations established in the first half of the 19th century carried out diverse social duties in addition to their basic activities. In addition, their events greatly contributed to the development of community spaces that defined citizens' everyday lives and ways of thinking. Associations directly affiliated with a church or nationality were especially important since they played a prominent role in religious affiliations being passed on from one generation to the next, mostly in the form of bottom-up initiatives. The development of a civil society was also manifested by the State – in accordance with its middle-class character – having little or no wish to interfere with the private lives of its people; moreover, it created a legal framework in which no legal possibility was provided for certain tasks to be executed by the State administration. As Kálmán Tisza once accurately said, 'The State cannot do all; therefore, let society do something too.'

Public holidays

The public holidays of a state are a faithful reflection of both its characteristics and political and social-value system. The period of dualism was one in which both sides of the Empire began to attribute more importance to the issue of public holidays afforded prominence by the State. The public holidays favoured by those wielding power did not always correspond with the value judgement of society, but they frequently celebrated the anniversaries of historical or otherwise outstanding events regarded as important by the masses.

Major significance was attributed to one particular public holiday throughout the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: the birthday of Franz Joseph, 18 August 1830. This was celebrated every year with official public holidays complemented by public festivities. In the big cities, such as in Vienna,



The Opening of the Franz Joseph Bridge

Franz Joseph Bridge (today known as Liberty Bridge) was designed by János Feketeházy and inaugurated as part of the 1896 series of millennium celebrations. At the opening ceremony (see pictures, left and below, to see ornamentation designs) the very last rivet, which was made of silver and engraved with the initials E. J., was inserted by Franz Joseph himself.



The 1,000-Year Anniversary of the Magyar Conquest

In 1896 Hungary commemorated the 1000th anniversary of the Magyar Conquest. Parliament passed a special law for the anniversary. The main attraction of the millennium celebrations was the anniversary of the coronation marked on 8th June with a splendid parade. (left) For the occasion every municipality in the country dispatched a mounted escort to the capital and the crown was taken in this escort to the vaulted hall of the new parliament building.

Separate monuments were erected at seven sites in the country that had played a significant role in the state's coming into being: Pusztaaszter, Munkács, Pannonhalma, the Zobor Mountains near Nyitra, Dévény, Tampa Mountain at Brasov, and

Zimony. In Budapest and the whole country important building projects were carried out and completed by the beginning of the anniversary. The plans for such projects were proposed in parliament by Prime Minister Count Gyula Andrassy. It was at this time that the monument at Heroes' Square (designed by Albert Schikedanz) at the end of Sugar Road (later Andrassy Road) was built. The statues on the semi-circle shaped edifice – which were the work of György Zala – depict the great rulers and important figures in Hungarian history. The Archangel Gabriel, standing on the central pillar, holds the Double Cross of Saint Stephen and the orb in his hands. On one side of the huge square (to the left in our picture) is the Art Gallery, which was built in the same year, and on the other side (right) is the Museum of Fine Arts, which was opened in 1906. The millennium exhibition was opened in the Városliget (City Park) behind the square and was designated to display the spiritual and material strengths of the country from both the past and the present. Models for some old and famous buildings were erected in the park, some of which have survived in a subsequently rebuilt form. Among them is Vajdabunyad Castle, which once belonged to the Turk-beater János Hunyadi.



Budapest, Prague and Zagreb, public holidays essentially had military features, including parades of various armed organisations, military bands and the shooting of cannons. The celebrations were also of a religious nature and the celebratory holy mass was regarded as an indispensable part of it. All the programmes were organised with 'the people' in mind and attracted a high level of interest from society.

The public holidays that were regarded as most important had religious roots or were linked to nationality. In fact, these two aspects often complemented each another, for example, in the case of the public holidays of national patron saints and religious holidays were used to celebrate their dignity and importance. The Catholic Churches of the Monarchy also celebrated the holy mass for the aurora (rorate), which was linked to the Advent season.

The anniversaries of events that were linked to a prominent occasion in the history of a nationality or to the life of a prominent individual from the past were not only ways of creating a nation's identity but were often an expression of national and political opposition. For example, Hungary's most important national holiday was a celebration of the nation's founder King Stephen, on 20 August, which fell embarrassingly close to Franz Joseph's birthday. The true day of celebration, however, was the anniversary on 15 March, the outbreak of the 1848 revolution in Pest. To add weight to its significance, Franz Joseph sat on the throne of Hungary and also carried personal responsibility for the military suppression of the War of Independence. In 1898, on the 50th anniversary of this holiday, the issue of some form of official recognition of the Revolution and War of Independence was raised. However, the ruler was not willing for any State celebration to take place on 15 March; therefore, the Hungarian legislation chose 11 April as a national holiday, the day on which Franz Joseph's predecessor sanctified the legislative acts on the middle-class transformation of society in 1848.

The greatest series of public celebrations in Hungary took place in 1896, on the 1,000-year anniversary of the Magyar Conquest. The grandiose commemorations were received with antipathy by the non-Hungarian nationalities since for them they represented a demonstration of the country's dominant ethnic group.

Anthems, Idols and Icons

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had two official State anthems: the Austrian imperial anthem, the *Gotterhwalte*, and the Hungarian anthem, the *Himnusz*. The *Gotterhwalte* was originally created for the 1792 enthronement of Emperor Franz I, with the music composed by Haydn. This has been the anthem of the Habsburg eternal provinces since 1826. The *Gotterhwalte* aroused feelings of antipathy, especially among Hungarians. On the one hand, it anachronistically referred to Catholicism as the 'holy faith' binding the Empire together in a period when Hungarians were striving for the separation of



Above: Commemorative plaque with a profile picture of Franz Joseph and Elizabeth, and a hymn by Friedrich Berndt entitled *Grosser Gott im Himmel schenke Segen unserm Kaiser-paar* (God in Heaven Bless our Imperial Couple).

Church and State. On the other hand, the text referring to the 'heavenly hand' uniting the Habsburg throne with the Empire's provinces was also contrary to the historical traditions of the Kingdom of Hungary. The lyrics of the official anthem of the Hungarians was from a poem written by Ferenc Kölcsey in 1823, which was put to music by Ferenc Erkel in 1844. During the years of the Monarchy it was sung by many at both official and semi-official celebrations. The Hungarians had other official songs too, which strengthened their feelings of national solidarity: the *Szózat* (meaning appeal or proclamation) was also written before 1848 and the popular *Rákóczi March*. The issue of the anthems was a source of controversy in public life.

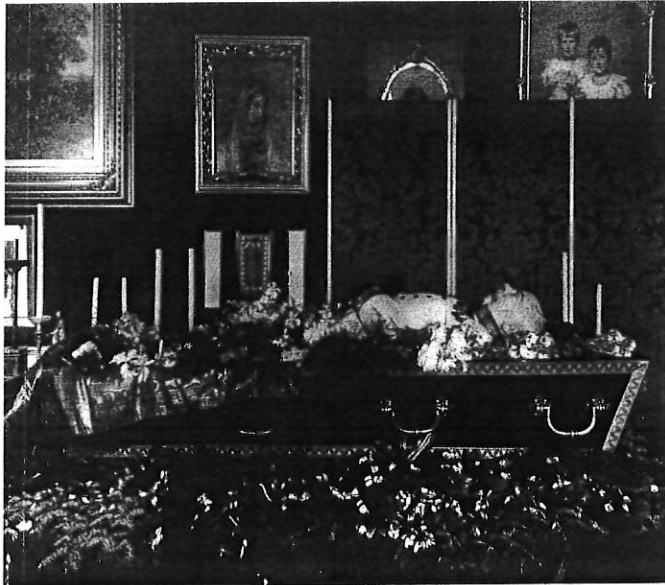
The majority of the anthems originated from a period of national awakening in the first half of the 19th century. For example, in Czechia the text for their anthem was originally written by Kajetán Tyl as a theatre piece in 1834 and was set to music later. The lyrics of the Slovene national anthem is from the poem 'Zdravljica' (Pledge) written by their greatest poet France Prešeren. The most important national song of the Croats was a verse written by Antun Mihanović in 1835, *Horvatska domovina* (Croatian Homeland). It was, interestingly, set to music by Josip Runjanin, a Serb national, and was first played as the Croatian national anthem in 1891, on the eve of a trade fair in Zagreb. The Serbs living in the Monarchy were

the only people whose anthem originated from a motherland beyond the borders. The anthem, composed in 1872, used the text beginning *Bože pravde* (God of Justice) written by Jovan Djordjević. It was readily accepted by the Serbs living in the Monarchy since it contained obvious references to their desire for ties with 'Serb brothers'. In general, these anthems expressed a desire to create a national identity after the tribulations that they had been forced to endure.

Icons and idols popular in the Monarchy were primarily linked to national consciousness. A prominent role was played in the national canons by patron saints and State founding rulers, Saint Václav; Saint Steven, the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph, among them. Historical figures, symbolising national independence, such as Jan Hus, the founder of Husitism, and the leaders of the 1848 struggle for national independence

were also very important. Among the Hungarians the heroes who had fought for independence against the Habsburgs were idols.

The celebration of national idols were sometimes controversial. For example, when Josip Jellačić's statue was erected in Zagreb's main square in 1866, it was noted that his sword pointed in the direction of Budapest. Similarly, Hungarians detested Austrian monuments that made a painful reference to the War of Independence, such as the monument erected in Buda Castle of General Heinrich Hentzi, who had bombarded Pest in 1852. The statue became a regular venue for demonstrations calling for independence and it was later removed from the square.



Above: *Franz Joseph on a bier at Schönbrunn.*

Right: *The funeral procession turning into the Ring.*

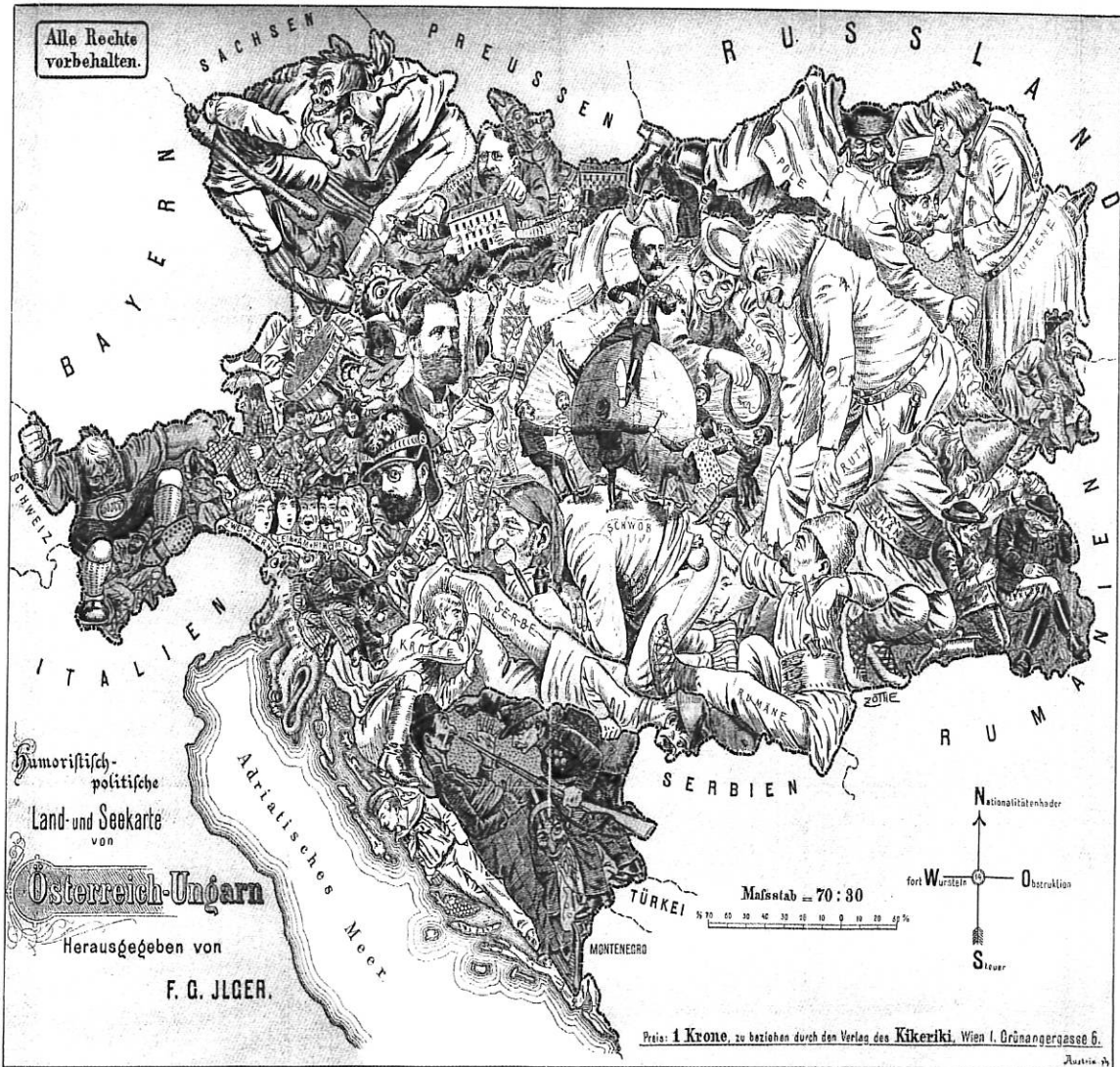
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Österreich-Ungarn in der Kikeriki-Projektion.



Above: A caricature map of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy showing the spiritual state of its peoples at the time of the parliamentary elections of 1906. Ferenc Kossuth is depicted sitting on the 'Hungarian Globe' in the middle of the map playing lively music like a Gypsy musician, although only the Hungarian gentry are stirred to dance by the sound of his violin. The nationalities appear to be preparing to fight rather than to dance. (Source: Katalin Plihal, National Széchényi Library)