

## CRONYISM, PATRONAGE AND NEPOTISM IN IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ'S CORRESPONDENCE: A HISTORICAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

Tihana KUŠTER \*

This research combines both qualitative and quantitative approach of historical network analysis to analyse, visualize, and interpret selected letters from the corpus of correspondence of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, representing practices of favouritism (cronyism, patronage, and nepotism). The forms of favouritism are observed as a practice, by applying concepts from the social ontology of Theodore Schatzki. The analysis has shown that all periods of peak favouritism correspond with Kukuljević's political positions and power, as well as with his social capital manifested through his relationship with Viceroy Ivan Mažuranić. The analysis also highlights the significance of the Society for Yugoslavian History as a central node that gathered most petitioners during its period of greatest activity. A close analysis of two series of letters – between Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and Ivan Mažuranić, and between Kukuljević and Marija Jambrišak – reveals a vivid practice of cronyism, nepotism, and reciprocity, and an evolving personal relationship between a patron and his protégé.

**Keywords:** cronyism; patronage; nepotism; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski; historical network analysis; historical praxeology; Society for the Yugoslavian History; Marija Jambrišak; Ivan Mažuranić

### Introduction

Practices of cronyism and nepotism – two faces of the same coin of favouritism – appear in all aspects of society. The latter is based on kinship networks, and the former on other social relations such as friendship and mutual

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\* Tihana Kušter, doctoral student, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb; [tihana.kuster@gmail.com](mailto:tihana.kuster@gmail.com)

interests. Valuable insight into the nineteenth-century practice of favouritism, in the forms of cronyism and nepotism, is offered by the correspondence of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (Varaždin, 1816 – Puhakovec, Sveti Križ Začretje, 1889). His list of occupations and activities is extensive. Agneza Szabo identified him, out of 4,545 subjects, as the most active public figure of the 1860s, engaged in political, cultural, and academic institutions.<sup>1</sup> Among others, he was a historian, politician, judge, archivist, founder of the Society for Yugoslavian History, and president of *Matica hrvatska*.<sup>2</sup> Although a large part of his correspondence is preserved in the Kukuljević family fond,<sup>3</sup> many letters are scattered across other family collections in various archives.

His extensive work and parts of his correspondence have often been the subject of research.<sup>4</sup> None of these studies, however, examined Kukuljević's correspondence in depth, let alone the practices of favouritism manifested within it. The research is based on 80 selected letters from a corpus of 869 written either by Croats or in Croatian<sup>5</sup> language (out of a total of 1,181) from Kukuljević's digitized correspondence preserved in the State Archives in Varaždin and the National and University Library in Zagreb.<sup>6</sup> These letters

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<sup>1</sup> Agneza Szabo, *Središnje institucije Hrvatske u Zagrebu 1860–1873*, vol. II (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1987), 215.

<sup>2</sup> Iva Mandušić, "Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski," *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983–2024), online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), accessed July 20, 2024, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/kukuljevic-sakcinski-ivan>; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2024), accessed July 20, 2024, <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/kukuljevic-sakcinski-ivan>.

<sup>3</sup> Croatia (HR) – Croatian State Archives in Varaždin (DAVŽ) – Fond obitelji Kukuljević – Korespondencija Ivana Kukuljevića: <https://davz.eindigo.net/?pc=i&id=10072>.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Ivan Pederin, "Pisma Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog Pavlu Josefu Šafaříku o glagoljici," *Croatia et Slavica Iadertina* 3 (2007): 231–260; Denis Peričić, "Korespondencija Ivana Kukuljevića s posebnim osvrtom na korespondenciju Kukuljevića i Franje Račkog," *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin* 10–11 (1998): 309–313; Stanislav Artuković, "Pisma Ivana Kukuljevića Andriji Torkvatu Brliću u Arhivu obitelji Brlić u Slavonskom Brodu," *Scrinia Slavonica: Godišnjak Podružnice za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest* 14, no. 1 (2014): 315–343; see also Mandušić, "Kukuljević Sakcinski".

<sup>5</sup> A few correspondents were Serbs or Montenegrins who wrote in Croatian (e.g. Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski, Jovan Sundečić). Most letters are in Croatian (71), with a few in German (9) and Italian (2). One combines German and Croatian, and another includes German, Croatian, Latin, and Serbian. Favoritism letters make up 9% of all Croatian ones, 4.3% of German, and 1.9% of Italian. This indicates that petitioning was mainly practiced by Kukuljević's compatriots, in the vernacular.

<sup>6</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Obitelj Kukuljević; Croatia (HR) – Digitalne zbirke Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu – Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga NSK – "Pisma Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog Ivanu Mažuraniću," accessed April 23, 2024, <https://digitalna.nsk.hr/?pr=l&rr%5B2%5D%5Bo%5D%5B16919%5D=oa>.

were chosen for quantitative and qualitative analysis due to the correspondents' engagement in the practice of various forms of favouritism in the Croatian part of the Monarchy. In this research, I will (re)create, analyse, and visualize networks of favouritism to answer questions such as: Who were key petitioners in the favouritism networks? Which social circles gathered most of the petitioners? How does the frequency and nature of favouritism change over time and how to interpret this change? Which rhetorical strategies of the practice of favouritism were used in exemplary correspondence? In examining the results, conceptualizations of practice and power from Theodore Schatzki's social ontology are applied.

### **Definition of cronyism, nepotism, and patronage**

Scientific discourse offers varying definitions of cronyism, nepotism, and patronage. According to Khatri, Tsang, and Begley (2006), cronyism is a "reciprocal exchange transaction where party A shows favour to party B based on shared membership in the social network at the expense of party C's equal or superior claim to the valued resource."<sup>7</sup> Rubinstein and Maravić (2010) summarise two different definitions of corruption: public-office-based corruption, in which corruption is considered as "misuse of public office for private gain," and a favouritism-based definition in which corruption is when an individual wins "personal loyalties by distributing material rewards (commonly known as nepotism (family) or patronage (friends))."<sup>8</sup>

For this research, these definitions are adapted. Table 1. summarises all terms used in this research to distinguish favouritism.

<sup>7</sup> Naresh Khatri, Eric W. K. Tsang, and Thomas M. Begley, "Cronyism: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," *Journal of International Business Studies* 37, no. 1 (January 2006): 61.

<sup>8</sup> William D. Rubinstein and Patrick von Maravic, "Max Weber, Bureaucracy, and Corruption," in *The Good Cause: Theoretical Perspectives on Corruption*, edited by Gjalte de Graaf, Patrick von Maravić, and Pieter Wagenaar (Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2010), 29.

**Table 1.** Forms of favouritism

Term	Definition	Key Features
<b>Cronyism</b>	Correspondent begs for an advocate in a <b>specific employment or favor</b> (for self or another)	Explicit, direct, strong argumentative rhetoric (e.g., justifying lack of qualifications or citing family merit)
<b>Nepotism</b>	Favouritism based on <b>kinship networks</b>	Kinship is explicit
<b>Patronage</b>	Pleas for <b>unspecified employment/favour</b>	Implicit, recommendation sought without specifying position
<b>Indirect Patronage</b>	Subtype of Patronage: pleas for unspecified employment <b>for another person</b>	Third-party petitions
<b>Corruption</b>	<b>Misuse of public office for private gain</b>	Reciprocity is explicit

In both cronyism and especially patronage, if the lack of qualifications is not used as an argument, there remains the possibility that the favoured party may in fact have been the most qualified for the position. Judging solely by the letters, it is impossible to determine whether the favoured person had in fact been the most qualified for employment. For this reason, this study disregards Khatri, Tsang, and Begley's (2006) criterion of a favoured person's equal or inferior qualifications as a necessary element for classifying letters as cases of cronyism or patronage.

It is also necessary to define several additional terms used in this paper. Not all letters with favouritism were pleas; thus, not all correspondents were petitioners. However, since most of these letters were pleas and most correspondents in this corpus were petitioners, the term "petitioners" will be used for authors of all letters in which favouritism is present. To avoid lengthy expressions, the term "favouritism network" will be used as a general label for the network comprising all letters that display any form of favouritism.

## Methodology and theoretical approach

This study combines quantitative methods of historical network analysis – which visualize, identify, define, and measure the connections between entities<sup>9</sup> – with a close analysis of letters from two key individuals in the resulting network. In network analysis, a network is literally a collection of points (nodes) connected by lines (edges).<sup>10</sup> In addition to the basic metric of degree

<sup>9</sup> Kopal et al., *Analiza (socijalnih) mreža*, 3rd ed. (Zagreb: Effectus – Visoko učilište, Poslovno učilište, 2020), 84.

<sup>10</sup> Zrinka Blažević and Tihana Kušter, "Historija isprepletanja danas: teorijska polazišta i istraživačke perspektive," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 52, no. 1 (2020): 22, <https://doi.org/10.17234/RadoviZHP.52.10>

centrality,<sup>11</sup> the study examines similarities between ego and alters (homophily/heterophily). The network analysis was conducted in Nodegoat.<sup>12</sup> Metadata such as senders, recipients, and dates were automatically extracted from the digital archive,<sup>13</sup> while “Topics” (e.g., employment pleas, debts, or loans) were categorized for each letter and “Occupations and activities”<sup>14</sup> for each subject.<sup>15</sup>

The research is grounded in Theodore Schatzki’s concepts of the social site and practice from his spatial ontology. A social site is “a place where social life inherently occurs,” consisting of a mesh of orders (arrangements of entities, e.g., people, letters) and practices – “a temporally evolving, open-ended set of doings and sayings.”<sup>16</sup> Matt Watson links practice and power, arguing that “if power is acting with effect, then practice theory is essentially about power.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Degree centrality measures a number of direct ties of the node in the network. See: Nick Crossley et al., *Social Network Analysis for Ego-nets* (London: SAGE, 2015), 14.

<sup>12</sup> Bree, P. van, Kessels, G., (2013). nodegoat: a web-based data management, network analysis & visualisation environment, <http://nodegoat.net> from LAB1100, <http://lab1100.com>.

<sup>13</sup> Special thanks to Filip Kušter, M.Inf., who designed the Ruby script.

<sup>14</sup> Each subject was assigned multiple occupations and activities, not necessarily corresponding to those held at the time of correspondence. For example, the historian Tadija Smičiklas was also categorized as “dean” and “rector,” although he held neither position then. Members of the Party of Rights were assigned the category “Party of Rights,” even though the Party had not yet been founded. While omitting certain categories (e.g., “dean,” “rector”) might make sense in some cases, doing so for others (e.g., Ante Starčević) would overlook defining aspects of their careers. To maintain a consistent principle, all occupations and activities were therefore included, regardless of when they have written a plea.

<sup>15</sup> Of 526 correspondents, 63 are petitioners from “the favouritism network.” 56 petitioners have one or more “Occupations and activities” assigned, while 7 have none. Sources for “Occupations and activities” of the “petitioners” were: Szabo, *Središnje institucije Hrvatske u Zagrebu 1860–1873. I–II.*; *Croatian encyclopedia* (by Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography): <https://enciklopedija.hr/>; *Croatian biographical lexicon* (by Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography): <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/Projekt>; MAPPAR: *Mapiranje parlamentarnih izbora u Hrvatskoj 1848.–1918.*: <https://mappar.isp.hr/tko-je-tko/>; Arijana Kolak Bošnjak, “Izbori u Riječkoj županiji i njezini zastupnici na Hrvatskom saboru 1861. godine,” *Povijesni prilozi* 61 (2021): 467–483, <https://doi.org/10.22586/pp.v40i61.18289>; A. Tresić Pavičić, “Po Ravnim Kotarima,” *Asseria* 5, no. 5 (2007): 281–291; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, ed., *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, Knjiga I–IV (Zagreb: Tiskom dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1851–1857). Some “Occupations and activities” were assigned according to the information from the letters.

<sup>16</sup> Theodore R. Schatzki, *The Site of the Social: A Philosophical Account of the Constitution of Social Life and Change* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 79–87.

<sup>17</sup> M. T. Watson, “Placing Power in Practice Theory,” in *The Nexus of Practices: Connections, Constellations, Practitioners*, edited by A. Hui, T. Schatzki, and E. Shove (London: Routledge, 2016), 2.

The account of power and practice works well for the interpretation of Kukuljević's favouritism network because it allows us to move away from observing power as a top-down force that flows through the network from Kukuljević as patron to a certain petitioner. Schatzky's ontology allows the observation of the omnipresent power as being enacted through everyday practices and interactions, shaped by broader structures and relationships (represented as networks) that act in a specific place and time – the social site. Watson further argues that “power relations (...) are effects of the ordering and the churn of innumerable moments of practices.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, the practice of favouritism and power relations manifested in the correspondence network of Kukuljević cannot be observed as the actions of a certain individual (Kukuljević, viceroy Ivan Mažuranić or some other patron) but as a matter of a mesh of innumerable moments of practice that formed (in Andreas Reckwitz's words) “code orders” which provide a framework for what is feasible and what is not in a particular time and place.<sup>19</sup> In a similar sense, as Dagmar Freist explains, they form “collective structures of action” in which and through which patrons and petitioners (whose role is continually interchangeable) constantly recreate and constitute, reproducing patterns of behaviour and daily routines appropriate (even permitted) for a specific time and place.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the analysis of Kukuljević's correspondence networks, which manifest the practice of favouritism, aims to determine not what Kukuljević or his correspondents did or did not do, but what forms of favouritism were considered appropriate, or even permitted, in his time and place.

## **Cronyism, patronage, and nepotism in Kukuljević's correspondence network**

### *Key subjects and their Occupations and activities*

The defined forms of favouritism and topics chosen for this research include “Cronyism,” “Patronage,” “Indirect patronage,” “Nepotism,” “Corruption,” and “Refusal of favouritism.” Overall, 80 letters, or around 10% of the chosen corpus, represent some practice of favouritism. Cases of cronyism

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Jonas, “The social site approach versus the approach of discourse/practice formations,” in *Reihe Soziologie / Institut für Höhere Studien*, Abt. Soziologie 92 (Wien: Institut für Höhere Studien [IHS], Wien, 2009), 10.

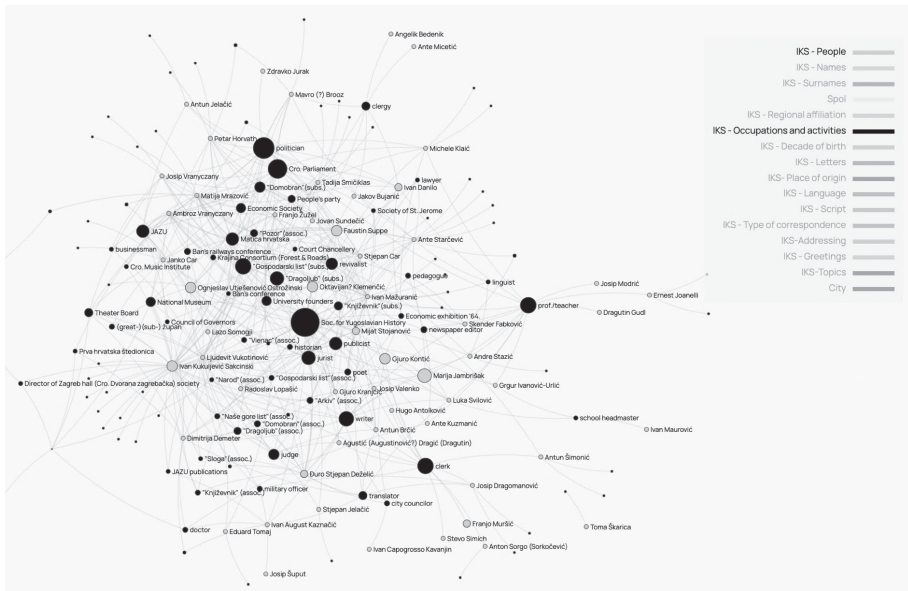
<sup>20</sup> Dagmar Freist, “Diskurse – Körper – Artefakte. Historische Praxeologie in der Frühzeitforschung – eine Annäherung,” in *Diskurse – Körper – Artefakte: Historische Praxeologie in der Frühzeitforschung*, edited by Dagmar Freist (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015), 18.

(n=39) and patronage (n=45) (direct and indirect) are almost equally present in the corpus. Cases of nepotism (n=9) and corruption (n=4) are present to a much lesser extent. There is one case of “Refusal of favouritism,” which will be described in detail below.<sup>21</sup> Although most of the letters of the chosen corpus are employment pleas, 24 of them are not. For example, they are related to employment transfer (8), scholarships (2), political elections and campaigns (1), an investigation at work (1), obtaining a passport (1), making a business deal (1), an accusation of nepotism (1), obtaining special honours (1).

To determine which petitioners had the strongest relationship with Kukuljević (based on the corpus), their degree centrality in the favouritism network can be compared to that in the overall correspondence network. Key subjects in the favouritism network (n = 63) include teacher Marija Jambrišak (4), politician and clerk Gjuro Kontić (4), Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (3), politician and lawyer Faustin Suppe (3), politician and jurist Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski (3), lawyer O. Klemenčić (3), politician and publicist Ivan Danilo (2), jurist and publicist Đuro Stjepan Deželić (2), teacher and writer Mijat Stojanović (2), and clerk Franjo Muršić (2). Other subjects each sent a single letter. Among the latter, the highest degree centrality in the overall correspondence network was recorded for Gjuro Kontić (44), Ambroz Vranyczany (19), Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski (17), Janko Car (15), Faustin Suppe (13), Stjepan Car (13), Đuro Stjepan Deželić (13), and Ivan Danilo (9). According to the corpus, G. Kontić, O. Utješenović Ostrožinski, Đ. S. Deželić, and F. Suppe – each of them a politician, jurist, or lawyer – may be regarded, conditionally speaking, as the closest petitioners.

Figure 1. shows a Network of petitioners (n=63) and their Occupations and activities. The weight of the petitioners’ nodes is multiplied by their degree of centrality in the favouritism network (the largest node represents Marija Jambrišak, who sent the highest number of pleas). Occupations and activities shared by the highest number of petitioners are: Society for Yugoslavian History (26), politician (19), Croatian Parliament (17), “Gospodarski list” (subscribers) (14), clerk (14), “Dragoljub” (subscribers) (14), professor/teacher (14), writer (13), jurist (11)... Society for Yugoslavian History, the most central in the network, represents the activity mainly shared by petitioners. A few peripheral nodes representing occupations “clerk”, “Croatian Parliament” and “politician”, “writer” and “professor/teacher” form almost distinct clusters of petitioners.

<sup>21</sup> Some letters have multiple forms of favouritism assigned as their topic. For example, if the correspondent recommends and pleads an employment position for two individuals, one his relative and the other his friend or acquaintance, both “Nepotism” and “Cronyism” are assigned to this letter.



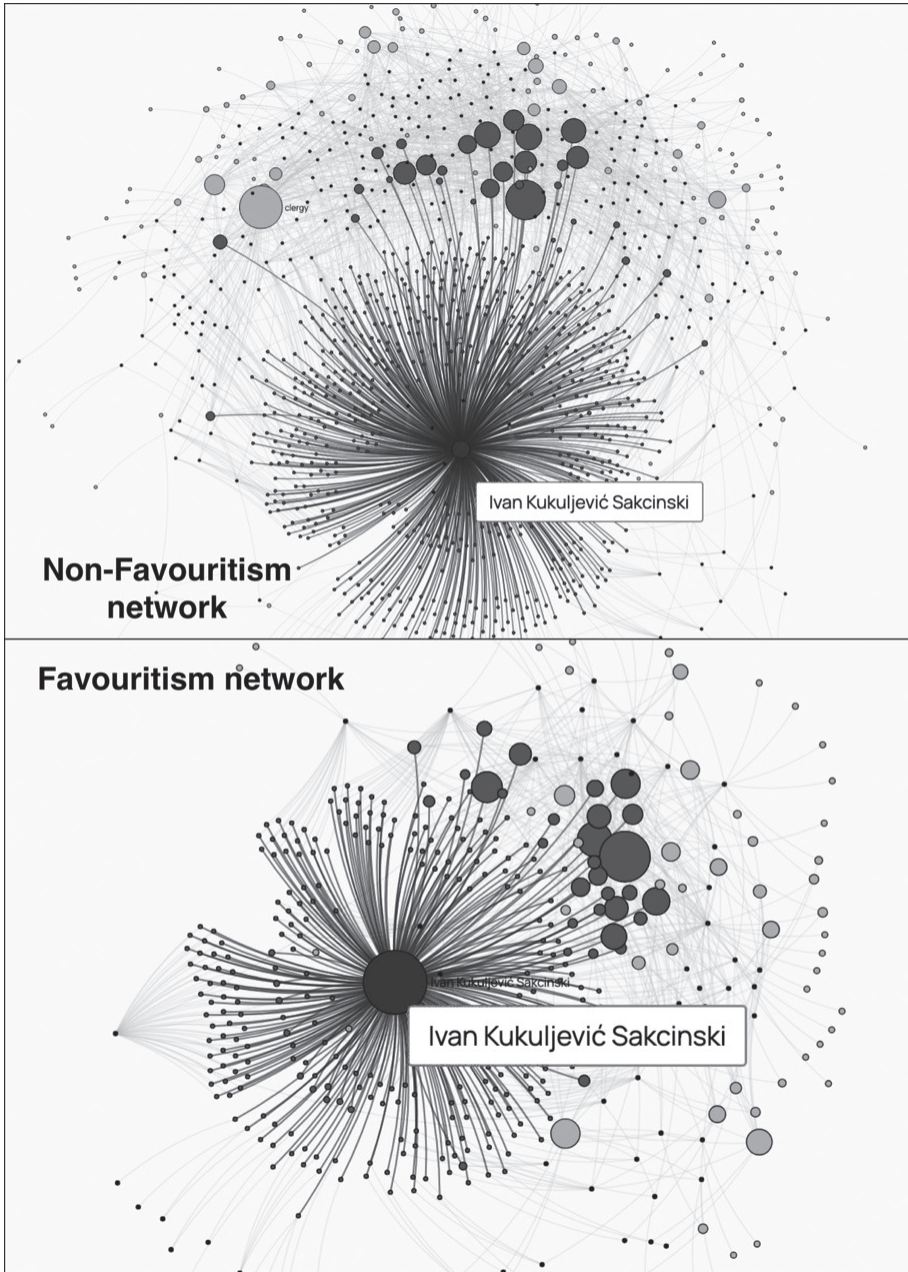
**Figure 1.** Network of Petitioners (n=63) and their Occupations and activities

Compared to all correspondents, “clergy” – though the largest group in overall correspondence – were far less represented among petitioners in the favouritism network.

When looking only at the network of all Kukuljević's correspondents who were members of the Society, one can observe that they were politicians, members of Parliament, revivalists, publicists, members of *Matica hrvatska*, clergy, clerks, writers, linguists, jurists and lawyers... As Iveljić states, the founding of the Society was closely related to the initiative of the Department of Education to obtain data from the field about the territory and population, agriculture, schools, cultural monument.<sup>22</sup> The Society was founded by Kukuljević on 1 October 1850 under the patronage of viceroy Josip Jelačić. The journal *Arkiv* was established a year later. The last, 12th *Arkiv*, was published in 1875. Three years later, the Society ceased to exist under this name and became the Croatian Archeological Society. Kukuljević was also director of the Society and afterwards director of the Croatian Archeological Society.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Iskra Iveljić, “Kulturna politika u Banskoj Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća,” *Historijski Zbornik* LXIX, no. 2 (2016): 351.

<sup>23</sup> Mirjana Gross and Angeza Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu: društveni razvoj u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), 534.



**Figure 2.** Kukuljević's homophily/heterophily based on Occupations and activities. Nodes represent Occupations and activities; darker ones are Kukuljević's.

Although a connection between the practice of favouritism and the Society is evident in the network, it is unclear whether the Society, established only in the 1850s, brought together petitioners who were previously gathered

around Kukuljević. It is possible to compare the percentage of Society members among petitioners before and after the Society's establishment. Only two correspondents – Dimitrija Demeter and Ante Starčević – out of eight petitioners were also petitioners before the establishment of the Society. One of them, Dimitrija Demeter, who pleaded with Kukuljević to help him obtain a position as a translator of state decrees in Zagreb or a post in the library, sent his plea in April 1850, just a few months before the establishment of the Society. In 1852, as stated in the second issue of *Arkiv*, he was already a member of the Society's board, listed precisely as a government translator – a position for which he had pleaded two years earlier. The other petitioner, Ante Starčević, also sent his plea seeking a position as professor of philosophy in March, only a few months before the establishment of the Society. Although he did not obtain the requested position and is not listed among the members in the first four volumes of *Arkiv*, he was involved with the Society from its early years. In the second issue of *Arkiv*, he already published an extensive linguistic work ("Razvod istrijski od godine 1325.", *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, 1852).<sup>24</sup>

In the years after the establishment of the Society, until its dissolution in 1878, overall, 19 (of 49) petitioners (including Kukuljević), or 39%, were members of the Society, which shows an increase compared to the percentage of the members of the Society among petitioners before its establishment. All this favours the centrality of the Society in the network of petitioners, and its significance in the practice of favouritism. Moreover, correspondents with the highest degree of centrality in overall network, conditionally speaking, closest correspondents (Gjuro Kontić, Ambroz Vranyczany, Ognjeslav Utješenić Ostrožinski, Janko Car, Faustin Suppe, Stjepan Car) were all members of the Society, with A. Vranyczany being among the founders.

The question arises whether all petitioners were from Kukuljević's close circles, that is, whether they shared the same occupations and activities. Homophily and heterophily in the favouritism and non-favouritism networks can be compared by calculating the Jaccard index of similarity for each correspondent and then average Jaccard similarity with all alters.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. II (Zagreb: Tiskom dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1852), 227.

<sup>25</sup> For exact method and formula see: Meng Wu, Ruochang Chai, Yongqin Zhang, and Zhiyong Lu, "Dadnet: Dual Attention Detection Network for Crack Segmentation on Tomb Murals," *Heritage Science* 12 (2024): 7.

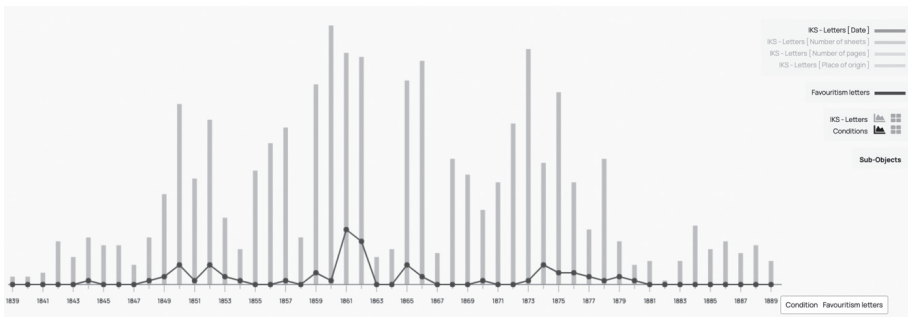
Group	Homophily (Jaccard index)	Heterophily (Jaccard index)
Favouritism Network	0.0816	0.9184
Non-Favouritism Network	0.0371	0.9629

As the results show, homophily was more prominent in the favouritism network, indicating that Kukuljević was mainly approached by individuals from his immediate social and professional circles. Figure 2. visualises these results by showing the similarity of ego and his alters. The similarity of ego and his alters is more prominent in the Favouritism network than in the Non-Favouritism network.

### Temporal distribution

All 80 letters that represent the above-listed practices were written between 1844 and 1880. Graph 1. shows the temporal distribution of cases of favouritism in correspondence over this period. A few letters represent cases of favouritism in the early 1840s, with very low frequencies and a slight increase during in 1849. The frequency of letters peaks around 1851-1853, indicating increased favouritism activity during these years. The substantial peak occurred around 1861-1862 (25 letters), followed by a decrease and almost complete absence of favouritism from 1867-1873. There are smaller, sporadic peaks during the 1870s and 1880s, with notable increases from 1874-1876. When examining whether the graph corresponds to the temporal distribution of all letters, one observes that these periods were also marked by high correspondence frequency. However, it is significant that during periods without favouritism – from 1855–1857 and 1868–1874 – overall correspondence remained active. On the other hand, the graph showing favouritism indicates clear absences during 1854–1856 and, even more between 1867 and 1873.

**Graph 1.** Temporal distribution of cases of favouritism in Kukuljević’s overall correspondence



To examine petitioners and forms of favouritism more closely, the selected corpus will be roughly divided into three periods marked by a significant concentration of letters.

#### *PERIOD I (1844 - 1853)*

During the first observed period of the correspondence from the mid-1840s to the early 1850s, Kukuljević received 17 letters with some form of favouritism from 14 petitioners. Most of them were employment pleas (11), cronyism (8), patronage (5), and indirect patronage (4). The key petitioner was Gjuro Kontić, Kukuljević's associate in Vienna and Budapest who worked on transferring historical documents to Zagreb. Kontić was not satisfied with being away from his homeland and repeatedly pleaded for a transfer.<sup>26</sup> Gjuro Kontić also has the highest degree of centrality in the overall correspondence network, with most of the letters being detailed reports on his work and finances. The other key petitioner was Mijat Stojanović, a professor who sent his pleas for a teaching position twice.<sup>27</sup> Other petitioners (see Figure 3.) sent a single letter involving favouritism.

Most of the employment pleas (see Figure 4.) relate to the "educational system." These include cases of professors or teachers pleading for a position (Ante Starčević, Mijat Stojanović)<sup>28</sup> or a response of another patron (Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski) regarding a plea for a job at school.<sup>29</sup>

This period corresponds to a decade when Kukuljević was one of the prominent leaders of the Croatian national revival, which peaked during the revolutionary 1848/1849. After establishing the Viceroy's Council (Cro. *Bansko vijeće*) in April 1848, Viceroy J. Jelačić appointed him head of the Department for Defence and Education.<sup>30</sup> However, the highest peak of the period corresponds to the establishment of the Society for Yugoslavian History in October 1850. The lack of pleas during the mid-1850s may result from missing data in the corpus, but it is notable that it also corresponds to Kukuljević's temporary retirement from politics during Bach's absolutist regime (1852–1859).

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<sup>26</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature numbers 505, 533, 535.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Signature numbers 1091 and 1092.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Signature numbers 1078, 1091 and 1092.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1197.

<sup>30</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*.

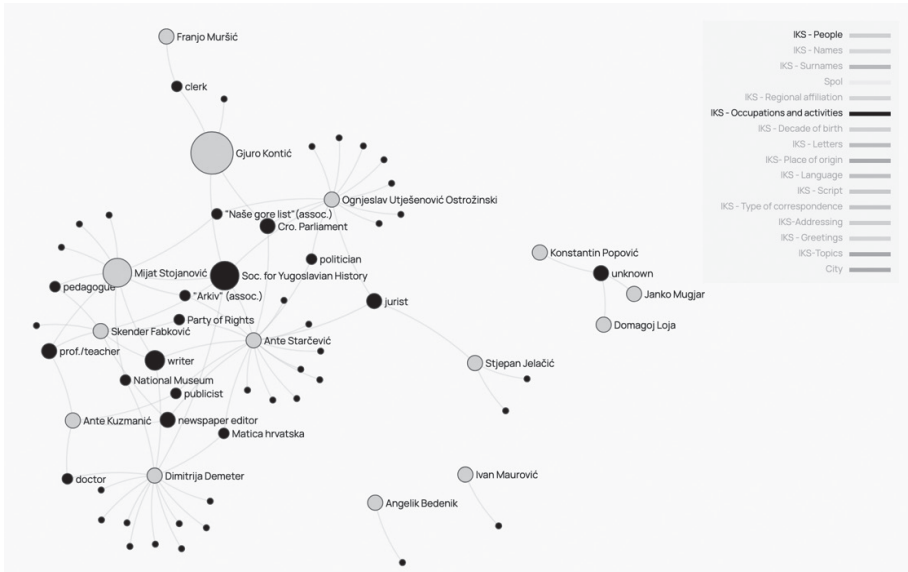


Figure 3. PERIOD I (1844 - 1853) Petitioners and Occupations and activities<sup>31</sup>

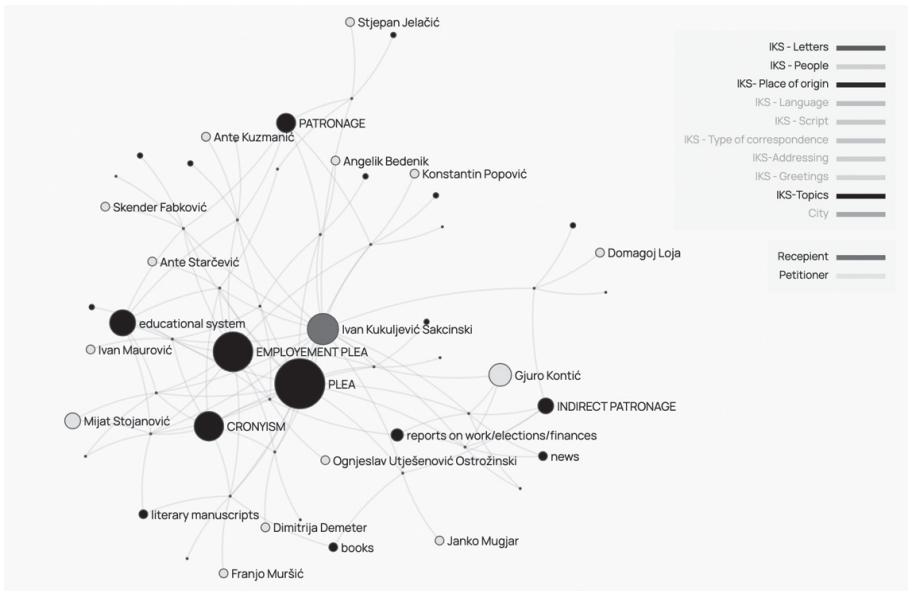


Figure 4. PERIOD I (1844 - 1853) Letters, People and Topics<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> In this and subsequent networks of People and Occupations and activities, the nodes representing People and Occupations and activities are weighted according to their degree centrality Favouritism network.

<sup>32</sup> In this and subsequent networks of Letters, People and Topics, the smallest nodes between Topics and petitioners represent each letter. Both People and Topics are weighted according to their degree centrality.

This period corresponds to a decade when Kukuljević was one of the prominent leaders of the Croatian national revival, which peaked during the revolutionary 1848/1849. After establishing the Viceroy's Council (Cro. *Bansko vijeće*) in April 1848, Viceroy J. Jelačić appointed him head of the Department for Defence and Education.<sup>33</sup> However, the highest peak of the period corresponds to the establishment of the Society for Yugoslavian History in October 1850. The lack of pleas during the mid-1850s may result from missing data in the corpus, but it is notable that it also corresponds to Kukuljević's temporary retirement from politics during Bach's absolutist regime (1852–1859).

### *PERIOD II (1857 - 1866)*

In the second observed period, from the late 1850s to the early 1860s, Kukuljević received 37 letters with some form of favouritism from 33 petitioners. This was also the period with the highest number of pleas for favouritism. The overall peak was reached in 1861 and 1862, when Kukuljević, at that time serving as Great Župan of Zagreb County, received 22 pleas and sent three within the selected corpus. Key subjects seeking or receiving some forms of favouritism included: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (3 pleas sent), Ivan Mažuranić (3 pleas received), then Ivan Danilo and Đuro Stjepan Deželić (each 2 letters sent), while all others (see Figure 5.) sent single letter. In one letter Matija Mrazović admonished Kukuljević for nepotism when appointing officials in the county.<sup>34</sup> Among them, correspondents with the highest degree of centrality in the overall correspondence network are Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski (16), Janko Car (15), Stjepan Car (13), Đuro Stjepan Deželić (13), Ivan Danilo (9), Ljudevit Vukotinović (6), Radoslav Lopašić (5).

In all 37 letters from Period II (see Figure 6.), most of the assigned topics are "Pleas" (29), "Employment pleas" (25), Cronyism (21), Indirect patronage (13), Patronage (9), Nepotism (5), and Employment transfer (6). As explained above, the practice of favouritism in Period II is closely linked to the most extensive activity of the Society for Yugoslavian History.

### **Rhetorical strategies in Kukuljević's pleas to Ivan Mažuranić**

Three letters from this period are particularly valuable as they reveal in detail the mediating practice of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, at that time the Great Župan of Zagreb County and member of the Viceroy's Conference. All

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<sup>33</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*.

<sup>34</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 790.

were written in 1861 and addressed to Ivan Mažuranić – the ultimate patron – then a member of Parliament and president of the temporary Croatian-Slavonic court dicastery in Vienna, responsible for mediating court decisions.<sup>35</sup> To examine the practice of favouritism more closely, each of the three letters is described and analysed in detail.



Figure 5. PERIOD II (1857 - 1866) Petitioners and Occupations and activities

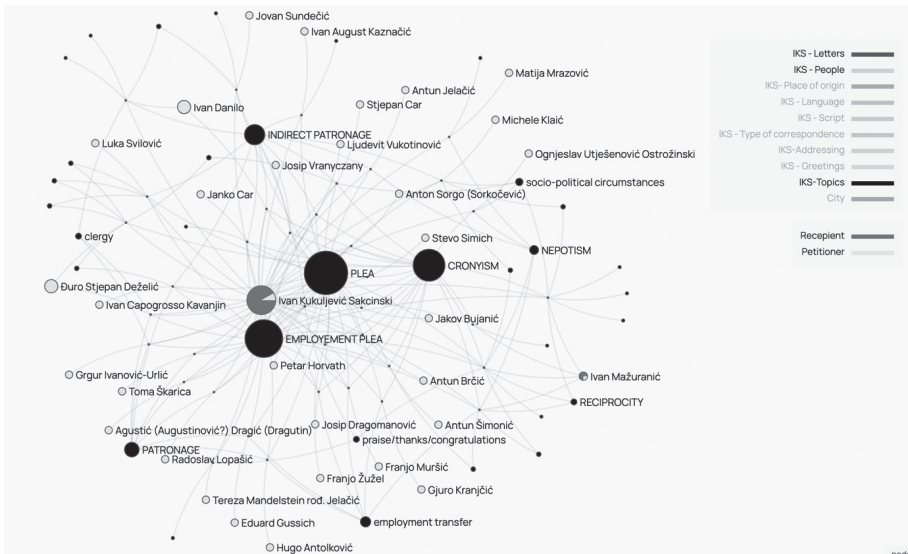


Figure 6. PERIOD II (1857 - 1866) Letters, People and Topics

<sup>35</sup> Iva Mandušić, Ankica Šunjić, “Ivan Mažuranić“, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon.*; Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon.*

In his first letter (8 January), Kukuljević congratulates Mažuranić on his appointment, stating he delayed doing so as he knows Mažuranić cares little about it. Kukuljević also expresses gratitude for his own appointment, requests instructions to begin activities promptly, and recommends (if organizing the Dicastery) his father-in-law Novak, clerk Dragutin Pogledić, and the young Antun Ružnov, remarking their suitability and family ties.<sup>36</sup>

In his second letter (10 March), Kukuljević explains he is writing despite Mažuranić's lack of reply, mentions his illness, and comments on the socio-political situation. A brief note at the end reveals favouritism, as he reports appointing one of "his people" as a scribe, illustrating reciprocity.<sup>37</sup>

The third letter (2 December) serves as a paradigmatic example, demonstrating practices of cronyism, nepotism and reciprocity within a single correspondence. Kukuljević opens by acknowledging Mažuranić receives many recommendations and apologizes for adding another. He pleads for his nephew Franjo Kukuljević's son, Milan, recommending him for a position as scribe or intern and emphasising his prior experience, talent, and potential despite lacking formal exams. He notes that others in similar positions also lacked exams and stresses Milan's good recommendations. Kukuljević urges Mažuranić to help him for the family's sake. He briefly comments on the county's situation and ends by saying he will nominate someone for the president of the county court according to the order he received – provided that a certain Klobučarić is transferred elsewhere – according to the advice of those from whom he found out about the agreement.<sup>38</sup>

All three letters display cronyism, nepotism, indirect patronage, and reciprocity, as Kukuljević consistently appeals to Mažuranić as mediator. The first and third letters include pleas for his relatives, and in the first, also for acquaintances. In both, family ties serve as justification – more subtly in the first, and explicitly in the third, where he urges Mažuranić "to be an obedient father to Milan for the sake of his family." The third letter also reveals a lack of qualifications, defended by stating how others also lack these qualifications. Reciprocity appears in all letters – implicit in the first (the request for instructions to begin joint activities) and explicit in the second and third, where he reports appointing "one of his people" and promises to nominate a candidate for county court president as instructed.

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<sup>36</sup> Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga NSK, "Pismo Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog Ivanu Mažuraniću: Zagreb, 8. I. 1861."

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., "Pismo Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog Ivanu Mažuraniću: Zagreb, 10. III. 1861."

<sup>38</sup> Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga NSK – "Pismo Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog Ivanu Mažuraniću: Zagreb, 2. XII. 1861."

Besides reciprocity, which manifests in subtle reminders of past and future favours, key rhetorical strategies include gratitude and flattery; urgency (expressions “as soon as possible” combined with expression of reciprocity “send instructions”); appeals to authority (apologizing for asking Mažuranić for a favor); argumentation of competence and deservingness (justifying the lack of qualifications and emphasizing diligence and merit); strategic mentions of social relationships (atmosphere of loyalty and duty to mutual acquaintances); emotional pleadings (emphasizing the family’s distress); repetition and persistence (referring to previous unanswered letters).

Unlike cronyism and patronage, the practice of nepotism is rare in Kukuljević’s correspondence. In this period, five letters represent cases of nepotism, and one letter of admonition because of Kukuljević’s nepotism. Apart from Kukuljević’s letters to Ivan Mažuranić, in the letter of admonition, a politician Matija Mrazović, admonishes Kukuljević for nepotism when appointing officials in the county.<sup>39</sup> Kukuljević apparently hired his brother-in-law’s brother-in-law, who did not have the necessary qualifications that the other candidate possessed. In the letter, Mrazović says that nepotism is the “most disgusting stain of our administration’s constitutional life until 1848”. He repeatedly states that Kukuljević’s nepotism is condemned by public opinion. Judging by this letter and by the relative rarity of nepotism compared to cronyism and patronage, it was clearly the least desirable and the most condemned practice.

### *PERIOD III (1874 – 1880)*

In the third observed period from the mid and late 1870s, Kukuljević received 17 letters with some form of favouritism from 12 petitioners. The highest peak occurred between 1874 and 1876, when Kukuljević received 11 pleas. The main petitioners seeking favouritism in the 1870s were Marija Jambrišak (four letters) and O. Klemenčić (three letters). Others (see Figure 7.), each sent a single plea. In one letter, Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski responded to Kukuljević’s plea.

As the network of People, and Occupations and activities in the Figure 7. shows, although the Society for Yugoslavian History continued to exist until 1878, it lost all its significance in the Favouritism network. The only correspondent (besides Kukuljević) who was also a member of the Society was Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski, who had a close relationship with Kukuljević in the earlier periods and who was not even a petitioner in the observed period but a patron.

<sup>39</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 790.

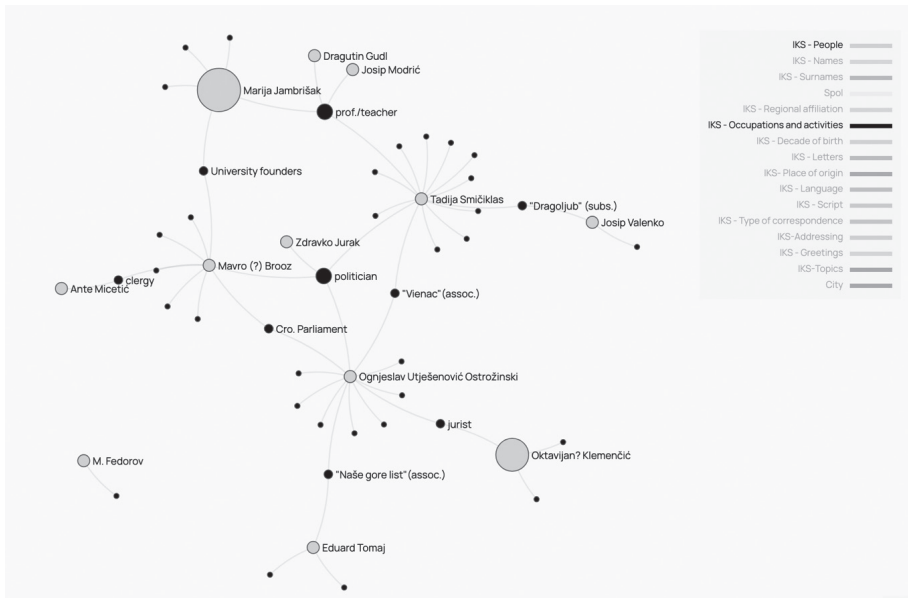


Figure 7. PERIOD III (1874 - 1880) Petitioners and Occupations and activities

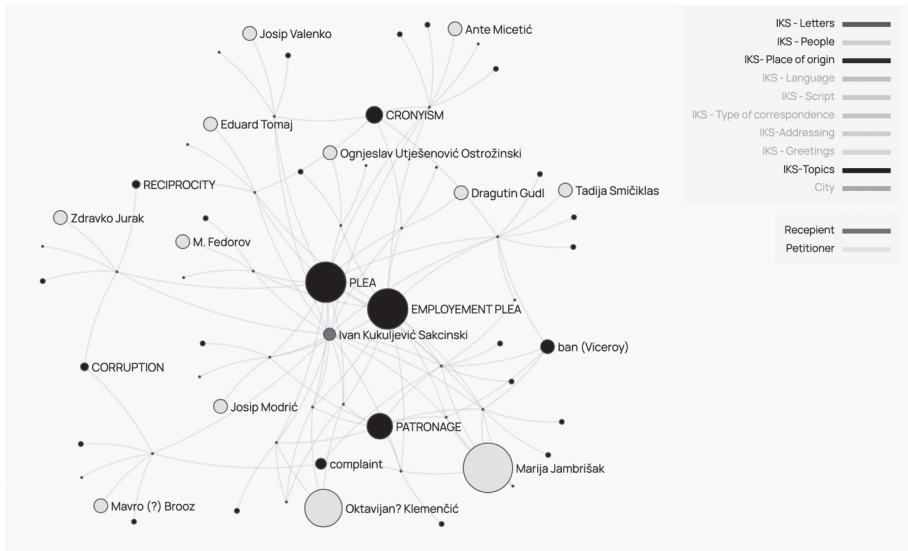


Figure 8. PERIOD III (1874 - 1880) Letters, People and Topics

Most of the petitioners in this period were politicians, professors or teachers. When comparing the network of people and their occupations with that of earlier periods, it is evident that the nodes in this network are more dispersed. Except for the most shared occupations, “politician” and “professor/teacher,” no explicit node gathers most of the petitioners.

Most of the letters (see Figure 8.) were cases of Patronage (8), then Cronyism (5), Corruption (2), and Nepotism (1). The case of Marija Jambrišak, who sent 4 letters pleading for patronage, requires a more detailed analysis below. In other cases of Patronage, correspondents pleaded for the prevention of job transfer and patronage during the investigation at work (both by lawyer O. Klemenčić)<sup>40</sup>, or for a job transfer from Dalmatia (Josip Modrić)<sup>41</sup>. In the cases of cronyism, petitioners pleaded for a specific job transfer (Josip Valenko)<sup>42</sup>, promotion to schoolmaster (Dragutin Gudl)<sup>43</sup>, support in taking over the military pharmacy (Eduard Tomaj)<sup>44</sup>, the recommendation for a position of Koper prebendary (Ante Micetić)<sup>45</sup>, and a recommendation for the position of professor of Croatian history at the Faculty of Philosophy (Tadija Smičiklas)<sup>46</sup>.

There were two cases connected to corruption in this period: one complaint of corruption and one case of political corruption. In the first one, a parish priest in Ivanec and a politician Mavro Brooz, complained about the corrupted judge Salopek from Ivanec, who “must dance as others play because it could cost him his job if his secrets are revealed.”<sup>47</sup> In the second, local politician Zdravko Jurak, who corresponded with Kukuljević mostly about politics, elections, and candidacy, begs to represent them, as they represent him, so his election will be secured.<sup>48</sup> A single case of nepotism was assigned to Marija Jambrišak’s letter, in which she mentioned her rival, who managed to get the job despite the lack of qualifications (more about that below), stating at the same time whose relative he was.<sup>49</sup> Although it might be expected that many petitions implied some reciprocity, there were also two cases of explicit reciprocity: in the case mentioned above of political corruption (Zdravko Jurak)<sup>50</sup>, and in the case of Eduard Tomaj’s taking over the military pharmacy. Right after his request, Tomaj informed Kukuljević that, as the secretary of the National Library in Otočac, he will deliver an honorary charter to him.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Signature numbers 459 and 460.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., Signature number 774.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1262.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Signature number 317.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1175.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Signature number 753.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1069.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Signature number 107.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., Signature number 431.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Signature number 398.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., Signature number 431.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1175.

There was also one case of the refusal of cronyism. Ognjeslav Utješenović Ostrožinski<sup>52</sup>, a politician and, during those years, a great župan of Varaždin County, whose previous and later relationship with Kukuljević based on his overall correspondence was one of the extensive ones<sup>53</sup>, wrote a letter (1879) in which he refused the possibility of cronyism.<sup>54</sup> This is the only case of direct response to the request of favouritism as well as the refusal of cronyism in the whole correspondence corpus. He informed Kukuljević that he had no influence over teachers' employment, as appointments were handled by the county school superintendent and the local school board. He noted the abundance of requests and favouritism, making his intervention unlikely, though he would speak to the representative if possible. He regretted bringing no better news and lamented that such matters lay beyond political authority and were governed by law!<sup>55</sup>

Although the beneficiary was unnamed, the use of feminine forms – he mentioned the position of female teachers and used the metaphor of the “shah's son (or daughter)” – suggests that the petitioner was a woman. Therefore, Utjesenović's rejection can be viewed in the context of the difficulties in employing female teachers. In that case, Utješenović's strong justification and emphasis on legality and the law in the procedure could be understood as a justification for the current rejection and not as a solid argument against any (future) forms of favouritism.

Twenty-seven years earlier (1852), he responded positively to the same request. At that time, the petitioner was a male teacher (certain Stojanović). There is a possibility that social circumstances and legal possibilities of favouritism had changed in the meantime. At the time of the 1852 plea, the Plan for the Organisation of Gymnasiums and Real Schools in Austria (1849) was in force, under which the state permanently employed regular teachers at state gymnasiums.<sup>56</sup> The situation in 1879 regarding hiring teachers was similar. At that time, an Elementary School Act from 1874 was in force. According to Article 93, the state government appointed the principal and teachers. Perma-

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<sup>52</sup> He also displays both the highest **degree centrality** (engaging with the largest number of topics) and the highest **betweenness centrality** (connecting diverse thematic clusters), which suggests his central role in the exchange of ideas. However, this analysis extends beyond the core corpus of this research.

<sup>53</sup> He is listed third by degree centrality, right after Gjuro Kontić and Ambroz Vranyczany. He sent 16 letters overall.

<sup>54</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 1208.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., Signature number 1208.

<sup>56</sup> Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović, and Vlasta Švoger, eds., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj. Knjiga I.: Zakonodavni okvir* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 261-263.

nent teachers of public municipal folk schools were appointed, based on the triple proposal of the respective municipality or private person, by the state government (article 113). The state government appointed permanent teachers at national public schools upon the triple proposal of the relevant county school supervisor (article 114). Thus, once again, the state government appointed teachers in all public elementary schools (article 175).<sup>57</sup> When refusing the mediation, Utješenović Ostrožinski emphasized the importance of the county school supervisor and repeatedly insisted on changes in employment practice. As the described laws and other cases in the corpus show – and as Utješenović Ostrožinski himself admitted when he said he would still speak to the authorities – petitioning for employment within the education system, as a form of favouritism, remained consistent.

Regarding the employment of female teachers, their position in the education system was difficult. Dinko Župan conducted extensive research into the position of female teachers in the educational system of Croatia. Until Viceroy Mažuranić passed the liberal Act of Primary Education in 1874, female teachers had roughly one-third lower salary than their male colleagues.<sup>58</sup> As both this and the following case suggest, a large number of female teachers were unemployed at that time. Their high unemployment was used as an argument for abolishing the state female teachers' school in Zagreb after Viceroy Mažuranić left politics in 1881.<sup>59</sup> More about the difficulties in seeking employment for female teachers in the 19th century and the practice of (women) seeking patronage, shows the case of Marija Jambrišak (1847-1937). This is the only case of favouritism (in this case, patronage), traces of which has been preserved in a more significant number of detailed letters.

### **Marija Jambrišak pleading for patronage**

During the 1870s, Marija Jambrišak sent Kukuljević six letters from the chosen corpus. In four of those letters, she sought his patronage. Those letters are the most extensive set of letters from the 1870s, and bring vivid details of the practice of patronage, which was, in this case, by the definition of Khatri, Tsang, and Begley, definitely not a case of cronyism. This is explicit

<sup>57</sup> Horbec, Matasović, and Švogler, *Od protomodernizacije*, 370-384.

<sup>58</sup> Dinko Župan, "The position of female teachers in the educational system of Croatia (1868-1918)," in *Women's Education in Southern Europe. Historical Perspectives (19th-20th centuries) Volume III*, edited by Antonella Cagnolati and Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Canterano: Aracne editrice, 2019), 70.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

in the letters: Jambrišak pleaded for Kukuljević's patronage in securing an appropriate position, while on several occasions complaining that her rival had obtained a post despite being less qualified. However, as shown below, the question of her rival's qualifications is more nuanced, and he cannot be categorically classified as inadequate or even less qualified.

Marija Jambrišak was a teacher most remembered as a great advocate of equal salaries for men and women and the secularisation of education. By the age of nineteen, she had passed the teacher's examination and taken up a post in Krapina. In 1871, at twenty-four, she gave a speech at the first Croatian Teachers' Conference. She advocated equal salaries, higher education and scholarships for female teachers, and opposed the practice of placing Sisters of Charity in secular teaching positions.<sup>60</sup> Afterwards, Friedrich Dittes, director of the Pädagogium, invited her to study in Vienna. Thus, in 1874, she became the first female teacher to pass all exams in Pädagogium in Vienna. After returning to Bukovec, she sent her first letter to Kukuljević, at that time a friend of her brother.<sup>61</sup> In her first letter from the 28 August, she sent him her diplomas. Similarly, enclosing diplomas is a practice already noted in earlier letters in the corpus. Skender Fabković, a teacher and pedagogue, sent his diploma in 1849 when pleading for patronage and employment.<sup>62</sup> Over two pages, she begged Kukuljević to show the Viceroy her diplomas so she could obtain employment. She states that she would like to work in her homeland, but she will be forced to go abroad if she does not secure a post. She continues:

Last year, Filipović obtained a post at the Upper Female School, for which I also applied. I was then promised that Filipović would become a representative of public schools or a district supervisor. Now, everything is silent. The respected Viceroy cannot stand up for me because he does not know my credentials. Therefore, as a friend, I dare to ask you to give him certificates of my great effort. (...) Since the country has borne (the cost) for me, I consider it my most sacred duty to act in my homeland. I will be forced to go abroad if I don't get a suitable place. Please recommend me to the Viceroy and try to find out what the government intends to do with me. If necessary, I will go to the Viceroy myself.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Branko Pleše, "Marija Jambrišak," *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983–2024), online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), accessed July 20, 2024, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/jambrisak-marija>.

<sup>61</sup> From Marin Pađen, *Čudoredni odgoj u pedagoškom djelovanju Marije Jambrišak* (Master's thesis, University of J. J. Strossmayer in Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2020), 10; citing Mihajlo Ogrizović, *Marija Jambrišak* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1979).

<sup>62</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 245.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Signature number 393.

Two weeks later, on 11 September she sent another letter, this time much shorter. She had not heard from Kukuljević, which made her anxious because she had sent him her diplomas. She asked him for advice regarding the position in Varaždin and pleads with him to speak to the Viceroy on her behalf.<sup>64</sup>

The third letter, written two weeks later on the 27 September, adopts entirely different tone and addresses different topics. In this letter, among other things, she asks him when he will revisit (since the grapes are ripening). Thus, Kukuljević visited Jambrišaks in the middle of September; they must have discussed matters of her first two letters in person, since there is no further mention of them in the third letter. Moreover, in the letter, she asked him for advice on preparing for classes because the school year begins. She especially needed help in finding adequate literature on Croatian history. The tone was more intimate; besides seeking advice, Jambrišak also asked him to borrow a few copies of (the journal) *Neven*.<sup>65</sup> The fourth letter from January 1875 indicates the mutually maintained contact between September 1874 and January 1875. In this letter, according to their agreement, Jambrišak sent him her first translations and asked him to review them and “return them by Friday.”<sup>66</sup>

The last two letters of Jambrišak in the corpus are perhaps the most interesting. In the fifth (20 February 1875), the longest, she enclosed her application to the Viceroy and asked Kukuljević to intercede. She complained of unemployment despite a government scholarship obliging her to serve six years in Croatia, questioning why such scholarships exist if no positions follow. She cited her qualifications, prior service in Krapina (1867–1871), and education in Vienna, warning that other women will avoid further study if such effort goes unrewarded. In the letter to Kukuljević, she once again spoke about her rival “Filipović”. She expressed anger at the possibility that Jurković<sup>67</sup> would appoint her as Filipović’s substitute; she did pass the exams, and Filipović did not! She states that her years of service were not counted when appointed as a substitute. She continued that “in all of Croatia, no man, no woman has that exam except me. That place must be shared with me. Besides, I think that a female (teacher) is much more appropriate for adult girls than a male.”<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., Signature number 394.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., Signature number 395.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., Signature number 396.

<sup>67</sup> Janko Jurković (1827–1889), supervisor of secondary schools in Croatia and Slavonia (1874–1887): Janko Jurković, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983–2024), online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), accessed August 22, 2024, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/jurkovic-janko>.

<sup>68</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 397.

In the letter, she specifically explained her choice of arguments to her patron. She stated that in the application, she did not want to mention that she was a burden to her brother. Otherwise, she would have been placed in a temporary post. She also explained that she had mentioned her education in Vienna so that no one could make excuses in her case. She not only attached an application but also felt the need to clarify her arguments to the patron. This reveals much about the practice of patronage and the relationship between her as protégé and Kukuljević as patron. It was a close patron–protégé relationship. She could even allow herself to express apparent anger, resentment, and determination by stating: “Filipović does not have exams yet, and I passed those exams so well that I can be his substitute<sup>69</sup>? No, never!”<sup>70</sup>

In her last letter from the corpus,<sup>71</sup> she once again complained about Filipović. She would not accept a position as his substitute because he had not taken or passed the examination, whereas she had. She emphasised that she would rather remain unemployed for a year than accept this position. Once again, she pleaded with Kukuljević for mediation on her behalf, which would solve her problems. Right before her greetings, she reminded Kukuljević that Filipović is Muhić's<sup>72</sup> cousin.

As the case of Jambrišak shows, the problem was that she could not obtain an appropriate post following her training and education in Vienna. She was well aware of her advanced education and her right to have the government secure an appropriate position for her.

However, her bitter complaints about her rival were not fully justified. One might say that she even showed clear impertinence when writing about her rival Ivan Filipović (1823–1895), a teacher, pedagogue, writer, and lexicographer.

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<sup>69</sup> The word used in the original is Cro. *suplentica* from “Latin *supplens* – which supplements; assistant teacher or temporary teacher who replaces the absent professor until he returns or until the vacancy is filled place.”: Horbec, Matasović, and Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije*, 407.

<sup>70</sup> HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 397.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, Signature number 398. The letter is undated. The metadata of the digital archive is wrongly dated to 1876. The letter cannot be dated in 1876 because, until that moment, Marija Jambrišak had already obtained a position as a teacher at the Upper School for Girls in Zagreb, and Ivan Filipović was appointed a school supervisor of the Zagreb County: Dinko Župan, “The Reform of Elementary Education in Croatia in the 2nd Half of the 19th Century and Ivan Filipović,” *Review of Croatian History* 19, no. 1 (2023): 158, <https://doi.org/10.22586/rch.v19i1.28479>; Pađen, *Čudoredni odgoj*, 14.

<sup>72</sup> Pavao Muhić (1811-1897), a politician, professor at the Faculty of Law, member of the Academy, member of the Parliament (1861-1866), the head of the Department for Worship and Education of the National Government of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (1872-1881): Pavao Muhić, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), accessed August 22, 2024, <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/muhic-pavao>.

At that time, Jambrišak was twenty-eight years old, with a few years of professional experience and a newly acquired diploma from Vienna. Ivan Filipović was fifty-two, with thirty-four years of experience as a teacher. The position she discussed was at the Upper School for Girls in Zagreb, which Filipović obtained in 1873. Before that, he worked for ten years at Kaptol Central School in Zagreb. Like Jambrišak, he promoted new methods in education, including those of Friedrich Dittes, at whose invitation she went to study in Vienna. In 1865, he prepared a draft constitution for public schooling, which formed the basis for the first Croatian public-school law adopted in 1874. He was also an advocate for women's right to higher education. Just like Jambrišak, he demanded the separation of the school system from the Church. He wrote many works in the field of pedagogy (including the ones on the upbringing of women), a couple of school textbooks for public and upper secondary schools, and methodical manuals. He was also an active member or even a founder of some teachers' societies and an organiser of many teacher's assemblies, including one where Jambrišak spoke in 1871 (which resulted in her being called to continue her education in Vienna). He was also one of the key people who prepared and implemented the *Elementary School Act* in 1874. Moreover, knowing Kukuljević's values of patriotism and political views on national policy, in Bourdiean words, Filipović had an extensive symbolic capital. As a volunteer, he participated in the revolution of 1848/1849 and even became a Hungarian prisoner. During Bach's regime in the 1850s, he wrote a poem, "Domородna utjeha" (Neven, 1852), for which he was sentenced to six months in prison for rebellion against the government.<sup>73</sup> Hence, he was clearly not inadequate for the position Jambrišak wanted.

However, all her arguments and even the anger in her expression are understandable. As Župan explains, both Jambrišak and Filipović held similar views regarding female teachers educating older male children. Both were against female teachers working in male primary schools.<sup>74</sup> As it is evident from her letters, she believed that female teachers were far more suitable for teaching female students.

Although many letters in the corpus are isolated pleas for favouritism, this close analysis shows a much closer, even personal, patron–protégé relationship. Their relationship developed rapidly from the first two letters – when Kukuljević was merely an acquaintance – to the last four, especially the final two, in which she expressed more intimate feelings of anger, resentment, and bitterness and reported her actions in detail. Moreover, these letters shed new

<sup>73</sup> More about Ivan Filipović and the bibliography on his work: Ivan Filipović, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983–2024), online edition (Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/6017> (accessed August 22, 2024); More about Ivan Filipović's work on school reforms: Župan, "The Reform of Elementary Education."

<sup>74</sup> Župan, "The position of female teachers," 76–77.

light on her relationship with Ivan Filipović. Marija Jambrišak's biographer, Mihajlo Ogrizović, concluded that Ivan Filipović was ultimately responsible for her employment. Marija Jambrišak became a substitute after Filipović took leave. Afterwards, Jambrišak remained in post as a permanent teacher. On top of that, Filipović proposed in 1884 that she be accepted as a member of the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly.<sup>75</sup>

Finally, how to interpret all those requests of favouritism in the 1870s and their complete absence in the late 1860s? This absence corresponds to the period immediately after Kukuljević was dismissed from his positions as Great Župan of Zagreb County (1861–1867) and Viceroy's Governor (1865–1867). Their rise occurred at the same time as he became once more an active member of Parliament as a representative of Rasinja (1873), Sveti Križ-Začretje (1875, 1878), and Ogulin (1881).<sup>76</sup> However, in Bourdieuan terms, besides his own political capital, another form of capital seems to account for Kukuljević's role as a patron in all these cases of favouritism in the 1870s. In 1863, he supported Ivan Mažuranić's political line and the Independent People's Party. He used his newly established newspaper "Domobran" (1864–65) to present the main programme guidelines of the Party. After the Party lost the elections in 1865, he was removed from the position of Great Župan in 1867. Both Kukuljević and Mažuranić regained their political influence in the 1870s. Kukuljević became a member of Parliament. At the same time, Mažuranić was elected president of the Croatian Parliament in 1872, and with the support of the People's Party, in 1873, he was appointed Viceroy. He held the office until 1880, conducting numerous administrative, judicial, and educational reforms based on liberal principles.<sup>77</sup> Although there is no letter in the selected corpus documenting a request for favouritism exchanged between Kukuljević and Mažuranić in the 1870s (which does not mean there were none), some petitioners (Marija Jambrišak, Tadija Smičiklas, Mavro Brooz) explicitly asked Kukuljević to mediate with the Viceroy. Brooz vividly described how the Viceroy might be reluctant to open and read so many letters and therefore turned to Kukuljević as a mediator. As a result, it may be concluded that Kukuljević's social capital, grounded in his close relationship with the Viceroy, helped advance the petitioners' requests. Moreover, although the corpus consists of letters dated until 1889,<sup>78</sup> no cases of favouritism appear after 1881– the year in which Mažuranić left politics.

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<sup>75</sup> Pađen, *Čudoredni odgoj*. 14.

<sup>76</sup> MAPPAR, *Mapiranje parlamentarnih izbora u Hrvatskoj 1848–1918*, <https://mappar.isp.hr/tko-je-tko/> (Accessed August 10, 2024).

<sup>77</sup> Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon.*; Ivan Mažuranić, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon.*

<sup>78</sup> The last letter in the corpus was sent in June 1889, while Kukuljević Sakcinski died on the August 1, 1889; HR-DAVŽ-532, Signature number 1166.

## Conclusion

By integrating quantitative and qualitative analysis, this research offers an entirely new insight into the previously unexplored practice of favouritism carried out within the network formed around Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. All periods of peak favouritism correspond either with Kukuljević's political positions or with the political power of his close associates (e.g., Viceroy Ivan Mažuranić).

Most petitioners from the period with the highest peak in favouritism (1857–1866) were gathered around the Society for Yugoslavian History. The much higher percentage of Society members after its establishment highlights the dominant role of the Society in practices of favouritism. In later years – corresponding with its diminishing activity – the Society lost its significance as a central gathering place for petitioners and patrons. Homophily, or ego–alter similarity based on occupations and activities, is higher between Kukuljević and petitioners than in the network of Kukuljević and all correspondents. This provides evidence of favouritism within Kukuljević's closer circles. When observing occupations not mutually shared by correspondents and Kukuljević (heterophily), all periods show significant numbers of professors/teachers and clerks among petitioners. When comparing networks of people and topics across all three periods, it is evident that the distribution of main themes remains largely consistent – in all periods, most cases of favouritism involved employment pleas. Although the occurrence of cronyism and patronage (both indirect and direct) remains relatively balanced throughout, direct patronage becomes dominant in the third period. The analysis of Kukuljević's letters to Ivan Mažuranić reveals a rich rhetorical strategy in the practices of cronyism, patronage, and nepotism. The most extensive case of patronage appears in the letters of the teacher Marija Jambrišak. A close reading of her correspondence demonstrates the intimacy between patron and protégé and sheds new light on the relationship between Marija Jambrišak and Ivan Filipović. In the last period, there is also a notable rise in the topic “Viceroy,” representing petitioners' repeated pleas for mediation with Viceroy Ivan Mažuranić, Kukuljević's former political associate. This may also explain the second peak in cases of favouritism following the decline of the Society's activity and further underscores the significance of Kukuljević's social capital.

However, this research covers only a few aspects of favouritism in Kukuljević's correspondence that had not been identified until now. Future studies should not only expand the database with new letters by Kukuljević and other patrons and petitioners, but could also analyse and map emotional and rhetorical strategies, explore particular instances of reciprocity, and complement network analysis with close qualitative readings of individual cases.

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