

*Aleš Gabrič**

Borders and Restrictions**

The Borders and a Limited Supply

Whenever and wherever borders are outlined anew they make a deep cut into the lives of the population. They disrupt everyday life, separate family members, friends and acquaintances who end up on different sides of the border, make the traditional movement of goods difficult or even impossible. Many people cannot continue with their education due to the changed borders, nor go to shops, medical, cultural and other institutions. The new borders disrupt traffic connections that were used on a daily basis. People begin to wonder what is available to them, and when – or even if – the good old times will return.

The division of the Drava Banovina or the Slovene part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia made a deep cut in the people's lives, it ran much deeper than elsewhere in occupied Europe. This was because the delimitation between Germany and Italy was not based on old or natural borders as it ran more to the south than the former border between Carniola and Styria. In the case of Gorenjska, parts of the former Carniola were separated from its southern areas, with which they had shared the same fate for centuries. Prekmurje, which was integrated into Hungary, saw the old Hungarian border re-emerge on the river Mura and the border between Germany and Hungary in Prekmurje diverged slightly from the old one. Additionally, a few villages became part of the Independent State of Croatia when the new delimitation was outlined in a section of the Slovene eastern ethnic border. However, these two sections were short and were not

* Dr Aleš Gabrič, Research Councillor, Institute of Contemporary History, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Privoz 11, ales.gabric@inz.si.

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etched as deeply in the conscience of the majority of the Slovene population as was the new border between Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Having been outlined in 1941, these new borders caused many difficulties to people living along them, many of whom now owned land on both sides of the border. Germany and the Independent State of Croatia introduced new border crossings in October 1941, others followed suit. Consequently, new border crossings were built, particularly those for people who had land on both sides of the border. Naturally, this meant that they had to obtain new papers.¹ Farmers living along these new borders recounted how they affected their work. Rudi Gaber from the village of Serdica in Prekmurje, which was divided by the new border between Germany and Hungary, mentioned that some owners of large farms faced difficulties because the mill that ground their produce ended up in the neighbouring state.²

The disruption of day-to-day operations was felt in Ljubljana as well. Following the introduction of the new border, passengers taking a tram from Šentvid to the city centre had to get off at the checkpoint, walk through the border control and get on the tram again. Those in charge of the tram service realized that this did not make any sense and caused considerable delays, and thus this line was simply cut short in October 1941, terminating at the tram depot, not far from where it began.³ German-occupied Štajerska and Gorenjska were situated across the border and had no direct connections because the traffic between them ran via Ljubljana. Not to be contingent upon the transport via a "neighbouring state", the railway line Laze–Črnuče–Šentvid nad Ljubljano was built to connect the railway of Štajerska and Gorenjska. This line began its operation in 1942 and was disassembled after the war.⁴ Gorenjska was administratively integrated into (Austrian) Carinthia, although there was lack of transport connections between them. The Germans built the Ljubelj tunnel to ensure better connections in the territory within this administrative unit. It was built by prisoners interned in the Podljubelj camp, a subcamp of the Mauthausen labour camp. The tunnel breakthrough occurred in 1944.

That people found themselves on different sides of the border became evident when former business partners or customers all of a sudden could not use the same currency to pay for goods or products. To expedite the integration of these parts into their state frameworks, the occupiers replaced the Yugoslav dinar with their respective currencies. Hungary was particularly swift in this regard, and introduced the pengő as early as in May 1942, while Germany and Italy followed suit in June, when the Reichsmark and lira were introduced, respectively. Everybody suffered damages,

1 Klasinc, *Okupacija dela slovenske zemlje*, 38–39.

2 Gaber, Nacist je s škornjem določil mejo v Serdici. https://youtu.be/j_IQrWi2Nbc

3 Brate, Tadej: *Ljubljanski tramvaj*, 110–112.

4 Rustja, Proge, 315.

regardless of on which side of the border they ended up, and the exchange rates imposed benefited the occupiers and hurt the local population.



Fig. 1: Tram Line 1, January 1942, operating a shorter line, only as far as Šiška.

One of the fundamental responsibilities of the state authorities is to provide the most basic supplies to the population, which is not easy to do in wartime, particularly in areas divided by new borders. In occupied Slovenia, this was particularly problematic in the largest Slovene city, whose gravitational surroundings shrunk considerably. Farmers from Ljubljana's southern or eastern suburban areas, who had previously sold their produce in the Ljubljana market, could continue to do so. However, those coming to the city from areas to the north of Ljubljana had to discontinue their operation because they ended up living on the other side of the border. In the days immediately after the attack on Yugoslavia supplies were lacking in many areas. In the weeks after the occupation the new authorities thus introduced decrees associated with the provision of necessities.

It was not the occupation of Slovene territory itself that brought about supply-related restrictions to the civilian population. World War I – when what was thought to be a short war turned out to be an exhausting, years-long military conflict that resulted in severe shortages on the fronts and behind them – was still a recent memory, and many states introduced food rations even before the conflicts began or immediately after that. Germany and Italy introduced food rations before the April War in 1941. Slovenes were familiar with the restrictions introduced by the occupation authorities because in 1939, in the year when the war began, Yugoslavia had already introduced control over foodstuffs.

From October 1940 onwards, the food office Prevod was in charge of the food supply of the population in the Drava Banovina. It was responsible for maintaining the food supply along with the acquisition and distribution of basic living items. Due to the war in Europe the price of basic foodstuffs began to increase and the authorities adopted regulations that introduced price ceilings, although these could not prevent soaring prices. Two meatless days, which were introduced in May 1940, were an obvious indicator of shortages. This implied that meat could not be bought at the butcher's or in shops for two days in a week. A lower standard was also noticeable in the case of bread, and the regulations stipulated a low percentage of wheat flour and increased shares of other ingredients, particularly corn flour. In the Drava Banovina, food stamps, initially for flour and pasta, were introduced in early 1941, which implies that shortages were not caused by the war but were certainly aggravated by it. This holds true particularly for Ljubljana, which was cut off from its hinterland, after 1942, when the city was encircled with barbed wire, and the provision of food supplies was also hindered in areas under the Italian occupying administration.⁵

Italians took over the food office Prevod after the occupation. In the first year of the war the food coupons regulated individual's daily food ration, which equalled about 1,030 calories a day during wartime.⁶ However, newcomers from the north of Slovenia who did not have the right of domicile in the Province of Ljubljana were not entitled to coupons. Germany managed to secure more food supplies and, initially, food coupons for different foodstuffs – equivalent to 1,213 calories a day – could be obtained. However, the differences among recipients in the German-occupied area were considerable. Initially, the attempts to modernize agriculture in the German-occupied areas resulted in more agricultural produce, and farmers had surpluses. However, they could not dispose of them freely, and were obliged to hand them over to the state. The distribution of food was based on the Nazi racial classifications. Citizens of the German Reich were entitled to more than the so-called *Schutzangehörige*, i.e. non-German inhabitants of

5 Šorn, *Naši želodci so kakor vrt*, 333.

6 Šorn, *Življenje Ljubljančanov*, 191.

PRIVATLEHRANSTALT M. KOWATSCH
MARBURG a/D., OBERE HERRENGASSE 14

Zahl: 76/1941. Schuljahr: 1940/1941

ZEUGNIS

Fräulein S a w e t z Irene,

geboren am 6. Februar 1925 in Lorenzen / Draufeld

hat den »Einjährigen Handelskurs Kowatsch« in Marburg a/D. vom 9. September 1940 bis 30. Juni 1941 vollständig besucht und in den einzelnen Gegenständen nachstehende Erfolge erzielt:

Kaufmännisches Rechnen	vorzüglich
Buchhaltung mit Kontorarbeiten	vorzüglich
Deutsche Handelskorrespondenz	lobenswert
Handelskunde und Wechsellehre	vorzüglich
Warenkunde	vorzüglich
Handelsgeographie	vorzüglich
Deutsche Kurzschrift	lobenswert
Maschinenschreiben	lobenswert
Schönschreiben	vorzüglich

Im Zeitpunkte der Befreiung der Untersteiermark sind im Kataloge noch folgende Noten verzeichnet:

Slowenische Handelskorrespondenz	vorzüglich
Serbokroatische Handelskorrespondenz	vorzüglich
Slowenische Stenographie	lobenswert
Äussere Form der schriftlichen Arbeiten	sehr gefällig

MARBURG a/D., am 30. Juni 1941.

M. KOWATSCH
Handelschule
— Marburg Draufeld —
Herrngasse 14
Telefon 33-33

Für den Lehrkörper:
M. Kowatsch
 Direktor.

Auf Grund der Zuschrift des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark v. 18. VI. 1941, E. Zl. 13641/1941 erspart dieses Zeugnis ein Jahr Lehrzeit im Handelsgewerbe.

Rangstufen der Noten: 5 = vorzüglich, 4 = lobenswert, 3 = gut, 2 = genügend, 1 = nicht genügend.

Marburger Druckerei, Marburg a. D.

Fig. 2: In June 1941 the new rules for trade were presented in German in Maribor. However, the majority had no command of this language and Slovene had to be used as well.

areas integrated into the Reich. Foreign labourers, Poles, Jews, and Romani were positioned even lower, and thus entitled to a smaller amount of food. The situation began to deteriorate rapidly when Germany began losing the war, when the bulk of the male population was mobilized and with the expansion of the resistance movement. Families whose members had joined partisans lost their right to food stamps. In late 1942 German authority holders in Štajerska realized that it had become increasingly difficult to secure enough food supplies for the population, and thus they began to reduce the stipulated quantity. The situation was even worse in areas where agriculture was not a primary economic industry, e.g. industrial towns in Gorenjska or in mining towns in the valley of the river Meža, because the level of self-supply was even lower there. However, the food provision in the German-occupied territory up to the end of the war was better than in the Province of Ljubljana. In the last month of the war the population of Lower Styria received coupons equalling 954 calories a day, whereas the inhabitants of Ljubljana received coupons equivalent to 674 calories. The end of the war did not bring about the end of shortages, as the transport network was destroyed to a large extent, there was a shortage of railway wagons, the land was not tilled and the next full harvest was months away.⁷

Incentives for the Economic Modernization on the One Hand and Stagnation on the Other

New borders resulted in very different perspectives on economic development. Areas integrated into Hungary and Croatia were not included in any ambitious economic plans due to their agrarian orientation and backwardness, as well as the fact that they were situated on the outskirts of their respective states. The German- and Italian-occupied areas were subject to very different economic developments designed by their respective occupier. The division of the Yugoslav and thus Slovene territory was planned by Germany, which appropriated the most developed parts of Slovenia. Gorenjska, Štajerska and Koroška (the valley of the river Meža) boasted more than 70% of industrial capacity of the Drava Banovina. This was the one of the most electrified parts of Slovenia (and Yugoslavia), and plans were made to build new hydro-power plants on the river Drava. The supplies of coal in the Zasavje region, which was well connected to the railway system, were important as well. Much like many others, this road crossed the river Sava, the natural border between Carniola and Styria, and with the new border, the most powerful occupier gained control of the most important traffic connection. The opportunities for the more rapid development of agriculture were sparse because in Yugoslavia the agricultural economy was rather stagnant,

7 Himmelreich, *Prebrana v Sloveniji*, 298–305.

as the produce from the state's south was cheaper. However, more attention was paid to agriculture in Štajerska and Gorenjska during wartime, striving for self-supply and seeking to make good use of the potential at hand.

Italian occupiers had more difficulties – even if we disregard Italy's lack of preparedness with regard to occupying the territory in question – because they integrated an area that was mostly agrarian in nature and whose agricultural industry did not show any real signs of modernization. Agricultural land was scattered, which had a negative impact on producing a food surplus. Ljubljana was the only important industrial centre, while elsewhere there were only small industrial plants. Upwards of one-quarter of industrial capacity of the former Drava Banovina belonged to Italy, with the majority of industry in towns being wood-processing plants that made use of the most important raw material in these parts – lumber. All of a sudden, Ljubljana, having been the administrative and cultural centre of the Slovene territory, became too large a city for a territory such as the Province of Ljubljana. Many Slovene intellectuals from the northern parts of the Slovene territory fled to Ljubljana from areas under German occupation, which aggravated the problem of providing the most basic supplies to the population there.



Fig. 3: A bilingual invitation to a fair in Ljubljana.

Germany introduced the new economic principles in the most systematic way. Its economic policy was had proven effective in Germany itself, and it occupied the most vital areas in Slovenia that had seen investments from Austria and Bohemia in the previous decades. Germany occupied the aforementioned states even before the beginning of the war, and had thus control over a portion of the Slovene territory's economic potential. After the occupation this share grew with the confiscation of the former Yugoslav property and that of the *banovina*, as well as with the confiscation of properties belonging to the discontinued ecclesiastical institutions and confiscated businesses. By controlling ownership of the bulk of economic concerns, Germany was able to transfer its policy of economic development, which was subject to military requirements, to Štajerska, Gorenjska and Koroška without difficulties.

Germany sought to integrate this territory into its economic system as closely as possible, and consequently planned to build new premises and modernize some of the existing industrial plants. These investments were, much like everything else in the state, tailored to fit the needs of Germany's military requirements. Consequently, traffic connections, mines and heavy industry plants had to function impeccably. Their employees were thus not the first to be conscripted into the German Army, and they did their obligatory military service in their workplaces. Moreover, with the resettlement of a portion of the population and the conscription of young men who were born in the same years, the Slovene territory was faced with a shortage of workforce, as did other parts of occupied Europe, and German industry thus exploited the labour of prisoners interned in camps. The most important industrial plant in the plans of the German occupiers was the bauxite and aluminium production company in Strnišče pri Ptujju. It had good growth potential, obtained ore in Hungary and had good railway connections due to its location near the river Drava that would provide electricity for its operations. There was a lack of workers, but this did not trouble the occupiers that much, as they began to use prisoners of war in the production and the labour camp was turned into a concentration camp. The construction of an aircraft parts factory in Tezno, Maribor, was associated with the aluminium production in Strnišče, as were plans for building new hydropower plants on Drava.

By integrating Ljubljana with its surroundings, Dolenjska and Notranjska, Italy obtained a territory with no significant mineral resources. Lumber from extensive forests was the most important raw material, but with partisan troops being stationed there the occupier was not able to exploit these large, wooded areas. The territory integrated into Italy was thus unable to provide sustenance for its population. Additionally, Ljubljana was a capital that was too large for an area with such a lack of development. Wood-processing plants were not updated, nor were other types of plants, whose development potential was even worse.⁸

8 Ferenc, *Gospodarstvo pod okupacijo*, 592–601.

The border between the German- and Italian-occupied zones thus also became a dividing line between parts of Slovenia where the (non-conscripted) local population could find employment or unemployment was on the decrease, and areas without a broader perspective of economic development. The border divided Slovenia's northern parts that had better organized supplies for the civilian population and its southern parts, where shortages became worse year by year. However, by the end of the year shortages were also felt acutely in the areas that had been less affected by the war up to that point.

Imposing New Identities

Occupation borders also outlined territories whose attitudes towards Sloveneness, the Slovene language and culture were very different. The German-Italian border was in this regard the most prominent dividing line. The Germans sought to Germanize the population as soon as possible, and tailored attitudes towards the language and cultural institutions to fit this goal. In contrast, the Italians introduced bilingualism, allowing Slovene to be used alongside Italian. Under German rule, the National Theatre in Maribor was discontinued and replaced by a municipal theatre that operated solely in German and had an entertaining, popular programme. Meanwhile, the National Theatre in Ljubljana was turned into State Theatre/Teatro di Stato (Staatstheater after Italy's capitulation) – the performances were still in Slovene but included many plays written by Italian authors. Slovene libraries in the Province of Ljubljana were allowed to operate (as much as they could, given the conditions), while the Germans destroyed Slovene books in their territory and banned Slovene societies. Slovene intellectuals were among the first to be placed on resettlement lists in the German-occupied territory, whereas in the Italian-occupied areas they were allowed to operate if they yielded to the demands of the new authorities. What these restrictions implied is illustrated by a memorandum that representatives of the most renowned cultural institutions handed in to the highest representative of the civil occupying administration. It was pointed out in this memorandum that the Italian Army “occupied a part of Slovenia” and they defended their right to the Slovene language and culture. Consequently, this communication was not spoken about. By contrast, in the introduction to *Dom in svet*, the only important Slovene literary periodical, which gave in to the new conditions and continued to be published, includes references to the great Italian Empire and Italian leaders, not to Slovenia.⁹

9 Gabrič, Slovenske kulturne ustanove, 42–45.

Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt

des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark

1941

Ausgegeben in Marburg am 25. September 1941.

Nr. 43

Inhalt

Verordnung über die gebietliche Gliederung der Untersteiermark vom 20. September 1941. 315

Verordnung über die gebietliche Gliederung der Untersteiermark.

Nachdem die organisatorische Gliederung der Untersteiermark zum Abschluß gekommen ist, ordne ich auf Grund der mir erteilten Ermächtigung an:

§ 1

Die Untersteiermark gliedert sich in folgende Stadt- und Landkreise:

1. Stadtkreis Marburg an der Drau

2. Landkreis Marburg an der Drau mit folgenden politischen Gemeinden:

Bachern
Egidi in den Bühelein (früher St. Egidi i. W. B.)
Frauenberg bei Marburg (früher Kromsch)
Frauheim
Freesen (früher Remschelg)
Georgenberg (früher St. Georgen a. d. Pöbnitz)
Gonobitz
Hagau (früher Oplowitz)
Hartenstein (früher St. Martin b. Windschgraz)
Hohenmauten (früher Hohenmauthen)
Hohenstein (früher Retschach)
Jahring
Jakobstal (früher St. Jakob i. W. B.)
Kappel
Kerschbach
Kunigund (früher Ober-St. Kunigund)
Lapriach (früher Laporje)
Lorenzen am Bachera (früher St. Lorenzen ob Marburg)
Mahrenberg
Oberpulgau
Pankenstein (früher Heiligengeist in Lotsche)
Pötschach
Pragerhof (früher Unterpulgau)
Pritchau (früher Pritchowa)
Raas (früher Maria-Raas)
Ranzenberg (früher Pöbnitz)
Reifing
Richterberg (früher Pamatisch)
Rotterberg (früher Podveleka)
Saldenhofen
St. Martin am Bachern
Schleinitz bei Marburg (früher Schleinitz)
Schober

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Täubling
Wachsenberg (früher St. Margarethen a. d. Pöbnitz)
Waldegg (früher Mähling)
Weitenstein
Widerdriß (früher Radwald)
Windschfeistritz (früher Windsch-Feistritz)
Windschgraz
Witscheln
Wuchern
Wurz
Zellnitz an der Drau.

Für die politischen Gemeinden Hartenstein, Richterberg, Waldegg, Widerdriß und Windschgraz wird eine **Außenstelle in Windschgraz** errichtet.

3. Landkreis Pettau mit folgenden politischen Gemeinden:

Allerheiligen bei Friedau (früher Allerheiligen)
Amtmannsfeld (früher St. Lorenzen am Draufeld)
Ankenstein (früher St. Barbara i. d. Kollos)
Benedikten (früher St. Benedikten i. W.)
Bergreusitz (früher Maria-Neusitz)
Burgstall in den Bühelein (früher Heiligendreifaltigkeit i. W.)
Dornau bei Pettau (früher Dornau)
Dornberg (früher St. Wolfgang i. W.)
Friedau
Göldorf (früher St. Johann am Draufeld)
Großsonntag
Haslach in der Kollos (früher St. Andrä in Leskowetz)
Jörgendorf (früher St. Lorenzen i. W.)
Kraag bei Friedau (früher St. Anton i. W.)
Kaisersberg (früher St. Nikola)
Kirchberg in den Bühelein (früher St. Anton i. W.)
Krauschfeld
Leonard in den Bühelein (früher St. Leonhard i. W.)
Lichtenegg in der Kollos (früher Lichtenegg)
Mallenberg (früher St. Georgen i. W.)
Margareten bei Pettau (früher St. Margareten)
Maxau
Monsberg
Mörtendorf (früher St. Marxen)
Pettau
Poltraun
Saurlich
Schillern am Donat (früher Schillern)
Stauden (früher Zirkovetz)
Stiensperg (früher Poltschach)
Strahleck (früher St. Ruprecht)
Thomasberg (früher St. Thomas bei Friedau)
Trenn (früher St. Veit bei Pettau)
Unterbühelein (früher St. Leonhard bei Großsonntag)
Windschdorf
Winderdorf (früher St. Urban)
Wittmannsberg (früher St. Andrä i. W.)
Wurmberg (früher Grajenz).

4. Landkreis Cilli mit folgenden politischen Gemeinden:

Anderburg (früher St. Georgen an der Südbahn)
Andorf bei Cilli (früher Pietrowitsch)
Bad Neuhaus (früher Bad Neuhaus bei Cilli)
Bärenthal (früher Bärenthal)
Blachdorf
Cilli
Erlachstein (früher St. Marein bei Erlachstein)
Frazz

Figs. 4 and 5: The first two pages about the administrative division of Lower Styria, which brought about new official names of settlements.

These new occupation borders thus became boundaries of new official languages and attempts to create new identities for the local population. Leading German officials followed the instructions that said that this land that had been German once must become German again. How this was felt by Slovenes living along the new German-Croatian border is evident from the chronicle of a family residing in the proximity of Ormož. This chronicle was compiled by Ciril Vnuk and consists of family members' memories. His cousin Jožefa said the following about the fate of Slovene books: "At the very beginning of the occupation they had to take Slovene books to the municipality, some of the were supposedly burnt there and some of them people hid at their homes. [...] I hid my *Mohorjev koledar* (Hermagoras Calendar); it was the last one published in Yugoslavia and I took it to exile later on."¹⁰ Children of school age had to attend school at Krog, where lessons were held in German. My brother Milan said to me: "School was difficult, we could not speak Slovene properly, let alone German ... we did not understand a thing. Those teachers kept badgering us and yelling: 'Hunde, lendige Bande!'"¹¹

10 Vnuk, Družinski spomin, 74.

11 Ibid., 78.

Der Chef der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark
Der Beauftragte für das Schulwesen

Zeugnis

Zuname Majhen, Vorname Antonia geboren
am 28. April 1926, zu Lampendorf, in Untersteiermark

Der (Die) Schüler(in) hat im Schuljahre 1940/41 die dritte Klasse des Reals
gymnasium in Pettau besucht.

Auf Grund der im Zeitpunkt der Befreiung der Untersteiermark vorgefundenen Eintragungen wurde der (die) Genannte, wie folgt, beurteilt:

Religion	<u>vorzüglich</u>	Mathematik	<u>gut</u>
Slowenische Sprache	<u>gut</u>	Gesundheitslehre	<u>gut</u>
Serbokroatische Sprache	<u>gut</u>	Kunsterziehung	/
Deutsche Sprache	<u>gut</u>	Philosoph. Propäd.	/
Französische Sprache	<u>gut</u>	Somatologie	/
Lateinische Sprache	/	Zeichnen	<u>gut</u>
Griechische Sprache	/	Singen	/
Geschichte	<u>gut</u>	Turnen	<u>gut</u>
Geographie	<u>gut</u>	Werkarbeit	/
Naturgeschichte	/		/
Physik	<u>sehr gut</u>		/
Chemie	/		/

Marburg a. d., den 1. Juli 1941
Der Beauftragte für das Schulwesen
Im Auftrage:



J. D. Steaks

NOTENSKALA: 5 = vorzüglich, 4 = sehr gut, 3 = gut, 2 = schlecht, 1 = sehr schlecht.

Fig. 6: Antonija Majhen's report card at the end of the school year. Lessons were still held mostly in Slovene, but the names of people and settlements were Germanized.

Numerous German-language courses were organized to teach the older generation German. The periodical *Karawanken Bote*, a journal of Kärnter Volksbund and a gazette of head of the civil administration that was published in Kranj, soon began to publish a German-language course. Although it was published in two editions, German and Slovene, the periodical refrained from using the adjective “Slovene” as much as possible. In the Slovene editions the names of places were written in German, with the Slovene names added in brackets. In time, this publication came out in a single edition, alternating between both languages. Slovene prevailed, which bears witness to the fact that the process of Germanization did not achieve the planned results.

The head of the civil administration in Štajerska introduced German place names with the administrative division of Lower Styria, although these were followed by the old ones in brackets. Germanized names were usually old German place names, microtoponyms or simply translations from Slovene. There were also instances when completely new names were given, e.g. Zagorje became Edlingen.¹² To do away with (what they referred to as) the consequences of Slovenization, which was believed to have been carried out by the former Yugoslav administration in Lower Styria, exact instructions were given as to how to Germanize people’s first and family names. Much diversity was lost in the new versions because, for example, men formerly named Franc, Frančišek, Franjo or Fran were officially given the same name, i.e. Franz. Men formerly named Matej, Matija, Matevž or Tevž were renamed Matthias, while women named Ana, Ančka, Anka or Anica became Anna.¹³ To what extent, if at all, these new names were used in daily life is another matter.

The attempts that were made to change people’s identities did not have long-term consequences, because teaching German did not bring the desired results due to a lack of willingness to learn it by the locals, and there were not enough suitable teachers available. The Italians did not engage in such activities and followed a policy of bilingualism, unlike the Hungarians, who sought to impose a new identity to the population of the territory that they occupied. Old ideas from the period of Austria-Hungary were thus brought to life again. The Hungarian administration dealt a great deal with the national question, whereby they built upon the Wendish theory and sought to prove that Prekmurje was inhabited by Wends who spoke Wendish. The revived Hungarian Educational Society of the Wend March had to organize the social life and parades. In May 1942 this society began to publish the gazette *Muraszombat és vidéke*. Schools were entrusted with teaching Hungarian and many small towns saw new single-class schools being established.¹⁴ The periodical *Muraszombat és vidéke* published articles in Hungarian and Wendish, a mixture

12 Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark, 1941, No. 43, 25 September 1941, 315–318.

13 Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark, 1941, No. 48, 25 October 1941, 351–354.

14 Fujs, Značilnosti madžarske okupacijske uprave, 67–69.

of the local dialect, Slovene and Hungarian that was written in line with Hungarian orthographic principles. Wendish was taught in schools, as well. What kind of language this was is illustrated by its introduction in the central calendar of the Prekmurje Slovenes. In the last pre-war year, it was published as *Kalendar srca Jezusovoga za leto 1941*, and its last edition was entitled *Kalendar szrca Jezusovoga za presztopno leto 1944*. The former was published by Jožef Klekl and the beginning of spring under the heading "letni časi" (seasons) is indicated by "21. marca, ob 1'21 v."¹⁵ The latter, i.e. the calendar for the year 1944, was published by Klekl István and the section "létni csaszí" (seasons) the beginning of spring is indicated by the wording "sze zacsné marcíusa 20-ga ob 19. vöri".¹⁶

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Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt

des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark

1941	Ausgegeben in Marburg am 25. Oktober 1941	Nr. 48
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Verordnung

über die deutsche Schreibweise von Vor- und Familiennamen in der Untersteiermark.

Die ehemalige jugoslawische Verwaltung hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten im Zuge der Slowenisierung der Untersteiermark die Schreibweise der Vor- und Familiennamen in sehr vielen Fällen verälschert. Um die hierdurch entstandenen Unklarheiten über die richtige Schreibweise von Vor- und Familiennamen durch eine einheitliche Regelung zu beseitigen, ordne ich auf Grund der mir erteilten Ermächtigung an:

§ 1

(1) Vornamen dürfen in Wort und Schrift nur in ihrer deutschen Form gebraucht werden.
 (2) Die Familiennamen dürfen nur in der deutschen Schreibweise geschrieben werden.

§ 2

Vornamen

(1) Slowenische Vornamen, denen ein deutscher Vorname entspricht, dürfen nur in der deutschen Form gebraucht werden.
 (2) Welche deutsche Form jeweils der slowenischen entspricht, ist aus dem dieser Verordnung als Anlage beigefügten Namensverzeichnis zu entnehmen. Die Verwendung eines anderen Namens und einer anderen Schreibweise als der in diesem Verzeichnis angeführten ist nicht statthaft.

§ 3

Familiennamen

(1) In allen bisher in slowenischer Rechtschreibung geschriebenen Familiennamen sind die in der deutschen Rechtschreibung unbekannt Buchstaben durch die im deutschen Schriftgebrauch üblichen zu ersetzen, und zwar:

a) = ai z. B. Majster = Meister, Gajšek = Geiselschek,
 č nach Selbstlauten = ts; z. B. Kar = Kahr, Kováčec = Kowatschets,
 c im Anlaut nach Mitlauten = z; z. B. Svarec = Schwarz, Jarc = Jarr,
 č = tch; z. B. Čiček = Tschitschek, Deđer = Deutscher,
 h im Innern oder am Ende des Wortes = ch; z. B. Lah = Lach, Gliha = Glicha, aber Hralovec = Hraschowitz.
 lj = li; z. B. Furjan = Furlan,
 lj = li; z. B. Ljubeč = Lubetsch,
 nj = ni; z. B. Voljnak = Woschnak,
 š = sch; z. B. Filšgar = Filschinger, Šegula = Schegula,
 št = st; z. B. Štajnbah = Steinbach, Štepec = Stetsch, Kristjan = Kristian.

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v = w; z. B. Cernovšek = Tschernowschek, Veingerl = Weingerl,
 z = s; z. B. Verzel = Warezl, Zemljit = Semitschik,
 ž = sch; z. B. Znuderl = Schnuderl, Blažek = Blaschek.

(2) Die in deutscher Schreibweise gebräuchlichen Familiennamen sind unverändert zu lassen.
 (3) In jenen Fällen, in denen Namen durch die ehemaligen jugoslawischen Verwaltungsbehörden in den beiden letzten Jahrzehnten nachweislich noch weiter verälschert wurden, wie Serfen aus Schrschön, Hengiman aus Hönigmann, Tilar aus Tischler, Dalčman aus Deutschmann, Stojšek aus Stönschegg, ist die frühere Schreibweise dann vorzunehmen, wenn diese in den vor dem Jahre 1918 ausgestellten Tauf- oder Geburtsurkunden des Namenträgers oder seiner Eltern nachzuweisen ist. Die in diesen Urkunden angewandte Schreibung ist in Hinsicht maßgebend.

§ 4

(1) In den Geburten-, Sterbe- und Familienbüchern dürfen nur noch deutsche Vornamen und die Familiennamen nur noch in der deutschen Schreibweise eingetragen werden.
 (2) Bei der Austerlegung von Auszügen aus den Geburten-, Sterbe- und Familienbüchern dürfen sämtliche slowenischen Vornamen, denen deutsche entsprechen, nur noch in der deutschen Form angeführt werden, das gleiche gilt hinsichtlich der deutschen Schreibweise von Familiennamen.
 (3) Allgemein dürfen in allen amtlichen Urkunden, Schriftstücken, Veröffentlichungen auf Namensschildern sowie bei der Unterzeichnung durch den Namensträger selbst die Vor- und Familiennamen nur noch in der dieser Verordnung entsprechenden Schreibweise verwendet werden.

§ 5

Über diese Bestimmungen hinausgehende Änderungen von slawischen Vor- und Familiennamen in irgendeiner anderen Form sind derzeit unstatthaft, da es sich in diesen Fällen nicht um die Rückführung in eine deutsche Namensform, sondern um eine Namensänderung handelt, die einer späteren gesetzlichen Regelung vorbehalten bleiben muß.

§ 6

Diese Verordnung findet auf alle ehemaligen jugoslawischen Staatsangehörigen in der Untersteiermark Anwendung. Sie gilt nicht für Personen kroatischer Volkszugehörigkeit. Als kroatische Volkszugehörige sind diejenigen anzusehen, die nach dem mit der kroatischen Regierung vereinbarten Verträgen in den Verein »Napredak« aufgenommen wurden.

§ 7

Zuwiderhandlungen werden nach Nr. 9 meiner Verordnung vom 14. April 1941 bestraft.

Marburg an der Draa, den 20. Oktober 1941.

Überretterh.

Anlage

zur Verordnung des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark über die deutsche Schreibweise von Vor- und Familiennamen in der Untersteiermark

Männliche Vornamen.

Aleksander, Aiež, Saša	Alexander	Drago, Dragomir, Dragoslav	Karl
Alfonz	Alfons	Edvard, Edo	Edvard
Alotziž, Slavko	Alois	Emerik	Emmerich
Andrej, Hrabrovst	Andreas	Emilijan, Milar, Milko	Emil
Antonij, Tone	Anton	Erik	Erich
Avgutšin, Avgust	August	Evgjen, Evgen	Eugen
Blaž	Blažius	Evžebij	Eusebius
Bogdan	Friedrich	Feliks	Felix
Bogomir	Gottfried	Florijan	Philipp
Bolenski, Volbenk	Wolfgang	Franc, Franček, Franjo, Fran	Franz
Bolšidar, Božo	Balthasar	Fridrič	Friedrich
Božidar, Božo	Theodor	Gabrijel	Gabriel
Branko	Rudolf	Osiper	Kasper
Čaharija	Zacharias	Gregorij, Orega	Gregor
Čiril	Cyrill	Henrik, Hinko	Gregor
Čveteč, Florijan	Cvetek, Florian	Herman	Hermann
Danilo	Daniel	Hrabrovst	Andreas
Davorin	Martin		

Figs. 7 and 8: The first two pages of the order that first names and family names must be written in German.

The occupiers' operation in the economic sphere left its mark in the post-war period as well, which cannot be claimed for attempts to outline new linguistic borders and the borders of new identities. It was undesirable during the war to highlight Slovenia, the Slovene language and culture, with all occupiers, including those that – at least for some

15 Kalendar srca Jezusovoga za leto 1941, 3.
 16 Kalendar szrca Jezusovoga za presztopno leto 1944, 3.

time – tolerated the use of the mother tongue by the local population. Throughout the war, the censors in Ljubljana's theatre saw to it that during performances – although they were in Slovene – the words Slovene or Slovenia were not used and that the words spoken in the plays would not hint at the (unjustifiability of) the new borders. Censors replaced “slovenska zemlja” (Slovene soil) with “Gorenjska zemlja” (the Gorenjska soil) in Anton Foerster's *Gorenjski slavček* to prevent people from thinking about the integrity of the Slovene territory. Additionally, a line in Linhart's play *Ta veseli dan ali Maticček se ženi* was censored because Germans did not like the supremacy of the German language being questioned. The censors removed Maticček's line “Honourable Sirs, I know that the new laws stipulate that justice may be sought only in German” from the work.¹⁷

REGNO D'ITALIA — PROVINCIA DI LUBIANA
KRALJEVINA ITALIJA — LJUBLJANSKA POKRAJINA

Scuola civica femminile a Lubiana
B. d. d. s. l. t. a. meščanska šola v Ljubljani

№ di registro 16
Stev. vpisnice

**Certificato annuale
Letno spričevalo**

di *Josina*
sint. fig. *Josina*

nato(a) il *13 dicembre* 19 *28* a *Ljubljana*
rojica) dne *13. decembra* v kraju *Ljubljana*
distretto *Ljubljana* di religione *rom. cath.* frequentò
obraj *rom. cath.* te obiskoval(a) .
nello anno scol. 1941/42 per la *prima* volta la *terza* classe
o sol. letu *prva* frat *terci* classe
di questa scuola e ha ottenuto i seguenti giudizi:
te šole in pokrajini naslednji uspehi:

Religione — Verouk	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>	Condotta	<i>ottima</i>
Lingua italiana — Italijanski jezik	<i>buono buono</i>	Vedenje	<i>ottimo</i>
Lingua slovena — Slovenski jezik	<i>molto buono prav dobro</i>	L' alunno(a) Učence(ka)	<i>ha compiuto la parte della terza classe con risultato molto buono</i>
Storia — Zgodovina	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>	2-3	<i>pravo dobro</i>
Geografia — Zemljepis	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>	uspehom.	
Aritmetica — Računstvo	<i>buono buono</i>		
Geometria con disegno geom. e tecnico — Geometrija z geom. in tehničnim risanjem	<i>buono buono</i>		
Notizi di ragioneria e corrispondenza	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Knjgovodstvo in korespondenca	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Fisica — Fizika	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Mineralogia e chimica con tecnologia	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Botanica e zoologia — Botanika in zoologija	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Igiene — Higijena	<i>molto buono prav dobro</i>		
Notizi di economia agraria, industriale e com- merciale — Doki v kmetijstvu, obrti in trgovini	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Doveri dei cittadini ed elementi di legislazione. Državljanske dolžnosti z osnovami zakonodaje	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Disegno a mano libera — Prostorsko risanje	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Calligrafia — Lepopis	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Stenografia e dattilografia — Stenografija in strojopisje	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Economia domestica — Gospodinjstvo	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Domac gospodarstvo — gospodinjstvo	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Canto e musica — Petje in glasba	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Educazione fisica — Telovadba	<i>ottimo ottimo</i>		
Lavori manuali — Ročno delo	<i>molto buono prav dobro</i>		

MATERIA NON OBBLIGATORIA:
NEOBVEZNI PREDMETI:

Lingua tedesca — Nemški jezik *buono buono*

Assenze: giustificate *47* ingiustificate *0*
Izostanki: opravičenih ur neopravičenih ur


№ del protocollo *1176* *Lubiana* il *30 giugno* 1942-XX.
Stev. delovodnika *Ljubljana* dne *30. junija*

A. Linhart
capoclasse — razrednik

Clavatić Frilja
direttore — upravitelj


C 16 Casa editrice scolastica provinciale a Lubiana — Pokrajinska šolska založba v Ljubljani — T. 221/IV-42.

PROVINZ LAIBACH — LJUBLJANSKA POKRAJINA



F. Maderon - Ital.
F. romana roman.

Gymnasium in *Laibach*
ginnazija v *Laibach*



Katalogszahl *18*
Stev. vpisnice

Jahreszeugnis Letno spričevalo

Podnik Marija Sohn - Tochter d. *Anton a*
gn - hci

geboren am *23. März - 23. marca* 19*29* in *Laibach - Ljubljana*
rojen(a) dne *23. marca* 19*29* v kraju *Laibach - Ljubljana*

Bezirk *Laibach* Konfession, besuchte *röm. Kath.* Kraljevo, je obiskoval(a)
v Schuljahre 19*43* - *44* zum mal die *10. Klasse* *10. Klasse*
v šolskem letu *1943 - 44* kral *10. Klasse* *10. Klasse*
dieser Schule und erhält folgendes Zeugnis: *besten* razred
te šole in prejme naslednje spričevalo:

Religionslehre — Verouk	<i>besten</i>
Deutsche Sprache — Nemški jezik	<i>besten</i>
Slowenische Sprache — Slovenski jezik	<i>besten</i>
Italienische Sprache — Italijanski jezik	<i>besten</i>
Lateinische Sprache — Latinski jezik	<i>besten</i>
Griechische Sprache — Grški jezik	<i>besten</i>
Geschichte — Zgodovina	<i>besten</i>
Geographie — Zemljepis	<i>besten</i>
Naturgeschichte — Prirodopis	<i>besten</i>
Physik — Fizika	<i>besten</i>
Chemie — Kemija	<i>besten</i>
Mathematik — Matematika	<i>besten</i>
Darstell. Geometrie — Opisna geometrija	<i>besten</i>
Gesundheitslehre — Higiene	<i>besten</i>
Grundl. d. Philosophie — Temelji filozofije	<i>besten</i>
Kunstgeschichte — Umetnost	<i>besten</i>
Freihandzeichnen — Risanje	<i>besten</i>
Gesang — Petje	<i>besten</i>
Körperliche Erziehung — Telesna vzgoja	<i>besten</i>
Handarbeiten — Ročno delo	<i>besten</i>

Sie Schüler hat die
Učence(k) *10. Klasse*
10. Klasse
razred
mit *besten*
Erfolg beendet.
uspehom dokončal(a).

FREIGEGENSTÄNDE — NEOBVEZNI PREDMETI:


Handarbeiten *besten*

Betragen — Vedenje *besten*

Versäumte Lehrstunden: *50* nicht entschuldigt *0*
izostanki: opravičenih ur neopravičenih ur

Geschäftszahl *404* am *30. Juni* 19*44*
Stev. delovodnika *Laibach* dne *30. junija*

Podpac Kustine
Klassenvorstand — razrednik



P. Walla
Direktor — ravnatelj

Č 12 Provinzial-Schulbehörvering in Laibach — Pokrajinska šolska založba v Ljubljani — T 224-V-44.

Figs. 9 and 10: Two report cards from war-time Ljubljana. The first one was bilingual, Italian-Slovene, issued during the Italian occupation and features the Era Fascista date. The second report card is bilingual as well, German-Slovene, and was issued during the German occupation.

It is also notable that such policies affected how people could seek justice according to the new laws in the occupied territories during the war. If you were named Jože, you could seek it under this name only in the Province of Ljubljana. In Primorska, which was part of the Kingdom of Italy even before the war, a Jože sought justice as Giuseppe.

If he found himself in areas that were under Croatian control, he turned up at offices as Josip and as Josef or Jozef in those under German or Hungarian rule. However, after the war he became Jože once again. The linguistic and identity borders that were outlined in the Slovene territory thus had short-lived effects.

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Fig 1, MNZS, Photo Library, P_419, photograph: Jakob Prešeren.

Fig 2, Slovenian School Museum, inv. no. 5354.

Fig 3, MNZS, Photo Library, P_84a, photograph: Jakob Prešeren.

Figs. 4 and 5, Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark, 1941, No. 43, 25 September 1941, pp. 315–316.

Fig 6, Slovenian School Museum, inv. no. 5352.

Figs. 7 and 8, Verordnungs- und Amtsblatt des Chefs der Zivilverwaltung in der Untersteiermark, 1941, No. 48, 25 October 1941, pp. 351–352.

Figs. 9 and 10, Slovenian School Museum, inv. nos. 6001 and 5960.

Summary

Aleš Gabrič

Borders and Restrictions

The partition of the Drava Banovina, or the Slovene part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, cut into the lives of people more than anywhere else in occupied Europe. The new border even cut the tram line in the suburbs of Ljubljana, shortening it in the process. On the other side of the border, the two German-occupied zones remained unconnected, having previously been linked via Ljubljana. In order not to depend on transport through the Italian-occupied zone, they quickly set up new transport connections. Ljubljana was particularly problematic with regard to getting supplies to the population, since the hinterland that used to supply the city had shrunk considerably. Germany, Italy, and Yugoslavia introduced rationing before the April War of 1941, while the occupation only exacerbated the shortages. Germany managed to provide more food in its occupied territory than Italy. Although the attempts at modernization in the German occupation territory increased the agricultural output, with farmers even having surpluses, the produce was not at their disposal as they had to hand it over to the state. The distribution of food was also unequal, as intended by Nazi policies of racial discrimination.

Drawing new borders also brought different perspectives on economic development for the population. Only small and agriculturally underdeveloped areas belonged to Hungary and Croatia, while Germany took over the most developed part of Slovenia, which had more than 70% of the industrial capacity of the Drava Banovina. There was less potential for faster agricultural development, however, as it stagnated in Yugoslavia due to competition with cheaper products from the southern parts of the country. The Italian occupiers had more problems, since they acquired mostly undeveloped areas with only slightly more than one-quarter of the industrial capacities of the former Drava Banovina, mostly in Ljubljana. Germany introduced novelties with regard to production most systematically, aiming to integrate the territory into its economic system. The most important investment was the bauxite and aluminium plant in Strnišče pri Ptuj, attached to the ore coming from the Hungarian ally, and connected to the planned construction of an aeronautical parts factory in Maribor. Italy acquired territories without significant mineral resources, with the most important raw material being wood.

The occupation borders clearly outlined territories with very different attitudes to Slovenianism, the Slovene language, and culture. The German occupiers tried to Germanize the population as soon as possible, focusing on language and cultural institutions to achieve that goal. They banned all Slovene cultural organizations and introduced German into the curriculum.

In contrast, the Italian occupiers introduced bilingualism and allowed both Slovene and Italian to be used in the administration. The new occupation borders thus became the frontiers of new official languages and attempts to create a new identity for the local population. To encourage the elderly to learn German as quickly as possible, the Germans organized numerous language courses, while both residents and towns were given German names. While the Italians did not use such measures (respecting bilingualism), Hungary tried to find a new identity for the population in their occupation area.

The Hungarian administration dealt with the national issue a lot, relying on the Wendish theory and trying to prove that Prekmurje was populated by the Wendish who spoke the Wendish language, a mixture of the local dialect, Slovene and Hungarian languages, which used Hungarian grammar.