Slovenia

Evolving loyalties

John K. Cox

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Slovenia

Over the past century Slovenia has rapidly developed from being a collection of provinces in the southern part of the Habsburg Empire, to a republic within Yugoslavia, to establishing itself as an independent state and becoming a member of the European Union.

This scholarly work provides a concise introduction to contemporary Slovenia, offering an overview of Slovenia's historical background and intellectual history, and detailed analyses of the major political, economic, and cultural developments since 1991. Portraying Slovenia as a distinctive state that paradoxically resists cultural homogenization, while moving beyond the national and towards Europe, John Cox examines this unique Eastern European nation as an extremely successful example of postcommunist transition and focuses on:

- the establishment of national sovereignty after splitting off from Yugoslavia and the country's recognition by the international community in 1992;
- political democratization and the creation of a highly successful market economy in Slovenia;
- Slovenia's accession to both NATO and the EU in 2004;
- the gradual development of a national program and the development of a sense of national identity and self-confidence among the Slovene people.

This up-to-date text will be of particular interest to students of East Central Europe, modern European history, and postcommunist democratization.

John K. Cox is Associate Professor and Director of the honors program at Wheeling Jesuit University. He is the author of *The History of Serbia* (Greenwood, 2002) and his current research interests include literary translation and the life and works of the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare.

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This book is dedicated to Lilly,
for her quick, knowing smile

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Preface

Historians of nations other than their own always have a dual task: they must present to their readers both what is unique and what is universal about the country under study. All cultures possess both of these aspects, and exploring them both is necessary for differing reasons. Explanations of uniqueness intrigue us and lead us to sharper understandings of our own culture. Examinations of what is universal tend to de-mythologize ideas and practices and enable us to dispel stereotypes. The combination of these two modes of inquiry is not only satisfying; it is also intellectually necessary to present, or represent, a country in a three-dimensional view.

That the anglophone world is in need of these types of discussion of Slovenia, a small Central European country that only ten years ago emerged as independent for the first time in history, is patently obvious. The lack of knowledge about Slovenia in "the West" remains tremendous. This is, of course, the case with many other formerly communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, too. Derek Sayer's recent work *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*[1] takes its title, indeed, from the Shakespearean world's shaky understanding of geography. Likewise, there is a rich and growing body of scholarly literature about a European variant of Edward Said's "Orientalism" which casts the Balkans as a primitive, fierce, and perpetual Other.

In 1974 the Slovene writer Drago Jančar wrote an essay entitled "The Hungarians Occupy Maribor."[2] He expresses his amazement that a publication as scholarly and as famous as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* could get so many facts about Slovenia grievously wrong. Most glaringly, the article on Maribor in the 1963 edition stated that the Hungarians took over the city during World War II. Although Hungary did annex a small part of eastern Slovenia known as Prekmurje, it was the Germans who occupied and abused Maribor, and the entire northern half of the country, in 1941. This, and the other errors Jančar found, led him to speculate on how insignificant the eastern half of the continent apparently seems to people in the West. This perception creates attitudes which then have negative political effects.

The author of this history recalls a somewhat similar episode from the summer of 1992 in neighboring Italy; a stubborn railroad clerk refused to issue a train ticket from Genoa to Ljubljana, maintaining that "the trains don't run there because there's a war on." (The brief seven-day war in Slovenia had been over for a year and the clerk was clearly thinking of the war in Bosnia. So this author rode to Trieste, had a nice cup of espresso, and bought another ticket there.)

Proof that this issue of ignorance maintains its relevance is provided by a recent misunderstanding involving the US government, in which the Bush administration listed Slovenia as a supporter of its war effort against Saddam Hussein; Slovenia was thus designated as a recipient of a significant aid package worth $4.5 million until – alas – someone remembered that the new ally Washington wished to reward was Slovakia, not Slovenia.[3]

Such issues are obviously not a thing of the past. In February 2004, the prime ministers of Slovenia and Slovakia issued a joint statement pledging to work to clear up their one bilateral problem: the fact that people from other countries (including sometimes postal officials) continue to mix up their countries. For some reason Ministers Anton Rop and Mikuláš Dzurinda feel that the mix-ups will cease once both countries are members of the European Union,[4] but there seems to be no reason to think that the level of popular confusion regarding (and hence lack of proper appreciation for) the two countries will change at all.

In our information-drenched but perspective-poor contemporary society, knowledge of Slovenia sometimes boils down in unpredictable fashion to tidbits of history (Friderik Baraga, the "Snowshoe Priest," was a famous missionary to the Native Americans and has been honored by the State of Michigan and the United States Postal Service) or to factoids from popular culture (Donald Trump has a Slovene girlfriend, the supermodel Melania Knaus). This book, one of several works on Slovenia to appear in the past few years, is intended to help deepen understanding of, and inform discussion on, the country of Slovenia, which is now a member of both NATO and the European Union. Simply put, this study tries to answer the question of how and why "the Slovenes" became "Slovenia." In more exacting terms, this book is meant as a cultural and political study of the growth of Slovene national consciousness and its gradual evolution into a force that produced statehood.

For historians, nothing is inevitable; it is the context of the past and the contingency of the present that are vital to understand. No single idea or movement in European history is more important than nationalism. This is still true today. All European peoples seem to have caught the nationalist virus at one point or another. And national identity is finding new ways to adjust to Europe's changing legal and economic life. But the force of nationalism does not exist in a vacuum. Its origins vary from country to country, the other political movements with which it bonds produce different cocktails of progressive and reactionary social structures, and it does not roll

along invariably towards the foregone conclusion of a nation-state. Its investigators must peer behind the façade of inevitability and expose the mechanisms (even those as simple as the "demonstration effect," or one people copying the success of another) that produce change in identities, ideas, activities, and institutions. Along the way one must also account in some way for the wealth of possibilities that did not materialize.

The title of this volume, *Slovenia: Evolving Loyalties*, is not intended to be a reductionistic conceptual lens for viewing all of Slovene history. It is meant simply to pull together some of the many weighty themes dominating the common life of Europe's Slovene communities through the twentieth century. One of the great issues in Slovene history is the origin and spread of nationalism. Introduced via small groups of intellectuals, the idea of modern nationalism – a secular, mass movement with a strong connection to the idea of popular sovereignty – gradually took hold among Slovenes after 1848. The mechanisms for the spread of this idea are a very worthy topic of study, as is the ideological nature of this movement itself. Most observers agree that Slovene nationalism has been patient (or, in alternative parlance, pragmatic, evolutionary, gradualistic, or modest in its demands), has often accepted compromises, and thrived in multilateral environments such as the Habsburg Empire and the two Yugoslav states. Furthermore, it seems overwhelmingly to belong to the category of civic rather than ethnic nationalism. That is to say, although it is obviously founded on one culturally specific and historically attested group of people, and although the division between civic and ethnic nationalism is permeable, depending upon political and economic stimuli, Slovenes conceive of their territory and government as a political community. They are thus relieved of most of the intolerance and aggressiveness of states that seek to make their lands ethnically "pure." This relatively salubrious – though not immaculate – nationalism also deserves further study because the ethnic model has predominated in much of the Balkans and also helped bring about the fascist catastrophes in Italy and Germany, Slovenia's neighbors to the west and north. The issue of why Slovenes thought differently about the nation-state will be addressed explicitly in the conclusion to this book.

Unity and recognition are two other concepts that are very important in Slovene history. By "unity" is meant two things: achieving a common political unit, either autonomous or independent, for all contiguous Slovene communities in the Alpine–Adriatic region; and maintaining, even during the ever-slippery transition to a market economy, the social harmony that has often characterized Slovene political life. By "recognition" I intend more than just admittance to the international family of nation-states in 1992 or to the EU and NATO in 2004. What is meant is something more elemental: the spread of the idea of just who the Slovenes really are, how they are distinct from but connected to their neighbors, what they were doing for those eight decades in Yugoslavia, and the importance of the role they might play in the new Europe.

Many people helped with this book by means of their ideas, information, enthusiasm, and resources; they share the credit for whatever virtues this work possesses, but they are not liable for its faults. My gratitude goes out to Michael Biggins, Feliks Bister, Cathie Carmichael, Henry R. Cooper, Jr, Steve Fon, Denise Gardiner, Barb Julian, Fr Peter Lah, SJ, Barb Lahey, Josef Laposa, Betty Laughlin, Barbi Lehn, Fr George Lundy, SJ, Julianne Maher, Grace McInnis, Irena Milanič, Nick Miller, Mary Moore, Marian and Rich Mullin, Brian Požun, Bogdan and Svetlana Rakić, Carole Rogel, Gene Santoro, Katja Sturm-Schnabl, Barbara Šubert, Jera Vodušek-Starič, and the Wheeling Jesuit University Faculty Research and Grants Committee. And I owe a special debt of thanks, incurred over many years, to Anka and Božidar Blatnik, Murlin Croucher, Jeff Pennington, Tim Pogacar, Donald Reindl, Aleksandar Štulhofer, and Peter Vodopivec. As always, I thank Katy and Ethan for the sense of perspective that makes all of this worthwhile.

1 The Slovene lands and people to 1918

Introduction

The Slovenes were one of the first Slavic groups to be incorporated into the domains of the famous Habsburg Empire, and they were also one of the smallest. They were fairly slow to develop a national consciousness and clear political demands. This is partly due to their important strategic position in the Habsburg *Erblande*, or hereditary lands; historically, most Slovenes worked the land and were exposed to a great deal of Germanization. In addition, the Slovenes had little historical basis upon which to construct a modern people and state; thus, they moved much more slowly than, for instance, the Czechs, Italians, Hungarians, and Croats towards self-determination. But by the time of World War I, the Slovenes had produced several generations of renowned scholars who had cemented a national consciousness and begun to formulate political demands in the name of all Slovenes. The shape, extent, and success of the development of the Slovene national program are keys to the background of the first Yugoslavia.

Early Slovene history

The term "Slav" today refers to speakers of one of the Slavic languages. This branch of the Indo-European language family includes the sub-groupings East Slavic (including Russian), West Slavic (including Czech and Polish), and South Slavic (today's Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, and other tongues). The original Slavic tribes, numbering among themselves the predecessors of today's Slovenes, arrived in the Alpine–Adriatic region in the sixth century AD. Although the Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, and Bulgarians would all develop independent state structures and recognizable high cultures in the Middle Ages, Slovenes did not. They were, however, part of two limited political undertakings in capacities other than as merely subjects. From 627 to 658 they were part of a loose Slavic political entity under a partly mythological prince named Samo; this state, such as it was, extended from Saxony to the Adriatic. The main political fact of the time, though, was Bavarian and then Frankish sovereignty over

the core Slovene lands. These lands, where Slovenes were numerous but not politically dominant, included the provinces known today as Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, as well as the coastline along the northern Adriatic, the northeast corner of Italy. Christianization occurred around 800, and much power was wielded over Slovene lands from that point on by the Roman Catholic archbishoprics in Salzburg and Aquileia. German feudal lords moved in and Slovenes themselves remained mostly serfs, completing the political and cultural pattern that would long prevail. The main changes up to the period of the Enlightenment, with the exception of a brief flowering of Reformation culture discussed below, were provided by the consolidation of Habsburg power (by about 1400) and the incursions of the Ottomans, who had become a major force in the Balkans and then pushed on into Central Europe by about 1500.

There also exist some later Slovene political traditions, which indicate some degree of unity and local autonomy. Into the early 1400s, there was a principality (later, duchy) known as Karantanija; it was named for Carinthia, one of the northern Slovene regions. The local prince took his oath of office in Slovene, wore peasant clothes for the day, and was invested in a traditional ceremony on an outdoor stone throne just north of Klagenfurt. This throne, the *knježni kamen*, or, in German, *Kaiserstuhl*, was a remnant of an old Roman column; the accession was followed by a mass in the nearby church of Gospa Sveta/Maria Saal. From its origins in the 600s to the Frankish take-over in 820, Karantanija had its unique phase: the leader was elected by a limited franchise of freemen and had to agree to a "contractual" relationship with the people. It should be remembered, though, that the leader generally owed higher loyalties to foreign powers and that most Slovenes did not live in Karantanija. Nonetheless, this is as close as Slovenes got to a state tradition prior to 1991.

The famous Christian missionaries Cyril and Methodius, who brought both Christianity and literacy to several Central European and Balkan peoples during their ninth-century travels from their base in Thessaloniki, stressed the right of newly converted groups to worship, at least in part, in their native tongues. When European Christianity experienced its first great division in the eleventh century, this use of the vernacular, of course, would remain a part of the Orthodox tradition, but it would gradually fade in the Catholic world, to be replaced by the universal use of Latin. Evidence that the Slovenes originally worshipped in their own language is provided by the Freising Memorials (also known as the Freising Fragments, Texts, or Monuments; in Slovene *Brižinski spomeniki*). These manuscripts, discovered in Bavaria in 1807, are the oldest artifacts written in Slovene or, for that matter, in any Slavic language using the Latin script.

Like much of Europe, the Slovene lands were racked by peasant uprisings (*jacqueries*) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The biggest of the revolts, encompassing 80,000 peasant rebels at its peak, lasted for five months in mid-1515. Faced with ever-greater taxes being used to fight off

the Turks, and with restricted use of common fields and forests, peasants demanded a return to their *stara pravda*, or traditional rights. They also demanded a role in determining future dues and duties. The situation in the countryside had recently worsened, since feudal lords were trying to increase production for export and there was a switch to a monetary instead of natural economy. A war with Venice and higher tolls imposed by cities shut down much of the peasants' economic activity. Thus, the peasantry organized into leagues and attacked and plundered castles. The nobility sought refuge in cities but finally called in some imperial troops and raised a mercenary army. Dozens of rebel leaders were executed, while taxes and the *corvée* (labor dues) were increased even more to pay for the damage that had occurred. The famous Croatian uprising (1572–1573) led by the ill-fated Matija Gubec also spilled over into parts of Slovenia, while the year 1635 saw another major uprising in the central Slovene lands. Although only involving about 15,000 rebels at its peak, this revolt also resulted from domestic and external causes. Erosion of traditional rights and increases in feudal dues and duties combined with higher imperial taxes and obligations to quarter ill-behaved imperial troops during the Thirty Years' War.[1] After the suppression of the second revolt, fewer leaders were executed but many more were sent to the galleys or into other types of forced labor.

From 1000 AD up to the time of the Reformation, however, an enormous gulf swallows up Slovene high or official culture. We know, of course, that there was no independent Slovene state or even administrative unity in these five-plus centuries; the Habsburg feudal system had sunk deep roots into the Slovene provinces and the area's cities became increasingly Germanized, in terms of both new population and diluted local loyalties of the resident Slovenes. It has been correctly asserted that in this long period "no writing, let alone literary creativity, took place in any of the numerous dialects of Slovene before the middle of the sixteenth century."[2] What then happened, during the Reformation, was remarkable, but, like a spark quickly extinguished, Slovene was destined to go underground again during the exigencies of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years' War. Despite the occasional work of non-fiction in Slovene or in German about Slovenia, it was only in the nineteenth century that the Slovene language would begin, again, to take firm shape and to gain in self-confidence and acceptance. The long history of the language, then, is burdened with a remarkably slow beginning. Slovene survived through these centuries as a peasant language, in family and village use among one of Europe's smaller ethnic groups.

The Reformation was truly a seminal time for Slovene culture. Primož Trubar (1508–1586) is a figure of such importance in Slovene history that he has been called both the "father" of Slovene literature and the founder of the Slovene literary language. A Catholic priest who adopted Protestantism, he holds the first designation because his primer of 1550, entitled *Abecedarium*,

was the first printed book in the Slovene language and because he is the first named poet in Slovene. He bears the second appellation because of his success in beginning the standardization of the Slovene language; his works follow, at least partially, a pattern common to English and German in this same era: the impact of Protestantism was registered as a spur to popular national culture, and great religious undertakings such as Martin Luther's Bible (1534) and the King James version (1611). (Dante's works had had a similar, if earlier, effect on standardizing the Italian language.) Although Protestantism all but disappeared from the Slovene lands during the ensuing Counter-Reformation, the works of Trubar and the men such as Jurij Dalmatin and Adam Bohorič who continued his work through about 1600 gave the Slovene language a much-needed injection of energy and status. Nothing approaching significant political change occurred in this time, as the Slovene lands remained firmly under the Habsburg scepter, even despite Turkish incursions; and even economic change had not yet permeated the region, since Slovene feudalism was able to suppress a series of violent peasant uprisings in this period. But one can speak of a revival, or an incipient modernization, of Slovene national consciousness through the rudiments of standardization and the beginnings of a wider literacy occasioned by Trubar's work, which flourished with help both from urban humanist circles (pressing for educational reform and the use of various vernaculars) and from German Protestant patrons, thinkers, and printers in Tübingen and Urach.

The supradialectal version of Slovene created by Trubar contained many Germanisms, which began to be purged (along with Protestant theology) by the authors of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Trubar, of course, although writing for all Slovenes, had mostly an urban following and the Germanization of the language was most advanced in cities. Although Trubar sometimes used the words "Slovene" and "Slav" interchangeably (foreshadowing a major set of issues in nineteenth-century Illyrianism and Yugoslavism), he evolved a clear sense of who the Slovenes were and he eschewed pan-Slavic borrowings that would have made his writings intelligible to other Slavic peoples.

In total, Trubar published thirty-one books. They were all of a religious nature. Among them were translations of Gospels and the Psalms from the Bible, many pedagogical materials, music, and liturgies. Among the achievements of his immediate successors, Dalmatin's 1584 complete Bible translation (not surprisingly, from Luther's German version) and Bohorič's grammar (also of 1584), dictionary, and alphabet provided the greatest anchoring of the peasant-based Slovene national culture. Trubar's reputation remains so great that even modern Slovene writers such as Aškerc, Cankar, and Kosovel paid homage to him. His reverent but imposing likeness appeared on Slovenia's ten-tolar banknote after independence, a position of everyday prominence that can be likened to the image of George Washington on one-dollar bills in the US. Trubar, himself, seems to have known full well the momentous nature of his cultural undertakings:

"In the history of the planet this has never happened before, since the Slovene language was not written till now, much less printed."[3]

In the long centuries of high-cultural silence following the Reformation, written works from the Slovene perspective or on Slovene affairs were extremely rare. One exception to this tendency is the encyclopedic four-volume *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain* (The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola) by a nobleman and scholar named Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693). This work was published in 1689; the fact that it was written in German foreshadows the overlapping cultural identity of Slovene intellectuals that will continue into the decades of the great linguistic works of Kopitar and Miklošič. Such was the cultural power of the Habsburg metropole, Vienna, or, in this case, such was the degree of Germanization in the Slovene cities that produced Valvasor. Valvasor's name, fittingly, is found today in many variants, involving various combinations of Ivan, Johann, Weikhard, and Valvazor.

Valvasor was born into a Germanized aristocratic family in Ljubljana and received a Jesuit education there. Interested in the natural world and science, he traveled widely across Europe and North Africa and fought as a volunteer against the Turks. Upon settling down he began an energetic and comprehensive investigation of the life and countryside of his home country. He collected a library of thousands of volumes and drawings and he wrote and printed a total of nine volumes about Carniola and the surrounding areas. They were lavishly illustrated and most had Latin titles. His collection *Die Ehre* was the peak of his investigations into topography, history, technology, and ethnography. His enthusiasm for study was so great that, in addition to his three castles, Valvasor even bought a house in the city of Ljubljana so that he could be close to the archives.

Valvasor, in the fashion of the Baroque culture of the day, sponsored a group of artists who left renderings of some notable Slovene buildings of the time. The general intellectual setting of the time was rather thinly populated, with Jesuit high schools throughout plus a scientific association called the Academia Operosurum Labacensium and public library in Ljubljana. He is an individualistic phenomenon, although in some ways a breathtaking one, since he was also an inventor and architect and even a member of the Royal Society in England.Valvasor's work is of tremendous value to historians of many types. He provides detailed information on economic life, everyday customs and popular culture, heraldry, language, folklore, and military affairs. Valvasor depicts a great economic bustle and exploitation of natural resources – coal, timber and charcoal, ironmaking, agricultural products, wool, mercury – in the Slovene lands. Trade with German and Italian lands brought imported goods and a higher standard of living than in more remote, more predominantly agricultural regions of the inner Balkans. The assertion that the production and trade created a Slovene middle class which then, open to European ideas and eager to share political power, acted to introduce the ideas of nationalism into the society is

disputed by many historians, however. This model certainly seems to hold for many Western European and some Central European peoples, but it has been argued that the bigger spurs to Slovene nationalism were provided by intellectuals (including churchmen) and the Habsburg government itself, which promoted education and the vernacular to mobilize the population and better centralize the government. At any rate, two things are certain: the intense economic activity of the early modern era provided for the emergence of a Slovene bourgeoisie that would, eventually, challenge the German supremacy in urban areas, and the highways (and eventually railroads) connecting Vienna to Trieste pulled the Slovene lands together and helped build an awareness of common identity across the regions.

Valvasor was one of the few Slovenes (the musician Jacobus Gallus and the scientist Jurij Vega being others) who was known outside his home region. He thus helped bring some knowledge or awareness of Slovenia to the outside world, and he confirmed the necessity (and possibility) of Slovenes maintaining intellectual contact with the rest of Europe and producing work up to international scholar standards. It has even been remarked that "he advocated the peaceful coexistence of peoples and was aware of the interdependence of humans and nature," which would make him an even more admirable figure by the standards of today.[4] Ultimately, in terms of nationalism, Valvasor was a chronicler of Slovene life, and not a deliberate promoter of national consciousness, but his work constitutes a vital catalog of, or voice for, Slovene culture and history.

The lands inhabited by Slovenes had been incorporated into the *Erblande* in the fourteenth century; under the organizational pattern of the Habsburg Empire, these particular Slavs lived in six different territorial units: they predominated in the historic province of Carniola and also were present in Styria, Carinthia, Istria, and Gorizia; in Slovene these regions are known, respectively, as Kranjsko, Štajersko, Koroško, Istra, and Gorica. In the Hungarian part of the Empire lived a smaller number of Slovenes – about 45,000 – in the nineteenth century, and even more Serbs and Croats. (Much later, in 1866, Italy would remove some of these Slovenes from Austrian rule by annexing territory north of Trieste that contained some 27,000 Slovenes.) The Slovene position between the German hinterland and the Adriatic made their territory of crucial importance to the Habsburg Empire; thus German superiority in the region, or at least an absence of Slavic particularism, was very important to Vienna.

For a number of reasons, the Slovene lands did, in fact, remain largely loyal to the Habsburgs – or quiescent, one might say, in the face of overwhelming pressure. One reason was that the German commercial class was dominant in the cities well into the nineteenth century. Another reason was the fear of Italian irredentism in Istria, the Trieste region, and Gorizia. The Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria also looked to Vienna for protection against German nationalist sentiment in the nineteenth century.[5] The first postwar generation of Slovene and Yugoslav leaders, who matured in the

interwar period, when Italy had annexed a large portion of Slovenia, Istria, and Croatia, would be faced with a recurrence of this problem after World War II.

The bond of Catholicism was another source of Slovene loyalty. A nascent Slovene Protestant movement in the sixteenth century, which brought advancement in local literacy and the publication of the first studies of the Slovene language by men such as Primož Trubar, Jurij Dalmatin, and Adam Bohorič, disappeared during the Counter-Reformation, to which the Catholic Habsburgs lent strong support. Thus the basis for Slovene particularism had to be, in effect, largely reconstructed during the nineteenth century. In the words of the English historian A.J.P. Taylor, the Slovene national movement was "respectably clerical and conservative, a last echo of the alliance between dynasty and peasants."[6]

The Habsburg nineteenth century

For Slovenes the modern era dawned during the Enlightenment. This era also brought Revolution and the ascent of Napoleon, sometimes called "the Enlightenment on horseback," to France. The political philosophy and military campaigns of that country would in turn have great significance for Slovenia. But first, there was an indigenous Enlightenment. Its catalyst was a wealthy Baron named Žiga Zois (1747–1819). He was a major patron of the arts and learning, cultivating both European trends and the Slovene language itself. The Augustinian monk Marko Pohlin wrote an important grammar at this time, and the philologist Blaž Kumerdej (1738–1805) helped design and run an elementary school system initiated by Empress Maria Theresa. Since modern nationalism requires widespread literacy, the standardization and spread of Slovene is of great importance. The other artists and scholars whom Zois supported founded libraries, theaters, and newspapers.

During the Napoleonic wars, the Austrian Empire was often pitted against France. During an invasion of the Habsburg territory, the French organized some of their captured territory into the Illyrian Provinces. Although they only lasted from 1809 to 1814, the Provinces were important to Napoleon because they deprived the Habsburgs of key coastal territory. But they also gave a great shot in the arm to Slovene nationalism. In point of fact, they rested on a regional identity and did not represent a Slovene nation-state, since they included large numbers of Croats and not insignificant populations of Serbs and Italians as well. But Ljubljana was the capital city, and many Slovenes gained experience in politics and administration, and – perhaps most importantly – the Slovene language was in official and educational use. A French diplomat posted to Ljubljana also wrote a novel about the area, especially the coastline; Charles Nodier's *Jean Sbogar* (1818) is one of the first modern fictional representations of Slovenia by a non-Slovene.

A prominent figure in the Provinces was Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819). He was a newspaper editor, scholar, school administrator, and textbook writer. His work, on topics from grammar and geography to folk poetry work, contributed significantly to the maturation and unification of Slovene society. But he is also remembered for his poetry. One of his works, "Illyria Resurrected," serves an important triple function in Slovene history. First, it emphasizes Slovene statehood, or the governmental (as opposed to simply the cultural) aspects of nationalism. Second, the poem symbolizes the beginning of a more overt movement of regional cooperation between the Slovenes and their neighbors; both cultural and political cooperation, specifically with Croats, would later bloom at mid-century in the Illyrian Movement, as dialog and mutual assistance with other South Slavs such as the Serbs would do, in a more diffuse way, in the Yugoslav movement by the outbreak of the Great War. Third, the poem demonstrates the increasing connectedness of Slovenes to the ideas and trends of the broader world; here it is the Napoleonic wars and the ideas of the French Revolution that have come crashing into the country.

The poem is also a paean to Napoleon and captures the invigorating, liberating atmosphere of the confluence of the Enlightenment and Romanticism:

> Napoleon says,
> "Illyria, arise!"
> It arises, it breathes:
> And who calls you to life?
>
> O beneficent knight,
> You who awaken me!
> You extend your mighty hand,
> and pull me up . . .
>
> Since ancient times
> the snow-covered mountains have been our patrimony.
> Our honor comes echoing back
> to us from there . . .
>
> Over hundreds of suns
> moss grew to cover us;
> now Napoleon's decrees
> clear out the dust.
>
> The Napoleonic spirit
> is marching into the Slovenes,
> and a generation sprouts
> reborn completely new.[7]

Ideas about Slovene nationhood in the 1800s were largely bound up with the field of linguistics and the domain of literature. The Slovene approaches to national issues at the time fit onto a sort of spectrum. They are personified in three of the most important figures of the century: Jernej Kopitar on the one hand, and France Prešeren on the other, with Franc Miklošič somewhere in between. Such an approach to their ideas at any rate certainly helps to clarify the nature of the various "national programs" that developed between the French Revolution and the Great War. (This paradigm has, of course, its limitations, not least because the public discourse about nationalism was evolving at the time. After all, Slovene society was changing and these new ideas had sequential, not simultaneous, impacts.) The first group saw the assertion of Slovene identity in a multilateral or regional context, building on the original, powerful idea of Austroslavism in the works of the late eighteenth-century historian and dramatist Anton Tomaž Linhart; Kopitar's Enlightenment-era thinking would later be echoed in point of origin and in many essentials by Croatian "Illyrians" and Serbian "Yugoslavs." The second group saw Slovene national identity in the typical context of Romantic nationalism: unique, individual, autonomous, and ultimately independent.

Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) represented basically an Austroslavist stance. This trend, later embodied by the long-term mayor of Ljubljana, Ivan Hribar, prevailed until World War I; after that time, another and more contested multilateral framework would replace it: Yugoslavism. Its main principles were that the Habsburg Empire was a unique state, with a common civilization across its many ethnic groups, that provided an indispensible haven for peoples like the Slovenes, Czechs, and Croats, sandwiched into "the lands between" the large German and Russian realms. Although talk of Slavs within the Empire banding together as a "third force" (trialism) or counterweight to the influence of Vienna and Budapest would remain unsettling to conservative officials, the Austroslavs did lend vital support to the throne at times of crisis, such as in 1848 against the rising tide of German unification. Under the leadership of the Czech historian František Palacký (1798–1876), it became an even more powerful force.

Kopitar's other main concern had to do with the cultural identity and cooperation of the Habsburg South Slavs. From our perspective today it might seem ludicrous to maintain that different Slavic peoples could or should fuse themselves together or even sacrifice some of their sovereignty through extremely close cultural or political cooperation. But one should remember that the linguistic and cultural lines between many Central European and Balkan Slavic groups were not yet clearly drawn in Kopitar's day, or even in the heyday of the Yugoslavist ideal in the early twentieth century; seen historically, with an eye to context and contingency, it is less profitable to think of today's nation-states than of the significant variations that existed in the 1800s between the customs and dialects from

region to region in Italy or in Germany. Those countries had developed "big" nationalisms and created large states, and many Slavs wondered if they should do the same. The common ethnic or linguistic origins of the Slavs were also stressed, so that Austroslavists (and proponents of other kinds of fusion) saw themselves as advocating a return to something natural and powerful, not a renunciation of a laboriously protected kinship circle or zealously resuscitated cultural patrimony. Kopitar promoted mostly linguistic reform. He wanted the Slovenes and the Croats to build a new language with popular roots, based on the similarities between Slovene and one of Croatia's three main dialects, the kajkavian variant of north-eastern Croatia. He also wanted Serbs to steer clear of Russia's cultural orbit and make common cause with the Habsburgs.

Kopitar was educated in Ljubljana and Vienna and worked at first in the circle of the Enlightenment scholar and patron Baron Zois. In 1810 he took his first government job in Vienna, where he would be active, until his death, as an Imperial censor, Court librarian, and member of many European scholarly academies. Kopitar is often remembered for the huge boost he gave to the career of the young Serbian scholar Vuk Karadžič, even making Goethe aware for him of Serbian folk poetry; Karadžič would go on to produce invaluable collections of Serbian folk songs and epics, to reform the Serbian language, and to generate a lasting (if controversial) definition of Serbian nationalism as the identity of all people who speak the stokavian variant – including, as we know today, many Croats, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Kopitar arranged for a great boost in the Slavic holdings of Vienna's libraries and for better printing facilities for Slavic books. It is often also recalled that Kopitar wrote his Slovene grammar, *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Karnten und Steyermark* (1808), in German, a reminder of where the cultural center of gravity of the Slovene intelligentsia still lay; Valvasor, Linhart, Matija Čop, and others had also written many key works in German. Although this grammar is important historically as a link in the chain of cultural preservation for Slovenes extending back to Bohorič and ahead, through the "alphabet wars," to the work of Miklošič and others, it is also noteworthy because it is the first to contain reflections on the history of the language and literature. Along with the Czech Josef Dobrovský, then, Kopitar was one of the founders of the field of Slavics; in the political course of Slovene nationalism, his systematic Austroslavism actually opened a new chapter as well.

Several forces kept Kopitar's ideas from taking the day. One of them was another regional or supra-ethnic linguistic movement called Illyrianism. This force, under the guidance of the publicist Ljudevit Gaj, heralded the beginning of the Croatian national renaissance; it later split into a straightforward Croatian nationalist trend and the Yugoslavism of Bishop Juraj Strossmayer. Croats, like Slovenes, were a Habsburg people; most Serbs at this time lived either in the Ottoman Empire still or in the small but