

Albania's Relations with
Austria and Hungary in the Interwar Period
– a Case of Postcolonialism?

Abstract: *After a period of close cooperation between Austro-Hungary and Albania before and during WWI the Republic of Albania as well as the Republic of German-Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary had to formulate completely new foreign policies due to the territorial results of WWI. In doing so, Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations were downgraded, for instance, compared to Albania's relations to Italy.*

The overall aim of the submitted research project is a first reviewing of Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations during the interwar period. There are only few isolated studies about certain aspects of these bilateral relations. Austria and Hungary did not have direct impact on Albania's internal and external politics but only an indirect one exercised through education, expertise and research.

The most important question is whether these relations between a former Central European monarchy and a peripheral Balkan country should be considered postcolonial ones. What was the post-colonial legacy of the Austro-Hungarian colonial epoch in Albania in the interwar period? What was the Albanian post-colonial legacy in Austria and Hungary? In which fields did Austria's and Hungary's indirect contribution to Albania's consolidation consist?

The most appropriate approach for the investigation of the interwar relations between Austria and Albania seems to be a theory-based postcolonial one. Postcolonial approaches explore cultural, economic, and political relations both of the colonial and the postcolonial era. The focus lies on the study of effects and leftovers of colonialism in nations, societies and cultures before and after independence, including both the decolonized societies and the colonizing societies. This includes also the evaluation of the Austrian and Hungarian contribution to the consolidation of the Albanian state and the Albanian legacy in Austria and Hungary.

Research on these questions and the social actors on both sides will be conducted in the Archive of the Republic in Vienna, the National Archives in Budapest, the State Archive in Tirana, in the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin and in the file holdings of the Leibniz-Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg. The analyses of all these file holdings, unpublished works and correspondence, monographs and articles as well as oral history interview records with Albanian descendants

of Austrian citizens will be guided by the postcolonial approach of Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler.

Keywords: *Albanian-Austrian relations; Albanian-Hungarian relations; Interwar Period; Postcolonialism.*

Rationale

The preceding FWF-project, 'Austro-Hungarian Albanology 1867–1918 – a case of cultural imperialism?'¹, had the primary task of investigating the character of the relationship between one of the European Great Powers (Austria-Hungary) and a minor Balkan nation (Albania) and the role that Austro-Hungarian Albanology played in it, especially from the 1890s to the end of WWI. Research resulted in a voluminous monograph² by the designated collaborator in the project submitted herewith, Dr Kurt Gostentschnigg. He concluded that the relationship between the two countries had constituted a clear case of informal cultural imperialism, and that Albanology had been a powerful instrument in this regard. Furthermore, additional fields of power had been involved in this cultural-imperialistic relationship based on structural violence: politics, the military, and submissive historical actors of all kinds. Austria-Hungary had considered itself the protector of the Albanian nation, and Albania as an instrument of imperialistically inspired great-power politics.

However, all these plans and visions vanished in the autumn of 1918. Due to the newly established political landscape, the Republic of Albania as well as the Republic of German-Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary were compelled to formulate completely new foreign policies. Thus, Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations were downgraded, while, for instance, Albanian relations to Italy were reinforced. Despite this fact, it is legitimate to ask what remained of the intensive relationship in the decades before and during WWI. Can this heritage be labelled as 'postcolonial' in the sense of a predominant and preferred know-how contribution in important fields of economy, society, culture and the state?

Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations during the interwar period have not been investigated in their totality until now. Only a few studies have dealt with certain aspects of these bilateral relations.

1 Austrian Science Fund (ASF, FWF), projectnr. P26437–G15; see Gostentschnigg, Kurt; Kaser, Karl (2014): *Albanologjia austro-hungareze 1867–1918 – një rast i imperializmit kulturor?* In: *Hylli i Dritës*, 1–2 (279–280), p. 3–26.

2 Gostentschnigg, Kurt (2018a): *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär. Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. (828 p.). <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-658-18911-2>.

Therefore, the overall aim of the submitted *longue durée* research project is to offer a first review of Austria's and Hungary's relationship with Albania during the interwar period.

Aims

In the period between the two world wars, Austria fostered bilateral relations primarily with its neighbouring countries Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Hungary. Its relations to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were problematic because the two countries were members of the Little Entente, an alliance formed in 1920–1921, whose purpose was defence against Hungarian revanchism and the prevention of Habsburg restoration. The *Anschluss* or annexation of Austria to Germany constituted the central idea in bilateral relations between these two countries, though it was forbidden by the Treaty of Saint Germaine. During the 1920s, gradual convergence took place, for example through the partial unification of legal systems. The projected customs union in 1931 failed because of the vigorous protests of France, Italy and Czechoslovakia. These countries were afraid of the *Anschluss* and of Germany gaining a hegemonic position in Central and Southeast Europe. Besides, it was incompatible with the Geneva Protocols of the League of Nations of October 4th, 1922, signed by Austria and the Allies, in which Austria committed itself to maintaining economic independence.³ However, from 1933, Hitler aimed at the annexation of Austria to the German Reich. Austrian Chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuß, attempted to counteract this policy and signed the Rome Protocols of March 17th, 1934, which were to enable close political and cultural cooperation between Austria, Hungary and Italy.⁴ Italian foreign policy, however, was oriented towards Germany from 1936 and Austria lost its ally.⁵ After the agreement of Berchtesgaden on February 12th, 1938, on a number of measures in favour of the Austrian Nazis, Hitler intensified pressure on Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg, resulting in the *Anschluss* one month later.⁶

3 Koch, Klaus; Rauscher, Walter; Suppan, Arnold (ed.) (2006): Außenpolitische Dokumente der Republik Österreich 1918-1938. Vol. 7: Das österreichisch-deutsche Zollunionsprojekt. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

4 Rauscher, Walter (ed.) (2014): Außenpolitische Dokumente der Republik Österreich 1918-1938. Vol. 9: Österreich im Banne des Faschismus. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

5 Koch, Klaus; Vyslonzil, Elisabeth (ed.) (2014): Außenpolitische Dokumente der Republik Österreich 1918-1938. Vol. 10: Zwischen Mussolini und Hitler. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

6 Rauscher, Walter; Suppan, Arnold (ed.) (2016): Außenpolitische Dokumente der Republik Österreich 1918-1938. Vol. 12: Österreich zwischen Isolation und Anschluss. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hungary's foreign policy was determined by its intention to reach a revision of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, which had resulted in the loss of historical territories and resources, by means of the dissolution of the Little Entente and the support of partner countries.⁷ Thus, in the 1930s Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös led Hungary towards close relations with fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in an attempt to restore lost territories. The trade agreement with Germany of February 21st, 1934, drew Hungary's economy out of depression but made it dependent on the German economy for both raw materials and markets. The nationalist agenda of the Regent of Hungary, Miklós Horthy, reached its culmination in 1938 and 1940 when the German Reich rewarded his pro-German foreign policy in the First and Second Vienna Awards, in effect peacefully restoring ethnic-Hungarian majority areas lost after Trianon.⁸

After WWI, Albania needed foreign long-term funds and the support of foreign experts in order to consolidate its statehood and create a modern economy.⁹ It addressed the League of Nations in 1922, which subsequently sent Dutch financial advisor Jan Hunger to the country in June 1923. Hunger's reports for the League of Nations and the Albanian government demanded a comprehensive reform of the tax system.¹⁰ However, this was not in the interest of the big landowners; the Albanian government was forced to annul the contract with Hunger in May 1924. Subsequently, Prime Minister Ahmet Zogu devoted himself to Mussolini who embraced the favourable opportunity to enforce his 'Mare Nostrum' policy in the Adriatic.¹¹

Mussolini's foreign policy objective was to make Italy the hegemonic power in the Mediterranean. This policy was based on the secret Treaty of London signed by Italy and the Triple Entente on April 26th, 1915, which determined that Italy would enter the war in exchange for the recognition of various territorial claims.¹² According to Article 6 of the Treaty, Italy was entitled to occupy the strategically important Albanian port of Vlora and its hinterland.¹³

7 Tóth, István György (ed.) (2005): *Geschichte Ungarns*. Budapest: Corvina, p. 638 f.

8 Ormos, Mária (2007): *Hungary in the Age of the Two World Wars 1914-1945*. New York: Columbia University Press; Tóth (2005), p. 673-679.

9 Gross, Hermann (1949): *Albanien zwischen den Mächten: Ein Beitrag zur Erschließung unentwickelter Gebiete*. In: *Wirtschaftsdienst* 29, nr. 6, p. 37.

10 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë (ed.) (2007): *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar. Vëll. III: Periudha e pavarësisë 28 nëntor 1912 – 7 prill 1939*. Tirana: Toena, p. 209 f.

11 Gross (1949), p. 37.

12 Hürter, Johannes; Rusconi, Gian Enrico (ed.) (2007): *Der Kriegseintritt Italiens im Mai 1915. Sondernummer der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*. München: Oldenbourg.

13 Bartl, Peter (1995): *Albanien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Regensburg: Pustet; p.184.

In 1925, Albanian President Ahmet Zogu allowed Italian capital to found the Albanian National Bank and granted Italy, besides other states, a concession for oil exploration.¹⁴ In the same year, Italy founded the 'Società per lo Sviluppo Economico dell Albania' (SVEA), an association that aimed to stimulate the economic development of Albania, helping to facilitate a loan to Albania worth 50 million gold francs. Thus, Italy established far-reaching control over Albania's economy.

In the First Treaty of Tirana signed on November 27th, 1926,¹⁵ Albania and Italy agreed not to conclude any agreements with other states prejudicial to their mutual interests. On the one hand, this Italian-Albanian 'pact of friendship and security', concluded for five years with the possibility of renewal, reinforced Zogu's political position as well as the country's territorial integrity. On the other hand, it established de facto protectorate relations. In return, Albania received new Italian loans and support for arming and training its police. In the Second Treaty of Tirana signed on November 22nd, 1927,¹⁶ Albania and Italy concluded a defence alliance for a period of twenty years, obliging the contracting partners to provide each other with active support in the case of a military attack. Consequently, Italy sent numerous officers to train the Albanian army, while the Albanian government allowed the Italian navy access to the ports of Vlora and Durrës; in effect, Albania became Italy's military base in the Balkans. In 1934, Zogu tried in vain to reduce this one-sided dependency by concluding trade agreements with Greece and Yugoslavia after Italy stopped its financial assistance.

Thus, after WWI, the political role played by Austria-Hungary in Albanian foreign relations shifted to Italy. Many ministers of Albanian governments had studied in Italy and were considered Italophile, such as finance ministers Myfit Libohova (1925) and Fejzi Alizoti (1927).¹⁷ During the interwar period, the small Balkan country was irrelevant for Austria and Hungary. Both had no national political interest in Albania, beyond the interests of private persons and groups. Rump Austria and rump Hungary, the remaining German and Hungarian-speaking parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were busy solving their own economic, political and social problems.

Nevertheless, Albania also harboured a group of former adherents, confidants and supporters of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy who had traditionally regarded Italian aspirations with hostility and suspicion.¹⁸

14 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë (2007), p. 257-259; Bartl (1995), p. 207.

15 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë (2007), p. 261-266; Bartl (1995), p. 208.

16 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë (2007), p. 266-270; Bartl (1995), p. 209 f.

17 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë (2007), p. 258, 266.

18 Csaplár-Degovics, Krisztián (2017a): The 25th Anniversary of the Albanian Independence and the Hungarians (1937). In: Shqipëri - Hungari, dje, sot dhe nesër. Studime Shqiptare 28. Shkodra: Fiorentia, p. 92.

Two previous supporters of the Dual Monarchy, Abdi Bey Toptani and Luigj Bumçi, were members of the High Council of Regency in 1920–1921.¹⁹ Between 1920 and 1928, these former adherents of Austria-Hungary were the only balance in Albania against Italy and pro-Italian politicians. Between 1925 and 1928, President Zogu made a futile attempt to counter the influence of his Italian advisers by filling political positions with those Austrophiles who posed no threat to his domestic power.²⁰ Zogu appointed four officers of foreign origin – among them Gustav von Myrdacz and Leon Ghilardi – and gave them almost full authority to directly supervise certain state institutions. They became the ‘checks and balances’ against Italian influence.²¹

The cultural presence of Austria-Hungary – apart from some excesses during military occupation (1916–1918) – was positively remembered, not least because of the cultural transformation initiated by its Religious Protectorate (*Kultusprotektorat*), its education policy and influence on the process of Albanian nation and state-building. On the one hand, the education of Albanian students in Vienna, Graz and other Austrian cities inaugurated before WWI was prolonged and intensified between the two wars. While living in Austria, these students initiated many cultural activities by creating associations and clubs as well as publishing journals and books. In most cases, they returned to Albania where they made major contributions to the consolidation of the Albanian state in various professional fields.²² In 1929, the Austrian-Albanian Society was founded in Vienna with a branch in Tirana, aimed at fostering economic and cultural relations and at playing an intermediary role between the two states.

On the other hand, an Austrian community lived and worked in Albania, some in close proximity to Albanian King Zogu, monarch since 1928. These included former officials of Austria-Hungary such as the Austrian honorary consul in Albania of Albanian nationality, Zef Curani, the publisher Leo Freundlich and army officers Leon Ghilardi, Gustav von Myrdacz and Franz Scheiger. Freundlich was a close friend of King Zogu, Ghilardi was a general in the Albanian army and Zogu’s closest confidant, while Myrdacz was Chief of General Staff of the Albanian army and the King’s first military adviser. Scheiger, a former Austro-Hungarian major and since 1929 a

19 Schmidt-Neke, Michael (1987): Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912-1939). München: Oldenbourg, p. 53–55.

20 Csaplár–Degovics (2017a), p. 93.

21 Tomes, Jason (2003): King Zog, Self-Made Monarch of Albania. Stroud: Sutton, p. 127–133.

22 Gostentschnigg, Kurt (2013): Die Aktivitäten der albanischen StudentInnen in Österreich bis 1939. In: Ramaj, Albert (ed.): „Poeta nascitur, historicus fit – ad honorem Zef Mirdita“. Albanisches Institut & Hrvatski Institut za povijest. St. Gallen u. Zagreb, p. 1123–1145.

German citizen, worked as commercial attaché at the German embassy in Tirana from 1923. Another former army officer, Hermann Kirchner, retired after WWI, served in the Albanian army from 1928 and in 1931 was appointed chief of the personnel section. Meanwhile, Hungarian experts and advisers were engaged in healthcare and agricultural development (for example, Antal Waisbecker from Sopron) and in education.²³ As shown by Gostentschnigg's research in the State Archive in Tirana, dozens of Hungarian officers were employed in the Albanian army between 1935 and 1939, for example Zuárd László, the brother of Zoltán László, author of the first Hungarian-Albanian dictionary²⁴.

Thus, while Austria and Hungary were unable to directly impact on Albania's internal and external policies, they exerted influence through education, expertise transfer and research. For example, in the field of Albanology, Franz Nopcsa, Milan von Šufflay, Norbert Jokl, Maximilian Lambertz, Franz Seiner, Carl Patsch, Henrik Barić and others continued their Albanological work. Of course, the lack of funding had negative effects on their activities, but research conducted before 1918 allowed them to publish results in the interwar period.²⁵

The focus of postcolonial approaches is on understanding interactions, interconnections and complex patterns of power and resistance as well as on the effects and remnants of colonialism in nations, societies and cultures before and after independence, including both the decolonised and colonising societies.²⁶ A very important factor is cultural disposition, which made colonial expansion and rule attractive and acceptable at all.²⁷ Without considering the emerging comprehensive colonial discourses we cannot understand the colonial ambitions of the propagandists nor the willingness of large groups of colonised populations to take part in these expansionist projects. The state leader was a moral power, under the protection of which the leading class of the young nation decided to enrich itself.²⁸ The consequences were corruption on the one hand, misery on the other, while the regime based its power – like the colonial regime

23 Selenica, Teki (1928): *Shqipria e ilustruar më 1927*. Tirana, p. 195.

24 Csaplár–Degovics, Krisztián (2017b): *Az első magyar–albán szótár születése*. In: *Vilagtörténet. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bolcseszettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézetének folyóirata*. 7. (39.) évfolyam 3, p. 467-480.

25 Gostentschnigg (2018a), p. 766-788.

26 Hirschhausen, Ulrike von (2015): *A New Imperial History? Programm, Potenzial, Perspektiven*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41, 4, p. 753 f.; Kerner, Ina (2012): *Postkoloniale Theorien: Zur Einführung*. Hamburg: Junius, p. 41 f.

27 Conrad, Sebastian (2012): *Kolonialismus und Postkolonialismus: Schlüsselbegriffe der aktuellen Debatte*. In: *Kolonialismus. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 62, 44-45, p. 7.

28 Fanon, Frantz (1981): *Die Verdammten dieser Erde*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, p. 141.

before – on the army and police, advised by foreign experts.²⁹ In relation to interwar-Albania, this is exactly what Zogu did, namely to bring in foreign advisers to support the army, police and other areas of administration.

However, since there is still little research on Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations in the interwar period, the following fundamental questions must be raised. Only after having answered these questions can an answer be put forward to the central research question: can Albanian-Austrian and Albanian-Hungarian relations be characterised as postcolonial?

(1) Which aspects of the legacy of the Austro-Hungarian colonial epoch in Albania were visible in the interwar period? For example, with regard to the former departments of finance, justice and education, installed by the Austro-Hungarian military administration between 1916 and 1918 – can institutional continuity and a continuity of staff be established in the ministries of finance, law and education in the interwar period? What opinions did Albanians hold on Austria and Austrians and Hungary and Hungarians? How was the former role of Austria-Hungary in Albania interpreted in Albanian literature during the interwar period? What were the roles of Ghilardi, Myrdacz, László and Kirchner, who held crucial positions in the Albanian army, regarding its organisation and the nature of Albanian military policy? In the context of the Albanian reception of Austrian and Hungarian expertise, culture and art, Austria and Hungary had inherited strong film industries from the late Monarchy – which Austrian and Hungarian movies were shown in Albania? In addition, which Austrian and Hungarian plays, concerts, operas and operettas were performed? Besides Gjergj Pekmezi, Zef Curani, Ahmet Zogu and the former Albanian students in Austria, who were the Albanian Austrophile and Hungarophile political actors? Who were the Austrian and Hungarian businessmen in Albania? In relation to the Austrian community in Albania: what was its size and composition? Did it originate in the period before 1918 or was it created or enlarged by immigration to Albania in the interwar period? Did these Austrian Albanophiles represent both Albanian interests in Austria and Austrian interests in Albania? How did Austria and Nazi Germany compete between 1933 and 1938 with regard to influence on the Austrian community? Did a ‘Hungarian community’ exist, too? If yes, who were its members and what was its role and contribution? With regard to Zogu’s marriage to the Hungarian Countess Geraldine Apponyi de Nagy-Appony – was the refusal of an Italian and preference for a Hungarian bride a political decision by the king to counterbalance the Italian influence? Did various groups of economic lobbyists stand behind the Hungarian candidates in

29 Ibid, p. 147.

the hope of trading ‘a bride for concessions’?

(2) What was the nature of postcolonial legacy in Austria and Hungary? For example, Skanderbeg’s helmet and sword, the origin and authenticity of which are disputed, were held in the *Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer* (collection of arms and armour) in the Viennese *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. What was the position of the Austrian government on movable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of a nation? How did Austria and Hungary perceive former Austro-Hungarian policies and rule in the Albanian territories? Did Austrian and Hungarian officials in the fields of diplomacy, trade and culture consider Albanians as ‘subaltern actors’? What was the intermediary role of the informal Austrian-Albanian lobby and of the formal Austrian-Albanian Society in Vienna? What was the role of Austrian and Hungarian Albanologists like Patsch, Lambertz, Jokl and Nopcsa in the context of general bilateral relations, especially with regard to the intended establishment of Albanian Albanology, the preservation of antique monuments and the foundation of an Albanian national museum? Albanian Albanologists, such as linguist Eqrem Çabej and historian Aleks Buda, both leading figures in their fields after WWII, were trained at Austrian universities in the interwar period. Did Austrian Albanology become the main source of emerging Albanian Albanology after WWII? This would constitute a highly significant postcolonial legacy! With regard to the plan to establish a South Hungarian Research Institute in Pécs (that was never realised) – did the plan include a special objective to found Hungarian foreign policy on the Balkans after WWI? If yes, this would imply a postcolonial attitude in relation to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania. Systematic research on the possible connection between Hungary’s Balkan Studies in the interwar period and its political and economic interests on the Balkans has not been conducted to date.

International status of research

In relation to the overarching question of whether the remnants of colonial relationships can be characterised as postcolonial, recent research in the following fields is relevant:

- (1) The Austro-Hungarian military administration of Albania 1916–1918
- (2) Albanian-Austrian relations between the two world wars
- (3) Albanian-Hungarian relations between the two world wars

The Austro-Hungarian military administration of Albania 1916–1918

Hugo Kerchnawe³⁰ was the first, and Wolfgang Etschmann and Erwin Schmidl³¹ the most recent, Austrian military historians to study the Austro-Hungarian military administration of Albania during the Great War. Both studies emphasise the mutual benefits of its investments into infrastructure, administration, health, education, culture, research, social policy and successful pacification, although not all measures – such as the confiscation of arms – were welcomed by the Albanians.

A major contribution to this topic was provided by Helmut Schwanke's dissertation³² which focused on three issues: the conflict between the Foreign Ministry of Austria-Hungary and the army High Command, the first census organised by Franz Seiner in 1918 and the race for mineral resources.

Some years ago, Albanian historians also started to publish on this subject. Sali Kadria's investigation of Albanian nationalism during the Austro-Hungarian military administration of Albania was long overdue.³³ Ledia Dushku's article³⁴ deals with the internal Austro-Hungarian dispute between military officers and diplomats about the status of the occupied Albanian territories and the influence of this dispute on the Dual Monarchy's policy towards Albanians, as well as their reaction to this policy. Marenglen Kasmi's article³⁵ also investigates this internal Austro-Hungarian conflict and concludes that the Austro-Hungarian military administration suppressed Albanian nationalism on the one hand, but invested into infrastructure and the country's administrative system on the other. Elena Kocaqi has recently published the first small Albanian monograph³⁶ on the Austro-Hungarian military administration of Albania during WWI, though without taking the international state of research into

30 Kerchnawe, Hugo (1928): Die Militärverwaltung in Montenegro und Albanien. In: Kerchnawe, Hugo (ed.): Die Militärverwaltung in den von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten. Vienna: Hölder, Pichler, Tempsky, p. 270–304.

31 Etschmann, Wolfgang; Schmidl, Erwin A. (1997): Albanien im Ersten Weltkrieg. Spielball von Machtinteressen. In: Österreichische Militärzeitung 5, p. 545–554.

32 Schwanke, Helmut (1982): Zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien (1916–1918). Vienna: Diss..

33 Kadria, Sali (2014): Aspekte të gjendjes së nacionalizmit shqiptar gjatë viteve 1916–1918 në zonën e pushtimit austro-hungarez. In: Studime Historike 51, 3–4, p. 111–128.

34 Dushku, Ledia (2016): Shqiptarët përballë ushtarakëve dhe diplomatëve austro-hungarezë (1914–1916). In: Studime Historike 53, 3–4, p. 73–90.

35 Kasmi, Marenglen (2016): Shqipëria 'austriake' dhe komitët që paguheshin me flori. In: Gazeta Dita, February 13th, online: <http://www.gazetadita.al/shqiperia-austriake-dhe-komitet-qe-paguheshin-me-flori/>.

36 Kocaqi, Elena (2016): Administrimi i Shqipërisë nga Austro-Hungaria 1916–1918. Tirana: Emal.

account. Her study comes to the conclusion that Austro-Hungarian rule in Albania cannot be considered as colonial.³⁷

Gostentschnigg's monograph concludes that during WWI the character of Albanian-Austro-Hungarian relations changed from cultural and informal imperialism to semi-formal imperialism. 'Semi-formal' because while the Dual Monarchy indeed temporarily occupied Albanian territories for military reasons, its diplomacy considered the Albanian population Austrophile and had no intention of annexing the country but rather sought to support its autonomy under some kind of protectorate.³⁸

Albanian-Austrian relations between the two world wars

Albanian-Austrian relations in the interwar period were concentrated in the following areas of activity: bilateral official representations, the Austrian community in Albania, the Albanian Austrophiles in Albania, the 'government of German culture', the Austrian-Albanian Society in Vienna, the Albanian students and Albanian clubs in Austria, the unofficial Balkan policy of Albanians in Vienna, the reception of Austrian culture in Albania, the Austrian businessmen in Albania, the bilateral provisional trade agreement of 1927, as well as Albanian Studies. There is still very little or no secondary literature on these issues, much less on their supposed postcolonial features. An article³⁹ by Pranvera Dibra deals with the diplomatic and consular relations between Austria and Albania between 1922 and 1992. Robert Elsie edited a volume on Freundlich's *Albanische Korrespondenz*⁴⁰, where we find biographical details of Freundlich's life and work.⁴¹ Krisztián Csaplár–Degovics was the first to write a comprehensive article⁴² about the Croatian of Italian origin, Leon Ghilardi, an army officer in Austria-Hungary and later in Zogu's Albania. Ghilardi's position as commander of the 'Djelmënija', an Albanian youth organisation, was the

37 Ibid, p. 6.

38 Gostentschnigg (2018a), p. 741.

39 Dibra, Pranvera (2016): Marrëdhëniet diplomatike konsullore Shqiperi-Austri 1922-1992. In: Studime Historike 53, 3-4, p. 311-323.

40 Elsie, Robert (ed.) (2012): Leo Freundlich: Die Albanische Korrespondenz: Agenturmeldungen aus Krisenzeiten (Juni 1913 bis August 1914). München: Oldenbourg.

41 Strommer, Roswitha (2012): Leo Freundlich und die Albanische Korrespondenz. Der Versuch einer biographischen Annäherung. In: Elsie, Robert (ed.): Leo Freundlich: Die Albanische Korrespondenz: Agenturmeldungen aus Krisenzeiten (Juni 1913 bis August 1914). München: Oldenbourg, p. XLIII–LXVII.

42 Csaplár–Degovics, Krisztián (2016): Komandanti i Djelmënis Shqiptare. In: Schmitt, Oliver Jens (ed.): Për Ardian Klosin, gjermanin nga Shqipëria. Tirana: Fjala Publishing, p. 112–177.

topic of a short monograph⁴³ by Aqif Domini. More recently, Albanian army officer Marenglen Kasmi published an article⁴⁴ about Austrian Hermann Kirchner who also held a position in the Albanian army. Another Albanian army officer, Pëllumb Qazimi, does not mention Kirchner in his history of the army from 1912 until 1991, though he mentions Ghilardi and Austrian Gustav von Myrdacz who also served as an officer in the Albanian army.⁴⁵

Albanian historian Redi Halimi has published an article⁴⁶ on the 'government of German culture', 1935–1936. In the first half of the 1930s, young intellectuals started to criticise some members of parliament and higher civil servants. This set off a debate between the 'older men' and the 'young men'.⁴⁷ Except for veteran Prime Minister Mehdi Frashëri, all the other ministers were under forty years of age.⁴⁸ Fuat Asllani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Nush Bushati, Minister of Education, were graduates of the University of Vienna. Ndoc Naraçi, Minister of Public Works, was a graduate of the College of Technology in Vienna, while Rrok Gera, Minister of Finance, had obtained a degree from the Viennese School of International Trade. Due to the Austrian education of these four ministers, the Frashëri cabinet was known as the 'government of German culture'.⁴⁹

Basic information about the Austrian-Albanian Society in Vienna, founded by Austrian writer Friedrich Wallisch on April 30th, 1929, is provided in a monograph⁵⁰ by Uran Asllani and is also available as a manuscript⁵¹ in German translation and revised by Gostentschnigg in the library of the Albanian Institute at the Institute for Eastern European History in Vienna. An article⁵² by Gostentschnigg also deals with the Society. The Society's

43 Domini, Aqif (1931): *Djelmënia, shpresa e ardhëshme, duhet të përgatitet: [këshilla për djelmëninë]*. Tirana: Mbrothësia.

44 Kasmi, Marenglen (2013): Hermann Kirchner. Im Dienste der albanischen Armee. In: *Truppendienst. Zs. des Österreichischen Bundesheeres. Folge 336, Ausgabe 6*, online: <http://www.bundesheer.at/truppendienst/ausgaben/artikel.php?id=1640>.

45 Qazimi, Pëllumb (2013): *Histori e ushtrisë shqiptare 1912-1991*. Tirana: Naimi, p. 67-69, 72, 87, 91.

46 Halimi, Redi (2014): A Liberal Government in King Zog's Albania? Mehdi Frashëri and the Cabinet of the "Young" (1935–1936). In: *Südost-Forschungen* 73, p. 306-333.

47 Halimi (2014), p. 307; *Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë* (2007), p. 376-379.

48 Halimi (2014), p. 309.

49 *Ibid*, p. 311.

50 Asllani, Uran (2000): *Studentët shqiptarë të Austrisë dhe veprimtaria e tyre*. Tirana: Ilar.

51 Asllani, Uran; Gostentschnigg, Kurt (2001): *Die albanischen Studenten in Österreich(-Ungarn) bis 1939. Ihre Rolle beim Aufbau des albanischen Staates im Kontext der albanisch-österreichischen Beziehungen*. Manuskript in the library of the Albanien-Institut at the Institut für Osteuropäische Geschichte in Vienna.

52 Gostentschnigg, Kurt (2013): *Die Aktivitäten der albanischen StudentInnen in Österreich*

membership list includes important actors in the late Habsburg Monarchy, reflecting the significance of bilateral relations: Albanian Albanologist and diplomat Gjergj Pekmezi, diplomat and Albanologist Theodor Ippen, diplomat Remi Kwiatkowski, diplomat Richard Riedl, Eugen Oberhammer (a geographer and professor at the University of Vienna), Albanologist Carl Patsch, folklorist Michael Haberlandt and diplomat Alfred Rappaport.⁵³

Due to the Albanophile policy of Austria-Hungary and its merits with regard to the establishment of the state of Albania, many Albanians sent their children to Austrian schools and universities. Asllani (2000), Asllani and Gostentschnigg (2001) and Gostentschnigg (2013) provide basic documentation of the activities of former Albanian students in Austria after their return to Albania. These intellectuals formed the most qualified and emancipated part of the Albanian intelligentsia and made an outstanding contribution to the consolidation of the Albanian state. So far, we know that about 350 Albanians finished their secondary and/or tertiary education in Austria. Many of these intellectuals with a West European education were later persecuted by the communist regime. More than 130 were imprisoned and over 30 executed for their political convictions.⁵⁴

Oliver Schmitt's article 'Balkan-Wien'⁵⁵ presents Vienna as one of the centres of the unofficial political activities of Albanians, Macedonians and Bulgarians. The informal Austrian-Albanian lobby under the late Monarchy continued its work in the new political conditions after WW1.⁵⁶

Very few publications deal with the reception of Austrian expertise and culture in interwar Albania. The anthology, 'Tirana: the challenge of urban development'⁵⁷, evaluates the Austrian influence in the field of architecture and city planning. Albanian historian Gentiana Kera has dealt with the urban development of Tirana in the interwar period and the impact of Austrian architects and city planners.⁵⁸ In his contribution to a publication on the occasion of the Viennese exhibition 'Tirana: planning, building, living', Albanian architect Artan Shkreli provides us with a useful insight into the

bis 1939. In: Ramaj, Albert (ed.): „Poeta nascitur, historicus fit – ad honorem Zef Mirdita“. Albanisches Institut & Hrvatski Institut za povijest. St. Gallen u. Zagreb, p. 1123–1145.

53 Asllani, Gostentschnigg (2001), p. 44 f.

54 Gostentschnigg (2013), p. 1142–1144.

55 Schmitt, Oliver Jens (2014): „Balkan-Wien“ – Versuch einer Verflechtungsgeschichte der politischen Emigration aus den Balkanländern im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit (1918–1934). In: Südost-Forschungen 73, p. 268–305.

56 Ibid, p. 271, 303.

57 Aliaj, Besnik; Lulo, Keida; Myftiu, Genc (ed.) (2003): Tirana: the challenge of urban development. Tirana: Cetus.

58 Kera, Gentiana (2013): Tirana. Demography, Family and Urban Life (1918–1939). Graz: Dissertation, p. 35–72.

role of Austrians in the planning of the Albanian capital.⁵⁹ In 1916, Tirana was surveyed by the Austro-Hungarian military administration, which, one year later, laid the foundations of the future Skanderbeg Square. After the city's designation as the new capital in 1920, the Albanian authorities asked a number of Austrian experts to design a first urban plan, known as the 'Austrian Plan of 1923'. It aimed to establish a compromise between the existing unsystematic road system and the orthogonal system, which was to be extended to the southwestern side of the bazaar.⁶⁰ In 1928, Austrian architect Wolfgang Köhler revised the Austrian Plan. His plan laid down the foundations of the ring road and Zog I Boulevard. In the 1930s, young Albanian architects such as Skënder Luarasi, Qemal Butka and Anton Lufi, who had graduated in Vienna, started to work in Albania.⁶¹

Until now, research has not been conducted on the activities of Austrian businessmen in interwar Albania nor on the Austrian-Albanian provisional trade agreement of 1927. We only know that at the beginning of the 1920s, Austrian businessman Rudolf Pentz owned the café 'Orient' in Tirana where film screenings took place.⁶²

Moreover, there is a lack of systematic research on the influence of Austrian and Hungarian Albanologists – such as Jokl, Lambertz, Nopcsa and Patsch – on the establishment of Albanian Studies in interwar Albania. Information about Patsch's work on the Albanian national museum project is available in an article⁶³ by Nathalie Clayer. In 1922, the Albanian government asked Patsch to establish a national museum that should contribute to the national consciousness of the Albanian population. His network and know-how were to be deployed for this project. But political unrest in the country in 1925 resulted in its cancellation. Patsch's legacy is evident, on the one hand, in his students, among them Hasan Ceka, one of the founders of Albanian archaeology after WWII.⁶⁴ On the other hand, his book based on research on the Illyrians, '*Ilirët*', published in the Albanian language in 1923, was highly influential. Other Austrian resources were not fully exploited by Albania, for instance the census taken by the

59 Shkreli, Artan (2010): 25 years of Tirana's urban planning from 1916-1941. In: Stiller, Adolph (ed.): Tirana. Planen. Bauen. Leben. Salzburg, Vienna: Müry Salzmann, p. 21-42.

60 Ibid, p. 22.

61 Ibid, p. 30.

62 Kaser, Karl (2018): Hollywood auf dem Balkan. Die visuelle Moderne an der europäischen Peripherie (1900-1970). Vienna: Böhlau, p. 230.

63 Clayer, Nathalie (2012): Carl Patsch et le Musée national de Tirana (1922-1925). In: Revue germanique internationale, 16, p. 91-104.

64 Schmitt, Oliver Jens (2015): Balkanforschung an der Universität Wien. In: Grandner, Margarete Maria; König, Thomas (ed.): Reichweiten und Außensichten. Die Universität Wien als Schnittstelle wissenschaftlicher Entwicklungen und gesellschaftlicher Umbrüche. Göttingen: V&R unipress, p. 93.

Austrian military administration in 1918 under the supervision of Franz Seiner, a geographer and statistics expert. Only Seiner's publication of some basic results in 1922 – *'Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen 1916–18 besetzten Gebiete'* and *'Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme'*, including the first map on the distribution, size and borders of the tribal territories – were supported by Albanian government funds. It is almost a postcolonial irony that this census was analysed within the framework of three FWF research projects decades later: 'The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses (2000–2003)'; 'Migration in Albania at the beginning of the 20th century (2002–2003)'; 'Tirana and Shkodra: Demographic and historical-anthropological trends in two Albanian cities 1918–1938 (2003–2006)'. These projects were carried out at the applicant's institution. As a result, two dissertations⁶⁵, two articles⁶⁶ and two statistical evaluations⁶⁷ were published.

Albanian-Hungarian relations between the two world wars

Csaplár–Degovics has recently initiated research on Albanian-Hungarian relations in the interwar period by studying the most important Albanophile lobby in Hungary, the Gül Baba Islamic Congregation founded in 1931. Its members were Hungarian citizens and of mixed ethnic and denominational origin, such as Muslim Bosnians, Albanians and Turks.⁶⁸ Its supporters founded the Gülbaba Cultural Committee in 1932. In the spring of 1932, King Zogu invited Hussein Hilmi Durić, the High Mufti and spiritual leader of the congregation, to a tour of Albania lasting several weeks. The Hungarian delegation included members of the congregation and representatives of the Gülbaba Cultural Committee. Zogu used Durić's trip for propaganda purposes to demonstrate the allegedly friendly relations between Albania and Hungary vis-à-vis Rome.⁶⁹ In 1937, the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of sovereignty, Albania celebrated with

65 Kera, Gentiana (2013): Tirana. Demography, Family and Urban Life (1918–1939). Graz: Dissertation; Pandelejmoni, Enriketa (2013): Shkodra, Household, Family and Urban Life (1918–1939). Graz: Dissertation.

66 Kera, Gentiana; Papa, Enriketa (2002): Karakteristikat e familjes shqiptare sipas regjistrimit të popullsisë të vitit 1918. In: Politika & Shoqëria, nr. 1 (10), p. 83–96; Gruber, Siegfried (2007): Die albanische Volkszählung von 1918 und ihre Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft. In: Kostka, Helga (ed.): SeinerZeit. Redakteur Franz Seiner (1874 bis 1929) und seine Zeit. Graz: Academic Publishers, p. 253–265.

67 Gruber, Siegfried (2001): The Albanian Census of 1918: Documentation of the data base. Manuscript, Graz; Kaser, Karl; Gruber, Siegfried; Kera, Gentiana; Pandelejmoni, Enriketa (2011): 1918 census of Albania, Version 0.1 [SPSS File]. Graz: n.p..

68 Csaplár–Degovics (2017a), p. 93.

69 Ibid, p. 93.

a series of grand events. Austria was unable to participate as a successor state of the Dual Monarchy. Therefore King Zogu, in order to communicate to Italy that Albania was a sovereign state, invited the Gül Baba Islamic Congregation and the Gülbaba Cultural Committee, which both played a central role in the anniversary celebrations.⁷⁰ On April 27th, 1938, the King married Countess Geraldine Apponyi de Nagy-Appony, a Roman Catholic aristocrat who was half Hungarian and half American. Other candidates had included Italian, Austrian and other Hungarian aristocrats.⁷¹

Turning to Hungarian Balkan Studies, Hungarian geographer Pál Zoltán Szabó, who considered the Carpathian Basin and the southern Slavic Balkans as one geographical unit, pushed for the establishment of a South Hungarian Research Institute in Pécs. Its task would have been to explore the geographical, historical, linguistic and ethnographical relations and mutual influences between the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans.⁷² Indeed, the results of Hungarian scientific expeditions to Albania before and during WWI were published in the interwar period: the work of the botanists Jenő Béla Kümmerle and Sándor Jávorka and of zoologists Ernő Csíki and Géza Fejérváry,⁷³ as well as Nopcsa's *'Albanien. Trachten, Bauten und Geräte Nordalbaniens'*⁷⁴ and *'Geographie und Geologie Nordalbaniens'*⁷⁵. Together with his manuscript *'Die Bergstämme Nordalbaniens und ihr Wohnheitsrecht'*⁷⁶, these publications are still considered standard works of Albanian Studies today.⁷⁷

Methods and theoretical framework

The most appropriate approach for investigating interwar relations between Austria and Hungary and Albania seems to be a theory-based, postcolonial one. Postcolonial studies, with its wide variety of approaches and sets of definition between the classic concept of British, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and French colonialism and the new concept of

70 Ibid, p. 94 f.

71 Fevziu, Blendi (2014): Ahmed Zogu. Presidenti që u bë mbret. Tirana: UET Press, p. 120–123.

72 Hajdú, Zoltán (2003): Az intézményes Balkán-kutatás kialakulásának és fejlődésének problémái Magyarországon 1948-ig, különös tekintettel a földrajzi kutatásokra. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Természettudományi Kar Kelet-Mediterrán és Balkán Tanulmányok Központja. (Balkán füzetek, 1.), p. 70–72.

73 Teleki, Pál; Csíki, Ernő (ed.) (1926): A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Balkán-kutatásainak tudományos eredményei I-III. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

74 Berlin, Leipzig: De Gruyter 1925.

75 Budapestini: Institutum Regni Hungariae Geologicum 1929.

76 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Handschriftensammlung. Ser. nov. 9392.

77 Gostentschnigg (2018a), p. 223.

colonialism without colonies, deals with the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism, focusing on the human consequences of the control and exploitation of colonised peoples and their lands. It examines the social and political power relationships that sustain colonialism, including the social, political and cultural narratives surrounding the coloniser and the colonised, and has established distance from the idea of an abrupt change from imperial to national statehood.⁷⁸

The programmatic anthology, 'Tensions of Empire'⁷⁹, edited by historian Frederick Cooper and anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler, has analysed the interweaving histories of colony and metropolis in the English, French, Belgian and German colonial empires and opened a number of new topics of research such as cultural transfer and the interrelations between the colonised and the colonising. Stoler and Cooper's concern was to bring together the metropolis and colony, the coloniser and the colonised, in a common analytical field in order to understand them in terms of their complication and critical moments of mutual constitution.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Stoler and Cooper's method consists in exact investigation on the micro-level, aimed at describing the diverse strategies and complex forms of interaction resulting in the formation of specific historical constellations. Colonial legacies or even continuities cannot simply be assumed, but must be reconstructed historically in their respective specificity. For example, we should investigate how persons positioned in the centre of a colonial system of authority were able to restructure their relations inside and outside the national political space.⁸¹ If political decolonisation is understood as the disengagement of coloniser and colony, then it becomes part of a large and complicated complex of social change and we should look at a large range of interventions in areas varying from administration to business, education and lifestyle.⁸²

The Habsburg Monarchy was not a colonial state in the strict sense of a dominion, like those originally in the focus of postcolonial studies. Its power was not primarily based on the violent imposition of administrative structures, the development of overseas areas for economic exploitation

78 Cooper, Frederick (2005): *Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 19.

79 Cooper, Frederick; Stoler, Ann Laura (ed.) (1997): *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

80 Stoler, Ann Laura; Cooper, Frederick (1997): *Between Metropole and Colony. Rethinking a Research Agenda*. In: Cooper, Frederick; Stoler, Ann Laura (ed.): *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 15.

81 Cooper (2005), p. 19 f..

82 Boegaerts, Els; Raben, Remco (2012): *Beyond Empire and Nation*. In: Boegaerts, Els; Raben, Remco (ed.): *Beyond Empire and Nation. Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s – 1970s*. Leiden: KITLV Press, p. 18.

and the legal segregation of colonial masters and indigenous populations by withholding a general right to citizenship.⁸³ An interesting, though ambivalent, exception to this Austrian 'rule' is the Austro-Hungarian seizure of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here, we see a remarkable mesh comprising structural features of European colonialism and Austro-Hungarian social attitudes regarding cultural and economic difference.⁸⁴ The lengthy military occupation until annexation in 1908 and, in connection, administrative segregation led to the insufficient representation and legal position of the province and its ethno-religious communities in comparison with the old crown lands. The occupation was also justified as a civilisation or 'Europeanisation' project.⁸⁵ The instruments of this strategy included the codification of a Bosnian variant of the Serbo-Croat language, cultural integration projects like the foundation of the *Landesmuseum* in Sarajevo in 1888, as well as the creation of elite Bosnian military units. Hence, many forms of Austrian representation as well as identity discourses followed colonial patterns ranging from the imagination of inherent cultural superiority – as communicated, for example, in travel and official reports – to the sense of mission held by the European-Christian metropolis in view of the non-Christian periphery and its 'areas of wilderness'.⁸⁶

As the example of Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrates, Austria-Hungary intended to establish forms of colonial relationship where possible. Therefore, it seemed obvious that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian model could be applied to Albania. The relationship between Austria-Hungary and Albania is a very unique case of twenty years of cultural and informal imperialism exercised by interconnected individual and collective actors in the 'field of power', while the period of direct semi-formal imperialism in the form of the military administration of the greater part of the Albanian territories during World War I lasted for only two years.⁸⁷ Thus, we are looking at a very complex process. The existence of postcolonial relations is not necessarily based on classic colonialism. Colonialism as a

83 Wendland, Anna Veronika (2010): Imperiale, koloniale und postkoloniale Blicke auf die Peripherien des Habsburgerreiches. In: Kraft, Claudia; Lüdtkke, Alf; Martschukat, Jürgen (ed.): Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen. Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus, p. 212.

84 Ibid, p. 213.

85 Ibid, p. 213 f..

86 Ibid, p. 215.

87 Gostentschnigg (2018a), p. 729–761; Gostentschnigg, Kurt (2018b): Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie. Wissenschaft im Bann des Machtfelds. In: Gemeinsames Neuentdecken. Ein Kaleidoskop zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-albanischen Beziehungen. Hg. v. Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres – Sektion für Kulturelle Auslandsbeziehungen. Vienna, p. 117-129.

system of domination can exist without the formal existence of colonies.⁸⁸ Apparent colonial control, informal imperialism and a collaborative elite are sufficient,⁸⁹ as we see in the Albanian case. States without former colonies as well as states that were not formally colonised upheld colonial relationships in many ways, were involved in colonial practices such as military conquest and economic exploitation and engaged in the production and reproduction of colonial knowledge, representations and discourses.⁹⁰ The anthology *'Postkoloniale Schweiz'*⁹¹ is one of several outstanding contributions to theory that removes colonialism from its binary corset and pluralises it by introducing the terms 'colonial complicity' or 'colonial exceptionalism', thus capturing features of a constellation described as 'colonialism without colonies', i.e. the presence and perseverance of colonial structures and power relations in countries that were neither colonial powers nor colonies.⁹² Here, the notion of 'postcolonialism' obtains a new point of reference, since Switzerland – never a colonial power in the true sense – represents the most unlikely example for this critical theoretical approach.⁹³

In our case, we must first establish if the colonial image of decolonisation as retreat and the national representation of independence as national destiny emphasised the event as a rupture,⁹⁴ or rather underlined the fundamental continuities between colonial and postcolonial times. We must examine the narrative of decolonisation in Albanian historiography and journalism of the interwar period and investigate in ministerial archives if institutional, personal and ideological continuities existed and

88 Osterhammel, Jürgen (1997): *Colonialism. A theoretical overview*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, p. 4, 10 f., 17.

89 Osterhammel, Jürgen (1995): *Kolonialismus. Geschichte – Formen – Folgen*. Munich: Beck, p. 25 f.

90 Purtschert, Patricia; Fischer-Tiné, Harald (2015): Introduction: The end of innocence: Debating colonialism in Switzerland. In: Purtschert, Patricia; Fischer-Tiné, Harald (ed.): *Colonial Switzerland: Rethinking colonialism from the margins*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 8.

91 Purtschert, Patricia; Lüthi, Barbara; Falk, Francesca (ed.) (2013): *Postkoloniale Schweiz. Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

92 Purtschert, Patricia; Lüthi, Barbara; Falk, Francesca (2015): Switzerland and 'Colonialism without Colonies'. Reflections on the status of colonial outsiders. In: *Interventions*, June, p. 6; Purtschert, Patricia; Lüthi, Barbara; Falk, Francesca (2016): Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies. In: *National Identities*, 18(1), p. 1-9.

93 Randeria, Shalini (2013): *Verflochtene Schweiz. Herausforderungen eines Postkolonialismus ohne Kolonien*. In: Purtschert, Patricia; Lüthi, Barbara; Falk, Francesca (ed.): *Postkoloniale Schweiz. Formen und Folgen eines Kolonialismus ohne Kolonien*. Bielefeld: Transcript, p. 10.

94 Boegaerts, Raben (2012), p. 13 f..

if any political, administrative, legal or social models as well as cultural paradigms from the Austro-Hungarian imperial past were deployed by the interwar state. Another question to be answered relates to the successful integration of originally foreign Austrian and Hungarian culture into the later strategy of differentiation from the new hegemonic power Italy. Italian culture met with low acceptance in Albania, even on the part of King Zogu himself.

Research by Gostentschnigg in the Austrian Archive of the Republic in Vienna (Department of Foreign Affairs in the Federal Chancellor's Office, e.g. on the Austrian community in Albania and the Austro-Albanian provisional trade agreement of 1927), in the National Archives in Budapest (in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and in the State Archive in Tirana (e.g. relating to personalities, political parties, organisations and associations, foreign advisers and specialists, relations between Albania and Austria) indicates that there is enough archival material to answer the question as to whether Austro-Albanian and Hungarian-Albanian relations in the interwar period were of a postcolonial nature, and if yes, of what kind.

Concerning Freundlich, several records are available in the Archive of the Republic in Vienna and in the State Archive in Tirana, as well as a biographical article⁹⁵. Information about Ghilardi's work in Albania is collected in a number of records held in the State Archive in Tirana, as well as in Csaplár-Degovic's article⁹⁶ mentioned above and in the monograph⁹⁷ by Domini. Myrdacz's efforts for the Albanian army are mentioned in several records held in the State Archive in Tirana, and records report on him in the Archive of the Republic in Vienna. In relation to Kirchner's role in the Albanian army, we can refer to records kept in the State Archive in Tirana and to the above-mentioned article⁹⁸ by Kasmi. The National Library in Tirana holds two writings compiled by Kirchner for the officer's school in Tirana: a paper on the military geography of Albania and a practical guide to topography. As verified by Gostentschnigg, information about the Austrian-Albanian Society in Vienna and its branch in Tirana can be found in August Kral's unpublished works in the Viennese *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* (central archive of the House of Habsburg) and in the Albanian State Archive. As also already mentioned, basic information about Wallisch and his Austrian-Albanian Society in Vienna is provided in Asllani's monograph⁹⁹, available

95 Strommer (2012).

96 Csaplár-Degovics (2016).

97 Domini (1931).

98 Kasmi (2013).

99 Asllani (2000).

as a revised manuscript¹⁰⁰ and in Gostentschnigg's article¹⁰¹. Patsch's unpublished works and correspondence are stored in the Bavarian Main State Archive and belong to the holdings of the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg. A minor share of Jokl's books, unpublished works and correspondence – the majority of his writings were lost in WWII – is accessible in the National Library in Vienna. Two conference volumes¹⁰² and Petrit Kotrri's monograph¹⁰³ have been published on Jokl. The unpublished works and correspondence of Lambertz are also stored in the National Library in Vienna where we may find relevant data about his work in the interwar period. Information about Scheiger can be found in the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin and in Scheiger's voluminous unpublished works stored at the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg. Regarding Zogu, Curani, Pekmezi and many former Albanian students in Austria, the holdings of the Austrian Archive of the Republic, the Albanian State Archive and pertinent literature in the National Library in Tirana have yet to be consulted. King Zogu's life and work is well documented by several monographs¹⁰⁴. Basic information about the former Albanian students in Austria can be found in Asllani's monograph¹⁰⁵, allowing insight into whether an entire generation of intellectuals facing 'cultural and historical hybridity'¹⁰⁶ was educated and imbued with certain visions of modernity.

Basic information about the Albanian national museum project is available in Clayer's article¹⁰⁷ mentioned above, further information in the State Archive in Tirana and, as already established by Gostentschnigg,

100 Asllani, Gostentschnigg (2001).

101 Gostentschnigg (2013).

102 Osmani, Tomor; Kotrri, Petrit; Kazazi, Njazi (ed.) (2003): Norbert Jokli 1877-1942: Albanolog i shquar austriak. Materiale të Konferencës Shkencore në nderim të N. Joklit, mbajtur në Shkodër, më 28-29 Qershor 2002. Shkodra: Camaj-Pipa; Ölberg, Hermann (ed.) (1977): Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Innsbruck 1972 zum Gedächtnis an Norbert Jokl. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

103 Kotrri, Petrit (2003): Norbert Jokl und seine Studien zur albanischen Sprache. Peja: Dukagjini Publishing House.

104 Fischer, Bernd Jürgen (1984): King Zog and the struggle for stability in Albania. New York: Columbia University Press; Schmidt-Neke, Michael (1987): Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912-1939). München: Oldenbourg; Tomes, Jason (2003): King Zog, Self-Made Monarch of Albania. Stroud: Sutton; Pearson, Owen (2004): Albania and King Zog. Independence, Republic and Monarchy 1908-1939. London: I. B. Tauris; Fevziu, Blendi (2014): Ahmed Zogu. Presidenti që u bë mbret. Tirana: UET Press.

105 Asllani (2000).

106 Boegaerts, Raben (2012), p. 9.

107 Clayer (2012).

in Patsch's unpublished works and correspondence. Concerning the provisional trade agreement between Austria and Albania signed on April 14th, 1927, the relevant records in the Austrian Archive of the Republic and the Albanian State Archive must be viewed. Information about the beginning of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries can be found in the relevant holdings of the Austrian Archive of the Republic and the Albanian State Archive, while basic information is provided in the above-mentioned article¹⁰⁸ by Dibra. In order to investigate Albanian literature with regard to interpretations of Austria-Hungary's exertion of influence on Albania, Robert Elsie's basic monograph¹⁰⁹ offers a starting point as well as literature held in the National Library in Tirana. On Migjeni, one of the main representatives of Albanian literature in the interwar period, we have Eljon Doçe's dissertation¹¹⁰. Regarding the representation of Austria-Hungary's policy towards Albanian territories in Albanian historiography and newspapers of that time, we can rely on the rich holdings of the National Library in Tirana. A true treasure in the Viennese War Archive is the conscientious work¹¹¹ of Mariano San Nicolò who wrote an extensive description (362 pages!) of the Austro-Hungarian-Albanian efforts to modernise legislation in the occupied territories. This constitutes a revised collection, compiled for official purposes, of all orders of normative character issued by the High Command in Albania. Last but not least, Gostentschnigg has obtained a list of 45 Albanian descendants of Austrian citizens from the Austrian Embassy in Tirana. Some are relatives of former Albanian students in Austria. Thus, he will be able to contact their children and grandchildren in order to conduct oral history interviews¹¹² with the aim of investigating the identity and memory practices of actors who dealt with imperial experiences during postcolonial processes. Approx. 15 interviews will be conducted; five interview partners have already been identified. Gostentschnigg will use Fatos Baxhaku's publications¹¹³ on this

108 Dibra (2016).

109 Elsie, Robert (1995): *History of Albanian Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

110 Doçe, Eljon (2014): *Studim monografik mbi veprën e Migjenit*. Tirana: Disertacion.

111 San Nicolò, Mariano (1918): *Die Verwaltung Albaniens durch die k. u. k. österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen in den ersten zwei Jahren der Besetzung des Landes an der Hand der ergangenen Befehle. Zum Amtsgebrauch bearbeitete Sammlung der vom Höchsten Kommando in Albanien erlassenen Verordnungen normativen Charakters*. Vienna: Kriegsministerium.

112 Egger, Michael (2016): *Der kleine Oral History Ratgeber*. Schriftenreihe der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Ed. by Gerald Schöpfer. Second edition. Graz: self-published.

113 Baxhaku, Fatos (2013): *Der rote Schirm. Geschichten österreichisch-albanischer Schicksale vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*. Tirana: Dituria; Baxhaku, Fatos (2018): *All*

subject as a guideline.

The analysis of these archival holdings, unpublished works and correspondence, monographs and articles as well as oral history interviews will be guided by the postcolonial approach of Cooper and Stoler in order to answer the research questions detailed above. The extent of interplay between the fields of politics, the economy, culture and Albanology will be investigated. Possible interaction between Austrian and Hungarian Albanophiles, among them former colonisers, and the Albanian Austrophiles and Hungarophiles, among them former colonised, will also be studied. The project will explore the joint interests of Albanian Austrophiles and Hungarophiles and their belief that they were contributing to the consolidation of Albania by means of expertise acquired in Austria and Hungary and networks formed there. Likewise, it will trace the efforts of Austrian and Hungarian Albanophiles to contribute to the consolidation of Albania and to bilateral relations by means of expertise gained in Austria and Hungary in particular. The visible and invisible networks of these actors will be reconstructed.

you need is love. Oder: Drei alte Liebesgeschichten. In: *Gemeinsames Neuentdecken. Ein Kaleidoskop zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der österreichisch-albanischen Beziehungen*. Hg. v. Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres – Sektion für Kulturelle Auslandsbeziehungen. Vienna, p. 39-47.