

because it correctly predicted that if internal politics were not changed, the Habsburg dynasty would fall. Pilar correctly predicted the subordinate position of the Croats within a Yugoslavia ruled by the Serbian dynasty. To his regret he had to personally witness his predictions coming to pass, the repression of the new regime, and his own death under unclear circumstances. It remained to Seton-Watson to soon begin a critical analysis of why undesirable developments had come to pass in the Yugoslavian state. He quickly ascertained the nature of Serbia's imperialist politics and its determination to dominate the South Slav community.

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 Summary

The author of this paper compares the views of Ivo Pilar and Robert William Seton-Watson, two brilliant publicists, on the Southern-Slavic question as the key problem of the organisation of Southeast Europe in the period between the end of the 19th century and 1918. Pilar represents the views of a distinguished Croatian intellectual, who seeks answers that would meet the interests of his own people, while Seton-Watson mirrors a reputable liberal from a great nation dealing with the fates of smaller nations. The author shows that up to World War I both men sought a solution to the problem — particularly to the issues of the Croatian-Serbian relations — exclusively within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. Both men advocated a change in the internal organisation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the basis of greater national rights. Both men also held that the Monarchy was indispensable for the preservation of stability and international peace in Europe, particularly within the context of the relations between Germany and Russia. In Pilar's view it was important to satisfy the principle of uniting the Croatian states into a single administrative unit and then preserve the unit within the Monarchy, which would serve as principal protection from all external pretensions, i.e. from the Italian and Serbian expansions. Seton-Watson maintained that the trialism formula would help overcome the conflicts between the Croatian and Serbian nationalisms. Moreover, owing to its civilisational advantage, the trialism in question would exert attractive power over the Kingdom of Serbia and the other parts of the Balkans. Besides, this trialism would strengthen the Monarchy and make it become more independent from its alliance with Germany. In Seton-Watson it is obvious that he started changing his views after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, when he gradually realised that a conflict between German and British interests in Southeast Europe was inevitable, i.e. that the Austro-Hungarian Empire could no longer be a British ally since it was, in actual fact, an appendage of the German Empire. During World War I Seton-Watson took the opinion that, in order to solve the Southern-Slavic problem and establish wider international relations, it was essential to constitute an independent Yugoslavian state outside the Monarchy within "New Europe", while Pilar cemented his view that the Monarchy was the only right solution for the interests of Croats, emphasising that attempting to integrate Croats and Serbs on the ruins of Austro-Hungary was unnatural and contrary to historical arguments.

## Pilar's Work *The South Slav Question*: on the Origin of the Manuscript and the Fate of the first (Viennese) Edition

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*Until now, the literature accompanying I. Pilar's best known book, published in Vienna in 1918 under the pseudonym L. v. Südland and usually referred to by the shortened title of "The South Slav Question", has been fraught with a series of issues. On the basis of new material, the author has set himself the task of describing how the work came into existence, and tracing the fate of the first, "Viennese" edition. He has disproved the claim, made in the existing literature, that there were two (different) "Viennese" editions and examined the issue of why this book of Pilar's is so rare today.*

Political conditions did not just determine the direction and tragic end of Dr. Ivo Pilar's life, they also affected the fate of the author's opus, and especially, the reception of that opus, among experts as well as among the wider public. This also holds fully for his most comprehensive — and over the years *best-known* — work, which is usually referred to by the shortened title "The South Slav Question" (below: *JP*).<sup>1</sup> In this article I present the findings which I have made since I began to work more systematically on this topic a few years ago.<sup>2</sup>

### Twelve variants

Like the vast majority of those who after 1945 were interested in this book, I first came to know it during the late 1960s in its Croatian translation from 1943.<sup>3</sup> Following the first democratic elections in Croatia (in the spring of 1990) many

<sup>1</sup> See in this issue: Srećko LIPOVČAN, *A Portrait of Ivo Pilar*. After Pilar's death, in September 1933, up until the autumn of 1990, thus in more than half a century, only *The South Slav Question* was reprinted, once in a Croatian translation (1943) and once in the original language, German (1944).

<sup>2</sup> See: LIPOVČAN, 2001; LIPOVČAN, PRILOZI<sup>1</sup>, 2001; PRILOZI<sup>2</sup>, 2001; PRILOZI<sup>3</sup>, 2001 and LIPOVČAN, 2002, in: *Literature on Ivo Pilar (a selection)* and *Bibliography of the Publications of Ivo Pilar (a selection)* in this issue.

<sup>3</sup> In the former Yugoslavia, this edition was difficult, almost impossible to obtain in secondhand bookstores "officially", rather it had to be passed "under the counter"; it circulated secretly in intellectual circles, usually as a photocopy.

“taboos” were lifted, and more came to be written about Pilar, including this work. New, important information began to multiply. From the middle of the 1990s, it was known that Pilar’s papers were kept in Zagreb (in the possession of his grandson, Eng. Božidar Jančiković),<sup>4</sup> that these contain the *hand-written manuscript* of *JP* in German, and that the National and University Library in Zagreb holds another, *type-written* copy of the manuscript.

Subjecting to review everything that was available on *JP* at that time, I noticed that all of the appraisals and judgments of the work were in the main based on the Croatian translation,<sup>5</sup> whereas the *first edition* — which the author published under a pseudonym in German — was only from time to time referenced (often incompletely and incorrectly) bibliographically.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it was significant that the first edition was not cited. As a result, by joining the ranks of those who on various occasions have suggested issuing a *critical edition* of this work of Pilar’s,<sup>7</sup> I have brought the issue around full circle and posed the question: what, in fact, should be the *critical edition*? Investigation has shown that, in total, *twelve* (hand-written and printed; whole and fragmentary; German and Croatian) versions/variants of the text exist.<sup>8</sup> On the path toward a thorough analysis of all these variants, which is a precondition to a critical edition, I began with the questions of how the manuscript originated and what is known of the first, Viennese edition.

#### Why, when and where was “The South Slav Question” written?

Following a critical analysis of the published information and opinions as well as an examination of the private papers of I. Pilar, especially the hand-written *manuscript*, it can be said with certainty that the work came into existence over a longer period of time, which is, given its significance and breadth, totally comprehensible. It is

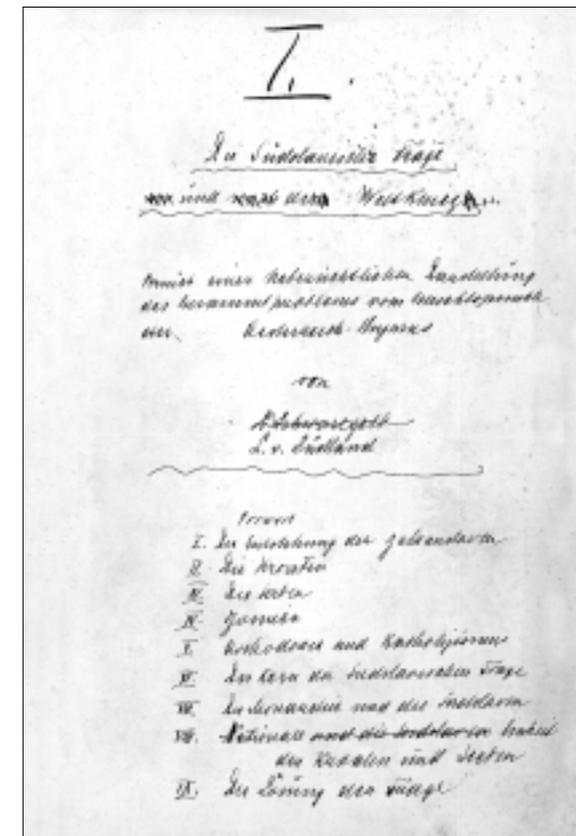
<sup>4</sup> B. Jančiković wrote about this first in a feuilleton in the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik* (see: JANČIKOVIĆ, 1996). In the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar two catalogues of his papers exist: 1. RUKOPISNA OSTAVŠTINA IVE PILARA /ROIP/ (Private Papers of Dr. Ivo Pilar). Typed, 17 pages. The catalogue contains brief descriptions; 2. DOPUNA RO /DRO/ (Supplement to the Private Papers). Compiled by Željko Holjevac, Zagreb, 28. 9. 1999.

<sup>5</sup> In the fall of 1990 a reprint of the 1943 edition was published.

<sup>6</sup> The title and subtitle of the first edition: *Die Südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg. Übersichtliche Darstellung des Gesamt-Problems* von L. v. Südland, Manz Verlag Wien, 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Thus for example the Croatian historian T. Macan writes: “Pilar was excessively attacked and victimized, but also incomparably praised and secretly read. Often he and his work were talked about and written about from memory, spreading white and black legends. It is about time that a critical edition of his work and the relevant parts of his papers are published” (MACAN, 1997, p. 12).

<sup>8</sup> They are not all titled the same, and we can divide them into *three* categories. In the *first* would be the two *manuscripts* and the *first* edition from 1918. In the *second* category we include those variations that “as such” show peculiarities of which there was *no* information in the literature up until then, and without a closer understanding of them an examination of the problem would remain lacking; contributions to a fuller reply to the question of *which text* is in fact *authentic* or which texts can not be so considered, and why. Finally, newly published fragments of the German and Croatian texts belong to the *third* category. I wrote about this in great detail in the text *Popis i opis rukopisa i izdanja »Južnoslavenskog pitanja«* [“A List and Descriptions of the Manuscripts and Editions of ‘The South Slav Question’”] published as an appendix to my study (LIPOVČAN, 2001, pp. 227-230).



The first page of the manuscript of Pilar’s book *Die südslawische Frage*

likewise absolutely correct to presume that the author began collecting material and literature well before he started to write, because he wrote an important *preparatory work* for this, his broadest work, already in 1911, even though he did not publish it at the time.<sup>9</sup>

Already back in 2001 when I first analyzed Pilar’s preface, I established that the direct *impetus* behind the author’s conceptualization of *another kind* of presentation of “The South Slav Question” must have been his reaction to Seton-Watson’s study with a similar title, which was published in 1911 in English — in 1913, on the eve of the war, in German — and was considered at the time to be the “standard work” on the issue.<sup>10</sup>

In 1928, the author himself specified that he wrote his work “during the war, 1915-1917”,<sup>11</sup> and this statement can now be documented. In miniscule handwriting

<sup>9</sup> This is the study entitled *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja* [Political Geography of the Croatian lands], see: KLEMENČIĆ-POKOS, 2001.

<sup>10</sup> LIPOVČAN 2001., pp. 218-219. Stjepan Matković wrote on Pilar’s criticism of Seton-Watson’s views at the same time (MATKOVIĆ, 2001, pp. 62-64), and the same author has contributed an exhaustive analysis of both men’s views to this issue.

on the hand-written manuscript of the work and/or the outlines of individual chapters, Pilar noted when he began to write them, when his writing was interrupted and restarted, or when he completed a particular segment/chapter.<sup>12</sup> For example, he began the first chapter on 25 April 1915 and entitled it “Die Entstehungsgeschichten südslawischer Völker” [The historical genesis of the South Slav peoples]. Soon thereafter he had to stop working on the manuscript, as he was mobilized in May and joined the army a month later; but he resumed working on it in September of the same year.<sup>13</sup> In the book this chapter was given the title “Die Entstehung der Balkanslawen” [The Origin of the Balkan Slavs], as it appears in the manuscript. In the outline of the fourth chapter, for instance, it has the title “Bosnien und die bosnische Staatsgründung” [Bosnia and the foundation of the Bosnian state] but in the book “Bosnien und die bosnische Staatsbildung” [Bosnia and the formation of the Bosnian state]. He began to write it in the summer of 1916, and completed it in February 1917.<sup>14</sup> There is no note in the outline to indicate when he began to work on the final,<sup>15</sup> ninth chapter (“Die Lösung der Südslawischen<sup>16</sup> Frage” [The solution to the South Slav Question]), but Pilar marked the date of its “final construction”: “17/III. — 28./III. 917”.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, Pilar wrote the book in just under two years, from the end of April 1915 to the end of March 1917, in Tuzla, where he lived without interruption from 1905 until 1920. From the moment he completed the manuscript to the appearance of the book in print, a year’s time passed.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See: LIPOVČAN, 2001, p. 223.

<sup>12</sup> There is information on the first page of the manuscript as well. Hence the pseudonym was at first supposed to be “Dr. Schwarzgelb” (“Blackyellow” - the colours of the Habsburg Monarchy).

<sup>13</sup> “Begun 25. / IV. 915. 14/V. 15 mobilized, 15/VI. began military duty, work interrupted, continued in September”.

<sup>14</sup> Next to the title is written: “first begun 28. VII 16, re-worked 4. II 917”. At the bottom of the page he noted again: “T. [Tuzla] 26. VIII 916” and under that: “revised. 13. II 917”.

<sup>15</sup> Pilar made his bibliography the tenth chapter of the book.

<sup>16</sup> In the outline of the manuscript this word is spelled with “S”, but in the book it spelled correctly with “s”.

<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the translator of the work into Croatian, Fedor Pucek, was incorrect when in his preface to the 1943 edition — which many subsequently referred to — he stated that the work was written “[...] at the end of the First World War” (F. Pucek, *Predgovor prevodioca* [Translator’s preface] in: L. V. Südland, *Južnoslavensko pitanje*, 1943, XII.). Most likely he took this mechanically from the *author’s* preface, dated January 1917, when Pilar gave hope to the notion “[...] that we are approaching the conclusion of the war.” (in the Viennese edition: “Im Momente, in dem wir mit einiger Berechtigung sagen können, daß wir uns dem Ende des schrecklichen Krieges, der über uns hinwegbraust, nähern. [...]”; *Die Südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg* von L. v. Südland, Wien, 1918, Vorwort, III); Mile Starčević, in a prologue to the Zagreb German edition from 1944, was closer to the truth when he said that the book “[...] was written in 1915 and 1916” (Geleitwort zur zweiten Ausgabe, p. VIII).

<sup>18</sup> According to information from the publisher (see in the chapter below), the book most likely appeared in print on 16 March 1918. We do not know if the author submitted his manuscript immediately after he completed it, whether the publisher immediately accepted it (i.e. the duration of the publisher’s/editor’s “reading”), and when the setting of the type was begun. Considering the length of the manuscript and the technical capabilities of publishers at the time, we could not say that a year was an uncharacteristic amount of time to pass, so I believe that the publisher decided to print the manuscript rather quickly. As



### Two different “Viennese” editions?

The claim that *two different* Viennese editions existed in 1918 has appeared often in the literature, and was made for the first time in 1943. In his translator’s preface referred to in footnote 17, F. Pucek wrote of the work: “[...] while still in Vienna it went through two editions. One complete, the other well-thinned out, because formally mild criticism of Austrian politics in Croatian lands during the 19th century was not allowed by Austrian authorities at the time.”<sup>19</sup> He then explains that Pilar in his argumentation “[...] 25 years ago was not entirely free”, that he was “quite conciliatory towards the dynasty and the maintenance of Austria-Hungary”, thus he concludes that this nonetheless “[...] did not help in preventing his work from being confiscated in Austria.”<sup>20</sup>

The translator therefore apodictically — but without a single piece of evidence — claimed that the “first” Viennese edition was “confiscated”, and that a “second”,

is well known, the edition does not contain a preface by the publisher, neither is the name of the editor stated.

<sup>19</sup> PUCEK, 1943, p. XII.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. XIII-XIV.

censored edition appeared.<sup>21</sup> Personally, I was not inclined to simply accept or reject this claim. Since I showed that the translator of the work was doubtless acquainted with the author and was in contact with him, and that no later than from the time, as far back as 1928, that he began to publish his translation of the *JP* in Mile Starčević's monthly *Hrvatska mladica* in instalments.<sup>22</sup> I assumed that he could only have heard this from Pilar himself. At the same time, however, I cautioned that it was unknown to us if the author himself had never said anything on this matter. Since the available sources and literature did not enable any settlement of this riddle concerning the Viennese "editions", the search was directed at the city in which the work was published.

### The same book in two bindings

The Viennese publisher MANZ published Pilar's book under a pseudonym in 1918.<sup>23</sup> Because no one had until then tried to determine whether this publishing house still existed, this was the first question that had to be settled. A visit to Vienna in 2002 set matters in motion. In the very centre of the city, maybe only 50 meters from *St. Stephen's Cathedral*, stands the *MANZ'sche Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung GmbH* bookstore.<sup>24</sup> Yet, there was no mention of Pilar's book in its catalogue. Upon returning to Zagreb, I wrote to the director of MANZ asking whether they were the legal successors of "v. Südland's" publisher. After investigating the matter, their office warmly responded to me that they were, and that one hardcover copy of the book was still held in their warehouse, but that *no* other documentation (e.g. the contract with the author, newspaper announcements) exists. Nonetheless, they were able to provide some important information: the book "most likely" came of the press on 16 March 1918. Its length was six pages numbered in Roman numerals (I-VI<sup>25</sup>) plus 796. The price of the hardcover was 23 crowns; a *brochure* edition also

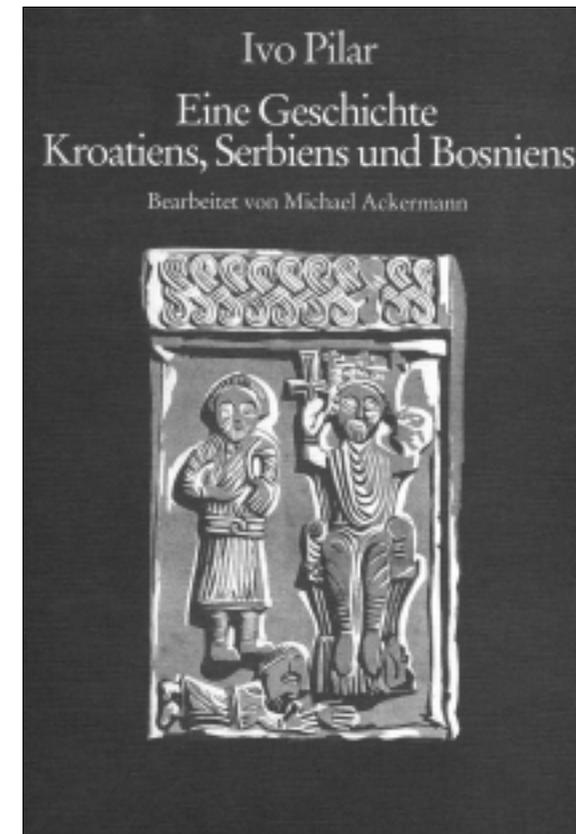
<sup>21</sup> An examination of the literature showed that after 1943 authors dealt with this claim in two different ways: some accepted it as irrefutable without any further comment and thereby contributed to its popularization, while others passed over the matter entirely. As a result, I was able to conclude that those who followed in Pucek's footsteps "did not contribute to a clarification of the puzzle" (LIPOVČAN, 2001, pp. 198, 200-201).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>23</sup> MANZ VERLAG WIEN is printed on the cover, and on the first page in the book MANZ'sche K. U. K. HOF-, VERLAGS- U. UNIVERSITÄTS- BUCHHANDLUNG is printed. A description of the edition and a copy of the cover and title page is published in the first issue of *Godišnjak Pilar. Prinosi za proučavanje života i djela dra. Ive Pilara*, Srećko LIPOVČAN and Zlatko MATIJEVIĆ, ed., (GP), Zagreb, 1/2001: S. LIPOVČAN, *op. cit.*, 227-228 and 197 and 199 respectively. Further, I want to mention that the hardcover edition is formatted on 14,5 x 22,5, the title of the book is centered on the cover (but without the subtitle "ÜBERSICHTLICHE DARSTELLUNG DES GESAMT-PROBLEMS!"), the covers are framed by ornamentation, and in the lower part centred MANZ VERLAG WIEN is printed. The information on the cover is repeated on the spine in a smaller font.

<sup>24</sup> MANZ's publishing and university bookstore Ltd.

<sup>25</sup> In fact, there are more than six pages numbered in Roman numerals. The author's preface is printed on pages III-VI, and after it the table of contents ("Inhaltsverzeichnis") on pages VII-X. In the book itself a printer's error occurred, because on p. VII it states that the preface ("Vorwort") is to be found on pages III-VIII, while it in fact ends on p. VI.



existed priced at 20 crowns. They hold no copies of the brochure edition, so they could not tell me whether there was any difference between the two editions, but they think that they were identical.<sup>26</sup> Until this information came to light the existence of a *brochure* edition was unknown. Comparing some hardcover copies<sup>27</sup> with the data presented above about the (sole) copy which is stored in the library of the publisher, I concluded that they were of the *same* edition: there is no difference either in the information on the cover and title page, in the arrangement of the chapters, or, most importantly, in the number of pages. Therefore, we have no evidence to suggest that *two*, in terms of content *distinct*, editions existed, and above all, there is no trace of a confiscated or "alternative" (censored) edition. As a result, barring the disclosure of any new facts, I believe that speculation concerning another, "well-thinned out" edition should cease.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> I have published the entire correspondence with the publisher (LIPOVČAN 2002, pp. 108-112).

<sup>27</sup> Besides my own formerly obtained copy, I consulted the copy which is in the library of The Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar as well as the author's own copy which is kept with his private papers.

<sup>28</sup> There still remains, however, the doubt which I raised a year ago: it is hard to imagine a reason why Fedor Pucek would simply *fabricate* something like this.

We did not receive information from Vienna concerning the size of the first print run, but we know this number from the author's letter to the German consul in Zagreb, a very important document, wherein he mentioned that the book was issued in 1500 copies.<sup>29</sup>

### Contemporary reception: "The Attention of world opinion" — The interest of the American President in the book?

In the literature it is also claimed that the book enjoyed considerable success, even on a "global" scale, but *no* evidence was presented to substantiate this claim either. Thus, in the preface to the German-language Zagreb edition, Mile Starčević, without citing even one reference, wrote: "Hence for more than two decades this book has drawn the attention of world publicity to itself". Likewise, without any concrete support, Mladen Švab in 1995 claimed: "The work was better received in the German language area — it was ultimately directed at it [...]".<sup>30</sup>

It is now possible to say something more about this.

I. The outline of Pilar's letter to the German consul mentioned above — along with various rather important facts — reveals other, until recently unknown, reports regarding the *reception* of the work. Suggesting to the consul that his book be reprinted in Germany, Pilar began by stressing "[...] the wide and solid scholarly basis, especially in terms of history" of his work, and then he wrote: "Due to this solid scholarly base, the book enjoyed unexpected success. In fact, it exploded like a bomb".<sup>31</sup> He continues on by saying that the book was not forgotten even after the demise of the Monarchy, ensuring the consul that: "[...] the book is not rendered useless by the global catastrophe, rather: despite the collapse of its political tendencies it has attained *global praise* (author's emphasis), and has become the leading ideology in many parts of the former Monarchy. I am not only referring to the extremely favourable critique by Attila Tamaro in 1921, but to the fact that I still get requests for the book from all over world. I want to point out that the deceased President of the United States of America, Harding, instructed one of his agents to bring the book back from Europe. When this man could not get it in bookstores, he came to Zagreb, so I had to give him one of my last copies via a certain intermediary."<sup>32</sup>

It will be hard to verify the exceptionally interesting claim concerning the interest of the American President, but Pilar's mention of Tamaro's "extremely favourable critique" opened the way towards the first information about the "worldwide" response to the book. As regards the reception of the work, one other important bit of information is contained in the concept of the letter; after he tried to convince the consul to get the "German government" to support "a suitable German publishing house" to approach him directly, Pilar wrote: "In order to facilitate matters, allow

<sup>29</sup> See: *GP*, 2/2002, GRAĐA, p. 219.

<sup>30</sup> An detailed overview can be found in: *LIPOVČAN*, 2001, pp. 210—211.

<sup>31</sup> *GP*, 2/2002, GRAĐA, p. 219.

<sup>32</sup> For the concept of the letter, *ibid.* Only one copy of the book is preserved in the private papers today.

me to among other things present the opinions and critiques of my work that have been collected."<sup>33</sup>

It is beyond doubt, therefore, that certain "opinions" and "critiques" existed.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, neither have been discovered among the private papers.

II. The most important document from Pilar's private papers in terms of this matter, which even today remains unpublished and neglected, is a letter sent to him in April 1932 by *Franjo Dujmović*, an acquaintance from Novi Sad who at the time was employed by the "district court" in Novi Sad. Informing Pilar that he had just been transferred from Negotin to Novi Sad, *Dujmović* writes:

1. "Studying our problem, in Oskar Randi's book, *La Jugoslavia*, published in 1922 in Rome by the 'Lega Italiana per la tutela degli interessi nazionali' ('The Italian Federation for the Defence of National Interests') on p. 494 (forgive me for the citation — but I am not certain, that this it is known to you),<sup>35</sup> I came across his citation of Attila Tamaro's review article in the review 'Politica' (May 1921), which says about 'Südslawische Frage u. Weltkrieg': 'E la piu vasta (ha 716 pagine), la piu completa e la piu importante opera che sia stata scritta sul problema degli 'Slavi meridionali' e loro lotte nazionali. E scritta dal punto di vista puramente croato, con tenenza antiserba e antitaliana.' He says that it is 'un monumento dell' ideale croato.'<sup>36</sup>

Later in the letter he returns to the topic of Randi and says:

"I have learned that Oscar<sup>37</sup> Randi also says, that you wrote the work in response to Jovan Cvijić's writings aspiring to Bosnia and Hercegovina 'il Dott. Ivo (Giovanni) Pilar, un croato bosniaco, concepì l'idea di confutarlo. Il libro pubblicato collo pseudonimo del L. v. Südländ.'<sup>38</sup>

2. In the same letter *Dujmović* mentions one other work in which Pilar's book was referred to, but which encountered a negative reaction in Serbian public opinion:

"Nevertheless I just managed to obtain another work at the same time, which was negatively evaluated in the Serbian press by, it seems to me, Joca<sup>39</sup> Pižon Jovanović in the Serb. 'Knjiž. Glasniku' [Literary Herald], and that is namely: the work of

<sup>33</sup> In continuation, Pilar says that only "if it becomes absolutely necessary" could he deliver also "a copy of the book mentioned", because he only has two, "[...] and the book is today irretrievable. As far as I know, one copy is held in the library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin."

<sup>34</sup> In this sense, it is actually somewhat unclear what Pilar meant when he wrote "opinions" (these were not necessarily published, but may have been made verbally and subsequently recorded), but in terms of "critiques" he could only have meant *published reviews*.

<sup>35</sup> We know that it was familiar to Pilar from the outline of his letter to the consul.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of F. Dujmović, Private Papers, p. 1. In translation: "This is the broadest (it has 716 pages), most comprehensive and most important work on the 'South Slav' problem and their national struggles. It is written from a purely Croatian point of view with anti-Serbian and anti-Italian tendencies. He says that it is 'a monument to the Croatian ideal!'"

<sup>37</sup> In the first instance he writes his name with a "k".

<sup>38</sup> Letter of F. Dujmović, ROIP, p. 2. In translation: "Dr. Ivo (Giovanni) Pilar, Bosnian Croat, came to the idea of refutation. The book was published under the pseudonym L. v. Südländ."

<sup>39</sup> Jovan (John).

Ernst Anrich 'Die Jugoslawische Frage und die Julikrise 1914.' [The South Slav Question and the July 1914 Crisis] (pub. W. Kohlhammer Verlag Stuttgart 1931.) — therefore a rather fresh work. I was extremely pleased, to have found in this item as acknowledged by the author himself — an actual excerpt of your Viennese work.”

Dujmović's<sup>40</sup> facts concerning the book are precise.<sup>41</sup> Anrich's book (166 pages) — along with the author's prologue (*Vorbemerkung*) — makes up one whole, *Die Jugoslawische Frage (Yugoslav Question)*, divided into a short introduction entitled *Grundsätzliche Vorfragen (Principle questions)* and five chapters (with subtitles), and a bibliography at the end. At the very end of the introduction, but before the first chapter (*Die großserbische Bewegung — Great Serbian movement*), in footnote 2, the author writes:

“Es soll hier nicht nochmals die Literatur für jedes Kapitel zusammengestellt werden. Aber zu Eingang dieses Kapitels sei doch ein Buch ganz allgemein herausgestellt: von Südland: 'Die südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg.' Dieses Buch ist viel zu wenig bekannt. Denn abgesehen von der Bedeutung der südslawischen Frage auch für unsere Gegenwart und Zukunft kann es in der Vielseitigkeit und dem Ernst der Anfassung eine Musterarbeit für die Erfassung ähnlicher völkischer Grenzprobleme genannt werden. Südland ist ein Pseudonym für Pilar. Pilar ist selbst Kroat. Das Buch erschien noch vor dem Zusammenbruch und wollte die Monarchie an ihre Aufgabe mahnen und zu ihrer Lösung mit beitragen. Der Grundgedanke dieses Kapitels ruht auf diesem Buch, die beiden ersten Abschnitte auch in den Einzelheiten zu sehr großen Teilen.”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Since we are also publishing an overview of Pilar's work *Borba za vrijednost svoga 'ja'* [The Struggle for the Value of the Ego]: see in this issue), I want to mention that Dujmović also wrote the following towards the end of this letter: “Thanks to your work 'Borba za vrijednost svoga ja' I gave myself to — [by way of] developing my ambitions — also to a study of this same question and am now looking over the literature and when I finish a smaller study, I will be at liberty to ask you to promote my contribution in *Obzor* or *Mjesečnik pravničkog društva* [journals — 'Horizon' and 'Legal Society Monthly'], that is if you find it worthy.” Scholars interested in Pilar's contribution to *social psychology* should — within the context of what was written about this book when it appeared in print — determine whether the study Dujmović refers to was indeed published.

<sup>41</sup> The book appeared as the 12th volume of the edition “Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkriegs” [Contributions to the History of the Post-Bismarck era and the World War], which was edited by professor Dr. Fritz Kern of Bonn. I would like to express my thanks to my colleague Z. Matijević who let me have access to this work from his library.

<sup>42</sup> In my translation: “We will not refer to the literature for each chapter separately. But before this first chapter let one book above all be emphasized generally: von Südland's 'The South Slav Question and the World War'. This book is too little known. Quite part from the significance of the South Slav Question for our present and our future, it can, because of its many-sidedness and the seriousness of its approach, be called the exemplary work for understanding similar nationality border problems. Südland is a pseudonym for Pilar. Pilar is himself a Croat. The book appeared before the collapse [of Austria-Hungary], it wanted to remind the Monarchy about its mission and to contribute to its resolution. The fundamental concept of this chapter is based on this book, and the first two subsections in particular to a large extent.” (See: Ernst ANRICH, *Die Jugoslawische Frage und die Julikrise 1914*, Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 14.)

And indeed, Anrich refers to Pilar's opinions in his footnotes, presents facts used by Pilar, or relies on Pilar's citations an additional 34 times, and, of course, includes Pilar's book in his bibliography (p. 166).

III. I have yet to obtain a copy of Randi's book or the relevant issues of “Politica” with Tamaro's<sup>43</sup> critique, because the National and University Library does not have a complete collection.<sup>44</sup> This should be done in the context of preparing a critical edition.

How did the claim that “world public opinion” paid “attention” to Pilar's work enter into the literature? M. Starčević most likely did not have access to the *documentation* on this, because in this case he would probably have been more precise and specifically cited in the appendix some instances of this “attention”, something he did not at all do. Considering the fact that, as we stated, he was the editor of *Hrvatska mladica*, which began publishing Pucek's translation, he certainly was in contact with Pilar, whose authorship in that very journal, as I have already shown, was very well camouflaged.<sup>45</sup> Pilar's description of the success of the book in his letter to the consul was not formally speaking identical to what Starčević alleged, but in principle it was the same, so in all likelihood we can assume that Starčević learned this from the author. On the other hand, the source of Švab's claim at this time can not be identified, to the extent that he did not adopt Starčević's allegation (and did not mention this). One thing is certain: the important and unavoidable, though financially demanding task of researching through the newspapers (and journals!) of the time — this means primarily the Viennese and Budapest press, but also the Sarajevo and Zagreb press — should be undertaken.

### Why is this work by Pilar — a rare book?

In a few places in his letter to the German consul Pilar says that his book is “the greatest rarity ('rarissimum')”. If this was the case in 1924, then today it is especially true: for years it has not been available in second-hand bookstores in Zagreb.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, after 1945 it was difficult to obtain the Croatian translation from 1943 as well, even if in recent times it could be found in second-hand bookstores. It is, however, paramount to keep in mind the following: Pilar's work is today available to the wider public only in a *reprint of the 1943 translation* (the so-called “Varaždin” edition from 1990). I make mention of this because this situation has influenced the way in which Pilar has been written about in the last years. Namely, as I have already said, authors have in actuality not relied on the 1918 German edition (nor have they cited from it).

For more than half a century the claim that one of the main reasons for the “rarity” of the Viennese edition is that it quickly “disappeared” from the market has been

<sup>43</sup> Attilio Tamaro (Trieste, 1884-1956), journalist, publicist and diplomat.

<sup>44</sup> The journal began publication in 1917 in Rome. The National and University Library holds: Vol. 4 (1920): 1; 6 (1920): 16, 17; 20 (1924): 58, 59; 24: 58, 59; 24 (1926): 72; 25 (1926): 73, 74.

<sup>45</sup> LIPOVČAN 2001, p. 202.

<sup>46</sup> The copy owned by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar was obtained last autumn through the agency of the Zagreb secondhand bookstore EUROPA — from Prague.

prevalent in the literature. But no one has ever offered one proof for this. This claim too was first brought forward by Fedor Pucek; as regards the later “variants” of this statement I have already provided a detailed review so I direct readers to it,<sup>47</sup> and here I will only recall Pucek’s words:

“The complete edition<sup>48</sup> in the German language has become a real rarity, and moreover, because for some strange reason all the copies among us as well as abroad disappeared from the market after the war. We would not be mistaken, if we believed, that the whole printing run of the book was bought up by Serbs, in order to prevent, that the views and standpoints of the author of this prominent work spread among the circles of the Croatian and world-wide intelligentsia. There were few Croats who read this work in the German language immediately after it came out, and for this very reason it did not complete its mission at that time. [...]”<sup>49</sup>

A year ago I did not have any reason to discount these statements in their entirety, but I did caution that they could not be backed up “[...] in any primary source”. Having in mind certain authors, I stated the opinion that today, “[...] especially in texts which aspire to seriousness or, moreover, scholarly authority, this should no longer be repeated as if it were an established truth, and it is especially inappropriate — when it can not be precisely said *who* did this — to write ‘Serbs’”.<sup>50</sup>

Knowing of Pilar’s letter to the consul, we can with great certainty say that Pucek’s “source” for this information was Pilar himself. At the same time, however, certain obvious contradictions have come to light, so the problem should be reconsidered. Let us proceed in order.

Pucek’s comment that all the copies “[...] among us as well as abroad disappeared from the market after the war”, in other words “that the whole printing run of the book was bought up by Serbs” should in any case not be interpreted *literally*: he did not quantify the number of copies, to be able to apodictically claim that he is talking about “all” the copies, and even this would not be “all” the copies (which were printed), but probably only those which “after the war” remained unpurchased. We learned that the printing run amounted to 1500 copies, at least this is the number claimed by Pilar<sup>51</sup> on two occasions. After he stated that the book “exploded like a bomb”, he wrote that “[...] in fact the small printing run of 1500 copies (Manz-Verlag did not have paper at the time<sup>52</sup>) was completely sold out in about 4 months. [...]”.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-226.

<sup>48</sup> This refers to his claim that a second, censored edition existed as well.

<sup>49</sup> PUCEK, *ibid.*, p. XII.

<sup>50</sup> LIPOVČAN, 2001, p. 226.

<sup>51</sup> As is the case with every source, we must approach it critically, especially because it is evident that it was composed for a precise reason (a reprinting of the book in Germany), so it is desirable to take this into account. For example, allowing in principle for the likelihood that the author somewhat overstated matters (and perhaps left something out), in order to achieve the aim he wanted, and to obtain, and this can be seen from his letter, what he deeply desired, certainly not primarily for financial reasons, even if this was not irrelevant, which is entirely legitimate (interest for one’s own authorial rights).

<sup>52</sup> If this is correct, it reduces the credibility of the thesis of another (censored) edition in the same year yet further!

If the book came off the press in mid March, 1918, and there is no reason to consider this information untrustworthy, that would mean that it was already sold out by July!

Further on in his letter Pilar writes:

“The book became a ‘rarissimum’ in bookstores and today it is impossible to purchase it on the market. It is rather sought after, but alongside such a small printing run, *as I have reliably come to know* [author’s emphasis], the Belgrade government is apparently buying up every copy that it can get its hands on, in order to destroy it. The book is, namely, as often occurs to those books which contain too much truth, extremely uncomfortable to the stated government.”

It is clear that Pilar’s “Belgrade government” was transformed into “Serbs” by Pucek, even if I do not exclude the possibility that the translator might have had other sources for this statement as well. Yet, it is also not hard to recognize that Pucek’s language does not correspond with Pilar’s information, even though at first glance they are similar. There is a great difference between his statement that “all” the copies of the book “disappeared” after the war, and the author’s claims that he “reliably has come to know” that the “Belgrade government” — still in 1924! — “is apparently buying up” every copy which it comes across. Also, Pilar does not say that “all” the copies of the book “disappeared” from the market because they were bought up by the “Belgrade government”, but only that, even in 1924, it is still in search of every copy which remains at large.

Furthermore, if we believe the author, that the printing run (even as “small” as he thought it was) of 1500 copies was “completely sold out” only four months afterward, then it is impossible that “all” the copies disappeared from the market after 1 December 1918, because whoever was buying up the books, could not buy those which had already been “sold out” before.

It can be concluded that one should also approach this, for now still unsubstantiated, claim regarding the action of the “Belgrade government” in principally the same manner as the statement concerning two different Viennese editions: until it is possible to carry out research in the available, that is to say archived, and credible documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovene (from the beginning of 1919 to 1925), or until hitherto unknown sources of another provenance come to the light of day, this claim should not be apodictically “exploited” in serious writing about the fate of Pilar’s work, because — at least from the point of view of scholarship — this can not contribute to a critical, calm and expert approach. In the context of scholarly interest in Pilar’s opus and its fate, all that remains lacking is the effort to undertake, as soon as it is possible, further research. The “politicization” of certain elements, however much this may appeal to

<sup>53</sup> When Pilar says that the printing run of 1500 copies was “in fact small”, then, independent of the legitimate authorial right to desire a large readership, it is good to keep in mind that the Monarchy at the time had more than 50 million inhabitants, and he could with justification assume a market for his book in Germany, especially because in its very capital, Berlin, as was stated earlier, a German translation of Seton-Watson’s above mentioned book was published in 1913.

contemporaries, does not contribute to but hinders the revalorization of that which, from today's perspective, is important and relevant in Pilar's opus.

#### Pilar's unrealized intention concerning a "new" edition

As we saw in his calling upon the German consul in 1924, Pilar was convinced of the scholarly value of his work. The content of this letter is otherwise particularly important for an understanding of Pilar's relationship to his own work — in radically changed circumstances — and leaves open the question of how the editors of a future critical edition should approach this task given that Pilar left very clear instructions about the new edition which he was pursuing in 1924. Namely, Pilar writes the following:

"The first eight chapters of the book would have to be depoliticised, and instead of the ninth chapter, 'The Solution of the South Slav Question,' a new, purely historical chapter: 'The demise of Austria-Hungary'. With this a new, purely historical book would be created, which would display one of the most important consequences of the world war in the pragmatism of its historical genesis".

In the private papers there is no evidence to suggest that Pilar began to revise his work according to the conception which he briefly presented to the consul, which indirectly shows, that he did not get a positive response to his letter. Researchers of Pilar's opus can only regret that the author never carried this out.

#### Summary

The author joins those who are in favour of a critical edition of Pilar's opus and warns that prior to publishing his most comprehensive work, *The South-Slav Question*, a number of preliminary actions have to be performed. He presents the reasons for a philological search, due to the fact that this work exists in 12 (hand-written and published) "variants". After insight into the mentioned "variants" and circumstances under which they had occurred, he gives a critical portrayal of the "data and statements" about the author and this work, and indicates a number of unsolved questions and issues. In the following subchapter he analyses *The South-Slav Question* with regard to Pilar's work in general and gives a presentation of its «genesis». In the Conclusion the author concisely expounds the criteria to be respected in drafting the critical edition as a strictly scientific project.

## Ivo Pilar's Role in the Organization of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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*Based on the fact that Dr. Ivo Pilar lived and worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina for fifteen years (1905-1920) of his life, the author cautions that no attempt has been made to describe Pilar's public activities in that part of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy Beginning with an outline of the "Difficulties of Croat Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina," the author gives an overview of the formation of the Croatian People's Union (1906) and Pilar's contribution to its work, then the reasons and circumstances of the conflict between this party and the Vrhbosnian Archbishop Josip Stadler, who established the Croat Catholic Association, leading to a split among the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Croats of Catholic faith.*

#### Introduction

From the biography of Ivo Pilar it is apparent that he came to Bosnia and Herzegovina sometime at the beginning of the 20th century, after he defended his doctoral thesis in law at Vienna in 1899 and ended his brief term of service as secretary to the director of a Viennese joint-stock iron industry corporation. After he worked as a secretary to the director of a bank for economic development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we encounter him in 1905 working at his own law office in Tuzla, where he remained until 1920.<sup>1</sup> Pilar thus could have been active in the political life of the Croats of Bosnia sometime around the beginning of the 20th century, before he even reached 30 years of age.

At that time, Bosnia had already been under the administration of the Combined Ministry of Finance of the dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for a full quarter of a century and was under the powerful control of Benjamin Kállay (1882-1903). Bosnia was no less the sphere of influence of the equally authoritarian Vrhbosnian Archbishop in Sarajevo, Dr. Josip Stadler (1882-1918). During the whole of this period these two men were in conflict, above all because Kállay attempted to advance Hungarian interests in Bosnia, which were for their part impeded by Croatian interests, and Stadler was uncontested arbiter of not only the religious life of the Croat Catholic people, but also their political representative.

<sup>1</sup> See: *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati te pomena vrijedna lica u hrvatskoj povijesti od 925 do 1925*, Zagreb, 1925. From 1920 until the end of his life he was a lawyer in Zagreb.