

International Conference

Re-interpreting **The First** **World War** Cultural Memory:

*Sites of Memory, Rituals, Symbols and
Commemorative Practices*

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

1914 - 1918



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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Conference programme

September 29, 2023

10:00 Registration

10:30 – 11:00 Conference opening

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

11:00 – 11:30 JOHN P. NEWMAN

Shadows Cast by the Great War in East-Central Europe

Session I – Chair: Filip Hameršak

11:30 – 12:00 PETRA SVOLJŠAK

War Graves – Sites of Memory from Local, National/ Nationalistic to Universal Values

12:00 – 12:20 NORBERT STENCINGER

Battlefields and Remembrance

12:20 – 12:40 BLAŽ VURNIK

The Role of Art in the Post-War Formation of Collective Memory – The Case of Memorials and Sites

12:40 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Session II – Chair: Ivana Žebec Šilj

14:00 – 14:20 PAUL MILLER-MELAMED

Misfire: The Sarajevo Assassination in Historical Reconstruction

14:20 – 14:40 JUHÁSZ BALÁZS

World War I Hungarian POW Memories and Historiography

14:40 – 15:00 DINKO ŠOKČEVIĆ

The First World War in Lives of Croatian Minority in Hungary

15:00 – 15:40 Coffee Break

Session III – Chair: Jelka Vince Pallua

15:40 – 16:00 JOSIP JAGODAR

Church and State Perspective of the First World War – The First World War in the Church and School Chronicles of Certain Villages of Brod-Posavina County

16:00 – 16:20 ANTONIA JOLIC

Branding Pain: Designing a National Brand Strategy for Croatian Cultural Memory

16:20 – 16:40 VICKO MARELIĆ

Instrumentalization of Sculptures in Korčula – Mobilizing Flying Lions between 1911 – 1921

16:40 – 17:00 IVAN JELIČIĆ

Fiume italianissima – The Role of World War I and the Post-Imperial Transition in the Creation of an Italian Local National Narrative

17:00 – 17:20 KLEMEN KOCJANČIČ

One Was Not Enough: Third Reich's Usage of the First World War Cultural Memory During the Occupation of Slovenian Territory

Discussion

September 30, 2023

Session IV – Chair: Monica Priante

10:00 – 10:20 FILIP HAMERŠAK

*The Asinara Prisoners-of-War Camp (1915 – 1916):
Facts, Figures, Site of Memory*

10:20 – 10:40 IVAN SMILJANIĆ

*Between Traitors and Martyrs: Commemoration of
the Victims of Suhi bajer in Ljubljana*

10:40 – 11:00 MARIJAN BULJAN

*Commemoration of the Arrival of the Serbian Army
in Split (November 20, 1918) During Interwar Period*

11:00 – 11:20 Coffee Break

Session V – Chair: Sandra Cvikić

11:20 – 11:40 DAMJANA FORTUNAT ČERNILOGAR

*The Fate of World War I Military Cemeteries in
Slovenia*

11:40 – 12:00 PETRA KAVREČIČ

*On Secular Pilgrimages to First World
War Memorials of the Soča/Isonzo Front –
Commemorative Practices in the Interwar Period in
a Border Region*

12:00 – 12:20 DANILO ŠARENAC

*The Missing Memorials in Albania. The Fallen of the
Great Serbian Retreat of 1915/1916*

12:20 – 12:40 KRISTINA MILKOVIĆ

Mirogoj in the First Two Decades of the 20th Century

12:40 – 13:00 SANDRA CVIKIĆ & IVANA ŽEBEC ŠILJ

*Sociological and Historical Approach to the Study of
Croatian First World War Cultural Memory*

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Session VI – Chair: Danilo Šarenac

14:00 – 14:20 ROBERT SZABÓ

Memorial Tables on the Wall: The Collective Memory of the First World War in Hungarian Secondary Schools

14:20 – 14:40 FILIP KATANIĆ & ŽELJKO KARLAULA

From Hero to Zero: General Oskar Potiorek's Personal Experience of Austro-Hungarian's War on the Balkan Front in 1914

14:40 – 15:00 DIEGO HAN

From War Casualty to Fascist's Martyr – The Case of Federico Riosa

15:00 – 15:20 VIJOLETA HERMAN KAURIĆ

Heroes of the First World War Erased from Family Memory – The Case of the Macura, Čmelak, Herman and Molnar Families

15:20 – 15:40 ŠTEFAN ŠTIVIČIĆ & TORSTEN KLINGERBERG

Reconstructing Individual Fates in World War I – Examples of International High School Project – Shooting Movies

Discussion and Closing of the conference

17:00 **Symposium Dinner**

Shadows Cast by the Great War in East-Central Europe

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Abstract

We often think of the First World War as a central memory point in twentieth and twenty-first century Europe, a conflict whose scale and dimensions we largely understand, whose commemoration began soon after the conflict ended and has continued in the decades since. But there is more to know in the history of the First World War. In my paper, I will argue that despite the ‘memory boom’ associated with the First World War, large parts of its history remain concealed. There is a ‘shadow memory’ of war associated with those individuals and groups whose experiences did not fit with the new national or European frames of memory or understandings of why the war was fought: people whose wartime service was in support of defeated or extinguished empires or ideas. Such people struggled to find space and voice to commemorate their wartime experiences in a post-war environment that saw it politic to forget, erase, or attack counter-memories that undermined ideas about victory and sacrifice. The paper will look at the examples of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the interwar republic of Czechoslovakia, two states that projected a ‘culture of victory’ onto societies and populations that had in fact been quite divided

during the First World War. The war was a central point of post-war public commemoration and memory, but it was presented in such a way as to conceal the complexity and the divisions of the wartime experiences of much of the population. These two states can serve as regional studies of the larger imbalances of First World War memory throughout Europe and the world.

Keywords: First World War, 'shadow memory', Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, 'culture of victory', wartime experiences.

War Graves – Sites of Memory from Local, National/Nationalistic to Universal Value

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Abstract

War graves and war cemeteries are the so-called stones of memory, i.e. sites of memory, commemoration and reflection. The First World War marked an important watershed period in the reflection on the war graves in all belligerent states and shifted burial practices from mass to individual war graves, with war cemeteries becoming a landmark and subsequently part of the cultural landscape along the former front lines. The former battlefield on the Isonzo Front was characterized by more than 200 war gravesites on the Austro-Hungarian side alone, today there are about 70 and three (after the war) Italian charnel houses, which are the direct result of a massive war and thus a massive death on the front. The paper will therefore analyze the period of origin, the ideas, the plans, and the execution of the plans on the battlefield on the Austro-Hungarian and Italian sides and the post-war fate of the war cemeteries on the reoccupied and annexed former Austro-Hungarian territories. This area became a focal point of Italian nationalist commemorative practices of the pre-Fascist and Fascist periods, culminating in the building of the Italian charnel houses as places of remembrance and commemoration along the entire former front. The paper will further discuss the present situation of the

war heritage managed by the Walk of Peace Foundation; the war cemeteries represent the central idea of the Walk of Peace and its nomination for the UNESCO Tentative List, with the intention of nomination for the UNESCO World Heritage List. The universal value of the World War I war graves is based on the message of peace, mutual respect, and cooperation, helping to overcome the controversial and conflictual past by means of heritage and its interpretation.

Keywords: war graves, war cemeteries, sites of memory, commemoration, First World War, the Isonzo front, war heritage, Walk of Peace Foundation.

Battlefields and Remembrance

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Abstract

Identification of the battlefields of the First World War in Western Europe took place a long time ago. Fortunately, there are now many organizations in Central Europe that deal with this, including our foundation in Hungary. My fellow researchers and I have been researching the battlefields of the First World War along the River Isonz  and in the Carpathian Mountains for more than twenty years. After researching the archival documents of the combat units during our work, we go to the former battlefield and identify the location of the battles. Thus, during the field research, we obtain a lot of information about the course of the battles, which thus completes our existing knowledge of the battles of the First World War. In addition to scientific results and publications, our work has a significant role in preserving the memory of the First World War. Memory of the soldiers who fought on the battlefields is preserved by descendants through visiting the locations where their great-great-grandfathers fought. In addition to getting to know the location of the battles, there is also great interest in the former military cemeteries, where family members can pay their respects. Many of these have already been liquidated and the remains have been placed to rest in collective cemeteries. I have identified the location of such a cemetery that has already been liquidated, which I would like to briefly report to the audience of

the conference. Numerous large-scale pilgrimages of mercy were organized from Hungary to the battlefields of the River Isonz , the professional basis of which was provided by our research. The largest such enterprise was Isonzo Express, where 400-500 passengers occasionally visited the scene of former battles along the Isonz . If I get the chance, I would like to introduce our work to the participants of the conference, based on the identification of a cemetery location.

Keywords: First World War, large-scale pilgrimages of mercy, battlefields, river Isonz , cemetery locations.

The Role of Art in the Post-War Formation of Collective Memory – The Case of Memorials and Sites

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Abstract

After the war, the South-East Europe reshaped dramatically. A new state, namely Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was a nation formed by different South Slav nationalities, which already for decades prior to the WWI shared common political interests. During the war, Slovenian soldiers served in the Austrian army and were therefore enemies of the Serbian army. However, after the war there were no official differences between both veteran groups. Every community strives to the remembrance of its dead soldiers as heroes and celebrates their death as a contribution to the 'better future'. In the next two decades before the World War II., hundreds of monuments and memorial plaques and sites were unveiled and opened in Slovenia in the memory of those who died as Austrian soldiers. But the fact that the nation had two kinds of fallen heroes led towards the unofficial separation of the first- and second-grade dead in the collective memory of the First World War. Artists who were entrusted with the designing the monuments for fallen Slovenian soldiers (who served in the Austrian army) had to deal with unreasonable demands and dilemmas. Even on statues, which depicted the Slovenian (Austrian) soldiers, these figures had to have visual markers of Serbian/Entente military equipment (e.g.

the French Adrian helmet). And even with that kind of visualization, the state authorities did not want to participate in the process of remembrance for these fallen soldiers. The presentation will focus on the role of the artistic presentations and iconography in the formation of collective memory in Slovenia/Yugoslavia and the remembrance processes and events during the two decades after the WWI. The comparative approach will put the story into the wider European context.

Keywords: First World War, artistic presentations, iconography, collective memory, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, remembrance process.

Misfire: The Sarajevo Assassination in Historical Reconstruction

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Abstract

In my recent book *Misfire: The Sarajevo Assassination and the Winding Road to World War I* (Oxford University Press, 2022), I examined how accepted historical ‘truths’ about the Sarajevo assassination turn out to be no more than what I called ‘neat explanatory fictions.’ Thus, for example, the origins of the conspiracy in a ‘secret’ nationalist society (or, as it’s often constructed today, ‘terrorist group’) – the ‘nefarious’ ‘Slavic fanatics’ of the Black Hand – actually obscures the fact that the Sarajevo plot in all likelihood originated with the Bosnian youth who carried it out. Yet more directly are historical writings that indicate that the assassin, Gavrilo Princip, had stopped in a café or was eating a sandwich just before he ‘happened’ to come across the Archduke (hence the regular role of ‘chance’ and ‘fate’ in narratives of the Sarajevo assassination). How and why this important history is so commonly distorted in popular and scholarly literature alike is an important theme of my book. For my paper for the conference ‘Re-Interpreting the First World War Cultural Memory’ (Zagreb, September 2023), I will discuss how I went about my research for *Misfire*, the kinds of data I used, and the extent to which it is possible ever to recover such

a crucial event as the Sarajevo assassination from the distorted historical reconstructions that pervade the critical literature.

Keywords: historical truth and writing, 'neat explanatory fictions', the Sarajevo assassination, First World War, distorted historical reconstructions.

WWI Hungarian POW Memories and Historiography

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Abstract

Hungarian soldiers fought on all fronts of the First World War, and many were taken prisoners of war. Being a prisoner of war automatically implied breaking the military oath, since a good soldier should fight to the death. This psychological burden, combined with a hopeless future, led to complex (self-)perception already during the war. Then came the armistice and peace that marked the end of the empire, which not only carried a clearly unpromising vision of the future, but also the stigma of being a prisoner of war. But the memories of veterans and survivors did not only vary from era to era. For example, those returning from the Russian Civil War often felt the stigma of ideology. Accordingly, the memories of Hungarian prisoners of war from the First World War are also quite fragmented. Until the end of the Second World War, certain *topos* dominated, which determined the spirit of the basic work on the subject. However, the small number of POW memoirs paint a much more varied picture. Critical analysis of the ego-documents and the interest of historians in the subject did not begin to address this topic until decades later. The delay is also due to the ideology-driven influence of the Soviet bloc since only from the 1960s began a new discourse on the war. The issue of prisoners of war

only emerged afterwards, in the 1990s. A major catalyst was, of course, the World War Centenary. The aim of my presentation is to discuss the forms of posthumous representation of the Hungarian POW soldiers, with a focus on the limitations, the various myths, and the research directions.

Keywords: First World War, Hungarian POW soldiers, posthumous representations, myths, research directions.

The First World War in Lives of Croatian Minority in Hungary

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Abstract

Different sub-ethnic groups of the Croatian minority in Hungary, namely recruited soldiers on all European fronts, civilians, and soldier's families from Burgerland and Bačka were faced with difficult post-war circumstances. Great human losses, extremely high number of war casualties and seriously wounded members of the Croatian communities made lives of their families difficult in the aftermath of the war. This paper will present, next to the information about participation of the Croatian minority members in the First World War, also some family stories. The aim is to illustrate the impact of war consequences on the fate of some families – families who were either temporarily or permanently left without husbands and sons – men that ensured family existence.

Keywords: First World War, Croatian minority, Hungary, Croatian sub-ethnic groups, war consequences, post-war families.

Church and State Perspective of the First World War – The First World War in the Church and School Chronicles of Certain Villages of Brod-Posavina County

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Abstract

The history of the First World War has not been sufficiently covered in the area of Brod-Posavina County; therefore, it is necessary to make special efforts so that the topics related to the First World War can be viewed and analyzed from the perspective of micro-history and a part of regional history that has its own specificities. The First World War cultural memory faded quickly in the area of Brod-Posavina County because the Second World War came quickly, which caused much more traumatic experiences, and there was no village in Posavina that did not have a family tragedy. For this reason, this paper will analyze and compare data from church and school chronicles that have been preserved in the area of this region, in order to be able to conclude whether the reviews of the leading teachers and priests or parish administrators at that time were the same or they differed depending on political affiliation of those who has written the chronicles. In order to draw conclusions, data on the First World War recorded in the chronicles of Slavonski Kobaš, Oriovac, Bebrina Brodski Stupnik, Sibirje, Sikirevci, Vrpolje, Slavonski Šamac and Velika Kopanica will be analyzed. In this

way, a large part of the geographical area is covered, and it will be possible to compare the narrative of the eastern and central parts of Brod-Posavina County. In addition, the previously published personal testimonies and memories will be taken into paper, as well as a small number of secondary sources – the press, so that the data and records can be compared with the media.

Keywords: First World War, church perspective, state perspective, chronicles, Brod-Posavina County, microhistory.

Branding Pain – Designing a National Brand Strategy for Croatian Cultural Memory

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Abstract

Branding of cultural memory refers to the way in which societies and communities actively shape and share their collective memories and cultural heritage for various purposes, including framing national identity and cultural preservation. The branding of cultural memory is a complex and multifaceted process that involves the creation and dissemination of a shared narrative that connects people to their past and present while shaping their future aspirations. Understanding the interpretation of meaning of Croatian cultural memory must be understood within historical frameworks related to historical events of the last 100 years of Croatian history, from the beginning of the First World War to today. The 1990s post-conflict transformation of the country primarily concentrated on the political and economic aspects of reconstruction, however, the importance of developing a national strategy to deal with cultural memory, as part of the rebuilding process, has largely been neglected. While the wars of the 1990s created an entirely new memoryscape in the region, the post-conflict cultural memory discourse in the region predominantly focuses on unresolved issues and contested historical narratives of other 20th century conflicts. The prevalence of revisionist historical narratives throughout the region, as well as the framing of the EU identity before the country's, has kept Croatia

from establishing a more empowering recognition of its cultural memory. The decentralization of Croatia's cultural policy has had a significant impact on further destabilizing recognizing cultural memory as cultural heritage. The main objective of this proposal/paper is to initiate a discussion around the development of a national strategy to deal with cultural memory using a participatory design framework, which can organize 'cultural stakeholders', both government and community, in dealing with cultural memory. Creating a cohesive and recognizable brand can evoke powerful emotions and associations with the country's unique identity and heritage.

Keywords: cultural memory, branding, strategy, participatory design, community engagement, post-conflict, memorialisation, Croatia.

Instrumentalization of Sculptures in Korčula – Mobilizing Flying Lions between 1911 – 1921

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Abstract

By examining the instrumentalization of the lions of St Mark by Italian irredentism, the presentation shall demonstrate the mobilization of sculpted memory between 1911 – 1921. A floating watchtower on the midpoint of the Adriatic, Korčula's strategic position gave the island historically significant importance in controlling the lower Adriatic basin. The strategic and precarious position of the administrative centre of the island meant that the Serenissima's legacy was carved in stone through numerous sculpted statutes of the winged lion of St Mark. During the 19th century, the maturing of both Italian and Croatian national feeling led to communal tensions that would be catalyzed by the change in the geopolitical situation between 1911-14 and even more intensely during the First World War. Following Italy's entry into the First World War, Italy's institutions appropriated the leonesque monuments to Venice as justification symbols of the roaring Reconquista of the Eastern Adriatic coast. Korčula, the largest among the 'Curzolari islands' became a key territorial stake of the Adriatic military theatre and appeared repeatedly as a stake on the cabinet tables of the European capitals. Italian military strategists would invent the concept *isoli Curzolari* to justify annexation on a geographic basis and used the lion statues as arguments set in stone.

The end of the Italian occupation would see numerous statues of the lion vandalized, covered up or even totally destroyed due to their association with Italian imperialism.

Keywords: Korčula, Dalmatia, Venetian Empire, Lion of St Mark, First World War, Adriatic, Irredentism, Italy, sculptured memory.

***Fiume italianissima* – The Role of World War I and the Post-Imperial Transition in the Creation of an Italian Local National Narrative**

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Abstract

After the end of the war the city of Fiume (in Croatian Rijeka), i.e. the former Hungarian corpus separatum, was affected by a radical symbolic shift. During the bloody experience of the First World War Fiume and its population had mostly shared experiences similar to the rest of the Austro-Hungarian population: participating into fighting's on various fronts for the Kingdom-Empire and trying to survive food and other shortages. While this was the experience of the majority, the city didn't lack Italian army volunteers who defied death in the name of national ideals and some locals were interned in camps in Hungary for their national-political sympathies. The defeat and the dismemberment of the Empire changed this balance of power and the prospective on the war and the recent past. After October 1918, the experience of the minority and of the former enemy was embraced and celebrated as the genuine Fiumian path to the Italian nation-state. Once the power of the local Italian National Council was consolidated and until annexation of Fiume to Italy in 1924, but even beyond, the urban landscape and various ceremonies shaped the symbolic representation of the city in an Italian sense. In my presentation I will focus on the role of World

War One and the events of the complicated 1918-24 transition (Italian National Council rise to power, D'Annunzio's occupation, the Free State, and annexation to Italy) in constructing the image of an Italian city. Particular attention will be given to specific monuments, such as the tombstone of the Italian pilot or the monument to the fallen in war, and the features of nationalist discourses. What I hope to show is how such landmarks enhanced traditional gender roles and created a local national narrative, contrasting and masking a more nuanced war and post-war social reality.

Keywords: First World War, post-imperial transition, Italian local national narrative, post-war reality.

One Was Not Enough – Third Reich’s Usage of the First World War Cultural Memory During the Occupation of Slovenian Territory

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Abstract

As the Third Reich occupied and/or annexed European countries before and during the Second World War, different methods of persuasion were applied towards the local population in these countries. Among such methods was also a ‘soft approach’, using the propaganda through mass media of that time (print media, radio). Propaganda was focused on various themes, fighting against ungodly communism, bringing progress, unifying people of common culture, identity, and race. In occupied northern parts of current-day Slovenia, which were occupied by the Third Reich during the 1941–1945 period, occupational administration used the theme of shared history, including the First World War. The proposed paper will deal with the Nazi usurpation of collective or cultural history of the First World War which started already in the forming years of the Nazi movement and then cumulated into a propaganda tool during the Second World War. Based on the wartime print media, archival documents and literature, author will show how Nazi occupational authorities propagated the shared military and war history. This approach was focused on two effects: pacifying the local population to German occupation and motivating military draftees regarding service in the German

armed forces. To fulfil these goals, Nazi occupational administration used different methods: publishing articles in printed media (newspapers, magazines) relating to the First World War, maintaining military cemeteries from this conflict, celebrating surviving veterans (especially the holders of the military decorations) etc. On the case of Slovenia, author will thus present how the Third Reich used and abused the memory of the First World War in the fulfillment of the Second World War.

Keywords: propaganda, Third Reich, First World War, collective memory, cultural memory, Slovenia.

The Asinara Prisoner-of-War Camp (1915 – 1916): Facts, Figures, Site of Memory

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Abstract

All but forgotten by the Croatian general public as well as the intellectuals and the political elite, the Asinara prisoner-of-war camp certainly requires re-interpretation within the First World War cultural memory. Therefore, the author will present main sources, crucial facts and key figures concerning the fate of more than 20,000 Austro-Hungarian prisoners-of-war on the island of Asinara (north of Sardinia), most of whom had been taken over from the retreating Serbian army in Albania. According to available data, several thousand of them were of Croatian affiliation, and app. 800 to 1200 of these died on the island. In order to entice more interest in the Croatian public, the existing memory-driven initiatives of other nations will also be presented, such as memorial buildings erected already during the First World War, the 1930s common ossuary, the 1997 founding of the Asinara National Park, and the 2018 international conference organized by the town of Stintino and the University of Sassari.

Keywords: Asinara prisoner-of-war camp, First World War, cultural memory, re-interpretation, memory-driven initiatives.

Between Traitors and Martyrs – Commemoration of the Victims of Suhi bajer in Ljubljana

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Abstract

In the years between 1915 and 1917, at least 23 people were shot by the Austrian army in the remote valley of Suhi bajer on Golovec hill in Ljubljana. The identity of most of them is unknown to this day due to the secrecy with which the Austrian wartime regime carried these liquidations, but it can be concluded from the available information that they were mostly people who spoke out against Austria or in favor of one of the enemy states, for which they received draconian punishments. After the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the shootings became public knowledge. In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the victims became martyrs of the cruel regime, who, as the new state claimed, had fallen for the freedom of Slovenes and the unification of the South Slavic peoples. Suhi bajer became a symbolically significant place of remembrance, where commemorative ceremonies were organized at the graves of the victims, even though heated political discussions were held about who was to blame for the denunciation of the victims. Inquiries were made to identify the victims, but they were only partially successful. The Yugoslav nationalist organization Orjuna became the organizer of these events, and its member Karel Kalin was the main proponent of erecting a monu-

ment to the victims. A committee was formed, and after years of raising money, a simple rectangular monument with a memorial plaque was ceremoniously unveiled in November 1934. Four years later, the remains of the victims were transferred to the memorial ossuary of 1914 – 1918 victims at the Žale Cemetery in Ljubljana. During and after the Second World War, the memory of the Suhi bajer victims faded. Today the location is difficult to reach, and the memorial lies abandoned.

Keywords: First World War, Suhi bajer, Slovenia, Yugoslav nationalists, memorial plaque, commemoration, memorial ossuary, commemoration of victims.

Commemoration of the Arrival of the Serbian Army in Split (November 20, 1918) During Interwar Period

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Abstract

On November 20, 1918, the multitude of citizens of Split enthusiastically welcomed a small group of Serbian soldiers who, under the leadership of Major Stojan Trnokopović, set foot on Split's soil. In their speeches to the newly arrived soldiers, city's leading politicians enthusiastically referred to Split as 'our (Croatian) and your (Serbian)' city of Split. The commemoration of the arrival of the Serbian army thus became one of the key events in the pro-Yugoslav-oriented circles of interwar Split, especially in the heated election campaign during the municipal elections of 1928 and the parliamentary elections of 1938. Supporters of the Croatian ideology, on the other hand, minimized or ignored the anniversary. The aim of this work is to show how the arrival of the Serbian army in Split was labeled between the world wars. Emphasis will be on the study of many newspapers published in the interwar Split and on archival sources, primarily the reports of the Split correspondent of the Central Press Bureau (CP).

Keywords: Serbian army, Post-First World War Split, interwar period, archival sources.

The Fate of WWI Military Cemeteries in Slovenia

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Abstract

The paper will focus on the WW1 military cemeteries in the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia, with emphasis on the military cemeteries in the Upper Soča Valley. It will highlight site renovations done after WW1, with two different focuses – the interwar period and the post WW2 period. After WW1, a new Rapallo Border was established, and the Italian authorities regulated the area of the former Isonzo front. This period strongly influenced the arrangement and renovation of the military cemeteries after WW2. The Yugoslav authorities in the 1980s faced a lack of data for the planned renovations since plans from the period of the Italian renovations had been missing. Finally, I would like to point out the challenges due to the lack of resources as well as the interpretation of archival sources, such as the lists of the fallen for military cemeteries from 1918. The paper will show how, regardless of the international treaties, the attitudes toward WW1 military cemeteries and monuments have changed regarding the different countries and regimes that controlled the area of the former Isonzo front.

Keywords: First World War, attitudes, monuments, Slovenia, state regimes, Isonzo front.

On Secular Pilgrimages to First World War Memorials of the Soča/Isonzo Front – Commemorative Practices in the Interwar Period in a Border Region

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Abstract

The contribution studies the area of the former battlefield on the Soča/Isonzo Front. During the First World War, fighting on the battlefield severely affected the lives of those living on the front and in the hinterland. After the war, the battlefield zones and the region of the former Austrian Littoral crown land (Primorska region) were assigned to Italy and integrated into the new province of Venezia Giulia. Approximately one third of the Slovene ethnic population came under the Italian rule. As such, this region went through a radical political transition. In line with their desire to affirm the Italianness of the territory, Italian politicians found it necessary to construct and consolidate a unified national memory, particularly in this contested border area. An important role was played by former veterans and the families mourning the fallen soldiers. Visiting the First World War monuments, battlefields and cemeteries became an established practice. As asserted by the Italian historian Giacomo Bollini, the ‘pilgrimage is a characteristic phenomenon of all modern wars’. Especially in the period, following the end of the First World War, the ‘real process of reworking the very serious mourning caused by the useless massacre and

the creation of national collective memory' took place. The raised question is, whether this practice can be primarily understood as pilgrimage to sacred sites of war or as a segment of tourism activity (battlefield tourism), when characterized with a more frequent 'profane' attendance.

Keywords: Soča/Isonzo front, First World War, Slovenia, pilgrimage, sacred sites, mourning, monuments, cemeteries, battlefield tourism.

The Missing Memorials in Albania – The Fallen of the Great Serbian Retreat of 1915/1916

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Abstract

The events that took place in late 1915 and at the beginning of the 1916 presented one of the essential elements of Serbia's Great War experience. Despite widespread historiographical research and popular awareness, the knowledge about this event remains dotted with many frustrating gaps. One such blank spot is the number of fallen Serbian soldiers and civilians during the months of movement across the Balkans. This question will be here tackled from the perspective of wartime and postwar memorials built or reconstructed in Albania. How many memorials? Built by whom? How long did they last? These are just some of the research questions. In addition, such approach will enable analysis of the larger question – the place of the Great Serbian Retreat in the Yugoslav and Serbian remembrance culture.

Keywords: Great Serbian Retreat, fallen Serbian soldiers, post-war memorials, Albania, Yugoslav remembrance culture, Serbian remembrance culture, First World War.

Mirogoj in the First Two Decades of the 20th Century

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Abstract

Mirogoj Central Cemetery was founded in 1876 as a common Zagreb cemetery for all denominations. Its origin is an expression of the need of Zagreb, as the capital of the country, to have a modern cemetery located outside the city boundaries, and on the other hand, a cemetery that would be common to all its citizens, regardless of social and confessional affiliation. The administration of the cemetery was completely taken over by the city administration, and the handling of the dead body and burial were regulated by legal acts. A new relationship was established with the church/churches that was not adversarial but complementary. In the last two decades of the 18th and in the first decade of the 19th century, a bourgeois culture was formed in which Mirogoj had his place. Mirogoj became a place of remembrance of the dead, but also a public place that was often visited. Very quickly it took part as a place of family and national memory. The city authorities often took on the task of burying prominent individuals in the arcades and thus managed the national memory. Also, family tombs became more and more important as a place of family continuity, but also place of the memory of deceased family members. Mirogoj reflected citizenry in Zagreb in various ways at the end of the 19th

and the beginning of the 20th century. The paper will present the Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb during the First World War and try to establish continuities and discontinuities related to the attitude towards death and the dead in Zagreb's citizenry during the first two decades of the 20th century.

Keywords: Mirogoj Central Cemetery, First World War, continuities and discontinuities, attitudes towards death and the dead, Zagreb's citizenry.

Sociological and Historical Approach to the Study of Croatian First World War Cultural Memory

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Abstract

This paper is based on the historical and sociological research conducted in the framework of the national research project (IP-2019-04-5897) *The First World War in the Culture of Memory. Forgotten Heritage*, financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. The aim is to present challenges of doing research about Croatian cultural memory of the First World War from sociological and historical perspective. Obstacles faced while researching this under studied subject entailed difficulties in data collection, getting access to data resources and finding and constructing appropriate methodology, not only to analyze, but also to interpret research finding based on contemporary theoretical frameworks. Therefore, published articles as an outcome of this research project are reviewed to show how the historical and sociological analyses were conducted consulting available literature on cultural memory and the First World War, as well as what interwar period newspaper articles, publications and archive funds were used to tackle selected issues and areas of scholarly interest. The focus is not only on how the research was conducted and what issues were researched, but also on the question of reinterpretation and representation of new

historical findings about highly neglected part of Croatian collective memory and history. Finally, this paper provides an insight into application of a novel sociological approach (Foucauldian discourse analysis) to the study of Croatian cultural memory and how it complements what is typically considered historical research of the First World War (Cvikić and Dobrovšak, 2021; Cvikić, 2022).

Keywords: sociological research, historical research, Foucauldian discourse analysis, theory, cultural memory, First World War, Croatia.

Memorial Tablets on the Wall – Collective Memory of the First World War in Hungarian Secondary Schools

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Abstract

In my presentation I intend to introduce how Hungarian secondary schools tried to maintain the memory of the First World War and its victims. As for literature on the topic, Pierre Nora's, and Jan Assmann's work on the concept of memory and place of memory is relevant. It can namely help us understand a special form of collective memory and memorial place. Based on their work it is known that the object of the memory and the connecting knowledge had to be made storable and undying. The ritual of initiation also had great significance, as the memorial knowledge had to be perceptible. The feast was a good way for it: the remembering person or group felt it important to attend the ceremony periodically. Memorial tablets on the walls of secondary schools fulfilled this requirement, as the roster of the victims offered an ideal and permanent place for anniversaries. In my research, I examined those Hungarian secondary schools where memorial tablets with the names of the school's victims had been set up. The annually published school yearbooks, along with archival documents on the schools' history provided the sources for my investigation. These documents report both on the date when the memorial tablets were set up, as well as the people listed on them. The examination

of memorial tablets from a historical point is relevant from more aspects. Firstly, it highlights who the schools considered their war victims and who fell out from the category of 'heroically dead'. To investigate this issue, it was necessary to examine the victims' career from a biographic aspect. Secondly, with the comparison of the schools, it was possible to explore the underlying political intentions. In this aspect, the denominational distinction of schools and the conditions leading to setting up the memorial tablets were essential to study.

Keywords: First World War memorial tablets, Hungarian schools, school's victims/war victims.

From Hero to Zero – General Oskar Potiorek’s Personal Experience of Austria-Hungary’s War on The Balkan Front in 1914

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Abstract

The authors will present the personal history of Austro-Hungarian general Oskar Potiorek in World War One as an example of cultural, sociological, and historiographical phenomenon how politics shaped the public image of an important military and political figure during war. Potiorek held an important political office of commanding general and Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a politically sensible province of the Dual Monarchy for which reason he was appointed Supreme Commander of Austro-Hungarian Balkan Armed Forces (Balkanstreikräfte) for war against Serbia and Montenegro. On account of Potiorek’s war diary from 1914 and thus far unpublished archival sources from Potiorek’s personal records, authors will present his view on the war in 1914 on the Balkan front. Potiorek received large attention in the press of Austria-Hungary and underwent rapid transformation from nation’s hero and important man in power to completely obsolete figure in course of three months. Therefore, his personal history could be termed as ‘from hero to zero’. From October to December 1914, hailed and praised as a victorious army commander, Potiorek received multiple honors i.e. named as an honorary citizen in multiple

cities across the Monarchy. In mid-December, as a result of military defeats of his army in Serbia, he was dishonorably dismissed from all posts and sentenced to oblivion. In conclusion, authors will stress the importance of 'political moment' as a decisive factor in shaping public opinion of individual as a result of fortune of war. To paraphrase Winston Churchill, 'Fortune played a mischievous trick on Potiorek.' After the war, the example of naming a street in Zagreb after Serbian general Živojin Mišić shows the same political pattern in shaping a cultural and historical memory.

Keywords: Austro-Hungarian general Oskar Potiorek, war diary, personal history, First World War, public image, politics.

From War Casualty to Fascist's Martyr – the Case of Federico Riosa

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Abstract

As a region on the border between Central and Mediterranean Europe, the Istrian peninsula was strongly hit by the First World War and its consequences. In addition, until 1918 it was an area controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but culturally mainly divided by the Italian and the Croatian and Slovenian population. Furthermore, with the outbreak of the War, the population have been called for arms, which meant, especially for the Italians, fighting a war against the Kingdom of Italy, the state many of them felt as their own. As a result, this led to number of desertions from the Austro-Hungarian army towards the Italian ranks, a fact that contributed to the creation of the post-war Martyrdom phenomenon. With the rise of fascism, those who have fallen in the War against the Habsburg Monarchy were turned into Martyrs of the Motherland, whose memory and deeds not only needed to be preserved, but also glorified and exalted. Given these preconditions, this presentation will explore the case of Federico Riosa, a deserter of the Austro-Hungarian army who fought and died for the Kingdom of Italy in 1917. As fascist and nationalistic parties took power in his hometown of Rovinj, Riosa's death became a source of inspiration and went through a process of veneration, granting him a personal monument, annual commemorations, a fascist's summer camp and

a socio-political organization carrying his name. The development of all these features will be chronologically analysed during the presentation in order to explore how the figure of Federico Riosa has been used by the local fascist government in the shaping of the collective memory regarding the First World War.

Keywords: Federico Riosa, Roving, local fascists, government veneration, collective memory, First World War.

Heroes of the First World War Erased from Family Memory – The Case of the Macura, Čmelak, Herman and Molnar Families

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Abstract

The commemoration of the Centenary of the First World War in Croatia sparked the interest in family history and led to the revival of memories of the participants of the Great War. Certain families proudly showed faded photos of their soldier, which for most of them was the only remembrance of him. Only few families knew something more than just his first and last name, with a vague memory of the year and place of his death. Very few knew the unit in which he served, which is not surprising, because until recently it was not very common to know the insignia of the units of the Austro-Hungarian Army filled with recruits from the territory of the today's Republic of Croatia. Admittedly, it is not a fact even today, but on the Internet, there is a list of units and the mobilizations areas, so it is easier to find potential units according to someone's place of residence. The families that will be discussed here, lived in several neighboring villages around today's municipality of Lipik in Western Slavonia, which belonged to the Catholic parish in Pakrac, part of the Zagreb Archdiocese. Although it seems illogical, the parish registers of marriages, births, and deaths for the period from 1878 to 1946 were the main source of information about potential participants of the First World War. The reason for such

a wide time frame is terrifyingly simple. Contemporary members of the family have preserved the poor memory of only one participant of the war. According to the logic of military matters, there must have been significantly more of them. From the family stories, it was clear that these were families of immigrants from the Bohemia and Ungarn with an extremely large number of children, whose birth years and relationships in the extended family have disappeared from family memory over time. Therefore, the search had to be started from scratch. About a hero is known only that he had gone to the war and never returned. Over time, even his first name was lost. Only the last name remained – great-grandfather Molnar.

Keywords: First World War, Croatia, family history/stories, memory, war heroes, historical source of information.

Reconstructing Individual Fates in World War I: Example of International High School Project – Shooting Movie

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Abstract

As partners of high schools from Croatia (Zadar) and Germany (Bünde) we want to present the results of the international Erasmus+ project „Reconstructing individual fates in World War I“ in which participated history teachers and students from Croatia (Gimnazija Jurja Barakovica Zadar), France (Lycée Eugène Woillez, Montreuil Sur Mer), Germany (Erich-Gutenberg-Berufskolleg des Kreises Herford in Bünde Wirtschaft und Verwaltung), Portugal (Agrupamento de Escolas de Aveiro) and Romania (Colegiul National Iași). The project was conceived and realized with the aim of reconstructing the individual fates of „little people“ in the Great War, all those who bore the hardships of war personally in the trenches across the European continent and finally returned home and in a certain way brought the war into their homes. The final products of this project are one movie and individual movies of all partners in the project. In this work, we present 2 movies made by a German and Croatian team of students and teachers. Both movies follow the wartime and life destinies of young soldiers from Zadar and Bünde. The movies were shot as documentary movies and contain several different approaches through which the students reconstructed the fates of average people in the First World War. These

movies contain plays in which students reconstruct certain scenes from the war, interviews with descendants of contemporaries, interviews with authorities in the field of the history of First World War (university professors, academics, etc.), student analyses, war poetry, and the presentation of monuments and battlefields of the First World War in situ from Ypres, the fields of Flanders to the Maginot line. In the paper we present, we present the results of a project that lasted 5 years, starting with the centenary of the end of the War, and extended until May 2023 due to the lockdown and special conditions during the Covid-19 epidemic.

Keywords: individual fates, 'little people', Great War, war poetry, monuments and battlefields, student documentary, Zadar.

PARTICIPANTS BIOGRAPHY

John P. Newman is an Associate Professor in Twentieth-century European History. He is interested in the modern history of the South-Eastern and East-Central Europe, with a particular focus on Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. He published his first book *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War: Veterans and the Limits of State-Building 1903 – 1945* (2015, Cambridge University Press). John P. Newman is currently working on a study of Croatian General Josip Jelačić, the Habsburg Military frontier and the intersections of national and imperial identities in 19th century Central Europe.

Petra Svoltjšak is the Head of the Milko Kos Historical Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) and the lecturer at the Postgraduate School of ZRC SAZU. Her research interest is concentrated into the various aspects of the First World War and the Slovenian experience of the war on different levels (military, civil, gender, refugees, violence, political violence occupation regimes, remembrance, cultural heritage, etc.), which were also the topic of various research projects under her leadership. She has published many articles, book chapters and two monographs, also in other languages (English, Italian), the most recent being the book on the First World War and the Slovenes, together with Gregor Antoličič *Leta strahote. Slovenci in prva svetovna vojna, Ljubljana 1918 (Years of Horror. Slovenes and the First World War)*. The topic of remembrance was treated in many of her articles, the most relevant being *The sacrificed Slovenian memory of the Great War (In: Sacrifice and rebirth: the legacy of the last Habsburg War*. Ed. Mark Cornwall and John Paul Newman, New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, cop. 2016).

Norbert Stencinger is a historian and co-founder of the Great War Research Public Foundation in Budapest, Hungary. He currently teaches history in a high school. He got his PhD degree in 2014. Norbert Stencinger's doctoral thesis was about field chaplains who served in the First World War. His current research is focused on battles that took place on the Italian battlefields, the identification of its locations, as well as spiritual side of the war and memories of war. For twenty years, together with János Rózsafi and Tamás Pintér he has been researching the history of battles that took place along the river Isonzó. Research findings were published in the book *Doline di dolore: le battaglie dell'Isonzo* (Luglio, 2016).

Blaž Vurnik is a historian of contemporary history, curator, and Head of the Curatorial Department in the Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana in Slovenia. His PhD thesis (University of Ljubljana, 2013) elaborated on the conflicting relations in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia from 1974 until 1990. Blaž Vurnik's research includes both world wars, disintegration of Yugoslavia and collapse of the socialist state. He was engaged in the First World War studies and published a book titled *La mia vita nella Grande Guerra, fotodiario di un soldato* (2007). Blaž Vurnik did extensive research on WWI Italian prisoners of war in Ljubljana and Italian community quarantined in the Ljubljana castle. Among others, he was also a project leader in EU project (EACEA) *The Hidden Children of the World War II* implemented in 2014 – 2015. For this project, Blaž Vurnik was awarded by the Slovenian national board of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 2015. Next to this, he was awarded in 2007 by the Slovenian Museum Society as museum's team member. Blaž Vurnik wrote scripts for several very successful graphic novels: *Memories and Dreams of Kristina B. Ljubljana 1941 – 1945* (2015), *Ivan Cankar* (2018), and *Plečnik* (2021). From 2003 until 2008, he was a president of the Historical Society of Ljubljana.

Paul Miller-Melamed is an Associate Professor of History Emeritus at McDaniel College (USA) and adjunct professor at Quinnipiac University (USA) and the Catholic University of Lublin (Poland). He teaches modern European history, from the age of enlightenment/progress in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the barbaric era of two world wars, holocaust, and divided continent in the twentieth century. From 1996 – 1999, he was editor of the academic journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Since then, Paul Miller-Melamed has expended his interests into the fields of history and memory, ethnic cleansing/genocide, the Yugoslav wars of secession, and the origins of World War I. With Clare Morelon, he co-edited a book *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918* (Berghahn, 2019/2021). Paul Miller-Melamed's most recent publication is the book *Misfire – The Sarajevo Assassination and the Winding Road to World War I* published in 2022 (Oxford University Press).

Juhász Balázs is a Habilitating Assistant Professor at the Modern and Contemporary History Department of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, Hungary. His doctoral thesis was about Italian-Hungarian military, political, and diplomatic relations from the Bethlen Government to Gömbös Government. Juhász Balázs research interests are related to Italian-Hungarian relations between two world wars. He is a recipient of numerous scholarships as well as scholarly articles.

Dinko Šokčević is a historian, an Assistant Professor, and researcher at the University of Pécs in Hungary. He is also Head of the Croatian Studies Department and Head of the Slavic Institute at the University of Pécs. For many years Dinko Šokčević is associate contributor of the Scientific Institute of Croats in Hungary

and Hungarian Academy of Arts in Budapest, as well as Croatian Institute of History in Croatia. Since 2014 he is Head of the Hungarian Institute in Zagreb, Croatia. In his research Dinko Šokčević is focused on Croatian sub-ethnic group (Bunjevci) in Bačka, and Croatian-Hungarian relations in the 19th and 20th century. Apart from numerous articles, he has published, among others, following books: *Povijest naših južnih sudjeda* (History of Our Southern Neighbours, 1997), *Južnoslavenski ratovi* (South Slavs Wars, 1997), *Mađarska prošlost hrvatskim očima* (Hungarian History in Eyes of Croats, 2006), *Hrvatska između srednje Europe i Balkana* (Croatia Between Central Europe and Balkans, 2007), and *Hrvatska od stoljeća 7. do danas* (Croatia from the 7th Century until Today, 2016).

Josip Jagodar is a Research Associate at the Department of Social Studies and Humanities, University of Slavonski Brod, Croatia. He is a recipient of two research scholarships, one from the University in Krakow, and one from the Institute of Western and South-Eastern Slavic Studies, University of Warsaw. Josip Jagodar's research is focused on local history, cultural memory and Croatian – Polish relations in the 20th century.

Antonia Jolic is a PhD student with Monash Art Design and Architecture, Monash University, Australia, and a teacher at the Mass Communication and Media Department of the Gulf University for Science and Technology, Kuwait. Her postgraduate level studies are focused on marketing and advertising, and she is currently investigating the process of exploring how participatory design can aid in the transition of national and cultural identity in post-conflict societies. The aim of Antonia Jolic's current study is to demonstrate how participatory design can facilitate post-war generations of young leaders to take future action in the preservation of memory (memorialisation), as well as build upon and preserve existing cul-

tural memory in their respective communities. This investigation is primarily focused on Croatia.

Vicko Marelić is a historian and museum curator/Head of the Marco Polo Center in Korčula Town Museum, Croatia. He is also a PhD student at the University of Vienna, Austria. Vicko Marelić's area of academic interest includes the Adriatic Sea in the modern era, lieux de momoire in Central Europe, and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the 19th and 20th century. His PhD thesis investigates the Great Britain and Adriatic Question 1914 – 1921. In 2020 Vicko Marelić was a junior visiting fellow at the University of Graz, and in 2019 he received a research grant through Austrian Historical Institute to conduct research in Italy (foreign ministry archive, naval archives and archives of Corriera Della Sera). In the period 2018 – 2019, he was also a research fellow at the Center for European Studies in New Orleans in USA. His most recent publications include book chapter related to Adriatic question: *Stürmische Zeiten für die Adria* (in: *Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten*, New Academic Press, 2021), and *Italian Plans for the Eastern Adriatic* (in: *Der Erste Weltkrieg auf dem Balkan*, Peter Lang, 2018).

Ivan Jeličić is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Italian Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences in Rijeka. He obtained his PhD in History at the University of Trieste in 2017, defending a thesis on Socialism in the late Habsburg Fiume/Rijeka. During his doctorate Ivan Jeličić undertook a period of study and research at the Institute of Political History in Budapest (Hungary) and the Institute of Eastern and South-Eastern European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg (Germany). From September 2018 to January 2023, he was a postdoctoral researcher within the European Research Council (ERC) project *Nepostrans – Negotiating post-imperial transitions*, based at the Institute of Political History

in Budapest. Iva Jelčić collaborates in the project *Rijeka in Flux: Borders and Urban Change after World War II*, an international and interdisciplinary research project initiated by the University of British Columbia, Okanagan. His research interests are the political and social transformations between the 19th and 20th centuries and the transition processes from the Habsburg Empire to the new States in the Upper Adriatic, particularly in the Rijeka area.

Klemen Kocjančič is an independent researcher and holds a university graduate degree in theology (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Theology), a master's degree in defense studies (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences) and a PhD in history (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts). His primary research interest are Waffen-SS units and organizations present in Slovenian territory during the Second World War. Previously he authored papers on different aspects of German occupational system of Slovenian territory, German military units and foreign-manned units in German service. Between September 2019 and April 2022, Klemen Kocjančič was habilitated as a research assistant at the Defense Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. In 2022, he received grant through the Joint Excellence in Science and Humanities programme of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Besides military history, he is actively researching and publishing about extremism and terrorism, military sociology (military families, military chaplaincy), and critical infrastructure.

Filip Hameršak graduated philosophy, comparative literature, and law at the University of Zagreb. A longtime editor at the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography in Zagreb, where he has also been Director since 2020, he has contributed mostly to the Institute's publications in the fields of 20th century political, cultural, legal and military history. He has also been Assistant Editor-in-Chief of

the *Croatian Biographical Dictionary (Hrvatski biografski leksikon)* since 2015. His doctoral thesis on Croatian autobiography and the First World War was published under the title *The Dark Side of Mars (Tamna strana Marsa)* in 2013. In addition, he has authored numerous articles on the cultural and political impact of the First World War, Croatian trench newspapers, military cemeteries, and similar topics and edited several books of war memoirs and diaries. He was co-screenwriter of a 208-minute documentary entitled *Croatia in the First World War (Hrvatska u Prvom svjetskom ratu)*, directed by Krešimir Čokolić and released in 2014. In 2015, he co-founded the 1914–1918 Association (Udruga 1914–1918), a Croatian non-governmental organization dedicated to the long-neglected research and memory of the First World War in Croatia, and has served as its president since then (re-elected in 2018, 2020 and 2023). He is currently engaged as a research team member in the Croatian international research project, *The First World War in the Culture of Memory. Forgotten Heritage*, which is financed by the Croatian Science Foundation.

Ivan Smiljanić has graduated from the History and Russian Studies at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, in 2016 and gained a Master of Arts Degree in History at the same faculty in 2019. The same year he became a young researcher at the Ljubljana Institute of Contemporary History, Economic History Department. Ivan Smiljanić is currently writing a PhD dissertation on bankruptcies in Slovenia between 1868 and 1941. He has extended his scholarly interest to public memory, monuments, and public discourses about the past. In 2021 he has published his MA thesis: *Lovorovi gozdovi in krompir: Prešernov kult v socializmu* (Laurel Wreaths and Potatoes: Prešeren's Cult in Socialism). For the thesis, Ivan Smiljanić was awarded the Faculty of Arts' Prešeren award and the Ervin Dolenc award for the best book debut in historiography.

In 2020, ZRC SAZU has published a comic book *Črni plamen: požig Narodnega doma v Trstu* (The Black Flame: Burning of the National Hall in Trieste) which he co-wrote with his father, comic book author Zoran Smiljanič. The comic book was translated into Italian and German. Ivan Smiljanič has written and published multiple articles on the topics he researched and has edited a collection of articles published by the Institute of Contemporary History, titled *Sočutje in stigma: družbene razlike in revščina v slovenski novejši zgodovini* (Compassion and stigma: social differences and poverty in contemporary Slovenian history) in 2022.

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Content

- 7** **Conference programme**
- 11** **Shadows Cast by the Great War in East-Central Europe**
John P. Newman
- 13** **War Graves – Sites of Memory from Local, National/Nationalistic to Universal Value**
Petra Svoljšak
- 15** **Battlefields and Remembrance**
Norbert Stencinger
- 18** **The Role of Art in the Post-War Formation of Collective Memory – The Case of Memorials and Sites**
Blaž Vurnik
- 19** **Misfire: The Sarajevo Assassination in Historical Reconstruction**
Paul Miller-Melamed
- 21** **WWI Hungarian POW Memories and Historiography**
Juhász Balázs
- 23** **The First World War in Lives of Croatian Minority in Hungary**
Dinko Šokčević
- 25** **Church and State Perspective of the First World War – The First World War in the Church and School Chronicles of Certain Villages of Brod-Posavina County**
Josip Jagodar
- 27** **Branding Pain – Designing a National Brand Strategy for Croatian Cultural Memory**
Antonia Jolic
- 29** **Instrumentalization of Sculptures in Korčula – Mobilizing Flying Lions between 1911 – 1921**
Vicko Marelič

- 31** *Fiume italianissima* – The Role of World War I and the Post-Imperial Transition in the Creation of an Italian Local National Narrative
Ivan Jeličić
- 33** One Was Not Enough – Third Reich's Usage of the First World War Cultural Memory During the Occupation of Slovenian Territory
Klemen Kocjančič
- 35** The Asinara Prisoner-of-War Camp (1915 – 1916): Facts, Figures, Site of Memory
Filip Hameršak
- 37** Between Traitors and Martyrs – Commemoration of the Victims of Suhi bajer in Ljubljana
Ivan Smiljanič
- 39** Commemoration of the Arrival of the Serbian Army in Split (November 20, 1918) During Interwar Period
Marijan Buljan
- 41** The Fate of WWI Military Cemeteries in Slovenia
Damjana Fortunat Černilogar
- 43** On Secular Pilgrimages to First World War Memorials of the Soča/Isonzo Front – Commemorative Practices in the Interwar Period in a Border Region
Petra Kavrečič
- 45** The Missing Memorials in Albania – The Fallen of the Great Serbian Retreat of 1915/1916
Danilo Šarenac
- 47** Mirogoj in the First Two Decades of the 20th Century
Kristina Milkovič

- 49 Sociological and Historical Approach to the Study of Croatian First World War Cultural Memory**
Sandra Cvikić, Ivana Žebec Šilj
- 51 Memorial Tablets on the Wall – Collective Memory of the First World War in Hungarian Secondary Schools**
Robert Szabó
- 53 From Hero to Zero – General Oskar Potiorek’s Personal Experience of Austria-Hungary’s War on The Balkan Front in 1914**
Filip Katanić, Željko Karaula
- 55 From War Casualty to Fascist’s Martyr – the Case of Federico Riosa**
Diego Han
- 57 Heroes of the First World War Erased from Family Memory – The Case of the Macura, Čmelak, Herman and Molnar Families**
Vijoleta Herman Kaurić
- 59 Reconstructing Individual Fates in World War I: Example of International High School Project – Shooting Movie**
Štefan Štivičić, Torsten Klingenberg
- 61 Participants Biography**



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9 789538 404306