



Budapest and Thessaloniki as Slavic Cities (1800–1914): Urban Infrastructures, National Organizations and Ethnic Territories

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**Budapest and Thessaloniki as Slavic Cities (1800–1914):
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The rise of nationalism is an essential element in nineteenth-century urban life, since the social and material conditions that give rise to nationalism first appeared in urban areas. This paper explores national movements arising in a city that (1) was dominated by another ethnic group and (2) lay outside the national ethnoterritory. Specifically, I examine Slavic national movements in Thessaloniki and Budapest¹. The emergence of Slavic nationalism in these cities demonstrates that urban institutions were more important to emerging national movements than a demographically national environment. The foreign surroundings, however, seem to have affected the ideology and political strategy of early nationalists, encouraging them to seek reconciliation with other national groups.

“Nationalism” had spawned several distinct and competing literatures; any author discussing the subject must describe how he or she uses the term. Following the comparative work of Miroslav Hroch (1985), I am examining the social basis of movements that justified their demands with reference to the “nation”. But while Hroch is mainly concerned with the emergence of movements seeking political independence, I examine several Slavic patriots who fought for cultural rights, usually linguistic rights, while simultaneously defending the legitimacy of the existing state. Since the Slovaks and Macedonians who dominate this paper eventually founded new states, some scholars might be inclined to see nineteenth-

¹ A note on terminology: both “Budapest” and “Thessaloniki” are anachronistic city names for the period discussed in this paper. Budapest only became a single city in 1873, when the cities of Buda, Óbuda and Pest were united into one municipality. Treating these two towns as a single urban unit in the early nineteenth century is an oversimplification, though not an oversimplification which affects the main argument put forth here. Both Buda and Pest, furthermore, have Slavic and German names; some scholars would prefer me to speak of (Hungarian/Slovak/Serbo-Croat/German) Buda/Budín/Budin/Buda and Pest/Pešt/Pešt/Ofen, which then transformed into Budapest/Budapešt/Budimpešta/Budapest. On this rule, “Thessaloniki” should be (Greek/Macedonian/Turkish) Thessaloniki/Solun/Selanik; though many Anglophone scholars use “Salonica” as a compromise neutral name. Neither list of names is exhaustive: one could for example add Romanian “Budapešta” and “Salonic”. I have chosen to use the names current at the time of writing on the theory that this is the name one would need to consult an Atlas. This philosophy partly explains my use of contemporary borders on the maps in figures 1 and 2: I expect contemporary readers will find it easier to locate cities with reference to modern borders.

century organizations articulating cultural and/or linguistic grievances as precursors to subsequent state-claiming nationalism (e. g. Johnson 2001, Kaiser, 1994: 34). Whatever the merits of this approach, I do not make the desire for statehood a defining feature of nationalism, and treat any organization or movement that seeks to promote or protect a “national culture” or “national language” as an instance of full-fledged “nationalism”.

Nationalist movements have complex social foundations: as Liesbet Hooghe’s (1992: 42) overview of the literature concluded, “there is no social pattern common to all nationalist movements at either macro- or meso-level.” In Poland and Hungary, countries with unusually large nobilities, the lesser nobility dominated the initial phases of the national movement, though more humble social classes later replaced the nobility (see Barany 1969, Stauter-Halstad 2001).

Clergymen and lawyers have been prominent in several other national movements, and the participation of journalists and teachers has been particularly important (Gross 1977, Himka 1988, Meininger 1987, Kellas 1992). The spread of literacy is also an important variable: illiterate social classes, as a rule, do not join nationalist movements.

For this study of urban nationalism, however, the key observation is that most of the relevant social classes depend on an urban environment. Bureaucrats, lawyers, teachers, and small businessmen are more numerous in towns than country villages. Universities are usually founded in cities. Newspapers benefit if an urban population can provide a large reading public. At the same time, comparative study suggests that peasants, the dominant component of Europe’s rural population, despite being “natural repositories of the nation’s linguistic and cultural tradition,” only participated in the final stages of national revival, and “on the whole participated relatively weakly in national agitation” (Hroch 1985: 180). The social basis of nationalism, in short, requires an urban environment.

The simultaneity of the nineteenth-century increasing nationalism and increasing urbanization is therefore no coincidence: nationalism and urbanization are both aspects of “modernization”, whether understood as the destruction of traditional society, or the emergence of industrial society, or the transition from feudalism to capitalism, or whatever else. When the children of peasants settled in European towns, they entered a nationalizing environment. They began participating in national movements when they became students, teachers, journalists, lawyers, doctors or bureaucrats. On the other hand, peasants in the village, particularly in mountainous villages from the Tatras or the Shar Planina, only rarely became involved in nationalist politics. Before improvements in transport and literacy enabled them to read newspapers, they could only follow developments in national politics with great difficulty.

The complex demography of Central Europe and the Balkans, however, adds an interesting wrinkle to the linked processes of urbanization and nationalization. Both

the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires had an ethnically diverse population. The Habsburg Empire was comprised of several political structures, most of which contained significant ethnic minorities. In 1880, for example, Moravia's population was 70% Czech and 29% German; Galicia was 51% Polish, 42% Ukrainian and 5% German (Urbanitsch 1980: 38–39). The Monarchy's largest single component, Hungary, was particularly famous for its ethnic heterogeneity (see Csaplovics 1829: 217; Grellman 1795: 380). The 1890 census, counting Transylvania, Fiume, Croatia and Slavonia as part of Hungary, found that Hungary's population was 43% ethnic Hungarians (Magyar), 12% German, 15% Romanian, 11% Slovak, 9% Croat and 6% Serbian (Kann 1983: 303). Provincial frontiers were not as important in the Ottoman Empire, but Greeks, Romanians, Slavs, Albanians, and Turks circulated quite freely around the territory of the Empire (Karpát 1985).

This ethnic patchwork frequently meant that the linguistic situation in the cities differed from the surrounding countryside. When the children of Czech peasants migrated to Prague, for example, or the children of Romanian peasants migrated to Cluj, the ethnic character of urban life changed. As has frequently been studied and discussed, the de-Germanization of Prague and the Romanianization of Cluj were demographic processes as well as political struggles (on Prague, see Cohen 1981, Sayer 1996, King 2001, on Cluj see Livezeanu, 1995). Other examples are numerous. These demographic/national conflicts were often quite complex: Bratislava (Pressburg, Poszony, Prešporok), which had a strongly German character in the eighteenth century, experienced significant Hungarian settlement in the nineteenth, only to be transformed into a predominantly Slovak town in the twentieth century (see Johnson 1985, Brugge 2004).

The cities of Budapest and Thessaloniki contained several different national groups, but neither town could be described as "Slavic" at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, when nationalist politics started to dominate local politics, both Budapest and Thessaloniki became centers for the creation and propagation of Slavic culture, particularly books and newspapers, and both hosted Slavic nationalist organizations. This meant that some Slavic groups developed their first nationalist intelligentsia in a city not merely dominated by other ethnic groups, but lying at a considerable distance from the national ethnoterritory.

The demographic evidence bears repeating. The main languages of Budapest in 1800 were German and Hungarian, with the latter supplanting the former as the city experienced explosive growth during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Slovaks comprised only 10–12% of the population (Faragó 1996, Berza 1993: 470), and while the city attracted migrants from Slovakia, Transcarpathia, Serbia, Croatia, and Transylvania, these non-Magyar migrants were overwhelmed by ethnic Hungarians. The dramatic demographic expansion of Habsburg Budapest – the city grew from 54,200 to 957,800 in the nineteenth century – was largely the result of Hungarian migration. Budapest was

not notably Slavicized during the nineteenth-century processes of urbanization and modernization. Instead, Budapest proved an important center of Magyarization: most of the two million citizens of Hungary who Magyarized during the nineteenth century lived in large towns (Katus 1995, Macartney 1968: 729).

The population of Thessaloniki, though violently contested, was mostly Ladino-speaking Jewish before the First World War. Though census figures from 1830 do not distinguish between Orthodox Slavs and Orthodox Greeks, they suggest that only 22% of the city was Christian. The 1890 census found that 3800 inhabitants of the city (4%) were definitively Slavic: i. e., Bulgarian Protestant, Bulgarian Catholic, or Exarchist (i. e., adherents of the newly-formed Bulgarian Orthodox church). That said, many of the city's 15012 "Greeks" (15%) were Slavophone Patriarchists (i. e., loyal to the Greek Patriarch and the Greek Orthodox church). Nevertheless, Thessaloniki remained overwhelmingly non-Slav throughout the nineteenth century (Anastassiadou, 1997). Nor have any of the dramatic events in Thessaloniki's twentieth-century demographic history – the 1922–23 expulsion of Muslims and settlement of Anatolian Greeks, or the 1944 deportation of the city's Jews – increased the Slavic population (see Pallis 1925).

Why did Slavic nationalism arise in such non-Slavic environments? Karl Deutsch (1966: 91) has suggested that nationalism requires "the observable ability of certain groups of men and women to share with each other a wide range of whatever might be in their minds, and their observable inability to share these things nearly as widely with outsiders." Social communication over large distances, even among the same language group, depends in part on networks of transport; i. e., railroads, steamboats, and such. Slavic national movements emerged in Thessaloniki and Budapest because the relevant transportation networks existed.

In the nineteenth century, Budapest became the center of Hungary's transport network, not least because it was the center of the Hungarian economy. A steamboat line running between Vienna and Budapest opened in 1831, dramatically shortening the travel time between the two largest and most important cities in the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1836, thanks partly to István Széchenyi's tireless efforts, the Danube Steamship Company built its shipyard in Óbuda, now a part of greater Budapest. The city also hosted Hungary's first railway line: service began in 1846. The 1848 completion of Széchenyi's famous chain bridge, the first major bridge over the Danube, not only enhanced Budapest's importance as a center of transportation and trade, but gave the city prestige (Lanier n. d.).

Széchenyi, a reform-minded nobleman, pursued these infrastructure projects from consciously patriotic motives. He correctly saw the development of Hungary's infrastructure as a means to modernize Hungarian society, even writing in his diary that "steamboats cannot stand the smell of feudalism" (cited from Barany 1968: 286). Széchenyi's work helped make Budapest the cultural center of Hun-

gary and the headquarters of the Hungarian national movement, but the same infrastructure that supported Magyar nationalism also facilitated the development of Hungary's Slavic nationalism. As Budapest became the center of an increasingly sophisticated network of transport and communications, it became a center of Slavic intellectual life.

The University of Pest, and specifically Buda's University Press, played an essential role in this flowering. Péter Király (1993) noted that "the press of the University of Pest in Buda was unique in Europe in representing the ideas of the enlightenment and national awakening amongst so many nations and in so many languages within one empire". Buda's University Press owed its importance not least to its network of booksellers, which spread to 70 different towns throughout the Habsburg Empire. It published several Slovak books of many different genres. Paul Robert Magocsi (1989: 50) argued that the first stage of nationalism consists of gathering "linguistic, folkloric and historical artifacts," and the University Press contributed to all three endeavors. In the field of linguistics, it published Anton Bernolák's multi-volume Slovak dictionary (1825), as well as Pavel Jozef Šafárik's *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten [History of the Slavic Language and Literature of all Dialects]* (1826). Concerning folklore, it published Ján Kollár's two-volume collection of Slovak folksongs (1834–35) and a commentary on medieval Slavic parchments (Hankenstein 1804). It also published Slovak *belles lettres*, notably the poetry of Jan Hollý (1846). Finally, it published political works, including a proposal for reforming Slovak schools (Radlinský 1851) and a pamphlet defending the Slovak Memorandum (Lichard 1861).

The Buda University Press played an even more important role in the history of Serbian literature. Standards of Serbian education were very low in the eighteenth century (Adler 1974). In 1770, two years after Zaharije Orfelin began publishing the first Serbian magazine (the *Slavo-Srpskij Magazin*) in Venice, the Habsburg authorities granted Viennese printer Jozef Kurzbeck a monopoly on printing Serbian works in the Empire. When Kurzbeck died in 1792, the monopoly came to Stefan Novaković, who published a journal called *Slaveno-Srpskija Vjedomosti [Slavo-Serbian News]* from 1792–1794. Novaković went bankrupt in 1795 and sold the monopoly to the Buda University Press, which remained the world's biggest center of Serbian book production until a press opened in Belgrade (Ivić n. d.).

In 1824 Georgije Magarašević began publishing an important Serbian literary review through the University Press, *Srpske Izetopisi [The Serbian Chronicle]*. The next year, liberal nobleman Sava Tekelija, founded a library for the benefit of Serbian students at the Buda University. This library eventually collected 270 (65%) of the 413 Serbian books listed in Georgije Mihailović's bibliography of 18th century Serbian literature (Brković 2004). Several prominent Slavists donated books, including Kollár, Tekelija, Vuk Karadžić, the bishop Platon Ata-

nacković (who published an 1846 volume as “Platon of Buda”) and the Russian academy of Sciences.

All this activity made Budapest an attractive location for a Serbian nationalist organization, which explains the otherwise surprising fact that the Matica Srpska was founded in Budapest. The Matica Srpska, which opened St. Sava’s Day in 1826, was an organization designed “to develop the literature and the education of the Serbian people, i. e., to publish Serbian books and publicize them” (Anon. 1 2003). The first president was Jovan Hadžić (pen-name: Miloš Svetić), a poet who subsequently edited *Srpske ljetopisi*. The money to found the organization, however, came from six Serbian merchants living in Budapest, suggesting that an urban concentration of wealth was an essential catalyst for national activity². The Matica Srpska was such a success that other Maticas opened in Prague, Zagreb, Brno and Lviv (Anon. 3, 1866).

Budapest also proved attractive to Slovak patriots wishing to found their own Matica. Jan Palárik, a Catholic theologian, selected Budapest as the location of the pan-Slavic Matica Slovanských Národov v Uhorsku [Matica of the Slavic Nations of Hungary, hereafter MSNU]. The 1857 statutes divided the various Slavs in Hungary into distinct groups, stressing co-operation between “Slovaks, Rusyns, and Croato-Serbs [sic]” inside the Hungarian Kingdom: the Hungarian setting influenced the MSNU’s mission statement. This initiative failed for lack of funding, but Jan Palárik still considered Budapest was the best location for Slovak national activity when a specifically Slovak Matica was proposed in 1861 (Vavrovič 1974: 147, 256, Babejová 2003: 186).

Slavic nationalism in Budapest had a strongly Pan-Slav character, because of the mutual interaction between Serbs and Slovaks, or perhaps because of the close proximity of non-Slavic Germans and Hungarians. The concept of “Pan-Slavism” was first invented by a Pest lawyer named Jan Herkel (1826). Jan Kollár, the greatest Pan-Slav poet and polemicist, worked in the Pest Lutheran church, and his influential pamphlet on “Slavic Reciprocity” (1836) was first published at Trattner’s Budapest offices³.

Budapest long remained the center of Slovak national publishing. Private Budapest printers produced Slovak grammar books, including those of Josef Viktorin (1860) and Samo Czambel (1890), songbook collections from Pavel Šafárik (1827) and Benjamin Červenaka (1844), and political works by Štefan

² One of the six Serbian merchants, Petar Rajić, contributed to Atanaš Nesković’s *Istoria slav.-bolgarskogъ Naroda*, Bucharest 1844. None of the other merchants, Josif Milovuk, Gavriilo Bozivotac, Georgije Stanković, Jovan Demetrović or Andrija Rozmirović, appears to have been active in the world of letters (Anon. 1, 2003).

³ A shorter version had appeared in a Czech magazine in 1836, and the 1844 edition appeared in Leipzig, presumably to avoid the outraged Hungarian censor.

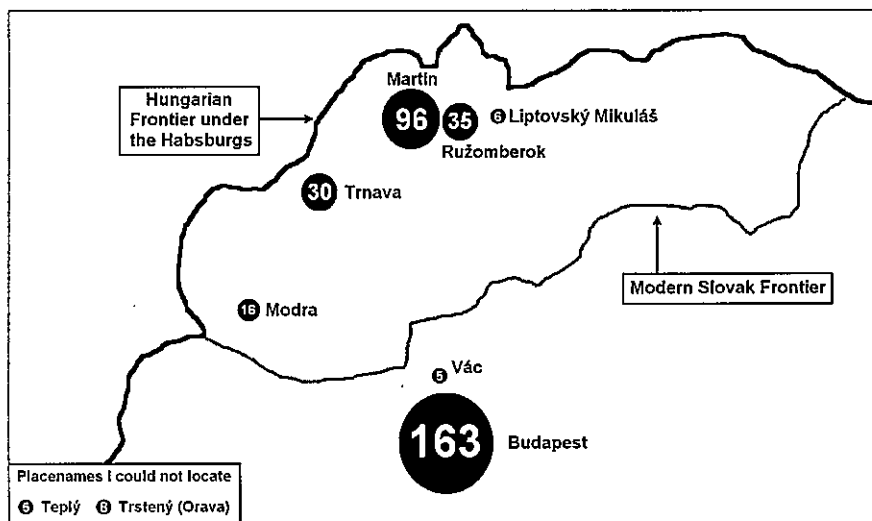


Figure 1: Print runs of Slovak publications in hundreds, 1898.

Daxner (1861) and Jozef Hurban (1860). Several Slovak newspapers were also edited in Budapest. During the Revolution of 1848, two Slovak newspapers were published in Budapest, as many as in Trnava (Kosáry 1986). At the turn of the century, several small Slovak newspapers were published in the Slovak territory proper, but the dominance of Budapest remained overwhelming.

Budapest not only served as an operational base for Slovak nationalism in practice, Slovaks described it as an important location in their national struggles. Samuel Hojč presented his much-discussed tract defending Slavic linguistic rights, *Sollen wir Magyaren werden? [Should we become Magyars?]* (1833) as “letters written from Pest”.⁴ In 1856, the Viennese *Slovenské noviny [Slovak Newspaper]* published a list of “Czecho-Slav” almanacs, nine of which were printed in Bohemia, six in Moravia, one in Vienna, and four in Hungary; all four Hungarian almanacs were published in Budapest (Anon. 2 1856: 8). In 1889, the newspaper *Hlas [Voice]*, for example, listed 23 Slovak newspapers: though only five were based in Budapest, those five had a larger print run than the next three centers of Slovak journalism combined (Figure 1)⁵.

⁴ This pamphlet caused a huge scandal, and was even debated in the Hungarian Parliament. Hojč, however, personally shunned the limelight to the degree that *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?* was attributed first to Ján Kollár, then to Croatian official Antony Vanković (Seton-Watson 1969: 28).

⁵ This map discounts two Martin journals, the *Sbornik musealnej spoločnosti slovenskej* and the

As the nineteenth century wore on, however, Budapest lost its importance as a center of Slavic nationalism. In 1862, the Matica Srpska was moved to Novi Sad, a predominantly Serbian town in the Vojvodina. The Matica Slovenská was founded not in Budapest but in the small town of Martin, chosen partly because it lay in Hungary's most purely Slovak county. The Slavic retreat from Budapest may reflect the growing assertiveness of the Hungarians, who by the end of the nineteenth century had made the city into a stronghold of Hungarianism and Magyarization. However, the subsequent improvement of communication and transport in Slavic territories of Hungary made it easier for Slavs to set up national centers on their own ethnoterritory. After the 1919 partition of Hungary, Budapest ceased to be a significant center of Slavic nationalism.

The Budapest setting nevertheless left its mark on the character of the Slovak national movement. Minority status inside a foreign city encouraged Slovaks to seek what Will Kymlicka (1995: 30 f.) calls "poly-ethnic rights" in a multi-ethnic state. The 1861 Slovak Memorandum, which remained the focus of Slovak political demands until the end of the Habsburg Monarchy, demanded an autonomous Slovak district, but also insisted that autonomy would not harm "the unity and integrity of Hungary". After citing Saint Stephen's famous dictum that "the country with one language is weak and frail"⁶, the Memorandum called for Hungary to be a "one, free, constitutional homeland, and inside it freedom, equality, and national brotherhood!" (Beňko 1998: 34).

The influence of Budapest was greatest on those Slovak patriots who placed the most hope in reconciliation with the Magyars. In 1867, Habsburg Emperor Franz-Joseph struck the famous *Ausgleich* ["compromise"] granting the Hungarian nobility a free hand in Hungarian domestic affairs in exchange for loyalty to the Empire. This catastrophic setback for the Slovak movement meant that Slovak educational and cultural institutions could only exist with Hungarian consent, though several Hungarian leaders showed a genuine concern to reach out to the nationalities in the 1860s. One group of Slovaks calling themselves the "New School" argued that the Memorandum had alienated the Hungarians through its radicalism, and that more moderate demands would win Hungarian support. In 1869, Ján Bobula, a leading figure of the New School, described Hungarian intentions as benign: "both history and our laws serve as proofs that the Magyar has

Časopis museálnej slovenskej spoločnosti, because *Hlas* reported no circulation data for them. Their numerical impact was probably insignificant: *Hlas* described them as appearing "at least two times a year". Note also that Ružomberok's *Slovenské listy* was given a publishing run of 3 000 in *Hlas*, no. 1 (1898), but that no. 2 adjusted this downward to 1 300.

⁶ "*Regnum unius linguae imbecile et fragile est.*" St. Stephen, a medieval king credited with bringing Christianity to Hungary, actually proclaimed as frail the country with one language and one custom. Slovaks typically omitted the reference to diverse customs.

never wanted to humiliate or oppress his Slovak brother". State funding for his Minerva printing press, he argued, showed that reconciliation would yield results.

This was the *first* time that the Magyars communicated with good will with – and to – the Slovak, it was the *first* time that the government gave its support for Slovak affairs with friendship. God grant that this all-important first step will not remain without consequences (Bobula 1869: 11, 14).

The Minerva press, significantly, was located in Pest, as was the New School's important newspaper, the *Pešť-budinský noviny* [*Pest-Buda Newspaper*].

Slovak historians have not been kind to the New School. Ludovít Holotík (1980: 783) wrote that its leaders "reduced Slovak demands up to the borders of collaboration". However, those "Old School" Slovak politicians who stuck to the demands of the Memorandum expressed similar Hungarian loyalties. Štefan Daxner, the lawyer who drafted the Memorandum itself, wrote that "we honor and love our brother Magyars" (Daxner 1861: 6) and campaigned for Parliament on the promise to "work so that the integrity of Saint Stephen's crown, and the lands which belong to it, will be preserved" (see Bokes 1962: 435). A private letter by Ján Malý, another member of the Old School, suggests that Slovaks were simply unable to imagine any alternatives to Hungarian rule: "we cannot be against the unity of the country, even if we wanted to" (letter to Ján Francisci, see Bokes 1962: 231).

Slovak "Hungaro-Slavism" remained a major theme of Slovak nationalist thought until the end of the Habsburg Empire (Maxwell 2002). Slovak national rhetoric was particularly notable for its emphasis on reconciliation with the Magyars. Even Ľudovít Štúr, the most famous Slovak patriot of the nineteenth century, uncompromising opponent of Magyarization and in the words of one historian "the true founder of the new Slovak nation" (Gogolák 1972: 23), packaged his Slovak nationalism as part of Hungarian nationalism. He praised "our honorable fellow citizens, the Magyars," whose leading patriots "raise their voices for holy justice and fight injustice, on whoever's side it may lie" (respectively a letter cited in Rosenbaum 1954: 190 f., Štúr 1843: 1). He even went so far as to claim that Slovaks:

rejoiced over the awakening of the Magyar nation from a spiritual perspective, since they are our fellow human citizens and fellow men – with whom we share joy and sorrow, and in whose company we have more than once shed our blood in wars against invading barbarian hordes – and we wish them luck and happiness (Štúr 1843: 8).

Štúr praised ethnic Hungarians because he wanted to live in a multi-ethnic Hungary. Hungaro-Slavic nationalist politics reached a peak during the 1896 "Congress of Nationalities", convened in Budapest to protest the construction of the

Millennium monument. The Slovak newspaper *Národné noviny* [*National Newspaper*] described the event as follows (Beňko 1998: 377–379):

[R]epresentatives of three tribes of Hungary, Serbs, Romanians and Slovaks, have met on the tenth of August in the capital city of our homeland to formulate their program, which states that to preserve the integrity of our land, just expression must be given to the individuality of separate nations.

Hungary's Slovaks and Serbs, unable to imagine themselves founding a Slavic state, emphasized a multi-ethnic homeland. Hungary's Slavs accepted that they were and would remain a minority in Hungary, but rejected Magyar monoculturalism. Thus, Slavic activists met in Hungary's capital city to contest Hungary's symbols. This phenomenon derives at least in part from the experience of engaging in nationalist politics in a multi-ethnic city in which Slavs were and would remain a minority.

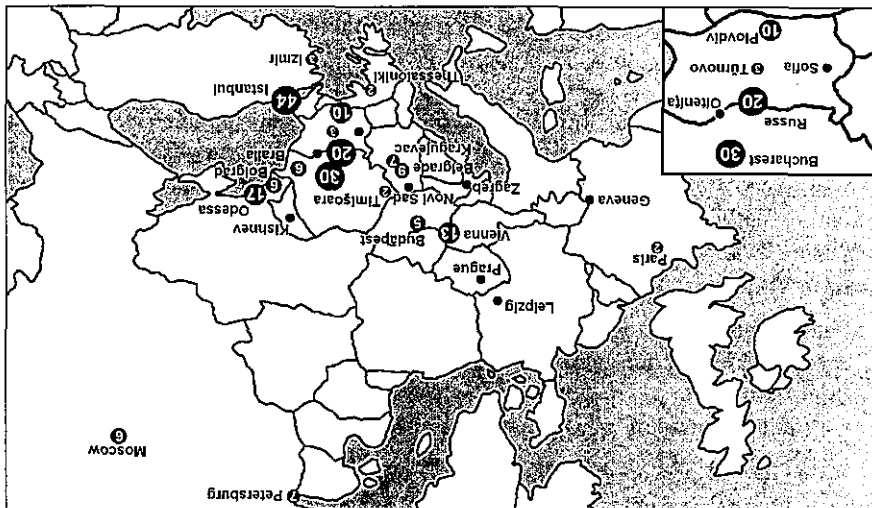
Slavic nationalism in Thessaloniki had a somewhat different tone. Budapest was a greater city, the largest and most important urban center between Vienna and Istanbul. Thessaloniki, by contrast, lagged behind other Balkan cities, notably Bucharest and Istanbul, both as a center of urban development and as a center for Slavic nationalism. Istanbul was also important in Macedonian national life. The newspaper *Carigradski vestnik* [*Istanbul News*], which began publishing as early as 1848, frequently discussed Macedonian affairs. Between 1867 and 1872, another Istanbul reading room even published the newspaper *Makedonija* [*Macedonia*] (Perry 1988, see also Mosley 1937: 351). Istanbul's pre-eminence over Thessaloniki as a center of Slavic publishing is visible in figure 2, which shows were Bulgarian items held by the Russian Academy of Sciences were published (IDC n. d.)⁷. This map anachronistically displays these cities against contemporary borders. This is partly because European borders changed significantly in the period 1823–1872, but I also wish to show that the places where “Bulgarian” books were published do not foreshadow the territory of the future Bulgarian state. Instead, figure 2 underscores the importance of the Danube as a transport networks. The eye can trace the course of the river by moving from one Bulgarian publishing center to the next: Vienna – Budapest – Novi Sad – Belgrade – Kragujevac – Ruse – Brăila. (Bolgrad, on lake Yalpug, is also connected to the Danube river system.) But while Thessaloniki was a lesser city for Bulgarian book production in 1823–1872, note that it was the only center of Slavic publishing in Macedonia.

⁷ Titles with no place of publication were ignored. Buda and Pest were also combined. Two works published in “Plovdiv, Ruschiuk [Ruse] and Veles” were assigned to Plovdiv. Two works published in Zemun were counted with Belgrade.

8 The acronym stands for "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". Since Greeks insist that only the Greek province of Macedonia can have the name "Macedonia", they demand that the Republic of Macedonia ("the Skopje Republic") must find another name for itself. Applying this term to the nineteenth century is wholly anachronistic, but does have the virtue of unambiguously specifying Macedonian particularism from pro-Greek, pro-Bulgarian or pro-Serbian varieties of Macedonian nationalism.

Taking "Macedonia" as a center of Slavic nationalism poses a methodological problem: in the final years of Ottoman rule, Macedonia hosted competing Slavic movements. The most important of these were Macedonian Particularism, the basis of what today is sometimes known as FYROM nationalism, and Bulgarianism. Some Macedonian Slavs saw themselves as both Macedonians and Bulgarians, others saw Macedonian and Bulgarian loyalties as mutually exclusive. Important figures, including Goce Delcev, have been retroactively claimed as partisans for both the Bulgarian and Macedonian movements. Several Sofia-based organizations took an interest in Macedonia, such as the *Makedonski Komitet* [Macedonian Committee] and the *Midata makedonska knizovna družina* [Literary Society of Macedonian Youth], which published the journal *Loza* [the Vine] in 1892. Sofia also hosted a Macedonian reading room and a Slavo-Macedonian bank (Perry 1988). Several Slavic organizations in Macedonia sent representatives to Sofia, whatever attitude they took toward the Macedonian-Bulgarian relationship, and several leading Macedonian patriots, including Delcev and Dame Gruev, studied in Bulgaria. Here, however, we may conflate Macedonian and Bulgarian

Figure 2 - Place of publication for "Bulgarian" books, 1823-1878



nationalism, since the main question is why any orientation of Slavic nationalism would appear in a non-Slavic city like Thessaloniki, instead of Skopje, Bitola or Veles, which had larger Slavic populations.

Thessaloniki, like Budapest, became the focus for Slavic nationalism in Macedonia because it, as Macedonia's largest city, was the most modern center of transport and communications. The economic centrality of Thessaloniki in pre-partition Macedonia is unmistakable: the city's advantageous location on the Aegean coast near the mouth of the Vardar River has made it an important port since antiquity. Magocsi (1993) says the city's population more than doubled between 1870 and 1910, from 80,000 to 174,000. Lampe (1982: 39, 309) claims that the 1910 population was only 130,000, but this still dwarfed Macedonia's largest Slavic town, Skopje (31,900 inhabitants). The city further benefitted when Thessaloniki became the hub of Macedonia's railway system. Service on the Thessaloniki – Priština line began in July 1872; by December 1874, this line extended to Mitrovica. In 1888 the Turkish army began constructing a direct rail link to Istanbul which opened for service in April 1896 (Hatzopoulos n. d.).

As in Budapest, improvements in transport were accompanied by industrial growth. According to Balkan economic historian Michael Palairt (1997: 350–352), Thessaloniki was “probably the strongest industrial concentration in the Balkans apart from that of Athens”. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Thessaloniki hosted around a third of Ottoman Macedonia's factories; Lampe (1982: 39, 308) estimated the volume of its trade as “perhaps half again the value of Istanbul's”. While unremarkable by international standards, Thessaloniki was easily the biggest fish in the small pond of Ottoman Macedonia.

Thessaloniki's importance as an economic and transportation center helped make it the most important center of Slavic cultural life in late-Ottoman Macedonia, despite the city's non-Slavic population. Hadzi-Teodosij Sinaitski opened Macedonia's first Slavic press in 1838, though in 1841 he lost all his equipment in a fire. (Kiril Pejčinovič provided funds to reopen the press, which was then destroyed in another fire.) Sinaitski printed a variety of church books, and a Slavic-Greek-Turkish dictionary. Interestingly, Slavic publishing in Thessaloniki predated Greek publishing, probably because Greek materials could be so easily imported by sea.

Thessaloniki also hosted an important center of Slavic education, the Exarchist gymnasium “Cyril and Methodius”. Mercia MacDermott (1972: 149) referred to the members of Macedonian nationalist organizations as “the Salonika *alumni*,” and the analogy is apt: most had first come to the city for their studies. Several faculty from the Exarchist Gymnasium were active in patriotic agitation. The chemistry teacher, Ivan Garvanov, founded two Slavic organizations in 1897. The *Blagodetelno bratstvo* [Brotherhood of Charity] discouraged Macedonian Slavs from sending their children to Serbian schools; Perry (1988: 89) described its

financial backers as “wealthy and influential Slavs, particularly merchants, in Salonika,” suggesting that in Thessaloniki as in Budapest, rich merchant benefactors were more important to Slavic national organizations than purely Slavic surroundings. Garvanov also founded a more radical organization, the *Revoljucionno bratstvo* [Revolutionary Brotherhood], which published the newspaper *Borba* [Struggle].

The most important Slavic nationalist organization in Macedonia, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, IMRO, had similar origins.⁹ On 23 October, 1893, while strolling on the quay, Damjan Gruev, then working for a Thessaloniki bookseller, and Andon Dimitrov, a teacher at the Exarchist Gymnasium, encountered Ivan Hadži Nikolov, another teacher. The three of them fell into discussion and decided to form a revolutionary organization. Since three did not feel sufficiently numerous for such a momentous undertaking, three additional patriots were present when IMRO was officially founded on 1 November: two teachers and a doctor. Even if other towns in Macedonia could have produced four teachers, a doctor, and a bookseller, these disparate elements in fact first came together in Thessaloniki.

A majority of IMRO’s founders were teachers at the Exarchate Gymnasium, which Perry (1988: 147) described as “a hotbed of revolutionary activity for MRO activists.” Several members were recruited in classrooms. IMRO also recruited in Macedonian villages, and eventually became a mass movement in the Slavic ethnoterritory. It merged with Garvanov’s *Revoljucionno bratstvo* in October 1900, by which time IMRO had become the dominant organization in Macedonia. IMRO’s first congress took place in Resen in 1892, but its 1896 and 1903 congresses took place in Thessaloniki (the latter in the chemistry laboratory of the Exarchist boys’ school). Thessaloniki remained the most important base, which may explain IMRO’s 1902 demand that “from the present vilayets of Thessaloniki, Bitola and Skopje a new region shall be formed *with Thessaloniki at its center*” (emphasis added, see Božinov 1978: 476).

A final Slavic nationalist organization operating in Thessaloniki was the *Gemidžii* [Boatman]. The *Gemidžii* were anarchists, and hoped to incite great-power intervention in the Balkans by making terrorist attacks against foreign targets. They originally planned actions in several Ottoman cities, including Istanbul, but their logistical capacity eventually constrained them to Thessaloniki.

⁹ This organization lacked a fixed name, and its various members referred to it at various times as the *Makedonski centralen revoljucionen komitet*, the *Makedonski revoljucionen komitet*, the *Makedonska revoljucionna organizacija*, the *Balgarsko-Makedonsko-Odrinska revoljucionna organizacija*, the *Taina makedonsko-Odrinska revoljucionna, Vätreshnata organizacija*, and, as simply *Organizacijata*. While Perry refers to the organization as “MRO”, I follow the majority of Anglophone scholars by speaking of IMRO (Perry 1988: 40 f.).

On 28 April 1903, Pavel Čatev sank the French ship *Guadalquivir* with a bomb, while Dimitri Mečev and Milan Arsov (the latter a student at the Exarchist Gymnasium) attacked railroad lines. The next night, other members attacked the city's gas lights, destroyed the Ottoman bank, and threw bombs at an open-air theater, a café and two hotels (Lange-Akhund 1998: 121 f., Perry 1988: 100). By making Thessaloniki their prime target, the *Gemidžii* emphasized the city's centrality to Macedonian Slavs.

Slavic nationalism in Macedonia underscores the importance of educational institutions in the early phases of a nationalist movement, a fact which was not lost on contemporaries. In a much-cited comment, the Vali of Thessaloniki famously blamed the 1903 Ilinden uprising on Slavic education (Brailsford 1906: 42):

It is all the fault of these Bulgarian schools. In these nests of vice the sons of peasants are maintained for a number of years in idleness and luxury. Indeed, they actually sleep in beds. And then they go back to their villages. There are no beds in their fathers' cottages, and these young gentlemen are much too fine to sleep on the floor. They try the life for a little, and then they go off and join the revolutionary bands.

Similar attitudes explain Hungarian reluctance to permit Slavic schools in Hungary. The post-Ausgleich statute on Hungary's national minorities, the infamous "Nationalities Law" of 1868, had explicitly endorsed education in minority languages. Nevertheless, Hungarian became the obligatory language of instruction in Hungarian People's schools, Middle schools, and finally in kindergartens (in 1879, 1883, and 1891, respectively; see Katus 1980: 479). Károly Khuen-Héderváry justified these steps as follows (see Sugar 1970: 50):

From the national point of view it is undesirable under all circumstances to permit the establishment of schools that are purely ethnic in character. This is especially the case in the northwestern Slovak counties, which are in any case the hotbed of Pan-Slavism.

Hungarian and Turkish elites were hostile to Slavic educational institutions because they saw Slavic education as a potential threat; Thessaloniki's Exarchist Gymnasium suggests that this fear was at least partly justified.

Nevertheless, Macedonia's Slavs showed considerable interest in reaching out to non-Slavs in Macedonia, much like Budapest's Slovaks with their Hungaro-Slavic concept of a multi-ethnic Hungary. This may be surprising, given that the last decades of Ottoman rule were filled with violent conflict, while the last de-

acades of Habsburg rule in Hungary were mostly peaceful.¹⁰ Nevertheless, on September 1902, the paper *Reformi* [Reforms] published an essay proclaiming that “some non-Bulgarian and non-Slav elements already form part of the revolutionary organization. This is a reassuring fact for the present and a good omen for the future.” This multi-ethnicism was limited, since the same article claimed for Slavs the right to form a state: “Macedonia has one element, which, in its numbers and culture, is in a position to maintain one government. This is undoubtedly the Bulgarian element.” Nevertheless, *Reformi* described members of other language groups as “sons of one and the same land” (Bozinov 1976: 476).

Slavic nationalists even emphasized multi-ethnic themes during the Ilinden uprising. In the town of Kruševo, where the insurgents founded a brief “Republic,” IMRO issued the following proclamation (see Krapfl 1996):

Dear neighbors, Turks, Albanians, Moslems, we understand your belief that the Turkish Empire is your empire and that you are not slaves since your flag bears a moon and not a cross. You will soon find that this is not so and that we are fighting, and will continue to fight, for you. [...] If you treat us as your brothers, and if you wish us well, if you think you can live with us, and if you are worthy sons of Mother Macedonia, you can help us by not combining with the enemy and fighting against us.

Such multi-ethnic rhetoric attracted some support from non-Slavic groups: several non-Slavs took up arms for IMRO, mostly Vlachs, and some Thessaloniki Jews donated money. Even a few Turks assisted the organization; Perry (1988: 137, 175) noted that IMRO’s Turkish supporters “curiously [...] were most often members of the gendarmerie”.

Krste Misirkov, author of an important book articulating a Macedonian-particularist and non-Bulgarian national concept, also promoted a poly-ethnic Macedonia under Ottoman rule. Fearing Macedonia’s partition between Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, Misirkov (1974: 29 f.) pledged that Macedonia’s Slavs:

are bound to remain loyal subjects of His Imperial Excellency the Sultan. But in so doing we shall demand from his administration, and continue to demand, a number of reforms to secure the main interests of our national and cultural development. I feel that we should be loyal to the Turks, but with the understanding that [...] the Turks should first evince a true desire to maintain peaceful relations with us, so they might earn our support for their interests.

¹⁰ The main exception to this rule was the “Černová massacre”, in which police shot 15 Slovaks protesting the Magyarization of a Church. While a major scandal in Hungary, this death toll was not dramatic by contemporary Balkan standards.

Misirkov was unable to imagine an independent Slavic state in Macedonia, so he sought the assistance of the Ottoman government in cultivating a unique Slavic culture. He wanted the Sultan, for example, to establish a new Macedonian Orthodox Church. Presumably the new Patriarch would have had his seat in Thessaloniki.

In conclusion, both Budapest and Thessaloniki hosted important centers of Slavic nationalism. Both cities contained important educational institutions and a tradition of Slavic book production, and Slavic nationalists chose to found political organizations in close physical proximity to this cultural infrastructure. This cultural infrastructure depended on modern transport and communications. In both cities, national organizations were founded in roughly the same decade as railroads, and this is not a coincidence: modern transport is a prerequisite for the development of nationalism. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, neither Hungary nor Macedonia had an efficient infrastructure for communication and transport, but as they developed, so did nationalist education and political agitation. Since these networks, when eventually constructed, were focused on non-Slavic cities, non-Slavic cities became the focus of Slavic nationalism.

Neither Budapest nor Thessaloniki remained a stronghold of Slavic nationalism. Just as the Matica Srpska relocated to Novi Sad and the Slovaks moved to Martin, IMRO also abandoned Thessaloniki: while it held two of its three first congresses in the city where it was founded, its 8 subsequent congresses took place in Slavic cities (Georgievski 2, n.d.). Slavic nationalist organizations shifted to Slavic ethnoterritories as railroads, and subsequently roads and radio, spread throughout Macedonia and Slovakia. Yet in an important initial phase, Slavic nationalists operated in non-Slavic cities because they provided essential infrastructures of communication, transport, and education.

During this initial stage in which the Slavic national movement had its main base in a non-Slavic urban environment, both Slovak and Macedonian nationalism contained a significant theme of poly-ethnic ("civic") nationalism. Perhaps concern for good relations with other nationalities derived from the non-national environment. Slavs in a non-Slavic city may have felt too weak to claim the territory for themselves alone, and thus rejected mono-ethnic nationalism. This phenomenon did not prove enduring in either Macedonia or Slovakia, but the decline of poly-ethnic themes coincides with the transfer of national organizations to Slavic surroundings. Further comparative research would be necessary to link poly-ethnicism to an urban environment, but the phenomenon does deserve further attention, if only because many nationalism theorists deny its very existence. Ernst Gellner's theory of "classical Habsburg (and points east) form of nationalism," discussed abstractly as the emergence of "Ruritanian" nationalism in "the Empire of Megalomania," offers only two options: "assimilation into Megalomanian

language or culture, or the establishment of a glorious independent Ruritania” (Gellner 1983: 97, 69). Nationalism theory must make a space for cultural coexistence, even if Macedonians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Slovaks did eventually found “glorious independent Ruritania”.

This story offers two important lessons for the historiography of East European nationalism. The first is that a small national movement, in its early phase, will probably take place in a large city, since centers of transport, communication, and education are first constructed there. Since nationalist rhetoric tends to emphasize the purity of peasant culture, the location of early national activity often seems surprising. I suggest, however, that scholars should *expect* Welsh patriots to first gather in London, Latvian and Lithuanians in Petersburg, Basques in Paris and Madrid, etc.

Finally, this story shows that a complete history of a great city in the age of nationalism must encompass multiple national stories. Great cities are multi-ethnic by nature, and become important sites in the construction of nationalist mythologies. While the processes of modernization and nationalism usually leave one or another ethnic group in a dominant position, awareness that multiple national groups have operated in the same urban environment enriches the historical legacy of Europe’s great cities.

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Abstract

Nationalism depends on the spread of urbanization and, as Karl Deutsch noted, improved communication networks. This means that nationalist organizations tended to appear in cities, even cities dominated by another ethnic group. Budapest, a German-Hungarian town, hosted several Slavic national organizations, including the Serbian Tekelium and the Matica Srpska. Slovaks furthermore tried to found the Pan-Slavic Matica Slovanských Národov v Uhersku.

Thessaloniki, a Jewish-Turkish-Greek town, hosted several Slavic Revolutionary organizations, notably IMRO, the Revolutionary Brotherhood and the so-called "Boatmen", an anarchist terrorist organization. This Slavic agitation ultimately derived from educational institutions: the University of Buda and the Exarchate Boys' Gymnasium in Thessaloniki. The non-Slavic urban environment, however, led these early nationalist movements to emphasize inter-ethnic cooperation. Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, patriots sought to claim multi-ethnic cities for their own group, but Slavic nationalists in Budapest and Thessaloniki emphasized multi-ethnic themes which are often-overlooked within Balkan and East-European nationalism.

