

A GROUP PORTRAIT WITH AN AUSTRIAN MARSHAL, AN HONORARY CITIZEN OF LJUBLJANA

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This article deals with two public monuments in Ljubljana dedicated to Field Marshal Radetzky, who lived in Ljubljana between 1852 and 1856 and was made an honorary citizen of the town. The first two public monuments erected in Ljubljana were dedicated to "Father Radetzky," who was considered a "real national hero" by the Slovenians. However, when Yugoslavia was established as a South Slavic state in 1918, the two monuments dedicated to this victorious Austrian hero were no longer consistent with Slovenians' changed self-identification. There was no room left in Ljubljana for this heroic marshal, who once fought the Italian rebels.

Keywords: Austrian patriotism, de-Austrianization, Field Marshal Radetzky, political symbols, public monuments, "Radetzky's city," statuomania

Članek obravnava dva spomenika v Ljubljani, posvečena feldmaršalu Radeckemu, ki je v mestu živel med letoma 1852 in 1856 in je prejel naziv častnega meščana. Prva javna spomenika v Ljubljani sta bila posvečena »očetu Radeckemu«, ki je med Slovenci veljal za »pravega narodnega heroja«. Ko pa je bila leta 1918 ustanovljena nova južnoslovanska država, spomenika, posvečena zmagovitemu avstrijskemu junaku, nista več ustrezala spremenjeni identiteti Slovencev. V Ljubljani ni bilo več prostora za tega junaškega maršala, ki se je nekdaj bojeval z italijanskimi uporniki.

Ključne besede: avstrijski patriotizem, deavstrizacija, feldmaršal Radecki, politični simboli, javni spomeniki, »Radeckijevo mesto«, spomenikomanija

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the public monument joined the museum and theatre in the role of a representative object. It was Paris monuments that first represented republican meritocracy, as opposed to those based on aristocratic leanings. French artistic traditions and ambitions, connected with new political imperatives, fostered the development of a real *statuomania* (Michalski 1998: 9). This idea rapidly spread throughout Europe from the centre of the French Republic. The general interest in the past that arose in the nineteenth century led in a few decades to European cities being filled with depictions of 'great men.' With a few years delay, the wave of monuments also reached the Austrian Empire. However, unlike in France, here the initiator of the new trend was not the bourgeoisie, but the Emperor Franz Joseph I:

The credit for ornamenting city squares with statues of famous men also largely goes to the Emperor. At the end of the first year of his rule, Franz Joseph founded a new order,

which is named after him, and which he bestows on such men who by their actions have proven their loyalty to their Emperor and homeland, have done something excellent for the good of agriculture, the trades, commerce, science, the sick, etc., and gained a right to the gratitude of the homeland and to public recognition. (Aph 1898: 35)

The fact that the Emperor was the prime driver of the new culture of monuments is reflected in the selection of persons commemorated with a public monument. Public monuments embody and direct the attitude of a society to the past and provide such a basis for reading the past in the present. They are placed in a public space primarily to help the people remember. They do so by means of their form and location, as well as by the inscription that is generally a part of the monument.

COUNTRY, NATION, AND RELIGION

Public monuments preserve not only the memory of a person or event, but also co-create the history of a particular city and its inhabitants, and thereby also their self-image. Certain historical figures or events displayed in a public place serve as a materialization of the historical memory of a certain social community. At the same time, a monument and the space in which it stands live their life in changing times. A monument shares a changing political destiny with new generations: occasionally even the symbolic import of a monument changes, as also holds true regarding the person it represents. In the second half of the nineteenth century the idea of erecting public monuments began to take hold also in the *lands* where Slovenians lived. In November 1858 Peter Hicinger wrote the following in *Novice gospodarske, obrtniške in narodne* [*Economic, Trades, and National News*]: 'Now the time has come to erect monuments here as well; one to Count Radecki is being prepared, one has been planned for Vodnik, and one is intended for Dr Knoblehar; a patriot has raised the issue regarding Baron Vega, but without any results thus far' (Hicinger 1858: 373).

By erecting public monuments, social communities intended to present an image of themselves to the world through which they wanted to be viewed. Therefore, by means of public monuments they expressed respect for and gratitude to those great men who had done great service to the country, nation, or religion:

White Ljubljana, and with it the Slovenian homeland, dutifully shows respect for and gratitude to famous men, virtuous countrymen, as what obviously approaches is to honour Radecki, Vodnik, and Knobleher with memorial monuments and thus demonstrate to the entire world how it recognises and respects the great service rendered by these virtuous heroes to the country, nation, and religion. And this is correct!, as he who erects monuments to others thereby also honours himself; as country, nation, and religion are the three poles around which our entire life revolves, from cradle to cold grave; we live for them, for them we must give all our mental and physical strength, if we desire to be loyal citizens, honest countrymen, and good Christians. Regarding this there can be no doubt. (Likar 1858: 250)

The first public monument in Ljubljana erected to honour a specific historical figure who did not belong to the Habsburg dynasty was dedicated to Field Marshal Jan Josef Radecký of Radče (German: Johann Josef Radetzky von Radetz) (1766–1858). In the war against the revolting Italian population of the Austrian Empire in northern Italy, who wanted to join with Italy, in the year 1848 the Austrian army, under the command of Radetzky, ‘attached a new wreath of fame to its colours.’ As was written in *Pravi Slovenec [True Slovenian]*, due to his victories, the eagle of the Empire has mightily spread its wings ‘and those cowardly heroes of the Romans, Tuscans, and Piedmontese who in the spring were so certain that by Whitsunday they would impose laws on the Austrians in Vienna, tremble in fear at the name of the man who is the father of the army and the saviour of the Empire, the name of Radecki, and the name of the Empire’s army’ (Anon. 1849b: 15; see also M. 1849: 55; Jeran 1852: 214; Malavašič 1852: iv).

‘RADETZKY IS A TRUE GENTLEMAN’

Marshal Radetzky’s name was famous in all the territories of the Austrian Empire for decades, not only in the most beautiful palaces, but also ‘in even the smallest and poorest cottage of our broad Empire, and was fervently respected by all Austrian nations’ (Levičnik 1894: 234). His fame was reinforced by a great number of biographies, which praised his military triumphs, his Catholic piety and his loyalty to the Habsburg crown (see, e.g., M 1849; Malavašič 1852; Slomšek 1858; Costa 1860; Lampe 1892; Dimnik 1902; Nedeljko 1902). In such works, his biographers were guided by the idea of instilling Austrian patriotism. ‘Let the famous life of the dead,’ wrote Slomšek, ‘serve as a lesson for the living, as the adventures of famous people tell a story and teach’ (Slomšek 1858: 109). For the same reason, in Austria a number of monuments in stone and bronze were erected to the marshal ‘as living witnesses for the generations to follow, for encouragement and as a model’ (A. S. 1889: 1). One in both Prague and Vienna, and two in Ljubljana (Havel and Romaňák 2000: 273).

The first public monument dedicated to Radetzky was erected in Prague, as by birth he was from Bohemia. On 13 November 1858, in the presence of the emperor and empress and numerous high-ranking dignitaries, his monument was ceremoniously unveiled in Malá Strana (Hojda and Pokorný 1996: 46–7; Havel and Romaňák 2000: 273). *Novice gospodarske, obrtniške in narodne [Economic, Trades, and National News]* described his statue thusly:

The image of the famous Marshal standing in a military uniform, with bare head, bearing a flag in his left hand (a banner), and a marshal’s baton in his right, supported by every type of soldier. Radecki’s figure is over 9 feet tall, while the soldiers are 7 feet tall. All figures are done in bronze, taken from Piedmont canons, of which the mighty Emperor donated 10,000 kilos for this purpose. The Marshal’s image was modelled by Emanuel Max, while the figures of the soldiers were made by his bother Jožef Max, and all figures were cast in Nuremberg by the master Burgschmiet. All figures stand on a pedestal of polished granite, bearing the following inscription in Czech and German: ‘to Marshal



Count Radetzky on a trade card for Schicht's soap.



The first public monument dedicated to Marshall Radetzky was erected in Prague in 1858.

Jan Josef Count Radecki, leader of the brave Italian army in the years 1848–1849. The Czech Art Association 1858.’ (Anon. 1858: 367)

Until the end of the First World War, Field Marshal Radetzky was seen as a symbol of supra-ethnic Austrianness (Kořalka 1996: 27), however before the onset of the First World War ethnic German students began to claim him as their national hero. On 3 December 1912 they marched to Radetzky’s monument in order to hold a rally. The German rally in front of the monument was prevented by the police. Approximately five hundred German *burschen* then marched away, singing the imperial anthem *Die Wacht am Rhein* and Prince Eugene’s song, to a casino, where they organised a ‘patriotic rally’ (Anon. 1912: 3).

In 1892, an equestrian monument was erected to the famous Austrian hero in the capital of the Empire. Field Marshal Archduke Albrecht sent out a call to all Austrian citizens in the summer of 1886 for contributions ‘to erect a decent monument to the most famous, most popular, and most well-known general throughout the country, army leader Radetzky,’ who in 72 years of military service served under five emperors and ‘was a real father to his soldiers and a shining star with regard to his patriotism and loyalty to the ruler.’ The monument was to be located in the imperial capital. Regarding such, Archduke Albrecht expressed his conviction that

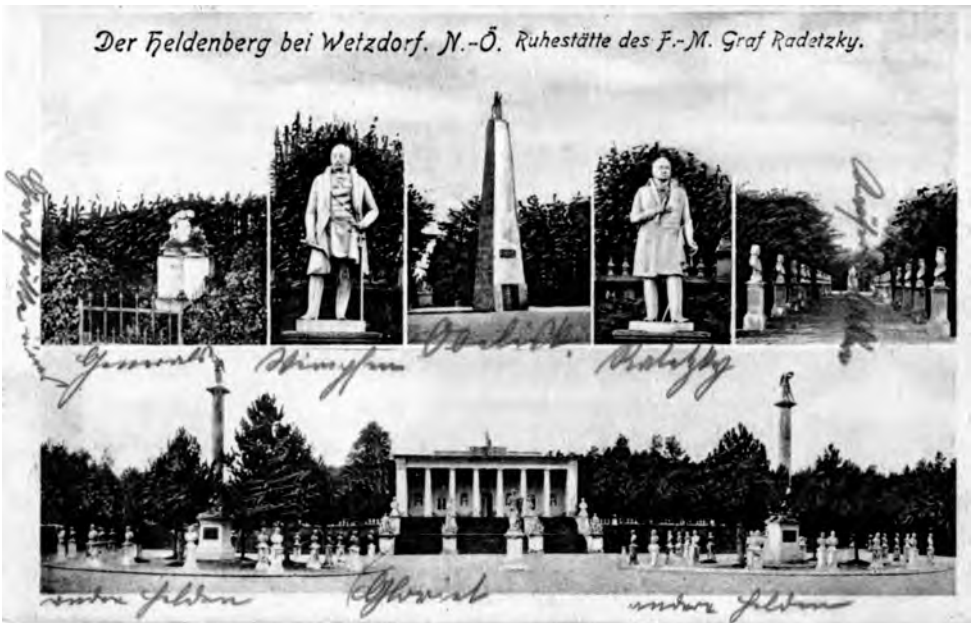
Patriotism, which has always been demonstrated by our people when need has arisen, will also not lag behind here and now, when a monument expressing gratitude is to be erected to the hero who is loved and known equally throughout the entire country. A penny that an invalid, veteran, and a simple peasant can place on the altar for this purpose is worth as much as gold from a rich man’s hand! (Anon. 1886a: 1; 1886b: 237)

However, the changed situation that the new era of growing nationalisms brought about were not favourable to the old hero of the Empire. When the collection of contributions for the Radetzky monument began among the Hungarian Honvéd officers, a ‘gypsy journal,’ i.e. the Hungarian conservative and nationalistic newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap*, wrote that ‘whoever would like to, can build a monument to Radetzky, as he was a virtuous, honest man with whom even the Hungarians can not find fault. But Hungarians will not erect monuments to him, [...] because the poor Hungarian country has no money for Viennese monuments.’ A Slovenian conservative and nationalist newspaper was quite angry about this, stating, ‘Shame on those gypsy writers at *Budapest Hírlap*, they should go and patent their new patriotism’ (Anon. 1886c: 2).

‘RADETZKY’S CITY’

Even before they started to collect contributions for a memorial to Radetzky in Vienna, Ljubljana did ‘more than its duty towards its honorary citizen,’ to whom it even erected two monuments in ‘the nicest and most beautiful places,’ ‘which serve as eyewitnesses to the sacri-

Radetzky's equestrian monument in Vienna



Radetzky's monument on the Heldenberg

ficial nature of the patriotism of Ljubljana's citizens, to respect for the famous general, and to love for this honorary citizen!' (A. S. 1889: 2).

Count Radetzky was closely associated with the Duchy of Carniola. On 5 April 1798, he was married to the Carniolan Countess Francisca von Romano Strassoldo-Grafenberg. From her family he inherited there a manor with large ironworks in 1807 and became a member of the Carniolan Estates (Costa 1860: 3–4; Lapajne 1889: 31; M. 1916: 1; Potočnik 1938: 234).

On 18 June 1851, Radetzky wrote to the Carniolan Estates, the then owners of the Podturn Manor, that he intended to settle there and buy the Manor: 'Because I love the country and inhabitants of Ljubljana, who have always been loyal to our highest imperial house, I would like to buy something here and therefore am asking if the Estates would be willing to sell their Podturn Manor near Ljubljana to me.' He offered 60,000 florins for Podturn Manor, and additionally promised to invest some further thousands for 'establishing a forest and repairing the stables' (Anon. 1851: 3; Costa 1860: 17; Dimitz 1883: 76; Lapajne 1889: 31; Apih 1898: 82; M. 1916: 1; Potočnik 1938: 234).

The Estates accepted the offer, and the contract of sale only had to be confirmed by the Emperor. When they reported Radetzky's intention thereto, the Emperor chose to surprise his loyal marshal. He bought the manor and estate himself and gave them over to Radetzky and his wife to enjoy and freely use for the rest of their lives (Anon. 1851b: 256; Dimitz 1883: 76; Erzherzog Rudolf 1891: 274; M. 1916: 1). Radetzky assumed possession of the manor on 1 May 1852, and it was henceforth called Villa Radetzky (Dimitz 1883: 76; Baumberger 1902: 42; Potočnik 1938: 234). Radetzky entrusted the administration of the new property to Karl Kalman and told him to take all necessary steps to appropriately arrange the Manor, in which he wished to gather all his family treasures and rarities. He had the old stable torn down and in its place constructed a new one, while in front of the manor and around it he had new vegetation planted; the *Swissery* building also had Radetzky to thank for its existence (M. 1916: 1). Podturn Manor remained in Radetzky's possession until 1856, when he moved to Verona (Anon. 1856: 52; 1857: 96; Dimitz 1883: 76; Lapajne 1889: 31).

Out of gratitude and respect, the Ljubljana City Council elected Radetzky an honorary citizen on 30 May 1852, and on 24 September he was solemnly awarded a certificate of honorary citizenship (Costa 1860: 22–4; Dimitz 1883: 77; Lapajne 1889: 31; Lampe 1892: 279; M. 1916: 1; Potočnik 1938: 234).

The citizens of Ljubljana wished to erect a monument to Radetzky already by the autumn of 1853, life-size and in his uniform as a marshal. Therefore, they bought the statue from Josef Benedict Withalm, the former owner of the Ljubljana *Kolizej* [Coliseum], produced by the Viennese sculptor Adam Rammelmayer, who received an award at the industrial exhibition in London in 1852. Municipal officials decided to place the image of the 'famous Marshal Radetzky' 'in some particularly visible place' so that it 'will decorate our city for the future.' They did not decide exactly where to position it; the newspaper *Novice kmetijskih, rokodelnih in narodskih reči* [*Agricultural, Handicrafts and National News*] recommended placing it in

the middle of boulevard 'Sternallee,' i.e. 'at the most visible and beautiful place' in the city (Anon. 1853: 332).

On 7 November 1854, Withalm requested of Mayor Henrik Costa that the city take possession of the statue as soon as possible, due to a lack of space at the Ljubljana Coliseum. The municipality granted his request. However, the monument was not erected, but placed in the city's storage facilities. After the marshal's death in 1858, the municipal officials found that the statue was not suitable for a dignified monument because it was just a copy. Thus, they ordered a new one from the well-known Viennese sculptor Anton Dominik Fernkorn, this time a bust of Radetzky. Rammelmayer's life-size statue remained in the city depository until 1880, when it was decided to place it in front of Villa Radetzky (Anon. 1880: 2; Swida 1882: 45; M. 1916: 2; Potočnik 1938: 234–35). The inscriptions on the pedestal explained that it depicted him during the clash with the Italians in 1849 in Novara, showing the marshal encouraging his troops with the promise that the battle would be short (Potočnik 1938: 234).

However, in the second half of the nineteenth century nationalism won the hearts and mind of the people of Ljubljana, and the unveiling of the second Ljubljana statue of Marshal Radetzky took place without great ceremony. Of the Slovenian newspapers, only *Slovenec* reported on the event. Its brief note no longer contained the former enthusiasm; instead there were signs of a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the fact that, at that time, Ljubljana was still waiting for its first 'national monument,' dedicated to 'the first Slovenian poet' Valentin Vodnik:

At Podturn a likeness of Count Radecky has just been erected in a beautiful location in front of the castle; until now it had been stored at the Town Hall. The image is very beautiful, and shows the famous hero standing. Now we have two monuments to Radecky, this one and the other in *Zvezda* ['Star' Park]. That's all well and good, but we would like to finally see a monument to Vodnik somewhere. (Anon. 1880b: 4)

The Radetzky statue in front of Podturn Manor remained in place until 31 December 1918, 'when overnight it just disappeared, together with the previously mentioned bust' (Potočnik 1938: 235).

'A DELIGHT FOR BODY AND SOUL'

When in the middle of the nineteenth century people in Ljubljana started to consider erecting public monuments, *Zvezda*, or Star Park, seemed like an excellent location. Thus, Jernej Lenček in his wishes for Ljubljana, in 1857, advocated a 'Valhalla under the open sky' (Vrhovnik 1935: 76). He proposed that in the eight sections of the star-shaped boulevard there be built 'monuments to the country's deserving men, which would celebrate the country, and in wintertime would also be a special and enduring decoration of the beloved boulevard' (quoted by Vrhovnik 1935: 76). Andrej Likar considered something similar:

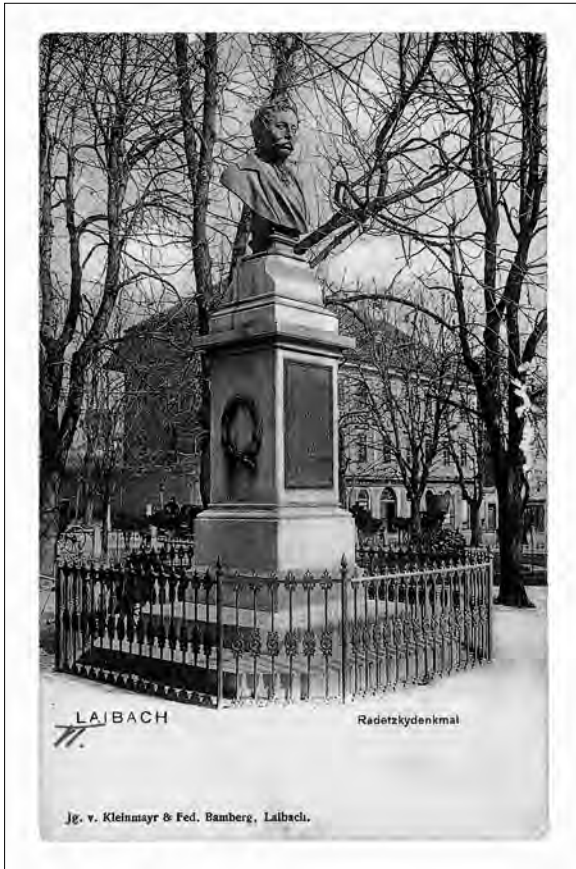
The star-shaped boulevard, already beautiful, would then be even more wonderful,

because they would be adorned with monuments to eminent men who by all rights we deem to have been forged in the heavens due to their many services, and who are and will always be to us and our successors bright stars deserving admiration and emulation – role models of love for the emperor, nation, and religion. Strollers be cooled in the body by the friendly trees, viewing the monuments would enlighten the soul to all that is gentle, true and holy. Oh the beauty of the city of Ljubljana would then be even grander – a delight for body and soul. (Likar 1858: 250)

Ljubljana received its 'largest and best square' (Dzimski 1860: 84) during preparations for a congress of rulers as a consequence of the uprising in Naples from 27 January to 19 May 1821. Due to time constraints, in this area it was not possible to construct any buildings, nor was it possible to just leave the grounds in shambles, as during the time of the congress the emperor was to reside in the Carniolan State Mansion. Therefore, the city had piles of earth and the remains of the ruins of the former Capuchin monastery hauled away, levelled out pits and ditches on the grounds, and had a pathway made. During the congress the levelled grounds served as a military parade ground, while following the congress there arose the conviction that 'this space could become the most beautiful feature in the city of Ljubljana' (Vrhovec 1886: 277). In 1823, the former Capuchin Square was renamed Congress Square in memory of the great historic event in the city of Ljubljana. The Ljubljana City Council intended to preserve its memory by erecting a monument. This they envisaged in the form of an obelisk on a marble pedestal with the imperial eagle and three inscriptions in bas-relief in cast iron. In February 1822, most of the budgeted amount was collected from 200 signatories from amongst the Carniolan nobility, but for unknown reasons they never erected the monument (Hegemann 1914: 45). In 1824, on the site of the former Capuchin monastery and grounds, it was agreed to arrange the boulevard in a star-shaped pattern (Vrhovec 1886: 277; Orožen 1902: 170; Holz 1997: 123).

Shortly after the death of Marshal Radetzky (d. 5 January 1858), a monument was erected to him in the town of his birth, Prague; Ljubljana, of which he was an honorary citizen, also wanted keep pace. Through the dedication of the citizens, a bronze monument was erected to him in the most beautiful part of the city 'to serve, for later generations, as witness to the selfless patriotism of the citizens, to their respect for the glory of this celebrated general, and to their love for their former honorary citizen' (M. 1916: 1). The renowned sculptor and caster Fernkorn in Vienna was commissioned to make a bust of the marshal in bronze. The sculptor depicted Radetzky larger than life and extremely realistically, also with regard to his uniform and military decorations; the top of his head was adorned with a laurel wreath, as a symbol of victory and glory (Potočnik 1938: 234; Čopič, Prelovšek and Žitko, 1991: 24–5).

The politician and literary historian Reinhold Baumstark, who in July 1875 visited Ljubljana, published a travelogue in the newspaper *Alte und neue Welt* in 1876. Baumstark liked the Radetzky monument in Congress Square because it showed only the head and thus it was not possible for the old general to come 'strutting in, in some affected silly suit or pose.' Baumstark liked the bronze head of the field marshal so much that he said: 'all a man needs



Marshall Radetzky's monument in Ljubljana, erected in 1860.

to believe in the rebirth of this country is to hear a loud, resounding and magical Austrian military band in the shadow of his moustache in Ljubljana' (Rožencvet 1936: 6).

A CELEBRATION OF AUSTRIAN PATRIOTISM

The Radetzky monument expressed the Austrian patriotism of the Slovenian and German population of Ljubljana. This came to full expression with the unveiling of his bust on Sunday 19 March 1860 on St. Joseph's Day. For several days prior to the solemn day, flags on tall poles were planted in the ground around the monument with the colours of the empire and city; there were no Slovenian colours. Green garlands with the coat of arms of Count Radetzky were hung from pole to pole. To the left of the monument there stood a picture of Austria, while on the right there was a huge depiction of Emona. Above them was the angel of peace with palm leaves and the angel of glory and fame with a laurel wreath. The chestnut trees were decorated with colourful lamps and ribbons. Beneath the picture of Emona a stage had been

erected, covered with green cloth for the speaker, opposite the monument stood a stage for ladies (A. S. 1889: 1; M. 1916: 1). The twenty-one foot tall monument comprised a bust of Radetzky on an octagonal pedestal made of Aurisina marble. On the front of the base was the following inscription: *Ihrem Ehrenbürger Josef Grafen Radetzky v. Radetz, k. k. Feld-Marchall. Die Bürger Laibach's 1860* [To their honorary citizen Joseph Count Radetzky von Radetz, Imperial and Royal Field Marshal. The citizens of Ljubljana 1860] (Dzimski 1860: 85).

The unveiling ceremony was magnificent. In the morning, artillery salvos greeted the festive day and a military band played merry marches through the streets. Soldiers formed an honour guard in front of the monument and as well as double rows around the venue. Events began at ten in the morning with high mass in the Ursuline Church, where a crowd of military officers had gathered under the commander of the Third Army Corps of Archduke Ernest and the provincial chief Count Chorinsky, including the son of the late Marshal Major-General Radetzky and Field Marshal Baron Nagy, who represented the General High Command. In addition to the numerous high-ranking Austrian military dignitaries, many civilian dignitaries, senior clergy, city councillors – headed by the deputy mayor, city officials, teachers and students from Ljubljana schools, and others also gathered. The ceremony was also attended by the sculptor Fernkorn.

Such a number of people gathered for the monument's unveiling ceremony as had not been seen within the walls of Ljubljana since the visit by the emperor Franz Joseph I and empress Elisabeth. Ladies in splendid clothes sat in the viewing stands, while many viewers even climbed up into trees. Instead of the ill Mayor Mihael Ambrož, his deputy Janez Guttmann delivered a 'powerful dedicatory address' (Anon. 1860: 95). In his solemn speech, he mentioned the great merit and special importance of the late heroic marshal for the immediate and broader homeland. Although elsewhere they had erected more beautiful and more magnificent monuments to him, which the one in Ljubljana might not compare to, none of them achieved its reverence, as 'this monument was erected out of love and respect for the deceased and it is in these terms that it should be valued. You descendants should appreciate this monument with the kind of loyal respect with which your ancestors erected it' (M. 1916: 1). After finishing his formal address with the words: 'Unveil yourself, monument, and show us the friendly visage of our most respected fellow citizen,' a white cloth fell revealing the monument and before the audience there appeared a monument to the hero of Novara and Custoza (Anon. 1860: 95; Dziminski 1860: 85; A. S. 1889: 2). Then followed an appearance by the mayor's daughter, Otilija Ambrož, who recited a festive poem in German, written by Professor Karl Melzer:

Schmück' dich Emona mit dem Festgewande!
 Heut' ist ein Tag, der Oesterreichs Ehren gilt,
 Laß deinen Jubel schallen durch die Lande!
 Des Siegers von Custoza Denkmal wird enthüllt.¹ (Melzer 1860)

¹ Adorn yourself, Emona, with festive clothes!
 Today is a day of celebration for Austria,
 Let your rejoicing echo throughout the land!

After the recitation, Otilija Ambrož placed a laurel and oak wreath on the pedestal of the monument. The soldiers shot off a salute, which was answered by the cannons of Podturn Manor. Then, the entire contingent filed past the monument, while the band played the Radetzky March. The solemn unveiling of the monument was concluded by military units marching past. At two in the afternoon, lunch for a hundred soldiers was prepared at the municipal shooting range. In the evening, the area surrounding the monument was lit up and there were festivities with a prize drawing at the municipal shooting range to benefit the disabled from Carniola (Anon. 1860: 95; A. S. 1889: 2; M. 1916: 2).

REPRESENTING THE PREVAILING ORDER

One important social role of monuments is the public and lasting presentation of the prevailing social order, for that reason they are displayed on the most visible public places and are worked from 'everlasting' materials. Thus exposed to the everyday gaze of passers-by, they not only serve to recall the past, but to impress them with their significance and their loss, reinforcing their recognition that it is forever gone (Lowenthal 1985: 324). Yet the public and enduring presentation of prevailing ideals cannot be assured merely by erecting monuments. In order to preserve particular ideals as lasting values of social communities, commemorative ceremonies are required (Shackel 2001: 660).

Radetzky's image represented the pride of the capital city of the Duchy of Carniola and symbolised its loyalty to the Habsburg crown, for this reason the monument was the scene of events and actions that reaffirmed the nobility of Ljubljana and its lasting loyalty. Open-air masses were held around the statue on important dates, for example, on 18 August, which was the birthday of Emperor Franz Joseph I (see, e.g., Staatskommandant and Laibach 1911). As reported by *Laibacher Zeitung*, the emperor's fiftieth birthday was particularly solemnly celebrated:

Yesterday's fiftieth birthday of His Majesty, our exalted ruler, was celebrated in Ljubljana in a grand manner, and the entire population demonstrated expressions of the warmest patriotism and heartfelt, authentic love for the hereditary ruling house. The city had been decorated with flags and illuminated the night before 18 August, so the city was already outwardly showing a festive face. At five in the morning there was a wake-up call consisting of a 21-cannon salvo. At eight o'clock in Star Park there was the usual open-air mass, for this purpose there was a field altar decorated with a pyramid of stacked rifles and guns on each side in front of the Radetzky monument. The mass was attended by various units of the regular army, reservists and veterans with banners and a brass band. The mass was celebrated by the army chaplain Primožič. During the mass the infantry troops fired three rifle salvos as a salute, with one more fired by the cannons from the castle hill cannon battery. A veterans' band played during the mass, and after the blessing

A monument shall be unveiled to the victor of Custoza!

it played a folk hymn (the *Volks hymne*). The end of mass was followed by troops filing past, who then retreated to their barracks. (Anon. 1880c: 1591)

Leading representatives of the social and political life of the Duchy of Carniola and the city of Ljubljana attended public memorial services at the monument to the marshal; by their behaviour they showed respect and loyalty to the ideas represented by the monument, i.e. the pride of the capital city of the Duchy of Carniola and its dedication to the Habsburg crown, thus the monument was the scene of events and actions that affirmed the nobility of Ljubljana and the patriotism and loyalty of its citizens. The last great public ceremony of such type held at the monument to 'the famous Field Marshal, father Radetzky' was at the beginning of the First World War. The military parade marched into Star Park, and torchbearers encircled the monument to the marshal. Division Sub-Marshal Králíček stepped onto the raised stage and stated:

I welcome You on behalf of His Majesty the Emperor, honoured gentlemen officers and soldiers, remembering at this point our great, brave ancestors, looking back at great victories, being aware of devotion to His Serene Majesty, the Emperor Franz Joseph I, with all loyalty and power, which will be a source of pride for us all. We all offer ourselves to the homeland from our hearts!

Officers drew their sabres, while a band played the Imperial Anthem. Loud cheering to the emperor could be heard, drowning out even the mighty sound of the military bands. After the anthem, the band played the Radetzky March and thunderous cheers to Austria concluded with a tribute to the 'glorious hero Radetzky,' in which officers, soldiers, and the people 'solemnly swore allegiance to our dear homeland, mother Austria.' The military parade marched in front of the castle, accompanied by enthusiastic greetings from all windows (Anon. 1914: 1).

On the other hand, due to its nature, the Radetzky monument had also become a popular meeting point for various 'merry student groups,' which carried out 'many a joke' there at night. Thus, one time in Star Park they piled together all the benches around the monument so that two students could climb up, one on each shoulder of the old Austrian field marshal, and slap him, each from his side. The others were spectators. When they heard the guards approaching, they of course fled (Tuma 1937: 62).

NATIONAL HERO

Slovenian authors have emphasised with special pride that the heroic marshal was of Slavic origin (Anon. 1849c: 348; Lampe 1892: 279). Although he was not Slovenian, but Czech, 'father Radetzky' was 'a real national hero' among Slovenians (Lampe 1892: 279). In particular, they gloried in the fact that Radetzky praised Slovenians 'as a heroic nation' (Anon. 1848a: 173). Even half a century after the Italian wars, it was said that he tipped his hat when he rode past a Slovenian regiment, because they fought so valiantly (Dimnik 1902: 74). Marshal Radetzky enjoyed a prominent place not only in the discussions of war veterans, but in schools,

teachers also said of him that he was a loyal Austrian and preachers praised him as the model of a pious Catholic: 'He was a clever Slav, a loyal Austrian, as well as a devout Christian; for God granted him much luck when fighting' (Slomšek 1858: 114).

In his 'life story' of this clever Slav, loyal Austrian and devout Christian, Bishop Slomšek presented him to readers as an ethical ideal, worthy of emulation, as thereby they could strengthen their self-confidence:

A young man should be an ornament for his country, not a good-for-nothing. There are people who are ashamed of their own nation as soon as they start moulting. One mindless act carried out by such fellow countrymen is to shame the mother who gave them birth; their honour and vanity, only lying in deep shade brings them happiness. However, also over-tense patriots are like snails in their shells who detest other nations and are angry at their well-off neighbours. Such an action is not Christian-like but diabolical. Savages in Africa and America steal from other tribes and devour the flesh of their enemies until they take a Christian name. Christians of all nations are brothers and sisters to one another, and Austrians – people of various tongues, should be friendly natives. A German should offer his hand in a friendly manner to a Slovenian, as should a Hungarian to a Romanian, as all of them have only one God and one Emperor, and that is how happiness will prevail in Austria. Let us not say self-importantly and selfishly: we are Czechs, we are Croats, we are Carniolans; and what about you Carinthians and Styrians! Let us think in a brotherly manner and say calmly: we are Slavs and Austrians, as was our Radecki. (Slomšek 1858: 110–11)

Under the command of Marshal Radetzky, on 25 July 1848 at Custoza, the Austrian armies overcame the self-liberating Italians. Austrian victories in northern Italy had far-reaching consequences, as they 'anticipated the triumph of the counterrevolution, not only in the Habsburg Empire, but in all of Europe' (Sked 1979: x). Bishop Slomšek assessed the role of Marshal Radetzky very similarly. According to him, he was a 'man sent to us by God, not only to Austria, but to the entire Europe, in order to save us' (Slomšek 1858: 117).

As reported by *Kmetijske in rokodelske Novice* [*Agricultural and Handicraft News*] in the revolutionary year of 1848, 'General Radecki imposed on the rebels in Italy (Lombardy) a war tax of 38 million lira (the lira is worth as much as our twenty), namely, the city of Milan 22 million, and all other Lombardy cities together 16 million. Milan has already paid 7 million. Look how rebellion pays!' (Anon. 1848b: 208). Or, in the words of *Pravi Slovenec*, 'Italians in Milan have started again to turn up their noses, and the news from Hungary and old Radecki wilted their heart' (Anon. 1849a: 8).

The fighting in northern Italy also proved the worth of the regiments of the then Slovenian regions in which Slovenian soldiers showed 'that they are heroes from the first to the last, that they do not forget their oath to the last drop of blood' (Hubad 1888: 20–1). The enthusiasm for 'father Radetzky' persisted for decades after his death (Anon. 1874: 4; Lampe 1892: 324; Apih 1898: 38; Prostoslav 1891: 414; Mazi 1914: 312; M. 1916: 1). His heroics were praised in Slovenian folk songs, for example:



Im Geiste Radetzky's. — Csak neki, csak neki mind a fergeteg. — V duchu Radeckého.

In the spirit of Radetzky! (Austro-Hungarian war propaganda)

Radecki on a horse does sit
 And a rosary he holds in his hands.
 Radecki is a true gentleman,
 He will prevail always and everywhere. (Lampe 1892: 325)

He was presented as the personification of the finest qualities of a good citizen even at the beginning of the twentieth century, when, for example, the teacher Jakob Dimnik wrote that neither Greeks nor Romans 'from their heroic times can demonstrate a more beautiful, cleaner character than Radecki.' Therefore, he expressed the wish 'that his exemplary qualities: patriotism, loyalty and devotion to the emperor, and bravery forever remain the quality of the Austrian army' (Dimnik 1902: 76). Kristina Keše even claimed that the Slavic heroes, such as Marshal Radetzky, especially the Slovenians, were of great importance for all European nations: 'If not for them, culture could not have spread among the others, as there were repeated waves of various wild nations moving into Europe, but the Slovenians stood as a wall against such' (Keše 1912: 178).

The famous Marshal Radetzky forcefully entered the Austrian public awareness at the beginning of the First World War as an immortal hero and an example for the fighting soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army:

Great men do not die. The work for which they sacrificed their power and lives is not

destroyed by death, but remains a valuable legacy for future generations. These have a duty to imitate the bright examples of their ancestors.

Our enlightened emperor, in the war proclamation of May, when he wanted to instil in the people of his nations the courage to persist in difficult days, drew attention to the radiant example of that man who on Italian soil won unflagging glory for the good of the country: and this man was father Radecki.

The famous Marshal Radecki was a great hero-expert, but also an honest and devout Catholic. He knew – as he had been taught by his mother – that only one who first maintained his allegiance to the Lord in Heaven could become and remain a brave soldier. (Anon. 1915: 506)

In middle of the war, *Tedenske slike [Weekly Pictures]* published lyrics for the Radetzky March in Slovenian:

Tovariši, zdaj je prišel čas,
presvitli cesar kliče nas;
zdaj gremo v boj,
vsak trdno stoj za dom premili svoj!
Na mejo zdaj korakamo,
da Laha tam počakamo.
Nas ni strah,
uničen v prah naj
pade kleti vrag!
Za dom darujmo svojo kri,
ki vsikdar zanj srce plamti.
Junaki
smo taki,
da pač nikjer nam para ni,
Taljane
neslane
železna naša pest naj v prah zdrobi!

Na nas Radecki s konja zre,
smehlja se nam, pohvali vse,
je fin gospod
češčen pavsod,
a Laha vzemi zlod!
Oj očka, oj mamka, vežite cul'co zdaj,
da bomo na maršu imeli jesti kaj.
Vam, mati,
se bati
za me nič treba ni,
sovražnik le bo revež,

ko pride nam v pesti!
 Dobil jo bo po buči
 nezvesti salamuči,
 ko se prične juriš,
 se skril bo kakor miš.

Oj očka, oj mamka itd. (A. B. 1916: 378)

[Comrades, now the time has come,
 our serene Emperor is calling out for us;
 now we go to war,
 everyone, resolutely stand up for your dearest home!
 Now we're marching to the border,
 there we'll wait for the Italians.
 We are not afraid,
 beaten into dust
 the cursed devil may fall!
 Let us sacrifice our blood for the home,
 for which the heart always burns.
 Heroes
 such we are,
 as nowhere else can be found,
 Italians,
 unsavoury
 our iron fist shall grind them into dust!

Radecki is looking down at us from his horse,
 he is smiling, and praises all,
 he is a fine gentleman,
 revered everywhere,
 oh, to Hell with the Italians!
 Hey father, hey mother, prepare a bundle now,
 so that we'll have some food for the march.
 You, mother,
 you don't need to fear for me,
 as our enemy will suffer,
 when we get him in our clutches!
 He'll be defeated,
 this unfaithful *salamuči*,
 when the charge begins,
 he'll hide like a mouse.

Hey father, hey mother, etc. (A. B. 1916: 378)]

'A MONUMENT TO OUR SHAME'

The perception of public monuments is generally not intellectual or positivistic, but is a process that includes fantasy, wishes and dreams. We view public monuments as part of the orderly space, evoking in us certain collective memories, ideas and myths. In this way, they represent the history of a certain community, as it imagines its history to be, and as it would like such to be seen by others. At the same time, a monument and the space on which it stands live their lives in changing times. It shares with new generations the changing political fortunes.

As an apparently permanent and unchangeable piece of enduring material, a public monument protects its own past like a closely guarded secret. Monuments conceal such secrets primarily by means of the events and meanings that we bring to them when visiting. Only a closer look reveals to us that despite the 'eternal' materials from which they are made, the (material) existence of public monuments mainly depends on their ideological acceptability to the respective authorities. In the European states, the process of establishing a democratic system meant, in most cases, overturning the old symbols of monarchy (Firth 1973: 328–67). Accordingly, after the conclusion of the First World War, also the career of Marshal Radetzky as a Slovenian national hero ended. A little more than a month after the end of the war, *Jugoslavija* characterised the victorious Austrian military leader as an 'executioner' (Anon. 1919e: 2).

Political symbols reflect and represent the ruling ideology and its changes, therefore, particularly during revolutionary upheavals, it often happens that certain monuments do not conform to the changed historical and ideological context in the particular social circumstances. In the new context created by the upheavals after the First World War that brought about the first nation-state of South Slavs, the two monuments dedicated to the victorious Austrian hero were no longer consistent with the changed self-identification of the Slovenian population. In the eyes of the liberated Yugoslavs, the fallen Habsburg Empire lost all lustre and amongst the national heroes in the newly-created nation-state there was no longer room for the marshal, who on behalf of the multi-ethnic empire 'thrashed the *Plementesars*' (Italian rebels):

After the end of the World War, many were of the opinion that the popular storm would sweep away all public monuments in Ljubljana erected in honour of the heroes of the Austrian period. This has happened elsewhere, and, if nothing else could be done, they at least covered the figures that represented our tyrannical rulers and their executioners. In Ljubljana, however, they remained until the end of the year, so we welcomed with joy – the empty pedestals on which they stood. Yes, we were the city of Radetzky and Franz Joseph. There were not many places where so much sinful in this regard occurred as here. Either there was faking or bootlicking – there was too much of this. For the saddest proof of servile conviction is if the slave celebrates his oppressors even more than he has to. This namely can be considered evidence that he wants to be a slave. And had liberation not occurred, it would have continued this way. Boroevič was already an honorary citizen of Ljubljana – maybe they would even have erected a monument to him. (Anon. 1919c: 1–2)

Especially the Ljubljana newspaper *Jugoslavija* loudly greeted the destruction of four public monuments, which it called ‘monuments to our shame.’ Moreover, it opined that it was not sufficient that they were pulled off their pedestals – ‘they should be uprooted from the heart, and pride should be returned to our white Ljubljana’ (Anon. 1919c: 2). The citizens of Ljubljana, wrote *Jugoslavija*, should be ashamed, as they were unhappy that someone had thrown down the ‘monuments to the old bloodsucker and his executioner,’ and should follow the example of the inhabitants of Trieste and ‘our conscious patriots from the Karst,’ who ‘immediately threw all the memories of Austria into the mud and rubbish heap’ (Anon. 1919e: 2). The editorial board of *Jugoslavija* described this lack of enthusiasm for pulling down public monuments from the Austrian period as a result of the fact that some Slovenians ‘feel so good in slavery that still today we do not know what to do with freedom.’ ‘This is exactly our misfortune, that we are just Slovenians and do not want to be Yugoslavs. For many, Slovenian is a designation of servitude, while Yugoslav is a designation of freedom’ (Anon. 1919a: 3).

The readers of *Slovenski Narod* [*Slovenian Nation*] were ‘happy to take note of’ the fact that ‘the night took’ both statues of Radetzky and the statue of the Emperor Franz Joseph from in front of the Palace of Justice, ‘those sad memories of our servitude and Austrian “patriotism”’ (Anon. 1919b: 3). But not everyone agreed with this. An anonymous author in *Slovenec* labelled the pulling down of the Radetzky monument in Star Park a ‘sign of barbarism and cultural decay,’ saying:

Scenes such as we are now experiencing in Ljubljana were seen only amongst the Germans at the time of their first victories and first chauvinistic raging. In Ljubljana, a gang of unknown people under the protection of the darkness of night pulled down the statue of Radecki in Star Park, one of the most famous and beautiful sculptural works that our art-poor city has. We do not claim that Radecki must remain in Star Park, but we do claim that destroying art in the name of national enthusiasm is a sign of barbarism and cultural decay. (Anon. 1919d: 6)

A few days later, *Slovenec* published an additional consideration, namely that public monuments are bearers of historical memory and their destruction contributes to the past receding into oblivion:

Historical memories should not be sacrificed due to momentary impressions! Radecky was connected to our country (he owned a mansion in Tržič and wanted to spend his last days in Ljubljana in Tivoli). Why then should his memory be erased? (lj. 1919: 6)

At the end of the First World War, when in the newly established Czechoslovak Republic the problem of *odrakouštění* (‘deAustrianisation’) appeared (Kořalka 1996: 27), the monument to Radetzky in Prague was also removed from public view (Hojda and Pokorný 1996: 44).

Approximately nine months after the monument to Radetzky in Ljubljana was pulled down, a vase of flowers appeared on the pedestal from which ‘honest Yugoslavs’ had toppled the statue of the old soldier. Thus, those who spoke of vandalism could now probably be

convinced that ‘these flowers decorate Ljubljana better than Radecki’ (l. 1919: 3). In time, a vase of flowers also appeared on the pedestal in front of Villa Radetzky (Dobida 1923: 6).

New public decorations (vases of flowers) on old monumental pedestals satisfied the taste of the citizens of Ljubljana for several years. Over time, some people began to think that the loss of monuments by the city, which already before the war had not been rich in public monuments, was not exactly proof of the citizens’ great feeling for the beauty of their city. One of the first to be publicly heard was Karl Dobida, who advocated that demolished monuments to fallen heroes be replaced by monuments to Slovenian heroes. For Dobida, Ljubljana is not merely a city, but ‘the spiritual centre of the nation, the heart of the special national individuum, the heart that receives and transmits its best juices to all its limbs.’

Therefore, in some sense, it is unique, richer, and more important to us – and not only to us, for whom it is as ‘matjuška’ is for Russians – than many large cities with hundreds of thousands, even millions of people, but which are not the hub of the entire nation. Ljubljana, as the Slovenian capital, is the centre of all sorts of cultural activities, the objective to which the spiritual threads of Sloveniandom are channelled. Its image is the image of the Slovenian nation. Therefore, hard work is needed from all those who love this city, so that its face will be a reflection of its psyche, in accordance with the richness of its inner life. (Dobida 1923: 6)

The idea for a new monument in Star Park first arose after the First World War. In 1921, the *Jugoslovenska Matica* [*South Slav Society*] announced a call for possible models of a monument to ‘occupied territory.’ The memorial was to be ‘executable with the least possible costs’ (Anon. 1921: 3). The results of the competition are not known. The fact is that the idea was never realised. In 1927, in memory of the May Declaration, the then Yugoslav Society intended to transform the former monument to Radetzky into a ‘monument to unredeemed territory.’ The monument was to have an eternal flame burning, as ‘a symbol of our inextinguishable national aspirations and the wish for our enslaved brothers to free themselves from the unbearable foreign yoke’ (Anon. 1927: 5). The unveiling of the refurbished monument was planned for Sunday, 29 May, the tenth anniversary of the May Declaration, in Ljubljana. However, this intention was abandoned, ‘because, in the opinion of the experts, it would not be tasteful for the monument to be repurposed in such a way, moreover, it is very expensive’ (Anon. 1927b: 4). In 1927, the municipality started work on the general reorganisation of Star Park according to the plan of Jože Plečnik. The new plans for the refurbishment of Star Park envisaged a new hero, King Peter I. the Liberator whom *Slovenec* envisaged ‘would almost surely be erected in the place where the monument to Radecki once stood in “Star Park”’ (Anon. 1927c: 3).

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SKUPINSKI PORTRET Z AVSTRIJSKIM MARŠALOM, ČASTNIM MEŠČANOM LJUBLJANE

V drugi polovici devetnajstega stoletja so francoske umetniške tradicije in ambicije, povezane z novimi političnimi imperativi, pomagale k razvoju prave *statuomanije* in z nekajletno zamudo je spomeniški val dosegel tudi Avstrijsko cesarstvo. V Ljubljani so s prvim javnim spomenikom, odkritim leta 1860, počastili spomin na feldmaršala Jana Josefa Radeckega in Radče (1766–1858). Ime maršala Radeckega je slovelo po vseh deželah Avstrijskega cesarstva in njegovim podvigom je bilo posvečenih mnogo biografij, v katerih so slavili njegove vojaške zmage, katoliško pobožnost in zvestobo habsburški dinastiji. Biografi so z njimi spodbujali avstrijski patriotizem.

Maršal Radecký je bil kranjski deželan in nekaj let tudi ljubljanski meščan. Cesar Franc Jožef je namreč zanj kupil grad Podturn s pripadajočim posestvom. Maršal se je v grad preselil leta 1852, zato so ga poslej imenovali Villa Radetzky. Iz hvaležnosti in spoštovanja do maršala

ga je ljubljanski mestni svet istega leta izvolil za svojega častnega meščana, že naslednje leto pa so začeli razmišljati, da bi mu postavili javni spomenik. Zato so kupili kip, delo dunajskega kiparja Adama Rammelmayerja, ki je bil nagrajen na industrijski razstavi v Londonu 1852. Kipa pa niso postavili, temveč so ga spravili v mestno skladišče. Po maršalovi smrti leta 1858 so mestni uradniki ugotovili, da kip ni primeren za dostojen spomenik, ker je bil samo odlitek. Zato so pri slavnem kiparju Antonu Dominiku Fernkornu naročili novega, Rammelmayerjev kip pa je ostal v shrambi do leta 1880, ko so ga postavili pred Villo Radetzky.

Spomenik Radeckega je izražal avstrijski patriotizem slovenskega in nemškega prebivalstva Ljubljane. Ta je prišel v polni meri do izraza ob odkritju njegovega doprsnega kipa v nedeljo, 19. marca 1860. Že nekaj dni pred slavnostnim dnevom so v zemljo okoli spomenika zasadili visoke drogove z zastavami v cesarskih in mestnih barvah; slovenske ni bilo nobene. Levo od spomenika je stala slika Avstrije, na desni pa velikanska Emona. Nad njima sta bila angel miru s palmo in angel slave z lovorovim vencem.

Podoba Radeckega je reprezentirala ponos glavnega mesta vojvodine Kranjske in simbolizirala njeno lojalnost habsburški kroni, zato je bil spomenik prizorišče dogodkov in dejanj, ki so potrjevali imenitnost Ljubljane in trajno zvestobo cesarstvu. Ob njegovem spomeniku so ob pomembnejših datumih potekale maše na prostem, kot na primer 18. avgusta, ko je bil rojstni dan cesarja Franca Jožefa. Slovenski avtorji so s posebnim ponosom poudarjali, da je bil junaški maršal slovanskega porekla. Čeprav je bil Avstrijec češkega porekla, je »oče Radecki« med Slovenci postal »pravi narodni junak«. Njegova slava je živela še desetletja po njegovi smrti, opevale so ga tudi slovenske ljudske pesmi.

Politični simboli odražajo in predstavljajo vladajočo ideologijo in njene spremembe, zato se zlasti ob revolucionarnih prevratih rado zgodi, da se določeni spomeniki ne skladajo s spremenjenim zgodovinskim in ideološkim kontekstom v določenem družbenem okolju. V kontekstu nove nacionalne države »troimenega naroda«, nastale po koncu Velike vojne, se spomenika avstrijskega heroja nista več skladala z novo slovensko identiteto. Podiranje posameznih spomenikov je pogosto povezano s spreminjanjem zgodovinske zavesti. V Ljubljani nenadoma ni bilo več prostora za zmagovitega maršala, ki je v imenu večnarodnega cesarstva »plementezarje natepel«. Konec leta 1918 so jugoslovanski »patrioti« podrli oba maršalova spomenika.

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