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Whose Heritage? Examples of Contested and Shared Cultures of Remembrance and Heritage Questions in the Multicultural Formerly Habsburg Cities of Rijeka and Maribor

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To whom do material and immaterial heritage belong? Can remembrance cultures be inclusive instead of cancelling each other out? This article explores possible answers to these questions in two historically multicultural cities, Rijeka/Fiume/Reka and Maribor/Marburg, in relation to their heritage of the Late Habsburg period. Drawing on original sources and recent literature in various languages, public attempts at narrating the Habsburg past through exhibitions, monuments and the like are examined.

▪ Keywords: remembrance cultures, contested heritage, shared heritage, Rijeka, Maribor

Komu pripadata materialna in nesnovna dediščina? Ali so lahko kulture spominjanja vključujoče, namesto da se medsebojno izključujejo? Članek obravnava možne odgovore na ti vprašanji v dveh zgodovinsko multikulturnih mestih – Reki/Rijeki/Fiume in Mariboru/Marburgu – v povezavi z njuno dediščino poznega habsburškega obdobja. Na podlagi izvirnih virov in sodobne literature v več jezikih analizira javne poskuse pripovedovanja habsburške preteklosti prek razstav, spomenikov in podobnih praks.

▪ Ključne besede: kulture spominjanja, sporna dediščina, skupna dediščina, Reka, Maribor

Introduction

Interest in researching the way certain historical periods are remembered in the post-Yugoslav space has increased in recent years, as a growing number of academic publications also demonstrates. Much of the focus is – understandably – directed at exploring the way contemporary societies remember the Yugoslav era and the wars of the 1990s (Höpken, 2007;[1] Kuljić, 2010). Other works place World War Two and its direct outcomes in their centre of attention, while yet others try to present more multifaceted narratives of hitherto – and still – hotly debated subjects (Pavlaković, 2008, 2010, 2020), including Socialism[2] and various forms of totalitarianism.[3]

[1] Höpken only reflects on Croatia ("Culture of remembrance between the creation of national identity, the 'burden of the double past' and the discourse of guilt"), Serbia ("From nationalist euphoria to 'memory chaos'") and Bosnia and Herzegovina ("A state without memory") in his study. It would be interesting to see how he describes the dominant historiographies and cultures of remembrance in the other former Yugoslav republics.

[2] Examples include the series of biannual conferences Socialism on the Bench at Juraj Dobrila University in Pula, which has been ongoing since 2013 as well as projects exploring cultures of remembrance around the material heritage of Socialist Yugoslavia: Finding Tito, a database of street names bearing Tito's name in the former Yugoslav republics (https://giorgiocomai.eu/findingtito/); Spomenik Database: An exploration of Yugoslavia's historic and enigmatic endeavor into abstract anti-fascist WWII monument building between 1960 and 1990 (https://www.spomenikdatabase.org/).

[3] The transregional and international ERC research project based in Prague, Memory and Populism from Below (MEMPOP; https://www.mempop.org/) explores this topic in relation to various local settings.

Comparably less attention has been paid to the remembrance cultures concerning an era preceding both of these periods, one that was nonetheless very influential and lasted for a relatively long time. Due to vastly differing perceptions even today, remembrance of the Late Habsburg period, the era of the Dual Monarchy between 1867 and 1918, is either shunned or glorified. Erasing or ignoring certain layers from the past has resulted in skewed and fragmented views of history, as Wolfgang Höpken (Höpken, 2007) argues. The same can be said for material and immaterial heritage: recognizing it as shared heritage or as elements of rival heritages often depends on the viewpoints of the people. Is it possible to overcome these divides and collectively embrace certain things as shared heritage in the post-Habsburg realm?

This article focuses on the remembrance cultures and practices as well as on questions of immaterial – and to a lesser degree, material – heritage in two cities that were multicultural regional centres in the Late Habsburg Empire: Rijeka/Fiume/Reka and Maribor/Marburg (an der Drau). Both Rijeka and Maribor held tenures as European Capitals of Culture in the recent past: Maribor in 2012 and Rijeka in 2020/2021. This offered an opportunity for increased reflection on their multifaceted historical heritage and sparked renewed academic interest, while undoubtedly also inspiring future projects relating to exploring the cultural heritage in each city.[4] That becoming the European Capital of Culture can act as a catalyst for weaving various traditions together and thereby creating a common city space has been shown on the example of Nova Gorica and Gorizia by Jaro Veselinovič and Miha Kozorog (Veselinovič, Kozorog, 2022). Diversity in past and present has also been a central element in some of the other European Capitals of Culture located in Central Europe in recent years, featuring most notably in Timişoara/Temesvár/Temeswar/Temišvar (2023) and Novi Sad/Újvidék/Neusatz/Nový Sad (2022).

Historiographies of Rijeka and Maribor

The historiography of both cities with ethnically-linguistically-religiously mixed populations[5] in relation to their Late Habsburg past has not been without controversies and has contributed to cementing already existing historical stereotypes and tropes,

[4] For example, the German-language journal *Spiegelungen: Zeitschrift für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas* has been following the European Capitals of Culture in Central and Southeastern Europe since 2020, through publishing academic articles and feature articles in German and in English. These are also available on the website of the journal: https://spiegelungen.net/. The journal *Zibaldone: Zeitschrift für italienische Kultur der Gegenwart* dedicated a volume to Rijeka/Fiume in 2019 (http://www.stauffenburg.de/asp/books.asp?id=1476).

[5] In purely statistical terms, the diversity of various cultures, ethnic groups and languages represented in Rijeka was much greater than that in Maribor. However, as it is argued in this article, not only was the diversity in Maribor and its surroundings in fact greater than including only Slovenes and Germans, but there were also numerous institutions, individuals and initiatives that aimed at recognizing and embracing this cultural diversity, while simultaneously promoting a peaceful coexistence.

while interpreting historical developments through the narrow lens of nationally or ideologically framed perspectives. Thus, much has been written either from the exclusive perspective of one group (such as the history of Rijeka from a Croatian point of view) or at most from a binary viewpoint (presenting the entire history of Late Habsburg Maribor as a continuous struggle between Germans and Slovenes with no other groups seemingly present in the city). The fact that archival sources from both cities are scattered and kept in several different locations in various countries, at diverse institutions and are preserved in various languages and alphabets, makes research on the multifaceted history of Rijeka and Maribor even more challenging than usual and has thus acted as a deterrent for historians from exploring the diversity of written sources. This situation propelled the author of this article to produce a monograph on the various identity constructions represented in both cities during the Late Habsburg period (Ilić, 2024), in which all available sources were consulted in order to present as much of a complete picture as possible.[6] Rijeka and Maribor were selected for this project because they were both regional centres with a diverse population and were located in different halves of the Dual Monarchy and on national or cultural-linguistic borders, with different legal frameworks and political traditions.

The dominant historiographies vary widely in different languages and within different national boundaries, as Jure Krišto and Vinko Rajšp have shown, among others, on the examples of Croatian and Slovenian historiographies respectively (Rajšp, 1988; Krišto, 2001). Concerning Rijeka, it is important to recognize that the vast majority of historical works about the city display very strong political or ideological influences, especially with regard to historical phenomena from the First World War until the 1990s. This has been guided by national interests, as Borut Klabjan observes (Klabjan, 2011).

Apart from the Croatian-centred and Yugoslav-centred historiographies of the city, other perspectives of writing about Rijeka's past have flourished as well. The case of Italian exiles (*esuli*) who were put under pressure to emigrate after World War Two, when Rijeka was incorporated into the newly established Socialist Yugoslav state, is unusual, as a large group of them moved to Italy, where they established their own parallel city of Fiume called Libero Comune di Fiume (Free Commune of Fiume), itself a place of remembrance and a place where the memory of the former town was intensely cultivated, complete with a mayor and other governing structures. In addition, they moved the Società di Studi Fiumani (Society of Fiuman Studies), which had been founded in Rijeka in 1923, to Rome, along with a periodical which they have been publishing in Rome since 1953. The Società also has a museum and archives in Rome.[7] In this way, a parallel culture of remembrance was established in Italy and has

[6] In the case of Rijeka, sources in Croatian, English, the local Istro-Venetian dialect, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Serbian and Slovenian were consulted; in the case of Maribor, in Croatian, Czech, English, German, Hungarian, Latin, and Slovenian.

[7] More information at: https://www.fiume-rijeka.it.

been carefully cultivated since then – in recent years also increasingly in Rijeka itself, primarily through the Italian Community of Rijeka.

In the years leading up to World War One much of the political argumentation of pro-Italian politicians rested upon the concept of the *italianità* of Rijeka, claiming the predominantly Italian nature and the inherent belonging of the city and its inhabitants to the Italian cultural and linguistic circle – an argument made in history books and in political speeches as well as publications at the time, which has also influenced Italian-language historiographies ever since. A renaissance of interest in Rijeka in recent years has also been observable in Italy (see e.g. Stelli, 2017; Pupo, 2018).

Research has also been published with a focus on select historically present groups in the city, including Jews, Orthodox Christians (primarily Serbs), and Slovenians (see Toševa Karpowicz, 2002; Lukežić, 2007; Simper, 2018; Roksandić, Jovanović, 2020).

Rijeka's exotic look and climate made the city appear a colony by proxy in the Hungarian imagination and would eventually pave the way for othering, for justifying modernization, a civilizing mission, and an aggressive policy of Magyarization, all in an effort to make Rijeka more Hungarian. This nostalgy is made visible through a massive current wave of nostalgia, mostly imperially-coloured nostalgia, in Hungary concerning the city. Accordingly, much of currently produced literature in Hungarian focuses on presenting historical Rijeka as a Hungarian city from various perspectives (including T. Pelles, 2001; Skultéty, 2009; M. Pelles, Zsigmond, 2018; Juhász, 2020).

The historiography of Maribor has so far also been dominated by two nationally oriented approaches, which has led to the emergence of two almost completely separate traditions. Accordingly, most studies for several decades focused only on one specific ethnic group in the city. This was in the tradition of Yugoslav (and broader European) historiography, which was not only strongly ideologically influenced, but also – in line with political expectations and discourses – largely ignored and even concealed the history of the Germans or attempted to discredit their achievements. The emphasis was placed instead on researching the history of the Slovenes in the city and the surrounding area from various disciplinary perspectives. In this sense, Slovenian historians saw themselves as successors to the tradition of the [Slovenian] Historical Society (Zgodovinsko Društvo), which was founded in Maribor in 1903 and whose journal continued to be published in socialist Yugoslavia and up until today.

Only a few historians dared to write about German-Slovenian networks and mutual connections in the last decades of Yugoslavia, especially in the field of cultural history. Bruno Hartman was arguably the most influential and most prolific author among them (see e.g. Hartman, 1968, 1983, 1997, 2001, 2007). Another breach of convention was represented by selected works by Janez Cvirn, who researched the history of the Germans in Lower Styria and mutual perceptions between the German and Slovenian populations in the region. His book, *Trdnjavski Trikotnik* [*Triangle of Fortresses*] (Cvirn, 1997) was also published in German translation posthumously (Cvirn, 2016).

Outside of Yugoslavia, especially in Austria and Germany, a professionalization in the reappraisal of Maribor's history only began several decades after the end of the war, which was partly associated with a generational change. In addition to overviews, German-language publications focusing on interethnic tensions and struggles dominated – and still dominate today (see e.g. Rumpler, Suppan, 1988; Heppner, 2002; Moll, 2007). This also applies to the historiography of Lower Styria. These parallel developments have created a gap between German-language and Slovenian-language historiographies on Maribor, offering vastly differing perspectives.

The research landscape on Maribor has thus long been dominated by either monoperspectival or binarily focused works in the ethnic, linguistic, and religious sense, and the academic debates have also largely moved along this axis. The research literature on Maribor would therefore welcome more studies that consider the interethnic, intercultural and linguistic situation in the city not only from the perspective of the German and Slovenian sections of the population, but also from that of the numerically smaller but nonetheless present Czech, Croatian, Jewish etc. population groups.

The existence of city histories and of works dedicated to the cultural history of Maribor, including different perspectives, has been a welcome addition to literature. Maribor's tenure as European Capital of Culture in 2012 also provided an impetus for multiperspectival research into local history. The most significant results of this stage include the exhibition and accompanying volume *Germans and Maribor* (Ferlež, 2012), a concise history of the city (Griesser-Pečar, 2011), and an art history guide (Ciglenečki, 2012). In recent years, more examples of innovative and often multiperspectival research have been published (Almasy, 2014; Almasy et al., 2018; Jesenšek, 2020; Ferlež, Lipavic Oštir, 2024).

That forgetting or denying aspects of the past can not only negatively influence the present, but also the future, has been argued in a similar multicultural regional context (Hrobat Virloget, 2022). Based on that example, one should also consider that presenting something as shared heritage is different from presenting a series of heritages claimed by various groups and asserting that the sum of those individual claims makes up a shared heritage. Shared heritage means that stakeholders, regardless of their sense of belonging or self-identification, all regard something as theirs, without variations, caveats or opt-outs.

It is also important to remember that local, regional and hybrid forms of self-identification that curtailed people's interest in nationalist mobilization and allowed them "in-between spaces" for self-identifying resulted in delayed nation-building processes (Zahra, 2010; Judson, Zahra, 2012; Judson, 2016; van Ginderachter, Fox, 2019). This phenomenon, known as national indifference, was clearly recognizable in both Rijeka and Maribor, and was especially strong up to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Diversity in Habsburg Rijeka and Maribor

Both Rijeka and Maribor had a diverse linguistic landscape in the Late Habsburg period, but they differed significantly in terms of the composition and statistical proportions of the languages represented. While in Rijeka no single language had an absolute statistical majority, in Maribor the German language was clearly dominant both statistically and socially, and it was the most widely spoken colloquial language in the city. Rijeka's linguistic landscape was more diverse, with Italian, Croatian, and the local Fiuman dialect as the most widespread languages and language variants – in addition to Slovenian, German and increasingly also Hungarian as further languages used by larger segments of the population.

Language[8]	**Rijeka 1880 Proportion**	**Rijeka 1910 Proportion**	**Maribor 1880 Proportion**[9]	**Maribor 1910 Proportion**
Italian	42.25 %	48.70 %	0.26 %	--
Croatian	36.55 %[10]	25.90 %	0.05 %	--
Hungarian	1.75 %	13 %	--	--
Slovenian	10.01 %	4.70 %	15.11 %	13.60 %
German	4.10 %	4.67 %	84.04 %	81 %
Other languages	1.25 %	1.50 %		5.40 %[11]
Serbian	Included in Croatian	0.85 %	Included in Croatian	--
Slovak, Romanian and Ruthenian	0.09 %	0.68 %	0.50 %[12]	--
Polish	--	--	0.04 %	--
Cannot speak[13]	4.00 %	--	--	
Total	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**	**100 %**
Total population in numbers	**20.981**	**49.806**	**16.084**	**27.994**

Table 1: The Population in Rijeka and Maribor according to Mother Tongue / Language of Everyday Use, 1880–1910.[14]

[8] In the Austrian half of the empire "colloquial language" or language of everyday use, in the Hungarian half of the empire "mother tongue".

[9] The altogether 1,604 soldiers in Maribor, 654 of whom were of Hungarian mother tongue, were not included in this number.

[10] Croatian and Serbian together.

[11] Apart from "German", "Slovenian", and "other languages", no other categories were presented in 1910.

[12] In Maribor also Bohemian and Moravian were subsumed under this category.

[13] People who were not physically able to speak due to illness or disability.

[14] The data presented in tables 1 and 2 is based on the population census results in both parts of the Dual Monarchy between 1880 and 1910.

The statistical data from the censuses – although very helpful – only provide fragmentary and sometimes unreliable information. The Fiuman dialect,[15] which was widespread in Rijeka and functioned as the lingua franca in large segments of the population, did not appear at all in the official statistics. Neither did the local dialect spoken by Maribor's Germans (see Križman, 2002; Lipavic Oštir, 2012). Since the censuses in the Austrian half of the empire asked about the vernacular language (the language of everyday use), it can be assumed that numerous Slovenian native speakers who worked in Maribor and used German in everyday life also named this language as their vernacular. Also, the language(s) spoken by Roma in either city are absent from census results.

In both cities, there were languages that carried social capital – or were perceived as such – and gave their speakers the prospect of higher education or better job opportunities and thus social advancement. These were Hungarian and Italian in the case of Rijeka, and German in the case of Maribor. Different practices and dynamics of multilingualism could also be observed in both cities.

The prevalence of multilingualism – which in part had the effect that people did not identify with just one language or cultural realm – was undoubtedly one of the reasons why Rijeka's population largely rejected attempts at national self-identification and mobilization until the turn of the century. The various manifestations of such an "in-between" state, observable also in various parts of the Alps-Adriatic region, has been described with concepts including pluriculturalism, hybridity, indifference, and polyphony. Fikfak and Schönberger have also integrated the concept of Eigensinn in their study of historical ethnography in late Habsburg Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste, in order to understand the dynamics and practices of such coexistence, focusing on issues of language, networks, and mobility (Fikfak, Schönberger, 2024).

While in Rijeka the battle between the languages was for a relative majority, in Maribor there was a clear majority-minority relationship between the two most widely spoken languages. In Maribor, knowledge of German was an important social capital and German-language self-identification in the censuses and in other situations was (although not in all cases) a matter of choice. However, a purely binary language situation did not exist in Maribor, although over time the other languages represented in the city were taken into account less and less, even by the statistical data collections.

Language struggles were most evident in the field of education. In Rijeka, as in Maribor, the local school system became the focal point of language and nationality politics. In Rijeka, strong Magyarization tendencies from above, primarily through

[15] One group that does not appear in the statistics at all was that of the Fiumans: a strong local identity that could be defined not ethnically, but in terms of local patriotism and language through the Fiuman dialect (*il dialetto fiumano*), the true lingua franca of the population, a variant of Italian with elements of the Venetian language and the local Croatian dialect (*sjevernočakavski*), with the occasional use of Croatianized German words.

compulsory Hungarian lessons and the increasing use of Hungarian as the language of instruction, did not bring the desired success: around 1910, some 90 percent of non-Hungarian native speakers in the city still did not speak Hungarian (A Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai hivatal, 1916).

In Maribor, there was also a struggle over the language of instruction at local schools, which aimed to oust Slovenian from the schools in Maribor. For this reason, systematic Germanization was carried out. The ban on the Slovenian language as the language of instruction, which was in force at Maribor schools between 1869 and 1889, triggered resistance among the Slovenian population and served as an important impetus for national mobilization.

The population was not only diverse in terms of language and nationality, but also in a religious sense: In both cities, several Christian denominations were represented, together with a growing Jewish community in Rijeka. Several of these communities had their own places of remembrance, around which elaborate traditions and cultures of remembrance developed. These included the Marian shrine in Trsat, just outside of Rijeka, and the person and legacy of Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek (1800-1862) in Maribor, who had moved the bishop's seat of the Diocese of Lavant to the city in 1859 and became a pivotal figure for Slovenian-speaking Catholics in the region.

Religious Affiliation	**Rijeka 1880**	**Rijeka 1910**	**Rijeka: Changes 1880 – 1910**	**Maribor 1880**	**Maribor 1910**	**Maribor: Changes 1880 – 1910**
Roman Catholic	98.24 %	90.6 %	↓7.66 %	98.10 %	95.22 %	↓2.88 %
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	0.14 %	0.95 %	↑680 %	---	---	
Eastern Orthodox	0.18 %	2 %	↑1.110 %	---	---	
Lutheran	0.44 %	0.6 %	Protestants altogether: ↑308 %	1.18 %	4.36 %	Protestants altogether: ↑360 %
Reformed (Calvinist)	0.50 %	2.3 %		0.3 %	---	
Other Christians	0.04 %	--	--	0.22 %	0.18 %	↓3.96 %
Jews	0.42 %	3.4 %	↑800 %	0.2 %	0.24 %	↑20 %
Unknown	0.04 %	0.15 %	↑375 %	---	---	
Total:	100 %	100 %	--	100 %	100 %	--

Table 2: Changes in the Population in Rijeka and Maribor according to Religious Affiliation, 1880–1910.

The decades immediately preceding and following the turn of the century signalled an important turning point in both cities. In the political realm, but also in public life, an increasing pillarization was taking place, creating an ever-growing chasm between representatives of various languages and nationalities as well as confessions.

The increasing differences were observable not only as deepening confessional divides, but also diverging political opinions within Catholicism, with the emergence of liberal vs. conservative branches. Within the Protestant churches, national/linguistic chasms were growing, ultimately leading to conflict in some cases, especially in Maribor where the Lutheran congregation embraced the Los von Rom movement, which aimed at converting people not only to Protestantism but also to members of the German linguistic/cultural circle.

Bridge-builders in Rijeka and Maribor

In spite of the growing animosity and separation, bridge-builders and cultural mediators remained active in both cities. In Rijeka, multilingual newspapers continued to be published and some were even launched in the first decade of the 20th century. The biologist, journalist, publicist and translator Viktor Garády (1857-1932) was a central figure in the local press, editing Hungarian-Italian newspapers, publishing fiction in Italian, and translating Hungarian theatre plays into Italian.

Some of the local associations also acted as bridge-builders. By the outbreak of World War One, one of the only associations in Maribor that still had both German and Slovenian members was the Philharmonic Society. The Filodrammatica in Rijeka fulfilled a similar function in that it united people of various ethnic/linguistic backgrounds through their appreciation of classical music.

The well-known grammar school teacher Rudolf Gustav Puff (1808-1865), a promoter of the Slovenian language and culture in Maribor, left numerous immaterial traces behind: he published the first city history of Maribor, poems, folk tales and stories from the Styrian cultural heritage, while also writing guides to various locations in Styria. A native German speaker, he learned Slovenian and is buried in Maribor. The city made him an honorary citizen already during his lifetime, in 1846. In addition to the increasingly German-oriented Evangelical-Lutheran parish, there were also other representatives of Protestantism present in Maribor. Anton/Antonín Chráska (1868-1953), a neo-Protestant missionary, author, Bible translator, poet and theologian from Horní Radechová in Bohemia, lived in Maribor for a short time. He was active in the areas inhabited by Slovenians for almost 26 years between 1896 and 1922, with only a brief interruption. In 1908, Chráska published his translation of the New Testament into Slovenian, followed by a translation of the entire Bible in 1914. He was inspired by Primus Truber's (1508-1586) Reformation movement in the 16th century, which Chráska

now tried to renew among the Slovenians. He therefore advocated the founding of a Slovenian(-speaking) Protestant church. He also edited the Christian magazine *Blagovestnik* [The Evangelist] and published numerous popular theological works in Slovenian. Not only because of his Bible translation did he have to face criticism and explicit bans from Catholic priests; the Lavantine diocese even forbade the reading of the Christian popular literature published by Chráska.

The reactions of German-speaking Protestants in Carniola and Lower Styria were hardly more positive: After Chráska was allowed to preach in Slovenian in the (German-speaking) Protestant parish in Ljubljana on 22 October 1899, the outrage in the German-speaking community was so great that its repercussions got not only Chráska, but even the local pastor, Hans Jaquemar (1864-1953), into trouble with the authorities.

Chráska was eventually withdrawn from his missionary society to České Budějovice. Nevertheless, he maintained lively contact with numerous Slovenians before resuming regular visits to the Slovenian lands a few years later. His experiences demonstrate the effects of increasing pillarization in Maribor, which also affected the religious sphere. On the one hand, the exclusive self-identification of Protestantism with the German language and culture up to the turn of the century had led to the Protestant faith being understood (not only) in Maribor as an exclusively German phenomenon – both within and outside of the community. At the same time, the predominantly Slovenian-speaking Roman Catholic diocese of Lavant strictly rejected Chráska's Slovenian-language literature and activities for fear of Protestant influence.

The retelling of these stories about bridge-builders could be a strategic part of recognizing shared heritage, yet exactly these stories have been neglected by nationally oriented historiographies – precisely because they may be perceived as threatening to the still dominant national narratives.

Remembering the Habsburg past in Rijeka

How have various cultures of remembrance been making themselves visible in Rijeka in recent years? What follows is a selection of attempts at creating or reviving contested and shared cultures of remembrance in the city.

The city – the actual city but also the imagined one – can be understood as a *lieu de mémoire* in the sense of Pierre Nora's use of the term (Nora, 1984–1992). In contrast, it is difficult to talk about a collective memory in the sense of Aleida and Jan Assmann (Assmann, 2006: 70), i.e. about "the tradition within us, the texts, images and rites that have been hardened over generations, over centuries, sometimes even millennia of repetition, which shape our consciousness of time and history, our self-image and world view". The cultures of remembrance relating to Rijeka are numerous, divergent, sometimes highly fragmented, and they compete with each other. In connection with

the Habsburg legacy, also the legacy of imperialism (at times even with overtones of colonial ambitions) is being discussed increasingly – an area where questions about power and inequalities raised by critical heritage studies may be very helpful (see e.g. Harrison et al., 2023) in terms of how they shape remembering.

As already demonstrated, the current cultures of remembrance in Hungary carry imperial and at times even colonial overtones, claiming Fiume to have a history as a Hungarian city. In the socialist Hungarian state, Fiume (as the city was called in Hungarian) was almost completely forgotten, even though enough Hungarians remained in the city in the interwar period, after Hungarian rule had ended, to establish a Hungarian Casino. By World War Two, however, hardly any of them remained in the city. It was only at the turn of the millennium, as Hungarian tourists once again set their sights on the Croatian coast, that interest in the city was reawakened. However, this is not an isolated case, as growing interest in all of the formerly Hungarian territories can be observed in the Hungarian public in general.

Accordingly, the Hungarian rule during the Dual Monarchy is perceived in Hungary as the heyday of the city, while the situation after the First World War symbolizes its opposite pole: tragedy, decline and loss. The most important elements of the Hungarian material cultural heritage are therefore the Habsburg-era architectural traces in the city, which include countless important buildings.

Fiume also lives on in the virtual world as a Hungarian place of remembrance. Among others, the Hungarian Association of Friends of Fiume (Fiume Barátai Egyesület), founded in 2016, has set itself the goal of popularizing "historical and cultural heritage tourism". According to their vision statement, Rijeka is "the common heritage of three nations, Hungarian, Croatian, and Italian. Yet for us Hungarians, the preservation of Hungarian memories is our priority" (Fiume Barátai Egyesület, 2025). The association is not the only one that wants to forge capital from Rijeka as a place of remembrance: Organized trips for Hungarian tourists are currently flourishing. In addition to an increased official Hungarian presence through a Hungarian consulate, a Hungarian Language Lectureship at the University of Rijeka has been opened. The latter has been playing an important role in mediating at cultural events for a broad public,[16] thereby moving in line with Hungary's increased emphasis on cultural diplomacy.

The intangible Hungarian cultural heritage includes literary productions associated with the city. Personalities connected to Rijeka are also known to the public, even if they were usually only born there or spent their childhood in the city. These include the German-speaking writer Ödön von Horváth (1901-1938), who has been perceived by many in Hungary as Hungarian because of his father and his citizenship; the long-time General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, János Kádár (1912-1989),

[16] The Lectureship was involved in organizing an exhibition on the historical tram line in Rijeka, which was presented in Hungarian, Croatian, and English and opened in November 2024, first in the city center, then on the university campus.

and the journalist and political dissident Miklós Vásárhelyi (1917-2001). The latter is possibly the only Hungarian who is also perceived as a positive figure and bridge-builder by the local Italian culture of remembrance.

The material heritage of the city's once thriving Jewish community has been largely destroyed: The synagogue (*tempio*), designed in 1903 by the renowned Hungarian Jewish architect, Leopold/Lipót Baumhorn (1860-1932) stands no more, most of the city's Jewish inhabitants perished in the Holocaust or emigrated to countries all around the world. Most material signs of the presence of Jews have also disappeared, except for the Orthodox synagogue, which was first built in 1930. Jewish identity in the town was particularly fragmented, as is to be expected in diaspora communities. Among the Jews in Rijeka there were Hungarian-, Italian-, German-, Ivrit- and Italian-speaking Jews. The German-speaking Jews came mainly from Croatia, but also from other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy. The number of Hungarian speakers grew through immigration, especially from eastern Hungary; by 1900 they already made up almost two thirds of the membership in the Jewish community. The official language of the Jewish community was Italian; rites were held in Italian and Hungarian, but many members were multilingual.

Due to the fragmentation and destruction, remembrance of Rijeka's Jewish inhabitants and of their heritage has been relocated primarily into the virtual realm: to websites, online databases and other initiatives that not only aim to present the history of the Jewish community and personal stories but also to create a worldwide community.[17] However, there have also been exhibitions in the city, most notably *Od emancipacije do holokausta: Židovi u Rijeci i Opatiji, 1867.–1945* [From Emancipation to the Holocaust: Jews in Rijeka and Opatija, 1867–1945], held at the Museum of the City of Rijeka in 2013 (Simper, 2013). The increased interest in including Jewish history in collective memory is also evidenced by a growing number of publications on Jewish history (Lukežić, 1998, 2001, 2018; Brumini, 2018).

Although the centre of Italian remembrance culture and the preservation of the material heritage of Rijeka's Italian community was relocated physically to Rome for several decades and the narratives of exile were cultivated in a rival Rijeka in Rome, in recent years more and more discussion of the city's Italian heritage has been taking place on location. This has been visible through the renaming of streets and public squares in recent times and drawing attention to Italian aspects of Rijeka's culture and history through the organization of academic conferences and popular events, primarily by the city's Italian community.

[17] These include the section *Ebrei a Fiume e Abbazia* [Jews in Rijeka and Opatija], hosted on the website of the Museum of the Jewish People, with historical information and a list of select Jewish families at https://spotlight.anumuseum.org.il/fiume/; the full transcription of the inscriptions on more than 110 Jewish graves at the Kozala cemetery in Rijeka at https://der-transkribierer.at/?s=Fiume; information on the Jewish cemetery in Rijeka on the website of the Jewish community in Rijeka at http://www.jc-rijeka.eu/povijest.aspx?jezik=en.

Illustration 1: Street sign in Rijeka, erected during the city's tenure as European Capital of Culture in 2020/2021 and reflecting some of the historical diversity present in the city. Via del Tempio (later Calle del Tempio) referred to the first synagogue that was built in Rijeka and stood in this street. After World War Two, it bore the name of the medieval Italian writer Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), before being named after the Slovenian author Janez Trdina (1830-1905), who lived in Rijeka from 1855 until 1867, teaching at the local grammar school. The sign also showcases some of the official languages used in Rijeka in the past (Photo: Angela Ilić).

The dominant Italian culture of remembrance includes – similarly to the Hungarian one – aspects of a romanticized place of longing, while for others Rijeka is associated with memories of war, persecution and flight. The Italian culture of remembrance was naturally strongly influenced by the perception of the tragic history of the Italian minority in Rijeka and Yugoslavia, especially after the Second World War. From the late 1990s onwards, there was a moderate but surely approaching opening in the direction of recognizing other cultures as equal and exploring coexistence. In the early years, this was more focused on the Hungarians; an opening in the direction of the Croats took place later. The mayors of the Libero Comune di Fiume and Rijeka have met several times in recent years and Roman Fiume is now a very active lobbying group in Rijeka. They have been advocating for bilingual city signs and street names and for naming certain streets and squares after important Fiuman personalities. Much of this has been politically controversial, as it would include the political rehabilitation of persons who have been viewed in negative terms, primarily by the local Croatian population.

Street names, although at times a divisive issue, have generally been a way for showing signs of a shared heritage in Rijeka's urban space. In preparation for the European Capital of Culture year in 2020, and also following the practice in some other Central European cities, several multilingual street signs were put up in Rijeka. These usually list the various names that streets, squares and other public spaces bore during the various episodes of the past, thus shedding light on diverse cultural and linguistic influences. At the same time, they also illustrate the cultural politics of current and past governments, as represented through their naming practices. Thus, a variety of Hungarian, Italian, and Croatian names are found on many of these signs.

One of the most vivid examples of shared heritage, however, and one in which the diversity of the city's one-time inhabitants becomes undeniable, is the Kozala cemetery perched above town. The cemetery goes against tradition in a remarkable way: In the Habsburg Monarchy, Catholics and Protestants were buried in separate cemeteries – or at least in clearly marked and delineated sections of one cemetery, which were in most cases separated by a wall. As they were not allowed to mix, there are several well-known examples of married couples of differing confessions not being able to be buried in a shared family grave but in differing sections of a given cemetery. The laws governing the burial places of Jews were equally strict and also called for physical separation from Christian cemeteries.

In contrast, the Kozala cemetery in Rijeka has offered a final resting place to people of various Christian confessions and ethnic backgrounds since the beginning of the 19th century (Glavočić, 2008), together with the adjacent Jewish cemetery, which is a spatial extension of the site with no separate entrance. There is only a low wall separating a portion of the Christian section from the Jewish one. In the larger, Christian part, members of various confessions are found side by side – although originally, only the Eastern corner of the cemetery was planned for Protestants, but later burials led to spatial mixing. Next to the mausoleums, several of which are protected cultural monuments, of prominent Roman Catholic citizens are the graves of Anglicans, Lutherans, Reformed Christians (Calvinists) and even Waldensians, from a variety of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, with inscriptions in Croatian, Hungarian, Italian, Slovenian, German, Hebrew and other languages. Among them are members of the Anglican Whitehead family from England – although the founder of the torpedo factory and wealthy industrialist, Robert Whitehead (1823-1905) is buried at the Parish Church of St Nicholas, Worth in Crawley, West Sussex in the United Kingdom. The owners of the local paper factory, the Protestant families Smith (Anglicans from England) and Meynier (from the German Empire, but of French Huguenot descent), are buried in a shared tomb, albeit with two separate crypts. The Italian-Swiss Waldensian Gottardi family also has a prominent place with a simple tomb. In the Jewish cemetery, several prominent residents of the city, including the Mattersdorfer, de Hlinick, Sachs de Grič,

Illustration 2: The tomb of the Friedmann family in the Jewish section of Kozala cemetery, with inscriptions in Hebrew and Italian (Photo: Angela Ilić).

and Neuberger families, whose members were also active in the Jewish community and in local associations, have found their resting place.

In a way, the inclusion of the Jewish cemetery as directly adjacent can be seen as a material reflection of the city's historically welcoming practice: there was no ghetto in Habsburg Rijeka, since Jews had the freedom to move and live freely across the city wherever they wished. This set Rijeka apart from most other European cities, even beyond the context of the Habsburg Empire. Accordingly, the plans for the municipal cemetery foresaw the establishment of a Jewish section, where both reform and orthodox Jews were being buried. Today, there is an added dimension to the Jewish cemetery section being a place of remembrance, signified by a monument to Rijeka's Shoah victims. Since 2006, the entire cemetery has the status of a protected cultural monument.

Today, not only do locals visit the graves of their loved ones, but the cemetery has become a tourist attraction as well as a place of remembrance for locals. It is a reflection of the city's history and is viewed as such by the local public. Especially the fact that several mausoleums (including the one of the Slovenian Gorup family) are protected historical monuments contributes to the Kozala cemetery being an attractive destination for those wanting to learn or reminisce about the city's diverse past.

Kozala is also one of the oldest cemeteries in Croatia and historical tours are regularly offered there. Thus, it occupies an important place in the touristic offering in the city and is also being promoted locally and internationally. A monograph was published for the 150th anniversary of the cemetery, and in recent years, open-air exhibitions in the city centre have showcased the cemetery annually during the Week of Discovering European Cemeteries, which usually takes place in May and targets the general public. The fact that Kozala is viewed as part of material cultural heritage in the city is demonstrated by the ongoing conservation efforts: since 2016, the city has been co-financing the restoration of a number of tombs each year. The cemetery is featured as a whole on ArTour, a Europe-wide app for visiting cemeteries[18] and on several international web sites. Local journalistic features (above all in the Rijeka daily *Novi List*) regularly emphasize the importance of the cemetery as a part of tangible cultural heritage, while also highlighting the diversity it represents.

It is important to mention one more thing concerning a Croatian culture of remembrance – and before it also a Yugoslav culture of remembrance: Both have postimperial and anti-imperial undertones, setting themselves against Italian and Hungarian imperialistic efforts and such cultures of remembrance. Some of the more recent academic output is openly critical of these cultures of remembrance and of perceived hegemonic tendencies in cultural politics, accusing Italians and Hungarians of appropriation (see e.g. Špicijarić, 2010 as a reaction to Fried, 2001). Thus, also critical heritage studies, posing questions on power relations, are present in the current discourse.

A final aspect of a potentially shared heritage concerns the architectural and industrial heritage in the city, which has been presented through digital tools. The industrial material heritage of Rijeka is the focus of the project Rijeka Heritage, available on a Croatian-English bilingual website.[19] It is one of the projects completed by the Centre for Industrial Heritage at the University of Rijeka (Centar za Industrijsku Baštinu, Sveučilište u Rijeci). The website shows a broad collection of architectural heritage sites but also includes many industrial buildings. The pride in the city's rich, historically significant and diverse industrial heritage is palpable among the inhabitants and is viewed as inspiring modern-day innovation, as included in the goals of the city council for Rijeka 2030. The worldwide pioneering role of the city in torpedo production in the 19th century plays an important part in this. Overwhelmingly positive local attitudes are facilitated by the fact that Rijeka's industrial production remained significant during the Yugoslav years, so that many of the present-day inhabitants are personally invested through their own (past) employment or through that of their family members in the preservation of this material heritage. Even though some of the 19th-century buildings, especially the ones funded by Hungarian government funds, may carry overtones of

[18] https://ar-tour.com/user.aspx?UserID=b052ce3e-c948-414c-89ce-c62e303f394d.

[19] https://rijekaheritage.org/en.

imperialistic intentions, the industrial strength of the city nonetheless contributed significantly to its growth and wealth, which is viewed in primarily positive terms today (Palinić et al., 2012).[20] Some of the industrial buildings have been repurposed as concert halls or museums (for example, the Torpedo Museum, which is housed in a historical railway depot built in 1881) and are in continual use, thus benefitting the general public.

Another initiative, the international and interdisciplinary project Rijeka Fiume in Flux has resulted in a website and an app that employs augmented reality to present the multi-layered past of the city in Croatian, Italian, and English.[21]

Remembering the Habsburg past in Maribor

Maribor's tenure as European Capital of Culture (ECC) has ushered in some changes in the way the city's Habsburg history is remembered, even though these changes may appear small at times. One outstanding example was that of the already mentioned ECC exhibition Germans and Maribor/Deutsche und Maribor in 2012. The exhibition had a broad team of authors from various Maribor and non-Maribor institutions, as well as non-institutional authors. The Regional Archives Maribor (Pokrajinski Arhiv Maribor) was a formal project promoter. There have also been other publications focusing on researching various aspects of the German culture in the city at the Regional Archives (see e.g. Zajšek, 2010).

A prime example of material heritage that has been reinvented in terms of its inclusivity and scope is that of the Narodni Dom national cultural centre. It was built in 1898 according to the plans of the Prague architect Jan Vejrych (1856-1926) and was to serve as the centre of the national and cultural life of the Slovenes in the city. This new, spacious and impressive building enabled more diverse cultural and political activities to be organized and hosted. It also had a restaurant and a large event hall. A key aspect of its original function was to provide a home to Slovenian associations, many of which had been operating under subpar conditions and were at times barely tolerated in their previous rented facilities. The Slavic Reading Society (Slovanska Čitalnica), one of the prime occupants, provided a central meeting place for cultural, national and social life until the First World War through its expanded library, discussion, lectures and other events. Among the numerous other Slovenian institutions and associations that were housed in the Narodni Dom or regularly organized events there were the Drama Society (Dramatično Društvo), the Slovenian Credit Bank (Posojilnica), the Slovenian

[20] An international and interdisciplinary conference was dedicated to this topic in 2012, serving as a precursor to this edited volume in which studies from various disciplines about the local perception of industrial heritage are presented. The volume also contains a chapter on the industrial heritage of the Südbahn railway workshops and their impact on the industrialization of Maribor.

[21] https://rijekafiumeinflux.com/en/home.

Reading and Singing Association (Slovensko Bralno in Pevsko Društvo), the Historical Association for Slovenian Styria (Zgodovinsko Društvo za Slovensko Štajersko) with a museum and the beginnings of its archives, and also the local Sokol chapter. The Narodni Dom became a symbol of Slovenian influence in culturally contested Late Habsburg Maribor. Also the use of the building as the meeting place of the Slovenian National Council at the end of World War One emphasized its nationally important role for the Slovenians.

Originally conceptualized to provide a Slovenian counterpoint to German(-dominated) national and cultural activities in the city, Narodni Dom is an inclusive establishment and is open to everyone today. After serving as army headquarters in World War Two and as the House of the Yugoslav Army, it has been functioning as a cultural and event centre since 1992. Thus, it has become part of the shared cultural heritage in the city.

One of the most divisive figures in Maribor's Late Habsburg history is General Rudolf Maister (1874-1934). For Slovenian and Yugoslav historiographies, he is the great hero, the liberator of the town, and the main person responsible for making it possible for Maribor and Lower Styria to become part of the new South Slavic state founded in the wake of World War One. For German historiography, Maister is the one who ushered in the end of German domination in the city and in the region, and is seen as the catalyst for much suffering by German inhabitants. Official acknowledgment of Maister's central role was already established during Yugoslav times, and even in the Republic of Slovenia, Maister's Day is observed on 23rd November each year. Marking the 150th anniversary of his birth, the year 2024 was declared Maister's Year. On this occasion, several events and various exhibitions were held in Maribor and its vicinity, most importantly the exhibition organized by the Regional Archives, *Vloga generala Rudolfa Maistra v času vzpostavljanja slovenske severne meje* [General Rudolf Maister's Role in the Establishment of the Slovenian Northern Border] 1918–1920. The person of Maister is a prime example that is perceived as incompatible for a shared Slovenian-German historical narrative today.

That the history of Late Habsburg Maribor is not only one marked by strife and continuous tensions between the German and Slovenian inhabitants of the town but is also one of shared heritage is demonstrated by the next example. Attempts by the Slovenes of Maribor to break the German cultural dominance in the city led not only to the publication of Slovenian-language newspapers, but also to other tactics. The *Südsteirische Post*, which was published in Maribor between 1881 and 1900, attempted to act as a bridge-builder and cultural mediator between the German and Slovenian sections of the population. The editorial team consisted mainly of Slovenians who described themselves as patriotic and who wanted to show the German-speaking public in Lower Styria which political and cultural issues were important to Slovenes. It was conceived as a counterpoint to the *Marburger Zeitung*, the primary German-language newspaper and its anti-Slovenian stance. The *Südsteirische Post* continued under various

names until 1907 and reached its peak with a circulation of 1,500 copies in the first quarter of 1906. Petra Kramberger's monograph about the story of the *Südsteirische Post* is a study trying to connect both cultures of remembrance while highlighting this publication with an important bridge-building function.

One of the central figures whose legacy is still visibly present in the city is Anton Martin Slomšek, whose accomplishments as bishop, translator, author and patron reach well beyond the confines of the Roman Catholic Church. Even though the material heritage reminding inhabitants of Slomšek includes the Cathedral of St John the Baptist, Slomšek's larger-than-life statue in front of it and the bishop's palace next to it, and thus visibly forms part of a religious core in the urban architecture, his figure serves as a regional symbol for championing Slovenians' rights at a regional level.

There are other historical personalities who represent transnational experiences and could serve as key persons in shared cultures of remembrance, including Eman Ilich (1883-1940), the Czech-born Sokol leader and pastry chef, whose pastry shop, Slaščičarna Ilich, continues functioning in the centre of Maribor even today. And although the already mentioned Antonín Chráska was ultimately unsuccessful in reaching his goal of (re-)introducing Slovenian-speaking Protestantism, historical events proved him right. Following World War Two, most of the remaining Protestant congregations in Slovenia, including Maribor, experienced a linguistic transition to Slovenian, which is the predominant language among Slovenia's Protestants today. In the case of Maribor, similarly to other larger cities, the language shift was a result of demographic changes, as German-speaking Protestants left and the subsequent new waves of industrialization, urbanization and the expansion of educational opportunities contributed to increased migration within the country. Thus, also Slovenian-speaking Protestants, primarily from Prekmurje, moved to Maribor and other cities, bringing new life and a new linguistic identity to the struggling congregations. Today, Slovenian-speaking Protestantism is the norm and is perceived as such in most of Slovenian society, while German-Speaking Protestantism remains a historical occurrence. The relationship of Protestantism to shaping Slovenian identity has been partly studied also from a sociological perspective (see e.g. Kerševan, 2006) but the linguistic switch in the second half of the 20th century, especially in reference to Chráska's contributions, has not been sufficiently explored yet.

Conclusion

When examining the various viewpoints and historiographies, the question of who is being included in current remembrance narratives is just as important as the question of who is missing. Even the most inclusive narratives often leave out certain groups who have left extremely limited or no material and immaterial traces behind: One such

group is that of the Roma, who were undoubtedly present in both cities, yet receive little to no attention in written accounts. Further underrepresented groups include that of women – especially concerning the contributions of female individuals in the fields of academia, literature and art – and that of the lower social classes such as day labourers.

One reason for the higher visibility of the material and immaterial heritage of certain groups in comparison to that of others is due to the radical demographic changes in both cities since 1918. In the aftermath of World War One, most Hungarians left Rijeka; following World War Two, most Italians were forced out; the Holocaust decimated the city's large Jewish population. In Socialist Yugoslavia, workers and students flocked to Rijeka from all corners of the country, creating a new population mix. In Maribor, many Germans left after World War One and even more during or after World War Two. As an industrial centre and university town, Maribor also attracted newcomers from other Slovenian regions and other parts of Yugoslavia during the Socialist period. This means that diversity, although of a different composition, has been preserved, but the descendants of some of the locally previously strongly represented groups are not there anymore, so they cannot advocate for representation in the local remembrance culture(s).

Bridge-builders are largely missing from the mainstream narratives in both cities, although these very persons and institutions could act as focal points for multilingual and multicultural cultures of remembrance. This research has also demonstrated that the local dynamics were never just binary: Rijeka remained very mixed until the end of Habsburg rule, and in Maribor, the hitherto underestimated role of foreigners, especially of Czechs should also be taken into account. It can be generally stated that the historical issues were complex and should be presented in more differentiated ways today.

So, whose heritage is the Late Habsburg period in both cities? It can be everyone's, but for that to happen, current cultures of remembrance should be modified. There is a danger inherent in many of them: on the one hand, a tendency to romanticize everything and to see historical processes through the eyes of nostalgia; on the other, they may lead to a negation and outright rejection of diversity. It is therefore desirable to strive for a more comprehensive presentation of the cities' history.

Research data statement

The author states that the article is based on archival sources, which are cited in the list of references below as well as on research data that is available in public domain resources or publicly accessible archival and museum collections.

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Čigava dediščina? Primeri spornih in deljenih kultur spominjanja ter dediščinskih vprašanj v nekdaj večkulturnih habsburških mestih Reki in Mariboru

V članku je obravnavano vprašanje, kako se danes na Reki in v Mariboru obuja spomin na pozno habsburško preteklost ter ali je mogoče ustvariti skupne kulture spominjanja. Po uvodni analizi zgodovinskih okoliščin in dinamik teh etnično, jezikovno in kulturno zelo različnih mest avtorica predstavi izbrane prevladujoče prakse spominjanja in dediščinske projekte ter poudari tako pozitivne kot negativne in mešane primere. Graditelji mostov – posamezniki, ki so premoščali različne tradicije – so bili navzoči v obeh mestih in so lahko osrednje točke za

javno predstavitev različnih vidikov skupne dediščine. Pojasnjena je tudi vloga zgodovinopisja, ki se je – skladno z jugoslovanskimi in širšimi evropskimi tokovi tistega časa – večinoma osredinjalo na eno skupino, tudi pri predstavitvah zgodovine etnično-jezikovno-religiozno mešanih okolij. Sočasno članek opozarja na vse večje zanimanje za večperspektivno obravnavo teh zgodovin, kar se kaže v številnih novejših publikacijah. Na eni strani se sodobne prakse spominjanja v obeh mestih pogosto osredinjajo na materialno dediščino. Na drugi strani pa obstajajo tudi osebe, kraji (topoi) in simboli, ki soustvarjajo nesnovno dediščino Reke in Maribora. V prispevku so predstavljeni primeri obeh oblik dediščine. V poznem habsburškem obdobju je bilo diferencirano prebivalstvo Reke in Maribora opazno na vseh področjih življenja – od šolstva, ki se je različno odzivalo na različne jezike, do tiska, ki je izhajal v več jezikih in včasih tudi v večjezičnih izdajah. Religiozne razlike so bile vidne v različnih bogoslužnih prostorih in celo v klubskih domovih, ki so izražali etnično ali nacionalno pripadnost. Opaziti je bilo mogoče vzporedni težnji: nekateri prebivalci so poudarjali etnične, jezikovne in verske razlike ter delitve, medtem ko so drugi – na primer Rudolf Gustav Puff in Antonín Chráska v Mariboru – delovali tako, da so si prizadevali povezovati različne segmente prebivalstva.

V osrednjem delu članka je obravnavano vprašanje, kako se danes dojema in razume materialna in nesnovna dediščina v obeh mestih: ali jo javnost dojema kot izključno dediščino ene skupine ali kot skupno dediščino, ki pripada vsem? V ta namen so predstavljeni izbrani primeri, na primer pokopališče Kozala na Reki in Narodni dom v Mariboru. Ugotovitve kažejo, da lahko materialne strukture, ki so bile prvotno namenjene le enemu segmentu prebivalstva, postanejo skupni prostori spominjanja, s katerimi se lahko poistijo vsi prebivalci. Po drugi strani pa kulture spominjanja, ki se opirajo na kulturno-jezikovne vidike, pogosto služijo le eni skupnosti – tako na primer italijanske in madžarske organizacije na Reki ohranjajo predvsem svojo lastno kulturno dediščino. Avtorica se sprašuje o njihovi združljivosti, včasih tudi o tekmiških interpretacijah zgodovine in spominskih praks. Prispevek poudari tudi primere z nasprotnega pola, kot je skrb za raznovrstno industrijsko dediščino Reke, ki se danes sprejema kot skupna dediščina vseh in temelji na kulturnih, zgodovinskih in znanstvenih utemeljitvah.

Odgovor na vprašanji, ali gre pri dediščini poznega habsburškega obdobja za deljeno ali skupno dediščino ter čigava dediščina to pravzaprav je, je večplasten. Obe razsežnosti sta opazni v sodobnih praksah spominjanja. Mandata Reke in Maribora kot evropskih prestolnic kulture (Maribor 2012, Reka 2020/2021) sta omogočila bolj poglobljen razmislek o večplastni zgodovinski dediščini obeh mest in spodbudila ponovni znanstveni interes za iskanje novih predstavitev skupne dediščine.