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Mogelijkheden, beperkingen en interacties met andere nationale ideeën

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*Possibilities, limitations and interactions with other
national ideas*

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The idea of Yugoslav collective unity, commonly referred to as Yugoslavism, was one of the most prominent features in the modern intellectual and political history of the lands and people that were part of the Yugoslav state. With the failure of the First and Second Yugoslavia the assessment of the place of Yugoslavism in the region's modern history has been blurred and contested. This dissertation attempts to shed some light on the phenomenon through an examination of the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood in education in the First Yugoslavia. It refrains from giving big and straightforward answers to the question why the Yugoslav idea failed, but rather sets out to reveal how it worked within a relatively short time span and within a delineated branch of society. The time span and the branch of society are not chosen haphazardly.

The Yugoslav idea had a long history predating the establishment of the Yugoslav state in 1918. In the nineteenth century elements of South Slav collective unity had occupied a central position in prominent intellectual, cultural and political events in the region. The Illyrian movement centred around a group of intellectuals in Zagreb during the 1830s and 40s was the first significant cultural-political movement which departed from a notion of South Slav cultural unity, especially in the domain of language. The Yugoslav tradition in Croatia-Slavonia was continued in the political and cultural work of Josip Juraj Strossmayer during the 1860s and 70s (Schödl 1990: 13-56; Suppan 1980: 718-21, 723-5). At the same time, a notion of South Slav collective unity also underpinned the expansionist Serbian national ideology of Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin (Sundhaussen 2007: 88-97; Wachtel 1998: 25-6), and Ante Starčević's ideology of the Croatian state right (Banac 1984: 85-8), which both covered Croats and Serbs and in the second instance other South Slavs, although under contradictory national labels and in different political frameworks. In the first decades of the twentieth century the Yugoslav idea rose to prominence in the intellectual, cultural and political life of the future Yugoslav lands. The most influential manifestations of the Yugoslav idea in this

period were the growing popularity of independent Serbia as a result of its increasing international assertiveness during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, the Yugoslav art of Ivan Meštrović and the Serb-Croat unity in the politics of the New Course (Bakić 2004a: 99-222; Schödl 1990: 234-325; Wachtel 1998: 53-63). During the First World War “sentiment for cultural and political Yugoslavism grew to a fever pitch” (Wachtel 1999: 212).

Within the spirit of euphoria that accompanied the end of the Balkan Wars and the First World War and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in December 1918 was greeted by a majority of the political and cultural elites in the Yugoslav lands as the realisation of the Yugoslav national idea and a crucial step in the economic, political and cultural modernisation of the Yugoslav lands and people. However, the establishment of Yugoslav political union marked a significant turning point in the history of the Yugoslav idea, rather than an end point in its development. As Rogers Brubaker has pointed out, “the forms of nationalism that have *resulted* from the nationalization of political space are different from – and less familiar than – those that helped *engender* it” (Brubaker 1996: 4). The First Yugoslavia forms the framework within which the Yugoslav idea was for the first time concretely “institutionalised” (ibid: 19). Education was one of the most crucial branches of society for the institutionalisation of the Yugoslav idea. Located at the intersection between politics and culture, education is a field where prescriptive *top-down* measures on, alternative and competitive approaches to and *from below* engagements with nationhood come together. In that sense, a study of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in education in the First Yugoslav state can reveal the possibilities and limitations to Yugoslav nationhood during the interwar period.

1.1 Status quaestionis of the historiography on the Yugoslav national idea during the First Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav national ideology of the Yugoslav Kingdom is a relatively well-studied phenomenon in the historiography on Yugoslavia, both as an integral part of more general historical studies of the Yugoslav state or more detailed works on specific phenomena in the history of the state (political parties, the Royal Dictatorship), and in works that specifically focus on Yugoslavism. In this sub-chapter I present an outline of

the different approaches to the Yugoslav national ideology of the First Yugoslavia in the most relevant and representative historical studies.

1.1.1 The belatedness of Yugoslavism and its appropriation in national competition

In the historiography of communist Yugoslavia it was typically argued that the national identities of Yugoslavia's six constituent nations (*narod*), namely: the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Muslim, Montenegrin and Macedonian nation, had been firmly established by the time the Yugoslav state was formed in 1918, although not all nations had reached the same level of national consciousness. The idea of a unitarist Yugoslav nation, which in essence had positive potentials as an idea of solidarity and cooperation between South Slavs, had been appropriated by the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation, in the case of interwar Yugoslavia the Serbs, to safeguard their hegemony. The result was that the Yugoslav idea was completely discredited and lost its positive potentials (Gligorijević 1986; Žutić 1988).¹ In other words, it was argued that the Yugoslav national idea in the Yugoslav kingdom was subordinate to the well-defined and fully-fledged national identities of the Yugoslav nations and merely served the national and class interests of the Serbian elite.

The Yugoslav national idea also received attention from historians who were working outside of the doctrinal Marxist framework of socialist Yugoslavia. In an early article of 1974 Dimitrije Djordjević maintained that the Yugoslav ideology was based on ethnic and linguistic similarities between South Slavs, which explained the lasting relevance of the ideology. However, the Yugoslav ideology was subordinate to "inborn and intrinsic" Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Bulgarian national identities (Djordjević 1974: 192-3). In the First Yugoslavia, still according to Djordjević, Yugoslav ideologists were a minority of "day-dreamers" who failed because "none of the national groups was prepared to accept the unitaristic approach and renounce its specific individuality" (ibid: 196).

In 1984 Ivo Banac published a highly influential study on the Yugoslav national question during the constituent years of the first Yugoslav state (1918-1921). In his conclusion Banac argues that:

¹ The official position toward the national question in socialist Yugoslavia departed from Yugoslav socialist unity alongside the free development of national cultures within it and increasingly abandoned any form of Yugoslav cultural or national unity. This socialist Yugoslav unity was strongly dissociated from the assimilationist and Greater-Serbian integral Yugoslavism of the interwar period (Haug 2012: 152-61, 183-6; Jović 2009: 54-68).

Yugoslavia's national question was the expression of the conflicting national ideologies that have evolved in each of its numerous national and confessional communities, reflecting the community's historical experiences. These ideologies had assumed their all but definitive contours well before the unification and could not be significantly altered by any combination of cajolery or coercion (Banac 1984: 406).

However, Banac continues, "the differences inherent in the national movements of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were not sufficient to forestall the rise of a single South Slavic state. The credit for this must be ascribed to the ideology of unitaristic Yugoslavism" (Banac 1984: 406-7). In the first place, the Yugoslav national idea facilitated the installation of a centralist state structure, which in fact came down to Serbian hegemony. Second:

integralist prospects were slim in any case owing to a fundamental weakness: unitarism was plainly opposed to the reality of Serb, Croat and Slovene national individuality and moreover in contradiction to the empirically observable fact that these peoples were fully formed national entities of long standing (ibid: 407).

The result was that during the interwar period "the national movement against centralism (...) merely completed the process whereby each group's national individuality was firmly set" (ibid.). Furthermore,

to act as if that were not the case, to ignore the fact that the South Slavs were not one nation, one culture, and one loyalty, or to insist that they could acquire these unitary characteristics in due course, only weakened the already fragile state and diminished the prospects for good-neighborliness based on the rejection of all forms of assimilationism and on respect of Yugoslavia's multinational character, the only policy that could strengthen the Yugoslav polity (ibid.).

In other words, the ideology of Yugoslav unitarism not only completed the consolidation of national individualities in the region, but also weakened and discredited the Yugoslav state.

Banac's conclusion perfectly represents the dominant strand in the historical thinking about the Yugoslav national idea in interwar Yugoslavia. This line of reasoning departs from a *competition* between the Yugoslav national ideology and Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Muslim national identities. Yugoslavism was predestined to lose this battle because it simply came too late and did not rely on pre-modern senses of collective identity, which had already led to the crystallisation of stable, longstanding and empirically observable national identities in the region. Secondly, Yugoslavism did not represent a sincere national movement – save for a few day-dreamers – but was rather an *instrument* in the national conflict between especially Serbs and Croats. Thirdly, on top of the slim chances of the Yugoslav nation-

building project in the first place, the misuse of Yugoslavism during the interwar period *brought the Yugoslav idea to ruins* and only *further consolidated national identities and polarisation* in the country.

This interpretative model has continued to dominate the historical thinking on the Yugoslav national idea. In his historical study of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's position toward the Yugoslav national question Aleksa Djilas argues that the Serbian and Croatian national idea spread much faster among the masses because they corresponded to a pre-modern sense of identity based on the memories of medieval Serbian and Croatian states. Although ethnically and linguistically Serbs and Croats are "almost homogeneous" their different historical memories and loyalties made them heterogeneous from the standpoint of national consciousness. As Djilas continues, the centralist state organisation of the first Yugoslav state and the Serbian domination, combined with the Yugoslav national ideology of the state, greatly damaged the Yugoslav idea. "But it is still doubtful if the just solution to the national question, with, for example, equal representation of Croats in all realms of public life, would have fundamentally changed the situation" (Djilas 1991: 184). Rather, as both Serbs and Croats had "a fully formed and widely disseminated national consciousness" and historical memories which "could not be wiped out", the Yugoslav national ideology of the Yugoslav state was doomed to fail (Djilas 1991: 16, 181-7, quotation on page 186).

After the dissolution of communist Yugoslavia historians have turned to the Yugoslav idea to assess the failure of the Yugoslav state. Thereby many historians continue to depart from the inferior position of Yugoslavism in relation to established national identities in the region, and its instrumentalisation in national competition in the Yugoslav state. Srećko Džaja for example interprets the political reality of Yugoslavism in interwar Yugoslavia on the basis of a distinction between a Greater-Serbian variant of Yugoslavism, which was based on a longstanding Greater-Serbian national and political tradition and found its political expression in the centralist state structure of interwar Yugoslavia and the authoritarian Serbian hegemony of the Royal Dictatorship, and the rejection of Yugoslavism by non-Serbian nations. The hard-line Yugoslav nationalism of the interwar period merely served as a cover for the Greater-Serbian variant of Yugoslavism (Džaja 2002: 7-31). Similarly, Zdenko Zlatar argues that the Yugoslav ideology of interwar Yugoslavia could only be realised "if two opposite but kindred nationalist ideas could be held in check, and ultimately superseded: Greater Serbian nationalism and Croatian separatism" (Zlatar 1997: 388). However, as Zlatar points out on the basis of a study of Croatian and Serbian political parties from the interwar period, such an effort was doomed to fail and in fact only strengthened national opposition because the Serbian and Croatian nationalist ideas were based on political, cultural and ideological baggage which predisposed them to approach the Yugoslav state and Yugoslav national unity from diametrically opposing standpoints (Zlatar 1997). Holm Sundhaussen argues that the Yugoslav ideology of the first Yugoslav state

was “das Mißverständnis der ersten Stunde” (Sundhaussen 1993: 57) because it did not correspond with the reality of national difference in the country. Serbian political elites conscientiously abused the Yugoslav idea to safeguard their hegemony and discriminate all non-Serbian population groups in the state, which not only discredited the Yugoslav idea, but also put the Yugoslav state at risk (Sundhaussen 1993: esp. 36-7, 57). In his study of representations of national identities in a selection of textbooks which were used during the interwar period Charles Jelavich departs from a framework of national competition between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, who “were not ready to sacrifice a millennium of history and tradition for the Yugoslav concept” (Jelavich 1994: 139). Consequently, “it was a foregone conclusion that the Yugoslav idea would fail as a unifying principle” (ibid.).

In the Yugoslav successor states historians have re-assessed the development of their nation within the Yugoslav twentieth century. In most of these historical works the Yugoslav idea of the First Yugoslavia is only treated indirectly, insofar as it was relevant to the development of the own nation. The Yugoslav ideology of the first Yugoslavia is most elaborately treated in contemporary Croatian and Serbian historiography, as the Yugoslav national idea in essence was centred around the unity of Serbs and Croats. In contemporary Slovenian historiography less attention is paid to the Yugoslav national ideology of the Yugoslav Kingdom, for the reason that the Yugoslav national idea was simply of much less direct relevance to the Slovenian part of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Jurij Perovšek has written extensively on the Slovenian Liberals, who adopted a Yugoslav national ideology, and within this framework he has treated the Yugoslav national idea. He makes a strong distinction between the abuse of the Yugoslav idea by Greater-Serbian political forces in the state and the national opposition from the already formed non-Serbian peoples in the state. In other words, he reduces the Yugoslav national idea to an instrument in national competition between established nations in the new Yugoslav state (Perovšek 2008: 107-12). In contemporary Montenegrin, Bosniak and Macedonian historiography the Yugoslav ideology of the First Yugoslavia has received scant attention. Illustratively, in his “History of the Bosniaks” Mustafa Imamović briefly denounces the Yugoslav ideology of the Yugoslav kingdom as “artificial” and incompatible with the “objective development” of national individualities within the country (Imamović 1997: 504-15).

Croatian historiographers agree that the Yugoslav national idea of the first Yugoslavia was a “wrong presupposition” (Antić 2006: 52)² which was doomed to fail because it ascended at the time when modern Slovenian, Serbian and Croatian national identities had already been formed or were in the final phase of their crystallisation:

² [“progrešne pretpostavke”]

“The formation of one single nation in the South Slav lands was impossible, because South Slav nations were already formed in a long historical development” (Matković 2002: 18).³ These historiographers recognise the Yugoslav component in the thinking of prominent Croatian nineteenth century intellectuals such as Ljudevit Gaj and Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer or the Croat-Serb Coalition in the early twentieth century, but explain that this was simply an instrumental element in their Croatian national ideology. In both the Croatian and the Serbian case, it is argued, the Yugoslav national idea was appropriated as soon as it fitted in with the interests of their fully-fledged, dominant and uncontested national identity (Antić 2006: 35-53; Matković 2002: 16-21; Stančić 2006: 16-26)

In the First Yugoslavia, it is further explained, the Yugoslav idea was seized by the Serbian political elites as a cover for the Greater-Serbian political, economic and cultural hegemony in the new state. As a result, the Yugoslav idea lost all appeal for the Croatian nation (Antić 2006: 53-9; Cipek 2006: 286-92).⁴ Whereas the above-mentioned historiographers present the Yugoslav ideology of the Belgrade regime as a conscious attempt to preserve Greater-Serbian hegemony, Ivo Goldstein adopts a more qualified position. Although he agrees that by the time the Yugoslav state was formed ethnic national ideas of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had already been fully formed and could no longer be altered, he maintains that the Belgrade authorities and King Aleksandar had genuinely Yugoslav aspirations, but that they simply:

could not grasp, and later did not want to, that the processes of national formation among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were in a final phase or were already completed. In other words, they did not understand that it was too late (if it was possible at all earlier) to canalise them in the direction of one single nation (Goldstein 2008: 34).⁵

Still, beside the different evaluations about the sincerity of the Yugoslav national ideology of interwar Yugoslavia's ruling political elites, contemporary Croatian historiography agrees that the Yugoslav nation-building project of the First Yugoslavia was unviable because it simply could not compete with the fully-fledged national identities in the region.

³ [“Stvaranje jedinstvene nacije na cijelom južnoslavenskom području nije bilo moguće, jer su južnoslavenske nacije dugim povijesnim razvitkom već bile formirane”].

⁴ For a well formulated critique of the ethnocentric Croatian grand narrative of the 20th century, see Brkljačić (2003, the passage on interwar Yugoslavia is on page 43-4).

⁵ [“nije shvaćala, a kasnije nije željela shvatiti, da su procesi formiranja nacionalnih identiteta i kod Srba i kod Hrvata i kod Slovenaca bili u završnoj fazi ili već završeni. Drugim riječima, nisu shvaćali da ih je prekasno (ako ih je i prije uopće bilo moguće) kanalizirati prema stvaranju jedinstvene nacije.”]

The assessment of the First Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav national project in contemporary Serbian historiography differs significantly from that brought forward in its Croatian counterpart. In brief, it is argued that the Serbian nation sacrificed its national development for the Yugoslav case. Whereas the Croats and, to a lesser extent, the Slovenes were preoccupied with their national interests and formed homogeneous national movements, the Serbian national parties:

neglected their own specific national interests, consciously interrupted the national take-off, rejected even the slightest thought about the formation of a Serbian political movement, denied products of the own national identity, did not take into account the state of the own national traditions and suppressed the memories of the tradition of Serbian statehood, all of this in the name of the state which they jealously protected (Dimić 2001: 135).⁶

As Ljubodrag Dimić further explains, as a result of the Yugoslavising measures of the First Yugoslavia, Serbs distanced themselves from their state tradition, their army, their national education, the Serbian Orthodox Church as state church and the unity of their national territory. During the twenty-years existence of the First Yugoslavia nothing was done for the economic, political, cultural and spiritual integration of the Serbian nation. The Serbian sacrifices for the Yugoslav case finally led to an alarming state of “denationalisation” and “demobilisation” of the Serbian nation, for the sake of a Yugoslav nation and state which were not understood and not supported by the population (Dimić 2001: 92-213; for a similar argument see Petranović 2002: 20-6, 28-30; Petrović Lj. 2008: 31).

Thus, whereas Croatian historians assess the Yugoslav project of the First Yugoslavia as superficial and identical with Serbian nationalism, Serbian contemporary historiography argues that the Serbs denounced their own national identity for the Yugoslav project. Regardless of these diametrically opposing assessments, Serbian historiography agrees with other national historiographies from the Yugoslav successor states about the “fictive” nature of Yugoslavism and its incompatibility with national identities in the country:

In the name of the fiction of Yugoslavism national unification was put into effect, which equally hit the interests of all nations in the Kingdom. Maybe it hit the Serbs more than the others, because it forced them to take risks to impose their

⁶ [“Otuda u ime države, koju ljubomorno čuvaju, srpske političke partije zapostavljaju sopstvene nacionalne interese, svesno presecaju nacionalni polet, odbacuju i pomisao o formiranju srpskog političkog pokreta, odriču se dela sopstvenog identiteta, ne vode brigu o stanju u kome se nalazi njihova matica, potiskuju sećanje na tradiciji srpske državnosti.”]

domination in the new state through the ideology of Yugoslavism (Dimić 2001: 107).⁷

In Branko Petranović's view the Yugoslav ideology of interwar Yugoslavia was "artificial" and "absurd", and simply "could not suit the ethnically and religiously heterogeneous Yugoslavia" (Petranović 2002: 28-9). Ivana Dobrivojević, who has studied repression during the Royal Dictatorship, argues that the merging of different South Slav nations into one Yugoslav nation was "unrealisable" because it could not compete with the already consolidated national identities of the state's constituent nations (Dobrivojević 2006: 105-6, 134). Ljubomir Petrović starts a study of the construction of Yugoslav national identity in a state-sponsored journal of the early 1930s by explaining that the Yugoslav nation-building project of the period was unsuccessful because of its belatedness and the consequent unequal competition with already developed Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national identities (Petrović Lj. 2007: 38). Furthermore, like its Croatian counterpart contemporary Serbian historiography assesses that the use of Yugoslavism in the interwar period and especially during the Royal Dictatorship marked the complete ruin of this idea:

Yugoslavism understood as an ideology of national unitarism and state centralism experienced its ultimate defeat during the years of the dictatorship. Openly rejected by political representatives of Croats and Slovenes, it, in fact, most severely hit the Serbs, who were identified with the state and its fate. It destroyed the national identity of the Serbian nation, curbed its individuality, strangled its political and national freedom, opposed it to other Yugoslav nations. At the same time, the experience of the dictatorship to a great extent compromised the idea of Yugoslav state union as a political solution originated at the end of the First World War (Dimić 2001: 153).⁸

The most sophisticated elaboration of this approach can be found in Jovo Bakić's study of various positions toward Yugoslavism among the political elites of the interwar period. Bakić sees Yugoslavism as a form of pan-nationalism which constantly clashed with the specific political nationalist demands of Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian and

⁷ ["U ime fikcije jugoslovenstva sprovedena je nacionalna unifikacija koja je podjednako pogodila interese svih naroda u Kraljevini. Srbe je možda pogodila i više od ostalih jer im je nametnula hipoteku da preko ideologije integralnog jugoslovenstva nameću svoju prevlast u državi."]

⁸ ["Jugoslovenstvo shvaćeno kao ideologija nacionalnog unitarizma i državnog centralizma doživelo je u godinama diktature apsolutni poraz. Otvoreno odbacivano od političkih predstavnika Hrvata i Slovenaca ono je, u suštini najdublje pogađalo Srbe, identifikovane sa državom i njenom sudbinom. Poništavalo je nacionalni identitet sprskog naroda, sputavalo njegovu posebnost, gušilo političke i nacionalne slobode, suprotstavljalo ga ostalim jugoslovenskim narodima. Uporedo sa tim iskustvo diktature umnogome je kompromitovalo i ideju jugoslovenske države kao političkog rešenja koje je iznedrio kraj Prvog svetskog rata"]

Slovenian ethnicities. On the basis of Anthony Smith's ethno-symbolist approach, Bakić argues that the political nationalist demands of the South Slav ethnicities only arose in the modern epoch, but relied on ethnic collective identities from the pre-modern period. The South Slav pan-nationalist ideology on the other hand could not fall back on a Yugoslav pre-modern ethnicity, because in the Middle Ages there had been no Yugoslav political union, no common religion or literary tradition, which could provide the cultural resources for Yugoslav nationalist demands (Bakić 2004a: 49-50).⁹ Within this framework Bakić distinguishes between two potential functions of Yugoslavism. The "historically functional" form of Yugoslavism could overcome ethnical conflict between South Slav ethnicities. Manifestly, this Yugoslavism was especially expressed in demands for protection against a foreign enemy, latently it could bring about long-lasting peace in the region. The "historically dysfunctional" Yugoslavism on the other hand expressed hegemonic claims of one South Slav ethnicity over the others and masked the constant ethnic struggle between the South Slav ethnicities (ibid: 154-5). In practice, Bakić argues in his study, the historically dysfunctional form of Yugoslavism has dominated the Yugoslav ideologies in political programs during the first half of the 20th century. In other words, the Yugoslav elements in political programs during the interwar period were merely an instrument in ethnic competition between the Serbian and the Croatian ethnicity and served as an ideological cover for the hegemonic aspirations of Serbian political elites. Ethnic identities and ethnic conflicts thus formed "structural" hindrances for Yugoslav national unity and predetermined the fate of Yugoslavism during the interwar period (ibid: 569).

1.1.2 Beyond clear-cut and stable national dichotomies

Other historians of the Yugoslav idea have questioned the predestined failure of the Yugoslav idea as a result of the inherent opposition and incompatibility of this idea with fully-fledged national identities of the Yugoslav nations by 1918, and the reduction of Yugoslavism to a mere instrument in the all-encompassing Serb-Croat national

⁹ Most of the works treated in this sub-chapter apply a theoretical approach reminiscent of Smith's ethno-symbolism, as they stress the pre-modern ethnic basis of nations and the longevity of nationalism. Smith himself, however, stresses that the relation between *ethnie* and nation is rarely a straightforward one-to-one correspondence (Smith 2001: 19-25). Another ethno-symbolist John Hutchinson highlights the plural character and variability of national identities (Hutchinson 2005). This implies that the ethno-symbolist approach does not take for granted the clear-cut and stable development from Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Bulgarian ethnicities into Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Bulgarian nations, which has been the point of departure in much of the thinking on South Slav nationalisms.

competition. They suggest that the Yugoslav nation-building project of the First Yugoslavia should not be examined within the *longue durée* framework of the crystallisation from pre-modern ethnicities into fully fledged and stable national identities and national competition, but rather that we should study the concrete institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood and its dynamic and interactive relation with other national identities within the short time span of the interwar period. Hans Lemberg for example has made some general remarks and suggestions with regard to supra-national nation-building projects on the basis of a comparison of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak nation-building projects of the interwar periods. His first suggestive conclusion concurs with the dominant interpretative model in the historiography on the Yugoslavia idea and argues that in both the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak case the consolidation of national identities had reached a “point of no return” by 1918, after which they could no longer be merged into an overarching supra-nation. Additionally, he points to the confessional differences which hindered both nation-building projects. However, Lemberg also points to the possibility that the twenty years of the interwar period had simply not been enough for any successful supra-national building, that both the Yugoslav and the Czechoslovak nation-building project never became a movement *from below*, because they did not succeed in mobilising various influential and representative social groups, or that the reason for the failure of both projects should be looked for in the concrete ideological, social-political and symbolic realisation of these projects (Lemberg 1994: 603-7).

These latter suggestions to examine the concretisation of Yugoslav nationhood within the short-term framework of interwar Yugoslavia form the starting point in studies of the Yugoslav idea in interwar Yugoslavia by Dejan Djokić and Andrew Wachtel. In his introduction to an edited volume on the history of Yugoslavism, especially during the existence of the Yugoslav state, Dejan Djokić stresses that the Yugoslav idea was not more or less natural than other national ideologies in the region (Djokić 2003a: 4-5). Additionally, he points out that Yugoslavism was “a fluid concept, understood differently at different times by different Yugoslav nations, leaders and social groups” (Djokić 2003a: 4). Djokić has concretised these general principles in his own research on interwar Yugoslavia. First, he argues that there existed several variants of Yugoslavism and that the Yugoslavism promoted by the state and by the opposition evolved and interrelated during the interwar period. In other words, the way political actors made use of Yugoslavism during the interwar period relied on the specific circumstances of interwar Yugoslavia instead of on longstanding national identities and competitions (Djokić 2003b: 139-40). Additionally, Djokić argues convincingly that “interwar Yugoslavia cannot be understood as a simple Serb-Croat dichotomy (Djokić 2007: 1). Although his argument in the first place applies to the political life of the First Yugoslavia, it can also be transferred to questions of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. Indeed, Djokić hints at the dynamic, overlapping and interactive character of Yugoslav,

Serbian and Croatian national ideas, suggesting that “it is debatable whether Serbian and Croatian nationalisms had been formed by 1918, and whether they remained immune to evolution following the creation of Yugoslavia” (Djokić 2007: 7, see also Djokić 2012: 18). Thus, Djokić sketches a methodological framework for the study of the Yugoslav idea in interwar Yugoslavia which departs from dynamics, fluidity and interaction of various national identities in the region, instead of stable national identities and clear-cut national competition.

Preoccupation with manifestations and expressions of Yugoslav ideology in the political life of the Yugoslav kingdom is a common trait of the historiography on the Yugoslav idea in interwar Yugoslavia. In that sense Alon Confino’s critique of the political reductionism and functionalism in research on collective memory (“Memory cleavages reflect political differences constructed beforehand”) can also be applied to the historiography on the Yugoslav idea in interwar Yugoslavia (Confino 1997b: 1393-5, quotation on 1395). A number of studies of the cultural life in interwar Yugoslavia have shown that the impact of Yugoslavism in interwar Yugoslav culture transcended that of a cover for Serbian hegemony and a mere instrument in national competition. In a study of the Yugoslav idea in literature and culture during the 19th and 20th centuries Andrew Wachtel makes clear that the Yugoslav idea was not incompatible with Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian national identities or movements and did not merely serve the interests of fully-fledged national identities in national competition between the South Slav nations. Rather:

It is the *coexistence* [of separate Serbian, Slovenian and Croatian national movements and the movement for the creation of a pan-South Slavic national identity] that is the most significant culturopolitical fact in the history of the Yugoslav lands from the mid-nineteenth century until today” (Wachtel 1998: 23, my emphasis).

Moreover, the Yugoslav idea was not unrealistic and unrealisable, because both culturally and politically there was a clear logic behind this idea (ibid: 22-3). Finally, the Yugoslav idea was an essential ideological fundament behind the existence of the Yugoslav state:

Certainly there was in Yugoslavia considerable disagreement, tension and evolution in how the relationship between the various South Slavic cultures and the national culture and state was to be conceived. Still, it is my contention that some version of Yugoslavism – some powerfully fostered ideological defense of an overarching culture whose centripetal force would balance the centrifugal force exerted by the many separate local cultures – was both an essential part of what sustained Yugoslavia in the first place and in the end a necessary condition of its survival as a state (ibid: 5).

After outlining the essential role of the Yugoslav idea in the history of the Yugoslav lands, and especially in the history of the Yugoslav state, Wachtel historicises different models for Yugoslav cultural unification. In the first half of the nineteenth century Yugoslav national culture was conceived as a slightly modified form of Serbian culture. Wachtel claims that this “romantic” model was not theoretically inconceivable, but “the cultural specificity of the Croats and Slovenes was too well established by this period for them to be easily swallowed up by an encompassing Serbian identity” (ibid: 52). This model of Yugoslavism corresponds to the Greater-Serbian Yugoslavism many scholars have considered characteristic for the interwar period. However, Wachtel argues that from the turn of the twentieth century and especially during the interwar period a different view was adopted, which saw Yugoslav culture as a synthesis of the best elements of the separate South Slavic cultures. Hence, Wachtel stresses the crucial place of the First Yugoslavia in the history of the Yugoslav idea:

Despite the short life and ultimate failure of this first Yugoslav state, a number of conflicting and in some cases constructive political and cultural views regarding potential strategies for creating a Yugoslav nation were articulated during its existence. Finally, the legacy of the first Yugoslavia left indelible marks on the cultural and political landscape of the South Slavic lands (ibid: 67).

Vice versa, Wachtel adds that the first Yugoslavia cannot be understood without “a recognition of the crucial ethnocultural belief that underpinned the country: that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes formed a single nation” (ibid: 69). Crucially:

despite Serbianizing tendencies in most other areas, successive interwar Yugoslav governments did not promote a return to the romantic Serbianizing program of the 1830s and 1840s, but generally supported a version of synthetic culture. Unfortunately, however, this cultural vision was overwhelmed by political developments in interwar Yugoslavia, which generally worked to impose Serbian domination on the rest of the country, thereby helping to undercut successes in the nation-building area (ibid: 8-9).

In other words, Wachtel argues that patterns from the political life of the First Yugoslavia cannot directly be transferred to the cultural field of nation-building. Whereas in the political field Serbian domination was undisputable, in the cultural domain “attempts at cultural Serbianization of Slovene and Croat cultures were far less frequent than the political situation might have led one to expect” (Wachtel 1998: 73).

Other historical studies have confirmed that the state’s Yugoslav ideology had a strong impact on its cultural politics, education system and intellectual life. The most important works in this regard are Ljubodrag Dimić’s monumental ‘Cultural politics in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia’ (Dimić 1996-97), Martin Mayer’s work on elementary education in interwar Yugoslavia (Mayer 1995), Miloslav Janićijević, Zoran Milutinović

and Rory Yeomans' studies of intellectuals in interwar Yugoslavia (Janićijević 1984; Milutinović 2011; Yeomans 2007), Vladeta Tešić's study of the Main Educational Board, an advisory organ to the Ministry of Education (Tešić V. 1980), Aleksandar Ignjatović's study of Yugoslav ideology in architecture during the first half of the 20th century (Ignjatović 2007), and the works by Ivana Dobrivojević, Predrag Marković and Christian Nielsen on King Aleksandar's Royal Dictatorship (Dobrivojević 2006; Marković P. 2001; Nielsen 2002). Additionally, the Yugoslav nation-building policy has received attention in works on the development of specific regions in interwar Yugoslavia: for Slovenia Ervin Dolenc (1996; 2010), for Montenegro Senka Babović-Raspopović (2002), for Macedonia, Kosovo and Southern Serbia Vladan Jovanović (2002; 2011) and Nada Boškowska (2009), for Dalmatia Aleksandar Jakir (1999) and for Vojvodina Biljana Šimunović-Bešlin (2007). These works invariably indicate the strong impact of the Yugoslav idea on interwar Yugoslavia's culture, cultural politics and educational system.

1.2 Theoretical and methodological guidelines

The works of especially Dejan Djokić and Andrew Wachtel convincingly question the long-term stability and 'reality' of national identities and the incompatibility of Yugoslavism and fully fledged national identities in the regions. Instead, they focus on specific dynamics and interaction between various national identities within the specific circumstances of interwar Yugoslavia and argue that the impact of Yugoslavism on interwar Yugoslav society transcended that of a mere cover for Serbian hegemony. Such an approach concurs with a number of theoretical writings on nationhood as a fluid, dynamic and multifaceted category of practice, and studies about the compatibility of various levels of collective identity. Rogers Brubaker has offered a convincing critique of the realist, substantialist understanding of nations, which has informed the historiography on the Yugoslav national question. This substantialist or groupist approach speaks of national groups as "internally homogeneous, externally bounded groups, even unitary collective actors with common purposes" (Brubaker 2004: 8). Instead of looking at nations as real collectivities, substances, entities, Brubaker argues for a focus on nationhood as a conceptual variable, institutional form, practical category, contingent event, cultural idiom. Nations are no "substantial, enduring collectivities" but rather "widely, if unevenly, available and resonant (...) categor[ies] of social vision and division" which are "pervasively institutionalized in the practice of

states and the workings of the state system” and which “may suddenly, and powerfully ‘happen’” (Brubaker 1996: 21). Instead of asking “what is a nation” we should ask:

How is nationhood as a political and cultural form institutionalized within and among states? How does nation work as practical category, as classificatory scheme, as cognitive frame? What makes the use of that category by or against states more or less resonant or effective? What makes the nation-evoking, nation-invoking efforts of political entrepreneurs more or less likely to succeed (ibid: 16)?

Instead of examining groups (nations), Brubaker suggests that we analyse national categories: the institutionalisation of categories; their embedment in myths, memories, narratives; their propagation in forms of governmentality; their appropriation by the categorised; and how these national categories are used by individuals to make sense of the world. This does not imply that we dismiss nationhood altogether, but rather that we do not depart from nations as pervasive and fixed real entities, but rather examine the concrete happening and not-happening, and institutionalisation of categories of nationhood (Brubaker 1996: 13-22; 2004: 7-27).

Within this framework a number of scholars have focused on the dynamic and multifaceted meaning of national identity in concrete happenings of nationhood. Oliver Zimmer and Eric Kaufmann have established a useful analytic model for the conceptualisation of the dynamic and eventful nature of nationhood. Oliver Zimmer first distinguishes *boundary mechanisms* “which social actors use as they reconstruct the boundaries of national identities at a particular point in time” (Zimmer 2003: 178).¹⁰ At the same time, Zimmer distinguishes between four types of *symbolic resources*, namely: political values/institutions, culture, history and geography.

These symbolic resources provide the symbolic raw material, as it were, which social actors use as they define national identities in public discourse. Yet, depending on which boundary mechanism they employ – voluntary or organic – a different picture of national identity emerges (ibid: 179-80).

Importantly, these constructions are not completely arbitrary, rather, “the public definition (and re-definition) of national identity is contingent within certain

¹⁰ Zimmer distinguishes between two ideal types of boundary mechanisms: a voluntaristic conception of nationhood, which places human will above naturalistic criteria; and an organic or deterministic conception which conceives of the nation as determined by ethnic descent and tradition (Zimmer 2003: 175-6). For the case of interwar Yugoslavia these ideal types are not informative as a point of departure for distinguishing varying approaches to nationhood. Thus, I adopt Zimmer’s notion of boundary mechanisms as an abstract concept behind variable approaches toward definitions of nationhood, without the concrete distinction between organic and voluntaristic ideal types, which Zimmer employs for investigating the Swiss case.

limitations”, and takes the form of “novel combinations” of symbolic resources, rather than of “pure invention” (ibid: 173-4). At the same time, “particular definitions of national identity rise to prominence in particular historical situations” (ibid: 180).

Eric Kaufmann has elaborated on this model. He argues that national identities are constantly defined and re-defined as the product of the juxtaposition of a territorial and human population referent, interpretive lenses and symbolic resources. “Each lens” – Kaufmann distinguishes between ideologies, instrumental considerations, social and geographic perspectives and psychological predispositions – “refracts light from the national referent upon certain symbolic resources to create a distinct national identity for each individual” (Kaufmann 2008: 473). National identities may come to be codified into a collective representation. If these codifications become accepted by wider layers of the population and if a long-lived consensus is reached, these national identities themselves act as ideological lenses (ibid: 466-70). The resulting national identities should be seen as dynamic concepts, constantly open to variations and redefinitions, diachronically as well as synchronically.

A specific lens which informs the construction of nationhood and adds to the protean character of nationhood is the regional or sub-national lens. Historians of regions have argued that sub-national identities have not been superseded by national identities in the age of modernisation, but should rather be understood as categories of perception which “allowed for both resistance to and accommodation of nationalizing forces, often in the same places but to varying degrees” (Applegate 1999: 1177). National and sub-national identities should not be seen as mutually exclusive, but rather as interactional and intertwined categories:

The region served as a category of perception, of “vision and division” of the world, just as capable of making sense of changes in collective life as was the nation – in fact, eminently capable of making sense of the nation itself. This perspective enables us to account for the specific forms that national identity has taken, which vary from place to place, and to open it up as an arena of conflict and negotiation, not coercion and manipulation (ibid.)

From this point of view national culture “becomes a multifaceted thing, more a complex amalgam of criss-crossing movements toward integration and differentiation than a set of finite and quantitatively manifest characteristics or a collection of hegemonic and centralizing strategies” (ibid: 1173). For the case of interwar Yugoslavia, such an approach clarifies that Yugoslav and Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian (or for that matter any other sub-national) collective identities should not be seen as inherently antagonistic and mutually exclusive forces (cf. Djokić 2012: 18). A specific Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian or any other potential sub-national view (from the Yugoslav point of view) on Yugoslav nationhood did not per se reject the happening of Yugoslav

nationhood. Rather, if the Yugoslav national idea was to become successful it had to make use of sub-national identities.

With all this stress on the dynamic and fluid character of nationhood, it is however crucial to keep in mind that successful nations *hold together*, in spite of the amalgam of different, at times rivalling and competing views on national identity. If we accept that nationhood is a contested process, internal conflicts and boundaries are potentially available in all forms of nationhood. Group-making processes by social actors are successful if they succeed in constructing a notion of nationhood which “overcomes symbolically real social and political conflicts” and “gives the illusion of a community to people who in fact have very different interests” (Confino 1997b: 1400). A crucial notion in this regard is Alon Confino’s “common denominator”, an interpretative structure of binding elements, which unites the nation in spite of internal differences and prevents frictions within nations to escalate (Confino 1997a: 8-13; 1997b: 1397-1402).

1.3 Situation of the research questions of this dissertation

In this dissertation I take the work of Dejan Djokić and Andrew Wachtel on Yugoslavism in interwar Yugoslavia, as well as the theoretical works by Rogers Brubaker, Oliver Zimmer, Eric Kaufmann and historians of regional and sub-national identities, as a starting point for an examination of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the nation-building program of the Yugoslav state. Until now, the Yugoslav nation-building policy of the Yugoslav kingdom has not been treated systematically in the scholarly literature. Djokić has suggested that the Yugoslavism of interwar Yugoslavia failed because the state authorities did not come to a viable, common Yugoslav national mythology, but does not elaborate on this argument (Djokić 2003b: 150-1). Andrew Wachtel focuses on individual attempts to establish a Yugoslav national culture by writers and artists and only briefly refers to the state’s nation-building policy in education (Wachtel 1998: 98-101). Other scholars have all too easily denounced the Yugoslav nation-building policy of interwar Yugoslavia on the basis of its predetermined incompatibility with Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national identities and its appropriation in political national conflict. Charles Jelavich for example has studied a small number of textbooks from the interwar period and concludes that the approach to Yugoslav national unity in interwar Yugoslavia merely reflected the well-established national antagonism between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In his view the state’s nation-building policy concurred with the Serb-Croat national opposition in

political life and continued the narrow nationalist education of the pre-First World War period (Jelavich 1994; Jelavich 2003). Sundhaussen briefly refers to a number of Yugoslav-orientated intellectuals, but concludes that the Yugoslav enthusiasm of these intellectuals had little impact and quickly faded out against the background of the political reality in the state. Additionally, he refers to Jelavich's conclusion about the lack of sincere Yugoslavism in textbooks of the interwar period, and *Hrvatski jezik* ('The Croatian Language'), a journal which promoted the separateness of the Croatian language but was only established in the late 1930s, to point to the emptiness and superficiality of the state's Yugoslav program (Sundhaussen 2007: 240-51). None of these studies however provide a sufficiently detailed and elaborate examination of interwar Yugoslavia's nation-building program to convincingly substantiate their claims about the lacking impact of the state's Yugoslav ideology on society.

In this dissertation I study the concrete institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the education system of the First Yugoslavia. It is a generally accepted – although under-theorised – that education plays a crucial role in nation-building programs. Many studies on education and national identity confirm Confino's critique of research on collective memory, as they are "content to describe the representation of the past [the national identity, P.T.] without bothering to explore the transmission, diffusion, and ultimately, the meaning of this representation" (Confino 1997b: 1395-7, quotation on 1395). I use the field of education to reveal the possibilities and limitations to the framework for identification with the Yugoslav level of collective identity which was provided in the Yugoslav nation-building program of interwar Yugoslavia. This framework comprises variable available meanings of Yugoslav nationhood not only in the domains of economics and politics, but also in the cultural and symbolic domain. It is for the latter that a study of education can be particularly fruitful. I examine the diachronic and synchronic variety in approaches to Yugoslav nationhood and assess the variability in mediations with Yugoslav collective unity provided by social actors involved in the Yugoslav nation-building project in education, in the first place the state but also non-governmental educational associations, and the changing relevance of different approaches to Yugoslav national unity within the context of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. Thereby I specifically focus on the interaction between the Yugoslav level of nationhood, and the level of Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and other sub-national (from a Yugoslav point of view) identities.

My approach focuses on top-level constructions of Yugoslav nationhood by state institutions and intellectuals, and supportive, alternative and competitive engagements of mediatory social actors with these constructions of Yugoslav nationhood, especially textbook authors, publicists, local authorities and representatives of Yugoslav teachers, cultural-educational associations and Yugoslav religious institutions. Such mediatory social actors were predisposed and more sensitive to engage with top-level

constructions of nationhood than the Yugoslav population at large. In that way, this study does not pretend to examine the production and reproduction of Yugoslav nationhood among the entire Yugoslav population, along the lines of the research agenda on “everyday nationhood” Jon Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss have set out recently (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008).¹¹ Although my approach is sensitive to the points made by Fox and Miller-Idriss, in the sense that I allow for “the variable meanings and contextual salience of nationhood”, their sociological focus on the “here and now” of nationhood cannot be directly transferred to a historical study. Additionally, as pointed out by Anthony Smith, the assumption of an undifferentiated ‘ordinary people’, the lacking interaction between elites and non-elites and the a-historical point of departure are serious limitations to Fox and Miller-Idriss’s research programme (Smith 2008: 565-6). In this study I examine the variability in meaning and the contextual salience of Yugoslav nationhood among representatives of state authorities, intellectual elites and mediatory social actors who were involved in nation-building in interwar Yugoslav education. These engagements with Yugoslav nationhood are part of a dynamic and multifaceted framework which was available to the Yugoslav population at large for making sense of society during the period under scrutiny and thus reveals some of the possibilities and limitations to Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslav society.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation and source material

The second and third chapter of this dissertation elaborate on the prominent place of Yugoslavism in the political life and cultural politics of interwar Yugoslavia. The second chapter provides an overview of the political developments in interwar Yugoslavia, with a focus on the place of the Yugoslav idea in the country’s political life. This chapter relies on a large number of secondary sources on interwar Yugoslav political parties and specific works on the Royal Dictatorship. In the third chapter I turn to the educational policy of the Yugoslav state, again with specific attention to the place of Yugoslav nation-building in the state’s educational policy. I especially rely on Ljubodrag Dimić’s

¹¹ This research program suggests a shift of attention to ordinary people as active participants in the production and reproduction of the nation. They propose a study of the variable contents of everyday nationhood (what?) and the context within which the nation matters to ordinary people (when?) within four domains: discourse, choice, performance and consumption (Fox & Miller-Idriss 2008).

study of interwar Yugoslavia's cultural politics (Dimić 1996-7) and collections of laws, decrees and other legal decisions in the *Službene novine* ('Legal Gazette') of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, and *Prosvetni glasnik* ('The Educational Herald'), the official journal of the Ministry of Education. These two chapters further substantiate the research questions and the methodological approach of this dissertation.

The fourth and fifth chapter are devoted to prescriptive definitions of Yugoslav national identity in the domain of education. In the fourth chapter I study the state's construction of Yugoslav nationhood in the fields of language, literature, history, geography and religion. I focus on curricula for elementary and secondary schools from the period under scrutiny and commemorations of important historical dates in schools, and relate these constructions of Yugoslav national identity with concurring, alternative and rivalling approaches to categories of Yugoslav national identity by intellectuals and non-governmental educational associations. For this chapter I use archival sources (curricula), contemporary publications in journals and newspapers, as well as secondary sources on specific elements from the intellectual history of the First Yugoslavia. In the fifth chapter I examine how the construction of Yugoslav national identity in curricula was concretised in textbooks. I make a distinction between the three publication centres of textbooks: Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and study the mediation between the Yugoslav level of nationhood and sub-national Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian collective identities. This chapter is based on an investigation of a large number of textbooks which were used during the interwar period, as well as the relevant prescriptions and regulations in *Prosvetni glasnik*. In brief, these two chapters reveal the framework of variable mediations with Yugoslav nationhood and the interactive happenings between different levels of collective identity available in the domain of education, with specific attention to the prescriptive definitions of Yugoslav nationhood provided in the state's educational policy.

In the sixth and seventh chapter I turn to the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood beyond the prescriptive constructions of Yugoslav national identity in education to explain the contextual relevance of changing approaches toward Yugoslav nationhood and varying interactive happenings between Yugoslav nationhood and sub-national collective identities. In chapter six I study the position of teachers within the state's nation-building project. I examine how the state imposed categories of nationhood on its teachers and how representatives of Yugoslav teachers responded to this policy. The chapter is based on archival sources (especially reports and investigations by local authorities) and contemporary publications by teachers associations. In chapter seven I look at the Yugoslav Sokol movement, a gymnastics movement which was heavily sponsored by and subordinated to the Yugoslav state authorities. On the basis of contemporary publications by the Sokol and archival sources I investigate how the activities of the Sokol movement performed Yugoslav nationhood.

1.5 Note on terminology

One of the central themes in this dissertation is the interrelation between different levels of collective belonging in interwar Yugoslavia. In typical Yugoslav ideological programs of the period a distinction was made between the Yugoslav nation/people (*narod*) and the three constituent “tribes” (*pleme*) within that nation, namely: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. When referring to or paraphrasing contemporary Yugoslav national discourse I will take over this terminology, but I will place ‘tribe’ between apostrophes to avoid misunderstandings. I will speak about the sub-national level to refer to any territorially, historically, culturally, religiously and/or politically defined form of collective belonging within the Yugoslav level of nationhood. The usage of the terms ‘tribe’ / ‘tribal’ and sub-national does not imply that I deny or dispute the availability of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nationhood, or regional or confessional identities in the interwar period, or that I consider these inferior to Yugoslav nationhood. Rather, these terms are used to make a clear distinction between three levels of collective belonging which were available within the ideological framework of interwar Yugoslavia: the Yugoslav national level; the Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian ‘tribal’ level; and the sub-national level. The latter two levels melt into one another, as Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian collective belonging are both ‘tribal’ and sub-national. However, the term ‘tribe’, which stands between the national and the sub-national, is only used for the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian part of the Yugoslav nation. For South Slav Muslim, Bosnian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Dalmatian, and so on collective identities I will only use the term sub-national. When referring to alternative or competing national ideologies which speak about the Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian nation I will again take over the terminology used by the author in question. In these cases it will be clear from the context that I am not speaking about the Yugoslav nation.

Chapter 2 Main political developments in interwar Yugoslavia with specific reference to the Yugoslav national idea

The Yugoslav national idea occupied a prominent place in the rationale behind the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in December 1918. The 1917 Corfu declaration between the Serbian government in exile and the Yugoslav Committee, an interest group of political representatives of South Slavs from Austria-Hungary, for example began with the following statement of Yugoslav national unity as the basic principle on which the Yugoslav state would be founded:

First and foremost, the representatives of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes once more and most decisively stress, that our three-named nation is one by blood, by spoken and written language, by the sentiment of its unity, by continuity, by the unity of the territory on which it lives compactly, by the common living interests of its national survival and the complete development of its moral and material life. The idea of its national unity never faded, although all the power, both intellectual and physical, of its national enemy was directed against its unity, its freedom and its national development. (...) The feeling of its national unity and its spirit for freedom and independence kept the nation alive in the continuous and centuries long battles, in the East with the Turks, in the West with Germans and Hungarians (qtd. in Čulinović 1968: 47).¹²

¹² [“Pre svega, predstavnici Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca ponova i najodsudnije naglašavaju, da je ovaj naš troimeni narod jedan isti po krvi, po jeziku, govornom i pisanom, po osećajima svoga jedinstva, po kontinuitetu i celini teritorije, na kojoj nepodvojeno živi, i po zajedničkim životnim interesima svoga nacionalnog opstanka i

The principle of Yugoslav national unity also underpinned the address of the delegation of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, the political organ representing South Slavs from Austria-Hungary, and the speech of Prince-Regent Aleksandar during the ceremonial unification act of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and the Kingdom of Serbia on 1 December 1918 (qtd. in Čulinović 1968: 97-100).

During the interwar period the Yugoslav idea continued to occupy a central role in Yugoslav politics. However, one of the crucial characteristics of the Yugoslav national idea in interwar Yugoslavia was its multifaceted and fluid character. Based on Ljubodrag Dimić's work on cultural politics in interwar Yugoslavia Jovo Bakić has suggested a useful typology of Yugoslavism, especially based on the desired degree of national integration and the position of sub-national entities within the Yugoslav nation. The ideology of *integral Yugoslavism* departed from complete Yugoslav national homogeneity and the irrelevance of sub-national entities for Yugoslav national identity. Importantly, integral Yugoslavism did recognise three so-called 'tribes' within the Yugoslav nation, i.e. Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and religious differences, but argued that sub-national factors could no longer determine the political and cultural life of the unified Yugoslav state. More concretely, integral Yugoslavists demanded a centralised state structure and a completely homogeneous cultural life. *Yugoslav nationalism* recognised that differences between the 'tribes' of the Yugoslav nation had an impact on Yugoslav national unity. However, in due course a decisive Yugoslav nation-building policy would lead to the reduction of these differences and the complete national unification. *Real Yugoslavism* did not consider 'tribal' differences harmful for Yugoslav national unity and consequently did not intend to ban sub-national identities from political and cultural life. However, it was not excluded that the simple fact that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes now lived together in a common state could in the end lead to a homogeneous Yugoslav nation. Finally, for *minimal Yugoslavism* Yugoslav unity only referred to the political unity of different South Slav nations (Bakić 2004a: 84-5).

The history of interwar Yugoslavia is commonly divided in four consecutive periods of political rule. In the so-called parliamentary period, the period from the unification of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1918 to the proclamation of the Royal Dictatorship on 6 January 1929, the national ideologies of the two ruling political parties, the Radical Party and the Democratic Party were prevailing, i.e. a Serb

svestranog razvitka svoga moralnog i materijalnog života. Ideja o njegovom nacionalnom jedinstvu nikada se nije gasila, ma da je sva moć, umna i fizička, nacionalnog mu neprijatelja bila upravljena protivu njegovog jedinstva, njegove slobode i nacionalnog opstanka. (...) Osećaj njegovog nacionalnog jedinstva i duh za slobodom i nezavisnošću, održavali su ga u neprekidnim vekovnim borbama, na istoku sa Turcima, a na zapadu sa Nemcima i sa Mađarima.”]

centred compromised Yugoslavism.¹³ During the Royal Dictatorship, which lasted from 6 January 1929 until the elections of 5 May 1935, the King and his Council of Ministers proclaimed the ideology of *integral Yugoslavism* as the cornerstone of Yugoslav politics. Finally, the government of Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović (May 1935 – February 1939) formulated a form of *real Yugoslavism*. The period after the elections of December 1938 will not be treated in detail in this dissertation. In August 1939 an agreement was reached between Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković and Croat opposition leader Vladko Maček whereby an autonomous Croatian unit was created. During this period of political and ideological transformation, Yugoslavism as a national ideology was clearly losing ground.

¹³ This terminology is based on Ljubodrag Dimić, who denotes the national idea of the Vidovdan constitution as “compromised national unitarism” (Dimić 1996, 1: 213). [“kompromisnog nacionalnog unitarizma”].

2.1 The parliamentary period (1918-1929)

On 28 June 1921, St. Vitus' Day (*Vidovdan*), the constituent assembly ratified the so-called *Vidovdan* constitution, which made Yugoslavia a centralised monarchy. 223 deputies, primarily Radicals and Democrats, but also representatives of the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, Džemijet and the Slovenian Peasant Party, voted for the constitution, 35 voted against and 158 deputies - Communists, Slovenian Clericals and representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party - abstained (Gligorijević 1979: 110). The close voting for the constitution revealed the strong divide over the centralist organisation of the state. Quickly, the divide between centralists and decentralists turned into a disagreement between Serbs and non-Serbs, in the first place Croats. Although both lines of division played an important role in interwar Yugoslav politics, their often assumed concurrence with issues of Yugoslav nationhood is problematic.

The question of the internal organisation of the country dominated Yugoslav political life from the period of the Provisional Parliament and the constituent assembly and in fact remained of paramount importance in Yugoslav political life throughout the entire interwar period. In these political discussions references to the Yugoslav nation were never far away, leading to a great confusion between what Dejan Djokić calls “the two key concepts of centralism and unitarism”, the former referring to a centralised state organisation, the latter to Yugoslav national unity (Djokić 2003b: 138; 2007: 45). However, Yugoslav unitarists did not necessarily favour a centralist state organisation, and centralists were not necessarily (genuine) unitarists. Secondly, the politics of interwar Yugoslav are often interpreted along the lines of a Serb-Croat dichotomy, which again leads to simplified evaluations not only of political developments in interwar Yugoslavia (cf. Djokić 2007) but also of the Yugoslav national idea in interwar Yugoslav politics. Although most Yugoslav political parties clearly had a Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Bosnian Muslim or Montenegrin target group, this does not necessarily imply that they opposed some form of Yugoslav national unity.

In this sub-chapter I give an overview of the most important political parties in parliamentary Yugoslavia and briefly outline the changing political alliances in Yugoslav governments and opposition. I specifically focus on the parties' national ideologies and do not intend to present a detailed overview of political programs and developments during the 1920s. I do not cover smaller Yugoslav parties, which did not succeed in obtaining seats in parliament, most importantly the Yugoslav Republican Party (JRS, *Jugoslovenska republikanska stranka*), led by Jaša Prodanović, and the Yugoslav Socialist Party (SPJ, *Socijalistička partija Jugoslavije*), which consisted of various pre-war Social-Democratic groups and only had some support in Slovenia and Srem. Also, I do not treat minority parties, of which the most important were the German Party (NS,

Nemačka stranka) and Džemijet, the party of Albanian and Turkish Muslims in Kosovo and Macedonia.

2.1.1 The “state building” parties: Radicals and Democrats

2.1.1.1 The Yugoslav Democratic Party: centralism and unitarism

The most prominent and radical supporter of Yugoslav national unity in the immediate post-war period was the Yugoslav Democratic Party (JDS, *Jugoslovenska demokratska stranka*). Throughout the 1920s the Democratic Party obtained around 20% of the Yugoslav votes.¹⁴ Although these results were in fact unsatisfactory considering the political strength of the parties which constituted the Democratic Party before the First World War, the Democrats were the only party, apart from the Yugoslav Communists at the elections of 1920, to gain a fair amount of votes in all Yugoslav regions. The Democratic Party was formed in the beginning of 1919 through the merging of political groups from Austria-Hungary and the Serbian Kingdom, namely: Slovenian Liberals, the Croat-Serb Coalition and Serbian opposition parties: Independent Radicals and Progressivists (Gligorijević 1970: 29-81). In the pre-war period these parties had united Yugoslav oriented politicians in their respective political regions. Slovenian Liberals had politically organised themselves in the last decade of the nineteenth century as the National Progressive Party (*Narodna napredna stranka*). After the formation of the Croat-Serb Coalition in 1905 the Slovenian Liberals increasingly “looked toward some form of South Slav alignment, both within and outside the Empire” (Rogel 1977: 49). Along with political cooperation especially the younger generation of Slovenian Liberals increasingly propagated Yugoslav cultural cooperation (Rogel 1977: 81-2; Zečević 1985: 83-99). In June 1918 regional branches of the Progressive Party for Carniola and Goriška and for Styria fused and formed the Yugoslav Democratic Party under the leadership of Young Liberals like Gregor Žerjav and Albert Kramer. By this time the Slovenian Liberals had placed integral Yugoslav national unity and centralism in the centre of their political program (Perovšek 1996: 28-70; Zečević 1985: 139-41).

The Croat-Serb Coalition was formed in 1905 within the context of the New Course, a program which called for cooperation of various regional and national opposition movements against Austrian hegemony in the Double Monarchy, initiated by Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić, leaders of the Party of Right in Dalmatia. Both in Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia this New Course led to close cooperation of Croatian and Serbian

¹⁴ All rough election results in this chapter are based on Gligorijević (1979) and Čulinović (1961, 1).

political parties on the basis of a notion of Serb-Croat national unity. In Croatia-Slavonia Serbian and Croatian political parties also formed a formal coalition, the Croat-Serb Coalition (Miller 1997; Schödl 1990). As clarified by Günter Schödl the political program of the Croat-Serb coalition was no clear or homogenous call for South Slav national unity. It should rather be understood

als *Schrittmachern* eigentlicher “südslawischer” Politik. Das Bekenntnis zu bestimmten Elementen kultureller und ethnischer Zusammengehörigkeit, zugleich die Forderung nach gemeinsamer politischer Selbstbestimmung wandelten sich von umstrittenen Stichworten bildungsbürgerlich-elitärer Diskussion zu wegweisende Zielvorstellungen politischer Praxis. Das regional ungleichmäßige, insbesondere auch unvollständige Zustandekommen dieses nationalpolitischen “Qualitätssprunges” im südslawischen Bereich verweist auf das kausale Gewicht der besonderen regionalen Bedingungen des Politisierungsprozesses (Schödl 1990: 219).

By the time the Kingdom of SCS was formed, the principle of Yugoslav national unity was still one of the central points in the Coalition’s political ideology. However, the Coalition’s common Croat-Serb character had been seriously eroded. Already in January 1910 Frano Supilo, the leading Croatian figure in the Coalition, had left the Coalition after it had come to an agreement with the royal governor of Croatia Nikola Tomašić and the Hungarian government of Karolyj Khuen-Hedervary (Miller 1997: 138-40). In June 1918 Ivan Lorković and Đuro Šurmin, leading Croatian Progressivists, left the Coalition (Matković 1963: 12-3). Prominent Dalmatian politicians linked to the New Course as Ante Trumbić and Josip Smolaka did not join the new Democratic Party and instead formed their own independent lists (Boban B. 2003: 128). As a result, Svetozar Pribićević, leader of the Serbian National Independent Party (SNSS, *Srpska narodna samostalna stranka*), which represented a majority of the Serbs in Croatia-Slavonia, became the sole leader of the Croat-Serb Coalition. Only a smaller group of Croatian politicians, such as Hinko Krizman, Ivan Ribar, Edo Lukinić, Većeslav Wilder, Juraj Demetrović and Budislav Grgur Anđelinović, remained associated to Pribićević (Banac 1984: 172; Gligorijević 1970: 16-7).

A third important constituent group in the new party were the Serbian opposition parties, namely the Independent Radical Party (SRS, *Samostalna radikalna stranka*) and the smaller Progressivist Party (NS, *Naprednjačka stranka*) (Gligorijević 1970: 68-71). The Independent Radical Party was formed in 1904 by a group of progressivist and socialist oriented dissidents of the Radical Party, under the leadership of Ljubomir Davidović. Their political program was based on the principles of democracy and Yugoslav

cooperation, making them “the only party among the political parties in the Kingdom of Serbia which mentioned “Yugoslav unity” or the Yugoslav name at all” (Radojević 1998: 21-2).¹⁵ Leading Yugoslav oriented intellectuals in pre-war Serbia like Jovan Skerlić and Jovan Cvijić stood close to the Independent Party (ibid: 22-3). During the First World War politicians of the Independent Party, especially Milan Grol and Božidar Marković, were strong advocates of Yugoslav national unity as the basic fundament behind the establishment of a Yugoslav state (ibid: 25-30).

Obviously, the Yugoslav Democratic Party united some of the most prominent Yugoslav oriented political actors from the pre-war period. The principles of Yugoslav national unitarism and centralism formed the basic elements in the party program which was adopted at the party congress in October 1921:

The Democratic Party considers the Serb, Croat and Slovene people as one national unity by blood, language and sentiments, because of the continuity of the lands where it has inseparably lived and by the joint vital interests of its national survival. In accordance with such an interpretation of national unity and in order to strengthen the national state community it will work for the idea of one Yugoslav nation and state. The Democratic Party excludes all historical, tribal, religious and regional differences as reasons or fundaments for the political and administrative organisation and regional separation [of the country]. The Democratic Party will nurse and develop the consciousness of the unity of our people and state throughout the widest layers [of the population] and will strive for that unity to come to expression in all political, social, cultural and economic questions and to wipe out all deeds of separatism, demagoguery and poverty of the general social morals (qtd. in Čulinović 1968: 172).¹⁶

However, the growing polarisation between centralists and decentralists during the early 1920s quickly led to a process of differentiation within the Yugoslav Democratic Party between Democrats from the former Austro-Hungarian Double Monarchy and former Independent Radicals from pre-war Serbia. The former, led by Svetozar

¹⁵ [“oni su među političkim strankama Kraljevine Srbije bili jedini koji su u programu pominjali “Jugoslovensku zajednicu” ili jugoslovensko ime uopšte.”]

¹⁶ [“Demokratska Stranka smatra narod Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca kao nacionalnu cjelinu jednu po krvi i jeziku i po svojim osećajima, po kontinuitetu zemljišta na kome nepodvojeno živi i po zajedničkim životnim interesima svog narodnog opstanka, pa će dosljedna takvom shvatanju narodnog jedinstva u cilju jačanja narodne države raditi za jednu jugoslavensku narodnu i državnu misao. Demokratska Stranka isključuje sve istorijske, plemenske, vjerske i pokrajinske razlike kao razlog i podlogu za političko i administrativno uređenje i posebno pogranično izdvajanje. Demokratska Stranka će njegovati i razvijati u najširim slojevima svijest o jedinstvu našeg naroda i države, težeći, da se to jedinstvo izrazi u svim političkim, društvenim, kulturnim i privrednim pitanjima, a suzbijati svako dijelovanje separatizma, demagoštva i oskudicu javnog društvenog morala.”]

Pribićević, set itself up as the authoritarian protector of the unity of the Yugoslav nation and state, whereby these two concepts were seen as indivisible. In that spirit, every demand for decentralism, especially from the part of the Croatian federalist Bloc, was interpreted as an anti-Yugoslav act of “separatism” (Banac 1984: 178-89; Gligorijević 1970: 253-8). The latter group, led by Ljubomir Davidović, began to call for a third way between the opposition of the Croatian Bloc and the hard line of the Democrat-Radical government, based on a revision of the constitution which would allow for a degree of administrative decentralisation. In 1924 Pribićević’s fraction left the Democratic Party and the Democrats joined the Opposition Bloc of the Croatian Peasant Party, Slovenian Clericals and the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation. From July to November 1924 the Democrats briefly led a government of “national agreement” with Slovenian Clericals and the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, which also attempted to include the Croatian Peasant Party. From this period the party began to call for the decentralisation of the state. However, this shift did not imply a rejection of the party’s Yugoslav unitarist orientation. Rather, the Democrats argued for a combination of cultural unification and decentralised administration (Djokić 2007: 53-60, Gligorijević 1970: 258-66, 287-312, 356-440).

After leaving the Democratic Party Pribićević and his adherents, primarily consisting of former members of SNSS, formed the Independent Democratic Party (SDS, *Samostalna demokratska stranka*) (Gligorijević 1970: 360-5; Matković 1972: 69-82). The Independent Democrats hung on to the principles of centralism and unitarism and the Vidovdan constitution. Their political influence remained largely restricted to regions in Croatia-Slavonia with large Serbian population groups. The party did include some Croatian and Slovenian politicians – the Croatian intellectuals Hinko Krizman, Edo Lukinić, Prvislav Grisogono, Juraj Demetrović and Većeslav Vilder, and the Slovenian Liberals Gregor Žerjav and Albert Kramer – but the political influence of these politicians in Slovenia and Croatia remained marginal. That way, Independent Democrats more and more acted as the political representatives of Serbs from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the so-called *prečanski Srbi* (Matković 1972: 85-99).

2.1.1.2 The Radicals

The Popular Radical Party (NRS, *Narodna radikalna stranka*) was without competition the dominant political party during the parliamentary period. It was the continuation of the Radical Party which had dominated Serbian political life in the decade before the First World War, with the addition of the former Serbian Radical Party of Vojvodina, led by Jaša Tomić, and a group of Bosnian Serbian politicians led by Milan Srškić. Throughout the 1920s the party was the dominant political party among the Serbian population of the Kingdom, except for the regions of Lika, Kordun and Banija, the stronghold of Pribićević’s (Independent) Democrats. Illustrative of its political power, the party was

part of 21 of the 24 governments in office during the period, in all but one of these governments they provided the Prime Minister. During the first half of the 1920s the Radicals almost continuously formed the government, mostly in coalition with Yugoslav Democrats and from 1924 Pribićević's Independent Democrats. These governments staunchly rejected any revision of the centralist state organisation. In July 1925 the Radical Party changed partners and formed a government with the Croatian Peasant Party, after the latter had denounced republicanism and accepted the monarchy and the constitution. After the death of Nikola Pašić, the party's undisputed leader, in December 1926, the Radicals began to disintegrate. Still, the party participated in all governments which followed until January 1929, under the Radical Prime Ministers Nikola Uzunović and Velja Vukićević and finally under Anton Korošec, the leader of the Slovenian Clericals (Djokić 2007: 40-68; Gligorićević 1979).

The national ideology of the Radicals was less unambiguously formulated than that of the Democrats and in fact fluctuated between Serbian and Yugoslav national categories. Before the unification of Yugoslavia, one of the Radical Party's main goals had been the liberation and unification of all Serbs (Bakić 2004a: 298-9). Under the changing circumstances of the Balkan Wars, World War I and the formation of the Yugoslav Kingdom in 1918, they gradually redefined their national ideology toward a compromised Yugoslavism, between Yugoslav nationalism and real Yugoslavism. The party recognised the existence of a Yugoslav nation consisting of three 'tribes', but argued that certain 'tribal' differences did not harm national unity. In a speech held during the 1923 election campaign Nikola Pašić for example said: "We will unify and unite what needs to be common and identical for all of us, but we will respect differences which can serve a particular good and satisfy specific regions and people, without harming the whole" (qtd. in Gligorićević 1979: 134).¹⁷ In education, the leader of the Radicals continued, "we will make sure that the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national fundamentals of our state are preserved. On those fundamentals we have to carefully prepare the building of a common national culture, common to all parts of the nation" (qtd. in Gligorićević 1979: 134).¹⁸

Such an approach allowed the Radicals to stand up for Serbian national identity and traditions within a Yugoslav framework, which gave the party's Yugoslavism a strong Serb centred touch. In the words of Jovo Bakić "gradually Yugoslavism began to prevail

¹⁷ ["Mi ćemo ujednačavati i ujedinjavati ono što treba da nam svima bude opšte i jednako, a ostavljamo da ostane različito ono što može bez štete za celinu služiti posebnom dobru i u zadovoljstvu pojedinih oblasti i naroda u njima."]

¹⁸ ["paziće se da našoj državi sačuvamo njene nacionalne osnove, srpske, hrvatske i slovenačke. Na tim osnovama ima se pažljivo pripremati izradu jedinstvene, svima narodnim delovima zajedničke nacionalne kulture."]

out of tactical reasons, but the stamp of Serbian nationalism remained indelible” (Bakić 2004a: 300).¹⁹ Thus, although the Radicals took over the discourse of national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, it was clear that Yugoslav unity could not be at the expense of Serbian interests and that the Serbian ‘tribe’ deserved to take the leading role within the Yugoslav nation since Serbs had put most efforts in the unification and liberation of the Yugoslav nation. In a comment on the 1921 constitution Nikola Pašić explained:

When we built this constitution some of us demanded some sort of autonomy for the Croats. Serbia has suffered so much for this unification and liberation that it could not agree with that. We didn’t want them to be servants and we masters, but we had to make it clear that we – Serbs – were the ones who fought for freedom and made unification possible (qtd. in Stanković Dj. 1985, 2: 265).²⁰

Within this spirit, the Radicals did not see harm in explicit Serbian nationalist statements. For instance, Radicals rejected any federalist state organisation which would divide the Serbian people (Banac 1984: 165-7; Stanković Dj. 1985, 2: 236-7). Similarly, Radicals rejected the name Yugoslavia for the new state, because this would imply the negation of the Serbian name and the merits of the Serbian people (Banac 1984: 162-3; Stanković Dj. 1985, 2: 260-1). In discussions concerning the literary unity of the Yugoslavs the Radicals always favoured the Cyrillic over the Latin alphabet, claiming that the former was more naturally linked to Serbo-Croatian phonetics, that it was a Slavonic alphabet whereas the Latin script was foreign (Dimić 1996, 1: 191-8). Radicals also frequently glorified the Serbian state tradition and the Serbian wartime suffering and heroism as the fundamentals of the Kingdom of SCS (Bakić 2004a: 318-49).

Especially in the immediate post-war period the Serbian bias in the Radical Party’s national ideology even allowed for Greater-Serbian statements in which Serbian and Yugoslav collective identity completely concurred (Bakić 2004a: 307-11). The explicit Greater-Serbian character of the following citation from *Samouprava* (‘Self-rule’), the journal of the Radical Party, illustrates how vague boundaries between Yugoslavism and Greater-Serbianism could be:

The Serbs came into being – that is, the Serb name, the idea of Serbdom, and the Serb national consciousness – after a certain primary tribe, called Serb, separated itself from the other tribes by virtue of its number, power, and the intelligence of

¹⁹ [“jugoslovenstvo je prevashodno iz taktičkih razloga vremenom odnelo prevagu, ali je pečat srpskog nacionalizma bio na njemu neizbrisiv.”]

²⁰ [“Kada se gradio Ustav naši neki ljudi su tražili da se Hrvatima da neka vrsta samostalnosti. Srbija se toliko žrtvovala za ovo ujedinjenje i oslobođenje da nije mogla na to pristati. Mi nismo želeli da oni budu sluge a mi gospodari, ali smo im morali staviti do znanja da smo mi – Srbi – bili ti, koji smo izvojevali slobodu i omogućili ujedinjenje.”]

its elders and leaders, and succeeded in excelling [among the other tribes], and distinguishing and uplifting itself. And so the Serb name spread in all directions as the original Serb tribe increasingly succeeded in drawing the other neighboring, less powerful, and less important tribes into its [political] community (qtd. and translated in Banac 1984: 162).

2.1.1.3 Conclusion

The two state-building parties thus clearly supported centralism and unitarism. Especially the (Independent) Democrats represented these two principles as indivisible in the first half of the 1920s, a policy which greatly narrowed the potential scope of Yugoslavism by excluding all decentralist viewpoints from the nation. Both parties' Yugoslavism also had a Serb centred character. In the case of the Radicals, their definition of Yugoslav national unity continued to rely heavily on symbolic resources from Serbian national identity. In the case of the Yugoslav Democrats their integral Yugoslav claims were discredited by the fact that the party – both Davidović's Democrats and Pribićević's Independent Democrats – in fact only enjoyed significant political support among the kingdom's Serbian population and never succeeded in becoming a representative of non-Serbs. In conclusion, the national ideology of Radicals and Democrats can be defined as Serb centred Yugoslavism with a strong link with centralism.

2.1.2 Croatian federalists

The most important opposition against what was, not without reason, interpreted as Serbian hegemony came from Croatian federalist parties and most prominently the Croatian Peasant Party. Although on the basis of their Croatian and federalist character ruling parties were quick to denounce these parties as separatist and anti-Yugoslav, their position toward Yugoslav national unity was in fact much more complex and dynamic.

2.1.2.1 The Croatian Peasant Party

During the 1920s the Croatian Republican Peasant Party (HRSS, *Hrvatska republikanska seljačka stranka*) of Stjepan Radić, which had been a minor political force before the war, became the only significant Croatian party. At the elections to the Constituent Assembly of 1920 the party received 230.590 votes, exclusively from Croatia-Slavonia, where the party obtained a relative majority of 37%. In the following elections the party grew considerably, reaching 545.466 votes in 1925, which was 22,3% of the votes state-wide.

By that time the party had expanded its organisation to Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and became a Croatian national mass movement. As Mark Biondich has clarified, in the period 1918-1925 Stjepan Radić and the Peasant Party staunchly opposed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and its centralist state structure, demanding a Croatian peasant republic, initially completely independent, later as a unit within a Yugoslav (con)federalist state. Until 1924 the party rejected any participation in parliament, although Radić did negotiate with Davidović's Democrats and later with the Radicals, and denied the validity of the unification of the Kingdom and the Vidovdan constitution. Instead, HRSS deputies adopted their own Constitution or State Organisation of the Neutral Peasant Republic of Croatia, forwarded memorandums about violations of the Croatian right of self-determination to the Great Powers and the League of Nations and even briefly joined the Peasant International. Within this tense atmosphere, unsurprisingly, the Radicals and Pribićević's Democrats continuously attacked the Croatian Peasant Party as a Croatian separatist and anti-state party. Especially the (Independent) Democrats added national arguments to this division, representing the Croatian Peasant Party as the negation of the unity of the Yugoslav state and nation (Biondich 2000: 149-99).

In early 1924 Radić decided to abandon the policy of abstention toward Belgrade and entered the Opposition Bloc with the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, the Slovenian People's Party and the Democrats. After the elections of February 1925 the Peasant Party officially abandoned its republicanism – and omitted the reference to republicanism in its name, thus becoming the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS, *Hrvatska seljačka stranka*) – and recognised the Karađorđević dynasty and the Vidovdan constitution. In July 1925 The Peasant Party reached an agreement with the Radicals and formed a government, which would stay in power until January 1927. Radić justified this radical turnaround as the basis for a national agreement between Serbs and Croats, which would in the end lead to political autonomy for Croatia. However, the agreement remained unstable and strained and was characterised by mutual distrust, and in January 1927 HSS ended its cooperation with the Radicals.

This marked the start of yet another phase in HSS's political development. First, the party used its dominant position in the district assemblies of Croatia-Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia, western Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been elected in January 1927 and in which the Croatian Peasant Party had convincingly performed, to introduce some tangible, local improvements in the field of education, agriculture, tourism, infrastructure and health care. Also, the party realised certain elements of its autonomist policy through close cooperation of the 'Croatian' district assemblies (Ferhadbegović 2008: 251-320). At the state level Radić attempted to form an alliance between the country's reform-oriented parties. This plan failed, but it did lead to the formation of the Peasant-Democratic Coalition (SDK, *Seljačko-demokratska koalicija*) with Pribićević's Independent Democrats. Although Radić and Pribićević had been

impeccable foes during the first half of the 1920s and the ideological differences between the unitarist Independent Democrats and the Peasant Party seemed huge, the coalition in fact made sense as a coalition of non-Serbian – in the sense of the pre-war Serbian Kingdom – parties against Serbian – again referring to the pre-war Serbian Kingdom – hegemony and for genuine democracy, parliamentarism and constitutional revisions toward regional autonomy. The political scene became increasingly polarised between government parties – Radicals and Democrats – and SDK. Parliamentary sessions degenerated into bitter and violent rows and on 20 June it came to a shooting in parliament in which five members of the Peasant Party were shot. Two of them died on site, two survived, Stjepan Radić died six weeks later. These events marked the end of the parliamentary period. The Peasant Party returned to its demands for far-reaching Croatian autonomy within a (con)federalist Yugoslav state, based on the Croatian national-political individuality (Biondich 2000: 194-244; Boban Lj. 1973: 19-20; Matković 1972: 204-42).

On the basis of the turbulent development of the Croatian Peasant Party into a Croatian national mass movement and its opposition against the Yugoslav establishment one would be inclined to reject any Yugoslav national orientation from the part of the party. However, in fact the party's national ideology was more complicated. As Mark Biondich has shown, before the First World War Stjepan Radić had been a supporter of the principle of Serb-Croat national unity (*narodno jedinstvo*), like many of his peers and colleague students of the Progressive Youth. However, the political implications of Radić's *narodno jedinstvo* clearly differed from that of the Progressive Youth, as he consistently stuck to the principle of the Croatian historical state right and to the notion that Croats and Serbs had different political traditions which should be preserved. In brief, Radić's ideology was a synthesis of political Croatism and cultural Yugoslavism. He recognised the cultural, ethnical and linguistic unity of Serbs and Croats, but argued that they had distinct political and state traditions. Thus, Radić argued for Croatian political autonomy within the Dual Monarchy. Importantly, this Croatian state would unite Croats, Serbs and also Slovenes within its borders as Croatian citizens. Outside the Habsburg Monarchy Serbs should have their own distinct state (Biondich 2000: 91-114):

Stjepan Radić's variant of *narodno jedinstvo* had clearly defined political borders and limits: those of Croatia and the Dual Monarchy. He recognized the national-cultural oneness of Croats and Serbs, but stridently believed that their different historical experiences necessitated mutual recognition of their respective state tradition (ibid: 104).

It was on the basis of this state-political dualism and the Croatian state right that Radić opposed the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. Within the circumstances of the first Yugoslavia Radić's *narodno jedinstvo* was challenged

by what he considered the Serbian abuse of this idea. As a reaction, he avoided references to cultural national unity and instead highlighted the political national differences between Croats and Serbs:

Radić's variant of *narodno jedinstvo* never carried within it unitarist overtones, primarily because he never abandoned the framework of Croat state right. (...) To distance himself from the unitarist implications of *narodno jedinstvo* after 1918, Radić emphasized Croat political individuality even more lest the Croats lose it within the new state. Before 1918 Radić distinguished between 'national-cultural oneness', which in essence meant that the Croats and Serbs – and all South Slavs – were linguistically, culturally, and in social terms, one people, and 'state-political dualism', which meant that the Croats and Serbs had distinct state traditions and were, in effect, separate political nations. Radić's prewar espousal of *narodno jedinstvo* had been intended as a means to an end, the unification of the Croat lands within a reformed monarchy. After 1918 *narodno jedinstvo*, at least the variant espoused by Radić, made little sense. Oppressed under a highly centralized state system, Radić stated in 1925, 'we abandoned *narodno jedinstvo*'. While many contemporary critics interpreted Radić's abandonment of *narodno jedinstvo* as another volte-face on his part, his attitude and policy with respect to Yugoslavism and Croat-Serb relations demonstrated great consistency. When Radić spoke of the Croat and Serb *nations* after 1918, he did so in political terms: they were distinct political nations, and each possessed the right to determine its own political destiny (ibid: 163).

However, the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party continued to occasionally make statements about Serb-Croat cultural-national unity. In a comment on the agreement with Pašić of 1925 Pavle Radić said:

As far as the relations between Serbs and Croats are concerned, we stood and stand on the viewpoint, that Serbs and Croats are – ethnically and linguistically, as in their social structure and their identical interests, the same nation. But they have different political upbringings and organisations (ibid: 214-5).

Stjepan Radić explained as late as 1927 that:

Objectively, from the standpoint of language, social composition, geography [Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and down there the Bulgars] are one nation, for the one who views us from the outside. But we all consider ourselves to be, not only through historical development but also by our consciousness, a separate nation unto ourselves (ibid: 216).

Also in this regard the coalition of HSS and Pribićević's unitarist Independent Democrats within SDK makes sense. After the coalition was formed Pribićević and his supporters continued to stress the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but they

no longer coupled unitarism with centralism and gradually even propagated broad autonomy based on the different state traditions among South Slavs (Matković 1972: 214-23). This viewpoint corresponded with Radić's distinction between cultural national unity of Serbs and Croats and political Croatism. In that sense, after the coalition had been formed Radić could agree with Pribićević's unitarism, arguing that the coalition was based on the idea "that Serbs and Croats are one nation, especially we Serbs and Croats who live together" (qtd. in Matković 1972: 215). In fact the coalition was the realisation of Radić's idea of national unity of Serbs and Croats behind Croatian political nationhood. It was only after the death of Radić and the radicalisation of the Croatian nationalism of a part of the Croatian Peasant Party's leadership that it came to frictions with the Independent Democrats' unitarism (Matković 1972: 223-37).

2.1.2.2 The Croatian Union

The Croatian Union (HZ, *Hrvatska zajednica*) was officially formed in May 1919. It consisted of the Starčevićist Party of Right (SSP, *Starčevićeva stranka prava*) and the Progressive Democratic Party (NDS, *Napredna demokratska stranka*). SSP had been formed after a split in the Pure Party of Right of Josip Frank in 1909. The Starčevićists gradually moved toward Serb-Croat national unity, especially after the Balkan Wars, and during the First World War they propagated the establishment of an independent Yugoslav state. Its leader was Ante Pavelić, not to be confused with his namesake, the future leader of the *Ustašas*. The Progressive Democrats consisted of the Progressive Croatian wing of the Croat-Serb Coalition, which left the Coalition in June 1918. It was led by Ivan Lorković and Đuro Šurmin (Matković 1963: 10-4). The Croatian Husbandmen's Party (HTS, *Hrvatska težačka stranka*), which was formed in 1919 with the intention to represent Bosnian Croats, was closely associated with the union, although it formally remained autonomous. After the 1920 elections HTS quickly disintegrated (ibid: 29-34).

In the immediate post-war period the Croatian Union was considered as the political representative of Croatia-Slavonia. The party united some of the most prominent Yugoslav-orientated Croatian politicians and intellectuals, beside Pavelić, Lorković and Šurmin also Matko Laginja, Mate Drinković, Albert Bazala, Fran Barac, Stjepan Srkulj, Svetozar Rittig and Juraj Šutej. Ante Trumbić, the leader of the Yugoslav Committee and the Kingdom's Minister of Foreign Affairs until November 1920 was closely associated to the Union. The party joined the Parliamentary Bloc of the Radical Party and became part of the Radical governments in 1920. Matko Laginja became governor (so-called *Ban*) of the regional government for Croatia-Slavonia in February 1920 (ibid: 43-58). However, out of disillusion with the rigid centralist and authoritarian policy of Pribićević's Democrats in Croatia-Slavonia in the immediate post-war period, toward the elections for the Constituent Assembly HZ propagated a federalist state based on the historical regions. This decentralist standpoint did not imply the negation of Yugoslav unitarism,

as clarified in the party's elections slogan: "One nation – one federative state" (qtd. in *ibid*: 60, see also Banac 1984: 354-6).²¹ The election results of the Croatian Union were disastrous. The Croatian Union received only 25.867 votes, primarily from urban voters. The Croatian Husbandmen's Party received 38.400 votes (Matković 1963: 58-63).

After this defeat the Union was ousted from government and Laginja was replaced as governor of Croatia-Slavonia by a representative of the Democratic Party. The Croatian Union joined ranks with other Croatian opposition parties, HRSS and Frank's Croatian Party of Right, and formed the Croatian Bloc, although it did not approve the Peasant Party's policy of abstention and its republicanism. At this time the Croatian Union fully supported federalism, which also affected its national ideology. In fact, the Croatian Union took over the Croatian Peasant Party's distinction between cultural and political nationalism:

The Croats are a state-building nation. The Croats recognise the national unity of South Slavs, i.e. Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians, as one ethnical unity toward the outside world which surrounds it. The consciousness of its common interests lead to the need of a political unity of these peoples based on its national and political autonomy and common cooperation for common interests (qtd. in Matković 1963: 60-1 from an article in the Union's newspaper).²²

Just before the 1923 elections the Croatian Bloc was dissolved. The Croatian Union decided not to take part in the elections and advised its supporters to vote for the Croatian Peasant Party. Only in Dalmatia the Croatian Union formed a joint list with HRSS, under the leadership of Mate Drinković and Ante Trumbić. It received 16.209 or 15,4% of the Dalmatian votes (*ibid*: 63-97, Gligorijević 1979: 148).

After the 1923 elections the Croatian Union gradually dissolved. Mate Drinković and Đuro Šurmin left the party and became independent ministers in the Pašić-Pribićević government in 1924. In the fall of 1924 Ante Trumbić joined the Croatian Union. The party adopted a republican program and increasingly stressed Croatian (political) nationalism. HZ formed a coalition with the Peasant Party for the elections of 1925. After the Peasant Party denounced its republicanism and joined the Radical government, the Croatian Union and a number of dissident members of the Croatian Peasant Party formed the Croatian Federalist Peasant Party (HFSS, *Hrvatska federalistička seljačka stranka*). Ivan Lorković became the party's president, Ante Trumbić one of its

²¹ ["jedan narod – jedna država, federativno uređena."]

²² ["Hrvati su državotvoran narod... Hrvati priznaju narodno jedinstvo Južnih Slavena: dakle Slovenaca, Hrvata, Srba pa i Bugara kao jedne etničke jedinice prema inostranstvu, koje ju opkoljuje... Iz svijesti tih zajedničkih interesa proizlazi potreba takove političke grupacije tih naroda koja će biti osnovana na njihovoj narodnoj i političkoj samostalnosti i na zajedničkoj suradnji za zajedničke interese".]

most prominent leaders (Matković 1963: 97-130). Within the framework of its anti-Radićist policy the party shifted to the right, forming a coalition with Ante Pavelić's Croatian Party of Right, the so-called Croatian Bloc. After the death of Stjepan Radić the Croatian Bloc joined the Peasant-Democratic Coalition (Biondich 2000: 210-1, 224-6, 241).

2.1.2.3 The Croatian Party of Right

The Croatian Party of Right (HSP, *Hrvatska stranka prava*) was the successor of the Pure Party of Right, generally known as the Frankists, after Josip Frank, its pre-war leader. Although the party had an extremely low political showing, it did appeal to a significant section of Croatian intelligentsia and lower middle class as a result of its consistent Croatian nationalism. The Croatian Party of Right vehemently opposed the Yugoslav state and demanded outright Croatian independence, based on an exclusive and historicist Croatian nationalism in which there was no place for Yugoslav unity. The party is also important as the predecessor of the *Ustaša* movement, whose leader Ante Pavelić had been the leader of HSP in the second half of the 1920s (Banac 1984: 260-70).

2.1.2.4 The Croatian Popular Party

The Croatian Popular Party (HPS, *Hrvatska pučka stranka*) was established in May 1919 on the initiative of the Seniors, an association of Catholic lay intellectuals which had been established in 1913 and served as the executive branch of the Croatian Catholic Movement, which, in brief, had the goal to rechristianise Croatian society (cf. 6.4.1, 7.3.2.1). The party was closely associated with the Slovenian People's Party, its counterpart in Slovenia. Although HPS was organised in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, it only had some success in Dalmatia, where it won the 1920 elections with 16% of the votes, and in eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Srem, obtaining nine seats in parliament. In later elections the party would never repeat this success, in 1923 and 1925 it did not even obtain a seat in parliament, in the 1927 elections the party only gained one seat (Matijević 1998).

The political program of the Croatian Catholic Party was centred around the rechristianisation of society and Christian Socialism, based on a corporatist model (Biondich 2007: 385-7). Although national ideas were only of secondary importance for the party, it is important to note that its national ideology was explicitly Yugoslav. The Croatian Popular Party, especially through its ideologue Petar Rogulja, recognised the national unity of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian 'tribe' and propagated the gradual unification of the Yugoslav nation. HPS also supported the "re-unification" of Yugoslav Catholics and Orthodox:

We will unite in one great Christian phalanx, we will build a united Slavonic Christian culture and we will be members of the same Church (...). Only then will

the Serb, Croat and Slovene be member of one unitary nation, then Yugoslavia will be the free homeland of the new Yugoslav nation (from an article by Rogulja in 1919, qtd. in Krišto 2004: 130-1).²³

However, unitarism did not imply a centralist state organisation. Like the Slovenian Popular Party, the Croatian Popular Party supported broad autonomy for the country's historical regions and adopted a middle course between centralism and federalism (Biondich 2007: 383-7; Krišto 1992, 2004: 123-32; Matijević 1998).

2.1.2.5 Conclusion

Croatian political life was completely dominated by the Croatian Peasant Party during the parliamentary period. The political influence of other parties was decimated. The continuing polarisation between the Croatian Peasant Party at the one side and the Belgrade establishment at the other side, especially represented by the Radicals and during the first half of the 1920s also Pribićević's Democrats, was quickly interpreted as a Serb-Croat conflict, although it has been noted that attempts were made to come to a compromise between the two camps (Djokić 2007: 40-68). These developments and the appropriation of Yugoslavism by the centralist, state-building parties, seriously discredited the idea of Yugoslav national unity among Croatian political representatives, most obvious among the members of the Croatian Union, who had been strong supporters of national unity before and immediately after the war, but gradually abandoned Yugoslavism as a national idea. On the other hand, it has to be stressed that even the Croatian Peasant Party held on to the principle of ethnic and linguistic unity of South Slavs, although it more and more highlighted Croatian political nationalism.

2.1.3 The Slovenian People's Party

The Slovenian People's Party (SLS, *Slovenska ljudska stranka*) was formed in 1890 and became the dominant Slovenian political party in the decade before the First World War. Its program was centred around Slovenian nationalism, Catholicism and Christian Socialism, the latter concept especially espoused by Janez Evangelist Krek. The South Slav inclination in the pre-war Slovenian People's Party was restricted to the call for political cooperation of the Dual Monarchy's South Slavs within a third unit of the

²³ ["Ujedinit ćemo se u jednu veliku Kristovu falangu, stvorit ćemo jedinstvenu slavensku kršćansku kulturu i biti članovi iste Crkve (...). Onda će istom i Srbin i Hrvat i Slovenac biti član jedne jedinstvene nacije, onda će Jugoslavija biti slobodnom domovinom novoga južnoslavenskoga naroda."]

Empire and thus formed a specific form of minimal Yugoslavism (Rogel 1977: 28-39, 92-8; Zečević 1985: 18-40). During the First World War the Slovenian People's Party, led by the fraction of Janez Krek and Anton Korošec, radicalised its calls for political autonomy of South Slavs under the Habsburg monarchy. Although enthusiasm about the Serbian successes during the Balkan Wars and its suffering during the First World War grew within the Krek-Korošec fraction of the party, their Yugoslav program remained political and did not include claims about cultural-national unity, which clearly set them apart from Slovenian Liberals (Zečević 1985: 59-83).

In the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the Slovenian People's Party became the dominant political party in Slovenia. At the 1920 elections it received 36,1% of the votes in Slovenia, in each of the following elections between 55 and 60% of the Slovenian votes. In the centralism-decentralism debate the Slovenian Clericals supported a decentralised state structure with broad autonomy for the provinces. However, it dissociated itself from Croatian federalist opposition by arguing that autonomous provinces should be based on economic-cultural rather than 'tribal' elements, an objection which did not obtain for Slovenia (Banac 1984: 347-8). In the first half of the 1920s the Slovenian People's Party joined forces with decentralist opposition parties within the Federalist Bloc, with the Croatian Peasant Party and the Yugoslav Muslims Organisation, and later in the Opposition Bloc, with Davidović's Democrats. SLS also participated in Davidović's government between July and November 1924. After the fall of the Radicals-Radić government the Slovenian People's Party joined a number of Radical governments with a fraction of DS under Božidar Marinković and JMO. Antun Korošec became the last Prime Minister of the Kingdom before the dictatorship, the first non-Serbian Prime Minister. In the first local elections of January 1927 the Slovenian Clericals won an absolute majority in the two Slovenian districts, Ljubljana and Maribor. The party used its domination in the two Slovenian district and its participation in the central government to introduce tangible improvements in the fields of education, infrastructure, agriculture, industry and health care and thus used the districts to realise part of its Slovenian autonomist program (Stiplovšek 1995; Zečević 1985: 289-345).

The national ideology of the Slovenian People's Party did not develop markedly within the new circumstances of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Although SLS ostensibly embraced the doctrine of state unity and also used the discourse of the three-named nation in state-wide statements, SLS's Yugoslavism remained clearly of the minimal variant (Banac 1984: 347). Slovenian Clericals based their demands for autonomy on the cultural, economic and political distinctness of the Slovenian people. The party also represented itself as the protector of Slovenian national culture and consistently dissociated itself from the unitarism of the Slovenian liberalism, whom they criticised for denying the Slovenian language and national individuality (Zečević 1985: 327-9).

2.1.4 The Yugoslav Muslim Organisation

The Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (JMO, *Jugoslavenska muslimanska organizacija*) was formed in February 1919 as the political representative of Bosnian Muslims (Purivatra 1974: 75-81).²⁴ Throughout the 1920s the party succeeded in safeguarding its position as the only significant political party of Bosnian Muslims. Initially the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation occupied a middle position in the centralism-decentralism debate, supporting a centralised state structure with broad autonomy for Yugoslavia's historical regions. However, JMO voted for the Vidovdan constitution, thus providing the necessary majority for the constitution, in exchange for a number of guarantees with regard to Islam in education, army and society, agrarian reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a representative number of Bosnian Muslim in regional and district governments and the maintenance of Bosnia-Herzegovina's historical boundaries in the new district system, which indicates that at this time the state organisation was not of primary importance for JMO. After the vote for the constitution JMO also joined the Radical-Democratic government in March 1921. However, out of dissatisfaction with the belated realisation of its demands the two JMO ministers quit the government in February 1922. Differing standpoints concerning further cooperation with the government led to a split within JMO. One smaller fraction, led by Ibrahim Maglajlić, Hamdija Karamehmedović and Sakib Korbut, continued to support the government and formed a new political party, the Yugoslav Muslim Popular Organisation (JMNO, *Jugoslovenska muslimanska narodna organizacija*). However, the party failed to obtain a seat in parliament at the 1923 elections and quickly disintegrated (Purivatra 1974: 115-50, 173-82).

The largest part of JMO, led by Mehmed Spaho and Salih Baljić, broke with the Radical-Democrat government and joined forces with the Croatian Peasant Party, the Slovenian People's Party and Davidović's Democrats. JMO also joined Davidović's short-lived government in July 1924. In its opposition campaign the party explicated its demands for regional autonomy for historical regions and a revision of the constitution. During the government coalition of the Radical Party and the Croatian Peasant Party JMO continued to cooperate with the Democratic Party, within the framework of the Democratic Union (*Demokratska zajednica*) (ibid: 184-309, 340-54). At the local elections of January 1927 JMO became the largest party in the six Bosnian-Herzegovinian districts, winning the elections in Sarajevo, Tuzla and Bihać. Through cooperation of JMO representatives in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian districts and the constructive

²⁴ The distinction between *musliman* – which refers to the religious category 'Muslim' – and *Musliman* – which refers to the national category 'Bosnian Muslim'/'Bošnjak' – is lost in the English translation Muslim. In the interwar period the term Muslim (*musliman*) was not used with a national meaning and referred to the religious category.

cooperation of different dominant parties within the district assemblies – JMO, NRS and HSS – and the central authorities – the ministries and the district chief (*veliki župan*), who represented the government at the district level and had the authority to block decisions made by the district assemblies – the districts in fact gave JMO the chance to realise part of its autonomist policy in practice and to actually improve the local situation in education, agriculture, infrastructure and health care, despite poor budgetary means of the districts and despite the political polarisation at the central state level (Ferhabdžević 2008: 169-251). In April 1927 JMO joined the Radical governments of Vukićević (Purivatra 1974: 366-425).

With regard to national ideology the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation placed great weight on Yugoslav national unity and the Yugoslav national consciousness of South Slav Muslims, beyond ‘tribal’ categories. In its program of February 1919 the party argued:

We depart from the full equality of the three tribal names and state that Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims have never estranged from their homeland, their nation or their language. They retained all the characteristics of pure nationalism, but are not conscious of their tribal name. Therefore we consider the question of our nationalisation a field for the cultural work of society and not for daily politics. Work in that direction has to be based on tolerance and consideration, reconciliation and evolution. Therefore we are against narrow-mindedness and passion and especially against violence in the forcing of this or that tribal name. We will bring together and not divide. We consider Yugoslavism the most useful way toward rapprochement and unification (qtd. in Purivatra 1974: 596).²⁵

In essence, Yugoslavism provided JMO with a tool to demand full cultural; religious and political equality for South Slav Muslims as a constituent part of the Yugoslav nation, which Xavier Bougarel has called their “neo-millet” strategy (Bougarel 2008: 340).²⁶ Also, it provided JMO with a way to circumvent the thorny and divisive question of the ‘tribal’ affiliation of Bosnian Muslims. This issue was frequently used by the Radical Party and the Croatian Peasant Party, who argued that Bosnian Muslims and Bosnia-Herzegovina

²⁵ [“Stojimo na stanovištu potpune ravnopravnosti triju plemenskih imena i konstatujemo fakat, da se b.h. muslimani nijesu nikad otuđili na svojoj domovini, ni svom narodu, ni svom jeziku. Oni su zadržali sve biljege čistog nacionalizma, a nijesu svjesni samo plemenskog imena. S toga u pitanju našeg nacionalizovanja stojimo na stanovištu, da je to polje za kulturni rad društva, a nipošto stvar dnevne politike. Rad u tom pravcu treba da se temelji na snošljivosti i obazrivosti, pomirljivosti i evoluciji. I zato smo protiv svakoje tesnogradnosti i strastvenosti, a naročito protiv nasionosti u narivavanju kojeg plemenskog imena. Zbližavaćemo, a nipošto dijeliti. Jugoslovenstvo držimo najprikladnijim putem zbliženja i ujedinjavanja.”]

²⁶ In the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire millets were non-territorial institutions which provided non-Muslim religious population groups autonomy in religious, educational and judicial affairs.

belonged to the Serbian or Croatian 'tribe' in attempts to gain political support from Bosnian Muslims. By stressing the distinct but Yugoslav character of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnia-Herzegovina JMO could safeguard the unity of Bosnian Muslims and their position within the Yugoslav nation-state and justify claims for autonomy for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a distinct historical region (Purivatra 1974: 538-78).

2.1.5 Other political parties

2.1.5.1 The Alliance of Agrarian Workers

The Alliance of Agrarian Workers (SZ, *Savez zemljoradnika*) had a rather strong political showing in pre-war Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, central Dalmatia and Slovenia. On a state-wide level the Alliance typically obtained ten per cent of the votes. The party consisted of a number of regional groups which all had strong links with Yugoslav Democrats, but disagreed with the party's policy with regard to agrarian reforms (Gligorijević 1979: 77). In Serbia their contingent grew out of the peasant cooperative movement, led by Mihailo Avramović, with a strong agrarian socialist focus. During the 1920s the Serbian branch of the party was led by Jovan M. Jovanović Pižon and Milan Gavrilović (Banac 1984: 191-3). The Bosnian part of the Alliance, the so-called Alliance of Husbandmen (*Savez težača*), which was primarily supported by Bosnian Serbs, had initially joined the Democratic Party, but left the party by the end of 1919, demanding a more radical solution of the agrarian question (Gligorijević 1970: 180-4). A specific Agrarian Husbandmen Alliance (*poljoprivredni-težački savez*) had also been formed in Split in December 1919 (Jakir 1999: 153). The Alliance of Agrarian Workers was primarily concerned with the political representation of peasants and a favourable solution of the agrarian question (Gligorijević 1979: 77, 136-7, 187, 235). National ideology was of less importance for the Alliance and concurred with that of the Democratic Party (Banac 1984: 192-3).

The Independent Peasant Party (SKS, *Samostojna kmetijska stranka*) was established in June 1919 as a subsidiary party of the Slovenian Liberals and was led by Ivan Pucelj (Perovšek 1996: 114-6). The party briefly joined the Alliance of Agrarian Workers, but quickly resumed full autonomy. In the first half of the 1920s SKS docilely followed the Liberal tradition of centralism and unitarism, especially in statements by the integral Yugoslavist Bogumil Vošnjak, one of the party's leaders. From 1925 the party began to demand decentralisation, which was coupled with a stronger focus on Slovenian collective individuality. In May 1926 the party merged with the smaller Slovenian republican party of Albin Prepeluh and was renamed into Slovenian Peasant Party (SKS, *Slovenska kmetska stranka*). In this period the party adopted a minimal Yugoslav national ideology and set itself up as the protector of Slovenian national and cultural

individuality. Pucelj and Drago Marušič, the party's delegates in parliament, for example frequently complained about the poor knowledge of Slovenian of Serbo-Croatian politicians (Perovšek 1996: 221-30).

2.1.5.2 Montenegrin federalists

The Montenegrin Party (CS, *Crnogorska stranka*) was formed in the build-up to the 1923 elections. Its leaders were Sekula Drljević and Mihailo Ivanović. The party received ca. 25% of the Montenegrin votes in the 1923 and 1925 elections, which gave them two and three seats in parliament. In February 1927 the Montenegrin Party joined a parliamentary fraction with the Croatian Peasant Party. Later that year Sekula Drljević joined the National Peasant Party (NSS, *Narodna seljačka stranka*), which had been formed by Stjepan Radić to represent the Croatian Peasant Party outside Croatian areas. The Montenegrin Party lost almost half of its votes and fell back to 15% of the votes. After the elections CS joined the Democratic-Peasant Coalition (Rastoder 1996; Vujović 1981).

The central point in the Montenegrin Party's political program was the demand for the autonomy of Montenegro within a federalist state structure. This program was based on a specific national ideology which departed from the political unity of three closely related nations; Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and thus belonged to the minimal Yugoslav variant: "Yugoslavism is the state idea of the most related among the most related of the same race. That and nothing else" (Drljević 1926: 10).²⁷ Yugoslavism as an idea of national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was rejected as an "absurd theory" which was invented by "Belgrade capitalists" to mask the hegemony of the Serbian state idea in the present centralist state structure (Drljević 1926: 24-6). Importantly, Montenegrin federalists did not reject the Serbian national character of Montenegro and the Montenegrins, a reproach which was frequently made by representatives of the Radical Party in Montenegro. However, they argued, within the Serbian nation Montenegro occupied a distinct place as a result of its distinct historical development and its state tradition. On the basis of this specific historical development within the Serbian nation Montenegrin federalists demanded broader autonomy for Montenegro (Drljević 1926: 19-21; Vujović 1981: 121-4, 186-7).

2.1.5.3 Communists

In April 1919 the revolutionary fractions of pre-war social-democratic parties formed the United Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia – Communists (*Ujedinjena socijalistička radnička partija Jugoslavije – komunisti*), which would later be renamed into Communist

²⁷ ["Jugoslovenstvo je državna misao najsrodnijeh među najsrodnijima iste rase. To i ništa drugo."]

Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ, *Komunistička partija Jugoslavije*). At the 1920 elections for the constituent assembly KPJ became the fourth largest party in Yugoslavia, obtaining 59 seats in parliament. Its showing was especially impressive in Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo, although in these areas the party's success did not only rest on a revolutionary class orientation, but also expressed legal protest against the authoritarian policy of the new state authorities (Banac 1984: 329). At the end of 1920 the government prohibited communist propaganda and the work of party organisations; in August 1921, after Communists had tried to assassinate Prince-Regent Aleksandar and killed former Minister of Internal Affairs Milorad Drašković, parliament formally banned KPJ (Banac 1984: 332). Hereafter the Communist Party's structure dissolved, its activities disorientated and membership numbers dropped dramatically. Until the mid-1930s KPJ had little influence on Yugoslav politics and remained poorly organised and ill-prepared for illegal struggle (Djilas 1991: 76-7).

In the immediate post-war period Yugoslavia's national question was only of marginal importance for the communists. The party accepted the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a unitarist state, based on the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The struggle for national unity of the Yugoslav working class was stressed as one of the most important immediate tasks for the party. The party was also in favour of a centralist state organisation with broad local autonomy. In this regard the party strongly opposed "separatist" claims for a federalist state organisation (Djilas 1991: 58-65). However, the growing Serb-Croat polarisation in Yugoslav politics forced the Communists to reconsider Yugoslavia's national question. The party's right wing, led by Sima Marković, argued that the national question was an ideological expression of the economic struggle of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie. For them, it was the task of Communists to reveal these hidden motives and to realise the national unification of the Yugoslav working class. They supported the right of self-determination, but argued that in practice the Yugoslav state structure should be preserved. The party's left completely abandoned Yugoslavism and merged the struggle against the capitalist system with the struggle for the solution of the national question in Yugoslavia through the creation of separate states for Yugoslavia's constituent *nations* (ibid: 65-71). Under the strong influence of the Comintern the left wing became dominant and KPJ began to support the Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian and Montenegrin *national* case against Serbian imperialism. From that point KPJ not only rejected the Yugoslav state, but also Yugoslav national unity (ibid: 71-6, 85).

2.1.6 Conclusion

The issue centralism-decentralism dominated Yugoslav political life throughout the 1920s. The centralist state structure was supported by the ruling Radical and Democratic

Parties and these parties' centralist constitutional proposal was adopted by a small majority in June 1921. Opposition against the staunch centralism of Radicals and Democrats increased during the first half of the 1920s, especially by the Croatian Peasant Party, which developed into a Croatian national mass movement, but also the Slovenian People's Party and the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, respectively the dominant political party among Slovenes and Bosnian Muslims. Gradually Davidović's Democratic Party moved toward decentralism and by the late 1920s even Pribićević's Independent Democrats supported broad regional autonomy. Clearly, demands for the decentralisation of the state gained more and more support throughout the country.

The dispute between centralists and decentralists was quickly interpreted along national lines. First, it was interpreted as a conflict between Serbs and non-Serbs, primarily Croats, although such a dichotomy cannot account for a number of developments during the 1920s. Second, the centralism-decentralism dispute was frequently linked to notions of Yugoslav nationhood, especially by supporters of centralism, who argued that centralism and unitarism were indivisible. That way, Yugoslav nationhood was institutionalised as a centralist and Serb-centred concept. Within this framework decentralist parties increasingly moved away from Yugoslavism.

A final conclusion which can be drawn from this overview of the national ideologies of political parties in the Kingdom of SCS concerns the fluid and multifaceted character of Yugoslavism. Clearly, Yugoslavism could be defined in different ways and definitions could also change in time. Especially the relation between Yugoslavism and sub-national collective identities was subject to many different interpretations, but in most cases Yugoslavism and sub-national collective identities were not necessarily mutually exclusive. It was only within the framework of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in politics during the 1920s that especially Yugoslav nationhood and Croatian collective identity were increasingly interpreted as incompatible.

2.2 The Royal Dictatorship

After the death of Stjepan Radić the political polarisation between the Peasant-Democratic Coalition and the governing parties became highly inflammable. In Zagreb disturbances broke out on the tenth anniversary of the unification of the Kingdom on 1 December 1928. Promptly, the government appointed Colonel Vojin Maksimović as chief for the Zagreb district, causing fierce reactions from the part of SDK. With the fall of the Korošec government by the end of December the crisis was complete (Nielsen 2002: 108-12; Šarac 1975: 146-86). King Aleksandar, who had already played a decisive role in the formation and dissolving of governments throughout the 1920s, took full control of the country's politics. After consulting the most important political leaders King Aleksandar proclaimed a royal dictatorship on 6 January 1929, hence also known as the Sixth-of-January dictatorship (*šestojanuarska diktatura*). Aleksandar dissolved parliament, abolished the constitution and banned all political parties, stating that "the time has come that there can and may no longer be intermediaries between People and King" (qtd. in Manakin 1932: 129).²⁸ He explained that the parliamentary system and the "unhealthy" political "passions" had only caused harm to the Nation and the State and finally began to threaten its prosperity and development. Most importantly, "instead of developing and strengthening the spirit of national and state unity, parliamentarism – such as it is – is beginning to lead to spiritual disintegration and to national disunity" (ibid: 130).²⁹ In order to preserve the unity of nation and state the King decided to establish a new political order.

Simultaneously with the proclamation the King decreed a number of new laws which clarified what "the new working methods and roads" the King had mentioned in his proclamation actually looked like. The Law on Royal Power and High State Administration made the King the carrier of all power in the country and the chief of the state administration. The King was assisted by a Council of Ministers, which was presided over by the Prime Minister. However, the council only served as an advisory organ to the King and the Prime Minister. It was the King who in the end decreed laws, with the support of the Prime Minister. Moreover, the King had the right to appoint and dismiss his ministers at any time (Dobrivojević 2006: 96-7). Amendments to the Law on Communities and District Autonomy prescribed that local authorities at the level of the community and the district would be appointed by the district chief (*veliki župan*), who

²⁸ ["Nastupio je čas kad između Naroda i Kralja ne može i ne sme više biti posrednika."]

²⁹ ["U mesto da parlamentarizam razvija i jača duh narodnog i državnog jedinstva, on, ovakav kakav je, – počinje da dovodi do duhovnog rasula i narodnog razjedinjavanja. "]

was directly appointed by the King. These amendments annulled the positive results of the local autonomy the districts had enjoyed after the district elections of early 1927 (Dobrivojević 2006: 97; Ferhadbegović 2008: 328-30). The Law on the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State not only forbade acts which insulted or threatened the authority of army and king, and communist, anarchist or terrorist acts which intended to change the political and social order in the country, elements which had already been included in an earlier law of 1921, but also banned all political parties or organisations which were based on religious or 'tribal' elements (Dobrivojević 2006: 99-101). Finally, the new Law on Press added a paragraph to the law of 1925 which forbade publications which could provoke 'tribal' and religious hatred and disunity (ibid: 301-5). These laws indicate that the Dictatorship hung on to the principles of unitarism and centralism, generally referred to as "the unity of state and nation", and banned any possible alternative in an authoritarian manner. In the following chapter I look more in detail at the two key concepts of unitarism and centralism.

2.2.1 Integral Yugoslavism

Already in his proclamation of 6 January 1929 the King had highlighted the preservation of national unity as an important motive behind his "historic act". Further speeches and legal acts clarified that the Yugoslavism of the Royal Dictatorship could be classified under the integral type. The ban on political parties or organisations which were based on 'tribal' or religious elements and publications which provoked 'tribal' and religious hatred indicates that sub-national entities were recognised, but were considered harmful for Yugoslav national unity and were therefore no longer allowed to play any role in Yugoslav political life. The single most important act which symbolised the shift from compromised Yugoslavism to integral Yugoslavism was the Law on the Name and the Division of the Kingdom into Administrative Regions, which was legalised on 3 October 1929. The name of the country was changed into Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which according to Prime Minister Petar Živković "not only indicates the complete unity of state and nation, but als symbolically expresses the idea of full unity, equality and brotherhood of us, Slavs of the South, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 100).³⁰ In an important declaration of 4 July 1930 the government stated

³⁰ ["ne samo da obeležava puno državno i narodno jedinstvo nego i simbolički izražava ideju pune jednakosti, ravnopravnosti i bratstva nas Slovena na Jugu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca."]

that the name of the Kingdom “definitively determined the ethnical and ethical sense of our historical and national development”.³¹

Additionally, the law replaced the administrative division of the country in 33 districts (*oblast*) by nine *banovinas* (sing.: *banovina*) and an administrative unit comprising Belgrade, Pančevo and Zenum.³² According to Živković the *banovinas* were formed on the basis of natural, communicative and economic factors (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 99). A second important motive behind the introduction of the *banovinas*, which were all named after rivers or in one case the Adriatic Sea, was that they “forever broke off historical boundaries, which hindered our national formation and development”.³³ In the words of King Aleksandar, the *banovinas* “broke with the visible traces of the past, those artificial boundaries of administrative regions, which became historical during the tragic division and partition of our tribes”.³⁴ Clearly, the *banovinas* were intended to replace historical sub-national entities.

Table 1 The territorial and demographical structure of the *banovinas* (based on Manakin 1932).

Banovina (Capital)	Location	Languages (in %) ³⁵	Religions (in %) ³⁶
Drava (Ljubljana)	Present-day Slovenian lands in Yugoslavia	Sl: 92,32	C: 96,6
Sava (Zagreb)	Croatia-Slavonia, without Baranja and the district of Vukovar in the east and Dvor in the south; the Lika region	S-C: 90,83	C: 78,9 O: 19,1
Littoral (Split)	Northern and central Dalmatia; and western Herzegovina, including the districts of Livno and Bugojno in the north and Stolac and Metković in the south	S-C: 99	C: 76,4 O: 15,2 M: 8,2
Vrbaš (Banja)	North-western and northern Bosnia, with Derventa, Gradačac, Gračanica and Tešanj in	S-C: 95,77	C: 15,9 O: 57,6

³¹ ‘Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta’, *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1. [“etnički i etički smisao našeg istorijskog i nacionalnog razvoja definitivno je određen.”]

³² ‘Zakon o nazivu i podeli Kraljevine na upravna područja’, *Službene novine* 11/233: 1885-9, published 5 October 1929. Esp. articles 2-4.

³³ Quoted from the government declaration of 4 July 1930. ‘Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta’, *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1. [“prekratila je za uvek istorijske granice, te smetnje nacionalnom formiranju i razvoju.”]

³⁴ From a speech by King Aleksandar to the new Parliament and Senate on 18 January 1932. AJ 74-38-56: 71. [“raskinula sa vidnim tragovima prošlosti, onim veštačkim granicama upravne podele, koje su postale istorijske u tragičnom deljenju i razdvajanju naših plemena.”]

³⁵ Sl.=Slovenian, S.-C.=Serbo-Croatian, A.=Albanian, H.=Hungarian, G.=German, T.=Turkish, R.=Rumanian.

³⁶ C.=Catholic, O.=Orthodox, M.=Muslim.

Luka)	the east, and Jajce, Donji Vakuf and Glamoč in the south		M: 24,8
Drina (Sarajevo)	South-eastern Bosnia – with Travnik, Fojnica, Sarajevo, Goražde and Višegrad in the south; parts of western Serbia from the Sava and Danube rivers in the north along the Kolubara river in the east and Čačak, Ivanica and Užice in the south; and the Vukovar district	S-C: 94,57	C: 16,9 O: 61,2 M: 19,8
Zeta (Cetinje)	Southern Dalmatia; pre-war Montenegro; south-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Ljubinje, Nevesinje and Foča); the Sandžak (Priboj, Nova Varoš, Sjenica, Novi Pazar and Raška); and western Kosovo (Đakovac, Orahovac, Srbica and Mitrovica)	S-C: 89,97 A: 8,57	C: 24 O: 57,7 M: 28,3
Danube (Novi Sad)	Srem; Baranja; Bačka; Banat; and north-central Serbia, from Veliko Gradište in the north-east to Kragujevac and Gruža in the south	S-C: 56,90 H: 18,29 G: 16,33	C: 35,4 O: 54,9
Vardar (Skopje)	Present-day southern Serbia (from Leskovac in the north); Macedonia; and south-eastern Kosovo (with Prizren and Priština)	S-C: 64,8 A: 22,5 T: 10,2	O: 61,6 M: 36,8
Morava (Niš)	The remaining parts of central and eastern Serbia; the north-eastern part of Kosovo (Vučitrn and Podujevo)	S-C: 82,4 R: 11,3	O: 93,8 M: 5,7

Each banovina was headed by a governor (*Ban*), who was directly appointed by the King, in consultation with the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and who was a representative of the government. As clarified by Christian Nielsen the governors were close confidants of the King who had occupied high positions in politics, army or the judiciary prior to 1929. As such, the appointment of these governors illustrated that no drastic changes in government should be expected (Nielsen 2002: 173, 175). The governor and his administration served as a strictly administrative institution which implemented the governmental policy, and thus merely mediated between the central and local level. The provincial administration was subdivided in seven departments: a general, administrative, agricultural, education, technical, social and financial department. The actual competences of each of these departments were restricted to the implementation and supervision of centrally made decisions. Additionally, the provincial administration also played an important role in the dictatorship's surveillance system (ibid: 176-8). The competences of the educational department, for example, consisted of the supervision of all types of educational and cultural institutions in the banovina, the taking and organisation of statistical data and the submission of reports to the Ministry of Education (Manakin 1932: 257). Clearly, the

banovinas had no actual autonomy in the decision-making process and had very little political relevance.

Still, the symbolic value of the reforms of 3 October 1929 cannot be underestimated. It was stated that from then on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia:

represents the higher synthesis of our national expressions and characteristics, which will enable the development of all beautiful traits of our race in internal harmony and show the power of unity and the strength of our one-blooded nation to the outside.³⁷

The Council of Ministers formulated the transition to full, integral Yugoslav unity as follows:

This law has established the absolute principle: one nation and one national feeling. Respect for tribal names and traditions are elevated principles for us all, but always has to serve the development of our national synthesis and unity. Tribal flags have to belong to the past, with esteem, because the national future only wants the Yugoslav national tricolour.³⁸

In the rest of this dissertation I examine the integral Yugoslav ideology of the dictatorship much more in detail. For now I want to outline how this ideology was institutionalised in political life and present a general overview of political developments under the Royal Dictatorship.

2.2.2 The institutionalisation of Yugoslav national unity in politics

2.2.2.1 The Dictatorship's first year

King Aleksandar represented his dictatorship as a radical break with the political practice of the past. According to him, the constitution of the “three-named state” – referring to the Vidovdan constitution – did not correctly express the national idea and

³⁷ From a speech by King Aleksandar to the Council of Ministers on New Year's Eve 1930 (qtd. in Manakin 1932: 163). [“pretstavlja onu višu sintezu naših nacionalnih izražaja i odlika koja će u unutrašnjoj harmoniji omogućiti razvijanje svih lepih osobina naše rase, a spolja odavati snagu jedinstva i čvrstinu jednokravnog naroda.”]

³⁸ Quoted from the government declaration of 4 July 1930. ‘Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta’, *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1. [“Ovim zakonom postavljen je apsolutno načelo: jedan narod i jedno nacionalno osećanje. Poštovanje plemenskih imena i tradicija svima je uzvišeno, ali ima uvek služiti razvijanju nacionalne sinteze i jedinstva. Plemenske zastave imaju sa pijetetom pripasti prošlosti, jer nacionalne budućnost hoće samo jugoslovensku nacionalnu trobojku.”]

the strength of one, organised national whole.³⁹ The problem with the constitution was that it left intact the traces of the past which divided the Yugoslavs in 'tribes' and thus could not lead to the synthetic development "of our national characteristics in indispensable internal unity and harmony".⁴⁰ Political life had never succeed in sincerely transcending "narrow tribal frameworks", "as if the tribal does not obtain its highest value, its final goal precisely in unity, in the whole"?⁴¹ Moreover, blind political passions and the abuse of political freedom and parliamentarism had jeopardised the unity of state and nation.⁴²

Aleksandar's choice of ministers however immediately led to doubts about the extent to which his dictatorship actually presented a radical break with the 1920s. A first continuity with the parliamentary period was the political prominence of high military authorities, which had already played a decisive role in government changes throughout the 1920s (Bjelajac 1994: 241-7). The new Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs was Petar Živković, General and Commander of the Royal Guards and a loyal confidant of the King, but also a very controversial figure throughout the country (Nielsen 2002: 130-1; Stojkov 1969: 73-4; Šarac 1975: 188). Another military figure in the government was General Stevan Hadžić. A second continuity was that key ministerial positions were held by prominent Serbian politicians who had belonged to the so-called Royal fractions within the Radical and Democratic Party, namely the Radicals Milan Srškić, the leading Bosnian Radical who was extremely unpopular among a majority of Bosnian Muslims, Božidar Maksimović, Uroš Krulj, Nikola Uzunović and Stevan Savković, and the former Democrats Vojislav Marinković, Kosta Kumanudi and Lazar Radivojević. The Croats were represented in the government by economic experts Stanko Švrljuga, President of the Zagreb stock market, Želimir Mažuranić, a representative of Croatian entrepreneurs, and Otto Frangeš, Professor of Agriculture. Two Croatian politicians in the government were Tugomir Alaupović, who had been a representative of the Bosnian Diet in Austria-Hungary and had been affiliated to the Democratic Party, and Mate Drinković, a dissident of the Croatian Union. Alaupović already left the government in April 1929. In September 1929 Juraj Demetrović, a Croatian member of the former Independent Democrats who was most remembered for his staunch centralist and unitarist rule as royal deputy of the regional government for Croatia-Slavonia in 1921-22, joined the government. Finally, the Slovenes were represented by Anton Korošec, the leader of SLS (Nielsen 2002: 129-32; Stojkov 1969: 72-

³⁹ ["troimene države."]

⁴⁰ ["sve naše nacionalne odlike u neophodnom unutrašnjem jedinstvu i harmoniji."]

⁴¹ ["iskreno izade iz uskih plemenskih okvira", "kao da ono što je plemensko ne dobija baš u jedinstvu, u celini, svoju višu vrednost, svoj krajni cilj!"]

⁴² From a speech by King Aleksandar to the new Parliament and Senate on 18 January 1932. AJ 74-38-56: 70.

6; Šarac 1975: 188-9). One of the major weaknesses of the government was surely that it did not include influential political representatives of Croats and Croatian Serbs, and South Slav Muslims.

During 1929 the Council of Ministers was extremely active. Illustratively, whereas during the period 1920-1928 Yugoslav parliament had approved circa 180 laws, in the year 1929 alone the government decreed over 200 legal acts (Šarac 1975: 190, f. 10). Some of these acts, like the education laws and the unification of the tax structure and the six legal codes from the pre-1914 period, had been pending during the entire parliamentary period and were urgently needed (Lampe 2000: 165). By the summer of 1930, however, the government's decisiveness seemed to come to a halt and rumours began to circulate that the dictatorship would quickly be ended, as Aleksandar had promised in his proclamation of January 1929. It was also claimed that the government in fact remained a coalition government of different pre-1929 parties, without internal cohesion (Bodrožić 1964: 40-2; Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 193-5). In order to end these rumours and to stress the political unity of the ministers the Council of Ministers spread a manifesto on 4 July 1930 in which it glorified the historic acts of 6 January and 3 October 1929, adding that the political parties of the 1920s would never return.⁴³

2.2.2.2 Toward a Yugoslav national movement

This declaration marks the beginning of a movement toward a broader Yugoslav political organisation. After the publication of the 4 July declaration Petar Živković stated that the time had come to organise the people in the spirit of the new order. A commission consisting of the ministers Uzunović, Korošec, Kumanudi and Šibenik was appointed to prepare such an organisation of the people and to draft a working plan. On 4 September 1930 the Council of Ministers decided that a new political organisation would be formed. A communiqué was published in which the ministers stressed that they were all members of a homogeneous government and that the pre-1929 political parties would not return. They added that all ministers would politically cooperate, regardless of pre-1929 party affiliations (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 199-205). However, there was apparently little enthusiasm for the plan among the ministers' political allies. Moreover, leading ministers like Milan Srškić and Juraj Demetrović favoured the formation of a mass organisation which would be led by the government, which in fact meant a status quo. Anton Korošec called for the foundation of a mutual platform for different parties, which could later resume their independent work. It was finally concluded that the establishment of a broader political organisation would be

⁴³ 'Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta', *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1.

postponed, but that the ministers would actively promote the work of the government among the population (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 205-9). Indeed, during the fall of 1930 the ministers organised political meetings throughout Yugoslavia, which, according to the British ambassador to Yugoslavia, were extremely unpopular (Nielsen 2002: 295-7). A direct consequence of these developments was the resignation of Anton Korošec from the government. Although he was succeeded by Dušan Sernec, another member of SLS, this indicated that the former Slovenian Clericals were moving away from the regime (Stojkov 1969: 84).

Simultaneously with these first attempts to establish a new Yugoslav political organisation, the regime succeeded in attracting some dissidents from the Croatian Peasant Party to join its ranks. In May 1930 four HSS-dissidents, Mirko Neudorfer, Nikola Preka, Stanko Šibenik and Ivan Švegl, joined the government (Stojkov 1969: 97). The pro-regime press euphorically reported that this meant a final blow to all separatists and opponents of the unity of state and nation and manifested “the will and aspirations of Croatian peasantry to invest all its forces in the consolidation of the state, strengthen the state idea and create harmony between all layers of the nation to the benefit of state and nation”.⁴⁴ Also, in the course of 1930 Karla Kovačević, a former vice-president of HSS, joined the regime. With the support and sponsorship of the government and the Royal Court Kovačević launched a Yugoslav Peasant Movement in Croatia-Slavonia. Throughout the winter of 1930-1931 and the spring of 1931 Kovačević organised peasant rallies, at its peak during the spring of 1931 one per week. During these rallies, which were closely followed by the police, Kovačević attempted to represent himself and the regime as the legitimate successors to Stjepan Radić and his peasant movement. Typically, Kovačević would point to one of Radić’s alleged final statements before his death, in which he argued that only the King and the people were left, which was interpreted as his approval of the royal dictatorship. Further, his speeches were filled with statements of Serb-Croat national unity, loyalty to the King and the state, and peasant cohesion. After Kovačević’s speech a number of local peasants would speak about how they had come to realise that Serbs and Croats were really one, and how their lives had changed for the better after the King had taken control of politics. However, Kovačević never succeeded in matching the popularity of the Croatian Peasant Party and after 1931 his movement virtually disappeared (Nielsen 2002: 246-56). As with the Croatian Peasant Party, the regime attempted to persuade some leading JMO politicians to join its ranks. Almost simultaneously with Kovačević’s peasant movement a similar movement was started among Bosnian Muslims under the

⁴⁴ ‘Pobeda jugoslovenstva i seljaštva’. *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 27.05.1930: 1. [“volja i težnja hrvatskog seljaštva da uloži svu svoju snagu da se država konsoliduje, da se učvrsti jugoslovenska državna misao, i da se stvori harmonija među svima narodnim slojevima na dobro države i naroda.”]

leadership of Salih Baljić, one of the former leaders of JMO. However, the movement of Salih Baljić, like that of Kovačević, never matched the popularity of Spaho's JMO (Nielsen 2002: 290-5).

2.2.2.3 The return to parliamentarism and the Yugoslav National Party

On 3 September 1931 the King gave his people a new constitution. Allegedly, the dictatorship had succeeded in resolving the most urgent issues and had laid a solid foundation for a successful return to normal political life in Yugoslavia.⁴⁵ In fact, the constitution installed a pseudo-parliamentarian system which “in virtually all its aspects (...) represented an affirmation rather than a moderation of the course of the state since January 1929” (Nielsen 2002: 386). First, the constitution repeated the ban on political parties, organisations and meetings which were based on ‘tribal’, religious or regional factors. Second, the King remained the highest political authority in the country with unrestricted power. Only after the King's approval a law proposal which had been accepted by parliament and senate would actually be legalised. Moreover, the King had the right to introduce law proposals, to appoint state personnel, to convene and dissolve parliament and he remained in full control of the Council of Ministers. In a state of war, mobilisation, disturbances or revolt the King could take extraordinary measures (Dobrivojević 2006: 62-4). The constitution installed a bicameral system of parliament (*skupština*) and senate. New election laws prescribed voting by open oral ballot for parliamentary elections. Only political lists that could present a candidate for each district (*srez*) were allowed to participate in elections. Every candidate had to collect 200 signatures from the district where he wanted to stand as a candidate. Finally, the law determined that the winning list would obtain two thirds of all seats in parliament, the other seats would be divided proportionally among all lists. The senate served as the upper house in the bicameral system. Half of the senators were elected by the banovina assemblies, King Aleksandar personally appointed the other half (Dobrivojević 2006: 67-8; Nielsen 2002: 387-9).

Parliamentary elections were announced for 8 November 1931. Already in the summer of 1931 the ministers had started the preparation of these elections by consulting their former political allies (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 322-38). The result was a reshuffle of the Council of Ministers on 2 September 1931, which indicates an attempt to include political representatives of all Yugoslav regions. First, the Slovenian Clericals ended their support for the government and Dušan Serbec resigned. Instead, the government was joined by Slovenian Liberals, namely: Albert Kramer, the leading

⁴⁵ ‘Mome Dragom Narodu,’ *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 04.09.1931: 1

Slovenian Democrat, and Ivan Pucelj, the leader of the Slovenian Peasant Party. Already in December 1930 the King had appointed Drago Marušič, another leading politician of the former Slovenian Peasant Party, as governor of Drava banovina (Stiplovšek 2006: 41-62). Bosnian Muslims were represented in the government by Avdo Hasanbegović, who had been a member of the former Radical Party. At the same time, the regime also attracted dissident members of JMO. Hamdija Karamehmedović had been a founding member of JMO and minister during 1921, but had later joined the dissident Yugoslav Muslim Popular Organisation, which continued to support the government of the Radical Party. He became a minister in July 1932. Ibrahim Maglajlić, another leading member of the Yugoslav Muslim Popular Organisation, became head of the Islamic Religious Community (IVZ, *Islamska verska zajednica*), the representative association of all Muslims in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Another prominent supporter of the regime was Šerif Arnautović, a Bosnian Muslim representative of the Radical Party during the 1920s (Purivatra 1974: 430-2). Finally, the government was joined by Pavao Matica, a dissident HSS-politician. Other HSS-dissidents who expressed their support to the regime at this time were Nikola Nikić, Karla Kovačević, Đuro Rajković, Ivan Radić – a nephew of Stjepan Radić – and Ivan Lončarević. The government was also joined by Ivan Palaček, a former SDS-politician. In the end, 506 candidates on the governmental list at the 1931 elections had been members of the former Radical Party, 272 of the Democratic Party, 146 of the Croatian Peasant Party, 148 of the Independent Democratic Party, 37 of the Agricultural Union, 33 of the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, 33 of the Slovenian Peasant Party and 20 of the Socialist Party (Bodrožić 1964: 43-5).

The governmental list of Prime Minister Petar Živković was the only list participating in the elections. Thus, the elections became a referendum on the new political situation. Indeed, the government and the loyal press spoke about a vote for political and national unity, patriotism and progress, in brief, for Yugoslavia and against 'tribal', religious and regional reaction which threatened the existence and progress of the state and nation: "The elections of 8 November will have historical significance: they will be a manifestation of the popular will to life, progress, as well an expression of all conscious Yugoslavism" (from a government declaration, qtd. and translated in Nielsen 2002: 391). The final state-wide turnout was 66% (Dobrivojević 2006: 70-1, Nielsen 2002: 389-96). In December 1931 all parliamentary deputies joined a parliamentary club. Quickly thereafter the Yugoslav Radical-Peasant Democracy (JRSD, *Jugoslovenska radikalno-seljačka demokratija*) was formed, which clearly indicates the party's constituent political groups. The party was de facto led by dissident Radicals and Democrats: Nikola Uzunović, Milan Srškić, Božidar Maksimović, Vojislav Marinković and Kosta Kumanudi (Bodrožić 1964: 45-9; Stojkov 1969: 137).

In December 1931 student demonstrations against the regime and especially Petar Živković had been the first public expressions of criticism against the dictatorship. Additionally, in the spring of 1932 a group of HSS-dissidents led by Nikola Nikić left JRSD

and formed the Popular Peasant Club (*narodni seljački klub*), demanding that the Croatian question would be solved and not ignored. A group of younger politicians led by Svetislav Hođera formed a separate parliamentary club, the Yugoslav People's Club (*Jugoslovenski narodni klub*) out of dissatisfaction with the continuing dominance of former Radicals and Democrats in the government and JRSD (Bodrožić 1964: 77-9, 90-3; Stojkov 1969: 138-9). This slumbering criticism finally led to the replacement of Petar Živković by Vojislav Marinković, who counted as the leader of the moderate wing of the government, in April 1932. This marked the beginning of an attempt to revitalise JRSD, through a declaration, a large number of political meetings and the development of the party's local organisation. However, already in July 1932 Marinković was forced to resign, after he had held a speech in Niš in which he had insinuated that the centralist state organisation could be modified. He was replaced by Milan Srškić, who remained in office until January 1934, when he was succeeded by Nikola Uzunović (Bodrožić 1964: 70-4; Nielsen 2002: 396-406; Stojkov 1969: 135-43).

Finally, on 21 July 1933 JRSD managed to organise its first nationwide congress. On that occasion the party was renamed into the slightly more elegant Yugoslav National Party (JNS, *Jugoslovenska nacionalna stranka*) and a party program was adopted. The fundament of the party program was integral Yugoslavism:

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes form one unified Yugoslav nation because they have lived on one cohesive territory, because of their equal geographic and ethnographic structure, by their origin, by their language, by their century-long aspirations, by the sameness of their historical destiny and experiences, by their never extinguishing consciousness and community. Therefore Yugoslav national unity is an irrefutable and natural fact.

The national thought in every national part during our entire national past has in reality always been Yugoslav, because it was identical, although it has been expressed and named in different ways. (...)

The equal and harmonious efforts of our entire unified nation have to lead to the preservation, development and assimilation of all cultural, economic and social inheritances, which were obtained in separate pasts, into a general and common national good. In addition, new heritages have to be acquired in the future and the national unity in the harmony of all our authentic properties has to be constantly strengthened and enhanced.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ 'Načela Jugoslovenske nacionalne stranke'. *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 22.07.1933: 2-3. ['Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci, živeći na jednoj neprekidnoj teritoriji, jednog geografskog i etnografskog sklopa, sačinjavaju i po svom poreklu, i po svom jeziku, i po svojim vekovnim težnjama, i po istovetnosti istorijske sudbine i doživljaja, i po neugasloj nikad svesti o zajedništvu jedan jedinstven jugoslovenski narod. Zato je jugoslovensko narodno jedinstvo neosporno i prirodna činjenica. Narodna misao u svakome narodnom delu bila je u celoj našoj

Obviously, JNS did not completely deny the different historical traditions of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian part of the nation, but claimed that these traditions in fact had always been expressions of Yugoslav national unity. The party's goal was to create a Yugoslav national unity through the assimilation of the good, nationally 'pure' elements in the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian tradition within a very short period of time. For the rest, JNS's political program completely concurred with the 1931 constitution (Bodrožić 1964: 86-90).

In the course of 1932 and 1933 JRSD/JNS organised a large number of meetings throughout the country to popularise the party. Some meetings were clearly only intended for a local audience, other meetings were intended as truly Yugoslav national happenings for a state-wide audience. At such meetings speeches were held by the entire government, the regime put on free trains so that the meetings would be attended by representatives from all over Yugoslavia and the meetings received broad, euphoric attention in the press and on the radio (Bodrožić 1964: 82-4). All meetings followed a fixed pattern. In most cases, ministers and other prominent JRSD leaders were enthusiastically greeted by prominent locals upon arrival. Then, a parade marched throughout the city to the place where the meeting would be held. The actual meeting began with the reading of a telegram to King Aleksandar, in which the participants praised the king as the warrior under whose leadership the Serbian army had liberated the Yugoslavs during the First World War and as the statesman who had laid the foundation for a healthy, nationally correct Yugoslav society. The consecutive speeches by ministers all conveyed a similar message. An omnipresent element in the speeches was the unity of the Yugoslav nation, which was substantiated with a short overview of the history of the Yugoslav nation. It was repeated over and over that the Yugoslavs had always been spiritually unified, although external enemies had separated the nation in different 'tribes', and that the unification of the Yugoslav nation remained the ideal of every 'tribe' throughout its history. In the nineteenth century then the independent Serbian state took the lead in the struggle for liberation and unification, a struggle which was finally completed during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Also, most speakers turned to the political crisis of the 1920s, explaining that it was caused by the 'tribal' organisation of political life, which no longer corresponded to reality within the unified Yugoslavia. A final element which returned in practically all speeches was an evaluation of the present situation. JNS politicians claimed that Aleksandar had

narodnoj prošlosti u suštini svojoj uvek jugoslovenska, jer je bila ista, iako se je različito ispoljavala i nazivala. (...). Pojednakim i složnim naporima svega ujedinjenog naroda moraju se čuvati, razvijati i stapati sve u razjedinjenoj prošlosti stečene, kulturne, ekonomske i socijalne tekovine svakog narodnog dela kao opšte i zajedničko narodno dobro, a povrhu toga moraju se zajednički u budućnosti i nove tekovine sticati i narodna celina u jedinstvu svega izrodnog blaga stalno pojačavati i usavršavati”].

instigated a national revolution which was enthusiastically accepted by the whole population and would soon re-establish Yugoslav national unity. The speakers outlined the political program of the dictatorship on the basis of four crucial dates: 6 January 1929, 3 October 1929, 4 July 1930 and 3 September 1931. At larger meetings ministers from different regions would report how the population in their region had enthusiastically accepted the new political course and Yugoslav national unity.

These elements – glorification of the national heroism of Aleksandar, a specific interpretation of the history of the Yugoslav ‘tribes’, strong criticism against the ‘tribal’ politics of the 20s, a euphoric evaluation of the first years of the dictatorship and the population’s unanimous support and statements by different regional representatives about the success of the new regime in their region – formed the core elements in JNS’s political discourse. In this good news show there was absolutely no place for references to political or economic instability. It is striking for example how little attention JNS representatives paid to the economic crisis. If the crisis was mentioned at all, JNS simply guaranteed the population that the government was taking the necessary steps, without any further specifications. Any political opposition was denounced as a marginal attempt by political revisionists and external enemies to destabilise the country.⁴⁷

Beyond this fixed discourse, JNS made use of specific political traditions to popularise the party. On meetings in Slovenia for example speakers – most frequently the ministers Albert Kramer and Ivan Pucelj – represented the Yugoslav state unity as a rational choice for Slovenia, rather than an age-old national aspiration. They stressed that the only way for Slovenia to flourish – both economically and politically – was within Yugoslavia, because Slovenia was too small to survive economically and external enemies would easily destroy an independent Slovenia.⁴⁸ Important in this respect was also that Slovenian JNS representatives did accept some sort of separate Slovenian culture within the Yugoslav nation and denied that Yugoslavism implied the negation of Slovenian culture. To the contrary, Slovenian Liberals recognised the Slovenian sub-national “cultural-national individuality” within an overarching Yugoslav state-political nation (Perovšek 2006: 261-4). At a meeting in Ljubljana on 11 September 1932 for example Albert Kramer even stated that Yugoslav unity was the only way to protect the Slovenian ‘tribe’ and all its peculiarities:

Yugoslav politics and the principle of the unity of nation and state does not contradict the separate duties of our tribe. To the contrary, those politics are the

⁴⁷ This overview of JRSD/JNS’s political activities is based on numerous newspaper reports which were collected by the Central Press-Office. AJ 38-326-474, AJ 38-327-475, AJ 38-328-476, AJ 38-329-477, AJ 38-330-478, AJ 38-331-479.

⁴⁸ See ‘Ministra dr. Kramer in Pucelj o političnem položaju v državi in Sloveniji’, *Jutro* 07.07.1932: 3-4; ‘Ministra dr. Kramer in Pucelj o aktualnih političnih vprašanjih’, *Jutro* 30.01.1933: 1-2.

only way to protect our tribe, all its specificities, within the large unity of the Yugoslav nation.⁴⁹

Also, Slovenian JNS representatives constantly stressed that the regime did not intend to destroy the Slovenian language and emphasised the autonomy of the Slovenian language as one of the central elements of Slovenian culture (Perovšek 2006: 165). At a meeting in Ljubljana in June 1932 Kramer for example regretted the fact that some official documents had not been translated in Slovenian, but stressed that JNS by no means wanted to ban the Slovenian language and culture.⁵⁰ Clearly, Slovenian Liberals modified the regime's integral Yugoslavism to their Slovenian audience. They highlighted the political and voluntaristic element in Yugoslav national unity and stressed that Yugoslavism did not imply the negation of Slovenian culture, but only cultural cooperation and rapprochement (Perovšek 2006: 261-7).

In Croatia JNS tried to co-opt the traditions of the Croatian Peasant Party. JNS made sure that dissident members of the Croatian Peasant Party joined in at meetings in Croatia, most regularly Karla Kovačević, Ivan Radić and Mirko Došen. The general idea was that the Peasant Party had always supported the Yugoslav national idea, which was 'proved' by quoting the first party program of 1904, which explicitly supported South Slavic national unity. Another frequently repeated quotation was a statement made by Radić just before his death in 1928 that now only the King and the people were left. Finally, the party tried to co-opt Radić's peasant ideology by continuously stating that the Yugoslav nation was a peasant nation and that the peasants formed the backbone of Yugoslav economy and culture.⁵¹ The most apparent example of this peasant Yugoslavism can be found in the daily *Seljački glas* ('Peasant Voice'), with frequent articles about the Yugoslav ideology of the Peasant Party, the peasant ideology of the new regime and pieces written by normal peasants in support of the new regime, in the style of the peasant literature which had been propagated by *Seljačka sloga* ('Peasant Unity'), the cultural association of the Croatian Peasant Party (cf. 3.2.2.6, 3.3.8.3). In one such article the peasant Joso Matešić described his visit to the big JNS meeting in Niš (see further). Accordingly, already in the train to Niš the peasants were overwhelmed by the beauty of Serbia. As soon as Serbian peasants entered the train they started talking with the Croats and everybody could see with his own eyes that these Croatian and

⁴⁹ 'Slovenska Ljubljana jugoslovenska'. *Jutro* 12.09.1932: 2. ["Jugoslovenska politika in načele narodnega in državnega edinstva za Slovence ni greh napram posebnim dolžnostima do našega plemena. Nasprotno, ta politika je za nas edini spas da očuvamo svoje pleme, vse posebnosti, v velikem sklopu jugoslovenskega naroda."]

⁵⁰ 'Ministra dr. Kramer in Pucelj o političnem položaju v državi in Sloveniji', *Jutro* 07.07.1932: 3-4.

⁵¹ For a typical example, see the speech by Mirko Došen at a meeting in Sveti Križ in northern Croatia on 27 November 1932. 'Velika skupština hrvatskih Zagoraca', *Novosti* 28.11.1932: 2.

Serbian peasants belonged to the same nation. In a similar fashion Matešić continued his description of the meeting itself and the gathering of peasants from all over Yugoslavia afterwards, with songs, cheers, music and dancing, providing scenes of peasants hugging each other and daring “some nobody” to repeat that that Croats and Serbs were not one people, or a *kolo* with peasants from all Yugoslav regions.⁵²

In Croatia and Slovenia JNS representatives also constantly stressed that the banovina system was a corrective for the centralism of the 1920s and that it was a concession to Croatian and Slovenian demands for decentralisation. To be sure, in official statements too JNS represented the banovinas as a form of regional autonomy in order to enhance the people’s participation in the government of the country, as a compromise between centralism and federalism.⁵³ Especially in Croatia, however, JNS clearly attempted to inscribe the banovina system within a specific Croatian tradition of opposing centralism. At a meeting in Zagreb on 4 October 1932, for example, one JRSD representative claimed that Croats would continue to oppose centralism, as they had done in the past, and that Croats did not want centralism but wider autonomy for the banovinas, which was why they greeted the intentions of the government to grant the banovinas more autonomy.⁵⁴

In Serbian areas JNS made use of Serbian political traditions. At a large meeting in Niš on 23 April 1933, which was allegedly attended by 200.000 participants from all over Yugoslavia, Božidar Maksimović called Serbia “the backbone and centre of our healthy state politics” and referred to Serbia’s suffering during the war.⁵⁵ Prime Minister Milan Srškić recognised that pre-1929 Serbian political parties too had made mistakes, but stated that they – contrary to the federalist, non-Serbian parties – were of good will, had always been loyal to the Yugoslav state and that their political programs were in fact quite broad-minded.⁵⁶ The meeting in Niš, which was intended as the first of a series of large JRSD meetings throughout Yugoslavia, completely failed and symbolised the failure of the Yugoslav National Party as a Yugoslav mass national movement. The meeting ended up in complete chaos as a result of the heavy rainfall and the indifference of a lot of people who had not come to Niš to support the regime but rather to enjoy a day off and the free train travel. Moreover, the radio installation did not function so that the speakers were not audible for the largest part of the public (Dobrivojević 2006: 131-3).

⁵² ‘Seljački utisci sa veličanstvenog zbora u Nišu.’ *Seljački glas* 05.05.1933: 1-2.

⁵³ ‘Načela Jugoslovenske nacionalne stranke’. *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 22.07.1933: 3.

⁵⁴ ‘Prve konferencije J.R.S.D. u Zagrebu’. *Vreme* 05.10.1932: 1.

⁵⁵ ‘Dve stotine hiljada ljudi manifestuju u Nišu za jedinstvenu Jugoslaviju.’ *Vreme* 24.04.1933: 2. [“kičma i stožer zdrave državne politike.”]

⁵⁶ ‘Dve stotine hiljada ljudi manifestuju u Nišu za jedinstvenu Jugoslaviju.’ *Vreme* 24.04.1933: 2.

To conclude, the return to parliamentarism in September 1931 in practice did not mean a radical break with the previous years of royal dictatorship, or even with pre-1929 politics. For the largest part the politicians who were involved in JNS had been leading figures in pre-1929 political parties. The leading position of Serbian, former Radical and Democratic politicians in JNS too was reminiscent of Serbian political dominance during the 1920s. Attempts by JNS to attract non-Serbian politicians and to co-opt political traditions of especially the Croatian Peasant Party completely failed. As the central element in the dictatorship's political movement integral Yugoslavism became inextricably connected to the regime's political practice. As Dejan Djokić concludes:

Because it became compulsory, because it could not exist outside its official form and because it was associated with many of the same corrupt politicians who compromised the democratic institutions of the 1920s, Alexander's Yugoslavism lost much of its potential to appeal to the masses (Djokić 2003b: 151-2).

A similar point was already made in 1939 by Slobodan Jovanović, the prominent Serbian historian, who argued that the dictatorship had done the Yugoslav idea more harm than good, especially as a result of the indivisible link between Yugoslavism and the regime's political practice (Jovanović S. 1939: 5-8).

2.2.3 Dealing with opponents

2.2.3.1 The pre-1929 parties

The attempts made by the regime to co-opt political traditions of pre-1929 parties only succeeded in attracting isolated and dissident (groups of) politicians. The actual leadership of the important political parties of the 1920s occupied an oppositional position toward the dictatorship, with the exception of Korošec's participation in the government in 1929 and 1930. Opposition against the dictatorship was organised in Belgrade and Zagreb. In Belgrade the opposition consisted of the central committee of the Radical Party, led by Aca Stanojević, the group of Democrats under Ljubodrag Davidović and the Agricultural Union. Especially the so-called left wing of the Agricultural Union, led by Dragoljub Jovanović, was a very vocal opponent of the regime, which led to frequent arrests, trials and sanctions (Dobrivojević 2006: 233, 236-41). The Belgrade opposition groups demanded a return to full democracy but were not opposed to the regime's centralism and unitarism (Stojkov 1969: 88-92). In Zagreb the opposition was centred around the Peasant-Democratic Coalition, led by Vladimir Maček and Ante Trumbić. This group in the first place demanded the federalisation of the country and the solution of the Croatian question. The dictatorship attempted to

destabilise SDK by eliminating its political leaders. In December 1929 Vladimir Maček was arrested on the accusation of supporting a group of younger HSS members who had organised a number of bomb explosions in Zagreb on 1 December 1929 and allegedly had organised a terrorist attack on a delegation of Croats who were visiting the King. In April 1930 the defendants appeared for the Court for State Protection in Belgrade, but Maček was acquitted in June 1930 (Boban Lj. 1974: 50-1; Dobrivojević 2006: 241-4). Josip Predavec, the party's vice-president, was sentenced to two and half year of imprisonment in June 1930. Already in May 1929 Svetozar Pribićević was arrested and interned in Brus and later hospitalised in Belgrade. After Pribićević had gone on hunger strike he was allowed to emigrate to Prague in July 1931, in April 1932 he moved to Paris (Boban Lj. 1973: 63-6; Dobrivojević 2006: 229-31; Stojkov 1969: 92-109).

After the "return to parliamentarism" of 3 September 1931 opposition parties openly expressed their opposition to the dictatorship. On 27 September 1931 representatives of the Radical Party, the Democratic Party, the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation, the Slovenian People's Party and the Agricultural Union spread a joint statement in which they called on their supporters not to vote. With a more critical tone SDK criticised the pseudo-parliamentarism of the new constitution and stated that it would not recognise the new parliament (Stojkov 1969: 117-24). In the course of 1932 opposition against the regime began to grow. In the spring of 1932 Serbian opposition formulated "letters to friends" in which they criticised the regime, Dragoljub Jovanović, leader of the left wing of the Agricultural Union, spread a number of critical flyers and brochures, student demonstrations against the regime broke out in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana and it came to smaller anti-regime demonstrations and incidents in Croatia-Slavonia, Central-Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia (Stojkov 1969: 144-77).

On 7 November 1932 then the SDK leadership adopted a resolution which became known as the Zagreb points (*Zagrebačke punktacije*). The resolution criticised Serbian hegemony over Croatia and the lands "on this side of Danube, Sava and Drina", adding that this hegemony had become stronger after 6 January 1929 and that, moreover, civil and political freedom had been restrained. In order to end this hegemony SDK demanded the return to the situation of 1918 as a starting point for a new decentralised state union and association of interests. After it had been published in a number of foreign newspapers, the resolution was also widely treated in Yugoslav newspapers. Especially the demand to return to 1918 caused a great deal of consternation. In January 1933 Maček was arrested and in March 1933 he was brought to court and sentenced to three years of imprisonment (Boban Lj. 1974: 87-97; Dobrivojević 2006: 244-7; Stojkov 1969: 208-18).

Importantly, at this time Maček denied Yugoslav nation-cultural unity to substantiate his demands for a (con)federalist state structure. In a letter to Robert Seton-Watson, the renowned British Slavist, he argued against the error of the alleged national unity of South Slavs. Maček recognised that South Slav languages were closely

intertwined and could be seen as dialects of one language, but he stated that historical and cultural traditions and especially the political and state consciousness were much more decisive for national consciousness. Therefore, there was no such thing as a Yugoslav nation, but only a Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Bulgarian nation, each with a fully developed national consciousness. Also the Montenegrins had a specific state tradition and state-building consciousness. These political nations all had the right to political autonomy to decide how a future South Slav state would be organised. The population of Vojvodina and Bosnia-Herzegovina should be given the chance to vote in a referendum for political autonomy or the inclusion in a Serbian or Croatian entity (Boban Lj. 1974: 92-4).

Interestingly, Svetozar Pribićević, who continued to keep close contact with Independent Democrats in SDK, by now fully agreed with the Croatian Peasant Party's federalist program, but disagreed with the reference to the Yugoslav state union as an association of interests. According to Pribićević Yugoslavia was still a "moral and spiritual union". Pribićević thus still departed from a notion of Yugoslav national unity, but recognised historical-political sub-national entities within the Yugoslav nation, which meant a clear departure from his integral Yugoslavism of the immediate post-war period (Boban Lj. 1973: 112-24, esp. 120, 123). Already by the end of 1928 Pribićević's gradual distancing of integral Yugoslavism had caused internal frictions within the Independent Democratic fraction. Some integral Yugoslavists, for example Prvislav Grisogono, Juraj Demetrović and the Slovenian Liberals Gregor Žerjav and Albert Kramer demanded a return to the Yugoslav basis and later joined the regime (Boban Lj. 1973: 58-61).

The Zagreb points initiated a chain of similar resolutions by other opposition parties. On 28 December 1932 a group of politicians from Vojvodina, especially affiliated to the Radical Party and the Independent Democratic Party, criticised the economic situation in Vojvodina and the centralist state organisation and demanded that Vojvodina would obtain autonomy within a decentralised state. On 31 December 1932 the Slovenian Popular Party demanded the political unification of all Slovenes and an autonomous status for Slovenia within Yugoslavia.⁵⁷ In January 1933 Sekula Drljević, the leader of the Montenegrin Federalist Party, which had joined SDK in 1927, explicated that his party supported the Zagreb points and more specifically a Montenegrin unit within a federalist Yugoslavia (Petranović & Zečević 1987: 326-7). In January 1933 JMO demanded full democracy and autonomy for Bosnia-Herzegovina within a decentralised Yugoslavia, based on its political-historical individuality. In a "letter to friends" in

⁵⁷ After the publication of the resolution Anton Korošec and a number of other SLS-leaders were interned (Dobrivojević 2006: 233-5).

January 1933 Ljubodrag Davidović first demanded a return to full democracy and parliamentarism. Further, he suggested a division of the country in a number of autonomous districts, which would be grouped in larger units based on the cultural-historical specificities of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. A fourth unit comprising Bosnia-Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia would serve as a transition zone between the Croatian and Serbian 'tribe', to prevent "tribal exclusiveness" from the part of Serbs or Croats. The left wing of the Agricultural Union agreed with SDK's demands for a federalisation of the country. Finally, in February 1933 the so-called Popular Club (*Narodni klub*), which had been formed by Croatian politicians in the Yugoslav Parliament and Senate, amongst whom former ministers like Nikola Preka, Stanko Švrljuga and Želimir Mažuranić, formulated a declaration in which it demanded the decentralisation or federalisation of the country on the basis of the historical-political individualities within it. The National Club explicitly rejected integral Yugoslavism and instead defined Yugoslavism as a collective entity consisting of "three national components: Serbdom, Croatdom and Slovenedom, of which all possess its national attributes" (Stojkov 1969: 218-39, quotation on 236).⁵⁸ A distinct position was taken by the Radical Party, which was the only opposition party which continued to reject federalism. In April 1933 Aca Stanojević, the leader of the Radicals, demanded a return to parliamentarism and suggested the decentralisation of the state on the basis of local or regional autonomy (*samouprava*). Later, in August 1933 the leadership of the Radicals unsuccessfully attempted to legalise their party as the Yugoslav Popular Radical Party, with a program based on the unity of state and nation, monarchism and broad local autonomy (Djokić 2007: 121-37; Stojkov 1969: 230-1, 244-7).

Thus, by 1933 all pre-1929 political parties opposed the dictatorship's centralist state organisation and the pseudo-parliamentary system which was installed with the constitution of 1931, with the exception of the Radicals who were willing to legalise their party within the new political order. Additionally, all these parties rejected the integral Yugoslavism of the dictatorship. The Croatian Peasant Party and the Slovenian People's Party simply spoke of three distinct nations within Yugoslavia, in the case of the Croatian Peasant Party based on political-historical factors which were considered more important than linguist unity. JMO and DS too spoke about political-historical sub-national entities to justify the decentralisation of the country, but these parties still allowed for some overarching Yugoslav national unity. Only the Radicals did not relate the decentralisation of the country to (sub-)national divisions and continued to refer to the unity of state and nation. In any case, opposition against the dictatorship clearly

⁵⁸ ["triju narodnih komponenata: srpstva, hrvatstva i slovenaštva, od kojih svako u sebi posjeduje sve nacionalne atribute."]

implied opposition against its integral Yugoslavism, either in the form of minimal Yugoslavism, or in the form of a national ideology situated between Yugoslav nationalism and real Yugoslavism.

It should be noted that despite the apparent insurmountable divisions between the regime and the opposition, frequent attempts were made to come to a compromise with the opposition. Thus, even though the Croatian Peasant Party essentially no longer existed within the new political order and Maček was imprisoned and denounced as an enemy of the state, frequent negotiations were held between representatives of the King and Maček about the latter's cooperation with the regime. Similarly, the King negotiated with Serbian opposition parties, especially the Radicals around Aca Stanojević, to join the regime (Boban Lj. 1974: 50-1, 69-75, 98-105, 118-31; Djokić 2007: 87-104; Stojkov 1969: 192-7, 266-73). These negotiations, although unsuccessful, indicate that the new post-1929 political order was not as determined as it appeared to be.

2.2.3.2 Dealing with everyday opposition

The regime's new order not only affected high politics, but also had an impact on daily life. The Law on Press, the Law on the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State and the establishment of special State Court for the Protection of the State formed the legal framework within which the authorities sought to take control of Yugoslav society (Nielsen 2002: 320-70). Christian Nielsen and Ivana Dobrivojević have shown "the scrutiny with which the state measured political and ideological loyalty to the dictatorship and its ideology of integral Yugoslavism" (Nielsen 2002: 301). Official state servants – correspondents of the Central Press Office, soldiers, gendarmes and higher bureaucrats – and ordinary citizens zealously kept track of the mood of population and denounced suspicious individuals. In theory, the authorities not only took measures against explicit and high-profile acts of opposition against the new order, but also demanded the active participation in cultural and political associations of the regime as evidence of the population's loyalty to the state and nation. In practice, most of the cases treated by Nielsen and Dobrivojević revolved around small-scale and banal examples of *lèse majesty*, communist activities, political opposition against the regime or acts of opposition against Yugoslavism, for example the displaying of 'tribal', i.e. Slovenian and especially Croatian, flags. Very often a great degree of personal opportunism was involved (Dobrivojević 2006: 156-300, 333-6; Nielsen 2002: 337-84). As Nielsen concludes, these cases reveal "a classic case of a weak state masquerading as a strong state" (Nielsen 2002: 384). Clearly, the state's surveillance policy played a prominent role in the concretisation of the regime's ideology at the local level and installed a clear boundary between those who were loyal to state and nation and those who were not. The close link between the ideology of integral Yugoslavism and the regime's authoritarian surveillance policy was a central factor in the happening of

Yugoslav nationhood. In the rest of this dissertation I further elaborate on the exclusionary character of Yugoslav nationhood in its concrete institutionalisation in cultural-educational associations (esp. chapters six and seven).

2.2.4 The death of King Aleksandar

On 9 October 1934 King Aleksandar was assassinated in Marseille. The assassination was organised by the *Ustašas*, a group of extreme Croatian nationalists led by Ante Pavelić, the former leader of the Croatian Party of Right, and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. Immediately, the country was immersed in deep mourning for Aleksandar, who was glorified as a great warrior – referring to his role in the Balkan Wars and the First World War – and the unifier of Yugoslavia, hence the addition of the epithets “knightly” (*viteški*) and “unifier” (*ujedinitelj*) to his name. Even critics of the regime, such as the pro-Maček intellectuals around *Hrvatska revija* (‘Croatian Review’) or the pro-Yugoslav liberals in *Nova Evropa* (‘New Europe’) agreed that the King had genuinely worked for his country and his people and that he had laid solid foundations for a unified Yugoslavia (Ćurčin 1934; Djokić 2007: 98). The regime attempted to use this genuine sorrow for Aleksandar to strengthen its position. The King’s alleged last words, “Preserve my Yugoslavia”, were appropriated as the King’s testament and blessing for the maintenance of a status quo in Yugoslavia. The King was succeeded by three regents who would govern the country until Prince Petar would reach legal age, namely: Prince Pavle, Aleksandar’s cousin, Senator Radenko Stanković and Ivo Perović, governor of Sava banovina. Nikola Uzunović reshuffled his government and included some prominent political supporters of the regime, most notably Petar Živković. In December 1934, however, Uzunović resigned. He was succeeded by Bogoljub Jevtić, which marked the end of JNS’s monopoly over political life. Although Jevtić and a majority of the ministers in his government were members of JNS, none of them joined the government as such and no prominent JNS leader was included in the new government. Jevtić’s political program, however, did not mark a radical break with the dictatorship, as it referred to the unity of nation and state and called for the continuation of the “King-Martyr’s” work (Djokić 2003b: 136-7; Nielsen 2002: 442-62; Stojkov 1969: 289-93).

Quickly, it became clear that the death of King Aleksandar signalled a relaxation of the Royal Dictatorship. In November 1934 a group of influential Croatian intellectuals – representatives of the Catholic Church: Archbishop Ante Bauer, Coadjutor-Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac, Bishop of Split Klement Bonifačić; professors: Fedro Šišić, Albert Bazala, Đuro Stipetić; publicists: Ivo Politeo, Milan Ćurčin; (former) politicians: Ivo Tartaglia, Stanko Švrljuga, Tomislav Tomljenović, Milivoj Dežman, Nikola Preka, Ivo Krbek; and representatives of Croatian entrepreneurship and finances – published a memorandum to Prince Pavle in which they criticised the authoritarian policy of the dictatorship, not

only against political opponents, but also at the local level. It was stressed that the population did not oppose the state, but was not satisfied with the present political system. The intellectuals demanded measures against the abuse of state power and a relaxation of the ban on political parties and meetings. These acts should lead to a concentration of popular representatives and the reorganisation of the state (Boban Lj. 1989: 88-129). In 1935 *Nova Evropa* also conducted an inquiry among leading intellectuals about their opinion on the Yugoslav state crisis. Most intellectuals agreed that the state crisis was caused by the regime's authoritarian and undemocratic government and the continuing negation of the Croatian question. The solution was a return to democracy and the federalisation of the country.⁵⁹

In February 1935 the Regency announced new parliamentary elections for 5 May 1935. Jevtić participated in the elections as the leader of a separate governmental list instead of a JNS-list, further illustrating the factual end of JNS's political dominance. However, unlike in 1931, in 1935 the governmental list was challenged by the so-called united opposition list consisting of the most important opposition parties: SDK, DS, SZ and JMO. The list was led by Vladimir Maček. The opposition list did not formulate a common political platform and in fact its constituent parties stressed their own political demands; DS and SZ in the first place full democracy and parliamentarism, the Croatian Peasant Party the solution of the Croatian question (Djokić 2007: 137-45; Stojkov 1969: 293-402). Other smaller lists which participated in the elections were a list of dissident Radicals under Božidar Maksimović and the so-called *Zbor* of Dimitrije Ljotić, which had been formed out of a number of radical integral Yugoslav proto-fascists organisations, namely: Yugoslav Action (JA, *Jugoslovenska akcija*), especially active in Croatia-Slavonia; BOJ (*Združenje borcev Jugoslavije*), active in Slovenia; and a group of politicians under Dimitrije Ljotić, who had been a minister in 1931. These groups presented themselves as a new generation of Yugoslav nationalists and true representatives of the principles of 6 January. They departed from a radical integral Yugoslavism, in which there was no more place for 'tribes' or other forms of compromised Yugoslavism. They strongly criticised the old generation of JNS-politicians for its weak parliamentarism and its bonds with the pre-1929 political parties. Further, *Zbor*'s program included corporatist elements, a strong anti-Semitic standpoint and anti-Western viewpoints.⁶⁰ It was also deeply religious (Buchenau 2011: 371-90; Gligorijević 1965; Stefanović 1984: 11-40).

At the elections the governmental list received 1.746.982 votes, or 60,64%. The opposition list of Maček received 1.076.345 or 37,36% of the votes. Within the framework

⁵⁹ See *Nova Evropa*, volumes 28 and 29.

⁶⁰ A number of influential Serbian anti-Western thinkers, such as Velibor Jonić, Miloš Đurić and Vladimir Velmar-Janković, were members of the central committee of JA and spread their ideas about the messianic role of the Slavonic race in JA's journal *Jugoslovenska Reč* ('The Yugoslav Word').

of Yugoslavia's specific electoral laws this resulted in 303 seats for the governmental list and only 67 seats for the opposition. The lists of Maksimović and Zbor failed to obtain a single seat in parliament, with respectively 33.549 and 24.088 votes. The opposition absented from parliament, criticising the unfair electoral law and the country's pseudo-democratic and pseudo-parliamentarian system in general and the irregularities which had occurred during the elections (Djokić 2007: 145-7; Stojkov 1969: 311). An internal crisis in his government led to Jevtić's dismissal in June 1935. He was succeeded by Milan Stojadinović, a dissident member of the Radical Party who had joined the government in December 1934. The appointment of Stojadinović marked the beginning of a new phase in the political development of interwar Yugoslavia.

2.3 The return to real Yugoslavism under Stojadinović

2.3.1 The Yugoslav Radical Union

In June 1935 Milan Stojadinović formed a new government with representatives of the Radical Party, SLS and JMO, as well as a number of regime supporters, most importantly Petar Živković. The coalition of NRS, SLS and JMO was not surprising, as it went back to earlier contacts between these parties with the goal to establish a ruling coalition party. Moreover, these parties had showed preparedness to return to legal political life on the basis of the 1931 constitution and took a less firm oppositional standpoint than SDK, DS and SZ. In that respect it was indicative that NRS and SLS did not join the opposition list of Vladimir Maček at the 1935 elections, JMO only joined that list at the very last instance. Although Stojadinović's government explicitly stated that it would continue the work of King Aleksandar and recognised the Constitution of 1931 and the principle of the unity of state and nation, it declared that it strove for the relaxation of political tensions through a concentration of all constructive national forces. The Ministry of Internal Affairs' prescription that local authorities should at all costs avoid using force against citizens further indicates the relaxation introduced by the new government (Stojkov 1985: 41). (Stojkov 1985: 13-42).

In August 1935 the governmental coalition formed a new party, the Yugoslav Radical Union (JRZ, *Jugoslovenska radikalna zajednica*). In its program the party again repeated that it accepted the constitution of 1931 and the unity of state and nation. However, the program included a number of significant novelties in comparison to the political program of the dictatorship. First, JRZ demanded secret voting and the freedom of speech, press, and meetings. The old Radical concept of local autonomy (*samouprava*) was suggested as a compromise between centralism and federalism. Finally, JRZ departed from the dictatorship's integral Yugoslavism in favour of a real Yugoslavism:

The territories which our state comprises have lived separate lives in the past and have obtained distinct customs – administrative, political and others – in the course of time. To develop and strengthen the consciousness of national and state unity and to unite and decrease the differences we have inherited from our long and unequal past in the best and wisest possible way the Party considers that the only political way to do this is to work gradual and thought-out, and not to use outdated methods and not to create new feelings that way. Respect for the three names of our nation – Serb, Croat and Slovene and their equality, respect for

traditions, all this has to be guaranteed, because only that way can we develop mutual respect, thrust and popular acceptance (qtd. in Stojkov 1985: 54-5).⁶¹

Clearly, the party recognised three sub-national entities within the Yugoslav nation and argued that these distinct traditions should be respected. The party spoke of national unity and stated that in time differences between the three 'tribes' should decrease, but no claims were made about a homogeneous Yugoslav nation. More important than the uniformisation of the Yugoslav nation was mutual respect and thrust between its constituent parts (Bakić 2004a: 354-63; Stojkov 1985: 54-5).

The JRZ program also included a critical reference to the integral Yugoslavism of the first half the 1930s, which was rejected as an "outdated" way to create new feelings. JRZ's national ideology was clearly conceived as a reaction against and a break with the integral Yugoslavism of the Royal Dictatorship and JNS. For JRZ the integral Yugoslavism of the by that time moribund Yugoslav National Party was artificial and violent and only lasted as long as force was used. In fact, it had been only counterproductive as it had declared half of the people separatists and chased these away from the unity of state and nation (Bakić 2004a: 354). The following quotation of a speech JRZ Senator Dragoslav Đorđević held in the Senate perfectly summarises JRZ's national ideology. Đorđević argued that "racially and nationally we are one nation", but "in our history three national individualities have been formed, of which Serbs, Croats and Slovene do not want and do not need to distance themselves". He concluded that "the danger for this state does not lie in Serbianism, Croatianism, Slovenianism, in Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nationalism" but in "a new, bookish, doctrinarian, anaemic and abstract Yugoslav nationalism, which denies Serbianism, Croatianism and Slovenianism" (qtd. in Bakić 2004a: 360).⁶²

A crucial difference between Stojadinović's government and the previous governments was that the omnipresence of Yugoslav nationhood was considerably played down. Although national unity was recognised, it no longer served as the

⁶¹ ["da su teritorije od kojih je naša država sastavljena živela u prošlosti svojim posebnim životom i u toku dugog vremena stekle posebne navike: administrativne, političke i druge. Da bi se razvila i osnažila svest o državnom i narodnom jedinstvu i što bolje i mudrije izjednačavale i smanjivale raznolikosti koje nam je duga i nejednaka prošlost u nasleđe ostavila, Stranka smatra da je za to jedini politički metod da se na ovom poslu radi postupno i smisleno, da se ne upotrebljavaju preživeli metodi i da se tim putem ne stvaraju nova osećanja. Poštovanje triju imena našega naroda – Srbin, Hrvat i Slovenac i njihove ravnopravnosti, poštovanje tradicija, sve to treba da bude šticeeno, jer će se na taj način razvijati međusobno poštovanje, poverenje i uvažavanje u narodu."]

⁶² ["da smo rasno i nacionalno jedan narod", "da su u istoriji stvorene tri naše narodne individualnosti, od kojih neće i ne treba da se odreknu ni Srbi, ni Hrvati, ni Slovenci", "nije opasnost ovoj zemlji od srpstva, hrvatstva i slovenstva, od srpskog, hrvatskog i slovenačkog nacionalizma", "novog knjiškog, doktrinarnog, anemičnog, apstraktnog jugoslovenskog nacionalizma, koji odriče srpstvo, hrvatstvo i slovenstvo".]

fundament for the government's political program. In fact, JRZ itself was conceived as a coalition of representatives of Yugoslavia's sub-national groups, instead of a homogeneous Yugoslav national movement. It was frequently explained that the coalition of national agreement would be complete if the Croatian Peasant Party would participate in it. Indeed, Stojadinović made attempts to reach an agreement with the Croatian Peasant Party and although it can be discussed to what extent Stojadinović genuinely favoured such an agreement, it is clear that his government recognised the urgency of the Croatian question (Djokić 2007: 115-20; Stojadinović 1970: 317-22, 465-70, 498-9). This political character of JRZ as a coalition of sub-national political representatives concurred with the party's shift to real Yugoslavism.

Serbia was the political terrain of Stojadinović's Radicals. Here, JRZ focussed on practical issues, especially economy and international relations, and moved away from boasting statements of Yugoslav national unity (Tešić D. 1997: 189-215). Spaho's JMO served as the political representative of Bosnian Muslims in the government. Spaho stressed that JRZ wanted to create Yugoslav national unity, but not from above. Rather, he argued that national unity could only be reached through religious and 'tribal' equality (Kamberović 2009: 120). One of the conditions JMO had made for joining the government was the re-affirmation of religious-educational autonomy of Muslims through the revision of the Law on the Islamic Religious Community (IVZ, *Islamska verska zajednica*) of 1930, which had placed the Islamic Community firmly under the control of the central authorities (cf. 4.6.3.1). In February 1936 a new statute for the Islamic Religious Community was adopted, which transferred the seat of IVZ from Belgrade to Sarajevo and granted IVZ broad internal autonomy (Bećirović 2008: 197-201; Jahić 2008; Novaković 2003: 469-72). Illustrating the strong influence of JMO over IVZ was the election of Mehmed Spaho's brother Fehim Spaho as new head of IVZ (Reis-ul-ulema) in 1938 (Kamberović 2009: 142-7). This return of religious autonomy for South Slav Muslims in fact indicates the new government's recognition of South Slav Muslims as a constituent part of the nation, the firm position of JMO as the representative of South Slav Muslims and the realisation of JMO's autonomist program in the distinguishing facet of South Slav Muslim sub-national collective identity: religion.

In Slovenia Korošec's Slovenian Clericals realised their autonomist program in the political, cultural and economic field through their participation in the central government and their dominant position in the assembly of Drava banovina (Perovšek 1997: 23-5; 2005: 458; Stiplovšek 2006: 261-304). This autonomist program was strongly based on Slovenian nationalism within a minimal Yugoslav program:

We did not build Yugoslavia as some foreign national minority, because we are indeed related to Serb and Croat, nor as the smallest part of some Yugoslav nation, which only exists in bare imagination, but as the Slovenian nation which is, even though it is so small, as a distinct entity completely equal to the other brotherly nations; and nobody has the right to demand that we assimilate with numerically

stronger nations to our own detriment or sacrifice our language, our cultural character and view and our natural and moral characteristics (qtd. from JRZ's journal in Slovenia, *Slovenec*, in Perovšek 1997: 24).⁶³

This quotation shows that the Slovenian national idea of the Slovenian Clericals was negatively linked to the integral Yugoslavism of Slovenian Liberals in JNS, who were precisely accused of demanding the Slovenes to sacrifice their language and cultural individuality.

2.3.2 The opposition

2.3.2.1 The Yugoslav National Party

Already under the government of Bogoljub Jevtić, who dissociated himself from the party, JNS had lost its political influence. After the formation of Stojadinović's government the party formally continued to exist, but in fact it was completely moribund. Jevtić formed a separate parliamentary club, the Patriotic Youth Front (POF, *Patriotski omladinski front*), with a program based on Yugoslav nationalism, dictatorship and corporatism, hence their nickname Yugo-fascists. Another prominent leader of the dictatorial regime, Petar Živković, had joined Jevtić's and later also Stojadinović's government (Stojkov 1985: 42, 44). In the spring of 1936 attempts were made to reorganise JNS. After he had been forced to resign from his position as minister in Stojadinović's government in March 1936, Petar Živković returned to JNS and was promptly elected as its new president in June 1936. Other prominent leaders of JNS at this time were Jovan Banjanin, Juraj Demetrović and Albert Kramer. Later in 1936 Jevtić and his supporters re-joined the party. However, throughout the second half of the 1930s the party only played a minor role in Yugoslav politics and was continuously discredited for its participation in the dictatorship's political regime (Friš 2005; Stojkov 1985: 157-63). As far as its national program was concerned JNS continued to support Yugoslav national unity. JNS politicians, who were especially well represented in the Senate, opposed the JRZ government for not faithfully following the ideals of 6 January: national oneness and state unity. For JNS, the Yugoslav national unity of Serbs, Croats

⁶³ ["Mi nismo stvorili Jugoslavije niti kot kakšnja tuja narodna manjšina, ker smo pač Srbom in Hrvatom sorodni, niti kot najmanjši del kakšnega v goli domišljiji obstoječega jugoslovanskega naroda, ampak kot slovenski narod, ki je, naj bo še tako majhen, ostalima bratskima narodoma kot svoja celota popolnoma enakopraven in nima nihče pravice, da bi od njega zahteval, naj se številčno močnejšima narodoma asimilira v škodo samega sebe ter žrtvuje svoj jezik, svoj kulturni značaj in nazor ter svoje naravne in нравstvene osobitosti."]

and Slovenes was still the only fundament for Yugoslavia's progress and a return to 'tribal' politics was unacceptable. However, the party stressed that it allowed for some form of decentralism through increased autonomy for the banovinas, demanded the full equality and respect for different parts of the nation and recognised that the Croatian question had to be solved, which indicates a relaxation of the strict integral Yugoslavism of the early 1930s (Friš 2005: 132-4; Perovšek 2004, see also the resolution JNS adopted after its congress of August 1936 in Petranović & Zečević 1987: 360-4).

2.3.2.2 The Bloc of National Agreement

After the elections of May 1935 the Serbian opposition parties DS, SZ and the fraction of the Radical Party led by Aca Stanojević, which had dissociated itself from Stojadinović in December 1935 (Stojkov 1985: 90-100), cooperated under the banner of the United Opposition (UO, *Udružena opozicija*). The Serbian opposition continued to demand the return to full democracy as the absolute prerequisite for the reform of the state and the solution of the Croatian question. The parties, however, did not make joint statements about the precise nature of these state reforms. The Democratic Party propagated a federalist state structure consisting of four federative units: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. The Agricultural Union and especially the Radical Party were less decisive and argued for a middle way between centralism and federalism, the exact nature of which had to be determined upon agreement with political representatives of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Radojević 1994: 158-76).

With regard to Yugoslav state unity, the Serbian opposition parties continued to think in terms of Yugoslav national unity. For UO the Yugoslav state was not merely a rational union of interests, it was based on a broad national unity. However, the United Opposition rejected integral Yugoslavism and recognised different sub-national individualities within the Yugoslav nation (ibid: 140-2, 158-76). In June 1937 the Democratic Party published a declaration in which it formulated its national ideology, which was situated between Yugoslav nationalism and real Yugoslavism:

The nation in our state is not homogeneous but comprises Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. By blood and language, by the relatedness of their peasant national basis, by the continuity of the territory on which they live and by the indivisible fate which has united them in one state, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes show all objective conditions for the formation of one broad spiritual unity, which will unite them all. It is the task of the future, in continuation of efforts which have been constantly repeated in the past, to realise such a spiritual unity through free competition of all historical, political, social and cultural specificities – Serbian,

Croatian and Slovenian. Looking at the facts, however, we have to conclude that as a reality at this moment three distinct historical-cultural, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian individualities exist (qtd. in Radojević 1994: 163).⁶⁴

Lazar Marković, one of the leaders of the Radical Party, argued that the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian individuality could only be recognised within the framework of the Yugoslav nation, thus, only if they were integrated within a notion of Yugoslav national unity (ibid: 166-7).

For Maček's SDK the primary problem within Yugoslavia was the Croatian question. The party considered that this problem could only be solved through the establishment of a separate Croatian unit within a (con)federalist Yugoslav state. It departed from a minimal Yugoslav national program, in which Croatian national individuality was constantly highlighted and each form of Yugoslav national unity was rejected as a cover for Serbian hegemony (Jakir 1999: 422-6). The democratisation of the country was only of secondary importance for the Croatian Peasant Party. In that sense it is understandable that Maček continued to negotiate with both representatives of the regime – Prince Pavle and Milan Stojadinović (Boban Lj. 1974: 193-215, 261-75; Djokić 2007: 106-20) – and representative of the United Opposition. Finally, in October 1937 the Serbian opposition parties and SDK reached an agreement, in which they jointly criticised the 1921 and 1931 Constitutions because these had not been based on an agreement between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Additionally, the 1931 constitution had established an undemocratic regime and had to be abolished immediately. Instead, the Regency should appoint a government of national agreement consisting of the true political representatives of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and organise free elections for a constitutional assembly, which could come to a constitution based on an agreement between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Boban Lj. 1974: 290-3). Tellingly, whereas the Democratic Party greeted the agreement as a healthy fundament for the development of the Yugoslav idea, Maček argued that national consciousness was more important than blood and language and that therefore Serbs and Croats never were and never would be one nation (Radojević 1994: 180-1).

⁶⁴ ["Narod u državi nije jednorodan nego je sastavljen iz Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci, po krvi i jeziku, po srodnosti svoje seljačke narodne osnove, po kontinuitetu zemljišta na kome žive, po nerazdjeljivosti sudbine koja ih je združila u jednu državu, pokazuju sve objektivne uslove za stvaranje jedne šire duhovne zajednice, koja će ih sve obuhvatiti. Zadatak je budućnosti, u nastavljanju težnji koje su u prošlosti stalno ponavljane – da takvu duhovnu zajednicu ostvari slobodnom utakmicom svih posebnosti istorijskih, političkih, socijalnih i kulturnih – srpskih, hrvatskih i slovenačkih. Posmatranje činjenica, međutim, nameće zaključak: da kao stvarnost u ovom trenutku postoje tri posebna istorijsko-kulturna individualiteta – srpski, hrvatski i slovenački."]

2.3.2.3 The growing influence of the Communist Party

From the second half of the 1920s the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had rejected Yugoslav nationhood and called for the dissolution of Yugoslavia on the basis of separate Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin and Macedonian nationhood. This shift came about under the strongly influence of the Comintern's standpoint on Yugoslavia. The party rejected Yugoslavia as an imperialist creation which put Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins under the rule of the great-Serbian bourgeoisie. The Yugoslav Communists denounced the Royal Dictatorship as a military-fascist dictatorship of the great-Serbian bourgeoisie which had only been installed to further oppress the non-Serbian nations on the basis of a fictive Yugoslav national unity (Djilas 1991: 83-9).

Although the Royal Dictatorship and the Comintern's purges had disintegrated and almost destroyed the Yugoslav Communists, they also led to a rebirth of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia during the 1930s. The Royal Dictatorship had radicalised the younger generations in Yugoslavia and in this context communism held enormous attraction for young intellectuals. In the second half of the 1930s a new generations of communists took over the lead of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The party structure was reorganised and firmly united, the cadres became increasingly mobile throughout Yugoslavia. The communists also overcame the isolation into which it had been pushed during the 1920s and especially the early 1930s and, within the framework of the Comintern's policy of the Popular Front, increasingly saw themselves as the vanguard of the popular democratic demands of the masses and strove for cooperation with progressive and democratic forces against fascism. On the strength of this policy

communists appeared to many in the 1930s as the radical champions of the Enlightenment. Since liberal-democratic forces had been weakened by the long rule of antiparliamentary regimes and by nationalism, Communism increasingly seemed to be the only force capable of making progressive reforms. The Communists thus succeeded in attracting leftist-inclined followers of other political parties (...). During the Popular Front period the party's influence among the young spread rapidly, often at the expense of other political parties (Djilas 1991: 97).

With regard to the national question in Yugoslav the KPJ took a more moderate position. It withdrew its demand for the dissolution of Yugoslavia and instead called for the federalisation and democratisation of Yugoslavia on the basis of solidarity between the fraternal nations of Yugoslavia. Although the party continued to call for national equality in Yugoslavia, it did take a more critical position against extreme nationalism, especially that of Croatian fascists. Thus, although the Communists continued to depart from Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian and Montenegrin nationhood, they did

recognise the Yugoslav state and an overarching Yugoslav supranational fraternity and solidarity (Djilas 1991: 89-102).

2.3.2.4 The rise of national opposition against the dictatorship in Montenegro and Macedonia

Although politically by far not as well organised as Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian parties, in Montenegro and Macedonia too decentralist opposition grew in the 1930s. In Montenegro opposition groups, in the first place Communists, but also federalists, democrats and representatives of the Agricultural Union, organised opposition assemblies and demonstrations which primarily expressed dissatisfaction with the political and economic situation in the region. In the elections of 1938 the United Opposition received 47,5% of the votes in Montenegro. Two members of the Montenegrin Federalist Party – which was active within the Peasant-Democratic Coalition – were elected. Importantly, the opposition increasingly made use of a notion of a distinct Montenegrin tradition to ventilate its dissatisfaction and to substantiate its demands. During a demonstration at the Belvedere, nearby Cetinje, in June 1936, which became notorious because six people got killed by the police which tried to stop the demonstrators from entering Cetinje, demonstrators for example carried with them the old Montenegrin flag (Andrijašević & Rastoder 2006: 397-403). Representatives of the Communist Party continuously referred to the Montenegrin people and Montenegrin national freedom. At the same time Montenegrin federalists like Sekula Drljević, who was elected in the district of Cetinje during the elections of 1938, and Savić Marković Štedimlija formulated an exclusive Montenegrin national idea which rejected the integration of the Montenegrin people within the Serbian nation, or in other words rejected the coexistence of a Montenegrin and a Serbian level of collective identity. On the other side of the spectrum, Montenegrin and Serbian advocates of Serbian nationhood vehemently opposed Montenegrin “separatists” and stressed the Serbian-Yugoslav national identity of Montenegrins (Troch 2008: 32-4).

Ever since the allotment of Vardar Macedonia to Serbia after the Balkan Wars the state authorities' hold on the region remained insecure and fragile. Although the Yugoslav state authorities glorified the liberation and unification of the historical Serbian land of Macedonia with the rest of the Serbian people, in practice the state's policy in the region rather resembled the wartime occupation of enemy territories. Throughout the 1920s the Macedonian population was terrorised by guerrilla raids from armed bands which operated from the Bulgarian part of Macedonia under the framework of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (VMRO, *Vnatrešna makedonska revolucionerna organizacija*) or Albanian *kaçaks*, and counter operations by the Serbian/Yugoslav army, state-loyal paramilitary groups and armed locals (Banac 1984: 291-328; Boškowska 2009: 39-91; Jovanović V. 2002: 173-208). Within this context the

cultural, economic and political integration of the region in the new state remained superficial (Jovanović V. 2002). In the 1930s the situation in Macedonia stabilised, certainly after the new Bulgarian government had liquidated VMRO in 1934 (Boškowska 2009: 101-2). However, the region remained a marginal and peripheral area within the Yugoslav state in all possible strands of society (Boškowska 2009; Jovanović V. 2011).

The region's integration in the Yugoslav state was accompanied by the increasing salience of a national division between correct Serb-Yugoslav nationals and opponents of the Yugoslav state and nation, so-called 'Bulgarists' (*bugaraši*). The correct Yugoslavs in Macedonia were in the first place represented by Serbian state personnel,⁶⁵ army, police and gendarmerie and colonists in the region (Boškowska 2009: 119-22, 206-18; Jovanović V. 2011: 88-105). Locals who, for any reason, came into conflict with the state authorities were quickly denounced as 'Bulgarists'. From the second half of the 1930s young generations of Macedonian intellectuals began to oppose the Yugoslav policy in Macedonia within the legal framework of the Yugoslav state and argued for a separate Macedonian unit within a federalist Yugoslavia on the basis of a distinct Macedonian national identity. Macedonian students at the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade, most of them with communist sympathies, rallied together in support of the Macedonian case. During the summer of 1936 Macedonian students, intellectuals and politicians formed the Macedonian national movement (MANAPO, *Makedonski narodni pokret*). In a clearly communist inspired resolution the movement called for the free national life of Macedonia within a federal Yugoslavia (Boškowska 2009: 111-3; Jovanović V. 2011: 261-3). Between June 1937 and May 1938 a group of Macedonian intellectuals published the journal *Luč* ('The Torch'). The intellectuals who published in *Luč* espoused various political and national ideas, but part of the writings clearly departed from a Macedonian collective framework, making use of the "local dialect", treating Macedonian cultural and historical topics and expressing dissatisfaction with the political and economic position of the region in Yugoslavia. Many of the intellectuals behind the journal also favoured some form of Macedonian autonomy. However, this Macedonian focus did not imply an anti-Yugoslav position. Rather to the contrary, *Luč* stressed its loyalty to the Yugoslav state, illustrating that demands for Macedonian autonomy were not necessarily incompatible with support for the Yugoslav state and in some cases even a form of Yugoslav nationhood. Still, the authorities reacted hostilely to this movement, indicating the reluctance to allow any form of Macedonian sub-national movement in the Yugoslav nation-building policy of the interwar period. In the first instance, the leading figures behind the journal who were working in the administration of Vardar

⁶⁵ Illustratively, in 1933 not one employee at the provincial administration in Skopje came from Macedonia (Boškowska 2009: 311).

banovina were transferred, later, in May 1938, the journal was banned (Boškowska 2009: 115-9; Jovanović V. 2011: 263-5). Reports by local authorities from the late 1930s indicate that by this time nationally motivated opposition against Yugoslav rule was widespread in the region and that the division between Serb-Yugoslav and Macedonian nationhood was a prominent societal feature (Boškowska 2009: 111-64, 356-60; Jovanović V. 2011: 261-71). However, it did not come to a well-organised national opposition movement in Macedonia:

Diese nebulöse makedonisch-autonomistische Organisation war ein Schreckensbild der Behörden. Zwar bestanden verschiedene makedonische Gruppierungen und Vereine, die eine autonomistische oder separatistische Einstellung vertraten und verbreiteten, sie waren aber eher locker organisiert und zum Teil untereinander verfeindet (Boškowska 2009: 140).

Thus, both in Montenegro and Macedonia opposition against the Yugoslav policy in the region was increasingly ventilated by means of national categories and led to strong national polarisation. Opposition groups rejected the Serb-Yugoslav national model and instead departed from a distinct Montenegrin or Macedonian collective identity outside of the Serbian 'tribe'/nation to support demands for a Montenegrin and Macedonian unit within federalist Yugoslavia. At the same time, Serbian intellectuals and their supporters in the region rejected these claims and highlighted the Serbian character of these regions and their indivisibility from the Serbian 'tribe'/nation. Although this polarisation in the first place revolved around the Serbian level of collective identity, it was also indirectly connected to the Yugoslav level, as it expressed different interpretations of Yugoslav unity.

2.4 The end of centralist Yugoslavia, the end of Yugoslavism?

2.4.1 The elections of December 1938

On 11 December 1938 new parliamentary elections were held. Three lists participated in the elections: the governmental list of JRZ, led by Milan Stojadinović; a coalition list of the United Opposition, SDK and, surprisingly, the Yugoslav National Party; and Ljotić's *Zbor*. Given the latter's marginal political influence – the party again failed to obtain a single parliamentary seat – the elections in fact became a polarised political battle between the government and the opposition. In its elections campaign JRZ highlighted its economic and political accomplishments and represented itself as the only guarantee for Yugoslav internal unity and external stability. Simultaneously, JRZ criticised the opposition for opposing Yugoslav national unity and argued that federalism implied the weakening of the state. Again, the unity of nation and state were closely linked in the government's political discourse, although JRZ dissociated itself from the radical centralism and unitarism of the early 1930s. In short, JRZ argued that a vote for the government was a vote for the unity of state and nation, a vote for the opposition meant a vote for the dissolution of the Yugoslav state and nation. Of course, JRZ adapted its political program to regional requirements. In Serbia, the party stressed the great historical role the Serbs had played in the creation of the Yugoslav state, in Slovenia Korošec stressed his efforts for the inner homeland Slovenia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina the party stressed religious and 'tribal' tolerance as a guarantee for the prosperity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within Yugoslavia (Boban Lj. 1974: 362-6; Djokić 2007: 173-81; Tešić D. 1997: 192-215). The opposition parties argued that only reorganisation and democratisation could lead to the country's stability and prosperity. Serbian opposition parties stressed the democratisation element from the 1937 agreement, the Croatian Peasant Party focussed on the Croatian national question (Boban Lj. 1974: 366-7; Djokić 2007: 184-6).

The elections brought a relatively narrow victory for the government: 1.643.783 voters voted for the government (54,09%), 1.364.524 for the opposition (44,9%). In Drava banovina JRZ, represented by Slovenian Clericals, gained a clear majority (78,6%) and the government also received the majority of Bosnian Muslim votes. In the Croatian banovinas, Littoral and Sava, the opposition won a clear majority, respectively 78% and 82,57%. The election results for the Serbian part of the opposition, however, were disappointing. In Zeta, Vrbas and Drina banovina (35,14%, 48,74% and 41,27%), the opposition did relatively well, as a result of the popularity of the federalist party in Montenegro, which was a constituent member of the Peasant-Democratic Coalition, and SDK among Serbs and Croats in Bosnia. In pre-1914 Serbia however the government

received more than 70% of the votes. Rather surprisingly, JNS received an impressive 122.755 votes during the elections, which indicates that the party did enjoy some genuine support (Čulinović 1961, 2: 131-3; Djokić 2007: 186-8).

2.4.2 The *sporazum* of 1939 and the Croatian banovina

In February 1939 Stojadinović's government fell and Dragiša Cvetković became the new Prime Minister. In his governmental program Cvetković clarified that the primary goal of his government was the solution of the Croatian question. He added that parts of the Yugoslav homeland had developed separate national individualities, which indicates a further departure from Yugoslav national unity (Djokić 2007: 191). Negotiations were started between Cvetković and Maček and it became clear that both sides were willing to make concessions, the government on the unity of nation and state, the Croatian Peasant Party on its demand for the abolishment of the 1931 Constitution. Finally, against the background of Yugoslavia's precarious international position, an agreement between Maček and the government was reached on 26 August 1939, resulting in a new government with six Ministers of the Peasant-Democratic Coalition and the establishment of the Croatian banovina. The Croatian banovina consisted of Sava and Littoral banovina, with the addition of seven districts: Dubrovnik; Šid and Ilok (Srem); Gradačac, Derventa, Brčko, Travnik and Fojnica (Bosnia). Twenty per cent of the population of the Croatian banovina were Serbian Orthodox, four per cent Bosnian Muslims. The banovina enjoyed autonomy under the legislative authority of the democratically elected Diet (*sabor*) and the King. The King appointed a governor (*Ban*) for the Croatian banovina as his representative. Only foreign policy and trade, defence, public security, customs and finance remained under the jurisdiction of the central government (Djokić 2007: 204-9; Radojević 1994: 188).

2.4.3 The end of Yugoslavism?

With the formation of the Croatian banovina the Croatian Peasant Party's national ideology was institutionalised. The Croatian authorities were careful not to incite Serb-Croat conflict, but intensified their Croat-centric discourse, representing the banovina as a quasi-Croatian nation-state. Yugoslav unity was reduced to a wider concept of state unity. Cultural life in the banovina became Croatian instead of Yugoslav and supporters of and institutions which symbolised the dictatorship's Yugoslavism, as for example the Yugoslav Sokol movement, faced increasing hostility within the banovina (Djokić 2007: 212-26; Jakir 1999: 427-47). As Dejan Djokić concludes:

The creation of autonomous Croatia marked a significant departure from the 6 January order, if not its end. The 1939 agreement did not just provide for Croat territorial autonomy; it also recognised that the Croats had developed a separate identity, which in turn meant the effective end of integral Yugoslavism (Djokić 2007: 268).

The solution of the Croatian question had a strong impact on definitions of Yugoslavism in other parts of the Kingdom. Already in September 1939 the Slovenian branch of JRZ demanded the establishment of a Slovenian banovina, modelled on the Croatian example. The same month a governmental commission was appointed to investigate the transfer of the model of the Croatian banovina to other banovinas, especially Drava banovina. Such demands were based on Slovenian nationhood and a minimal Yugoslavism (Stiplovšek 2006: 304-14). The Slovenian Liberals within JNS supported the establishment of a Slovenian banovina with broad autonomy, but they continued to think in terms of Yugoslav national unity and stressed that the Slovenian banovina should maintain close economic, cultural and political links with the rest of Yugoslavia (Perovšek 2002: 54-8).

The establishment of the Croatian banovina also brought the Serbian question to the fore. For most Serbian politicians and intellectuals Yugoslav and Serbian collective identity had been closely related concepts throughout the interwar period and the status of the Serbian people within the Yugoslav nation had never been a major topic for them. Only during the second half of the 1930s and especially after the 1939 agreement the reorganisation of the country and the recognition of a separate Croatian and *de facto* also Slovenian identity forced Serbian intellectuals to reconsider the position of the Serbs within the Yugoslav whole (Bulatović 2004; Djokić 2007: 175-6, 227-30). In late 1939 the Serbian ministers in the Cvetković-Maček government drafted a proposal for the establishment of a banovina of the Serbian lands, which would consist of Vrbas, Drina, Danube, Morava, Zeta and Vardar banovina, and the capital of which was to be Skopje. The former banovinas would obtain a semi-autonomous status within this new Serbian banovina (Djokić 2007: 230-2). Simultaneously, within the Croatian banovina a movement for the secession of Serbian districts from the Croatian banovina originated, especially in those areas where the Independent Democrats did not stand strong (Djokić 2007: 238-49).

The most prominent turn toward the Serbian question was made within the Serbian Cultural Club (SKK, *Srpski kulturni klub*), a cultural-political organisation which was led by prominent Serbian intellectuals, such as Slobodan Jovanović, Nikola Stojanović, Vladimir Ćorović, Dragoljub Grđić, Pavle Popović and Stanoje Stanojević. SKK was formed by the end of 1936 or the beginning of 1937 as a movement for the development and strengthening of Serbian culture within the framework of Yugoslavism. It was intended to lead to a union of Yugoslav cultural movements with the goal to strengthen the Yugoslav idea by turning the abstract Yugoslavism of the dictatorship – which

denied Serbianism, Croatianism and Slovenianism – into a synthesis of its constituent parts, and by recognising both the distinct sub-national entities and common Yugoslav bonds. Indeed, the movement argued that only a good Serb, Croat or Slovene could become a good Yugoslav (Dimić 1996, 1: 507-8).

After the 1939 agreement the Serbian Cultural Club became increasingly engaged in politics. The movement turned away from the Yugoslav national framework and demanded that the Serbian nation should gather round the Serbian national case and that political differences should be set aside until the Serbian question would be resolved. In essence, SKK demanded the establishment of a Serbian autonomous entity within a federalist Yugoslavia, which would comprise all Serbs, including those in Vojvodina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Montenegro, southern Dalmatia and Macedonia. Within this autonomous Serbian unit the Serbian national culture should be fostered and protected against foreign influences, especially in the peripheral regions Vojvodina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and “Southern Serbia” (Dimić 1996, 1: 524-61). In the words of Slobodan Jovanović, jurist and historian and one of the leading figures in SKK:

First, we have to protect Serbdom. When the Croatian ethnic entity is marked, it cannot be avoided to mark the Serbian ethnic entity too. It would be absurd to claim that in this state only Croats have national consciousness and that only they have history, whereas Serbs do not have national consciousness or history, but are simply an amorphous mass which can be mixed arbitrarily. As soon as the Croatian question was opened, the Serbian question was opened, and Serbs have to protect what is theirs with joint forces (Jovanović S. 1939: 13).⁶⁶

However, at the same time Serbs also had the task to protect the Yugoslav state unity, because this was a prerequisite for the national progress of not only Serbs, but also Croats and Slovenes. Essentially, thus, SKK's program was based on a minimal Yugoslavism. According to Slobodan Jovanović Yugoslavism had always revolved around Serb-Croat political cooperation and came down to the knowledge that only through political cooperation Serbs and Croat could guarantee their national freedom. Therefore, he argued for the harmonious cooperation of Serbian and Croatian nationalisms within the framework of the Yugoslav state idea (Jovanović S. 1939: 9-16).

The reorganisation of the state and the consecutive “opening” of the Serbian question simultaneously initiated discussions within sub-national groups which had not

⁶⁶ [“Imamo, prvo, da branimo srpstvo. Kad se obeležava hrvatska etnička celina, onda se neminovno mora obeležiti i srpska etnička celina. Bilo bi besmisleno tvrditi da u ovoj državi samo Hrvati imaju nacionalnu svest, i da samo oni imaju istoriju, dokle Srbi nemaju ni nacionalne svesti ni istorije, nego predstavljaju jednu amorfnu masu koja se da mesiti kako se hoće. Čim se otvorilo hrvatsko pitanje, otvorilo se i srpsko, – i Srbi moraju ujedinjenim snagama braniti ono što je njihovo.”]

been recognised as 'tribes'. In November 1939 Džafer Kulenović, who had become the leader of JMO after Spaho's death, demanded the establishment of a Bosnian banovina, which led to the departure of JMO ministers from the government. Consecutively, a number of meetings and demonstrations were held in support of a Bosnian banovina, which finally led to the formation of the Movement for the Autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Pokret za autonomiju Bosne i Hercegovine*). The movement based its demands for the autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the historical individuality of the region and the central position of Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, within an overarching notion of Yugoslav national unity (Imamović 1997: 520-1; Kemura 1986: 241-62). In Macedonia and Montenegro a growing movement of young intellectuals, often of communist orientation, demanded autonomy for Macedonia and Montenegro within a federalist Yugoslavia. Although in both cases the national ideology behind these demands was vague and fluid, they clearly departed from a notion of Macedonian and Montenegrin collective identity, possibly within an overarching Yugoslav whole, and rejected Serbian claims that both entities were integrally Serbian (Boškowska 2009: 103-64; Troch 2008: 32-4).

2.5 Conclusion

The 1939 agreement clearly indicated a general turn toward minimal Yugoslavism, which in fact implied a rejection of Yugoslavism as a national idea, not only among Slovenian and Croatian political elites, but also among Serbian intellectuals and political elites and other sub-national groups. Whereas the Serbian opposition parties under Stojadinović continued to think of Yugoslav national unity as more than simply a union of political interests, after 1939 Serbian political elite and intellectuals highlighted Serbian nationhood and reduced Yugoslav unity to a necessary state concept. Thus, whereas in the immediate post-war period most political parties in the Kingdom of SCS accepted a notion of Yugoslav national unity and did not consider this Yugoslav unity incompatible with sub-national identities, by the end of the interwar period Yugoslav national identity had been rejected by Yugoslav political and intellectual elite. Apparently, by this time Yugoslav national identity was no longer considered consonant with 'tribal' and other sub-national interests and identities. In essence, thus, the development of national ideologies among interwar Yugoslav political representatives was characterised by the growing dissociation between the Yugoslav and the sub-national level of collective identity.

Although this shift was closely related to the reorganisation of Yugoslavia in 1939, Serbian intellectuals also blamed the political elites of the 1920s and 1930s for wrongly institutionalising Yugoslavism. As Slobodan Jovanović argued, in the immediate post-war period especially Serbian and Croatian politicians from the former Habsburg regions, whom Jovanović termed "Yugoslavs", had maintained that the unity of state and nation required a centralist state organisation. Politicians from pre-war Serbia had followed these "Yugoslavs", largely because they had been used to a strong and centralised state structure. However, as Jovanović pointed out, this false presupposition had proven to be disastrous for Yugoslav national unity. The "Yugoslav" had mistakenly attempted to push through the "Yugoslavisation" of the masses through the power of a centralist state administration. Under the dictatorship this stubborn Yugoslav unitarism and centralism were turned into an outright personal regime, which no longer recognised Serbian and Croatian nationalism and completely lost track of reality. The dictatorship did see the formation of a group of self-declared correct Yugoslavs, but these were minorities who could thus circumvent their lack of Serbo-Croatian patriotism, opportunists and supporters of the extreme right, who were not so much attracted to Yugoslavism but to the dictatorship. "Surely, these people were not capable

of making anybody like Yugoslavism, to the contrary!” (Jovanović S. 1939: 6).⁶⁷ In the end, Jovanović concluded, Yugoslavism had only been discredited through its identification with an unpopular personal regime (Jovanović S. 1939: 1-8). This reasoning implied that the failure of Yugoslavism was not predestined, but that it was the result of the ill-considered institutionalisation of Yugoslavism in interwar Yugoslavia. Indeed, as we have seen, throughout the interwar period ruling political elites continuously linked the centralist state organisation to a notion of Yugoslav national unity and represented every form of opposition as an act of resistance against the state *and* the nation. That way, the dynamic, open and rich Yugoslav national idea became linked to conservatism, centralism, authoritarianism and for non-Serbian elites increasingly to Serbian hegemony.

Although this overview of the changing position of Yugoslavism in Yugoslav politics illustrates the dynamic and fluid character of this concept, especially in relation to sub-national categories, it does not reveal the specific way in which Yugoslavism was defined and used and how it interacted with other concepts of collective identity beyond the purely political field. It is precisely to elaborate on these questions and to substantiate the controversial and changing position of Yugoslavism in interwar Yugoslav society that I turn to the field of cultural politics and especially education in this dissertation.

⁶⁷ [“Očigledno, oni nisu bili u stanju nikome omiliti jugoslovenstvo. Naprotiv!”]

Chapter 3 National unity at school: State, education and Yugoslav nationhood

Numerous scholars of Yugoslav history have cited the extreme complexity of the Yugoslav state at the time of its formation in December 1918 as one of the major reasons for its puzzling historical development. As Joseph Rotschild has put it:

By virtually every relevant criterion – history, political traditions, socioeconomic standards, legal systems, religion and culture – Yugoslavia was the most complicated state of interwar East Central Europe, being composed of the largest and most varied number of pre-1918 units (Rotschild 1974: 201).

Without a doubt, education can be added to this list of criteria. In this chapter I treat the educational policy of the interwar Yugoslav state, making a chronological distinction between the parliamentary period and the Royal Dictatorship. Although during the 1920s some initiatives were taken toward the unification of the Yugoslav educational system, only under the Royal Dictatorship uniform education laws were adopted, in which the Yugoslav national function of education was given full priority. In the meantime this chapter treats some of the structural problems Yugoslav education faced, especially related to the slow and multi-paced modernisation process in the different Yugoslav regions.

3.1 Education in the South Slav lands before 1918

Before the First World War educational systems were organised quite differently in Serbia, Montenegro and the Austro-Hungarian lands. Moreover, there were additional, sharp contrasts within these states. In the Austro-Hungarian regions education was organised differently in the Slovenian lands, Croatia-Slavonia (with Srem), Dalmatia, Vojvodina and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within pre-war Serbia itself there were great differences between Serbia proper and the regions which had only been acquired after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The differences between these regions were profound and lay not only in the structure of the school system (types of schools, duration of compulsory education), but also in the quality of education (density of the school network, attendance, material used in schools, curricula).

3.1.1 The Austro-Hungarian regions

3.1.1.1 The Austrian Crown Lands in Slovenia and Dalmatia

The Compromise of March 1867 established Austria-Hungary as an association of two independent states under a common ruler. Education became a separate competence of the two states. Five *Kronländern* with a significant Slovenian or Serbo-Croatian speaking population – Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Littoral and Dalmatia – fell under the education laws of the Austrian Empire. The second of five constitutional laws passed by the Austrian parliament in December 1867 guaranteed that every ethnic group in the country had the “inviolable right to preserve and cultivate its nationality and language” and that ethnic groups should be able to organise public education in their own language (Kann 1974: 339). In 1869 a new education law for elementary schools was ratified, which prescribed eight years of compulsory elementary education, divided in four years of lower elementary education and four years of higher elementary education in so-called public schools. The law also restricted the influence of the church on religious education. It was reasserted that every ethnic group had the right to organise elementary education in its own language, provided that forty school-aged children lived within a radius of four kilometres. Decisions concerning the language of instruction were, however, made by the provincial authorities in consultation with local authorities. Secondary education was regulated by a resolution of 1859. The eight-year gymnasium was orientated toward the classics, the *Realschulen* (*realka* in Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian) toward the professions. Here too, the language of instruction was determined by the provincial authorities (Goldinger: 144-5; Kann 1974: 357). The right of

ethnic groups to “cultivate their nationality” did not go further than the theoretical possibility to organise education in the mother tongue. The curricula for elementary and secondary schools, for example, were set by imperial law. Obviously, these curricula corresponded to the ideological framework of the Austrian empire (Jelavich 1990: 55-7).

The legalisation of the new school law led to a strong development of the school network in South Slav lands in Austria. Both in the Slovenian regions that would later become part of the Yugoslav Kingdom⁶⁸ and in Dalmatia the modernisation and development of the school network concurred with a struggle for the establishment of Slovenian or Serbo-Croatian as the primary language of instruction in schools. It should be taken into account that in both regions elementary education had been organised in the language of the cultural and political elite, German and Italian respectively, until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Only gradually, the South Slavs established elementary schools in their mother tongue, a process which was not completed before the First World War. Throughout the Slovenian lands there was a steep increase of the number of elementary schools between the legalisation of the law of 1869 and the First World War. In Carniola the number of elementary schools rose from 207 in 1871 to 431 in 1913, in Carinthia from 289 to 408 and in the Slovenian part of Styria from 208 in 1871 to 320 in 1900 (Sagadin 1970: 70). The number of school-going children for the same period increased from 35.610 in 1871 to 63.951 in 1890 in Slovenian Styria, from 28.883 in 1871 to 60.615 in 1913 in Carinthia and from 35.576 in 1871 to 75.029 in 1913 in Carniola (ibid: 114). By the beginning of the First World War in Carniola and to a slightly lesser extent in Slovenian Styria in most elementary schools education was provided in Slovenian.⁶⁹ In Carinthia German representatives in the provincial authorities obstructed the establishment of Slovenian elementary schools, so that in 1913 there were still only three full Slovenian elementary school, against 89 mixed German-Slovenian schools and 316 German schools (ibid: 122-3). In practically all secondary schools in the Slovenian regions German remained the language of instruction (Pleterski 1980: 820; Zečević 1985: 348-50). Evident of the relatively advanced development of education in Slovenian lands was the fact that only 3,3% of the school-aged children did not attend school in Carniola in 1913 (Sagadin 1970: 151). Additionally, the illiteracy rate in Slovenian lands was 14,65% in 1910 (Pleterski 1980: 820) By 1921 the

⁶⁸ Namely: The Slovenian part of Styria, Carniola and Carinthia. Prekmurje, which was assigned to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after the First World War, was an integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom, education was provided in Hungarian. I will not treat the Littoral, comprising Istria, Trieste and Gorizia and Gradisca, which became part of Italy after the First World War, but the development there was similar to that in the Slovenian lands.

⁶⁹ In 1913 90,5% of the elementary schools in Carniola were Slovenian, 68,4% of the schools in Slovenian Styria were Slovenian and 14,7% were mixed German-Slovenian (Sagadin 1970: 126).

illiteracy rate in Yugoslav Slovenia had dropped to 8,85%. By comparison, at that time the general illiteracy rate in Yugoslavia was 51,48% (Simić V. 1928: 410).

In Dalmatia the first so-called Illyrian elementary school was established only in 1858. In 1865 the region had a total of 223 elementary schools, of which 180 provided mixed education in Italian and Serbo-Croatian, 27 exclusively in Serbo-Croatian and 15 in Italian. In 1890 only three exclusively Italian elementary schools were left, as a result of the national campaign of Serbian and Croatian politicians in the communities. In 1881-82 Dalmatia had four gymnasia: two Serbo-Croatian gymnasia in Kotor and Dubrovnik and two Italian gymnasia in Zadar and Split. Later the gymnasium of Split was reformed into a Serbo-Croatian gymnasium and the government established another Serbo-Croatian gymnasium in Zadar. In 1912 1013 Serbs or Croats studied in these four Serbo-Croatian gymnasia, against 173 Italian students in Zadar. Further, there was a *realka* in Zadar which provided education in Italian and was attended by 172 Italian, 22 South Slav and 3 German students in 1911-12, and two Serbo-Croatian *realkas* in Split and Šibenik with a total of 470 Serbo-Croatian and 41 Italian students. Illiteracy rates in Dalmatia were considerably higher than those in Slovenia. In 1910 the illiteracy rate in inner Dalmatia, around Knin, Benkovac, Sinj and Imotski was as high as 80%. Closer to the coast and on the islands the situation was slightly better, but still 40% of the population older than ten could not read or write (Suppan 1980: 705-9). In 1921 the general illiteracy rate in Dalmatia was 49,48% (Simić V. 1928: 410).

3.1.1.2 The Hungarian Kingdom

As integral parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, education in Vojvodina – without Srem, which belonged to Croatia-Slavonia – and Prekmurje was organised according to principles set out in the Nationality Law of 1868. This law recognised the right of individuals to use their own language in church affairs, education and correspondence with the authorities. A new education law of 1868 installed free and compulsory education for all children between the age of six and twelve. Every community was obliged to assure the establishment and maintenance of one elementary school. The language of instruction should be the official language at use in the community, but in 1879 Hungarian was introduced as an obligatory subject in all elementary schools (Kann 1974: 362-3). In 1872 Đorđe Natošević, an influential pedagogue, principal of the gymnasium of Novi Sad and inspector of Serbian schools in Austria-Hungary, found that there were only around 60 schools which provided education in Serbian in Vojvodina, that only 28% of the Serbian children of school age attended school and that only one third of the Serbian schools were organised in a satisfying way (Šimunović-Bešlin 2007: 165-7). It will come as no surprise then that the illiteracy rate among the Serbs in Vojvodina remained high: 69,1% in 1890, 48,7% in 1910 (Djordjević 1980: 745). According

to the census of 1921 the general illiteracy rate among the population of Banat, Baranja and Bačka was 23,31% (Simić V. 1928: 410).

Traditionally the Serbian Orthodox Church played an important role for the education of the Serbian population in the Habsburg Empire. At the end of the seventeenth century the Serbs of the Metropolitanate (from 1848: Patriarchate) of Karlowitz had been granted the right to practise their religion and to choose their spiritual head at national Church assemblies. This confessionalising approach, whereby the Habsburg authorities tended to recognise the religious instead of the ethnic aspects of group identity, resulted in a strong link between ethnic and religious identity among the Serbs in Croatia-Slavonia and in Hungary (Okey 1992b: 53-4). One of the aspects of communal life which was organised by the church was education. In Vojvodina by the 1860s both the Hungarian authorities and the Serbian political intelligentsia increasingly challenged Church authority over communal life and thus also over education. In 1868 the Serbian Orthodox Church was granted a new Autonomy Statute. On this occasion the Serbian political intelligentsia “hijacked” the religious autonomy by squeezing out priests from the presidency of the communes and putting Orthodox schools under lay control (ibid: 58).

3.1.1.3 Croatia-Slavonia

Unlike in Slovenia, Dalmatia and Vojvodina, where South Slav intellectuals were preoccupied with the establishment of a modern school network with education in the mother tongue but had no further competences over what exactly pupils would learn in school, the Croat-Hungarian Settlement (*Nagodba*) of 1868 had granted the Croatian-Slavonian Diet limited control over its educational policy. In 1874 the Diet ratified a new education law, which prescribed four years of compulsory education, with another possible three years of advanced elementary education. Every community had to establish a public school, even if there were already religious or private schools. The authorities formulated curricula and approved the textbooks which could be used. The competences of the church were reduced to the approval of religion textbooks and the appointment of religion teachers. The language of education was called Croatian, but a special article clarified that this was seen as identical to the Serbian language (Jelavich 1990: 43-5). After 1881, when the Military Frontier with its significant Serbian Orthodox population had been restored to Croatia-Slavonia, opposition arose among Serbian representatives in the parliament. In 1887, for example, members of the Serbian club in parliament spread a memorandum in which they demanded the revision of the education law with relation to the preservation of Serbian individuality in education. In 1888 a new law for elementary education was passed, which prescribed four years of lower and four years of higher public schools. The language of instruction was now

called Croatian or Serbian, and Serbian communities with Serbian private or religious schools were no longer obliged to establish and maintain public schools (ibid: 46-7).

During the second half of the 19th century Croatia-Slavonia witnessed a rapid development of education. Whereas in 1885 for example only 143.450 children went to elementary school, in 1910 this number had increased to 265.972. However, as a result of the rapid population increase attendance rates remained stable between 64% in 1874 and 67% in 1910 (Jelavich 1990: 53). As in other South Slav regions in Austro-Hungary, secondary education remained a strictly German affair until deep in the nineteenth century. Only in 1850 education in secondary schools was given in Croatian in the four lower grades. In the higher grades education was given in German. In 1872 there were 17 full Croatian-Serbian gymnasia, by 1910 the number had increased to 25. However, in 1910 only 23.130 persons in Croatia-Slavonia had completed secondary education, less than one per cent of the total population (Suppan 1980: 706-7). In this light it is illustrative that in Croatia-Slavonia in 1910 45,2 % of the Croats could write and read, against 67,4 % of the Germans and only 32,5 % of the Serbs (ibid: 711). In 1921 the illiteracy rate in Croatia, Slavonia and Međumurje was still 32,15 %, which is nevertheless a modest rate in comparison to other Yugoslav regions (Simić V. 1928: 410).

3.1.1.4 Bosnia-Herzegovina

Finally, there was the specific case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Before 1878, when Bosnia-Herzegovina became a Austro-Hungarian protectorate, education had been organised by the different confessional institutions in the region. For Muslims, there were elementary schools (*mekteb*) and secondary schools (*medrese*) with an exclusively religious character. By 1878 there were 56 Orthodox and 54 Catholic elementary schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Okey 1992a: 320-1). After the reforms of 1839 and especially under the government of Osman Paša in the 1860s, the Ottoman authorities had attempted to modernise and secularise the school system, for example by printing Cyrillic textbooks and establishing reformed schools (*rüşdiye*), in which religious and secular subjects were treated and which could, at least in theory, be attended by non-Muslim children. In 1869 an imperial school law prescribed the establishment of state schools with modern curricula and Turkish as the main language of instruction. Teachers and textbooks for private schools had to be approved by the authorities (ibid: 321-2). However, the reforms of the Ottoman Empire were not supported by a strong administration and had little impact in Bosnia itself. According to the first Austro-Hungarian statistical figures in 1879 there were only 18 reformed schools, against 18 *medreses* and 499 *mektebs* (Džaja 1994: 66).

In an attempt to civilise and integrate Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Double Monarchy the Austro-Hungarian authorities gradually established a network of inter-communal

state schools alongside the already existing confessional schools. In 1882-83 there were 40 state elementary schools, in 1891-92 the number increased to 143 and in 1899-1900 to 200. The proportion of state schools to the total number of elementary schools increased from 31 to 74% (Okey 1992a: 326). By 1917-18 there were 455 state elementary schools (Džaja 1994: 65-74). However, these state schools only became a valid alternative for confessional schools for the Catholic population. Indeed, a large number of the Catholic confessional schools were incorporated in the network of state schools so that their number decreased to 29 in 1910 (ibid: 71). Three Catholic gymnasiums were established, in Mostar, Sarajevo and Travnik (Okey 1992a: 329). The Austro-Hungarian authorities were especially keen to convert Serbian Orthodox confessional into state schools, as these were considered hotbeds of anti-state activism. Thus, most state schools in Serbian villages were either converted confessional schools, or were established in villages where there was already a confessional school. Very rarely, a state school was set up in Serbian villages where there had previously not been a school (ibid: 326-7). The authorities also demanded certificates of political reliability for Serbian teachers and banned the annual celebrations of St. Sava's day in Serbian schools, both in 1892 (ibid: 330). However, instead of what the authorities had expected, namely the withering away of Serbian confessional schools in the competition against more efficient state schools, the proportion of Serbian confessional schools in comparison to inter-confessional state schools only increased (Džaja 1994: 69). After a long struggle, in 1905 the Austro-Hungarian authorities granted the Serbian communities a certain degree of autonomy over schools, which resulted in a steep increase of the number of Serbian confessional schools from 70 in 1906 to 122 in 1914 (ibid.). The authorities officially retained supervision over these Serbian confessional schools, but in practice complaints about "the lack of dynastic spirit in the teaching of history and geography were not attended to" (Okey 1992a: 331).⁷⁰

Finally, the authorities also attempted to persuade Muslims to send their children to state schools, amongst others by establishing reformed *mektebs*, after the completion of which Muslim pupils could attend the third year of a public elementary school. However, in this case too the authorities had very little success. The Serbian struggle for autonomy was joined by the Muslims in 1899 and brought religious and cultural

⁷⁰ Okey, however, makes some important qualifications with regard to the actual influence of these Serbian confessional schools. First, Serbian communities lacked the resources to develop their school network, especially with regard to gymnasiums or teacher-training schools. The school syllabi were modelled on those of the state schools, so that in fact the only distinctive features of confessional schools were geography and history, subjects, which were, however, very important for national education. Finally, Serbian teachers were frequently lost to the better paid state sector and often clashed with priests and clergy in schools (Okey 1992a: 331).

autonomy for the Islamic Community, the reaffirmation of the primacy of religious education among Bosnian Muslims and a sharp increase in the number of *mektebs* to 1233 normal *mektebs* and 203 reformed *mektebs* by 1914-15 (Džaja 1994: 66-7; Rebac 1922: 174-5). The actual results of the Austro-Hungarian 'civilisation mission' were thus meagre, especially among non-Catholics. Illustratively, in 1909-10 there were 326 Catholic, 245 Orthodox and 107 Muslim teachers in state schools. Just over a sixth of the elementary school pupils was Muslim (Okey 1992a: 332). The general level of education in Bosnia-Herzegovina remained low, as illustrated by the extremely high illiteracy rate in the region. By the end of the First World War the illiteracy rate for Bosnia and Herzegovina was 87,84%: 77,45% for the Croatian population, 89,42% for the Serbian population and 94,65% for the Muslim population (Papić 1982: 15).⁷¹

3.1.2 Serbia

The development of the educational system in Serbia literally began from scratch in the nineteenth century. In 1836, for example, there were only 72 schools with 72 teachers and 2514 pupils in the newly autonomous state (Mayer 1994: 99). It was only after the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 that the independent Serbian state introduced some measures to modernise its educational system. Before that time barely any attention had been paid to the basic education of the masses. Thus, in 1880 only 36.000 of the 200.000 children between the age of six and twelve attended school in independent Serbia (Jelavich 1990: 32). In 1882 a new education law was adopted, which ambitiously prescribed six years of compulsory education. However, with a budget for education which was lower than that of Croatia-Slavonia or even Eastern Rumelia, an administratively autonomous province in the Ottoman Empire comprising Northern Thrace, this demand was completely unrealistic. In 1898 compulsory schooling was reduced to four years. In 1910 there were 1328 elementary schools in Serbia with 145.000 attending pupils (Jelavich 1990: 40). However, at the start of the twentieth century still only 44% of the boys and 10% of the girls of school age attended school. In 1921 the illiteracy rate in pre-1912 Serbia was as high as 65,5%, for men 45,6%, for women even 83,5% (Isić 2006: 53). As Sundhaussen rightly concludes, the state of Serbian education had not passed the level of underdevelopment before the First World War (Sundhaussen 2007: 168-70).

After the Balkan Wars Serbia acquired Kosovo, present-day southern Serbia, parts of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar and present-day Macedonia. In none of these regions a state-

⁷¹ Simić gives an illiteracy rate of 80,55% for 1921 (Simić V. 1928: 410).

organised school system had been established, but, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire education had been the authority of the religious institutions. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek religious and state authorities established their own schools in the region (Mayer 1995: 49). The first task of the Serbian government after the Balkan Wars was to establish a Serbian national school network and to annul the influence of Bulgarian and Greek schools in the newly acquired regions. The region was divided in four inspectorates with the task to reorganise the school system (Marković & Ivanović 1937: 911). A first important measurement was the increase of the number of elementary and secondary schools and the stimulation of teachers to move to “Southern Serbia”, as the region was referred to. In 1913 there were 381 Serbian elementary schools, “a bit more” Turkish (Muslim) schools and even more Bulgarian Orthodox schools (ibid: 910). In 1913-14 the number of Serbian elementary schools increased to 438, in 1914-15 to 653 (ibid: 919). Further, there were three Serbian gymnasia in the region, in Skopje, Bitola and Plevlja, and the Ministry of Education opened two more full gymnasia in Skopje and Bitola and 18 incomplete gymnasia (ibid: 929-30). By 1921 there were 866 elementary schools, with 1400 teachers and ca. 56.000 pupils. There were five full gymnasiums and 11 incomplete gymnasium in the region and a teacher-training school in Skopje (Mičić 1921: 447-8). As far as the education of Muslim population groups in “Southern Serbia” was concerned the Serbian authorities had no program at all. Serbian school laws were simply imposed on the region, whereas the Islamic religious schools were banned as Turkish or Albanian schools. The result was that a large group of Muslims remained uneducated and that there was a genuine fear of schools among Muslims in the region (Rebac 1922: 175-7). It will be clear that the level of education in the newly acquired regions remained extremely low. In 1921 83,86% of the population of Macedonia could not read or write (Boškowska 2009: 264). The rate was even higher among non-Slavonic ethnic groups in the region. For the Turkish ethnic group it was 88,7% in 1921, for the Albanians even 97% (Čalić 1994: 124).

3.1.3 Montenegro

The first secular school in Montenegro was established by Prince-Bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš as late as 1833. However, it was only under Prince Nikola that the first steps were undertaken to establish a modern, state-controlled school system. Thus, whereas in 1864 there were only 11 schools in Montenegro with 417 pupils, by 1875 this number had risen to 50 schools, of which three were located outside the state borders in Herzegovina, with more than 3000 pupils (Andrijašević & Rastoder 2006: 231). Also in this period the first state institutions for the organisation of education were established. In 1860 an Office for Popular Education (*Načelništvo narodne prosvjete*) was founded, in

1862 a school inspectorate and in 1868, finally, a Department for Popular Education was established within the Montenegrin Senate (ibid.). In 1869 a Central School Inspector was appointed, who formulated the first rule book for elementary schools, prescribing compulsory education for all boys between seven and twelve years of age (ibid: 231-2). Only in 1878 the first Montenegrin education law was passed and compulsory education was introduced for boys and girls between seven and twelve. Also, the law prescribed the equality of Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam in education (ibid: 232). A year later, the Montenegrin Ministry of Education was established (Mayer 1995: 52). By the end of the nineteenth century there were 105 elementary schools of four years in Montenegro, 122 male and four female teachers, 4863 male and 248 female pupils (Andrijašević & Rastoder 2006: 233). In 1914 there were 211 elementary schools in Montenegro, of which 63 were located in the newly acquired regions in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. There were 366 teachers and more than 18.000 pupils (ibid: 234). In the 1860s the first secondary schools were opened in Cetinje; a religious secondary school (*Bogoslovija*) and an institute for girls. In 1880 the first real gymnasium of Montenegro was opened in Cetinje. In 1887 the *Bogoslovija* was transformed into a teacher-training school. In 1907 a lower gymnasium was opened in Podgorica and in 1913 four more gymnasia were opened in Nikšić, Plevlja, Berane and Peć (ibid: 232-4). Although the Montenegrin state obviously paid increasing attention to education in the last decades prior to the First World War, the high illiteracy rate of the population clarifies that the standard of education remained very low in the country. In 1909 58% of the male population and 95,5% of the female population was illiterate (ibid: 234). In 1921 the illiteracy rate in Montenegro was still 67,02% (Simić V. 1928: 410).

3.2 In search of a Yugoslav national educational system: Educational policy during the 1920s

The preceding brief analysis of the situation before the First World War clarifies which great challenges awaited the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the field of education. Although in all historical regions of Yugoslavia since the last decades of the nineteenth century authorities had engaged in the modernisation and – simultaneously – nationalisation of education, there were clearly enormous regional discrepancies in the development of education. The most salient indicator of these discrepancies are probably the illiteracy rates in the different regions, ranging from 8,85% in Slovenia to 87,84% in Bosnia-Herzegovina and 83,86% in Macedonia. On top of this, the First World War had a dramatic impact on educational networks in the South Slav lands. Especially in Serbia the educational infrastructure suffered badly during the war (Isić 2005: 9-19).⁷² Further, the education of many school aged children had been interrupted,⁷³ there was an acute shortage of qualified teachers, proper textbooks and teaching material to meet the exponential increase of the number of students after the war and parents still insufficiently valued the necessity of good education for their children (Novitović 1921: 453-6).

⁷² According to Mihailo Stanojević, a leading Serbian pedagogue, referent at the Ministry of Education and author of numerous textbooks, before the war there were 1448 elementary schools in Serbia and 3438 teachers. Immediately after the war only 1097 schools were active, with ca. 2500 teachers (Stanojević M. 1920a: 174). In his reports on secondary schools in the school year 1921-22 Milan Petković illustrates the particularly disastrous situation in secondary schools in Serbian and Montenegro. In most of the schools there was no teaching material available. Further, an absolute majority of the school buildings was not built for this purpose and as such did not satisfy the fundamental hygienic and pedagogical demands for school buildings, with barely enough light and too much moisture. Frequently, there were not enough classrooms to provide room to all classes (Petković M. 1922: 691-9).

⁷³ Immediately after the war the Ministry of Education therefore introduced an abbreviated curriculum consisting of four courses of four months for pupils who should have started elementary school between 1914 and 1917 but had not been able to do so, or whose education had been interrupted. Children who were supposed to start elementary school in 1918 were required to attend normal elementary schools, but they were allowed to go to secondary schools after finishing the third year of elementary school. 'O skraćenom školovanju učenika i učenica narodnih škola'. O.n. br. 731, 12.01.1919. In: *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 185-91.

3.2.1 Great challenges and high expectations: Intellectuals and Yugoslav education in the immediate post-war period

Yugoslav teachers, pedagogues and intellectuals faced these challenges with great optimism. A first task for the Yugoslav state they distinguished was the general modernisation and improvement of the educational system throughout the new kingdom. Closely related to this was a second crucial task for education in the new state, namely the consolidation of Yugoslav national unity. The crucial role education could and should play in the strengthening of Yugoslav national unity was accepted by a great number of intellectuals, who placed their hopes on young generations. In *Nova Evropa* Laza Popović, for example, exclaimed: “Our joy lies in the youth and new Yugoslav generations. All our concerns and efforts should go to them. (...). Our youth has to become the new carrier of the Yugoslav idea” (Popović L. 1921b: 201-2).⁷⁴ In the same journal Rajko Đermanović argued:

Our contemporary nationalism is different from pre-war nationalism, it has to revive and clarify where our positive, Yugoslav type lies. In the construction of the nation the most important role is played by mental elements. (...) Our national soul has to feel like one, thus it is necessary to develop the consciousness of our common belongings and reciprocities. All our energy has to be directed toward that idea. Education, that is the realism of the present youth (Đermanović 1921: 209-10).⁷⁵

The most passionate proponents of Yugoslav nation-building in education were found in the ranks of the Yugoslav teachers themselves. In fact, the Yugoslav orientation of different teachers associations in the region went back to the beginning of the twentieth century (Dimić 1997, 2: 247-8). Immediately after the war the Association of Serbian Elementary School Teachers sent a proposal to all teachers associations in the new state concerning the formation of a Yugoslav teachers association. The proposal was received positively in all Yugoslav regions, except in Croatia and Slovenia (cf. 6.1.1). On 8 June 1919 representatives of teachers from all Yugoslav regions gathered in Belgrade, on the occasion of the annual conference of the Serbian Teachers Association, and formulated the intention to form one unified

⁷⁴ [“Omladina i novi naraštaji jugoslovenski, u tom nam je radost. Onamo je upućena naša briga i svi naponi naši” ; “Naša omladina treba da postane novim nosiocem jugoslovenske ideje”].

⁷⁵ [“Naš današnji nacionalizam razlikuje se od predratnog, on ima da oživi i pokaže u čemu je naš pozitivni, jugoslovenski tip. U stvaranju jedne nacije igraju najveću ulogu psihički elementi (...). Naša narodna duša treba jedna da oseća, - treba dakle razviti svest zajedničke pripadnosti i uzajamnosti. Toj ideji treba dakle sve energije upraviti. Prosveta, to je realizam današnje omladine.”]

organisation for all Yugoslav teachers (Milanović 1930: 10-15). On 17 and 18 July 1920 the first national congress of what was called the Yugoslav Teachers Association (UJU, *Udruženje jugoslovenskog učiteljstva*) was held in Belgrade. On this occasion three resolutions were accepted, in which a school example of the Yugoslav ideology of the teachers was formulated:

In the History of the South Slavs a new epoch has started. (...) For centuries our nation, of one origin and one spirit (...) has been subjected to continuous pressure from forces from East and West, North and South; has been threatened by empires, states and forces which considered it their booty and a hindrance for their plans until our days; has been subjected to the influence of different cultures as well as a battle for cultural, religious, political, economical and all other forms of suppression. But, the nation has endured this long-lasting and horrible test in the battle for survival, and after many centuries and uncountable sacrifices and agonies it has realised its national unification. For all germs, which for centuries have separated and subjected us spiritually, politically, economically and religiously, to disappear, prejudices and partitions, which have been and are still being constructed artificially to alienate us, to divide us, to create distrust and to disunite us, have to fall.⁷⁶

It was precisely to contribute to full Yugoslav national unification that the representatives of Yugoslav teachers proclaimed the merging of all regional teachers associations in one Yugoslav Teachers Association.⁷⁷

As argued by Jovan P. Jovanović, a prominent pedagogue, referent at the Ministry of Education and author of textbooks, in a programmatic statement of UJU in *Učitelj* ('Teacher'), the periodical of UJU, elementary education was one of the essential elements in the development of the state and nation. Every teacher could notice that 'tribal' feelings, regional patriotism and separatism in practice were still strong. The formation of Yugoslavia had only brought territorial unification, now it was the task of schools to realise Yugoslav national unification:

⁷⁶ Quoted from the first resolution in *Prosvetni glasnik* 37/2 (August 1920): 130. ["U Istoriji Južnih Slovena otpočela je nova epoha. (...) Narod jednoga porekla i jedne duše (...) izložen većito pritisku sila s Istoka i Zapada, Severa i Juga; ugrožavan kroz sve vekove do naših dana imperijama, državama i silama koje su ga smatrale za svoj plen i smetnju svojim planovima; izložen uticaju raznih kultura, i borbi za kulturno, versko, političko, ekonomsko ili kakvo drugo potčinjavanje, izdržao je dugotrajni i strašni ispit u borbi za opstanak, i posle tolikih vekova i neizmernih žrtava i patnji, stvorio svoje narodno ujedinjenje. Da bi uginule sve klice koje su vekovima radile na duhovnom, političkom ekonomskom i verskom razjedinjavanju i porabljavanju, moraju pasti sve predrasude i sve pregrade, veštački stvarane i stvorene da nas odrode, da nas rastava, da stvore nepoverenje i da nas razjedine."]

⁷⁷ See the second resolution of UJU, quoted in *Prosvetni glasnik* 37/2 (August 1920): 130-1.

Military heroism and diplomatic wisdom have created our state, or simply territorial unity, but the formation of our national unity does not lie in its power. Army, diplomacy or police cannot realise national unification; neither can it be consolidated by state constitutions or proclamations. It can only be carried out through the good upbringing and education of the younger generations of our people in popular schools, because only [that way] can we make regional patriotism, tribal sentiments and separatist aspirations in certain regions disappear, so that instead of tribal feelings national consciousness and national sentiments will become dominant, and instead of regional patriotism general love toward the whole unified homeland, so that all will feel like sons of one nation and not simply state subjects (Jovanović J. 1922a: 7).⁷⁸

In practice, UJU intended to contribute to the development of the Yugoslav educational system by providing expert knowledge and experience, assisting the educational authorities in the formulation of education laws and decrees and taking initiatives to improve the material situation in schools, especially by publishing textbooks and teaching material (Jovanović J. 1922a: 47-52).

Similarly, between 5 and 7 October 1919 the Association of Serbian Secondary School Teachers organised a meeting in Belgrade with representatives of secondary school teachers from Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Vojvodina, as well as representatives of a group of likeminded Croatian teachers. On this occasion the Yugoslav Association of Secondary School Teachers (JPD, *Jugoslovensko profesorsko društvo*) was officially established and the different pre-war associations were converted into regional sections (Divac 1920: 123-7). In an article in *Glasnik profesorskog društva* ('Herald of the Association of Secondary School Teachers'), the new monthly of JPD, its editor Jaša Prodanović, who was teacher at the second gymnasium in Belgrade, author of textbooks and a prominent member of the Republican Democratic Party, clarified that the first task of the teachers was to strengthen national unity. Politics could not guarantee national unity, because there were too many other factors involved, such as class, local and personal interests, religion et cetera. It was the task of the intelligentsia, led by teachers, to safeguard national unity against these other interests (Prodanović

⁷⁸ ["Vojnička junaštvo i diplomatska mudrost stvorili su samo naše državno ili samo teritorijalno jedinstvo, ali stvaranje našega nacionalnoga ujedinjenja nije u njihovoj moći. Nacionalno ujedinjenje ne može izvršiti ni vojska, ni diplomacija, ni policija; ovo se ne može utvrditi ni državnim ustavom, niti ikakvim proglasima i proklamacijama. Ona se može izvršiti samo dobrim vaspitavanjem i obrazovanjem mladih narodnih naraštaja u narodnoj školi, jer samo dobrim vaspitavanjem i obrazovanjem mladih narodnih naraštaja može se postići da iščeznu i pokrajinski patriotizam i plemenska osećanja i separatističke težnje u pojedinim pokrajinama, pa da mesto plemenskih osećanja zavlada nacionalna svest i nacionalno osećanje, a mesto pokrajinskoga patriotizma opšta ljubav prema celoj ujedinjenoj domovini, pa da se u njoj svi osećaju, ne samo kao podanici jedne države, već kao sinovi jednoga naroda."]

1921: 8-9). On the third annual congress of JPD the President of the association, Stevo Marković, pointed out that Yugoslav teachers played a crucial role in the conversion of the instinctive national unity of the masses into Yugoslav national consciousness.

Just like Serbia has made this great fatherland of ours with its blood and thus created physical unity, we – our class – are called upon to create spiritual unity. We too are warriors. We have to create the spiritual unity of our people and as preachers of the truth and morality we have to oppose all those false prophets (Marković S. 1923: 69-70).⁷⁹

These quotations clarify that the national function of education was placed high on the agenda of representatives of teachers in the immediate post-First World War period. In fact, it was considered an integral and central part of the modernisation process of the Yugoslav education network. This national function of education was accepted by the ruling political parties of the period. In this regard it is significant that article 16 of the Vidovdan constitution prescribed: “All schools have to give moral education and develop civil consciousness in the spirit of national unity and religious tolerance” (qtd. in Mrđenović 1988: 211).⁸⁰

In concurrence with the prevailing political programs of ruling political parties during the immediate post-war period a fundamental reorganisation, centralisation and harmonisation of the educational system was considered a crucial prerequisite for any successful Yugoslav nation-building in schools. How closely the unification and centralisation of the educational system and the Yugoslav national function of education were intertwined is illustrated in the demands elementary school teachers formulated at the first general assembly of UJU, held on 8 and 9 November 1921 in Zagreb. First, elementary schools should educate the pupils nationally, i.e. they should develop the moral character of the pupils and alert them of the duties and plights of every member of the nation. Second, elementary schools should be placed directly under the authority of the state, taking into consideration the importance of education in the military, economic and cultural growth-process of the state. Third, education should be uniform for the whole country, because only a uniform educational system corresponded to Yugoslav national unity. Fourth, education should be democratic, i.e. schools should be accessible to all children and the people should have a say in the

⁷⁹ [“kao što je Srbija krvlju svojom stvorila ovu veliku otadžbinu našu i time stvorila fizičko jedinstvo, tako smo mi – naš stalež – pozvani da stvorimo duhovno jedinstvo. Mi smo borci isto tako. Mi treba da stvorimo duhovno jedinstvo našega naroda i da kao propovednici istine i morala stanemo na put svima lažnim prorocima.”]

⁸⁰ [“Sve škole moraju davati moralno vaspitanje i razvijati državljansku svest u duhu narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti.”]

organisation and concrete working of the school. Fifth, schools should be free from all political or religious dogmas. Finally, the school should provide practical education, it should teach the pupils which place they could take within society and how they could contribute to its advancement (Stanojević M. 1921: 240-1). This unification of the Yugoslav educational system, however, proved no easy task.

3.2.2 The troublesome road toward a Yugoslav educational system

3.2.2.1 Establishing the authority of the Ministry of Education throughout the entire Kingdom

On 7 December 1918 Ljubomir Davidović – who had been Minister of Education in pre-war Serbia – became the first Minister of Education of the new state. On 3 September 1919 the internal organisation of the Ministry of Education was legally determined. The ministry was divided in three departments: a general department with administrative, organisational and financial competences, an educational department with sections for elementary, secondary, higher and popular education and a department for art (Dimić 1996, 1: 172-3). At this time, however, the authority of the Ministry of Education was largely restricted to pre-war Serbia. In other regions the ministry had to share competences with different provincial governing bodies. After the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs had been disbanded on 28 December 1918 regional governments (*zemaljska vlada*) were installed in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Split. After the ratification of the Vidovdan constitution these regional governments were transformed into provincial administrations (*pokrajinska uprava*). Within each of these regional governments/administrations educational departments coordinated the work of educational institutions in the region. The Ministry of Education controlled the work of these educational departments and appointed the higher personnel (Ferhabd begović 2008: 137-44; Milijević & Bajagić 2010: 10-11). Moreover, different pre-war education laws remained valid until new Yugoslav education laws would be ratified.⁸¹ One significant exception was that the education laws of the Kingdom of Serbia were expanded to Montenegro and Banat, Bačka and Baranja, indicating the prevailing view among Serbian ruling parties that these regions were an integral part of the Serbian territory in the country. For Montenegro, the Serbian education laws were introduced on 14 May 1920, an act which did not lead to significant changes or protest because the pre-war Montenegrin education laws had been based on the Serbian laws (Babović-

⁸¹ For an overview of the different laws in effect see Grol (1928: 386).

Raspopović 2002: 52; Tešić V. 1980: 88-9). In March 1919 a special educational department for Banat, Bačka and Baranja was established within the Ministry of Education. On 6 June 1920 Svetozar Pribićević, who had become minister of education in May 1920, decreed that the Serbian law for elementary education would become effective in Banat, Bačka and Baranja, on 13 July 1920 the same decision was made for all education laws. The latter decree also converted all elementary schools in the region into state schools (Koljanin 2004: 273-6).

In practice, most decisions made by the Ministry of Education remained completely unknown to the regional departments for education in Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vice versa, the Ministry of Education itself was mostly unaware of the precise educational system in the former Austro-Hungarian regions (Vajda 1923: 138-9).⁸² In the Slovenian regions, for example, schools in fact stood under the authority of the Department for Science and Religion (*Povjereništvo za uk in bogočastje*) within the regional government. It was this institution, under the leadership of SLS politician Karel Verstovšek, which pushed through the Slovenisation of schools. On 16 November 1918 all schools were placed under the authority of the regional government, Slovenian became the language of instruction and the study of Serbo-Croatian was introduced from the sixth year of elementary education. Minority schools were approved, but Slovenian was taught as a compulsory subject.⁸³ In practice, however, many German teachers were dismissed and emigrated to Austria. In Prekmurje, analogically, administration and education were Slovenised and many Hungarian teachers were dismissed and emigrated to Hungary (Dolenc 1992: 35-8; 1996: 23-35; Zečević 1985: 353, 356-9, 362-3).

On 26 April 1922 the Kingdom of SCS was divided in 33 districts (*oblast*), each with an educational department (Ferhadbegović 2008: 114-7). Gradually the regional administrations were disbanded and their educational competences were transferred to the Ministry of Education and departments for education in the districts (Milijević & Bajagić 2010: 13-20).⁸⁴ Thus, only by the beginning of 1924 the central Ministry of Education had placed all educational institutions in the country under its authority. However, until the Yugoslav educational system would be legally unified, this authority did not rest on a firm legal basis.

⁸² In AJ 66-258-280 many reports from the early post-war period can be found in which provincial authorities inform the Ministry in Belgrade about the legal system for education in their region, how long pupils went to school or the precise duration of the school year.

⁸³ See *Učiteljski tovariš* 29.11.1918: 2.

⁸⁴ The regional government in Sarajevo was disbanded on 3 September 1923, in Split on 18 July 1923, in Ljubljana on 3 December 1923 and in Zagreb on 22 January 1924 (Dimić 1996, 1: 174).

3.2.2.2 Elementary schools

Already on the occasion of the establishment of UJU the teachers had demanded the introduction of uniform education laws for the entire country.⁸⁵ In one of the first issues of *Učitelj* Jovan P. Jovanović demanded that the government would formulate new laws for the unification of the country immediately after the legalisation of the Constitution (Jovanović J. 1920). Educational authorities agreed that the legal unification of the different Yugoslav educational systems was indispensable. Already in 1919 the Ministry of Education appointed a commission consisting of representatives of the educational departments within the regional governments, with the task to formulate a draft proposal for a law on elementary education. However, the proposal was severely criticized by UJU and several regional governments and was consequently dropped (Stanojević M. 1921: 231-2). After the ratification of the Constitution in 1921 a new proposal for a law on elementary education was formulated on the basis of principles which had been put forward by the Main Educational Board (GPS, *Glavni prosvetni savet*).⁸⁶ Consecutively, Minister of Education Pribićević appointed a commission consisting of educational experts – especially teachers – from different Yugoslav regions, which formulated a new draft for a law on elementary education (Stanojević M. 1921: 232-2). This draft envisaged a centralised network of elementary schools with the task to fulfil the primary goal of elementary schools, i.e. to raise children in the spirit of national unity and religious tolerance. All elementary schools fell under the authority of the state, but the school buildings and apartments for teachers fell under the financial responsibility of the community. The draft prescribed free and compulsory elementary education for eight years. The language of education was the state language – in the constitution defined as Serbo-Croato-Slovenian – but education in minority languages was also allowed. Schools would work according to one curriculum for the entire state, but it was possible for the ministry to impose certain adaptations in the curriculum if local circumstances required. Finally, teachers would be appointed by means of state competitions and their position was permanent. They would be rewarded for extracurricular work (ibid: 233-8). What followed was a flood of articles discussing the draft, as well as the establishment of several new commissions which were appointed to refine the proposal. Finally, in 1925, during Svetozar Pribićević's last term as Minister of

⁸⁵ See the third resolution adopted on 18 June 1920, quoted in *Prosvetni glasnik* 37/2 (August 1920): 131.

⁸⁶ This institution had been established in Serbia in 1880. It had a mostly advisory character with regard to the legal organisation of education, the formulation of curricula, the revision of textbooks and other teaching material and the appointment or replacement of teachers (Jelavich 1990: 32-40). After the First World War GPS continued its work, joined by representatives of all Yugoslav regions as well as representatives of different teachers associations.

Education a law proposal was completed, but after the fall of the Pašić-Pribićević government and Pribićević's dismissal in November 1925 the proposal was abandoned (Milanović 1930: 53-4).

Hereafter, as a rule every minister appointed a new commission leading to several new proposals for a law on elementary education, but these all met with the same fate as earlier attempts in that direction. As Danilo Milanović complained in a book commemorating the tenth anniversary of UJU: "In practice, every new minister of education appointed a new commission for the correction of an older project and to submit his own. That way, several elements are being repeated for years now" (ibid: 72).⁸⁷ In 1928, under the ministry of Milan Grol, finally a law proposal for elementary schools would be presented to the parliament.⁸⁸ The proclamation of the Royal Dictatorship, however, brought an end to all attempts in this direction. It is interesting to note that Grol presented some measures which radically differed from the direction the educational policy would take during the dictatorship. First, Grol suggested a decentralisation of the educational system, with far-reaching autonomy for regional committees consisting of representatives of teachers, schools and inspection institutions. According to Grol, this would lead to the adaptation of elementary schools to local economic and cultural circumstances within the framework of a unitary state program and to the reduction of political interference with education (Grol 1928: 384). Other important facets of the law were the protection of teachers through permanent positions and the great importance ascribed to popular education. Also, Grol foresaw a special funds for the building of schools in poorer communities, especially in the less developed regions (ibid: 384-6).

The formulation of state-wide curricula for elementary schools proved an equally difficult task. Three different curricula were approved during the 1920s. A first curriculum was issued under the ministry of Svetozar Pribićević on 27 June 1925. This curriculum included a detailed program per subject for the first two years.⁸⁹ Just one year later, on 10 August 1926, Minister Miloš Trifunović introduced some minor revisions to the curriculum and on 23 August 1926 he added a detailed program for all

⁸⁷ ["Praksa je bila u tome pitanju, da svaki nov ministar prosvete izabere jednu komisiju za korekciju starog projekta i podnese svoj. U tome pogledu bilo je stvari koje se već godinama ponavljaju."]

⁸⁸ On 7 August 1928 Milan Grol received the permission of the government to present the draft of a law on elementary schools to parliament. AJ 66-258-500.

⁸⁹ 'Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razr. i nastavni program za I i II razr. sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 27 June 1925. P.br. 7.823. AJ 66-254-495. Typically, curricula consisted of a schedule, which prescribed the amount of hours that should be devoted to one subject per week, and a program, which prescribed the teaching material that should be treated per subject during a school year in broad outlines. A list of curricula which were used during the interwar period, with schedules, can be found in appendix 1.

four years of elementary schools.⁹⁰ However, this program was severely criticised. The Association of Yugoslav Teachers complained that the curriculum was unclear and superficial. Moreover, it was intolerable that the curriculum was written out without consulting the Main Educational Board or the Association itself, and it was absurd to write out a curriculum while there was still no law on elementary education.⁹¹ Consequently, the Ministry of Education withdrew the curriculum and sent it for revision to the Main Educational Board.⁹² On 3 October 1927 a new temporary program was published on the basis of the proposal made by the Board.⁹³ The old schedule remained in use. Again, this decision was criticised, in the first place because the schedule and the program were not complementary and in the second place because the program remained overloaded with teaching material and led to chaos. However, it was accepted as a temporary measure.⁹⁴

Actual differences between these three curricula were very minimal. All curricula were uniform for the entire state and foresaw 22 hours of school per week in the first year, increasing to 27 hours per week in the fourth year. The most important subjects were language and arithmetic, with seven and four hours per week respectively. Further, pupils had two hours of education in “religion and morals” in all four years of elementary school. Other important subjects were history, geography and nature study. In the first two years pupils were introduced to historical and geographical notions on the basis of their home region in a course which was called basic real training (*početna stvarna obuka*), in the third and fourth year history, geography and nature study counted as separate subjects. Other, less important subjects were drawing, calligraphy, handwork, singing and gymnastics.

3.2.2.3 Secondary schools

Already on 14 December 1918 the Ministry of Education appointed a commission of representatives from all the regional governments with the task to discuss the reorganisation of secondary education in the kingdom. On the basis of the principles formulated by this commission the Main Educational Board drafted a proposal for a law on secondary education in January 1921, which was sent for revision to universities,

⁹⁰ ‘Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razred sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. 9 August 1926. O.n. br. 8.120. AJ 66-1281-1527; ‘Nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. 23 August 1926. O.n. br. 11.959. AJ 66-1281-1527.

⁹¹ Letter from UJU to the Ministry of Education, 20 November 1926. AJ 66-2053-2041.

⁹² Decision by the Ministry of Education, 29 November 1926. AJ 66-2053-2041.

⁹³ ‘Privremeni nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred osnovne škole u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. 3 October 1927. O.n. br. 45.131. AJ 66-1281-1527.

⁹⁴ ‘Program za osnovne škole’, *Učitelj* 9: 940-1.

teachers associations and regional governments. In May 1922 again a commission was appointed, consisting of representatives of regional governments, the Main Educational Board, teachers associations and the Ministry itself. Finally, this commission succeeded in formulating a final version of the law proposal by June 1922. Again, the draft departed from a unitarist and centralised organisation of secondary schools. The first four years were identical for all secondary schools, the higher four years were divided in three directions: real gymnasiums, classical gymnasiums and *realkas*. New secondary schools could only be established if there was a sufficient number of students and if there was a qualified school building.⁹⁵ The community was responsible for the building and maintenance of school buildings. Importantly, the correct national education of the students was guaranteed by the Ministry of Education. Thus, curricula for secondary schools were to be formulated by the Ministry of Education and only in specific local circumstances adaptations to the general curriculum were allowed. Secondary schools could only use textbooks and other teaching material which had been approved by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the Main Educational Board. Finally, students had the right to establish students organisations, but not on a religious or 'tribal' basis.⁹⁶ However, similar to the situation with elementary schools, this law proposal was never presented to the parliament.

On 26 July 1924 Svetozar Pribićević prescribed a curriculum for the first two years of all secondary schools in Yugoslavia, except for classical gymnasia.⁹⁷ However, with the appointment of Anton Korošec as Minister of Education on 27 July 1924 this decision was postponed, until it was re-issued by Pribićević after he had been reappointed as Minister of Education on 6 November 1924, in a decree of 15 November 1924. On 25 November 1924 a temporary teaching program for the first two years of secondary schools was added.⁹⁸ Less than a year later a complete schedule for the lower years of secondary education was issued, as well as a program for the third year of secondary schools.⁹⁹ On 26 June 1926 Minister of Education Miloš Trifunović formulated a new temporary curriculum for the lower grades of secondary schools, except for classical

⁹⁵ The required number of students was 45 for the first, 40 for the second, 35 for the third and fourth, 30 for the fifth and sixth and 20 for the seventh and eighth year.

⁹⁶ 'Nacrt o srednjim školama u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 2 (1922): 284-97, 376-81, 425-32, 504-8).

⁹⁷ 'Nastavni plan za I i II razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 14 November 1924, S.n. br. 27.761 (Tešić V. 1980: 104).

⁹⁸ 'Nastavni program za I i II razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 25 November 1924, S.n. br. 28.688. AJ 66-653A.

⁹⁹ 'Nastavni plan za III i IV razred srednjih škola i nastavni program za III razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 27 June 1925, P. Br. 7.824. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 40-51.

gymnasia.¹⁰⁰ In this new program some adaptations were made to the teaching programs for the first three years which had been issued under Pribićević in 1924-25.¹⁰¹ On 4 May 1927, again, the Ministry of Education prescribed new plans for lower and higher real gymnasia, *realkas* and classical gymnasiums.¹⁰² On 12 August 1927, finally, Minister of Education Ninko Perić prescribed a new schedule for the higher grades of real gymnasia, which replaced that of 3 May 1927.¹⁰³ As with curricula for elementary schools, the differences between these curricula were minimal. In classical gymnasia most attention was paid to languages (Latin, Greek, Serbo-Croatian/Slovenian and French or German) whereas the exact sciences and mathematics were less represented. In *realkas* more attention was paid to exact sciences, namely: nature study, chemistry, physics, mathematics, geometrical drawing and descriptive geometry. Real gymnasia occupied a middle position between these two options, with more attention to living languages (French, German and a second Slavonic language). In all three types of secondary schools history and geography occupied a relatively prominent place in the curriculum. Other, less important subjects were religion, philosophy, hygiene, calligraphy, gymnastics and singing.

3.2.2.4 Civil schools

A specific type of schools which had been widespread in the Austro-Hungarian regions of the new state were civil schools (Serbo-Croatian: *građanska škola*; Slovenian: *meščanska šola*). They were accessible to pupils who had finished lower elementary education and prepared them for a practical profession in handicraft, trade or economy. Immediately after the war teachers of civil schools had already argued that this school type should be established in the whole country. In 1919 the teachers association for civil schools presented a first law proposal to the Ministry of Education. The 1921 draft for the law on elementary education had also foreseen civil schools as an option for higher elementary education (Stanojević M. 1921: 234). In 1925 several other drafts for laws on civil schools were composed, but without any result (Mayer 1995: 139-40). A first curriculum for the

¹⁰⁰ 'Privremeni nastavni program za niže razrede srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 26 June 1926, S.n. br. 74.217. AJ 66-653A.

¹⁰¹ 'Dostava privremenih nastavnih programa za niže razrede srednjih škola'. S.n. br. 1.271, 13 July 1926. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42: 293-4. This decree also stated that old textbooks could still be used, even if they did not fully correspond to the new curriculum, provided that the necessary adjustments and additions were made.

¹⁰² 'Novi nastavni plan u realkama, realnim gimnazijama i klasičnim gimnazijama'. 3 May 1927, S.n. br. 11.982. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43: 153-4.

¹⁰³ 'Privremeni nastavni plan i program za više razrede realnih gimnazija u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 12 August 1927, S.n. br. 23.921. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43: 425-82.

first two years of civil schools was formulated by Minister Pribićević in June 1925.¹⁰⁴ In August and September 1926 Minister Trifunović expanded the curriculum to all four years of civil school.¹⁰⁵ Apart from language, history and geography, civil school students learned a second modern language and considerable attention was paid to mathematics, exact sciences, and accounting.

Although not supported by a legal framework, from the middle of the 1920s civil schools were gradually introduced in Serbia and Montenegro (Dimić 1997, 2: 162-3). It remained, however, problematic that there were no specially qualified teachers for these schools in the non-Austro-Hungarian regions. Although in theory civil schools teachers should be trained in higher pedagogical schools, in most cases the places were occupied by inexperienced gymnasium teachers with no specific expertise for the subjects treated in civil schools. An additional problem was that civil schools were simply not very popular among the population, mostly because, unlike gymnasia, they did not guarantee a secure income in state service. This was especially true for regions where these schools had no tradition (Mayer 1995: 139-43). It was only during the 30s, when the overproduction of gymnasium graduates was recognised as an acute problem, that the authorities truly stimulated civil schools as alternatives.

3.2.2.5 Popular education

An important branch of the educational system was occupied by alternative forms of education which complemented elementary education, generally grouped under the term popular education (*narodno prosvjećivanje*). In a society like Yugoslavia, where a large majority of the population did not receive or had not received any schooling at all the importance ascribed to popular education was huge. Immediately after the war a specific Department for Popular Education was established within the Ministry of Education, with the task to coordinate the work in several branches of popular education. Additional departments for popular education were established in local governments (Simić V. 1928: 411). A first target group of popular education were children who did not attend school because there was no school in their village, or because the nearest school was located too far away. Specific schools introduced these children to the basics of reading, writing and calculation. In so-called school stations (*školska stanica*) teachers who worked in neighbouring villages gave lessons during three

¹⁰⁴ 'Nastavni plan i program za I i II razred građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 27 June 1925, P. br. 7824. *Osnovna nastava* 1/22: 761-22.

¹⁰⁵ 'Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razred sviju građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 9 August 1926, O.n. br. 8.122. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42: 266; 'Nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred sviju građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. 4 September 1926, O.n. br. 14.872. *AJ* 66-2092.

half days a week. In ambulant schools (*ambulantna škola*) lessons were given during the winter months by younger teachers with no permanent position. In assistant schools (*pomoćna škola*) lessons were given by unqualified teachers (Simić V. 1928: 411-2). In some communities where there was only a four-year elementary school so-called extended schools (*produžna škola*) provided three specialist courses on trade and agriculture during the winter months to pupils who had finished elementary school. However, because these schools were not obligatory, their number and success was low, with only 575 schools and ca. 45.000 students in 1928 (ibid: 414-5).

The high illiteracy rates urged the authorities to organise courses against illiteracy. On 5 November 1921 the Ministry of Education prescribed that courses against illiteracy should be organised for all illiterate persons in the country. The community should provide rooms and material support, lessons should be given by elementary school teachers. The courses had to be organised between 1 November and 1 April, so that they would not disturb the agricultural work of the attendants.¹⁰⁶ A new impulse to courses against illiteracy was given under the ministry of Stjepan Radić, whose peasant ideology placed great emphasis on the education of the masses. On 4 January 1926 Radić published a new decree in which he prescribed that courses against illiteracy should be organised for all illiterate persons between the age of 11 and 20. Courses consisted of two terms, each lasting two months, after which exams would be held. Lessons were given for two hours every working day between November and February. Attendants learned to read, write and make simple calculations. Further they learned about the boundaries of the state, the neighbouring states, the most important cities and rivers in the state, as well as the harbours at the Adriatic Coast. Courses were held by teachers or by other capable persons. Teachers were rewarded with 70 dinars per successful attendant and the work of teachers in courses against illiteracy was taken into account in their annual evaluations. The communal authorities were obliged to provide a suitable room for the lessons – taverns were forbidden – as well as the necessary teaching material. If there was a school in the village, lessons should be held there in the afternoon.¹⁰⁷ As clarified by Martin Mayer, however, the number of courses against illiteracy organised by the state remained extremely modest and in any case insufficient to lead to a radical downfall of the number of illiterates. In the period 1921-1928 the state organised 1151 courses against illiteracy in the army with 37.102 attendants. For civilians, 2067 courses had been organised for 56.066 attendants (Mayer 1995: 154).

Popular libraries were considered a crucial remedy against the fact that many graduates in the Yugoslav countryside simply forgot what they had learned in

¹⁰⁶ Decree by the Ministry of Education, 5 November 1921. AJ 66-2215-2140.

¹⁰⁷ 'Naredba (raspis) Ministra Prosvjete o širenju pismenosti u narodu'. 4 January 1926. AJ 66-2215-2140.

elementary school (Protić 1921). In the beginning of the school year 1920-21 the Ministry of Education formulated a rulebook for popular libraries, which prescribed that these libraries could only obtain books which had been recommended by the ministry. Further, the libraries should also organise popular lectures, courses against illiteracy and domestic science courses, thus becoming educational centres in the villages. According to Simić, by 1928 1004 popular libraries had been established (Simić V. 1928: 415). A specific branch of popular education were so-called popular lectures, which were held in village libraries or in local schools. These lectures covered a wide variety of themes. In Karlovac, for example, in 1921-22 lectures were given on astronomy, nature study, social science, Ancient Greece, morality, the origin of language, Dante Alighieri, Charles Darwin, the unification of Yugoslavia, Ruđer Bošković (a Dubrovnik born 18th century physical scientist and polymath), the Croatian rebirth, Molière, venereal diseases, the Serbo-Croatian literary language, the Bogomils (a dualist Christian sect which spread over the Balkans during the Middle Ages), happiness, alcohol and nicotine, Slavonic languages and literatures, interesting experiments from physics, the situation in Russia, poison and so on (M. 1924: 485-6). In a decree of 26 January 1926 Minister of Education Stjepan Radić stated that popular lectures were one of the most effective means to educate the Yugoslav peasants and to bring an end to various superstitions and prejudices. Therefore it was the duty of every educated son of the nation to participate in the organisation of popular lectures. Every teacher was stimulated to form an educational committee in his village and to prepare popular lectures, to be held annually between November and March. Themes could be hygiene, house economy, agriculture, morals, the education of village women, civil duties and rights, and so on. The lectures could be held in school buildings and by all members of the local intelligentsia (doctors, professors, teachers, financial experts, lawyers, priests). Further, every school should also organise lectures for adults on Sundays and holidays.¹⁰⁸

3.2.2.6 Private initiatives for popular education

The state was by no means the only actor active in the field of popular education. To the contrary, one of the characteristics of interwar Yugoslav society was the existence of a wide variety of (initially) non-governmental educational associations, which all in some way participated in the education of the masses, be it at a state-wide or a regionally confined level. In this dissertation I refer to the work of some important cultural-educational associations of the period. I specifically focus on the alternative routes to nationhood these associations suggested and their engagement with the state's nation-

¹⁰⁸ 'Popularna predavanja za narod'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 13.

building program. In other words, I assess to what extent we are dealing with complementary, completely independent or rivalling nation-building projects and what that reveals about the concrete happening of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia.

During the 1920s several non-governmental cultural-educational associations were active in the field of popular education. These associations to an important extent complemented the uncoordinated state activities in the field of popular education among regionally confined target groups. After the Peasant Party had reached an agreement with the Radical Party in 1925 Rudolf Herceg, one of the ideologues of the party, formed *Seljačka Sloga* ('Peasant Concord') as a cultural-educational branch of the Croatian Peasant Party with the goal to develop peasant culture, in the first place through the spreading of literacy. Between 1925 and 1929 the courses against illiteracy organised by *Seljačka Sloga* annually reached 4000 illiterates, in 1928-29 even 10.000 illiterates (Leček 2004: 1104). Further, *Seljačka Sloga* also organised popular lectures on new agricultural methods, basic accountancy, contagious diseases; and supported amateur theatre groups and choral societies. In fact, *Seljačka Sloga* became a parallel organisation for popular education of the Croatian peasant population. As a result of the financial support of the HSS-dominated district governments in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Herzegovina, the organisation boasted 216 local branches, with ca. 9000 members by 1929. Most local branches were located in central Croatia and western Slavonia. The organisation was less wide spread in Dalmatia, Vojvodina, eastern Slavonia and Herzegovina. After political parties and district autonomy had been banned under the dictatorship, the activities of *Seljačka Sloga* were practically suspended (Leček 1996).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina three important cultural-educational associations had been formed in the early 1900s. These associations had very similar programs, i.e. the support of students and the education and cultural development of the broader masses, but their activities were directed toward one of the region's ethno-confessional groups. *Gajret* (Arabic for 'Effort') was found in 1903 and was active among Bosnian Muslims; *Napredak* ('Progress') and *Prosvjeta* ('Education') were found in 1902 and focused on Bosnian Croat-Catholics and Serb-Orthodox, respectively. There was also a cultural-education organisation for Jews, *La Benevolencia* (Džaja 1994: 106-8). After the First World War these associations continued their work. *Prosvjeta* – from 1920 the name was changed to *Prosveta* in ekavian – supported students by means of individual scholarships for studies in higher education (on average 7 per year), secondary schools and apprenticeships, and by means of homes for secondary school students, with on average 452 students per year for the period until 1926-27. In 1926-27 the organisation had 12 student homes: three in Sarajevo, two in Mostar and one in Tuzla, Banja Luka, Bihać, Bosanska Gradiška, Foča, Brčko and Gacko. *Prosveta* also organised domestic science schools in 14 places in Bosnia-Herzegovina. By 1927 204 girls had attended these schools. Further, *Prosveta* published a primer for illiterates, which was used in the army and for courses against

illiteracy for civilians by the state. By 1927 75.000 copies of the primer had been spread. *Prosveta* also organised lessons against illiteracy, from 1921 to 1929 as much as 399 (Mayer 1995: 161). It also published a journal, which was free for members, with programmatic articles on the work of the organisation and a section with educative texts and literary extracts, and an annual calendar, with a print run of between 5000 and 10.000 copies. Finally, *Prosveta* had a network of libraries throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and it organised popular lectures, in the form of spoken lectures, lectures with slides and film lectures, which were the most popular. Gradually the organisation expanded its activities to other less developed regions with a Serbian population, especially Dalmatia, Lika, the Sandžak and Macedonia. In 1927 the organisation had 150 local committees, 300 local representatives and 20.000 members (Grđić 1927).

Napredak supported the schooling of especially Croatian Catholic youth by means of individual scholarship and four student homes: “Kralj Tomislav”, “Katarina Zrinski” and “Zora Zrinski” in Sarajevo and “Petar Svačić” in Mostar. The organisation also supported a domestic science school nearby Tuzla. Further, *Napredak* established a central Croatian library in Sarajevo in 1926 and maintained a number of Croatian libraries in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It published a journal, which was free for all members, a calendar with a print run of 4000 copies and popular books. Finally, *Napredak* supported a network of Croatian choral societies throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, in 1927 a total of 18 societies. Like *Prosveta*, *Napredak* gradually expanded its working terrain beyond Bosnia-Herzegovina, to Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia. In 1927 the organisation had 105 local branches, with ca. 8000 members.¹⁰⁹

The activities of *Gajret*, finally, were very similar to those of *Prosveta* and *Napredak*. In the first place, *Gajret* supported the studies of Muslim youth by means of individual scholarships – between 60 and 100 per year –, apprenticeships and student homes in Sarajevo (one for boys and one for girls), Banja Luka, Tuzla, Mostar (one for boys and one for girls) and Bihać. In Foča *Gajret* shared a student home with *Prosveta*. In 1923-24 the organisation temporarily opened a home in Novi Pazar, but it was closed in 1925 as a result of the poor response. Further, *Gajret* remunerated Muslim teachers who organised courses against illiteracy and had a network of libraries in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it organised popular lectures. It also published a monthly journal with a print run of over 2000 copies (Kemura 1986: 287-350). During the 1920s *Gajret* expanded its working terrain outside Bosnia-Herzegovina to all Muslims in the kingdom. Whereas the organisation had some success among South Slav Muslims in the Sandžak, the response among Albanian and Turkish Muslims in Kosovo and Macedonia was minimal,

¹⁰⁹ See the reports presented at the annual meetings, included in “*Napredak*” *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu godinu 1928, 1929*.

apparently as a result of the boycott by prominent Muslim intellectuals grouped in *Džemijet*, who feared that participation in *Gajret* would lead to the assimilation of Albanian and Turkish Muslims. In 1925 *Gajret* had 10.000 members, 54 local committees and 102 representatives (ibid: 274-82).

In the immediate post-war different political representatives of Bosnian Muslims fought an internal battle for domination within *Gajret*. Key positions in the leadership of *Gajret* were taken by pro-Serbian progressive Bosnian Muslims like Alija Kurtović and Avdo Hasanbegović. These men, many of whom had fought with the Serbian army as volunteers during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, supported the Yugoslav Democratic Party or the Radical Party and opposed the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation. In March 1923, after JMO had disbanded the government coalition with the Radical Party, it came to a split between *Gajret*, which was dominated by supporters of the Radical Party, led by President Avdo Hasanbegović, and JMO. The central authorities' support to *Gajret* was symbolised by the appointment of Prince Petar as protector of *Gajret*, accompanied with a royal donation, and the establishment of a special department and home of *Gajret* for Muslim university students in Belgrade, named "Osman Đikić" after the influential self-declared Serbian writer, politician and leader of *Gajret* of the immediate pre-war period (Kemura 1986: 146-62). As a reaction against the political link between *Gajret* and the Belgrade authorities, JMO established its own cultural-educational organisation, called *Narodna uzdanica* ('The People's Hope'). After the organisation had been initially banned by the Ministry of Interior, for obvious political reasons, it was approved in October 1924 (Kemura 2002: 16-32). The activities of *Narodna uzdanica* were completely identical to those of *Gajret*, but it was clearly much less influential than its counterpart. Thus, from the second half of the 1920s *Narodna uzdanica* annually granted some 30 scholarships, mostly for secondary school students in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a smaller number of university students in Zagreb (ibid: 125-38). In theory the organisation had 81 local committees and representatives in 1927, but only a quarter of these were actually active (ibid: 104-24).

3.2.3 Toward an overarching state educational program

Although all of the abovementioned drafts, decrees and decisions point in the direction of a strongly uniform and centralist educational system, the reorganisation of the educational system remained extremely fragmentary, chaotic and clearly did not form part of a wider, overarching educational system. What is more, until 1927-28 not one minister of education had even presented a general program to the parliament (Dimić 1996, 1: 215-46). The first attempt to formulate a general program for the Yugoslav educational policy was made under the ministry of Kosta Kumanudi in December 1927, but although this led to the publication of a number of resolutions, it did not result in a

binding or elaborate state education program.¹¹⁰ Expectedly, this lack of an overarching educational program was criticised by educational experts. Already in 1921 Jovan P. Jovanović for example referred to the Czechs, who had already formulated an educational program in 1920, and the Bulgarians, who were already discussing such a program in parliament. In Yugoslavia, to the contrary, the authorities seemed to have no such intentions, although this was indispensable for the unification of the Yugoslav educational system (Jovanović J. 1921b).

Different reasons can be given for the failure to adopt a more thorough Yugoslav educational policy during the parliamentary period. First, it should be taken into consideration that there were great discrepancies between the different historical regions within the Yugoslav state, concerning the concrete organisation of the school system (duration of education, types of schools), the development of the school network, or the practical needs of education in different regions (especially the different circumstances in the city and in the countryside). A quick glance at the many articles and opinions formulated by educational experts in different specialist periodicals clarifies how divergent potential proposals for the organisation of the Yugoslav educational system were. A frequent point of discussion, for example, concerned the precise way in which elementary education could be made compatible with the economic needs of the majority of the population, which was active in agriculture. Whereas most experts agreed that education should be made compulsory for eight years,¹¹¹ it was not clear how a balance could be found between education and the demands of the parents in the countryside, where children were often indispensable to help with the work on the field. Also, it was undeniable that the educational infrastructure (buildings, teachers, teaching material) was completely inadequate to support eight years of compulsory education. Most experts therefore proposed some form of extended schools (*produžna škola*) which would not be full-time and would allow the children to help their parents during times of sowing and harvest. The 1921 draft

¹¹⁰ 'Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 160-80. The commission consisted of Milivoje Jovanović (former minister), Bogdan Gavrilović (former rector of the University of Belgrade), Bogdan Popović (professor at the University of Belgrade), Ivan Prijatelj (professor at the University of Ljubljana), Ivan Kasumović (school inspector in Zagreb), Stevan Marković (director of the female gymnasium in Sarajevo and president of JPD), Jovan Kangrga (head of the teaching department of the Ministry of Education), Jeremije Živanović (rector of the Pedagogical College in Belgrade and president of JPD) and Vladimir Petrović (president of UJU). Further, the commission consisted of representatives of the ministries of religion, agriculture, trade and finance. *Učitelj* 8/4 (December 1927): 317-9.

¹¹¹ One exception was Jure Turić, Professor at the Pedagogical College in Zagreb, who argued that it was completely unrealistic to impose eight years of compulsory education taking into consideration the fact that the number of schools and teachers in Yugoslavia was already too low for four years of compulsory education, as well as the economic needs of peasants (Turić 1922).

proposal for the law on elementary education foresaw the introduction of special courses with a focus on agriculture to be held in the winter months for peasant children who had completed lower elementary schools, as well as special travelling teachers, who would teach in two or three schools alternately in mountain areas (Stanojević M. 1921: 234-5). A proposal by Jovan P. Jovanović foresaw that compulsory education would be divided in four years of elementary education and four years of extended education. The first three years of extended education would take place on Saturdays in the same buildings and with the same teaching personnel as in the local elementary school. Only the last, eighth year would again be full-time. That way, pupils could help their parents and at the same time consolidate the knowledge they had obtained in elementary school. Furthermore, the plan also made maximal use of the available infrastructure (Jovanović J. 1922b: 706-13). In larger villages and cities the eighth year of extended education should be organised as a civil school for boys and a domestic science school for girls, with curricula adapted to the economic and social needs of the urban population (*ibid*: 713-6).

Although the complexity of the situation and the wide-ranging differences between the regions in the kingdom should thus be taken into consideration when evaluating the educational policy of the 1920s, many observers have rightfully argued that it was a lack of political stability and maturity which thwarted the unification of the educational system. When evaluating the educational program formulated under the ministry of Kumanudi, Jerotije Novitović of JPD agreed on the fundamentals of the program, but immediately expressed his doubts about the actual realisation of the program:

Well knowing our instable political circumstances and our difficult financial situation, it is doubtful whether we will make progress with regard to the supplies for schools. For success in this field we need a settlement and consolidation of the circumstances in the country. When a country has six governments changes in nine months, order is out of the question. Rather, there is chaos which ruins the country and destroys all efforts to solve any question of state importance (Novitović 1928: 33).¹¹²

Ljubodrag Dimić has made a thorough examination of the debates in parliament and has come to the conclusion that there was generally an awareness about the necessity of a solid state program for education. Most ministers of education started their office with

¹¹² ["poznavajući dobro naše prevrtljive političke prilike i teško finansisko stanje, sumnjivo je da ćemo u pogledu snabdevanja škola poći napred. Za dobar uspeh u ovom pogledu potrebna je sredenost i konsolidovanje prilika u zemlji. Kad se u zemlji za 9 meseca promeni 6 vlada, onda tu ne može biti ni reči o sredenosti već o nesredenosti, koji upropašćuje zemlju i uništava i svaku pomisao na rešenje kakvog državnog pitanja."]

the promise that they would erect new school buildings, stimulate the education of new teachers as well as the writing of new textbooks, in brief, modernise Yugoslav education. However, by the end of each short ministerial term very little of this had actually been done (Dimić 1996, 1: 213-46). Indeed, in the period 1918-1929 there were ten different Ministers of Education, in the most cases with very brief terms as minister:

Ljubomir Davidović (JDS) – from 20.12.1918 to 16.8.1919;

Pavle Marinković (JDS) – from 16.8.1919 to 18.10.1919;

Miloš Trifunović (NRS) – from 18.10.1919 to 17.5.1920;

Svetozar Pribićević (JDS) – from 17.5.1920 to 2.5.1923;

Miloš Trifunović (NRS) – from 2.5.1923 to 21.5.1924;

Svetozar Pribićević (SDS) – from 21.5.1924 to 27.7.1924;

Anton Korošec (SLS) – from 27.7.1924 to 6.11.1924;

Svetozar Pribićević (SDS) – from 6.11.1924 to 18.7.1925;

Velja Vukićević (NRS) – from 18.7.1925 to 17.11.1925;

Stjepan Radić (HSS) – from 17.11.1925 to 15.4.1926;

Miloš Trifunović (NRS) – from 15.4.1926 to 1.2.1927;

Velja Vukićević (NRS) – from 1.2.1927 to 17.4.1927;

Ninko Perić (NRS) – from 17.4.1927 to 21.9.1927;

Kosta Kumanudi (JDS) – from 21.9.1927 to 23.2.1928;

Milan Grol (JDS) – from 23.2.1928 to 6.1.1929 (Dimić 1996, 1: 215-6).

Although the extreme instability of Yugoslav governments during the 1920s surely thwarted the introduction of decisive measures toward the modernisation and unification of the Yugoslav education system, it should be taken into account that apart from Anton Korošec and Stjepan Radić all ministers of education came from the ruling political parties NRS, JDS and SDS, firm supporters of a centralised educational system and, in the case of JDS/SDS also the Yugoslav national function of education. Additionally, during the first half of the 1920s Svetozar Pribićević, who counted as the personification of centralisation and Yugoslav nationalism, served almost four years as minister of education, of which three years uninterruptedly.

3.2.4 The state's budgetary means and policy

Another often heard point of criticism was that the state's educational budget was simply inadequate for a thorough modernisation of the Yugoslav educational system (Flere 1928: 394-5). A number of scholars, most importantly Marie-Janine Čalić (1994), Martin Mayer (1995) and Ljubodrag Dimić (1996-97), have already examined this aspect of the Yugoslav educational policy in detail and have confirmed these criticisms. They have found that the educational budget fluctuated between 1,85% in 1920-21 and 7,46% in 1927-28 of the total state budget, or 3,32 dinars per citizen in 1919-20 and 64,16 dinars

in 1927-28 (Dimić 1996, 1: 84). In comparison to other European states in the interwar period, the part of the budget destined for education in Yugoslavia was amongst the lowest, even in comparison to other less developed states like Bulgaria, Romania and the Scandinavian countries (Mayer 1995: 85-7). A related problem was that local communities were responsible for the maintenance of the school. It has been noted by Martin Mayer that the villages

aufgrund des geringen eigenen Steueraufkommens die Voraussetzungen zu einer funktionierende Selbstverwaltung kaum gegeben waren, und sie über die Erfüllung staatlicher Aufgaben zu Investitionen im Gesundheits- und im Bildungsbereich kaum mehr in der Lage waren (ibid: 96).¹¹³

This problem was already revealed by UJU President Čedomilj Todorović, in a strong criticism against the disastrous situation in schools, which did not correspond with the position of elementary schools as “one of the strong allies of the state in the dissemination of the idea of national unity and the education of new generations without harmful traditions and prejudices”.¹¹⁴ As Todorović argued, this was the result of the poverty and even more the “negligence” of village authorities, who were often simply unwilling to bear responsibility for the schools in their region.¹¹⁵ Therefore, a frequent demand in the 1920s was that the state should take full responsibility for the maintenance of schools.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, scholars have criticised the way in which the authorities used the already humble budgetary means. First, the allocation of budgetary means to different branches of education did not correspond to the needs of the Yugoslav society. Although the biggest part of the budget for education obviously went to elementary schools, the relatively high budget for secondary schools and higher education made little sense in an agrarian state like Yugoslavia (Dimić 1996, 1: 88-96; Mayer 1995: 90-2). Furthermore, the budget invested in popular education was extremely low, even in comparison to the already low budgets for education in general. For example, in 1921-22 only 0,26 dinars per citizen were spent on popular education. Later in the 1920s the situation only aggravated (Dimić 1996, 1: 96-7). In 1925-26 1.7 million dinars were destined for courses against illiteracy, which was less than one per cent of the total budget for elementary education (Mayer 1995: 158).

¹¹³ This problem was also recognised by many contemporary experts (Jovanović 1921a: 42-4; Mitić 1920).

¹¹⁴ [“jedan od jakih saveznika državnih na širenju ideja narodnog jedinstva i spremanju novih naraštaja bez štetnih tradicija i predrasuda.”]

¹¹⁵ Letter from Čedomilj Todorović to the Ministry of Education, 12 October 1920. AJ 66-2053-2041.

¹¹⁶ See for example in the third resolution adopted at the 1920 congress of UJU (*Prosvetni glasnik* 37/2 (August 1920): 131).

These scholars have also questioned the regional distribution of the educational budget. In 1928-29 for example the educational budget was divided as followed: Serbia – 21,52%; South-Serbia – 11,21%; Montenegro – 3,85%; Vojvodina – 10,68%; Srem – 3,19%; Croatia-Slavonia – 20,00%; Bosnia-Herzegovina – 7,30%; Dalmatia – 4,76%; and Slovenia – 15,26%. Per 10.000 citizens Serbia received 655.554 dinars for education; Macedonia – 691.640 dinars; Montenegro – 773.587 dinars; Vojvodina – 624.390 dinars; Srem – 632.513 dinars; Croatia-Slavonia – 692.745 dinars; Bosnia-Herzegovina – 311.655 dinars ; Dalmatia – 652.634 dinars; and Slovenia – 1.166.437 dinars (Ćalić 1994: 126). Especially puzzling are the low budget for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the relatively high budget for Slovenia, which were the result of the proportional division on the basis of local tax incomes (ibid: 109). In any case, this division of the educational budget would not change the regional inequality in education.

When we look at some of the statistical figures provided by the abovementioned authors, it indeed becomes clear that the attempts which were made to improve the educational situation in Yugoslavia were insufficient to drastically modernise Yugoslav education. In 1918-19, for example, there were 5610 elementary schools, 658.876 pupils and 11.064 teachers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or 60 pupils for every teacher. By 1927-28 ca. 2000 new schools had been opened, especially in the less developed regions, and the number of teachers had increased to 20.342. However, the number of pupils too increased significantly, to 983.972 in 1928-29, which meant that there were still 43 pupils per teacher (Dimić 1997, 2: 140-4; Mayer 1995: 98). As noted by the educational commission of 1928, which had been formed by Minister Kumanudi, there was a shortage of school buildings and their material provision by the local authorities was unsatisfactory. Further, the teaching material was in very bad condition or completely lacking. The commission suggested the establishment of an investment funds for the building of new school buildings, as well as an increase of the wages of teachers, so that the job would become more attractive.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ 'Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 174-5.

3.3 The reorganisation of the Yugoslav educational system during the 1930s

After the installation of the Royal Dictatorship the reorganisation and unification of the Yugoslav educational system was enforced with an until then unseen decisiveness. On 12 March 1929 Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović, a former member of the Radical Party, presented his program to the Council of Ministers.¹¹⁸ A first crucial goal of the ministry was the unification of the educational system through the ratification of education laws for different types of schools. At the same time, the ministry would further modernise the Yugoslav education network, especially in less developed regions like Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia, where the ministry would build new schools and provide “nationally correct” and capable teachers. Other urgent reforms needed were the reorganisation of school inspection, the reduction of the number of secondary schools, the improvement of the teacher’s position and the homogenisation of textbooks. Finally, the Ministry of Education would also reorganise popular education. In order to harmonise private and state initiative in this field the ministry would “coordinate” the work of non-governmental cultural associations. In other words, the Ministry of Education would also tighten its control and authority over non-governmental cultural-educational organisations (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 35-7). This educational program, which was, in brief, directed toward the modernisation and centralisation of the educational system, did not differ significantly from the programs of the 1920s. However, unlike ministers of education who had preceded him, Maksimović introduced concrete measures in this direction within a very short period of time.

The primary motive behind this educational policy was not so much the modernisation of Yugoslav society but rather the strengthening of Yugoslav national unity, which was considered an indivisible component of the modernisation process. As Maksimović argued, “it [was] not the only goal of elementary education to spread literacy, but even more to educate nationally” (qtd. in *ibid*: 35).¹¹⁹ The national function of schools was highlighted again in the governmental declaration of 4 July 1930: “From elementary school to university all education has to be strictly carried out in the Yugoslav national spirit, the youth has to look at national history and culture with

¹¹⁸ Maksimović would remain Minister of Education from 6 January 1929 until 5 January 1931. Other Ministers of Education under the Royal Dictatorship were Dragutin Kojić (05.01.1931-05.11.1932), Radenko Stanković (27.01.1934), Ilija Šumenković (27.01.1934-20.12.1934), Stevan Ćirić (20.12.1934-19.06.1935) and Drago Marušić (19.06.1935-24.06.1935).

¹¹⁹ [“Osnovnoj nastavi nije jedini cilj da širi pismenost, nego, i još više, da nacionalno vaspitava.”]

esteem and with full faith in the progress and future of Yugoslavia".¹²⁰ The most optimistic and docile followers of the state's ideology proclaimed that: "At school old mentalities have to be wiped away and new Yugoslav generations with a fully formed Yugoslav national and state consciousness have to be built, for the sake of spiritual national unity" (Milošević 1931: 10).¹²¹ According to the same author the new policy in Yugoslav schools would lead to the creation of a Yugoslav man, "without prejudices toward the future and with equal love for all creations of the Yugoslav national spirit", within a period of ten years (ibid: 11).¹²² A similar message was conveyed for secondary schools. Accordingly, after the unification the Yugoslav work of secondary schools was thwarted by political irresponsibility. "If, by some chance, [our secondary school] had been placed on a stable basis and organised by one law for all regions immediately after the unification, we today could have already spoken about the new Yugoslav type, built in the Yugoslav secondary school" (Ćurčić 1931: 83).¹²³ According to Ćurčić the historic act of King Aleksandar had initiated a new era for secondary schools, in which they could fully devote themselves to the creation of the Yugoslav nation. In his view, within two or three years the Yugoslav secondary school would produce the first true Yugoslav, through whose veins one Yugoslav blood would pour and whose heart would be moved by one idea, the Yugoslav idea (ibid: 84).

In line with its general national program, the government of Milan Stojadinović preserved the dictatorship's Yugoslav national framework for education but left more room for Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian specificities. In its program of 1935 JRZ argued that education should "confirm the harmony between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and spread the Yugoslav idea, the Yugoslav unity as a synthesis of all positive characteristics and creative forces of all parts of the Yugoslav people" (qtd. in Dimić 1996, 1: 337-8).¹²⁴ The new government also shifted away from the omnipresence of the Yugoslav ideology in the dictatorship's policy and highlighted the more practical needs of Yugoslav

¹²⁰ 'Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta'. *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1. ["Od osnovne škole do universiteta treba da se sva nastava vrši strogo u jugoslovenskom nacionalnom duhu, omladina treba da sa poštovanjem gleda na narodnu istoriju i kulturu, sa dubokom verom u napredak i budućnost Jugoslavije."]

¹²¹ ["Kroz škole treba da se zbrišu stari mentaliteti i stvori novo: nove jugoslovenske generacije se izrađenom jugoslovenskom narodnom i državnom svešću, za duhovno narodno jedinstvo."]

¹²² ["bez predrasuda prošlosti, koji će imati jednaku ljubav za sve što je stvorio narodni jugoslovenski duh."]

¹²³ ["Da je ona, kojom srećom, odmah po ujedinjenju bila postavljena na sigurnu osnovu i sankcionisana jednim zakonom za sve krajeve, mi bismo danas već mogli da govorimo o novom, jugoslovenskom tipu koji je izrađen u jugoslovenskoj srednjoj školi."]

¹²⁴ ["da se što više utvrđuje sloga među Srbima, Hrvatima i Slovencima, kao i da se gaji ideja jugoslovenstva, odnosno jugoslovenske ukupnosti kao sinteze svih pozitivnih osobina i stvaralačkih snaga svih delova jugoslovenskog naroda."]

education.¹²⁵ On 2 March 1937 Minister of Education Dobrivoje Stošović complained that until then the Yugoslav educational policy had lacked an overarching vision. Stošović presented an ambitious program, especially with regard to the development of the elementary school network and the reduction of the number of gymnasia in order to stop the hyper-production of secondary school graduates (Dimić 1996, 1: 362-5). On the annual congress of JPD in Subotica, held on 5 and 6 July 1938, a representative of the minister of education stressed that the government was fully aware of the harsh material situation for both teachers and schools in general and promised that the government would build a large number of new schools in a short period of time. Finally, it was guaranteed that the government rejected every form of political interference in education.¹²⁶ However, much like the practice during the 1920s, such programmatic declarations for the greatest part remained dead letter. Several drafts for a new law on secondary education for example were formulated, but in the end none of these were discussed in parliament.

It was only after the foundation of the Croatian banovina in August 1939 that the Yugoslav educational system changed drastically. A specific decree clarified that most competences concerning education were transferred to the new banovina. The only remaining state-wide competences of the Ministry of Education were the “formulation of the legal fundamentals” for the educational policy of the entire state (art. 2), international contacts, the organisation of international congresses and activities in the field of education and the collection of statistical data on education (art. 3).¹²⁷ Thus, the authorities of the Croatian banovina had almost unrestricted autonomy concerning the educational system in the banovina. In December 1939 Sigismund Čajkovac, the President of the newly established Croatian Educational Council (*Hrvatski pedagoški zbor*), presented the basic fundamentals of the Croatian educational policy. First, he clarified that the Croats had finally realised their thousand year old dream, namely the establishment of a free Croatian homeland within the framework of the Yugoslav state. In this new era, according to Čajkovac, the Croatian nation could only make progress if education was organised on the basis of the ideology of the brothers Radić. In the first place the Croatian educational system should be based on the true Croatian national spirit, which was authentically preserved by the Croatian peasants. Education should guarantee that no foreign national influence would enter the Croatian national soul (Čajkovac 1940: 331-3). Further, education should be based on the following fundamentals:

¹²⁵ Ministers of Education under Stojadinović were Dobrivoje Stošović (24.06.1935-04.10.1937), Dimitrije Magarašević (04.10.1937-21.12.1938) and Bogoljub Kujundžić (21.12.1938-05.02.1939), all former Radicals and members of JRZ.

¹²⁶ *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 19 (1938-39): 57-60.

¹²⁷ ‘Prenos poslova prosvete sa države na Banovinu Hrvatske’. *Narodna prosveta*, 14.12.1939: 3.

social justice, faith in God, respect for humanity, respect toward other peoples, especially the Serbs in the Croatian banovina, practical knowledge and civil consciousness (Čajkovac 1940: 340-3; 455-60). In November 1940 the educational department of the Croatian banovina formulated the following methodological guidelines for teaching “in the national spirit”:

Our school should no longer alienate our youth from the nation and homeland, but should instead do everything it can to familiarise the youth with and bring it closer to the nation. (...) Wherever it is possible in the teaching of a course, material from our national ethnography, from our national peasant life and culture, should be treated. But it is not enough that the school going youth becomes familiar with its nation and homeland, the youth should also be taught to love and value them. During their education students should become convinced of the decisive value of the peasantry for our national future. Let it be shown to them that the peasantry forms the majority and core of our nation, from whose progress the success of all of us depends; further, that the peasantry is the carrier of our language, national being and cultural individuality, that without the peasantry our language and nationality would have long disappeared. Show them the great moral and social values of peasant life: tireless arduousness and balance, physical strength and tenability, brotherly equality and unity, strict morality – those central and familiar characteristics of the peasantry. Finally, it should not be mentioned that students have to be made familiar and experience the aesthetical values of popular songs, popular art and dances (qtd. in Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 104).¹²⁸

Clearly the Yugoslav ideology had completely lost ground as the fundament for the educational policy in the Croatian banovina. A similar trend took place in Yugoslav proper. In his first declaration as Minister of Education in July 1940 Anton Korošec for example stated that the primary task of schools was to “protect, cherish and develop the linguistic and national traditions of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the sanctities

¹²⁸ [“Naša škola ne smije dakle više otuđivati mladež narodu i domovini, nego naprotiv valja da što više posluži tome, da mladež upozna narod i približi mu se. (...) Gdje god se u obuci kojega predmeta pruža zgodna prilika, treba primijeniti građu i iz naše narodne etnografije, dakle iz našega narodnoga seljačkoga života i kulture. Ali nije dosta, da školska mladež dobro upozna svoj narod i domovinu, nego treba mladež i naučiti, da ih ljubi i cijeni. Za svoga školovanja učenici stoga valja da steknu uvjerenje o odlučnoj vrijednosti seljaštva za našu narodnu budućnost. Neka im se pokaže, kako je seljaštvo pretežna većina i jezgro naroda, o čijem napretku ovisi sreća svih nas; nadalje, kako je seljaštvo bilo nosilac našega jezika, našeg narodnog bića i kulturne individualnosti, pa bi bez seljaštva već odavno nestalo našega govora i narodnosti. Neka se učenicima prikažu i velike moralne i socijalne vrednote seljačkoga života: neumorna marljivost i umjerenost, fizička snaga i otpornost, bratrska jednakost i zajednica, stroga moralnost – te glavne i poznate odlike seljaštva. Ne treba posebice spomenuti, da učenici moraju upoznati i proživjeti estetske vrednote narodne pjesme, narodene umjetnosti i igre (...).”]

and traditions of all recognised religions”.¹²⁹ To summarise, during the 1930s the Yugoslav educational policy followed shifts in national ideologies of ruling political elites, from a pronounced integral Yugoslavism during the first half of the 1930s to real Yugoslavism under Stojadinović and minimal Yugoslavism after 1939.

In the following chapter I provide an overview of the educational laws which were introduced during the first years of the Royal Dictatorship and which remained in place until the end of the interwar period. Where necessary, I point to reforms introduced by the government of Milan Stojadinović. The complex transition of 1939-1941 will not be treated in detail, since it is not of direct relevance for the research questions of this dissertation. Let it be clear that this chapter does not intend to provide a detailed examination of all aspects of the Yugoslav educational system. Rather, I focus on the place of the Yugoslav ideology in the legal fundamentals for the educational system of the 1930s.

3.3.1 The reorganisation of the Ministry of Education

One of the first measures taken after the establishment of the Royal Dictatorship was the reorganisation of the Ministry of Education in three departments. The general department was responsible for administration, finances, legal affairs and statistics. Also, this department included a section on art and literature and a section on higher education. Finally, the section for educational enterprises supervised the work of the State Publishing House and the publication of textbooks. The department for secondary education supervised all secondary, teacher-training and theological schools and was subdivided in a administrative section and a section for education (*nastavni odsek*), the latter being primarily responsible for curricula. The department for elementary education controlled kindergartens, elementary schools, civil schools and popular education. It consisted of an administrative section, a section for education, and a section for popular education.¹³⁰ At the regional level the Ministry of Education had representative departments in the banovinas, which were responsible for the inspection of schools and other educational institutions, and teachers within their respective regions, as well as the coordination of the building and maintenance of schools.¹³¹

¹²⁹ ‘Izjava novog ministra proveste g.dr. Korošca predstavnicima domaće štampe’, *Narodna prosveta*, 04.07.1940: 1. [“Čuvajući, negujući i razvijajući jezične i narodne tradicije Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, svetinje i običaje svih priznatih veroispovesti”.]

¹³⁰ ‘Uredba o uređenju ministarstva prosvete’. *Službene novine* 11/176: 1287-91, 26 July 1929.

¹³¹ See art. 8, point VI, in ‘Zakon o nazivu i podeli Kraljevine na upravna područja’. *Službene novine* 11/233: 1887.

On 31 March 1937 the government of Milan Stojadinović reorganised the Ministry of Education into five departments. The general department was occupied with administration, finance and statistics, as well as high schools and scientific institutions. The departments for elementary and secondary education arranged the personnel policy for the schools in question. Further, there were specific departments for education and popular education. Also, it was prescribed that each banovina should have an educational department consisting of one sub-department for elementary schools and another sub-department for all other types of schools and institutions for popular education. This reform transferred some important competences from the ministry to the educational departments within the banovinas, especially in the field of inspection (Dimić, Tešić & Pavlović-Lazarević 2000: 51-7).

An important advisory organ to the Ministry of Education was the Main Educational Board. The Law on the Main Educational Board determined the competences of this institution to “fundamental and important questions relating to schools, education, popular education and the advancement of national culture in general” (art. 1).¹³² For every reform of the educational system the Ministry of Education was obliged to obtain the advice of the Main Educational Board. Further, the board could discuss other important issues, on the condition that this had been approved by the ministry (art. 2). However, in no case the minister of education was obliged to follow the advice of the Main Educational Board (art. 4). As Vladeta Tešić has pointed out, it was precisely the vagueness and arbitrariness of these prescriptions concerning the competences of the board through which the Main Educational Board was tightly subjected to the ministry (Tešić V. 1980: 113). Members of the Board were appointed by the King on the basis of proposals made by the Ministry of Education (art. 5). Members were primarily university professors and teachers in secondary, civil and elementary schools. The Ministry was represented by an assistant and the department chiefs (art. 6).

3.3.2 Popular schools

The Law on Popular Schools determined the organisation of elementary schools (Serbo-Croatian: *osnovna škola*, Slovenian: *osnovna šola*) and higher popular schools (*viša narodna škola*, *višja narodna šola*).¹³³ As clarified in the first paragraph of the law, the goals of popular schools were “to educate pupils as moral, faithful and active members of the

¹³² ‘Zakon o glavnom prosvetnom savetu’. *Službene novine* 13/150: 1106-7, 2 July 1931. [“u načelnim i važnijim pitanjima koja se odnose na školu, nastavu, narodno prosvjećivanje i podizanje narodne kulture uopšte”].

¹³³ ‘Zakon o narodnim školama’, *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76, 5 December 1929.

state and the national and social community, through education in the spirit of unity of state and nation and religious tolerance”.¹³⁴ Further, it was important that popular schools cooperated with cultural-educational organisations and institutions for popular education and thus served as local centres for national education (art. 1). The role popular schools were expected to play in the strengthening of Yugoslav national consciousness can hardly be overestimated. In the methodological guidelines for teaching in elementary schools, published in 1933, the national function of these schools was explicated as followed:

The popular school is an institution which is maintained and developed by the state for its self-preservation. Therefore its educational work must be imbued with the spirit of the state fundamentals. The popular school is an important weapon for the state's cultural unity, because it systematically educates the entire national youth in the spirit of the state's national aspirations. (...) The goal of popular schools requires that the youth, through the development of its national sentiments and love toward the nation, is trained to participate in the realisation of the goals of the community it belongs to. All teachers should keep in mind this greatest goal of the education of the youth in their work in and outside school.¹³⁵

The provision of fundamental knowledge that would allow pupils to actively participate in society was mentioned, but only as a goal of second order.¹³⁶

The law prescribed eight years of compulsory and free popular education for every child, from the age of six to fourteen (arts. 2, 3 & 4). In case of unpermitted absence of pupils parents could receive a warning or a fine of ten to twenty dinars (arts. 66 & 67). Popular education was divided in four years of elementary school and four years of higher popular schools (art. 8). Schooling in elementary schools was full-time and obligatory for all Yugoslav children. Higher popular schools should only be attended by those pupils who did not go to secondary or civil school. These schools were clearly intended for the countryside, as it was made possible that classes in higher popular

¹³⁴ [“da nastavom i vaspitanjem u duhu narodnog i državnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti, spremaju učenike za moralne, odane i aktivne članove države, narodne i društvene zajednice”.]

¹³⁵ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’, 1933: 1-2. AJ 66-1281-1527. [“Narodna škola je ustanova koju država održava i razvija u svrhu svoga samoodržanja. Zbog toga njen obrazovan i vaspitni rad mora bit prožet duhom državnih načela. Narodna škola je bitno oruđe državne kulturne zajednice, jer se u njoj sistematski obrazuje i vaspitava sva narodna omladina u duhu državno nacionalnih težnji. (...) Dakle, zadatak narodne škole zahteva da se omladina, razvijajući joj nacionalne osećanje / ljubav prema narodu / osposobi za učešće u ostvarivanju zadataka zajednice kojoj ona pripada. Na ovoj duhovnoj podlozi treba da se razvije svest i osećanje o jednoj jedinstvenoj državi Jugoslaviji. Ovaj najviši cilj obrazovanja i vaspitanja omladine u narodnoj školi uvek mora biti pred očima svih učitelja, čiji školski i vanškolski rad ima biti u tome duhu”.]

¹³⁶ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’, 1933: 2. AJ 66-1281-1527.

schools were only organised during the winter months (arts. 11 & 12). According to the law, popular schools should be established wherever there were more than 30 school-aged children within a surroundings of four kilometres (art. 17). If there were between ten and twenty school-aged children within such an area, the state had to establish temporary school stations (art. 18). A specific type of popular schools were kindergartens (*zabavište*), which were not compulsory. They were specifically intended for cities, where they were open for pupils of four years of age, with a minimum of 60 subscriptions (art. 13). Teachers who wanted to teach in these schools had to pass a special exam.¹³⁷ Concerning the education of children of one of the minorities in Yugoslavia, the Law on Popular Schools decreed that education should be provided in the mother tongue if there were more than 30 or in exceptional cases also 25 children of a certain minority in one school year. If not, they had to attend classes in Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian (art. 45). The state could organise a voluntary preparatory year for children whose mother tongue was not Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian, so that these children could follow lessons in Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian. This year did not fall under the eight years of compulsory education (art. 9).

On 17 July 1933 the Ministry of Education published a new, definitive, curriculum for elementary schools.¹³⁸ A major difference with the curricula of the 1920s was that basic real training was deleted as a separate subject and incorporated in the language lessons. Consequently, the amount of hours devoted to language was considerably increased in the first two years, to ten and nine hours per week respectively. Strikingly, taking into consideration the stress on the national role of elementary schools in the law of 1929, and worrisome for some nationally oriented educational experts, the amount of hours devoted to the national subjects decreased in comparison to the schedule of 1926, to the benefit of the exact sciences (Đorđević Ž. 1933: 268-9; Nikolić 1934: 224).¹³⁹ On 15 August 1932 a first, temporary, curriculum for higher popular schools was written out.¹⁴⁰ Apart from religion, language, history, geography and mathematics, the curriculum for higher popular schools foresaw more practical subjects, such as hygiene and economy for boys or housekeeping for girls. This curriculum formulated plans for both full-time and shortened schooling. The shortened school programs prescribed the same subjects, but these had to be treated within 18 hours of school per week in the fifth and sixth year,

¹³⁷ 'Zabaviljski tečajevi – polaganje zabaviljskog ispita', S.n. br. 9472, 2 April 1930, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 528.

¹³⁸ 'Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji', O.n. 48.491, 17 July 1933. In: Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 54-69.

¹³⁹ Đorđević compared the ratio of national subjects (in his definition language, history and religion) to exact sciences in the Yugoslav curriculum (40:35) with the ratio in German curriculum (42:16) to strengthen his complaints about the insufficiently national character of the curriculum (Đorđević Ž. 1933: 269).

¹⁴⁰ 'Privremeni nastavni plan i program za višu narodnu školu u Kraljevini Jugoslavije'. 15 August 1932, O.n. br. 65.764. In Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 70-108.

and 20 hours per week in the seventh and eighth year, instead of 28 hours per week in normal higher popular schools.

In villages where there were ten school-aged children who could not attend elementary school for reasons related to the climate or the difficult accessibility of the school, a school station (*školska stanica*) should be opened (art. 1).¹⁴¹ If we take into consideration the large distances between schools, especially in Yugoslavia's less developed regions (see table 2), and the deplorable state of the road system in these regions – Martin Mayer has presented an image of muddy tracks through dense woods with hungry predators and ramshackle bridges (Mayer 1995: 187-9) – such a measure was certainly much-needed. The task of school stations was to provide elementary education on the basis of the curriculum for the first two years of elementary education (art. 2). All children between seven and twelve could enrol (art. 5). Teachers were appointed and paid by the Ministry of Education (art. 6). They worked simultaneously in the two years, so that in every school station only one teacher was active (art. 10). Classes took place from 1 September until the end of June, two or three days a week with a total of ten hours per week (art. 7). Children who had successfully finished the two years should attend a normal elementary school afterwards, provided that the distance to the school was not more than seven km (art. 13). Ambulant schools (*ambulantna škola*) were only opened where it was impossible to open an elementary school or a school station, provided that there were ten school-aged children in the village (arts. 1 & 2).¹⁴² These ambulance schools consisted of four years, each of them for a duration of five months, either between 1 September and 1 February, or between 1 February and 1 July, with the restriction that students could only complete one school year annually (art. 5-6). All children between seven and twelve could enrol for the first year (art. 7). In school stations most attention was paid to language education and to a lesser extent mathematics. The programs for these subjects were identical to those for the first two years of normal elementary schools. It was the intention that teachers would treat the same basic fundamentals of reading, writing and counting, but not as thoroughly.¹⁴³ The curriculum for ambulant schools was almost identical to that for elementary schools.¹⁴⁴ The difference was, obviously, that teachers were required to treat the subject matters more superficially, since they had to treat the same subject material in only five months.

¹⁴¹ 'Pravila o školskim stanicama.' P.br. 33003, 11.09.1933. AJ 66-262-504.

¹⁴² 'Pravila o ambulantnim školama', P. br. 32751, 09.09.1933. AJ 66-262-504.

¹⁴³ 'Privremeni nastavni plan i program za školske stanice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. 30 December 1933, O.n. br. 47.085. AJ 66-262-504.

¹⁴⁴ 'Privremeni nastavni plan i program za ambulantne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. 30 December 1933, O.n. br. 47.084. AJ 66-262-504.

It is clear that such an ambitious plan for elementary education required a substantial increase of budgetary input, which was complicated by the general economic crisis which hit Yugoslavia badly in the early 1930s. As Ljubodrag Dimić has shown, the total state budget dropped from 14,6 thousand millions in 1929-30 to 10,2 thousand millions in 1934-35 and only gradually increased again after 1935. Simultaneously, the total budget for education slightly increased in the period 1929-30 to 1931-32 and only minimally decreased in 1932-35. That way, the budget for education occupied a continuously growing percentage of the total state budget, from 5,59% in 1929-30 to 7,8% in 1934-35. Under the government of Milan Stojadinović the budget for the Ministry of Education continued to increase to a level of ca. 8% of the total state budget. It can thus not be said that the state saved on the budget for education. Still, a budget of between 54 and 63 dinars annually per citizen remained insufficient to drastically change the picture of Yugoslav education (Dimić 1996, 1: 109, 144). Moreover, the authorities did not drastically change the budgets for different branches of education. For elementary education, obviously the most important branch of Yugoslav education, not in the least from an ideological point of view, the expenditures remained virtually the same between 1927-28 and 1939-40 (ibid: 90, 116, 159).

Consequently, the 1930s did not see the drastic development of the elementary school network the Law on Popular Schools departed from. In the first place, there remained a lack of school buildings and teachers to compensate for the growing number of elementary school pupils. Whereas in 1918-19 there had been 5610 popular schools and 11.064 teachers for 658.876 pupils in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or 60 pupils for every teacher, by 1937-38 the number of schools had increased to 8357 and the number of teachers to 30.686. Especially in the early 1930s there was a steep increase in the number of popular schools and teachers, from 7712 popular schools and 21.308 teachers in 1927-28 to 8349 schools and 28.839 teachers in 1933-34 (Mayer 1995: 98). However, by 1937-38 the number of pupils had increased to 1.431.523, which meant that there were still 47 pupils for every teacher (Dimić 1997, 2: 140-4).¹⁴⁵ In order to reduce the regional inequality in elementary education authorities strongly focused on less developed regions. Between 1930-31 and 1937-38 for example 26,24% of the state budget for the building of new schools went to Vardar banovina and between ten and thirteen per cent to other underdeveloped banovinas, namely: Zeta, Drina, Vrbas, Danube and Morava. Drava, Sava and Littoral banovina received between four and five

¹⁴⁵ Jozo Tomasevich has estimated that the Yugoslav population grew with 31% between January 1921 and the end of 1939. This population growth was the highest in Europe, except for Albania and Greece. According to the census of 1931 34,6% of the Yugoslav population was younger than 15 (Tomasevich 1955: 288-9). Marie-Janine Čalić has clarified that Yugoslavia had an annual population growth of 1,5% in 1921, one of the highest rates in Europe. At that time, 40% of the population was younger than 14 (Čalić 1994: 108).

percent of the expenditures (Dimić 1996, 1: 130). In Macedonia and Kosovo there was an increase in school buildings of 56%, from 761 schools in 1922 to 1185 in 1938, in Bosnia-Herzegovina there was an increase of 90% from 552 schools in 1922 to 1051 in 1938, whereas for Slovenia the number of new elementary schools was only 41, or an increase of five per cent, from 819 to 860 (Mayer 1995: 101). As the following table shows these measures were still insufficient to bring about a drastic change of the regional inequality:

Table 2 Development of elementary schools per banovina (Dimić 1997, 2: 184)

Banovina	schools per km ²	
	1928-29	1938-39
Drava	19,4	18,3
Sava	24,82	21,32
Danube	28,73	27,76
Littoral	38,16	31,29
Vrbas	59,67	36,95
Drina	40,8	36,7
Zeta	43,88	36,53
Morava	28,14	25,54
Vardar	32,51	31
Yugoslavia	33,63	29,41

On the basis of inspection reports Ljubodrag Dimić has found that in Drava banovina more than half of the pupils walked less than one kilometre to school, the maximum walking distance was five km (Dimić 1997, 2: 11). In Sava banovina the average walking distance was four km, although in certain districts in Lika and eastern Slavonia the walking distance to school was more than ten km (ibid: 19). Similarly, in Littoral banovina the average walking distance was four km, with exceptions of up to eight km in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina (ibid: 32). In Danube banovina the average walking distance was two-three km, in Morava banovina four-five km (ibid: 45, 81). In Vrbas banovina the average walking distance was eight km, in Drina seven (ibid: 61,71). Dimić gives no numbers for Zeta and Vardar banovina, but it can be presumed that average walking distances to school were similar to those in Vrbas and Drina banovina.

An additional problem in this regard was that the building and maintenance of popular schools remained the authority of so-called school communities, comprising a small number of administrative communities.¹⁴⁶ In many cases communities simply had no financial possibilities to build or maintain schools on their territory. As a result, the

¹⁴⁶ Article 23 of the Law on Popular Schools. 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289-CXIX: 2160.

quality of the school buildings in Yugoslavia remained below all standards. According to a report of 1932 80% of all elementary school buildings was unhygienic, dark, insufficiently ventilated and stuffy (Mayer 1995: 103). Except for Sava, Drava and Danube banovina, in all banovinas a large number of schools was poorly maintained and in many cases schools were located in buildings which were not built for this purpose. A majority of the schools in Vrbas banovina, for instance, only had one toilet for 100 to 150 pupils. In Vardar banovina schools were located in the residences of Ottoman landlords and governors, caravansaries, religious buildings and even taverns (Dimić 1997, 2: 8-116). After continuing criticism,¹⁴⁷ on 9 September 1936 the costs for the maintenance of school buildings were transferred to the level of the banovinas.¹⁴⁸ As Martin Mayer has shown, however, the total expenditures made by the banovinas for the maintenance of school buildings were not significantly higher than those made by the local communities, so that in this respect no progress was made (Mayer 1995: 96).

Compulsory education of eight years remained a distant ideal for many Yugoslav regions until the end of the interwar period. Whereas in 1920 almost half of all school aged children did not go to school, in 1933-34 80% of all Yugoslav children between the age of six and ten attended school. However, in Vardar banovina 34% of the children between six and ten did not go to school, in Zeta 35%, in Drina 43% and in Vrbas 56% (Mayer 1995: 175). The network of higher popular schools, although in theory a compulsory alternative for secondary and civil schools in the countryside, was completely undeveloped. In the school year 1932-33 more than half of the popular schools consisted only of the lower four years. Five per cent of all popular schools had even less than four years, 17% five or six years and 15% seven or eight. In 1937-38 the situation was even worse, with almost 75% of all popular schools comprising only the lower four years (ibid: 100). In 1937-38 only 7,5% of all popular school pupils attended a higher popular school (ibid: 176). There was a striking regional discrepancy in this regard. In 1933-34 in Slovenia 31% of all popular school pupils attended higher popular education. For Vojvodina the rate was 25%, for Dalmatia 19% and for Croatia six per cent. For the other regions, this number did not surpass one percent, and in Vardar banovina there was not one popular school which provided more than four years of

¹⁴⁷ UJU for example had demanded that the state would collect surtaxes on schools from the communities and consecutively arrange the maintenance of the schools itself. Letter from UJU to the Ministry of Education, 10 September 1929. AJ 66-2053-2041; In a presentation of the inspection of elementary schools in the banovinas, the chiefs of the provincial sections of the teachers association invariably complained about the maintenance of the schools. D. Velimirović, the head of the section for Zeta banovina, for example, complained that "the maintenance of schools [was] so poor that, in fact, there [could] be no normal work at school". 'Stanje i problemi izdržavanja, uprave i nadzora narodnih škola', *Narodna prosveta* 07.07.1935: 1-3, quotation on page 1. ["izdržavanje škola je i suviše očajno, da i, upravo, i ne može biti normalnog rada u školi"].

¹⁴⁸ 'Uredba o izdržavanju narodnih škola', O.n.Br. 55847. *Prosvetni glasnik* 52 (1936): 621.

education (ibid: 102). In a circular of 12 April 1938 the Ministry of Education recognised that article 8 of the Law on Popular Schools, which had prescribed eight years of compulsory education, had remained dead letter:

After the completion of elementary education a majority of the children in countryside schools starts to work in agriculture at an early age, although it is absolutely necessary for them that they remain under the leadership and control of specialised teachers for a few more years, so that their young spirits could develop in the direction of national and state unity and religious tolerance, so that they would become moral, faithful and active members of the state and the national and societal community.¹⁴⁹

According to the authorities, the problem was that no new higher popular schools had been established, but that only the existing extended schools had been transformed into higher popular schools. The ministry urged all responsible factors to finally realise the ideal of eight years of compulsory education. The provincial authorities and the local school committees were obliged to examine all possibilities to establish new higher popular schools and to popularise the idea of eight years of compulsory education among the local population. The ministry for its part would finally write out a definite curriculum and approve textbooks for higher popular education.

3.3.3 Secondary schools

After completing four years of elementary education pupils could continue the higher years of popular education, or they could attend civil or secondary school. The goal of secondary schools (*srednja škola*, *srednja šola*) was:

to harmoniously develop the abilities of the students; to provide higher general and national education; to develop the students' morals and character; to strengthen their work discipline; to make the students conscious about the tasks of life and their social and civil duties; and to enable students to advance more

¹⁴⁹ 'Važnost više narodne škole i njeno postepeno uvođenje u život'. III Br. 25885, *Prosvetni glasnik* 54 (1938): 357. ["Deca seoskih škola po završenom školovanju u osnovnoj školi odaju se većinom poljoprivrednim poslovima još u ranom detinjstvu, ma da im je neophodno potrebno da još izvesno vreme budu pod vođstvom i nadzorom stručnih učitelja, pa da se njihove mlade duše formiraju u duhu državnog i narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti, tako da oni postanu moralni, odani i aktivni članovi države, narodne i društvene zajednice."]

easily and successfully in later professions or to prepare them for expert academic advanced studies in high schools or universities (art.1).¹⁵⁰

Unlike elementary schools, for which the development of national consciousness was ubiquitous, the national function of secondary schools was less pronounced. Still, it remained one of the fundamental goals of secondary education to provide students knowledge about the country and all aspects of Yugoslav national life, both material and spiritual. On the basis of the national knowledge they obtained in secondary school students should be prepared to “expand, strengthen, love and protect” their nation.¹⁵¹

Secondary schools were divided in four years of lower and four years of higher secondary education (art. 2). There were three types of secondary schools: real gymnasia, classic gymnasia and the so-called *realkas*. The last two types could only be established in places where there already was a real gymnasium (art. 3). Secondary schools could be established on the condition that there were 50 students for the first and second year, 45 for the third and fourth year, 40 for the fifth and sixth year and 30 for the seventh and eighth year, and on the condition that there was a sufficient budget from the part of the state and the local community (arts. 6 & 7). In 1930 the Ministry of Education prescribed a new, final curriculum for the three types of secondary schools, which did not differ significantly from the 1927 curricula.¹⁵² As was already announced in the program presented by Minister Božidar Maksimović in March 1929, the educational authorities reduced the number of secondary schools from 206 in 1926-27 to 169 in 1932-33. However, at the same time the number of secondary school students increased continuously, from 42.675 in 1918-19 to 73.092 in 1929-30 and 119.236 in 1937-38. In the same period the number of secondary school teachers increased from 2053 to 4986. As a response to this evolution, by 1938 the number of secondary schools was raised again to 197 (Dimić 1997, 2: 158-9). The total expenditures on secondary schools remained stable, at ca. fifteen per cent of the Ministry of Education's budget (Dimić 1996, 1: 92, 119, 161). In any case, these numbers clarify that the hyper-production of secondary school graduates was not brought to an end during the 1930s. The regional inequality that characterised the entire Yugoslav educational system was also manifest in the secondary school network. In 1937-38 there were 38 secondary schools in Sava banovina against only six in Vrbas and 12 in Littoral banovina (Dimić 1997, 2: 160).

¹⁵⁰ ‘Zakon o srednjim školama’. *Službene novine* 11/217: 1589-602, 31 August 1929. [“da skladno razvije sposobnost učenika, da da više opšte i nacionalno obrazovanje, da vaspita moral i karakter, stvori disciplinu rada i svest o zadacima života i o socijalnim i građanskim dužnostima, da učenike osposobi za lakše i uspješnije napredovanje u docnijim pozivima i za stručno i naučno usavršavanje na visokim školama i univerzitetama.”]

¹⁵¹ *Programi i metodski uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 7. [“Proširuje, produbljuje, voli i brani”.]

¹⁵² ‘Nastavni plan i program za realne i klasične gimnazije i realke u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’. 1930. S.n. br. 28.311, S.n. br. 28.873. *Programi i metodski uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 30-2.

3.3.4 Civil schools

The first paragraph of the Law on Civil Schools (*građanska škola, meščanska šola*) clarified that the primary goal of these schools was “to give their students more detailed general education than popular schools, beside the required social education in the spirit of the unity of state and nation and religious tolerance” (art. 1.1).¹⁵³ Civil schools provided students with practical knowledge and prepared them for a profession in trade, handicraft, industry or agriculture (art. 1.2). They had the rank of lower secondary schools and lasted four years (arts. 2 & 15). The first two years were identical for all civil schools, in the third year students could choose a specialisation in agriculture, handicrafts and industry or trade (arts. 16 & 18). These schools were especially established in cities, on the condition that there were at least 30 candidates for the first year (arts. 10 & 11). Teachers in civil schools should have obtained the lower grade of a pedagogical high school (art. 44). Between their third and fifth year of work teachers had to pass a state exam (art. 45). On 11 May 1936 a new curriculum for civil schools was formulated.¹⁵⁴ This curriculum differed significantly from the curriculum of 1926, mostly because it foresaw specific subjects related to the different graduation options (agriculture, trade and industry).

Obvious attempts were made during the 1930s to propagate civil schools as alternatives to stop the hyper-production of secondary school graduates. In the first place, the expenditures on civil schools by the Ministry of Education increased significantly, from 16 million dinars in 1928-29 to 31 million dinars in 1931-32 and even 40,8 million dinars in 1939-40, or from 2,03% of the budget for education in 1928-29 to 3,51% in 1931-32 and 4,1% in 1939-40 (Dimić 1996, 1: 91, 118). Nonetheless, there remained a significant regional inequality between former Austro-Hungarian regions, where these schools had a long tradition, and the other regions in the country.

Table 3 The development of civil schools in different regions of Yugoslavia (Mayer 1995: 111)

Region	Number of schools		Number of pupils	
	1925-26	1939-40	1925-26	1939-40
Slovenia	36	51	6972	10616
Croatia-Slavonia	49	53	7117	11555

¹⁵³ ‘Zakon o građanskim školama’, *Službene novine* 13/285: 1891-6, 5 December 1931. [“da svojim učenicima pored potrebnog socijalnog vaspitanja kao i vaspitanja u duhu državnog i narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti, pruže opsežnije opšte obrazovanje, nego što im ga mogu dati više narodne škole”]

¹⁵⁴ ‘Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred građanskih škola u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’. 11 May 1936, S.n.br. 16814, AJ 66-653A.

Dalmatia	23	28	2601	2887
Vojvodina	26	30	5425	8644
Bosnia-Herzegovina	25	45	3650	7625
Serbia	-	23	-	3632
Macedonia and Kosovo	-	13	-	894
Montenegro	-	-	-	-
Yugoslavia	159	243	25765	45853

3.3.5 Teacher-training schools

Teacher-training schools (*učiteljska škola*, *učiteljska šola*) trained teachers for popular schools by providing them not only with the fundamental general and pedagogical training, but also “by educating them in the spirit of the unity of state and nation, and by familiarising future teachers with their national, educational and cultural mission, especially in the countryside” (art. 1).¹⁵⁵ The Ministry of Education had the right to subscribe future teachers in teacher-training schools far away from their home region, in order to familiarise them with other parts of the Yugoslav nation-state (art. 11). The duration of teacher-training schools was prolonged from four to five years (art. 15). These schools were open for students who had finished lower secondary school or civil schools and had passed a complementary entrance exam (art. 34). A first curriculum for teacher-training schools, with a teaching program for the first two years, had been formulated in June 1925 by a special ministerial commission.¹⁵⁶ On the basis of suggestions made by teacher-training schools a new version was prescribed on 1 October 1926.¹⁵⁷ On 12 September 1930, a new curriculum was written out for the fourth

¹⁵⁵ ‘Zakon o učiteljskim školama’, *Službene novine* 11/230: 1851-8, 27 September 1929. [“obrazujući ih u duhu državnog i narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti; vežbajući ih i navikajući ih još u školu za nacionalnu, prosvetnu i kulturnu misiju u narodu, a naročito na selu.”]

¹⁵⁶ ‘Nastavni plan učiteljskih škola, nastavni program za I i II razred učiteljskih škola.’ 27 June 1925, P. br. 7825. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/22: 773-84.

¹⁵⁷ Circular from the Minister of Education to several teacher-training schools in the country, 23 December 1925. AJ 66-2182-2978; ‘Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred učiteljskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. 1 October 1926, O.n. br. 21.874. AJ 66-2182-2978.

and fifth year of teacher-training schools.¹⁵⁸ For the first three years the old curriculum of 1926 remained in use. A year later a new, temporary plan was legalised.¹⁵⁹

Whereas in the parliamentary period the number of teacher-training schools had rapidly increased from 24 in 1919 to 32 in 1920 and 47 in 1925-26, with a growing student population from 3330 in 1919 to 8252 in 1927-28, during the 1930s the number of teacher-training schools continuously decreased to 39 schools with 7427 students in 1929-30, and 32 schools with 3196 students in 1937-38 (Dimić 1997, 2: 148-50).¹⁶⁰ The reason was in the first place that the number of graduate teachers grew faster than the number of new teaching places. In 1934-35 there were 1800 graduates of teacher-training schools with no prospects for a teaching job in the near future. Another reason for the decrease of the number of teacher-training schools was that the maintenance of these schools was relatively expensive (Mayer 1995: 108-10). The regional inequality here was equally striking. In 1937-38 there were seven teacher-training schools in Sava banovina, five in Danube, four in Drava, four in Morava, four in Littoral, two in Zeta and only one in Vrbas and Vardar banovina. In Belgrade there were two teacher-training schools (Dimić 1997, 2: 148-52).

3.3.6 Other types of specialised secondary schools

Additionally, there were several types of schools with a more technical orientation, situated at the same level as lower secondary and civil schools. So-called lower agricultural schools (*niža poljoprivredna škola*) fell under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture. Already on 28 August 1920 a law had been ratified for these schools, based on the pre-war Serbian law. Training in these schools lasted for two years and provided general (language, history, geography, calculation) and specialist agricultural knowledge (Knežević 1939: 256; Mayer 1995: 163). In 1922-23 there had been only 16 of these schools in the Kingdom of SCS. By 1938-39 their number had increased to 51, with a total of 2156 students. Thirteen of these schools were situated in Sava banovina, nine in Drava, eight in Morava, five in Danube, four in Vardar and Vrbas, three in Drina and Zeta and two in Littoral banovina and Belgrade (Mayer 1995: 114). Further, there were

¹⁵⁸ 'Privremeni nastavni plan i program za učiteljske škole Kraljevine Jugoslavije'. 12 September 1930, S.n br. 28,313. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1052-68.

¹⁵⁹ 'Privremeni nastavni plan za učiteljske škole'. 27 August 1931, S.n. br. 28,375. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 710-1.

¹⁶⁰ Simultaneously the expenditures on teacher-training schools increased to 32 million dinars in 1931-1932, or 3,6% of the Ministry of Education's budget, and then decreased to 21,9 million dinars in 1932-33, or 2,67% of the Ministry's budget (Dimić 1996, 1: 120).

secondary agricultural schools, accessible for students who had finished lower secondary school, civil school or lower agricultural school (Knežević 1939: 257). After finishing elementary education children could also start working as an apprentice and at the same follow classes during ten hours per week in expert extended schools for apprentices (*šegrtska stručna produžna škola*). Handicraft schools (*zanatska škola*) were accessible to pupils who had finished two years of higher popular, secondary or civil school and lasted between two and four years. Technical secondary schools (*srednja tehnička škola*) were accessible to pupils who had finished lower secondary school, civil school or handicraft school and lasted four years (Knežević 1939: 256-64).

Practical education for girls was organised in domestic science schools (*škola za domačice*), which were opened annually from 1 February to the end of November and were organised as boarding schools. They were accessible for girls older than 14 who had finished elementary education. Apart from standard subjects like language, history and geography, girls learned about hygiene, laundry, housekeeping, cooking and handiwork. The impact of these schools remained minimal throughout the interwar period. According to Mayer, there were only six state schools for domestic science until 1926, 11 in 1928-29 and 26 in 1933-34. By that time, the schools only had 638 students and 104 teachers (Mayer 1995: 115-6). Between 1922 and 1929 circa 200 additional courses for domestic science had been organised by the state or private educational associations, with a total of 400 attendants. For the period 1929-1937 the state organised 464 of these courses (Mayer 1995: 119). Part of the problem was that the dictatorship had forbidden all forms of private initiative in this field, although private associations had been very active in the organisation of domestic science schools. After the war the Serbian Association for the Education and Protection of Women (*Društvo za prosvetivanje i zaštitu žena*) for example had maintained 48 domestic science schools, whereas the state had only 11 of these schools in 1928-29 (Mayer 1995: 167-8). A significant increase of the number of domestic science schools only occurred after the Ministry of Education formulated a new decree about domestic science schools in 1937. It was prescribed that these schools could be maintained by the state, the community or private organisations, under the condition that they were approved by the ministry. The community was responsible for the maintenance of the buildings (Mayer 1995: 168). In the end of 1939 the Ministry of Education wrote out a curriculum for domestic sciences schools and courses.¹⁶¹ As a result of these measures, in 1938-39 the number of domestic science schools and courses rose to 156, with 4008 students and 311 teachers (Mayer 1995: 116). There were also two private high schools for domestic science, in Zagreb and Ljubljana,

¹⁶¹ 'Nastavni plan i program za škole, stalne i pokretne tečajeve za domačice, gradskog i seoskog tipa'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 1243 and further.

open to girls who had completed civil or lower secondary school. Graduates of these schools were qualified to teach in private domestic science schools and courses (Knežević 1939: 257).

Further types of specialised secondary schools were several types of military academies, with in total between 300 and 500 students per year. Yugoslav nationalism and patriotism played a prominent role in the education of future officers and curricula for national subjects concurred with those of other secondary schools (Bjelajac 1994: 151-63). A final branch of specialised secondary schools were theological seminaries with the rank of complete secondary schools. There were great *medreses* for Islam in Skopje and Sarajevo, in Sarajevo there was also an academy of Islamic law (*šerijatska gimnazija*). Further, there was a Jewish theological institute in Sarajevo. There were five Orthodox seminaries in Yugoslavia: in Sremski Karlovci, Prizren, Sarajevo, Cetinje and Bitola, as well as a dense network of Catholic seminaries (Knežević 1939: 270-1).

3.3.7 Higher education

During the 1920s the Yugoslav university network had expanded significantly, with the establishment of a new university in Ljubljana, three new faculties at the university of Zagreb, as well as a faculty of Law in Subotica and a faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, both falling under the authority of the University of Belgrade. The Law on Universities recognised the University of Ljubljana, with five faculties, the University of Belgrade with six faculties, as well as a Faculty of Law in Subotica and a Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, and the University of Zagreb with seven faculties (arts. 3 & 4).¹⁶² The University of Belgrade, with its faculties in Skopje and Subotica, was the largest of the country, with 6829 students in 1929 and 9016 in 1939. Students at the University of Belgrade came from all Yugoslav areas, although the percentage of students from Sava (5,1%) and Drava banovina (1%) were significantly below those for other banovinas (Dimić 1997, 3: 357-9). The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was established on 15 December 1920. It was intended to become a centre for Yugoslav national culture in the South. Throughout the interwar period, however, it received only little financial support from the educational authorities and its role in and impact on intellectual life in Yugoslav Macedonia remained minimal. The number of students in Skopje steadily grew to 156 in 1929-30 and remained stable throughout the 1930s. Remarkably, throughout the interwar period the number of students from Vardar banovina comprised ca. 2/5 of the total student population in Skopje. The number of autochthonous students in Skopje was negligible in

¹⁶² 'Zakon o univerzitetima'. *Službene novine* 12/149: 1387, 28 June 1930.

comparison to the Macedonian students studying in Belgrade and Zagreb (Boškowska 2009: 297-304; Jovanović V. 2002: 333-40). The Faculty of Law in Subotica was intended to give Subotica the character of a Yugoslav cultural and national centre and to strengthen Yugoslav nationhood on the national border with Hungary. The number of faculty students in Subotica varied between 400 and 500 per year, most of them coming from Vojvodina, pre-war Serbia with Macedonia and Montenegro. However, throughout the interwar period the faculty in Subotica received little financial support and political representatives frequently demanded the transfer of the faculty to Novi Sad or Sarajevo (Šimunović-Bešlin 2007: 203-7).

The University of Zagreb strongly expanded during the 1920s, with the establishment of three new faculties, i.e. the faculty of economy and forestry, the faculty of veterinary medicine and the technical faculty. Further, the College for Economy and Commerce was elevated to the rank of faculty (Pazman 1958: 316-7). In 1930 the institutions for higher education of Zagreb had 4794 students, in 1939 this number had increased to 6106 (Dimić 1997, 2: 190). The University in Ljubljana was officially established on 16 July 1919. However, during the 1920s the authorities several times threatened with the closure of some faculties because of economic difficulties (Dolenc 1996: 34-9; Zečević 1985: 370-74). It was only in the 1930s and certainly after SLS entered the government of Milan Stojadinović that the situation become more stable. Illustrative was the opening of the University Library of Ljubljana in 1936 and the establishment of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts in Ljubljana in December 1937. In that period there were between 1600 and 2000 students at the university (Melik V. 1997: 176-7).

Under the dictatorship universities too were involved in the Yugoslav nation-building project. In the Law on Universities the national function of universities was stated as follows: "Universities are the highest educational institutions for specialised training, the development of science and the construction of Yugoslav national culture".¹⁶³ Indeed, numerous university professors played an important role in the definition of Yugoslav national identity (cf. chapter 4). Further, it was prescribed that students could not establish associations based on regional, religious or 'tribal' fundaments. Also, all students associations had to be approved by the university authorities and could be disbanded at all times (art. 206).¹⁶⁴ At the same time, the Yugoslav Academic Club was formed, a pro-regime students club of which the members received numerous privileges (Stojkov 1969: 160). However, the dictatorship did not succeed in eliminating opposition among university students. Rather to the contrary:

¹⁶³ ["Univerziteti su najviše prosvetne ustanove za stručnu spremu, obrađivanje nauke i izgrađivanje jugoslovenske nacionalne kulture."] 'Zakon o univerzitetima'. *Službene novine* 12/149: 1387-93, 28 June 1930.

¹⁶⁴ Art. 206 of the Decree on Universities, legalised on 11 December 1931. 'Opšta uredba o univerzitetama', *Službene novine* 13/291: 2074-101.

During the fall and winter of 1931-32 the first open acts of criticism against the dictatorship were student demonstrations at the universities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, leading to police interventions and the temporal closing of the university of Belgrade. Students demanded the return of full democracy, the decentralisation of the state and the autonomy of universities. Especially in Zagreb clashes occurred between Croatian nationalists and Yugoslav students who supported the regime (Stojkov 1969: 130-1, 159-64). Macedonian students at the universities of Zagreb and Belgrade lay at the basis of the Macedonian national movement (MANAPO, *Makedonski narodni pokret*), which demanded the federalisation of Yugoslavia with and the recognition of the Macedonian nation as a specific historical entity (Boškowska 2009: 111-3; Jovanović V. 2011: 262-3).

Although universities clearly were intended to play an important role in the “construction of Yugoslav national culture” the financial means of the universities significantly decreased under the dictatorship. The state budget for universities decreased not only absolutely but also in relation to the total budget for schools, dropping from 14,39% in 1925-26 to 8,48% in 1934-35 (Dimić 1996, 1: 96, 121-2). At the same time the number of students at Yugoslav universities increased from 12.534 in 1928-29 to 16.132 in 1933-34 (Pazman 1958: 343).

3.3.8 Popular education

A final branch of education which received great attention in the dictatorship's educational policy was popular education. Within the Ministry of Education's department for elementary education a special section on popular education had been established with the following competences: courses against illiteracy; popular lectures; popular libraries and reading rooms; choral societies; Sokol clubs (cf. 7); cooperation with all popular educational associations; schools and courses for domestic science; popular movies and radio-emissions; and popular universities (art. 19).¹⁶⁵ On 17 August 1936 a Committee for Popular Education was established, consisting of an assistant of the minister of education, the chiefs of the different departments within the Ministry of Education and a legal expert (art. 2). The committee acted as an advisory organ within the ministry with the goal to coordinate the work on popular education (art. 6). In concrete, the committee organised popular lectures and domestic science courses and stimulated the establishment of popular libraries (art. 8). For this purpose, a special

¹⁶⁵ 'Uredba o uređenju ministarstva prosvete'. *Službene novine* 11/176: 1287-91, 26 July 1929.

fund for popular education was established (art. 9).¹⁶⁶ Whereas during the 1920s the Ministry of Education's policy toward popular education had been fragmentary, within the institutional framework of the dictatorship the educational authorities adopted a whole series of rulebooks and legal prescriptions which placed all of the abovementioned branches of popular education firmly under state control.

3.3.8.1 Written media, radio and film

The Yugoslav authorities understood the propagandistic and educational potential of written media, radio and film. Immediately after the proclamation of the dictatorship a very strict media policy was installed. Already in 1925 a Law on Press had been legalised which forbade the publication of insults of the King, the Royal Family and foreign rulers, direct calls to violate or change the laws of the country, violations of public mores, hatred against the state as a whole and religious or 'tribal' discord (Dobrivojević 2006: 301). In an amendment to the Law on Press of 6 January 1929 the restrictive character of censorship was tightened.¹⁶⁷ There was no possibility to undertake legal actions against decisions to censor a publication and the publisher was obliged to publish the corrections made by the censor in the next number of the publication (art. 5, 9). If he failed to do so, or if the publication was censored three times in one month, the authorities could ban the publication completely (art. 14). The law installed shared responsibility of writer, editor, publisher, printer and disseminator (Dobrivojević 2006: 302).

At the same time the dictatorship also made use of written media for propagandistic purposes. In April 1929 the Central Press Office was established with the task to control both domestic and international media publications on Yugoslavia and to stimulate propaganda for Yugoslavia through publications, radio and film (Dobrivojević 2005: 54-55). The Central Press Office had correspondents in all provincial centres and major international cities, who held detailed records on publications related to the Yugoslav Kingdom and who provided readymade propagandistic articles or instructions for such articles (ibid: 54-8). In Vardar banovina the Central Press Office took the initiative for and financed the publication of a new weekly and later daily, *Vardar* (Boškowska 2009: 325-8). Similarly, in Zeta banovina the provincial authorities published *Zetski glasnik* ('The Zeta Herald') under the editorship of the correspondent of the Central Press Office in Cetinje (Babović-Raspopović 2002: 156-8). The result was of course that Yugoslav newspapers and journals docilely and uniformly presented the dictatorship as a stable system, which was enthusiastically supported by the entire Yugoslav population. The

¹⁶⁶ 'Pravila o organizaciji i radu odbora za narodno prosvetivanje', P.Br. 33.883. *Prosvetni glasnik* 52 (1936): 645-6.

¹⁶⁷ 'Zakon o izmenama i dopunama zakona o štampi'. *Službene novine* 11/9: 56-7.

King was presented as the unifying force behind this harmonious country and nation. Acts of resistance or opposition, such as the Zagreb points of November 1932, were not ignored, but were invariably presented as desperate attempts to destabilise the country by a small group of state enemies. Moreover, it was always stressed that the Yugoslav population decisively condemned these acts (Marković P. 2001: 606-11).

The dictatorship also made use of new media like radio and film to consolidate its position, both internally and externally. Radio was developing very fast in Yugoslavia in the 1930s. Whereas in 1929 only 19.270 households owned a radio, in 1938 this number had increased to 86.060 (Marković P. 2001: 594). The dictatorship quickly realised that radio could be used as a useful tool for popular education. On 27 March 1933 the Ministry of Education wrote out a rule book for radio programs in the kingdom.¹⁶⁸ It was stressed that the general goal of the radio was the education of the people and that it not only had an educational and aesthetical value, but that it also had to spread the national idea (arts. 1 & 2). Radio should treat all scientific subjects which were of interest to the broad population (art. 3). Importantly, radio emissions were intended for all layers of the population and had to be produced accordingly (art. 4). Radios were obliged to play predominantly national and Slavonic music and all vocals should be in the state language (arts. 5 & 6). Finally, radios should cover Yugoslav national literature (art. 8). There were three radio stations in the Yugoslav Kingdom, one in Belgrade, one in Zagreb and one in Ljubljana, as well as one special station for Yugoslav emigrants in the Americas, which broadcasted from Belgrade. In 1937 Radio Belgrade had 60.000 subscribers, Radio Zagreb 22.000 and Radio Ljubljana 20.000.¹⁶⁹ In Macedonia Radio Sofia was better received and more popular than Radio Belgrade (Boškovska 2009: 331-2). In August 1934 the Central Press Office introduced so-called national hours for radios. Every day between 7 and 8.30 p.m. all three radios in the country transmitted a lecture on an important national theme, as well as a short overview of the actuality in the country and in international politics. Approximately 15 programs per year were made by Radio Belgrade, ten by Radio Zagreb and Radio Ljubljana, one by the Ministry of Defence and two by the Ministry for Physical Education of the People (Marković P. 2001: 595-6).¹⁷⁰ These lectures treated typical themes from Yugoslav national culture: important historical events and figures, Yugoslav regions, important Yugoslav writers,

¹⁶⁸ 'Pravilnik o emisionim programima radio-stanica u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. AJ 66-121-393.

¹⁶⁹ Dates obtained from the article 'La radiophonie yougoslave', published by the Central Press Office on 22 November 1937. AJ 335-81.

¹⁷⁰ 'Centralni presburo zavodi od 3 septembra nacionalni čas na svima jugoslovenskim radio-stanicima'. *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 26.08.1934: 4.

the Royal House, important patriotic organisations like the Sokol movement (cf. 7), *Narodna odbrana*,¹⁷¹ *Jadranska straža* (cf. 4.5).¹⁷²

Finally, the authorities also appropriated the nascent medium of film for popular education. Whereas in 1919 there were only 82 cinemas in Yugoslavia, by 1929 this number had increased to 340 (Dimić 1997, 3: 326). In 1932 Yugoslav cinemas welcomed 11.834.399 viewers to 739 films (ibid: 336). Again, there was a clear regional disparity in the country. In 1934, most cinemas (121) were located in Danube banovina, followed by Sava banovina (62) and Drava banovina (47). An additional 13 cinemas were located in Belgrade, three in Pančevo and two in Zemun. The number of cinemas was far lower in other banovinas: Drina (20), Littoral (19), Morava (15), Vardar (15), Vrbas (15) and Zeta (8).¹⁷³ It was only under the dictatorship that Yugoslav authorities began to take interest in the film industry. In December 1931 a Law on Film Distribution was legalised, which stimulated domestic film production (Dimić 1997, 3: 333; Marković P. 2001: 585). Within the framework of this law the Central Cinematographic Office (*Državna filmska centrala*) was established, with the task to control the film production and circulation in Yugoslavia, to stimulate the production of films and to spread useful and instructive films.¹⁷⁴ The institution was founded within the Ministry of Trade and Industry, but was advised by representatives of a number of other ministries and the Central Press Office (arts. 1 & 2). In practice, the office gave advice on the import, distribution and production of films. Also, it watched over the correct implementation of decrees and laws on film, had to give its approval for the shooting of films in the country, wrote out competitions for domestic films and gave financial support to production houses (art. 3). At the same time the Central Press Office also established a film production house, Yugoslav Educational Film (*Jugoslovenski prosvetni film*) (Marković P. 2001: 583). This became Yugoslavia's most productive film production house. In 1933 for example it produced 89 educational films, 20 films on actuality and two entertaining films.¹⁷⁵

Thematically, a great number of films of the period revolved around national themes. A first important theme was the dynasty, with numerous documentary films made by production houses from Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana on travels by the Royal Family, the celebration of royal anniversaries or the wedding of King Aleksandar and Queen

¹⁷¹ *Narodna odbrana* (National Defence) was initially founded by Serbian intellectuals in Belgrade as a reaction against the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908. It was re-established in 1926 as an organisation of predominantly Serbian intellectuals which aimed to contribute to the cultural revival of the Yugoslav nation and the protection of the unity the Yugoslav state and nation. Its ideology was conservative and Serb-centred (Dimić 1996, 1: 465-506).

¹⁷² The monthly programs for the national hours were included in the journal *Jugoslovenski dnevnik*.

¹⁷³ 'Cinématographes de la Yugoslavie'. Article published by Central Press Office, AJ 335-81.

¹⁷⁴ 'Uredba o sastavu i radu Državne filmske centrale i prometu filmova'. 11 July 1933. AJ 335-81.

¹⁷⁵ 'Cinématographes de la Yugoslavie'. Article published by Central Press Office, AJ 335-81.

Marija (Volk 1986: 72, 76-7, 97). A typical example of this kind was the 1932 film “King Aleksandar in Croatia” (“Kralj Aleksandar u Hrvatskoj”), which showed scenes from Aleksandar’s visit to Croatia in 1931. Typically, the scenes in this film illustrated the Yugoslav consciousness of the Croats, the similar folk traditions of Serbian and Croatian peasants and the close connection between King Aleksandar and Croatian peasants (Marković P. 2001: 590). Other films showed natural and cultural sites of interest in Yugoslavia, such as “The beauties and landmarks of our country” (“Lepote i znamenitosti naše zemlje”), a documentary film produced by Yugoslav Educational Film in 1931,¹⁷⁶ or other documentary films Josip Novak and Mika Đorđević made by order of Yugoslav Educational Film (Volk 1986: 87-8). In 1935 Oktavijan Miletić, the leading and pioneering filmmaker in Zagreb, made a film about the Plitvice Lakes (Volk 1986: 68-71). In Slovenia a large number of documentary and feature films were set in the Julian Alps, such as Janko Ravnik’s “In the Kingdom of the Goldhorn” (“U kraljevstvu Zlatoroga”), the first Slovenian feature-length film, situated on the flanks of the Triglav, from 1931 (Volk 1986: 90-6). Also popular were documentary and feature films about historical events, especially related to the First World War (Volk 1986: 51, 81-2). Popular feature films of the period were Stanislav Krakov’s “For King and Fatherland” (“Za kralja i otadžbinu”) from 1931, or Mihajlo Al. Popović’s “With faith in God” (“S verom u Boga”) from 1932, both displaying stories which took place during the World War (Volk 1986: 83-6). Another example of a historical film was Kosta Novaković’s unfinished ‘Battle of Kosovo’ (‘Kosovski boj’), filmed on the occasion of the commemoration of the 550th anniversary of the battle in 1939 (Volk 1986: 79-80). Finally, numerous documentary films were made about Sokol manifestations. In 1930 the most prominent directors of the country produced a film about the all-Slavonic jamboree in Belgrade, in 1933 Yugoslav Educational Film distributed a film about the All-Slavonic jamboree in Prague in 1932.¹⁷⁷

Of course, the authorities made sure that citizens would not see any undesired movies. On 7 November 1931 the Ministry of Education decreed that students of secondary schools could only go to the cinema if they had obtained the permission of the school principal.¹⁷⁸ An exception was made for films produced by Yugoslav Educational Film.¹⁷⁹ On 22 February 1932 the Ministry of Education wrote out a rulebook

¹⁷⁶ Letter from Yugoslav Educational Film to the Royal Chancellery, 11 May 1931. AJ 74-99-148.

¹⁷⁷ Letter from Yugoslav Educational Film to the Royal Chancellery, 22 February 1933. AJ 74-99-148.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Pozorišne, bioskopske, cirkuske i druge predstave mogu pohoditi učenici srednjih i stručnih škola po odobrenju školske vlasti’. S.n. br. 39691, 7 November 1931. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1931): 899.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Filmovi jugoslovenskog prosvetnog filma mogu se prikazivati u svim školama.’ P.Br. 36175, 30 September 1933. *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1933): 913.

concerning the censorship of films.¹⁸⁰ Films could only be shown when a special commission for the censorship of cinematographic films had given its approval (art. 1). In evaluating the film the commission looked at its moral, educative, aesthetic and propagandistic value, scientific validity, the language and alphabet used in the film. By no means films could endanger public security or the interests of nation and state. Additionally, films would not be approved if they offended 'tribal' or religious sentiments or if they did harm to the reputation of the nation and state. Finally, children under 18 would not be allowed to see movies which harmed their moral, spiritual or physical development or stimulated their fantasy too much (arts. 8 & 9). Filmmakers could appeal against a negative evaluation within 14 days after the decision. In this case, the movie would be checked again by a higher censorship commission of representatives of different Ministries (arts. 15 & 16).

3.3.8.2 Courses against illiteracy

High illiteracy rates remained one of the most pressing problems for Yugoslav society in the beginning of the dictatorship. According to the census of 1931 45,6% of the Yugoslav population older than ten was illiterate. For women this percentage was 56,6, for men 32,3. Moreover, there continued to be great differences between the northern areas of the state and the underdeveloped southern regions. In Drava banovina the illiteracy rate was 5,6%, in Sava banovina 27,7%, in Danube banovina 28,9% and in Belgrade 10,9%. In the other banovinas the situation was simply disastrous. In Littoral banovina the illiteracy rate was 57,4%, in Morava 62%, in Drina 62,1%, in Zeta 66%, in Vardar 70,9% and finally in Vrbas banovina 72,6% (Dimić 1996, 1: 56). Already in the Law on Popular Schools of 5 December 1929 it had been prescribed that all illiterates under 25 year had to follow special courses against illiteracy, which would be organised as evening classes between 1 November and 1 March. Illiterates older than 25 could follow these courses voluntarily. In the army too lessons for illiterates were organised, for which the ministry provided one teacher per unit (art. 153).¹⁸¹ On 11 November 1930 the ministry prescribed that every popular school had to organise courses against illiteracy, which were obligatory for illiterates under 25 (art. 1).¹⁸² The courses should be given by active teachers or teachers at rest. Exceptionally, students, priests or other competent persons

¹⁸⁰ 'Pravilnik o cenzuri filmova'. *Službene novine* 14/46: 132-6, 22 February 1932.

¹⁸¹ 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

¹⁸² 'Organizovanje i otvaranje analfabetskih tečajeva uz sve narodne škole u zemlji'. O.n. br. 82.600. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1194-201. A new decree of 1938 confirmed the most important elements from this decree. 'Organizovanje analfabetskih tečajeva u vojsci i mornarici.' V Br. 2.762, 27 April 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 54 (1938): 451-6.

could take over this task, provided that they were morally and nationally correct (art. 5). In one class there could be maximally 50-60 students, minimally 15 (art. 7). The lessons provided elementary knowledge on the following subjects: language, arithmetic, geography with history and public health (art. 12). Such lessons could only be organised if they had been approved by the Ministry of Education in advance. Only in that case the teacher would receive a honorarium of 70 dinars per successful graduate. If more than half of the attendants had not passed the exam the teacher would not be paid at all (art. 10 & 19). To prevent that attendants would forget what they had learned, graduates received an easy book (art. 20). They could also use local libraries and reading rooms (art. 21). Only textbooks which had been approved by the ministry could be used (art. 23). On 15 November 1930 the Ministry decided that non-governmental institutions could no longer organise courses against illiteracy. Although the ministry greatly valued their efforts, it was argued that only centrally coordinated work could lead to success.¹⁸³

Courses against illiteracy in army and navy should be followed by all illiterate recruits and took between three and four months, depending on the type of recruit (art. 2), for a total of seven hours per week, with two hours on Sundays, and one hour every other day except Saturday (art. 4).¹⁸⁴ As a rule, all illiterate recruits were grouped in classes of maximally 60 students per teacher. Exceptionally, one teacher could have two or three classes with maximally 70 students (art. 8). The lessons were given by teachers, who could only be exempted from giving these lessons in case of illness (arts. 11-13). Teachers were rewarded with 60 dinars per successful recruit, provided that the course had been reported to and approved by the ministries (arts. 9, 28). Finally, only textbooks which had been approved by the Ministry could be used (art. 10). Also illiterate participants in courses for domestic science were obliged to follow courses against illiteracy, which had to be organised in accordance to the decree of 11 November 1930 and had to be given by teachers of elementary schools or schools for domestic science.¹⁸⁵

The curriculum for courses against illiteracy consisted of six hours of language training per week, three hours of arithmetic, three hours of geography with history and two hours of hygiene.¹⁸⁶ For language the teacher should treat the material for the first year of elementary education, for geography a general overview of the state (state boundaries, rivers, capital, nationalities...). The history curriculum treated the most

¹⁸³ 'Privatna društva i ustanove ne mogu otvarati analfabetske tečajeve'. O.n. br. 83.902. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1201-2.

¹⁸⁴ 'Organizovanje analfabetskih tečajeva u vojsci i mornarici'. O.n. br. 52.651, 14 July 1931. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 882-8.

¹⁸⁵ 'Obrazovanje analfabetskih tečajeva pri domaćičkim tečajevima'. O.n. Br. 7/259, 2 February 1933. *Prosvetni glasnik* 49 (1933): 125.

¹⁸⁶ 'Organizovanje i otvaranje analfabetskih tečajeva uz sve narodne škole u zemlji'. O.n. br. 82/600. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1194-201.

important events in the history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from the beginning of the 19th century, completely concurring with curricula for elementary school (cf. 4.4.5).¹⁸⁷ The curriculum for lessons against illiteracy in army and navy was less elaborate.¹⁸⁸ The subjects treated were language and calculation (for the air force respectively three and two hours per week, for artillery four and three hours and for infantry six and four hours). History and geography were already taught by the officers to all recruits, so these subjects were not treated in the lessons for illiterates. The teacher should, however, point to historical or geographical facts on every possible occasion in the language courses. The prominent place of national subjects – not only language but also history and geography – in courses against illiteracy once again indicates how closely Yugoslav nationhood and modernisation were intertwined in the state's educational policy.

Although the authorities thus clearly created an environment for a centralised, state-controlled campaign against illiteracy, state organised courses against illiteracy did not have a drastic impact on Yugoslav society. Martin Mayer has found that between 1921-1938 the Yugoslav state organised more than 7000 courses against illiteracy. In total, they were attended by 268.000 persons.

Table 4 Courses against illiteracy (Mayer 1995: 154)

Year	Army		Civil	
	Courses	Participants	Courses	Participants
1921	35	895	149	4140
1922	71	2130	189	3984
1923	75	2738	162	4753
1924	162	3618	216	5920
1925	469	12064	807	12129
1926	58	3112	169	5255
1927	199	5963	150	9765
1928	82	6582	225	10120
1929-30	282	14697	198	7700

¹⁸⁷ Topics included in the curriculum were the first Serbian uprising, the Illyrian Provinces, the second Serbian uprising, the national rebirth (Valentin Vodnik, Ljudevit Gaj, Vuk Karadžić), Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević, Croats and Serbs in 1848, the governments of Miloš Obrenović and Mihajlo Obrenović, Josip Juraj Štrosmajer, the revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1875-76, the independence of Serbia and Montenegro, the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, King Petar I, *četniks* in "Southern Serbia", the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the treason trials, Serbia in the Balkan wars, Young Bosnia and the Sarajevo assassination, World War I, Yugoslav volunteers, the fall of Austria-Hungary and the formation of Yugoslavia, King Aleksandar.

¹⁸⁸ 'Organizovanje analfabetskih tečajeva u vojsci i morarici.' O.n.Br. 52.651, 14 August 1931. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 888.

1930-31	362	19650	135	3275
1931-32	434	31861	279	8200
1932-33	374	13368	34	672
1933-34	338	13768	80	887
1934-35	334	14517	24	257
1935-36	353	14759	6	137
1936-37	237	14708	30	937
1937-38	326	16345	18	396
Total	4191	189675	2871	78527

Still, these efforts remained insufficient to drastically change the situation. In 1931-32 the courses against illiteracy for civilians reached 8200 participants, which was less than one per cent of the 1.261.058 illiterates between 11 and 25 according to the census of 1931 (Mayer 1995: 155). The situation in the army was slightly better. In 1931-32 46% of all illiterates between 18 and 19, the years of army duty, were reached (ibid.). These numbers were even more problematic for the less developed regions. In 1928-29 1200 persons followed courses against illiteracy in Vardar banovina, whereas the total number of illiterates older than ten was 750.000 (ibid: 156). Obviously, the state was simply not prepared to make significant efforts (financially and structurally) to reduce the number of illiterates. By means of comparison, in Turkey 1,2 million illiterates were reached between 1929 and 1935. Between 1945 and 1952 socialist Yugoslavia organised 120.000 courses against illiteracy, reaching 2,5 million illiterates (ibid: 160-1). In this light it is indicative that the budget for courses against illiteracy continuously decreased in relation to the education budget, from 0,6% in 1924-25 to 0,3% in 1932-33 (ibid: 158).

3.3.8.3 Private initiatives in the field of popular education

Private associations, which had been quite active in the field of popular education during the 1920s, were placed firmly under the authority of the ministry. The Law on Popular Schools had announced that the Ministry of Education would support the work of non-governmental cultural associations with all possible means, but that it would also formulate a general plan for the “coordination” and “unification” of the work of non-governmental cultural associations.¹⁸⁹ The ministry commissioned educational departments of the banovinas to submit an overview of all institutions which in one way or another were active in the field of popular education, so that the ministry could

¹⁸⁹ Articles 156 and 157 of the Law on Popular Schools. ‘Zakon o narodnim školama’, *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

begin the work toward the unification and harmonisation of these activities.¹⁹⁰ In practice, this meant that these institutions were either banned or completely subordinated to state authority. The primary motive behind this strict policy was not so much the material modernisation of Yugoslav society as a goal in itself, but rather the correct national education of the masses.

Popular libraries and reading rooms

A first important private initiative for popular education were popular libraries and reading rooms, which were envisaged as “centres of cultural and economic progress”.¹⁹¹ Ideally, popular libraries and reading rooms provided villagers with the opportunity to maintain their capacity to read, they subscribed to important newspapers and thus often were one of the only places in the village where villagers were informed about topics from actuality and politics, and they provided room for popular lectures and other educational activities. In practice, however, the Ministry of Education received frequent complaints that popular libraries were not used for correct purposes, but rather for drinking alcohol, playing cards and gambling, in general improper behaviour until late at night.¹⁹² Popular libraries were also often used by the formally banned pre-1929 political parties. The Croatian libraries in Stup and Alipašin Most, nearby Sarajevo, were used by leading HSS-politicians from Bosnia for political agitation in the early period of the dictatorship (Išek 1991: 27-30). In the early 1930s the reading room of Mostar was banned by the authorities because of political agitation. In the summer of 1936 the Ministry of Education re-approved the Croatian peasant library and reading room, because local authorities could now guarantee the national-political correctness of its members.¹⁹³ Discussions about actuality in popular libraries frequently also led to more innocent criticism against the dictatorial regime. Radivoj Babin, for example, a Serbian teacher working in Račinovci in the district Županja in western Srem, reported about a politically charged discussion in the local library. When reading in the newspaper about the fealty delegations to King Aleksandar, Ivica Dragičević, also a teacher, had sworn that he would die for Croatia. Hereafter some of the peasants

¹⁹⁰ ‘Spiskovi narodnih univerziteta, narodnih knjižnica i čitaonica i ostalih prosvetno-kulturnih društava i ustanova – dostava istih’. O.n. br. 41819, 26 May 1930. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 610-2.

¹⁹¹ [“središta celokupnog kulturnog i prosvetnog rada i napretka”]. From a 1931 circular of the Ministry of Education, quoted in Dukić (1935: 51-2).

¹⁹² See decree O.n. br. 17.501, from 1931, in Dukić (1935: 51-2).

¹⁹³ Report from the authorities of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 13 June 1936; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 16 June 1936. AJ 66(pov)-91-261.

present criticised the fealty delegations and “insulted the Serbs”. Immediately, the case was brought to court.¹⁹⁴

In order to assure that popular libraries were used for the right purposes the ministry commissioned school principals and teachers to inspect the work of the libraries and report any form of unsuitable activities in the libraries to the local authorities. In extreme cases the Ministry could dissolve the library in question.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, the Ministry of Education stressed that all libraries and reading rooms stood under the direct control of the ministry and were obliged to submit their rule books for approval to the ministry. Also, libraries should annually present the Ministry of Education a report with the number of books the library owned, how many books were obtained during the year in question, the names of donators, how many members made use of the library, how many books the library had loaned, which activities or gatherings the library had organised, which lectures were given, and finally a financial overview.¹⁹⁶

In June 1933 the Ministry of Education commissioned local authorities to submit reports about popular libraries and reading rooms in their district.¹⁹⁷ These reports indicate that popular libraries and reading rooms were well established throughout Yugoslavia. In most cases the libraries subscribed to the most important regional and ‘tribal’ newspapers. Thus, in areas with a predominantly Croatian population libraries typically had at their disposal the most important Zagreb dailies (*Obzor* (‘The Horizon’), *Svijet* (‘The World’), *Novosti* (‘News’), *Jutarnji list* (‘Morning Newspaper’)) and possibly a number of regional journals or dailies. In the Croat populated parts of Dalmatia for example libraries typically subscribed to a number of regional newspapers and journals, such as *Novo doba* (‘The New Era’), a daily published in Split, and the journal of *Jadranska straža*, a cultural-patriotic organisation which promoted the Yugoslav character of the Adriatic Sea and was based in Split (cf. 4.5), in addition to the Zagreb newspapers.¹⁹⁸ In areas with a Serbian population libraries typically subscribed to Belgrade newspapers (*Politika* (‘Politics’), *Vreme* (‘Time’), *Pravda* (‘Justice’)) and journals (*Srpski književni glasnik* (‘The Serbian Literary Herald’)). In some cases libraries also owned regional newspapers, such as *Slobodna misao* (‘Free Thought’) in Montenegro, or *Vardar* in Macedonia.¹⁹⁹ In the reports for Drava banovina there was not much mentioning of popular libraries, which

¹⁹⁴ Report from the district authorities to the Ministry of Education, 19 May 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁹⁵ Decree O.n. br. 17.501, 1931 (Dukić 1935: 51-2).

¹⁹⁶ Decree O.n. 37.626, 15 May 1931 (Dukić 1935: 44-6).

¹⁹⁷ The detailed reports can be found in AJ 66-262-507, AJ 66-263-507, AJ 66-264-507.

¹⁹⁸ The reports for Sava and Littoral banovina are included in AJ 66-264-507.

¹⁹⁹ The reports for Zeta banovina are included in AJ 66-262-507, those for Danube and Morava banovina in AJ 66-263-507, those for Vardar banovina in AJ 66-264-507.

either means that they were not widespread or that the writers of the reports simply had not included them.²⁰⁰

In areas with religiously and 'tribally' mixed populations different population groups typically had their own libraries. A representative illustration for the situation in Bosnia is provided in the report for the district Bugojno in central Bosnia. In the town of Bugojno itself there was a Serbian library with the newspapers *Politika* and *Vreme*, the Sarajevo daily *Jugoslovenski list* ('The Yugoslav Newspaper') as well as the Sokol journal *Sokolski glasnik* ('The Sokol Herald'). Additionally, there was a Croatian library with the Zagreb dailies *Obzor*, *Novosti* and *Jutarnji list*, as well as *Jugoslovenski list*, and a Muslim library with *Politika*, *Jugoslovenski list* and *Islamski svijet* ('Islamic World'), a newspaper published in Sarajevo. In the town of Gornji Vakuf there was a so-called Islamic library with the newspapers *Jugoslovenski list*, *Pravda* – in this case a newspaper published in Sarajevo which was affiliated to JMO, not be confused with the Belgrade *Pravda* – and the journal *Novi behar* ('New Blossom') – a literary journal published in Sarajevo by intellectuals close to *Narodna uzdanica* –, as well as a Croatian library with *Obzor*, *Jugoslovenski list* and *Hrvatska straža* ('The Croatian Guard'), a Catholic newspaper from Zagreb.²⁰¹ Although in most other districts in Bosnia-Herzegovina the division was less symmetric – in the sense that not every religious group always had its own library – libraries were clearly intended either for Serbs, Croats or Muslims. In Croat-Serb mixed areas in Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina the situation was similar. Here too Serbs and Croats each had their own libraries. In the town of Gospić, in the Lika area, the Serbian library subscribed to *Politika*, *Vreme*, *Novosti*, *Pravda* and *Kosovo*, the Croatian library to *Novosti*, *Politika*, *Pravda*, *Jutarnji list*, *Obzor*, *Vreme*, and *Hrvatska straža*.²⁰² In the town of Irig, in eastern Srem, there was a Croatian library with *Politika*, *Svijet* and *Jutarnji list*, as well as a Serbian library with *Politika*, *Vreme* and *Sokolski glasnik*.²⁰³ In the town of Ruma, in Srem, there was a German library, a Serbian library with *Politika* and a Croatian library with *Jutarnji list*, *Hrvatska revija* ('Croatian Review', a journal published by *Matica hrvatska*), *Hrvatski list* ('Croatian Newspaper') and *Politika*.²⁰⁴ In the town of Dalj, in the Osijek district, the Croatian library subscribed to *Jutarnji list*, *Hrvatski list*, *Politika* and *Svijet*, the Serbian library to *Politika*, *Vreme*, *Hrvatski list* and *Jadranska straža*.²⁰⁵

However, this picture of a clear-cut division in reading rooms and libraries in Yugoslavia's mixed areas should be slightly qualified. In many villages there were

²⁰⁰ The reports for Drava banovina are found in AJ 66-263-507.

²⁰¹ AJ 66-264-507.

²⁰² AJ 66-264-507.

²⁰³ AJ 66-263-507.

²⁰⁴ AJ 66-263-507.

²⁰⁵ AJ 66-264-507.

neutral libraries which subscribed to newspapers from different 'tribal' and regional centres. At the same time, many 'tribally' or religiously oriented libraries also subscribed to newspapers from other 'tribes' or religious groups. In Žepče, a town in central Bosnia, there was a communal library with the Belgrade dailies *Politika* and *Pravda*, the Zagreb dailies *Svijet* and *Jutarnji list*, the Sarajevo daily *Jugoslovenski list*, and Muslim journals *Novi behar* and *Islamski svijet*. In the same village the Muslim library had *Politika*, *Svijet*, *Jutarnji list*, *Novi behar* and *Islamski svijet*, the Croatian library offered *Politika*, *Svijet*, *Jutarnji list* and *Jugoslovenski list*.²⁰⁶ In Derventa, in northern Bosnia, there was a communal library with Serbian newspapers *Politika* and *Pravda*, Croatian dailies *Svijet* and *Obzor*, Muslim journals *Gajret* and *Behar* and the regional daily *Jugoslovenski list*.²⁰⁷ Frequently there were also so-called Yugoslav libraries. In Cazin, in north-western Bosnia, for example, the Yugoslav library subscribed to *Politika*, *Pravda*, *Obzor*, *Svijet*, *Jutarnji list*, *Jugoslovenski list*, *Gajret* and *Novi behar*.²⁰⁸ Finally, Serbian or Croatian libraries in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia typically subscribed to one important newspaper of the other 'tribe'. In the city of Osijek for example, there were two Croatian libraries with, beside the Croatian newspapers *Jutarnji list*, *Hrvat* and *Svijet*, also *Politika*, and two Serbian libraries with the Belgrade newspapers *Vreme*, *Politika*, *Pravda*, and *Hrvatski list* and *Novosti* from Zagreb.²⁰⁹

Choral societies

Choral societies occupied a prominent position in Yugoslav society, especially in smaller Yugoslav villages and towns where cultural and social life was not very varied or well developed. These choral societies frequently organised public performances and parties, not only in their home villages but also in the wider region, and performed at festivities on important holidays. Choral societies had been established in the South Slav lands in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their activities did not only have an entertaining and artistic character, but were also directed at the national education of the people. Especially in the multi-national context of the Austro-Hungarian empire choral societies were very important links in the establishment of national networks at a local level (Hodžić 2006; Koter 2006; Marković T. 2006; Pejović 2006). As illustrated in the reports on popular libraries and cultural-educational organisations from 1933 choral societies were widespread throughout all Yugoslav regions. Typically such choral societies were organised along ethno-religious lines, which was especially obvious in

²⁰⁶ The reports for Drina banovina are included in AJ 66-264-507.

²⁰⁷ The reports for Vrbas banovina are in AJ 66-262-507.

²⁰⁸ AJ 66-262-507.

²⁰⁹ AJ 66-264-507.

mixed areas, where every ethno-religious community had its own choral society. In the districts Vukovar and Slavonski Brod, for example, Serbs and Croats each had their own libraries and choral societies.²¹⁰ In the town of Derventa Serbs had a choral society with the name *Zmaj* ('The Dragon'), the Croats had their own choral society *Zrinjski*, named after the prominent Croatian noble family.²¹¹ In Bela Crkva, in the Banat, there was a Serbian, a Rumanian and a German choral society.²¹²

The activities of choral societies were closely followed by local authorities. In the summer of 1931, for example, the police ended a public performance by the Croatian choral society *Zvijezda* ('Star') in the village of Breza in central Bosnia because the group only sang Croatian patriotic songs. Moreover, in between the songs the singers had shouted "Long live Croatia!". On 21 July 1931 the leadership of the choral society sent a complaint to the Royal Chancellery, arguing that the police intervention was illegal. In a response to this complaint, the local authorities from the district Visoko explained that, although 'tribal' songs officially had not been banned, they were very harmful especially in areas where Serbs and Croats "of the three religions" lived together. Allegedly, all patriotic citizens of the area had avoided "publically expressing their tribal orientations", except for a small group of Croats who continued to provoke 'tribal' discord.²¹³ Especially the Croatian Peasant Party realised the potentials of choral societies – and other cultural associations – for political agitation. Many leading HSS-politicians occupied prominent positions in Croatian choral societies, as for example Jure Šutej, the leading HSS-politician in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who was President of *Trebević* from Sarajevo, a Croatian choral society which was closely linked to *Napredak* and performed at all *Napredak*'s major public manifestations (Išek 1991:35-6).

Popular universities

Another institution which was active in the field of popular education were popular universities (*narodni univerzitet, pučko sveučilište, ljudska univerza*). These popular universities organised frequent lectures which were specifically intended for a broad audience. As had been the case with other institutions for popular education, under the dictatorship the educational authorities tightened their control over popular universities. All popular universities were obliged to submit their statutes to the

²¹⁰ AJ 66-264-507.

²¹¹ AJ 66-262-507.

²¹² AJ 66-263-507.

²¹³ ["da javno ispoljava svoje plemensko raspoloženje."] Complaint from the Croatian choral society to the Royal Chancellery, dated 21 July 1931; response from the authorities of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Interior, dated 27 August 1931. AJ 74-11-20.

ministry for approval. Additionally, before every season they had to submit the program to the ministry for approval, with the titles and short summaries of the lectures, as well as the teachers who would give the lectures. When choosing the subjects for lectures popular universities should “exclusively be led by [their] cultural-educational tasks and the interests of the state government, national unity and religious tolerance”.²¹⁴ For every lecture the university should provide a short abstract and guarantee that the teacher was nationally correct.²¹⁵

The most well-known and active of these popular universities were the Kolarac popular university in Belgrade (*Kolarčev narodni univerzitet*) and the popular university of Zagreb. The Kolarac university organised ca. 300 lectures per academic year, the popular university of Zagreb between 130 and 140.²¹⁶ Lecturers at these universities often were prominent academics working at the Universities of Belgrade and Zagreb, such as Aleksandar Belić, Stanoje Stanojević, Viktor Novak, Vladimir Ćorović, Jovan Erdeljanović or Vaso Čubrilović in Belgrade, and Albert Bazala, Oto Frangeš, Antun Barac, Ivo Pilar or Ferdo Šišić in Zagreb.²¹⁷ Popular universities were also active in other Yugoslav towns and cities. In the 1930s popular universities were active in Apatin, Bačka Topola, Bela Crkva, Berane, Berovo, Bijeljina, Bitola, Boljevac, Celje, Crvenka, Čačak, Debar, Dobro Polje, Jagodina, Karlovac, Kavadar, Kolašin, Kotor, Kumanovo, Leskovac, Ruski Krstur, Kula, Ljubljana, Maribor, Mostar, Niš, Nova Gradiška, Novi Sad, Nova Varoš, Novi Bečej, Paraćin, Podgorica, Prilep, Priština, Sarajevo, Senta, Sisak, Skopje, Smederovo, Split, Stari Vrbas, Subotica, Šabac, Šid, Tetovo, Varaždin, Vršac and Zaječar. These popular universities were less active than the ones in Belgrade and Zagreb, with 10-25 lectures per year.²¹⁸

The lectures given at the popular universities treated a wide variety of subjects. A first group consisted of popularising lectures on physics, chemistry, astronomy, geography or psychology. Frequently the lectures had a social-humanitarian character, informing the population about hygiene, contagious diseases, tuberculosis, the harmful influence of alcohol, first aid, the benefits of cooperatives, the social structure of society. Especially in Vojvodina a lot of popular universities organised some sort of integration courses for minorities, including courses of Serbo-Croatian and introductory

²¹⁴ [“rukovodiće se isključivo kulturno-prosvetnim zadacima narodnih univerziteta i interesima državne uprave i narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti.”]

²¹⁵ Decree by the Ministry of Education on popular universities, 1 January 1932. AJ 66-295-519.

²¹⁶ Based on a report from Kolarac university to the Ministry of Education, dated 8 April 1937, and a report from the popular university in Zagreb to the ministry, dated 25 April 1937. AJ 66-295-519.

²¹⁷ From the program for the second semester of 1933 at the popular university in Belgrade, and the program for 1931-32 in Zagreb, AJ 66-472-744.

²¹⁸ Based on reports submitted by these universities to the Ministry of Education. AJ 66-2277-3250, AJ 66-295-519, AJ 66-472-744.

lessons on the history, geography, economy and administrative organisation of Yugoslavia.²¹⁹ The greatest part of the lectures held at popular universities treated themes related to Yugoslav national identity: events from Yugoslav history, an overview of Yugoslav regions, the linguistic unity of the Yugoslavs, the organisation of the Yugoslav Kingdom, the Royal House, national literature. In this field the themes covered in popular universities perfectly corresponded to the definition of Yugoslav national identity presented in school curricula (cf. 4).

Cultural-educational associations

During the 1930s cultural-educational associations were completely subordinated to state control and either turned into loyal associations or disbanded. The most widespread and influential cultural-educational association of the interwar period was the Sokol movement, a gymnastics movement which was heavily supported by and closely associated with the state authorities. I will treat this association in detail in chapter 7. Other prominent cultural-educational associations remained restricted to the former Habsburg regions of the country. In pre-war Serbia and Montenegro the associational network was much less developed and in most villages the activities of Sokol clubs, reading rooms and choral societies were the only form of associational life. In larger towns, especially in Vardar banovina, there were also local committees of patriotic organisations like *Jadranska straža* (cf. 4.5) and *Narodna odbrana*.²²⁰ In 1936 for example, there were only 88 and 97 educational associations in Vardar and Morava banovina respectively. In Vrbas banovina, which was by many other parameters as backward as Vardar and Morava banovina, the number of educational associations was 144, in Drava banovina even 1020 (Boškowska 2009: 157).

Seljačka sloga

Although not formally banned, the activities of *Seljačka sloga* were practically suspended after the establishment of the dictatorship (Leček 2002: 327). With the relaxation of the dictatorship's repressive cultural policy under Milan Stojadinović the association resumed its activities and rapidly expanded throughout Croatia-Slavonia, Srem, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. By June 1939 the organisation had 865 local clubs,

²¹⁹ See for example the reports on the activities of the popular university in Apatin, Bačka Topola or Kula in AJ 66-295-519.

²²⁰ See the reports from 1933 on cultural-educational associations in Danube and Morava banovina, AJ 66-263-507, Zeta banovina, AJ 66-262-507, and Drina and Vardar banovina, AJ 66-264-507.

with ca. 45.000 members.²²¹ Although the movement was officially apolitical, it was closely associated to the Croatian Peasant Party. Vladimir Maček was a prominent member of its leadership and a frequent speaker at and supporter of activities organised by *Seljačka sloga*. The ideology of *Seljačka sloga* completely concurred with that of HSS. At the annual congress on 21 February 1937 Rudolf Herceg explained that the movement intended to group all Croatian peasants, as the true representatives of the Croatian nation, with the goal to alleviate and improve their lives, to make peasants a subject of public life instead of an object. In this spirit, the central goal of *Seljačka sloga* was to preserve and strengthen the Croatian national peasant culture. In a consecutive speech Vlado Maček argued that *Seljačka sloga* had the task to preserve and strengthen the authentic cultural individuality of the Croatian peasant nation, simultaneously with the Croatian Peasant Party's political battle for the complete freedom of the Croatian homeland and nation.²²² Every year on 11 June local branches of *Seljačka sloga* celebrated the birthday of Antun and Stjepan Radić as a peasant feast day. All peasants of the village were required to await sunrise in the outside and to think in silence about the work of the brothers Radić for Croatian peasants and for the peasantry worldwide, as well as about the requirements for further success of the peasant movement. At eight in the morning the peasants had to have a "strictly homemade" breakfast, during which one of the older members of the family would speak out his thoughts at sunrise. In the afternoon, then, the villagers could celebrate the Radić brothers in conversations or quiet songs.²²³ From 1939 all local branches of *Seljačka sloga* organised cultural festivities with declamations of poems, songs, theatre plays and speeches on the Sundays before and after 11 June (Leček 2006: 133-6; Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 125-7).²²⁴

With the support of the Peasant Party the movement developed into an alternative network for popular education. In 1937 *Seljačka sloga* started a massive campaign against illiteracy with the goal to reduce the illiteracy rate for persons older than eight in all Croatian districts below ten per cent by the next census of 1941. In practice, every literate person could teach illiterates in his surroundings with the help of Rudolf Herceg's abecedary.²²⁵ Suzana Leček has estimated that at least 300.000 illiterates were reached by *Seljačka sloga*'s campaign against illiteracy, a number before which the state

²²¹ 'Seljačka Sloga i dalje tako napred. Deveta redovna glavna skupština Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka Sloga* 4 (1939)/7: 180-1.

²²² 'Seljačka Sloga nosilac hrvatske narodne kulture'. *Seljačka Sloga* 2 (1937)/2: 30-2.

²²³ 'Druga poruka svim ograncima, članovima i prijateljima Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/4: 95-6.

²²⁴ '11 lipnja – Seljački blagdan'. *Seljačka Sloga* 4 (1939)/7: 189-204.

²²⁵ Herceg's abecedary perfectly illustrates the ideology of *Seljačka sloga*, with texts on and by the Radić brothers, on Croatian peasantry and peasant culture, on Matija Gubec (the leader of a sixteenth century peasant uprising in Croatia and Slovenia and a central figure in the Croatian Peasant Party's historical narrative, cf. 4.4.4.2) and on the Croatian homeland (Herceg 1929).

organised courses against illiteracy paled (Leček 2004: 1123-4). Another important branch of *Seljačka sloga*'s activities focused on the preservation of the "authentic" peasant culture, which could, accordingly, be found in popular costume, popular folk songs and folk habits. Members of *Seljačka sloga* were expected to appear in folk costume at activities,²²⁶ provided that these folk costumes were authentic and handmade, because "all manufactured goods are cosmopolitan, everybody's and nobody's".²²⁷ Folk songs were preserved and cherished by the movement's choral societies. These choral societies were required not to include any foreign elements (either from the city or from other nations) in their songs and to focus on the true expression of the Croatian peasants' cultural individuality, rather than the entertainment of the crowd.²²⁸ Every year the movement's local clubs organised so-called "inspections" (*smotra*) of Croatian peasant culture, during which different choral societies from the region performed popular folk songs and dances in their traditional folk costume.²²⁹ Annually a large "inspection" with choral societies from all over the Croatian homeland was held in Zagreb.²³⁰ These inspections were:

in a way a test to see how much of the original Croatian peasant culture is left; how many old Slavonic, or authentic, elements and characteristics are preserved in [our peasant culture], how many new elements, which have originated among us and have been created by the Croatian peasant people itself, in other words autochthonous elements, and how many Indo-European, or all human, common to all peoples, everybody's and nobody's, cosmopolitan elements.²³¹

To guarantee that the *smotras* corresponded to the autochthonous Croatian peasant culture, they were followed and staged by Milovan Gavazzi, Professor of Ethnology at

²²⁶ 'Druga poruka svim ograncima, članovima i prijateljima Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/4: 94-6.

²²⁷ Rudolf Herceg. 'Seljačka pjevačka smotra'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/7: 148. ["sve fabričko je kosmopolitsko – svačije i ničije"].

²²⁸ Rudolf Herceg. 'Seljačka pjevačka smotra'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/7: 148-9.

²²⁹ See the reports in 'Viestnik Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka Sloga* 2 (1937)/5: 113-7; 2 (1937)/6: 134-5; 2 (1937)/7: 166-7; 2 (1937)/8: 183; 2 (1937)/9: 198-9; 2 (1937)/10: 239.

²³⁰ Rudolf Herceg. 'Seljačka pjevačka smotra'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/7: 148-51; 'Smotra hrvatske seljačke kulture dne 13. lipnja u Zagrebu'. *Seljačka Sloga* 2 (1937)/6: 139-43; 'Smotra Hrvatske seljačke kulture dne 28. Listopada'. *Seljačka Sloga* 3 (1938)/9: 254-62; 'Smotra hrvatske seljačke kulture'. *Seljačka Sloga* 4 (1939)/7: 205-9.

²³¹ ["u neku ruku izpit, koliko te narodne podrijetlom naše, hrvatske i seljačke – kulture još ima; koliko u njoj ima starih slavenskih elementa i obilježja, odnosno koliko novijih, kod nas nastalih i od samoga hrvatskoga seljačkoga naroda stvorenih, dakle autohtonih, a koliko indoeuropskih, odnosno obćeljudskih, svim narodima zajedničkih, dakle svačijih i ničijih, kosmopolitskih..."]. Rudolf Herceg, 'Čemu ove smotre?' *Seljačka sloga* 3 (1938)/9: 254-6.

Zagreb University, and his assistant Branimir Bratanić, both supporters of the Croatian Peasant Party and *Seljačka sloga* (Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 61-9).²³²

Further, local branches of *Seljačka sloga* also organised cultural festivities (*sielo*) and fundraising activities (*zabava*) during which local peasants had the chance to perform dances, songs, plays and to read out poems, stories, or other writings.²³³ The association had a network of libraries, in which the works of the Radić brothers occupied a prominent position. These libraries were used for popular lectures, especially during the winter months, and common reading sessions of the works of the Radić brothers (Leček 2003: 343-8).²³⁴ The movement also attempted to stimulate a peasant literature, through the publication of numerous poems, reports, essays or impressions by Croatian peasants in the movement's journal *Seljačka sloga*. Finally, local branches of *Seljačka sloga* also organised so-called "courts of good and honest men" (*sud dobrih i poštenih ljudi*) which resolved disputes between peasants (ibid: 369-72).²³⁵ In other words, during the second half of the 1930s *Seljačka sloga* played a central role in cultural and social life in villages in the Croatian regions of the Kingdom and became a prominent non-governmental alternative for state-organised popular education in these areas.

After the establishment of the Croatian banovina *Seljačka sloga* became closely linked to the provincial authorities. Izidor Škorjač, long-time leader of *Seljačka sloga*, became the president of the department for education of the Croatian banovina and the association in fact became a state institution for popular education, or in the terminology of the Peasant Party, "peasant education" (Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 21-4). Within this framework, teachers were expected to actively support *Seljačka sloga*, the movement's ideals and working methods, such as its battle against illiteracy were propagated at school. Schools and pupils also attended *Seljačka sloga*'s commemorations and *smotras*, as a perfect way to experience peasant culture (Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 85-93, 125-7).

Gajret

The position of *Gajret* during the 1930s illustrates the other option for non-governmental cultural-educational associations under the dictatorship, i.e. complete subjection to the regime. In the political sphere the authorities attempted to make use of *Gajret*'s network to reduce the influence of Spaho's JMO on Muslims. The association's leading members obtained high posts in the dictatorship's administration. President

²³² Rudolf Herceg, 'Čemu ove smotre?' *Seljačka sloga* 3 (1938)/9: 254-6.

²³³ 'Viestnik Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka Sloga* 4 (1939)/2: 51-2.

²³⁴ 'Druga poruka svim ograncima, članovima i prijateljima Seljačke Sloge'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/4: 94-6.

²³⁵ 'Seljački sudovi vrše svoju dužnost'. *Seljačka sloga* 3 (1938)/8: 242-3.

Avdo Hasanbegović, for example, first became vice-governor of Drina banovina, from September 1931 to January 1932 minister and later vice-president of the parliament. Another long-time member of the central committee, Ibrahim Hadžiomerović, was appointed vice-governor of Drina banovina after Hasanbegović became minister. Local branches of *Gajret* were used to propagate the Yugoslav National Party and the dictatorship and many functionaries of *Gajret* were eligible on the governmental list of Petar Živković during the elections of November 1931. Teachers who did not support *Gajret* or were member of *Narodna uzdanica* were transferred by local authorities (Kemura 1986: 198-215, 265-74). Also ideologically the association completely followed the line set out by the authorities. *Gajret's* journal was filled with articles which took over the typical integral Yugoslav discourse of the period, the glorification of the historic act of 1929 and all consecutive decisions made by King Aleksandar and reported about the full support of all South Slav Muslims to the dictatorship.²³⁶ *Gajret* also stimulated its members to join the Yugoslav Sokol movement, for which there had been and continued to be little interest among South Slav Muslims, through numerous articles in its journal, the prominent participation of Sokols in *Gajret's* public manifestations and even an official prescription that all members of *Gajret* had to become member of the Yugoslav Sokol (Kemura 1986: 207).²³⁷

The close link between *Gajret* and the dictatorship became especially obvious in celebrations of official holidays by local branches of *Gajret*. *Gajret* days were held on 6 September, the anniversary of Prince Petar, the official protector of the association. Beside the organisation of entertaining activities, like horse races, buffets, fund-raising cultural activities and parties, members of *Gajret* would typically attend ceremonies in local mosques and participate in marches through the village/city with representatives of other state-supporting associations, in the first place the Sokol, and local authorities.²³⁸ Further, in *Gajret's* student homes official state holidays were celebrated with the necessary ceremonials. On 1 December 1931, for example, the students in *Gajret's* student home in Banja Luka participated in the commemoration of the unification of the Yugoslav Kingdom. First, they attended the ceremony in the Ferhadija mosque. In the afternoon the holiday was celebrated in the student house, in the presence of numerous representatives of the provincial authorities, the city council and the army. The celebration consisted of a speech with a typical overview of the Yugoslav

²³⁶ Typical examples are 'Rođendan Nj. V. Kralja Aleksandra', *Gajret* 12 (1931)/22: 497-8; Hajrudin Ćurić, 'Važnost ujedinjenja za jugoslavensku državu, narod i Sokolstvo', *Gajret* 15 (1934)/13: 171-2.

²³⁷ See also *Gajret* 15 (1934)/6, which was entirely devoted to the Sokol movement, in the framework of a large regional Sokol manifestation which was held in Sarajevo on 28 June 1934.

²³⁸ See for example the reports on the celebration of *Gajret* day in Travnik, Prijepolje, Srebrenica, Banja Luka and Trebinje. *Gajret* 13 (1932)/17: 289-90.

national unification as the final outcome of a long national struggle and recitals by *Gajret* students of poems and dialogues. In the evening the female students organised a similar ceremony.²³⁹ In Tuzla *Gajret* students first participated in a parade through the city, thereafter they attended a Sokol manifestation and the ceremony in the local mosque. In the evening the student home organised its own academy, with a speech on the importance of 1 December and recitals of a number of patriotic poems by Vojislav Ilić and Branko Radičević.²⁴⁰ The anniversary of King Aleksandar was celebrated in a similar way by local branches of *Gajret*.²⁴¹

Within this context *Gajret* became one of the largest cultural associations of the country, with a membership number of 24,000, 170 local committees and 124 local representatives in 1932-33. The association was especially well established in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak (Kemura 1986: 274-86). Its cultural-educational activities remained the same as during the 1920s, primarily focusing on the stimulation of the education of Muslims by means of student homes and scholarships. During the 1930s annually between 350 and 400 Muslim students, mostly gymnasium students, stayed in student homes of *Gajret*. The association also granted between 100 and 200 scholarships per year, again mostly for gymnasium students. In 1940 the association calculated that 6000 Muslims students had received support of *Gajret*. One new student home was taken in use in the 1930s, a shared student home with *Prosveta* in Trebinje in south-eastern Herzegovina. With the financial support of the authorities the Belgrade section of *Gajret* opened a new student home for Muslim students at university, which could accommodate 150 students, in November 1932 (Kemura 1986: 162, 289-313). In the early 1930s *Gajret* also supported the establishment of a number of schools for domestic science in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Further, local branches of *Gajret* organised popular lectures, covering a wide variety of topics from events from the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Islam, to hygiene, health, education and Islamic religious lessons.²⁴² Finally, *Gajret* continued to organise courses against illiteracy. In 1930-1931 *Gajret* for example claimed to have organised 286 popular lectures with 22,000 attendants and 43 courses against illiteracy with 2013 attendants.²⁴³ During the second half of the 1930s the association again organised courses against illiteracy, reaching 5000 illiterates in 1938 (Kemura 1986: 314-20).

²³⁹ 'Proslave 1 decembra u Gajretovim internatima'. *Gajret* 12 (1931)/22: 505-6.

²⁴⁰ 'Proslave 1 decembra u Gajretovim internatima'. *Gajret* 12 (1931)/22: 506-7.

²⁴¹ 'Gajretove priredbe'. *Gajret* 14 (1933)/1: 13-5.

²⁴² 'Gajretova popularna predavanja'. *Gajret* 13 (1932)/5: 71-2; 'Spisak održanih Gajretovih popularnih predavanja u 1935-36 godini'. *Gajret* 17 (1936)/6-8: 97-8; 'Gajretova popularna predavanja u 1936-37 godini', *Gajret* 18 (1937)/7-9: 147-8; 'Gajretova popularna predavanja'. *Gajret* 19 (1938)/7-9: 146-9.

²⁴³ *Gajret* 12 (1931)/13: 320-2.

Gajret also stimulated cultural life among the Kingdom's Muslims through the publication of a journal and a calendar and a network of libraries. By 1939 *Gajret* had libraries in 17 villages. These libraries were not only places where *Gajret* members could read newspapers and listen to the radio, but also often the place where *Gajret* activities were organised. For Vlasenica in eastern Bosnia for example it was argued that "the entire societal life in Vlasenica is concentrated in this library", for Doboj in northern Bosnia it was said that the youth "gathered, played music and made fun" in the library.²⁴⁴ The association stimulated the formation of choral societies for Muslims, albeit with limited success. In 1934 for example there were only five *Gajret* choral societies, in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Bosanska Gradiška and Prijedor.²⁴⁵ Finally, *Gajret* organised cultural and social fund-raising activities (*zabava*, *teferić*), which typically consisted of banquets, concerts, performances by choral societies, theatre plays, dances and tombola's. Especially important was the annual party *Gajret* organised in Sarajevo, which, according to the reports, became a first-class cultural and social event for the *beau monde* of Sarajevo. In 1932, for example, the well-known soprano Bahrija Nuri-Hadžić was the star at *Gajret's* *zabava* in Sarajevo.²⁴⁶ Also in smaller villages the social and cultural activities organised by *Gajret*, although obviously on a smaller scale than those in Sarajevo, were an important event for the local society. These happenings were often attended by local functionaries and royal representatives, further symbolising the link between the regime and *Gajret* (Kemura 1986: 334-59).

In the second half of the 1930s the position of *Gajret* considerably changed. First, the participation of JMO in Stojadinović's government resulted in the end of *Gajret's* privileged position. *Gajret's* leaders lost their prominent positions in administration and also at a local level members of *Gajret* in state service were often transferred by the new authorities. At the same time, the more open and democratic atmosphere in the movement and its dissociation from the dictatorial regime resulted in a rejection of the politicisation of the association under the dictatorship and the typical phrasemaking this brought with it. This went hand in hand with a shift of attention toward socio-economic and cultural problems of Muslims in Yugoslavia, who remained second-rank citizens, as was argued on the basis of surveys and investigations about their economic, cultural and educational situation (Kemura 1986: 210-5, 241-8). In 1939 for example *Gajret* published a list with numbers about the extreme low representation of Muslims in Yugoslavia's state administration institutions, criticising that this representation did not correspond with the equal position of South Slav Muslims within the Yugoslav

²⁴⁴ 'Gajretove čitaonice i klubovi', *Gajret* 20 (1939)/7-9: 143-5. ["Čitav društveni život u Vlasenici skoncentrisan je u ovoj čitaonici", "okuplja, svira i zabavlja"] Quotations from p. 144.

²⁴⁵ From the report on *Gajret's* work in 1933-34, *Gajret* 15 (1934)/7-8: 155.

²⁴⁶ 'Velika Gajretova zabava u Sarajevu'. *Gajret* 13 (1932)/3: 36-9.

nation.²⁴⁷ After the *Sporazum* of 1939 *Gajret* supported the movement for autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina, further illustrating the shift away from the association's position during the first half of the 1930s (ibid: 249-62).

Narodna uzdanica

Whereas *Gajret* became heavily supported during the dictatorship, obtaining the status of a quasi-official state cultural-educational association for South Slav Muslims, the work of its counterpart *Narodna uzdanica* was seriously hampered in the first half of the 1930s. Local authorities banned activities organised by *Narodna uzdanica*, members of the association in state service were often transferred or retired, the association received no financial support from the provincial authorities, officials were forbidden to attend activities organised by *Narodna uzdanica* and authorities used every occasion to discredit the association through numerous police investigations or campaigns in the loyal press. As a result, in 1929 the number of local branches of *Narodna uzdanica* dropped from 68 to 12. The membership number of *Narodna uzdanica* in 1933 was 4208 (Kemura 2002: 38-50; 108-9, 118). From the point of view of the dictatorship such a policy was justified on the basis of *Narodna uzdanica*'s close bonds with JMO. Indeed, with the establishment of the dictatorship the association became outspokenly politicised. Its leadership consisted of (former) JMO politicians, such as President Edhem Mulabdić, Ismet Gavrankapetanović, or Salih Baljić, and prominent JMO leaders Mehmed Spaho, Šefkija Behmen and Halid Hrasnica attended *Narodna uzdanica*'s activities. Also at a local level *Narodna uzdanica* was used to perpetuate the political influence of JMO on the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Kemura 2002: 33-8). With the coming to power of JMO in Stojadinović's government the situation of *Narodna uzdanica* became more favourable: the association received financial support from the official institutions and leading JMO politicians openly expressed their support for *Narodna uzdanica*. The number of local branches continuously increased, from 42 in 1935 to 74 in 1938. These branches were all located in Bosnia-Herzegovina, except for the local committee in Zagreb, which supervised students with a scholarship at Zagreb University (ibid: 109-10, 122).

The activities of *Narodna uzdanica* were completely similar to those of *Gajret*. The association primarily supported the education of Muslims by means of scholarships and student homes. Throughout the first half of the 1930s *Narodna uzdanica* annually granted ca. ten scholarships for university studies, in the first place at the University of Zagreb, and between 25 and 40 scholarships for secondary school studies. In the second half of the 1930s the number of scholarships for secondary school studies increased to 100 per

²⁴⁷ 'Položaj muslimana u našoj državi', *Gajret* 20 (1939)/4: 63-5.

year (Kemura 2002: 125-38). In 1931-32 the association opened its first student home in Sarajevo, in the second half of the 1930s other student homes were opened – with the financial support of the authorities – in Mostar, Banja Luka and Tuzla, as well as one home for university students in Zagreb. At this time the number of students in these homes ranged between 150 and 250, a smaller number of them enjoyed a scholarship (ibid: 139-61). Just like other cultural-educational associations *Narodna uzdanica* played a prominent role in social and cultural life in Bosnian villages, especially through the organisation of fund-raising cultural happenings (*zabava*), which typically consisted of concerts of Western classical music pieces, performances by choral societies, recitals of poems, theatre plays, dances, tombola's and miss elections. Other types of social activities which *Narodna uzdanica* organised were traditional banquets and gatherings on holidays (*teferić, sijelo*) (Kemura 2002: 173-83). The influence of *Narodna uzdanica* on society was guaranteed by the journal *Novi Behar*, of which Edhem Mulabdić was editor, and which reported on *Narodna uzdanica*'s activities and successes, thus serving as the unofficial journal of the association. From 1933 *Narodna uzdanica* also published annual calendars with a print run of 2000 copies (ibid: 163-71).

Prosveta

Throughout the 1930s *Prosveta* continued its cultural-educational activities among the Serbian Orthodox population in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the first place *Prosveta* maintained a number of student homes for secondary school students. Throughout the 1930s *Prosveta* had ten student homes, two in Sarajevo and Mostar, and one in Tuzla, Bihać, Brčko, Trebinje, Bosanska Gradiška and Banja Luka. Further, *Prosveta* granted scholarships for secondary school studies. The number of students who stayed in one of *Prosveta*'s student homes or received a scholarship varied between 450 and 350 per year.²⁴⁸

Another aspect of *Prosveta*'s work was popular education, in the first place the organisation of courses against illiteracy. Between 1921 and 1933, when the ban on privately organised courses against illiteracy became effective, *Prosveta* had organised 403 courses against illiteracy with 13.284 attendants.²⁴⁹ In 1929-1930 for example *Prosveta* organised 61 courses against illiteracy, with 1814 attendants. 1256 of these attendants were Orthodox, 533 Muslim and only 25 Catholic.²⁵⁰ *Prosveta*'s primer – in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet – was also used in courses against illiteracy which were organised by the state, both in schools and in the army. Beside courses against illiteracy *Prosveta* also

²⁴⁸ Based on annual reports which were published in *Prosveta*.

²⁴⁹ 'Prosvetni rad na polju širenja prosvetnosti i opšteg obrazovanja, 1903-1936', *Prosveta* 20 (1936)/10: 289.

²⁵⁰ 'Prosveta u 1929/30 godini', *Prosveta* 14 (1930)/9: 277-8.

organised 25 courses for domestic science between 1922 and 1933, with 395 attendants.²⁵¹ Finally, the association maintained a continuously growing network of popular libraries. By 1936 *Prosveta* had 280 popular libraries, spread in all banovinas of the state except for Drava banovina. Most of the libraries were located in Vrbas (89) and Drina banovina (94), to a lesser extent also in Vardar (17), Littoral (19) and Danube banovina (12).²⁵²

Ideologically *Prosveta* neatly followed the Yugoslav discourse set out by the Royal Dictatorship. This becomes especially clear in *Prosveta*'s publications, in the first place its monthly journal and its popular almanac. Apart from the typical glorifications of King Aleksandar and his dictatorship,²⁵³ these publications paid considerable attention to the dissemination of Yugoslav national identity among its readers, through numerous articles on typical Yugoslav national symbolic resources from history (important historical figures and events), geography (an overview of the banovinas of the country, with basic geographical data, texts on important landmarks, historical events and extracts from important writers from the region) and literature (extracts from the most important Yugoslav writers, with short biographical data). With their integral Yugoslav discourse, predominance of Serbian sub-national symbolic resources and additions of typical Yugoslav resources from Croatian (the archetypical example here is Josip Juraj Strossmayer, cf. 4.4.5.4, 4.6.2.3) and to a lesser extent Slovenian 'tribal' traditions, *Prosveta*'s publications completely concur with Serbian textbooks which were published during the 1930s (cf. 5.4). The central figure in *Prosveta*'s ideology was St. Sava, on whose holiday (27 January) all local branches of *Prosveta* organised commemorative *zabavas* with lectures and more entertaining elements like dances, music, recitals of poems and tombola's (cf. 4.6.2.2).

Napredak

Similar to other cultural-educational associations which were predominantly active in Bosnia-Herzegovina, *Napredak*'s activities consisted of two broad facets, i.e. the support of secondary school students and popular education. With regard to the former, *Napredak* had five student homes: three students homes for boys (in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka) and two student homes for girls, both in Sarajevo. In 1936-37 a total of 242 students stayed in these homes. Further, the association granted scholarships, in 1936-37 for example 144.²⁵⁴ Popular education was carried out through an expanding network of local branches. In 1937 *Napredak* had 195 local branches, which were located

²⁵¹ 'Prosvetni rad na polju širenja prosvetnosti i opšteg obrazovanja, 1903-1936', *Prosveta* 20 (1936)/10: 300.

²⁵² 'Prosvetni rad na polju širenja prosvetnosti i opšteg obrazovanja, 1903-1936', *Prosveta* 20 (1936)/10: 291.

²⁵³ See the overview of the first year of the dictatorship, 'Jedna godišnjica', *Prosveta* 14 (1930)/2: 41-3.

²⁵⁴ 'Napredak u god. 1936-37', "Napredak", *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1938 godinu*: 200.

in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Dalmatian hinterland and Croatia-Slavonia.²⁵⁵ Its membership number steadily increased during the first half of the 1930s, stabilising at a number of 15.000 between 1932 and 1935.²⁵⁶ In the second half of the 1930s the membership number further increased, to 20.000 in 1937.²⁵⁷ Local branches maintained a network of libraries and organised public lectures. *Napredak* was also active in campaigns against illiteracy. It had organised courses against illiteracy from the late 1920s. In 1929-1930 for example *Napredak* organised nine courses against illiteracy, with ca. 600 attendants.²⁵⁸ In the second half of the 1930s *Napredak* joined the campaign against illiteracy which had been started by *Seljačka sloga* (Leček 2004: 1110-25). Further, *Napredak* also supported choral societies, both organisationally and financially. Finally, *Napredak* played an important role in social and cultural life, especially through frequent *zabavas*: fund-raising activities with music, theatre, dancing, tombola's and buffets. A typical example was the *zabava* held by *Napredak* in Teslić in northern Bosnia in February 1932. The program consisted of the singing of *Napredak*'s hymn by the local church choir, children's dances, a violin performance by one of *Napredak*'s students, a performance of the local choral society and a farce in one act. The program was ended with a buffet and a dance, which lasted until the early morning.²⁵⁹

Politically *Napredak*'s position concurred with that of the Croatian Peasant Party. Prominent Bosnian leaders of the Croatian Peasant Parties such as the brothers Jure and Zdravko Šutej stood very close to the leadership of *Napredak*. Already in the late 1920s *Napredak*'s leadership had sided with the Croatian Peasant Party as the political representative of the Croatian people. At the annual congress in July 1928, for example, the central committee had sent a telegram to Stjepan Radić – who was still alive after the shooting in parliament of June 1928 – in which it expressed its confidence that the entire Croatian nation would unite itself in a national phalanx under Radić's leadership and thus achieve its salvation and complete freedom.²⁶⁰ During the 1930s *Napredak* annually participated in commemorations of the HSS deputies who had been murdered in the Yugoslav parliament in 1928. It also fully supported Vladko Maček as the new representative of the “spirit of the Croatian people”, which “has always been free, always moral, always righteous and is the only factor through which we can understand

²⁵⁵ ‘*Napredak* u god. 1936-37’, “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1938 godinu*: 199; ‘Središnja uprava i podorganizacija’, “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1938 godinu*: 205-21.

²⁵⁶ “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1934 godinu*: i-ii; ...za prestupnu 1935 godinu: i; ... za prestupnu 1936 godinu: ii.

²⁵⁷ ‘*Napredak* u god. 1936-37’, “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1938 godinu*: 199.

²⁵⁸ “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1931 godinu*: xxi-xxiii.

²⁵⁹ ‘Vanredna uspješna napretkova zabava u Tesliću’. *Napredak* 7 (1932)/3: 52.

²⁶⁰ “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1929 godinu*: ii.

how and why Croats preserved their nationality and culture for a thousand years”.²⁶¹ During every annual congress of *Napredak* in the second half of the 1930s a telegram was sent to Maček, in which he was praised as the national leader of the Croats. This support for the Croatian Peasant Party was translated in the prominent position of the party’s program in public happenings organised by local branches of *Napredak*. In December 1936, for example, students in *Napredak*’s student home in Mostar celebrated the 40th anniversary of the death of Ante Starčević.²⁶² On this occasion Jure Šutej held a lecture in which compared Starčević with the Radić brothers.²⁶³

Also the focus on Croatian national identity and individuality in *Napredak*’s publications, of which the above given quotation from Jure Šutej gives an illustration, concurred with the national ideology of the Croatian Peasant Party. *Napredak*’s calendars, for example, started with a list of predominantly historical figures or events and the years that had passed since: medieval Croatian kings, the battle of Kosovo, the Bosnian King Tvrtko, the fall of Constantinople, the battle of Mohacs, the election of the Habsburg dynasty for the Croatian crown, Nikola Šubić Zrinski, Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan and the Illyrian movement. In the calendar of 1938 some new historical resources were added, namely the battle at Krbava, the peasant uprising of Matija Gubec and the death of Stjepan Radić, illustrating the growing influence of the Croatian Peasant Party on the historical narrative presented by *Napredak*.²⁶⁴ The calendars defined the Croatian national territory as the lands consisting of the following regions: Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Istria. Local branches of *Napredak* also frequently commemorated Croatian historical events, such as the millennial anniversary of the establishment of the First Croatian Kingdom or the centenary of the Croatian hymn (cf. 4.4).

Still, there were significant elements in which *Napredak*’s ideology differed from that of the Croatian Peasant Party and *Seljačka sloga*. In the first place, *Napredak*’s national ideology was not peasantist. *Napredak* commemorated and celebrated historical figures or events which the Croatian Peasant Party rejected as elitist, most importantly Petar

²⁶¹ Dr. Jure Šutej, ‘Pater patriae’, “*Napredak*”, *hrvatski narodni kalendar za prestupnu 1936 godinu*: 25-6. [“Duša hrvatskoga naroda bila je uvijek slobodna – uvijek moralna – uvijek pravedna i samo po ovom se može razumijeti kako i zašto su Hrvati kroz tisućljeća sačuvali svoju narodnost i svoju kulturu.”]

²⁶² Ante Starčević was the founder of the Party of Right (*Stranka prava*) in 1861. The party’s program departed from the Croatian historical state right over the lands between the Alps and the Timok river, on the present border between Serbia and Bulgaria as the basis for Croatian political autonomy and proclaimed Serbs and Slovenes parts of the Croatian nation (Banac 1984: 85-9; Schödl 1990: 54-6). Starčević was typically silenced in Yugoslav historical identity (cf. 4.4.4).

²⁶³ *Napredak* 12 (1937)/1: 13.

²⁶⁴ More information on these symbolic resources from Croatian collective memory and their appropriation in typical Yugoslav national histories of the interwar period will be given in chapter 4.4.

Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan, two 17th century Croatian noblemen who were beheaded on the accusation of organising a conspiracy against the Habsburg King Leopold I (cf. 4.4.4.2). Annually local branches of *Napredak* took a leading role in commemorations of Zrinski and Frankopan (30 April), through the attendance of commemorative services in local churches and the organisation of *zabavas*. Second, Catholicism occupied a central position in *Napredak*'s ideology. Ivan Šarić, the Archbishop of Vrhbosna with seat in Sarajevo, acted as a moral and financial benefactor of the association and frequently attended its activities in Sarajevo. *Napredak* also frequently participated in religious commemorations. In 1932 for example *Napredak* actively participated in the celebrations which were held in Sarajevo on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Archbishopric of Vrhbosna, "considering the church the strongest cultural factor of the Croats".²⁶⁵ *Napredak*'s protectors were St. Cyril and St. Methodius and every year the association participated in commemorative services in churches in the beginning of July, the Catholic holiday of the two saints. In this period the association also held its annual general meeting in commemoration of the saints, whereby the association typically integrated Cyril and Methodius within Croatian collective identity by arguing that the brothers had introduced the Croats to Christianity and culture (cf. 4.6.2.1).²⁶⁶

3.3.9 Conclusion

The central idea behind the dictatorship's educational policy was clearly to place all educational institutions firmly under its central authority and to establish a completely uniform educational system. The laws and rulebooks which were formulated for each branch of the educational system clarify that the primary motive behind this policy was not so much the general modernisation of Yugoslav society, but the building of a modern, uniform Yugoslav nation. The rationale was clearly that Yugoslav nation-building could only be successful if the educational system was uniform and tightly controlled by the state authorities.

²⁶⁵ 'Svečana akademija prigodom proslave 50-godišnjice opstanka Nadbiskupije vrhbosanske', *Napredak* 7 (1932)/4-5: 61-2.

²⁶⁶ See a speech by *Napredak*'s President Ante Alaupović at the annual meeting of 5 July 1931. Quoted in a report by the local authorities of 27 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-46-85. The report clearly illustrates the authorities' suspicion toward the Croatian character of *Napredak*. Beside the remark about the Croatian interpretation of Cyril and Methodius, the authorities' also reported Alaupović's birthday congratulations to Archbishop Šarić, whereby he had wished him a long life to the benefit of the Croatian people, as well as the fact that Alaupović had urged the attendants not to sing the Croatian hymn, because this was forbidden.

The above-given statistical figures on the development of the Yugoslav educational network in the 1930s show that Yugoslav education remained underdeveloped and that the impact of the reorganisation of the Yugoslav educational system was not as all-encompassing as the education laws had envisaged. Of course, the slow and regionally uneven development of the educational network forms an important qualification with regard to the Yugoslav nation-building project of the interwar Yugoslav state. However, it would be too simplistic to completely rule out the relevance of the state's attempts at Yugoslav nation-building in education simply on the basis of these quantitative grounds. Rather, engagements with Yugoslav nationhood in education can reveal some of the possibilities and limitations to Yugoslav nationhood as it was institutionalised in interwar Yugoslavia and as it was available for making sense of Yugoslav society.

In the following chapters I examine how Yugoslav national identity was installed in education, more specifically in curricula and textbooks, and how Yugoslav nationhood happened as a category of practice in the domain of education. I do not only look at the state-supported school network, but also at non-governmental cultural associations. It is clear that these had a relatively strong impact on their respective, regionally and within Bosnia also ethno-religiously confined target groups,²⁶⁷ not only by means of their strict educational activities and publications, but also of their entertaining activities, in the first place fundraising festivities or celebrations of important historical dates with speeches, concerts by choral societies, theatre plays and dances. Importantly, these associations also participated in the national education of the masses and often provided alternative roads toward nationhood. Throughout this dissertation I refer to such alternative approaches to nationhood and examine how they engaged and interacted with the state's nation-building program.

²⁶⁷ Although the existence of parallel cultural associations for Bosnia-Herzegovina's ethno-confessional groups illustrates the division of Bosnian society, this does not necessarily imply that these associations were competing with each other. In 1933, for example, the local branch of *Napredak* in Maglaj, in north-eastern Bosnia, used the rooms of the Serbian library for free for the organisation of its *zabava*. Moreover, the *zabava* was attended by a number of Serbs and Bosnian Muslims from the town. *Napredak* 8 (1933)/2: 25.

Chapter 4 From ‘tribes’ to nation: Defining Yugoslav national identity in curricula

Although Yugoslav ruling political elites accepted the Yugoslav national idea throughout most of the interwar period, the political discourse on Yugoslav national identity remained vague and superficial and left many issues concerning the specific relation between the Yugoslav nation and the sub-national entities it comprised unclear. Of course, Yugoslav national unity was also discussed outside the political field, in the new state’s cultural life (in the widest sense of the word), and it is there that we encounter more elaborate interpretations of Yugoslav national culture. As Andrew Wachtel has clarified, different approaches toward Yugoslav national culture have coexisted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. First, he distinguishes the *model of cultural unification*, which aimed to create a uniform Yugoslav national culture and can be divided in three subcategories. In the *romantic model* one existing culture (mostly Serbian) would be chosen as the standard for Yugoslav culture. Second, in the *multicultural model* a new culture would be created as a combination of the three existing ‘tribal’ cultures. Third, the *supranational model* sought to create a new culture which was not based on any of the existing ‘tribal’ cultures. Beside the model of cultural unification, Wachtel also lists the *model of cultural cooperation*, which propagated the interaction of different Yugoslav cultures without the elimination of national differences, and the *model of mutual toleration* which did not foresee any cultural interaction (Wachtel 1998: 81-2).

Situated on the interface between several structural spheres of society (politics, culture, ideology, economics) education can provide important insights on how Yugoslav nationhood was “institutionalized [...] as a political and cultural form” in the first Yugoslav state, how it worked “as a practical category, as classificatory scheme, as cognitive frame” (Brubaker 1996: 16). In the introduction to their edited volume on school history textbooks Stuart Foster and Keith Crawford have presented a framework

for the study of textbook construction in different contexts, referring to an earlier study by Bowe and Ball with Gold. They distinguish between three contexts within which the construction of textbook knowledge takes place. The context of influence provides the arena in which the general educational policy is constructed. The context of text production is the level where concrete texts are produced which are deemed to represent this policy. Finally, the context of practice is the level where the educational policy is interpreted and realised by teachers and pupils (Foster & Crawford 2006: 11-4). In the following chapters I use this framework to study the construction of knowledge related to Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslav education.

In this fourth chapter I focus on the context of influence, the top level where “cultural wars are conducted and (...) a selective tradition is formed” (ibid: 12), where different actors – especially state officials, politicians and intellectuals – set out guidelines along which Yugoslav nationhood should be defined and disseminated in schools. More in detail, in this chapter I focus on the definition of Yugoslav national identity in curricula for the so-called national subjects: language, history of literature, history and geography, which were seen as crucial elements for the consolidation of Yugoslav national identity. The final part of this chapter will be devoted to the mediation between religious diversity and nationhood in curricula.

For each of these subjects, I will determine which facts were selected as constituent parts of Yugoslav national culture and in which way they were interpreted as such. These ‘facts’ are, to use the term coined by Oliver Zimmer, *symbolic resources*, “political values/institutions, culture, history and geography,” which “provide the symbolic raw material, as it were, which social actors can use as they define national identities in public discourse” (Zimmer 2003: 179-80). For the structure of the argument I will refer to the categorisation of different approaches toward Yugoslav national culture Andrew Wachtel has proposed. Of course, definitions of Yugoslav national identity in curricula were not isolated, but made use of other definitions of national identity in public discourse and took a standpoint in often varying and conflicting articulations of Yugoslav national identity. Therefore, I situate each of the national subjects under scrutiny within the wider context of top level definitions of Yugoslav national identity, both in academic works and popularising articles in journals, as well as in public commemorative acts of important historical and religious events or figures.

4.1 The quest for correct Yugoslav curricula

4.1.1 Dealing with foreign influences and minorities

Immediately after the war some preliminary measures were taken to adapt pre-war curricula to the new Yugoslav circumstances. A first step included the exclusion of all non-Yugoslav elements from curricula. In the former Habsburg regions the Austro-German and Hungarian influence on the education of Yugoslav children was completely annulled. In an illustrative article in the first post-war issue of *Popotnik* ('Traveller'), the leading pedagogical journal in Slovenia, Jan Baukart expressed the predominant position among Slovenian teachers and pedagogues. The basic goal of educators in the new Kingdom was to give schools a national face and meaning, and to reveal how much Austrian elements were included in the Slovenian soul and actions as a result of thousand years of oppression (Baukart 1919). Already on 9 December 1918 the National administration for Banat, Bačka and Baranja prescribed that education should be given in the mother tongue of the majority of the pupils, causing considerable protest especially among the Hungarian population and teachers (Janjetović 2005: 226-7; Koljanin 2004: 272-3). The Serbian curricula were introduced for all schools in Vojvodina in the summer of 1919. Similarly, in the Slovenian regions the Department for Education and Religion prescribed that in all schools under their authority Slovenian would become the language of instruction. The nationality of the children was determined by local school boards, on the basis of very strict and restrictive criteria. Thus, children from mixed marriages or children with a 'Slovenian' last name by definition were categorised as Slovenes (Dolenc 1992: 35-8; Dolenc 2010: 24-7; Zečević 1985: 353, 356). In the meantime, the Ministry of Education also took actions against remainders of foreign schooling in pre-war Serbia. The state closed down schools with education in Bulgarian, Albanian, Turkish or Rumanian and replaced these with Serbian schools (Janjetović 2005: 225). Several measures were taken to restrict the study of Turkish and Arabic among Muslim children to purely religious education. Exclusively Turkish education was only allowed in so-called *sibjan-mektebs*, which were attended by Muslim children between five and seven years of age, provided that Turkish was the mother tongue of the children. All Muslim children were obliged to follow elementary education in Serbo-Croatian in state schools or private schools which had to be organised in accordance with the Serbian Law on Elementary Schools.²⁶⁸ They had two hours for the study of

²⁶⁸ 'O vaspitanju i obrazovanju muslimanske dece'. O.n. br. 5.609, 3 February 1920. *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 247-8.

Islam per week, as well as two additional hours for the study of Turkish.²⁶⁹ On 4 February 1925 the Ministry of Education forbade the study of Arabic or Turkish in elementary schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina.²⁷⁰

This negative standpoint toward non-Yugoslav elements in education of course also had implications for the schooling of minorities. As Zoran Janjetović argues, the common practice in the first two years of the existence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was the often drastic reduction of the number of schools which provided education in the languages of minority groups (Janjetović 2005: 231). Gradually, the Yugoslav state established a legal framework for minority education. The Department for Education and Religion in the Slovenian regional administration prescribed that minority schools were approved if there were sufficient pupils (40 per year), and introduced Slovenian as a compulsory subject (Dolenc 2010: 26-7). On 18 June 1925 the Ministry of Education decided that parallel classes should be established within elementary schools if there were 30 or more pupils of a “race or language” other than Yugoslav and Serbo-Croato-Slovenian in a specific school year. In these parallel classes education should be given in the mother tongue of the pupils, except for the national subjects, which should be given in Serbo-Croato-Slovenian. In schools where there were more than 30 minority pupils, but less than 40 per year, minority pupils could be grouped in special classes, provided that their number was not more than 50.²⁷¹ Article 45 of the Law on Popular Schools of 5 December 1929 repeated that parallel classes for minority pupils had to be organised if there were more than 30, in exceptional cases 25 minority pupils per year.²⁷²

In practice, however, throughout the interwar period the Yugoslav authorities took a very reluctant standpoint with regard to minority schools (Dimić 1997, 3: 5-132; Janjetović 2005: 232-63). Furthermore, the young state introduced a number of measures which guaranteed that minority pupils would become familiar with Yugoslavia's leading national culture. On 11 November 1920 a special curriculum was formulated for the national subjects (Serbian language, history and geography) in minority schools in Bačka, Baranja and the Banat. Minority pupils were required to learn Serbian four hours per week from the third year of elementary school.²⁷³ Additionally, in the third and

²⁶⁹ ‘O regulisanju školovanje muslimanske dece naših podanika’. O.n. br. 21.010, 3 September 1919. *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 228.

²⁷⁰ ‘Da se po svim školama u Bosni i Hercegovini više ne predaje turski i arapski jezik’. O.n. br. 569, 4 February 1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1/6: 156.

²⁷¹ ‘Otvaranje paralelnih razreda za đake drugih narodnosti’. O.n. br. 32.580, 18 June 1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1/20: 631-2.

²⁷² ‘Zakon o narodnim školama’, *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

²⁷³ They had eight hours of their mother language in the first two years, four hours per week from the third until the sixth year.

fourth year minority children learned the geography of pre-war Serbia with Vojvodina and Montenegro by means of an overview of the most important rivers. In the fifth and sixth year the curriculum prescribed a short familiarisation with other regions in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. For history, the curriculum included a typical overview of Serbian national history.²⁷⁴ All teachers who did not know Serbian were obliged to learn the language so that they could teach it in elementary schools. The knowledge of the Serbian language of non-Serbian teachers would be checked by a special commission at the end of 1922. In the first instance, non-Serbian teachers were encouraged to learn Serbian privately, by making contact with Serbs, reading Serbian newspapers, et cetera. Further, the Ministry of Education would organise two courses of two months in the summer of 1921 and 1922.²⁷⁵ The 1929 Law on Popular Schools confirmed these early decisions, prescribing that all minority classes should follow the state-wide curricula, that the study of the state language was compulsory from the first year of elementary education and that all teachers in the state should be fluent in the state language.²⁷⁶

4.1.2 Organising national identity in curricula

More difficult than the removal of all foreign influence in education was the question how Yugoslav national identity should be defined in the curricula. Problematic in this respect was that educational authorities could not rely on a strong Yugoslav tradition in pre-First World War school curricula. As argued before, only in independent Serbia and Montenegro, and to a certain extent also in Croatia-Slavonia, political elites had had the autonomy to formulate curricula. In all curricula adopted in independent Serbia since the 1880s Serbian language, history and geography occupied a prominent place. Barely any attention in these curricula was paid to Croats or Slovenes (Jelavich 1990: 35). Only in 1912 Minister of Education Ljubomir Jovanović issued a directive which prescribed that Serbian pupils should be introduced to the cultural and literary traditions of Serbs outside the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as the Croats (ibid: 39). The curricula used in Croatia-Slavonia were slightly more favourable for Serb-Croat mutual knowledge, in the first place simply because a large number of Serbs lived within the boundaries of Croatia-Slavonia. The Cyrillic alphabet was taught in Croatian schools since 1861 and the education law of 1874 prescribed that readers were to include texts in the Latin and the

²⁷⁴ 'Nastavni program iz nacionalnih predmeta u nesrpskim školama'. O.n. br. 41.116, 11 November 1920. In *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa* :271-4.

²⁷⁵ 'O učiteljima koji ne znaju srpski'. O.n. br. 38.496, 28 October 1920. In *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 275.

²⁷⁶ Articles 45 and 47, 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

Cyrillic alphabet (ibid: 43-5). Elementary schools in Croatia also treated some important events from Serbian history. The following topics were included in the 1890 history curriculum for the fourth year of public schools: 'The Life and Homeland of the Ancient Croats and Serbs', 'The Christianisation of Croats and Serbs', 'King Tomislav' and 'Saint Sava', 'The Fall of Serbia and Bosnia', 'The Military Frontier', 'Dubrovnik', 'The Migration of the Serbs under Patriarch Crnojević', 'Literary Revival' and 'Franz Joseph I' (ibid: 49).

On 13 October 1919 the Main Educational Board suggested that a short overview of the history, geography, language and literary history of other regions in the new kingdom should be included in the existing school curricula, until new curricula would be issued (Dimić 1996, 1: 198). Following this advice, in 1919 and 1920 the Ministry of Education introduced some amendments to the existing Serbian curricula, which were used in pre-war Serbia, Montenegro and Vojvodina.²⁷⁷ History was taught as a separate subject from the fourth year of elementary education. Beside the 21 historical figures or events from Serbian history which were listed in the 1904 curriculum, the history of Croats and Slovenes should be treated shortly, especially "the period of their independent life".²⁷⁸ Further, a short overview of the history of Zeta, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Coastal regions should be given.²⁷⁹ In the program for geography for the third year a new teaching unit was included on the government, coat of arms and flag of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Also, the teachers should treat the region of the rivers Tisa and the Lower Danube, in other words Vojvodina. In the fourth year an overview of the entire Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes "with a short description (...) of all Serbian lands" was given.²⁸⁰ Later, it was added that in the first and second year of elementary schools pupils should learn to write and read in the Cyrillic alphabet, except for places with a Catholic population, where pupils learned the Latin alphabet. For the third and fourth year all textbooks should include texts in both the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet.²⁸¹ On 16 July 1919 the ministry prescribed a curriculum for two

²⁷⁷ In the immediate post-war period the competences of the Ministry of Education in practice did not reach further than pre-war Serbia with the addition of Vojvodina and Montenegro, so the Ministry's decisions in fact only affected the Serbian part of the Kingdom (cf. 3.2.2.1).

²⁷⁸ ["naročito u doba samostalnog njihovog života."]

²⁷⁹ 'Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole', 26 July 1920. *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 122-3. These were the 21 historical events which were included in the 1904 curriculum: 1. the old homeland; 2. migrations; 3. Vojislav and the Christianisation; 4. Nemanja and St. Sava; 5. Stevan Prvovenčani; 6. Stevan Dečanski; 7. Stevan Dušan; 8. Uroš and Vukašin; 9. Marko Kraljević and Prince Lazar; 10. Đurađ Smederevac; 11. the fall of Serbia; 12. the fall of Bosnia and Herzegovina; 13. suffering under the Turks; 14. hajduks and uskoks; 15. the First Serbian Uprising; 16. the fall of Serbia in 1813; 17. the Second Uprising; 18. the battle of Sentomaša; 19. Prince Mihailo; 20. Prince and King Milan; 21. King Aleksandar.

²⁸⁰ 'Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole'. *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 254. ["s kratkim opisom (...) svih srpskih zemalja"].

²⁸¹ O.n. br. 31.691, 20 September 1920. *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 267-9.

years of higher elementary education, which vaguely referred to an overview of the history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as well as a geographical overview of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.²⁸² Similar prescriptions were also included in the curriculum for civil schools in Vojvodina on 23 September 1920.²⁸³ On 30 March 1919 the Ministry of Education prescribed some general adaptations to the pre-war Serbian curriculum for secondary schools. One of the measures taken was that literary courses in secondary schools should treat all three Yugoslav literatures.²⁸⁴ In Slovenia too some measures were taken to adapt the curricula to the new Yugoslav context. On 12 June 1919, for example, the Higher Educational Council (*Višji šolski svet*) in Ljubljana, an advisory organ to the Department for Education and Religion, decided that the study of Serbo-Croatian would be introduced from the sixth year of elementary education in Slovenian schools (Zečević 1985: 356).²⁸⁵ On 20 July 1921 a first curriculum was introduced for Serbo-Croatian in Slovenian elementary schools, prescribing the study of Serbo-Croatian in Slovenian schools from the third year of elementary school.²⁸⁶

The nature of these early measures, although clearly lacking an overarching program, illustrates that Yugoslav national culture was envisaged as a synthesis of different sub-national traditions, rather than as a completely homogeneous entity based on one specific core culture. This approach was also accepted by most educational experts of the period. In an article in *Prosvetni glasnik* ('The Educational Herald'), the official journal of the Ministry of Education, Vićentije Rakić for example argued that Yugoslav national future depended on the creation of common customs and interests, what he called the spiritual equalisation of the people, and the creation of common national sentiments, or the spiritual unification of the people. According to Rakić the process of national equalisation was irreversible:

With the present development of transport, traffic and spiritual communication of persons the equalisation of material and spiritual culture is inevitable and would be even difficult to resist by people racially much more different, geographically more remote and culturally more autonomous than our three related tribes, who are geographically mixed and politically united (Rakić V. 1924: 706).²⁸⁷

²⁸² 'Nastavni plan i program za višu osnovnu školu'. O.n. br. 16.249. In: *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 146-7.

²⁸³ 'Nastavni plan za muške i ženske građanske škole.' O.n. br. 32.995. In: *Zbornik zakona i važnijih raspisa*: 159-60.

²⁸⁴ S.n. br. 5.096. See the introduction to A. Jotić's *Istorija slovenačke književnosti*, as well as the book review by Fran Ilešić, *Prosvetni glasnik* 38 (1921)/7-8: 473-8.

²⁸⁵ See also *Učiteljski tovariš* 25.06.1919: 3.

²⁸⁶ One hour in the third year, two hours from the fourth until the eighth year. *Učni načrt za srbohrvaščino na slovenskih osnovnih šolah*.

²⁸⁷ ["Pri današnjoj razvijenosti saobraćaja, prometa i duhovnog opštenja ljudi, ujedinjavanje materijalne i duhovne kulture tako je neizbežno da mu se teško mogu odupreti i narodi rasno mnogo različniji, geografski

The creation of common national sentiments would, however, not follow as a matter of course, because Yugoslav national consciousness would have to overcome the consequences of 'tribal' and religious separation. It is here that schools could play a crucial role. First, in history courses children should learn that the histories of the three 'tribes' were just parts of a larger history, that their historical evolution was very similar, that the regional medieval states were only stages in a historical process which has led to the Yugoslav state unification and that the three Yugoslav 'tribes' have cooperated and merged with each other during the past. It should be stressed that the present differences between them (religious and regional) were the result of foreign interference (ibid: 710). In geography Serbs, Croats and Slovenes should get to know each other, "because people find it most difficult to forgive each other for traits they are not familiar with".²⁸⁸ Further, in geography students should learn that the differences between the three 'tribes' are not essential, but are only differences in name (ibid.). Language education should facilitate the mutual knowledge and communication between different parts of the nation, regardless of differences in alphabet, expression and orthography (ibid.). Finally, students should learn that the literature and art production of the three 'tribes' in essence was very similar. Literature and art should also make the students familiar with the specificities of different parts of the nation (ibid: 710-1).

From the very start of the interwar period there was no real discussion concerning the desirability of uniform curriculum for the entire state. Most educational experts agreed that Yugoslav national unity could only be created through uniform curricula for the entire Yugoslav state. It seemed logical that, since the Yugoslav nation was one, the whole educational system and thus also the curricula should be identical. UJU's declaration of intents of 1922 argued that "the interests of state and nation require one general, common curriculum for all popular schools in the country" (Jovanović J. 1922a: 34).²⁸⁹ Exceptions could only be tolerated in case of "indisputable demands of the population of a certain region" or "extraordinary circumstances" (ibid).²⁹⁰ The geography lessons should familiarise the pupils with all regions of the new country, history should treat the history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a whole, and for language all pupils should read and write in both Latin and Cyrillic and should understand "all dialects of the state language". Education could take place in the local dialect, but every pupil should learn the state language at elementary school (ibid). At

udaljeniji, i kulturno samostalnjiji nego što su naša tri srodna plemena, geografski izmešana i politički sjedinjena."]

²⁸⁸ ["jer ljudi najteže praštaju jedan drugom one osobenosti koje ne mogu da razumeju".]

²⁸⁹ ["državni i nacionalni interesi zahtevaju jedan opšti, osnovni program za sve narodne škole u državi."]

²⁹⁰ ["Neosporne potrebe stanovništva jedne oblasti", "neredovne prilike"]

the second congress of UJU, held in August 1922, Mihailo Stanojević argued that the curricula which were used in different regions of the state were completely outdated, not only from a pedagogical point of view, but also, more importantly, from an ideological and national point of view. Therefore a new, uniform curriculum for elementary schools should be issued as soon as possible. The primary goal of these curricula was to provide national education:

The spirit of unity and freedom has to pervade the entire education in our present elementary school. This is not only demanded by the vital interest of our nation and state, but also by the blood and sacrifices made by the best sons and daughters of our three-named nation, who fell on the battlefield for this unity and our present freedom. [Only that way] the elementary school can create unity of sentiment and thinking for the entire nation from Soča to Vardar (Stanojević M. 1922a: 212-3).²⁹¹

Obviously, for Stanojević, schools could only fulfil their task of Yugoslav nation-building if the subject matters treated at school were completely identical for the entire nation. For the first four years the curriculum should be identical for all schools, only for the higher grades some adjustments to local circumstances and needs could be allowed, save for the national subjects, which had to be identical in all schools in the country (ibid: 102). Very few educational experts proposed the possibility of regionally diversified curricula. In fact, the most far-reaching demands for regional diversification suggested that teachers would have the possibility to pay more attention to local specificities (e.g. Škavić 1923). The discussion concerning the desirability of local variation in the curricula also returned in the general educational program presented by the commission established by Minister of Education Kosta Kumanudi in early 1928. Whereas some of the members of the commission advocated the complete unification of curricula as a prerequisite for national unification at school, other members argued that the authorities should abandon these completely unified curricula and leave some place for local differences between city and village, boys and girls, and regional specificities and needs.²⁹²

In line with the general political choices made during the interwar period, the authorities considered uniform curricula the only viable fundament for Yugoslav nation-building. Until the establishment of the Croatian banovina in 1939 the

²⁹¹ ["Kroz celokupnu nastavu današnje osnovne škole treba da provejava duh jedinstva i duh slobode. To traži ne samo naš životni nacionalni i državni interes već i ona krv i one žrtve najboljih naših sinova i kćeri našega troimenog naroda koji su pali na bojnom polju za ovo jedinstvo i ovu današnju slobodu." "stvari jedinstvo osećanja i jedinstvo mišljenja u celokupnom narodu od Soče do Vardara."]

²⁹² 'Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 166.

authorities held on to uniform curricula for all types of schools in the country. In the methodological guidelines for popular schools of 1933 for example it was argued that popular schools, as institutions responsible for the education of all layers and parts of the nation, should be organised identically for the entire nation and that no adaptations or specificities in the curriculum could be allowed for specific layers or parts of the nation.²⁹³ The only concession made in this respect was what was termed *zavičajnost*, namely that education should depart from what the pupils knew from daily life, from their direct surroundings (*zavičaj*). In the course of schooling, their knowledge should be expanded until it covered the entire homeland and state, which would be envisaged as a wider home region or *zavičaj*.²⁹⁴

In the following sub-chapters I will look more in detail at definitions of Yugoslav national identity in the curricula of the interwar period. The educational authorities explicitly stressed that the pillars of national education were the so-called *national subjects*: national language and literature, history and geography.²⁹⁵ In the methodological guidelines for secondary schools it was argued that the study of language, literature, history and geography should help students to understand that the Yugoslav nation was one “ethnic unity with all fundamental characteristics of a national community”, “regardless of tribes, regions, dialects and religion”.²⁹⁶ It thus seems justified to look specifically at these national subjects, as these were the areas where educational authorities consciously defined Yugoslav national unity. In a final sub-chapter I look at the mediation between religion and nationhood in curricula. The following examination is based on a thorough examination of curricula which were used during the interwar period (cf. 3, appendix 1).

²⁹³ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.’ 1933: 1. AJ 66-1281-1527.

²⁹⁴ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.’ 1933: 3. AJ 66-1281-1527.

²⁹⁵ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.’ 1933: 3. AJ 66-1281-1527.

²⁹⁶ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*. Belgrade, Državna štamparija, 1936: 7-8. [“Izučavanje narodnog jezika, književnosti, istorije i zemljopisa treba da pomogne učeniku da shvati ceo naš narod, bez obzira na plemena, pokrajine, dijalekte i veru, kao jednu etničku celinu, koja ima sve bitne osobine jedne nacionalne zajednice.”]

4.2 The controversial issue of the Yugoslav language

As seen by the number of hours devoted to it, the teaching of language was an extremely important subject in all types of Yugoslav schools. Curricula explicated that the importance of the subject lay not only in learning children to read and write, but also in the development of their national consciousness. It has been a common feature in national thinking to stress linguistic unity as the fundament for national unity, in that sense the Yugoslav case surely forms no exception (Leerssen 1999: 102-6). However, the exact interpretation of the Serbo-Croato-Slovenian language, as the official state language was denoted in the 1921 and 1931 constitutions, remained controversial throughout the interwar period.²⁹⁷ It has been argued sufficiently in recent scholarship that “[y]ou need the nation first, or at least the idea of a nation, a perception of its national identity, in order to be able to create a national standard language that may function as a component of this national identity” and that “you need the means of power only a state has the disposal of in order to impose the national standard language to its users, the citizens of the state” (Detrez 2002: 11). In the Yugoslav case, however, the possibilities of creating a uniform Yugoslav language were strongly restricted by the existence of various standardised differences within Serbo-Croato-Slovenian.

4.2.1 The position of Slovenian in Yugoslav linguistic unity

4.2.1.1 Intellectual debates on the Slovenian dialect/language during the 1920s

A first major point of discussion concerned the relation between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian. An absolute majority of the Slovenian intellectuals, even those favouring Yugoslav national unity, argued that Slovenian was undisputedly a separate language. In fact, beside a negligible, small number of proponents of the immediate introduction of

²⁹⁷ Article 3 of both constitutions determined the state language as “srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački” (qtd. in Mrđenović 1988: 209, 249). Interestingly, initially the government of Nikola Pašić had suggested that the state language would be termed Serbo-Croatian, adding that in Slovenian regions the Slovenian *dialect* could be used. This proposal was rejected by the Slovene jurist and politician Bogumil Vošnjak, member of the Yugoslav Committee during the First World War and signer of the Corfu declaration, and one of the leaders of the Independent (Slovenian) Peasant Party. To indicate his strong Yugoslav national consciousness Vošnjak had changed his name from the Slovenian Bogomil to the Croatian Bogumil. Vošnjak argued that the government’s suggestion for the name of the state language would only strengthen separatist opposition in Slovenian. Instead, he proposed the term Serbo-Croato-Slovenian (Dimić 1997, 3: 380-1; Perovšek 1996: 182-3).

Serbo-Croatian as literary language in Slovenia, the language issue among Slovenian intellectuals revolved around the choice between complete autonomy and distinctness of the Slovenian language or its gradual rapprochement to Serbo-Croatian (Dolenc 1996: 131-3; Janićijević 1984: 154; Perovšek 1996: 151-61). An absolute majority of Slovenian intellectuals supported the autonomist option. In the immediate pre-war period prominent Slovenian intellectuals like Mihajlo Rostohar, Albin Prepeluh and Ivan Cankar had strongly rejected Slovenian linguistic assimilation. These intellectuals did not reject Yugoslav political unity and close cultural bonds between Slovenes, Serbs and Croats, but stressed that complete cultural and linguistic assimilation was no prerequisite for Yugoslav unity (Dolenc 2010: 78-86). In an influential lecture entitled "Slovenes and Yugoslavs" ("*Slovinci in Jugoslovani*"), held in Ljubljana on 12 April 1913, Ivan Cankar, the most prominent Slovenian writer of the period, argued that the Yugoslav question was exclusively political, there was no cultural or linguistic side to it:

Maybe it has existed once, but it was solved when the Yugoslav tribe separated into four peoples with four completely independent cultural lives. We are brothers by blood and cousins by language, by culture – which has evolved separately for centuries, we are much more foreign to each other, than our peasant from upper Carniola is to a Tyroler peasant, than our winegrower from Gorizia is to Friulan winegrower (qtd. in Dolenc 2010: 83).²⁹⁸

Immediately after the First World War, on 18 November 1918, 30 of Slovenia's leading intellectuals adopted a resolution as members of the cultural department, an autonomous advisory organ to the National Council and government in Ljubljana. This resolution, which was not published in the end because some of the members of the department, affiliated to the Liberal Party, withdrew their support, stated that the new Yugoslav state should

in any case respect the fact that history has given the Slovenes distinct spiritual characteristics in the course of centuries. The Slovenian part of the Yugoslav nation has also linguistically developed itself independently, so that Slovenian, as the carrier of those spiritual characteristics, although the closest relative of Serbo-Croatian, is an organism on itself today and that, within the Slovenian

²⁹⁸ ["Morda je kdaj eksistiralo: toda rešeno je bilo takrat, ko se je jugoslovansko pleme razcepilo v četvero narodov s četverim čisto samostojnim kulturnim življenjem. Po krvi smo si bratje, po jeziku vsaj bratranci, - po kulturi, ki je sad večstoletne separatne vzgoje, pa smo si med seboj veliko bolj tuji, nego je tuj naš gorenjski kmet tirolskemu, ali pa goriški viničar furlanskemu."]

literary language area, successful cultural action today is only possible in that language (Dolenc 1996: 108-11, quotation on 110).²⁹⁹

A similar argument against the “mechanical unification” of national unity and for Slovenian autonomy was made in the so-called Resolution of Slovenian Cultural Activists (*Izjava slovenskih kulturnih delavcev*) of February 1921 (Dolenc 1996: 145-50; Janićijević 1984: 151).

Also the much less numerous advocates of the rapprochement of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, who were in general supportive of Yugoslav national unity, rejected the immediate merging of Slovenian in Serbo-Croatian. However, unlike the *autonomists* these intellectuals did not oppose the merging of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian in due course. One of the most prominent proponents of this option was Fran Ilešič, professor of Slovenian language and literature at the University of Zagreb. He argued that the Slovenian literary language would gradually merge with Serbo-Croatian in its natural evolution. Therefore, the discussion between autonomists and Yugoslavists, was a non-discussion in his opinion. According to Ilešič, because the Slovenian literary language was not exclusively based on one specific dialect, it was possible to integrate certain Serbo-Croatian linguistic elements in the Slovenian literary language: “If the literary language is no pure expression of one dialect, why then could it not also consider other dialects which form the transition to the Croatian dialects” (Ilešič 1918: 70).³⁰⁰ Moreover, in the development of the Slovenian literary language Slovenian philologists had always focused on the border with the German language zone in the northwest. As a result, there had been no clear-cut boundary toward the dialects in the east: “Not knowing any borders toward the east, we have instinctively developed [our literary language] as a nuance of the Serbo-Croatian, or better Yugoslav speech” (ibid.).³⁰¹ Therefore, if the natural development of the Slovenian literary language would be respected and if the mutual contacts between Slovenes and Serbo-Croats would intensify, the nuances of the Yugoslav speech would naturally be smoothed out (ibid.). Ilešič did suggest some measures to stimulate this natural development: Secondary school teachers should pass exams of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, all universities of the country should provide

²⁹⁹ [“Kulturna politika bo morala vsekakor upoštevati dejstvo, da je dala zgodovina Slovenstvu v teku stoletji posebno duševno vsebino. Slovenki del jugoslovanskega naroda se je razvil tudi jezikovno samostojno, tako da je slovenščina, nositeljica te duševne vsebine, dasi najbližja sorodnica srbohrvaščini, danes organizem zase in da je v območju slovenskega književnega jezika za sedaj možno uspešno kultuno del edinole v tem jeziku.”]

³⁰⁰ [“Ta ako književni jezik već nije čistim izrazom jednog dijalekta, zašto se ne bi u njemu uvažavali i dijalekti, koji su prelazi u hrvatske dijalekte.”]

³⁰¹ [“Ne poznavajući u tome granice prema istoku, gajili smo ga instinktivno, kao jednu nijansu srpsko-hrvatskog ili bolje jugoslovenskog govora.”]

opportunities to follow classes in both literary languages and university students should attend all three universities in the course of their studies (Perovšek 1996: 151-2).

A similar point was made by Anton Melik, a geographer who later became professor at the University of Ljubljana. Melik argued that Slovenes, Serbs and Croats would have certainly already been one nation if not for their unfavourable historical development. Now that all historical hindrances had been deleted, full unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes could be realised. Therefore, Melik spoke of the Yugoslav nation as a nation “in development” (Melik 1918b: 478-9). A first requirement to achieve complete unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was cultural cooperation. As far as language was concerned, Melik spoke of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian as mutually intelligible dialects (Melik 1918a: 297). In the first instance, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had to participate in Yugoslav cultural life in their own literary language and alphabet. Thereby, it had to be assured that Serbo-Croatian children would learn Slovenian, and vice versa. Any other option (for example the immediate ban on Slovenian) would lead to cultural impoverishment. At a later stage Melik foresaw that cultural cooperation would lead to linguistic unification. What precisely this language would look like, was still unclear, but Melik suggested to let natural development do its work (ibid: 300-1).

Significantly, the most vocal proponents of the merging of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian were Serbo-Croatian Yugoslavists. In June 1922 the progressive, Yugoslav orientated, Zagreb magazine *Nova Evropa* (‘The New Europe’) published an article in which the Slovenian linguist Matija Murko, at the time working in Prague, occupied a middle position in the debates, but strongly opposed the tendency to reduce the Slovenian language to a dialect of Serbo-Croatian. Although the Slovenian vernacular undoubtedly stood very close to Croatian spoken language, and could have been integrated into one South Slav literary language, historical circumstances had led to a different situation (Murko 1922: 132-3). Murko clearly regretted this, but in his opinion it would be wrong to deny the historical development of the Slovenian language.

Thus, we have to take into account two literary languages in Yugoslavia, but we have to do everything in our forces to reduce and alleviate this bad evolution. As in many questions, we should seek for cure and comfort in Yugoslavism. If we are one state and one nation, in the wider meaning of that word, we have to equally love or at least respect everything which is ours, everything which is beautiful and good; and therefore we should first become familiar with everything (ibid: 138).³⁰²

³⁰² [“Moramo, dakle, računati sa dva književna jezika u Jugoslaviji, ali pritom činiti sve što je u našim silima da se ovo zlo više umanj i ublaži. Kao u mnogim pitanjima, tražimo i ovde leka i utehe u jugoslovenstvu. Ako smo jedna država i jedan narod, u višem smislu te reči, moramo jednako voleti ili barem štovati sve što je naše, što god je lepo i dobro; i zato treba, pre svega, sve poznavati.”]

Thus, Murko argued that Slovenian pupils should learn the Serbo-Croatian literary language and Serbo-Croatian pupils should equally learn the Slovenian literary language (ibid: 138-9).

In the discussion this articles initiated in the following numbers of *Nova Evropa* most Slovenian intellectuals agreed with Murko. Leonid Pitomic, a well-known Slovenian lawyer, expressed his worries about the fact that Serbs and Croats did not make as much efforts to learn Slovenian as the Slovenes did to learn Serbo-Croatian (Zečević 1985: 389-90). In two “literary letters from Slovenia” the publicist Božidar Borko attempted to familiarise the Serbo-Croatian public with contemporary Slovenian literature. He complained that Serbo-Croatian journals devoted very little attention to Slovenian cultural life, “partly out of indifference, partly out of the prejudice that Slovenian literature, since it [was] written in a “dialect”, [was] a Yugoslav anachronism without any future” (Borko 1927: 33).³⁰³ Borko opposed this, arguing that the Slovenes undisputedly formed a separate cultural entity, which would not abandon its own language and culture for a form of Serbo-Croatian Yugoslavism (Borko 1925: 433-4; Borko 1927: 33).

However, such views could not count on sympathy from the journal’s Serbo-Croatian Yugoslav nationalists. In a comment to Murko’s article the editor of *Nova Evropa* Milan Ćurčin clarified that the article did not correspond to the viewpoint of *Nova Evropa*. Ćurčin argued that linguistic unity was the only objective criterion for national unity. Thus, if the Yugoslavs formed one nation, as they obviously did for Ćurčin, they had to have one literary language. Even though Ćurčin accepted that the Slovenian literary language would be used for the time being, in the future Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian would have to merge into one South Slav literary language. It remained open how this common language would look like. It could be the Serbo-Croatian literary language, or even, theoretically, the Slovenian literary language, or, and this was most probable for Ćurčin, the product of the gradual crystallisation of both literary languages into one (Ćurčin 1922). In a later reaction Laza Popović called Slovenes a “foreign body”, probably the worst reproach to come from a nationalist. They were merely political citizens who wanted to ameliorate the living conditions of their “small, abandoned, strange and rudimentary ethnical community” (Popović L. 1923: 169).³⁰⁴ Therefore, he argued that “Croato-Serbs” should first realise full unity among themselves and only then come to a rational agreement with the Slovenes (ibid: 170-1).

It was mainly in a reaction against such radical integral Yugoslav programs, which required full linguistic unity, that Yugoslav-orientated Slovenian intellectuals

³⁰³ [“ponešto iz nehaja, ponešto iz predrasude, da je slovenačka književnost, budući pisana u “dijalektu”, jugoslovenski anahronizam, koji nema budućnosti.”]

³⁰⁴ [“strano telo”, “malu, ostavljenu, čudnovatu, rudimentarnu etničku skupinu”].

formulated a form of Yugoslavism which would allow for variety within Yugoslav national culture. In January 1928 the above mentioned Božidar Borko criticised the emptiness of the oft-heard slogan “one culture, one psyche” among proponents of Yugoslav unity by pointing to the undeniable cultural differences between Ohrid and Ljubljana. In his opinion, culture was an organic force, a vital spiritual principle which reflected the identity of a nation, and as such was not connected to politics. The state should not force a completely uniform culture on its population, because this would mean that the weaker parts of the population would simply have to take over the culture of the dominant population group and thus be alienated from their true cultural identity. The state had to recognise that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes each had their own cultural tradition and individuality. Consequently, the Slovenian language question was not a state affair, but an exclusively Slovenian issue. As Borko added, the cultural variety within Yugoslavia should be made into a strength, an advantage, rather than a problem (Borko 1928).³⁰⁵

A similar point had already been made by Niko Bartulović, writer and integral Yugoslav ideologue who took a leading position in the proto-fascist Organisation of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA, cf. 7.3.1.2) and was also editor of the journal of *Jadranska straža* from 1929 (cf. 4.5).³⁰⁶ In *Književni jug* (‘The Literary South’), a prominent literary journal with a strong Yugoslav national orientation which appeared in Zagreb between January 1918 and the end of 1919 (Wachtel 1998: 84-5), Bartulović argued that nobody could demand the Slovenes to give up their name and language. Moreover, this was not problematic, because the use of two languages should not necessarily thwart cultural unity. In the first place, cultural unity should be realised through mutual understanding and the intensification of cultural contacts. However, and it was in this point that Bartulović differed from most Slovenian intellectuals, in a later stadium formal unification of the two languages should and would take place:

With the mutual relations we want to establish, it is impossible that the Slovenian language would develop separately from Serbo-Croatian, or Serbo-Croatian from Slovenian. In close contact, they will, without a doubt, further merge with each other, the small differences will disappear, and nobody will even notice that, and nobody would complain about this (Bartulović 1918: 260).³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ It is important to stress that both Murko, Pitomic and Borko were members of the working committee of *Nova Evropa* (*radno kolo*) and as such not at all opposed to Yugoslav cultural cooperation.

³⁰⁶ For more on the literary work of Niko Bartulović see Bošković (2006: 145-231).

³⁰⁷ [“Uz međusobne odnošaje, kakove želimo, nemoguće je da se slovenski jezik razvija neovisno od srpsko-hrvatskoga, ni srpsko-hrvatski od slovenskoga. U tesnom dodiru oni će se bez sumnje sve više asimilirati, pogotovo će manje razlike otpadati, a da to niko neće ni opaziti, niti će kome to biti krivo”.]

4.2.1.2 Polarisation in intellectual debates under the dictatorship

After the introduction of the dictatorship demands for the introduction of a uniform Yugoslav literary language became more frequent and outspoken. In 1931 Vladimir Dvorniković, a prominent philosopher and integral Yugoslav thinker, argued that the Yugoslavs should finally adopt one language, one orthography and one alphabet, as an absolute necessity for Yugoslav cultural progress (Dvorniković 1931: 125). In the magazine of *Narodna odbrana* Petar Bulat, an ethnologist who had been dismissed from the University of Zagreb under the Ministry of Stjepan Radić and was later appointed as professor at the Philosophical Faculty in Skopje, complained that since the times of Vuk Karadžić and Ljudevit Gaj no progress had been made in the formation of a single literary language for the Yugoslavs.³⁰⁸ In fact, according to Bulat, three literary speeches were used in Yugoslavia: the Slovenian dialect which had developed into a separate literary language (kajkavian-ekavian, Latin), Croatian (štokavian-ijekavian, Latin), and Serbian (štokavian-ekavian, Cyrillic).³⁰⁹ After the realisation of Yugoslav political unity, it was time to create the Yugoslav nation and for this it was absolutely necessary to create one Yugoslav literary language. Bulat proposed that Serbs and Croats would choose one variant and one alphabet, either ijekavian and Cyrillic, or ekavian and Latin. For the Slovenian literary dialect there was no other option than its “quiet and gradual liquidation” (Bulat 1932: 755).³¹⁰ Bulat did allow for a transitory period in which the Slovenian dialect could remain in use, until the population there would get accustomed to the new Yugoslav language (ibid.). On 10 January 1930 the newspaper *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* (‘Yugoslav Daily’), whose editor Fedor Nikić was assistant at the Ministry of Education and later deputy in parliament, even reported that the government was

³⁰⁸ Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Ljudevit Gaj roughly simultaneously introduced linguistic reforms for Serbo-Croatian during the first half of the 19th century. They laid the fundamentals for the modern Serbo-Croatian literary language on the basis of the štokavian dialect and played a crucial role in the development of Serbo-Croatian literature (Greenberg 2004: 24-9 ; Wachtel 1998: 25-9).

³⁰⁹ The Serbo-Croatian language is sub-divided in three dialects: kajkavian, čakavian and štokavian, named after the divergent forms of the interrogative pronoun “what?” (kaj, ča, što). The Slovenian language stands closest to the kajkavian dialect of Serbo-Croatian, which is spoken in northern Croatia, and also uses “kaj?” for “what?”. The Serbo-Croatian literary language is based on the štokavian dialect, which is for its part divided in three variants: ekavian, ijekavian and ikavian, based on the reflex of the Proto-Slavonic vowel *jat*’ (-e, -(i)je, -i). The ikavian variant is not used in the literary language. The ekavian literary variant of Belgrade has become a marker of Serbian linguistic identity, the ijekavian literary variant, which is used in Zagreb, has become a marker of Croatian linguistic identity, although the latter is spoken by Croats, Serbs, Muslims and Montenegrins (Greenberg 2004: 32-9).

³¹⁰ [“tihoj i postepenoj likvidaciji”]

completing a law which prescribed a unified alphabet and literary language for Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.³¹¹

Although such a law never came through, claims like these led to fierce reactions in Slovenia. In a reaction to Bulat's article the Slovenian newspaper *Slovenec* ('The Slovene') stated that Bulat should end his "fascist projects" and romantic reveries.³¹² Slovenian cultural individuality and Yugoslavism were completely harmonic phenomena and therefore the Slovenian language was an inviolable "Yugoslav sanctity".³¹³ It was also around this period that Josip Vidmar published his influential book 'The Cultural Problem of the Slovenian Nation' (*Kulturni problem slovenstva*) in which he provocatively criticised Slovenian Liberal intellectuals – who had favoured Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian cultural and linguistic rapprochement – and argued for Slovenian cultural autonomy and the protection of the Slovenian language against Serbo-Croatian predominance (Dolenc 2010: 106-7; Jančičević 1984: 157-60; Vidmar 1932: esp. 49-60).

More moderate Yugoslav-orientated Slovenian intellectuals equally rejected demands for the assimilation of the Slovenian language as completely unrealistic. These intellectuals were quick to stress that they did not favour the merging of the Slovenian language in Serbo-Croatian, but rather cultural cooperation between Slovenes and Serbo-Croats. Slovenian JNS representatives constantly clarified that the dictatorial regime did not intend to ban the Slovenian language and emphasised the autonomy of the Slovenian language as one of the central elements of Slovenian culture.³¹⁴ The pro-regime Slovenian newspaper *Jugoslovan* ('The Yugoslav') stressed that the Slovenian language was not under discussion: "The Slovenian language is (...) fundamentally necessary for the national consciousness of Slovenes and with that for their Yugoslav consciousness".³¹⁵ In response to Vidmar Božidar Borko argued for Yugoslav national and political unity, as well as cultural cooperation between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but also Slovenian cultural and linguistic autonomy (Borko 1932: 425-6, 429). In a

³¹¹ 'Za jedan književni jezik i azbuku', *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 10.01.1930: 1.

³¹² ["projekte fašistične mentalitete"]

³¹³ 'Quod non!', *Slovenec* 28.12.1932: 1. ["spade med (...) svetinje jugoslovanstva"].

³¹⁴ See for example a speech by Albert Kramer in which he regretted the fact that some official documents had not been translated in Slovenian, but explained that JNS by no means wanted to extinguish the Slovenian language and culture ('Ministra dr. Kramer in Pucelj o političnem položaju v državi in Sloveniji'. *Jutro* 07.07.1932: 4), or his speech in Split on 27 September 1932 where he denied frequent reproaches that JNS wanted to destroy the Slovenian language and culture and "drown the Slovenian people in the sea of Serbian and Croatian culture" ["hoćemo da utopimo slovenački narod u more srpske i hrvatske kulture."]. Kramer denied this, but argued that Yugoslav national unity was the only possibility to preserve Slovenian culture ('Skupština J.R.S.D. primorske banovine'. *Novo doba* 27.09.1932: 1-2).

³¹⁵ 'Slovenski jezik', *Jugoslovan*, 31.10.1930: 2. ["Slovenski jezik je (...) bistveno potreben za narodno zavest Slovencev in s tem tudi za njih jugoslovansko zavest."]

reaction to Dvorniković's claim the Slovenian writer Ivan Lah once more repeated, just like Murko a decade earlier, that linguistic variety and national unity were not necessarily incompatible:

Since it is not possible to eliminate the Cyrillic alphabet immediately (the question is if this would be honourable for our Yugoslav nationalism!), since we cannot force ijekavians to write ekavian (the question is if this is necessary in the first place!), since we cannot eliminate the Slovenian language (because this would cause great dissatisfaction), and since we thus are incapable of reforming and all in once eliminating the differences, which have originated on our Yugoslav territory in the course of cultural development (the question is if it is necessary to eliminate them!), it is necessary to first reform ourselves and to overcome these differences within ourselves, which means that we first have to overcome all "narrow-mindedness", commotion, obsolete restrictedness and provincialism and to bring our diversified Yugoslav world closer together, regardless of the fact that it is given in this or that alphabet, in this or that dialect (Lah 1931: 536).³¹⁶

Lah suggested that all three 'tribes' should become familiar with and respect the traditions and specificities of the other 'tribes'. No 'tribe' should be asked to sacrifice essential aspects of its culture, rather should each 'tribe' get to know the cultural products of all parts of the nation in its original form (ibid: 536-40).

At the same time Yugoslav-oriented intellectuals warned that radical integral Yugoslav demands only discredited all forms of Yugoslav cultural cooperation in Slovenia (Borko 1933). Jovo Zubović, for example, argued for broader political and cultural autonomy for Slovenes in Drava banovina and added that the Serbo-Croatian part of the nation had to make more efforts to involve the Slovenes in Yugoslav national culture, without denying them the right to use the Slovenian language (Zubović 1933: 135-6). Indeed, Vidmar had based his autonomist argument against Yugoslavism on the fact that Yugoslav nationalists favoured national homogeneity, which, in his opinion, would mean that the Slovenes would have to abandon their language and "vanish in a Yugoslav, or better Serbo-Croatian sea" (Vidmar 1932: 53).³¹⁷ After the Slovenian

³¹⁶ ["Pošto nije moguće da se odmah ukloni ćirilica (pitanje je, da li bi to za naš jugoslovenski nacionalizam bilo časno!?) i pošto ne možemo ijekavca prisiliti da piše ekavski (pitanje je, da li je to uopšte potrebno!), i pošto ne možemo ukinuti slovenački jezik (pošto to bi izazvalo silno neraspoloženje), pošto, dakle nismo u stanju da reformišemo i da odjednom uklonimo razlike koje su, tokom kulturnoga razvitka, nastale na našem jugoslovenskom teritoriju (pitanje, da li je to potrebno da ih uklanjamo!), potrebno je, da pre svega reformiramo sami sebe i da u sebi savladamo te razlike, to znači, da pre svega treba da u sebi ugušimo sve "sitnoljublje", komotitet, zastarelu ograničenost i provincializam, i da se približimo našem šarolikom jugoslovenskom svetu, pa ma koliko da nam je on dat u ovom ili onom pismu, u ovom ili onom narečju."]

³¹⁷ ["Jasno je, da pomeni ta njihov ideal za nas Slovence, odreći se svojemu jeziku, lastni kulturi in izginiti v jugoslovanskom, ne, v srbskohrvaškom morju."]

Clericals entered Stojadinović's government in 1935 and realised the government's program, which recognised the cultural specificities of the three Yugoslav 'tribes', in Drava banovina, the discussion concerning the position of Slovenian culture within Yugoslav unity lost its urgency. By that time, it can be argued with Ervin Dolenc, the preservation of Slovenian cultural autonomy and in the first place the Slovenian language was commonly accepted by Slovenian intellectuals, undoubtedly greatly encouraged by the experiences of the first Yugoslav state's intellectual discussions on linguistic unity (Dolenc 2010: 114-5).

4.2.1.3 Slovenian in language curricula

The question of Yugoslav linguistic unity was clearly a very controversial issue among Slovenian intellectuals and the insistence of Serbo-Croatian Yugoslav nationalists on complete linguistic unity played a decisive role in the decreasing popularity of the model of Yugoslav cultural cooperation among Slovenian intellectuals. However, to what extent was the discourse on Serbo-Croato-Slovenian linguistic unity concretised in language education? Although ideas about the desired degree of linguistic unification of the South Slavs diverged, educational experts agreed that a first, realistic step toward Yugoslav unity would be for all pupils to become familiar with different variants of the state language. In its basic program of 1922 the Association of Yugoslav Teachers had demanded that all pupils should learn to use the Cyrillic and Latin alphabet equally, and to understand "all *dialects* of the state language" (Jovanović J. 1922a: 34).³¹⁸ In a draft for a curriculum for elementary education Josip Škavić, the leading figure of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers in Zagreb, argued that it could not be denied that the Yugoslavs spoke three dialects (Slovenian – ekavian and kajkavian –; štokavian and ekavian; štokavian and ijekavian), each of them with a literary tradition, and two alphabets. Škavić suggested that elementary education had to depart from the local dialect and could then gradually expand the knowledge of the pupil and teach him or her to read and write in the literary language. For sure, in some regions it would take longer to familiarise the pupils with the literary language. For example, in Slovenia pupils should only start learning the literary language (i.e. Serbo-Croatian) in the third year. Whereas other pupils could learn to read and write in Latin and Cyrillic in the second year, Slovenian pupils should only learn Cyrillic in the third year (Škavić 1923: 100-15). The Slovenian delegates in the commission for the formulation of a general educational program established under the ministry of Kumanudi in December 1927 argued that education in elementary schools in Slovenia should be given in the Slovenian *language*.

³¹⁸ ["Sve dijalekte državnog jezika."]

Slovenian pupils should learn Serbo-Croatian, but, and this reflected the fear of many Slovenian intellectuals, the teaching of Serbo-Croatian should not be exaggerated. It was enough if Slovenian pupils became familiarised with Serbo-Croatian and learned Cyrillic. Similarly, Serbo-Croatian pupils should become familiarised with Slovenian.³¹⁹ Although the use of different terms (dialect/language) indicates diverging viewpoints about the relation Serbo-Croatian/Slovenian, in practice educational experts agreed that pupils should become familiar with all variants of Serbo-Croato-Slovenian.

In the curricula of the interwar period an obvious distinction was made between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian. Significantly, the only exception to the rule that Yugoslav curricula had to be completely uniform for the entire Yugoslav nation was allowed for language education in Slovenia. All curricula under scrutiny prescribed that language education in Slovenian schools should teach the Slovenian language. Importantly, Slovenian students also learned Serbo-Croatian. Already on 12 June 1919 the Higher Educational Council in Ljubljana decided to introduce the study of Serbo-Croatian from the sixth year of elementary education in Slovenian schools (Zečević 1985: 356). On 20 June 1921 the Ministry of Education approved a curriculum for Serbo-Croatian in Slovenian elementary schools, which had been formulated by Ljubomir Protić and Mihailo Stanojević, two leading pedagogical experts and authors of textbooks, as representatives of a special committee established within the Main Educational Board.³²⁰ This curriculum prescribed that Serbo-Croatian would be taught from the third year of elementary school, initially one hour per week, from the fourth year two hours per week. The final goal was that students should be able to express themselves correctly in Serbo-Croatian, both in conversations and in written forms. A lot of attention was paid to comparisons between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian in vocabulary, orthography and grammar. Initially, Slovenian pupils learned Serbo-Croatian in the ekavian variant, because it stood closer to Slovenian. In the seventh and eighth year pupils read texts in the ijekavian variant. From the first year of Serbo-Croatian pupils were also made familiar with the Cyrillic alphabet.³²¹

The curriculum of 1933 prescribed that the language curriculum for Drava banovina should be identical to the state-wide program, but “in Slovenian”. Additionally, Slovenian pupils were expected to learn to write in both Cyrillic and Latin. One fourth of the texts in Slovenian reading books should be taken from Serbo-Croatian literature, pupils had to learn poems in Serbo-Croatian by heart, they were given dictations in Serbo-Croatian and they had to write two essays in Serbo-Croatian per school year. Finally, pupils should be made familiar with differences between Serbo-Croatian and

³¹⁹ ‘Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa’. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 166.

³²⁰ *Prosvetni glasnik* 38/2 (November 1921): 214.

³²¹ *Učni načrt za srbohrvaščino na slovenskih osnovnih šolah*.

Slovenian in the framework of their language lessons. In civil schools, higher popular schools, secondary schools and teacher-training schools in Slovenia students had two extra hours per week of Serbo-Croatian.³²² The curricula for Serbo-Croatian in Slovenian secondary, civil and teacher-training school were typically very superficial and focused on the elaboration of the knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, both active and passive, and written and oral, the students had obtained in elementary schools.

Obviously, curricula attempted to assure that Slovenian children would become fluent in Serbo-Croatian. Thus, instead of the model of cultural unification – the uniform literary language which was demanded by some Yugoslav ideologists – the language curricula adopted the model of *cultural cooperation*, as suggested by educational experts and Yugoslav-orientated Slovenian intellectuals. Vice versa, however, it is better to speak of a model of *cultural toleration*. None of the curricula of the interwar period introduced a structural study of the Slovenian language in Serbo-Croatian schools. For elementary schools only the 1927 curriculum prescribed that pupils of the Serbian or Croatian part of the nation should read some easier texts in the Slovenian “dialect” in the fourth year. In the other curricula there was simply no mention of the Slovenian language/dialect. The curricula for secondary schools prescribed that from the first year the students should gradually read some texts in Slovenian. The 1930 curriculum for the eighth year of secondary schools added “a very short overview of the Serbo-Croatian dialects in relation to the Slovenian dialect”.³²³ The 1926 curriculum for teacher-training schools vaguely referred to the treatment of the fundamental characteristics of the Slovenian language from the second half of the third year. The 1936 curriculum for civil schools prescribed that in the fourth year students should read some easier texts in Slovenian, accompanied with some grammatical explanations. It can be concluded that Serbo-Croatian speaking children only encountered some Slovenian texts in their reading books, without obtaining any structural, let alone active knowledge of the Slovenian language. That way, the Yugoslav curricula indicate that Slovenian was de facto recognised as a separate language, but it was obviously not considered equal to Serbo-Croatian. Whereas Slovenian children were expected to become fluent in Serbo-Croatian to participate in Yugoslav society, the opposite was not demanded from Serbo-Croatian children.

³²² Interestingly, initially the 1927 curriculum for higher secondary schools had determined one hour per week of Serbo-Croatian in Slovenia. However, in response to strong criticism the Ministry of Education introduced two hours of Serbo-Croatian in higher secondary schools in Slovenia ‘Srpsko-hrvatski jezik u višim razredima slovenačkih srednjih škola ima se predavati po dva časa nedeljno’, S.n. br. 10.446, 31.03.1928, *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 434.

³²³ [“Najkraći pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata u vezi sa slovenačkim.”]

4.2.2 Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity

4.2.2.1 The intellectual debate: How uniform should a national language be?

The linguistic unity of Serbo-Croatian was generally accepted in the immediate post-war period. Discussions revolved around the desired degree of uniformity for the Serbo-Croatian literary language and especially focussed on the use of different variants (ekavian or jekavian) and alphabets (Cyrillic and Latin). Most intellectuals of the period considered the variety within the Serbo-Croatian literary language inconvenient and impeding for full Serbo-Croatian national unity. In an influential lecture and later article of 1913 Jovan Skerlić, the tremendously influential literary critic and professor of Serbian literature at the University of Belgrade, had proposed that the ekavian literary language of Belgrade should be selected for the standardisation of the Serbo-Croatian literary language because it was the most widespread variant of Serbo-Croatian, because it had a long tradition in literature and writing and because it was easier to use and to learn than jekavian. Another argument was that Slovenes too spoke ekavian. On the other hand, Skerlić argued that the uniform Serbo-Croatian literary language should be written in the Latin alphabet, because this was the alphabet of the cultural world. The proposal clearly envisaged a compromise: Croats would give up “their” ijekavian pronunciation for the “Serbian” ekavian variant, Serbs would in turn switch from “their” Cyrillic to the “Croatian” Latin alphabet. The proposal made by Skerlić was accepted by a majority of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian intellectuals who participated in a survey conducted by *Srpski književni glasnik* in 1914 (Dimić 1997, 3: 373–5). Throughout the interwar period the debate about the required uniformity of Serbo-Croatian and the choice for Serbian or Croatian language variants was continued. In that sense, Robert Greenberg has argued that Skerlić’s proposal was instrumental in the growing Serb-Croat contentiousness surrounding the use of the “Serbian” ekavian and the “Croatian” ijekavian variant (Greenberg 2004: 37).

Immediately after the First World War the intellectual debate was reopened with vigour. To set an example, all Serbo-Croatian articles in the Yugoslav-oriented journal *Književni jug* were written in the ekavian variant and the Latin alphabet. In 1918 Vladimir Ćorović, who would become Professor of History at Belgrade University shortly hereafter, argued that it was time to finally complete the work of several generations of Yugoslav intellectuals and accept one uniform Yugoslav literary language, which could serve as the basis for the formation of a uniform South Slav culture and literature. He supported Skerlić’s suggestion to use the ekavian variant for this uniform literary language, by arguing that a majority of the active Serbian and

Croatian writers followed Skerlić and that arguments against the use of ekavian were all “purely traditionalistic” and could not be logically founded (Ćorović 1918: 99).³²⁴ With regard to the choice for the Latin alphabet Ćorović was less decisive. According to him, in time Serbian intellectuals would start to write in Latin. However, this question could not be solved immediately and by force, because Cyrillic had become a “graphic symbol” of the Serbian liberation battle and would remain inviolable as long as the Serbian national existence was in danger (ibid: 99-100).³²⁵ In 1920 Milivoj Pavlović, a philologist who became professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, challenged oft-heard claims in support of the Cyrillic alphabet, which departed from the claim that Cyrillic was the only truly Slavonic alphabet. In Pavlović’s opinion, alphabets were only formal elements that did not have any relation with the culture of a certain population. Moreover, there were Slavs who used the Latin alphabet and non-Slavs who used Cyrillic. According to Pavlović the Latin alphabet was more suitable, because it was supported by younger generations as a modern, European alphabet, because it was phonetically more consistent and because it was more convenient for use in scientific works (Pavlović Milivoj 1920).

Yugoslav political authorities seemed, however, reluctant to introduce radical measures to unify the Serbo-Croatian literary language. Already in the 1917 Declaration of Corfu the equal use of Cyrillic and Latin was guaranteed. None of the political parties of the 1920s openly argued for a radical unification of the literary language, not even the Democrats, who stood closest to integral Yugoslavism. The Radical Party continued to support the use of Cyrillic, which it considered purely Slavonic and phonetically better suited for Slavonic languages (Dimić 1996, 1: 194-5; 1997, 3: 388-9).

In the early 1930s the alphabet and variant discussions were briefly re-opened in several integral Yugoslav publications, although by that time it had become clear that there was little consensus among politicians and intellectuals to select one alphabet and one variant. In 1930 Bogumil Vošnjak complained that the Yugoslavs were “a people of illiterates” who “still showed off with two alphabets and two official languages” (Vošnjak 1930: 92).³²⁶ The problem was not only practical, the use of two alphabets was also the central factor of cultural and spiritual division among South Slavs. If the Yugoslavs wanted to play a leading role in the Balkans and occupy their place among the cultured people of Europe and the world, it was absolutely necessary that they would choose one alphabet as a prerequisite for cultural unity. Vošnjak himself argued for the use of the Latin alphabet, as a rational choice for the alphabet of technical progress (Vošnjak 1930: 87-94). In 1933 the Serbian writer Marko Car argued for the

³²⁴ [“Čisto tradicionalistički”]

³²⁵ [“grafički simbol.”]

³²⁶ [“Mi smo narod analfabeta, pa ipak se razbacujemo sa dva pisma, dva oficijelna književna jezika.”]

exclusive use of Cyrillic. Opposing him, Frano Ivanišević, a pro-Yugoslav Catholic priest who became a deputy in the Yugoslav parliament during the early 1930s, supported Skerlić's option (Ivanišević 1933).³²⁷ The issue was also frequently treated in *Naš jezik* ('Our Language'), a journal established in 1932 by a group of Belgrade linguists with the goal to prescribe the correct usage of the national language (Dimić 1997, 3: 402-6).

Regardless of this intellectual debate, the policy of the Yugoslav authorities was to maintain a status quo and to guarantee the equal use of both alphabets and both variants of Serbo-Croatian. Both variants of the literary language and both dialects were continuously used throughout the entire interwar period. It is interesting to add here that a number of Yugoslav-orientated journals or publications, such as *Nova Evropa*, *Narodna odbrana*, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik*, *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva*, *Učitelj* or *Jugosloven*, indeed published texts in both alphabets. In some cases the predisposition with the equality of both alphabets led to absurd measures. The 1932 rulebook on the censoring of films, for example, prescribed that all subtitles should be given in the correct state language. Additionally, subtitles had to be given in both alphabets, either alternately – one scene in Cyrillic, the other in Latin – or simultaneously. In the latter case the order of appearance had to alternate: if in one scene the first line of the subtitles was Cyrillic, then in the next scene the first line had to be in the Latin alphabet.³²⁸ Quickly, this absurd prescription was deleted and filmmakers were obliged to provide copies of their movies with subtitles in Latin or Cyrillic, leaving the choice to the cinema or institutions who showed the film.³²⁹ In 1934 a certain Lj. G. presented some interesting measures to guarantee that both alphabets would be used simultaneously. First, all public servants should know both alphabets. At school every year all Yugoslav pupils should learn to read and write in one specific alphabet and then learn a second alphabet later on. The next year all pupils would start in the other alphabet. All journals should publish articles in both alphabets. Public signs should be given in both alphabets, first Cyrillic (as the oldest alphabet) and then Latin (Lj. G. 1934).

Although the issue of Serbo-Croatian linguistic variety was obviously much debated throughout the interwar period, no drastic measures were introduced to impose complete linguistic homogeneity (Kordić 2010: 287). Still, similar to the Slovenian case, during the 1930s there was a clear tendency away from Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity among Croatian intellectuals and an increasing politicisation of the Serbo-Croatian language question. Already in the early 1920s exclusive Croatian nationalist intellectuals like the historian Rudolf Horvat rejected "Serbisms" in the Croatian language, especially

³²⁷ For a more elaborate overview of these discussion in the journals *Jugoslovenski glas* and *Naš jezik*, see Dimić (1997, 3: 402-6).

³²⁸ 'Pravilnik o cenzuri filmova'. *Službene novine* 14/46: 132-6, 22 February 1932. Art. 3.

³²⁹ 'Izmene i dopune pravilnika o cenzuri filmova'. *Službene novine* 14: 342-3. Art. 3.

in vocabulary (Dimić 1997, 3: 383-4). Blaž Jurišić, a Croatian linguist and editor of *Hrvatska revija* ('The Croatian Review'), the journal of *Matica hrvatska*,³³⁰ criticised *Naš jezik* as an attempt to force the Belgrade jargon on the entire Serbo-Croatian population (ibid: 403). At the same time, the journal was also criticised by radical integral Yugoslav nationalists because it did not speak about the Yugoslav language (ibid: 403-4). Whereas in the 1920s prominent Croatian writers like Miroslav Krleža and Tin Ujević had written in the ekavian variant, in the 1930s the use of ekavian was increasingly perceived as an act of Serbian assimilation in Zagreb. In 1936 a group of Croatian linguists, amongst whom Tomo Maretić and Stjepan Ivšić, both collaborators in the commission for the unification of the Serbo-Croatian orthography and terminology in the 1920s (cf. 4.2.2.2), established a new association and journal under the name *Hrvatski jezik* ('The Croatian language'), with the goal to promote the Croatian language in all branches of cultural life. Later, after the establishment of the Croatian banovina, the authorities took several measures to "purify" the Croatian language from Serbian influences (Dimić 1997, 3: 406-10).

4.2.2.2 Serbo-Croatian language education

The educational policy on Serbo-Croatian language instruction neatly reflects the discussions on Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity in the interwar period. On 17 December 1923 the section of JPD in Split formulated a resolution on the unification of the Serbo-Croatian language in all schools of the Kingdom. In this resolution the Dalmatian secondary school teachers complained that after five years of unification still nothing had been done with regard to the unification of the Serbo-Croatian literary language, although this was a necessary step for the cultural progress of the Yugoslav nation. It was the task of the Ministry of Education to take the first measures toward the full unification of the literary language. The easiest measure in this respect was the unification of Serbo-Croatian orthography. In due course, the lexicon would have to be unified and a choice would have to be made between ekavian or jekavian. In the resolution the alphabet question was left aside, because it was considered a purely formal question. As a first step, the writers of the resolution suggested the Ministry of Education to organise a meeting with linguists from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana to come up with a program for the unification of the Serbo-Croatian scientific terminology, which could be used in all schools in Yugoslavia, except in Slovenia. Also, the ministry should commission linguists to write a new grammar and orthographic dictionary for Serbo-

³³⁰ *Matica hrvatska* is best translated as 'Croatian Centre'. It is a prominent cultural institution which was established in 1842 during the time of the Illyrian movement.

Croatian, for both the ekavian and jekavian variants. These books had to be published in both Cyrillic and Latin.³³¹

Not much later the Ministry of Education indeed set up a Commission for the unification of Serbo-Croatian orthography and terminology. The first meeting of the commission was held in the presence of Minister of Education Svetozar Pribićević on 1 July 1925. The commission consisted of the country's greatest authorities in the field of Serbo-Croatian linguistics: Tomo Maretić, Stjepan Ivšić and Dragutin Boranić represented the Croatian side,³³² Ljubomir Stojanović and Aleksandar Belić Belgrade (Belić 1929).³³³ After this first meeting, the work was apparently stopped and only in the parliamentary year 1927-28 the commission resumed its work.³³⁴ Finally, the guidelines were ratified on 21 August 1929. In the accompanying decree Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović explained that, although Serbo-Croatian orthography was based on Vuk Karadžić's reforms, separate evolutions in different regions had led to variations in its concrete use. This led to great difficulties in education and in many cases teachers themselves did not know which orthography to use. The new guidelines should bring an end to this chaos and should be used in all schools and in all textbooks and other teaching material.³³⁵ As clarified by Belić, these orthographic guidelines were accepted unanimously by all members of the commission and were absolutely necessary to bring an end to the chaotic orthography in different regions of the country. They formed a first step to Yugoslav cultural unification (Belić 1929).

At its first meeting the commission had discussed the variant and alphabet issue. It was agreed that the use of one alphabet and one variant would be ideal. In practice, however, the introduction of one alphabet and one variant for the literary language was considered not (yet) realistic because all variants had such a long tradition among the population that it would be impossible to impose one variant over the other.³³⁶ The orthographic guidelines confirmed that both the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet were equal in the Serbo-Croatian literary language. Also, they allowed for two variants of the

³³¹ 'O izjednačenju književnog jezika'. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 4(1924)/1: 26-30.

³³² Ivšić replaced Milan Rešetar, a self-declared Serbian Catholic from Dubrovnik.

³³³ F. Ramovš and St. Kuljbakin also participated, as experts for Slovenian and Slavonic linguistics respectively. They cooperated with the commission to set a common scientific terminology, in accordance with Slovenian and other Slavonic terminologies.

³³⁴ See letter from Aleksandar Belić, the president of the commission, to the Ministry of Education, dated 22 October 1928, AJ 66-123-398

³³⁵ 'Pravopisno uputstvo za sve osnovne, srednje i stručne škole u Kraljevini SHS'. P.br. 15.142, *Službene novine* 11/204: 1525.

³³⁶ See the commission's report to the Ministry of Education, 'Izveštaj Gospodinu Ministru prosvete o radu komisije za izjednačenje srpskohrvatskog pravopisa', 1925, AJ 66-319-537.

literary language, an eastern variant (ekavian) and a southern variant (jekavian).³³⁷ In the language curricula the conclusions of the commission were followed. Thus, with regard to the use of alphabets and variants the model of *cultural cooperation* was adopted, as it was guaranteed that pupils would learn both the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet and read texts in both literary variants. The curriculum for elementary schools of 1925 foresaw that pupils would begin to read a second alphabet in the second year, in 1926 there was suddenly no trace of two alphabets in the curriculum, but in 1927 again a second alphabet was introduced in the third year. The 1933 curriculum prescribed the teaching of a second alphabet from the second year of elementary education. Curricula for secondary schools commissioned that students would write alternately in the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet, both at school and in essays they had to write at home. The curricula for elementary schools did not treat the use of ekavian or jekavian and thus a status quo was accepted, as was explicitly stated in the orthographic guidelines. In their reading books pupils encountered texts in both variants (cf. chapter 5). In civil and secondary schools the pupils' practical knowledge of different variants of Serbo-Croatian was substantiated through a systematic overview of the different dialects of Serbo-Croatian (čakavian, štokavian and kajkavian) and the different variants of the štokavian dialect (-e, -(i)je), as well as an overview of the historical development of the Serbo-Croatian language.

For the rest, the commission for the unification of the Serbo-Croatian orthography set up a completely uniform and prescriptive phonological writing system. Only for the writing of “h” in some cases two spellings were allowed.³³⁸ The orthographic manual installed nowadays conventional spelling rules for to the reflex of the Proto-Slavonic *jat* in the ijekavian variant; compounds; the writing of -j behind -i; declensions of words that end on -lac; -č/-ć, -đ/-dž. However, it also installed strictly Vukovian phonological spelling rules which abandoned traditional Croatian orthographic norms, such as the writing of *neću* in one word (instead of *ne ću*); the use of *ko*, *svako*, *neko* instead of *tko*, *svatko*, *netko*; voicing assimilation of consonants (*pot-ceniti* instead of *pod-ceniti*); the loss of consonants (the plural of *dodatak*: *dodat-ci* becomes *dodaci*) and finally the writing of the future tense in one word (*pisaću* instead of *pisat ću*). With regard to the latter element, probably the most prominent difference in Croatian and Serbian orthographical traditions, it was recognised that the writing of the future tense in two words was deeply rooted among “a certain part of the nation” (i.e. the Croatian part), but the compilers explained that they had held on strictly to the phonological tradition

³³⁷ ‘Pravopisno uputstvo za sve osnovne, srednje i stručne škole u Kraljevini SHS’. P.br. 15.142, *Službene novine* 11/204: 1525-40, 1526.

³³⁸ The orthography for instance allowed the writing of *kuhati* and *kuvati*, *kuhinja* and *kujna*, *suh* and *suv*.

of Vuk Karadžić.³³⁹ Although it has been rightfully noted that Karadžić's language model and his phonological writing system were actually followed more thoroughly in the language standardisation in Croatia before the First World War (Greenberg 2004: 44-7; Kordić 2010: 161-3, 277-286) and that orthography is in fact peripheral to the question of linguistic unity (Kordić 2010: 163), it were these strict phonological elements in the orthography which were rejected by Croatian linguists around *Hrvatski jezik* as evidence of Serbian linguistic unitarism and hegemony. After the establishment of the Croatian banovina amendments to the elementary school curriculum replaced the orthography of 1929 by Dragutin Boranić's orthography of 1928.³⁴⁰ The latter "reaffirmed some traditional orthographic conventions, which had been developing around Zagreb during the latter half of the nineteenth century" (Greenberg 2004: 22).

4.2.3 Macedonian?

The position of Macedonian in Yugoslav curricula can be treated very briefly. In line with the state ideology the curricula did not explicitly recognise any other variants of the state language beside Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian. Macedonia was considered a purely Serbian region and was called "Southern Serbia". A central factor in Serbian claims to the region was the language. Serbian intellectuals rejected Bulgarian statements that the Macedonian language was Bulgarian and instead interpreted it as a local dialect of Serbian / Serbo-Croatian. In 1913 Aleksandar Belić had argued that as a result of the Serbian medieval acquisition of Macedonia and Serbian colonisation the language of the region, which initially had belonged to a Bulgarian protolanguage, had been Serbianised (Banac 1984: 312). In Yugoslavia this opinion was widely accepted outside Macedonia itself, as is clarified for example in the October 1924 number of *Nova Evropa*, which contained several articles on the Serbian character of "Southern Serbia" / Macedonia. B. Đerić, Professor at the University of Skopje, argued that the "South Serbian" dialects comprised elements of both Serbian and Bulgarian, but that the Serbian characteristics were more numerous and that Macedonian dialects thus irrefutably belonged to the Serbian language (Đerić 1924).³⁴¹ In a typical article published in the same number of *Nova Evropa*, Jovan Erdeljanović, Professor of Ethnography at the University of Belgrade, argued that the Macedonian dialect belonged to the south-

³³⁹ 'Pravopisno uputstvo za sve osnovne, srednje i stručne škole u Kraljevini SHS'. P.br. 15.142, *Službene novine* 11/204: 1525-40.

³⁴⁰ 'Iz Banovine Hrvatske', *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 2-3

³⁴¹ Here are some of the examples given by Đerić: Old-Slavic -tj, -gj and -čr became -ć, -đ and -cr like in Serbian and not -št, -žd and -čer as in Bulgarian. Also, Đerić pointed at the use of open vowels.

eastern dialects of the Serbian language. As a decisive argument Erdeljanović mentioned that, just like in other Serbo-Croatian dialects, Proto-Slavonic voiceless sounds, nasal vowels and diphthongs had evolved to full and voiced sounds. In general, Macedonian dialects were also articulated clear and resonant, just like other Serbo-Croatian dialects. Erdeljanović recognised that the entire south-eastern group of Serbian dialects had some elements in common with Bulgarian, but these were also shared with Rumanian, Albanian and Greek (no declination, no infinitive, post-fixed articles, specific future tense). These elements had been taken over from the autochthonous population of the Balkans and as such did not point at any relatedness to Bulgarian (Erdeljanović 1924: 331; Erdeljanović 1925: 350-1).

It is of course difficult to assess how precisely language education took place in schools in Macedonia. Although the curricula never made any mention of a Macedonian or “South Serbian” dialect, some concessions were made which could in theory allow for the use of local dialects, amongst which Macedonian. The 1926 and 1927 curricula for elementary schools stated that language education should first be given in the local dialect and that pupils should only gradually learn the literary language. In the 1933 methodological guidelines this principle was termed *zavičajnost*, which meant that education should depart from what the pupils knew and then expand their knowledge gradually to the national level, in this case from their local dialect to the standard literary language. Nada Boškovska, Ljubodrag Dimić and Vladan Jovanović have found that it was one of the greatest worries of the state authorities that teachers in Macedonia used the local “dialect” instead of the state language or that some of them even spoke about a Macedonian language. Additionally, most native teachers, those who had been educated in schools of the Bulgarian Exarchate before the World War, did not have a thorough command of Serbian and were thus completely unqualified to teach the pupils Serbian (Boškovska 2009: 269-71; Dimić 1997, 2: 107; Jovanović V. 2011: 211-2). The authorities even went as far to intercept private letters which were written in the Macedonian “dialect” or a Serb-Macedonian mixture (Boškovska 2009: 334-5).

Regardless – and as a consequence – of all these restrictive measures, the use of Serbian in Macedonia remained restricted to the official public sphere and was often negatively perceived by the local population. Especially educated Macedonian students, precisely the group of people the state authorities had hoped to win for their case, openly began to demand the recognition of the Macedonian language, and the Macedonian language question became the “Kristallisationspunkt der Autonomiebewegung” (Boškovska 2009: 338). Especially in the 1930s Macedonian was more and more used in publications, journals and even in the theatre of Skopje (ibid: 332-9). As Boškovska concludes:

der serbischen Sprache gelang es jedoch trotz aller Bemühungen und trotz ihrer Nähe zu den makedonischen Dialekte, nicht, sich außerhalb jener Bereiche zu

etablieren, in denen sie vorgeschrieben war. Und selbst dort setzten sich einheimische Beamte und Lehrkräfte häufig über die Vorschriften hinweg. Die sprachliche Assimilierung der Bevölkerung misslang vollständig. Gegen Ende der Dreißigerjahre drang die makedonische Sprache im Gegenteil in immer mehr Bereiche vor (Boškowska 2009: 339).

4.2.4 Conclusions

The dogmatic correlation between Yugoslav national and linguistic unity in the form of a uniform Yugoslav literary language, which informed the thinking of integral Yugoslav ideologues and the definition of the state language in the constitutions of 1921 and 1931, was not implemented in curricula for language education. Instead curricula installed an approach to Yugoslavism which allowed for variation within Yugoslav cultural unity and envisaged national unity as cooperation and contact between different language variants of Serbo-Croato-Slovenian. The status of Slovenian as a separate language was accepted, as well as the status quo for the use of different alphabets and variants in Serbo-Croatian. In theory pupils should become familiarised with all other variants and alphabets of the literary language, which should lead to a decreasing polarisation between the ‘tribes’. In practice however this demand for cultural cooperation was only seriously placed on the Slovenes, who learned Serbo-Croatian from the third year of elementary education. Serbo-Croatian speaking pupils only became familiarised with other variants and alphabets of Serbo-Croatian. With regard to Slovenian, they read some easier Slovenian texts in their readers, but this was not accompanied by a structural study of the Slovenian language. Beside Slovenian and the jekavian-Latin and ekavian-Cyrillic variants of Serbo-Croatian, no other language variants were recognised in the educational program. Especially in Macedonia the Serbianisation in language education, essentially a form of cultural unification within a Yugoslav language variant, remained controversial and ineffective.

By the second half of the 1930s the model of cultural cooperation in the field of language was more and more rejected by Yugoslav intellectuals. In Slovenia and Croatia leading intellectuals turned toward the distinction of the Slovenian and Croatian language. The rejection of the model of cultural cooperation was generated by a perception of Serbo-Croatian (for Slovenian intellectuals) and Serbian (for Croatian intellectuals) domination and assimilation. Although this romantic model of cultural unification (in Wachtel’s terminology) was an indirect feature in the discourse on linguistic unity of integral Yugoslav ideologists, it cannot be discerned in the decrees and curricula for language education of the 1920s and 1930s, with the exception of certain strictly Vukovian phonological elements in the orthographical manual of 1929, which were perceived as Serbian. Thus, this development reflects the relevance of

national dissociation from Yugoslavism within the broader context of the Royal Dictatorship, rather than a strict reaction against the structural institutionalisation of Serbian linguistic unitarism in the curriculum.

4.3 National literature

The texts pupils and students read at school were not only important for learning to read or as examples of the correct national language. The curricula also stressed that the contents of these texts should strengthen the children's national consciousness. Additionally, children should become familiar with the greatest exponents of Yugoslav national literature. More concretely, in elementary school pupils were expected to read texts on important themes from national history, or travel stories which would make them familiar with other regions in the country. A crucial position was also ascribed to folk literature. The 1933 methodological guidelines for elementary schools prescribed that in the second and third year especially children's songs and stories and folk songs should be used. In the third year the pupils should also read longer texts about national literature, history or geography. In the fourth year the reader should have a literary encyclopaedic character, with texts from national and folk literature, travel stories, historical stories and texts about the organisation of the state. At the end of elementary education the pupils should also know a large number of the best poems of Yugoslav national literature by heart, but no authors were given.³⁴² In the first two years of civil schools and higher popular schools and lower secondary schools the same type of texts were treated: extracts from folk literature and texts which would familiarise the students with important historical figures and different regions of the country. In the higher years of civil schools and popular schools, in teacher-training schools and in higher secondary schools a systematic overview of the history of Yugoslav national literature was given.

4.3.1 Folk literature as a mirror to the Yugoslav national soul

Clearly, extracts from folk literature were considered extremely useful for the dissemination of Yugoslav national consciousness, as they recurred in all curricula for language education from elementary education to higher secondary schools. Since the early nineteenth century folk literature had been a crucial component in definitions of national culture throughout Europe. Vuk Karadžić's collections of Serbian folk songs had played a pioneering role in this trend (Leerssen 1999: 85-92; Wachtel 1998: 31-8). During the interwar period folk literature continued to occupy a prominent position in

³⁴² 'Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji', 1933: 13-22. AJ 66-1281-1527.

definitions of national culture. In the first place it was often considered as the purest expression of the Yugoslav national soul. As Antun Barac, a historian of literature who would become professor at the University of Zagreb in 1930, argued in an article in 1919: “Folk songs (...) are the best mirrors to our national soul, a mirror to everything that occupies, worries and enthralls the people, a mirror to how the people look at the world, at other people and at themselves” (Barac 1919b: 248).³⁴³ Vladimir Dvorniković called the folk epics the most perfect and characteristic Yugoslav national achievement:

in [our epics] speaks the Balkanic hero-ised Yugoslav, with traces of the old Slavic sensitivity, but also the manly position of militancy and everything psychically connected to it: proud hot-temperedness and especially human pride and great love for justice and freedom (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 180).³⁴⁴

For some intellectuals, the meaning of Yugoslav folk literature surpassed the purely national level and formed the fundament for an authentic Yugoslav culture which could occupy a messianic position within Christian, European and world culture. In a seminal article the essayist and diplomat Branko Lazarević called folk poetry “the greatest manifestation of our national soul” and “simultaneously, one of the greatest manifestations of world literature” (Lazarević B: 1928: 557).³⁴⁵ According to Lazarević the most important characteristic of folk literature was what he called “religious-ethical heroism”: pure love toward God, humanism, the acceptance of God’s almightiness and the preparedness to sacrifice oneself for these higher ideals (ibid.). In another important article of 1924 Miloš Đurić, philologist, Hellenist, philosopher and Professor at the University of Belgrade, argued that Serbian Folk Songs (with capital letters) were the expression of the South Slav and especially Serbian intuitive feeling for aesthetics and ecumenical Christian humanity (Đurić 1924: esp. 523-4, 610-2). For Đurić the time had come for the Slavonic race to fulfil its cultural mission on the basis of this intuitive sense of ecumenical Christian all-humanity (*svečovečanstvo*). In his view the Slavs were predestined to bring the East (feminine, harmony, peace, *Logos*) together with the West (manly, energy, technology, *Bios*) and thus lead humanity toward all-humanity (Đurić 1924: esp. 527-30, 605-9; see also Milutinović Z. 2011: 87-97).

³⁴³ [“Narodna pesma (...) je uglavnom najbolje ogledalo narodne duše, zrcalo svega onoga, što narod zanima, zabrinjuje, zanos, zrcalo onoga, kako on gleda na svet, na ljude na sebe samoga.”]

³⁴⁴ [“iz njega progovara balkanski heroizirani Jugosloven, sa tragovima stare slovenske osećajnosti, ali i sa muškim stavom borbenosti i svim onim što je s time psihički povezano: gordom kolerikom, i nadasve čovečjim ponosom i velikom ljubljaju za pravdu i slobodu.”]

³⁴⁵ [“najviša manifestacija naše narodne duše”, “jednovremeno, jedna od najviših manifestacija svetske književnosti.”]

As the purest expression of the South Slav intuitive all-humanity, oral folk literature was not only important for the South Slavs themselves, but for the entire Slavonic race and its cultural mission within humanity. The folk songs were lying “in the bizarre soul of the Serbian race as an undiscovered goldmine under the earth” and were the purest expressions of “active racial potentialities (...) which were searching their way out to the light, to spread across the boundaries of Slavonic spheres” (Đurić 1924: 612).³⁴⁶ It was on the basis of the aesthetical rendition of “the eternal human being”, as given in the folk songs, that Serbian and Yugoslav arts and science should be further developed and could occupy a leading position within the messianic Slavonic race. Therefore, the folk songs were “the guardians of our messianic idea”, “strongly Yugoslav” and “strongly human”, and not just “shadows of the past, but also the great promise of the Slavonic future” (Đurić 1924: esp. 523-4, 610-2, quotations on 524, 612).³⁴⁷

In 1932 Vladimir Vujić, philosopher and translator of Oswald Spengler’s ‘*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*’, argued for the full unity of contemporary Yugoslav literature, as valuable artistic literature could only result from the uniform expression of the unique national soul. With Spengler, Vujić considered that every culture had its own moral, religion and historical periodisation. Cultural cooperation and influences only led to unproductive and unnatural “*Mondlichtzivilisationen*” (Buchenau 2011: 358-63). In the Yugoslav case the only pure expression of the national soul was found in folk literature. Therefore it was not surprising that folk literature was the only South Slav literary tradition which had obtained a place in world literature and that the greatest Yugoslav writer of all times, Petar Petrović Njegoš, had based his work on the tradition of folk literature. If contemporary Yugoslav literature wanted to develop as an authentic, truly Yugoslav literature, with its own distinct place in world culture, and not just as an imitation of European literatures, it had to follow the best tradition set out in folk literature, “in which a complete spiritual disposition toward life and a complete wisdom about the world came to expression” (Vujić 1932: 283).³⁴⁸ Unlike Đurić, intellectuals like Vujić and also Vladimir Dvorniković, who made a clear distinction between decayed nations of the West and the heroic vitality and authentic Christianity of the Yugoslav nation, as manifested in the Kosovo cult in folk literature (Ignjatović 2007: 146-7), did not believe in a Slav mission. However, for them too Yugoslav folk literature was the basis for an authentic Yugoslav culture through which Yugoslavs

³⁴⁶ [“leže u čudnoj duši srpske rase kao nepronadana zlatna ruda pod zemljom”; “aktive rasne potencije (...) traže puta na svetlost, da se razliju i preko granica slovenskih sfera”].

³⁴⁷ [“U njoj ima večnog čoveka” (524), “čuvarka naših mesijskih misli”, “silno jugoslovenska”, “silno čovečanska”, “senke prošlosti, oni su i velika obećanja slovenske budućnosti” (612)].

³⁴⁸ [“u kojoj su čitav jedan stav duhovni u životu i čitava jedna mudrost o svetu došli do izraza”].

could occupy their own position within European and world culture (Milutinović Z. 2011: 97-112).

Undoubtedly, the importance and meaning ascribed to folk literature was enormous. However, the inclusion of folk literature within Yugoslav national identity was certainly not unproblematic. As argued by Wachtel “orally transmitted folk songs had become a bone of contention between those who were propagating separate South Slav nationalisms and those who strove for South Slavic integration” already in the nineteenth century (Wachtel 1998: 32). During the interwar period different interpretations of folk literature remained available. Authors like Đurić or Lazarević clearly considered folk songs a primarily Serbian tradition, in imitation of Vuk Karadžić (ibid: 32). In their texts the line between Serbian and Yugoslav identity was extremely thin. Also, their interpretation of these folk songs as expressions of ecumenical Christian all-humanity with a clear Orthodox overtone would not likely appeal to the Catholic and Muslim population of Yugoslavia. Lazarević even explicitly argued that folk songs, especially those from the Kosovo cycle, expressed the great battle between East and West, Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam (Lazarević B. 1928: 557). However, as argued by Wachtel, it was also possible to interpret folk literature as a common South Slav tradition “without bending the truth too far” (ibid: 33). Indeed, “[t]he variety and traditional importance of oral culture to all three Yugoslav “tribes” made it relatively easy to canonise a “Yugoslav” interpretation of folk poetry in the interwar years (ibid: 102).³⁴⁹ This line of reasoning was followed by Dvorniković and Barac, who focussed rather on the all-Yugoslav characteristics presented in the folk songs. As Barac noted:

All parts of our national literature, if they are not directly related in other ways, are bound together in one unity by our folk poetry, which is common for Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, because the motives, songs and internal life are the same. In the development of our literature our folk poetry enables continuity, both territorial and temporal. Territorially, because it unites our entire homeland, from Triglav to Thessaloniki, and temporally, because it marks the beginning of our literature as a uniform, living organism, which has remained alive from its birth until today at all times in its history (Barac 1919a: 151).³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ For a detailed overview of the development and spatial dissemination of Serbo-Croatian folk literature see Koljević (1980: 12-94).

³⁵⁰ [“A sve delove narodne naše književnosti, ako već i inače nisu direktno vezani, veže u jednu celinu narodna poezija, koja je zajednička i Hrvatima i Slovencima i Srbima, jer su isti motivi, pesme i untutrašnji život. Ona u razvitku naše književnosti omogućuje tako kontinuitet – i teritorijalni i vremenski. Teritorijalni, jer spaja u jedno svu našu domovinu, od Triglava do Soluna, vremenski, jer po njoj postaje naša književnost jedinstvenim, živim organizmom, koji nije prestao živeti od svoga poroda do danas u nijednom momentu historije.”]

In curricula no specific interpretation of folk literature was determined, so the choice was left upon teachers and textbook authors to determine how folk literature would be embedded within a Yugoslav national narrative.

4.3.2 The history of Yugoslav literature

4.3.2.1 The intellectual debate

Whereas curricula for elementary schools clearly focused on folk literature, in secondary schools, civil schools, higher popular schools and teacher-training schools students were introduced to complete overviews of Yugoslav literature. As other nations, the Yugoslav nation was expected to have one homogeneous national literature and a canon of quintessential national writers. However, it remained an open question how precisely different regional South Slav literary traditions could be grouped as parts of an overarching Yugoslav national literature. In 1919 the literary historian Antun Barac criticised earlier historians of literature for not paying any attention to the national character of literary works. To the contrary, they had been led by territorial principles and had studied literary works as isolated phenomena (Barac 1919a: 145-50).

Just like our writers of political history have separated our past in little histories of separate regions and rulers, our historians of literature have torn apart the unitary development of our national cultural life (...) in a multitude of small parts not seeing, not feeling that all these regional literatures are in fact just an expression of our common life (ibid: 149).³⁵¹

Instead, Barac argued, it was the task of historians of literature to clarify how a certain writer, a certain work belonged to a certain national culture, how it related to other expressions of national culture (ibid: 150). Such an approach, Barac argued, would lead to the conclusion that medieval religious and apocryphal literature was common Yugoslav, that the Renaissance literature of Dubrovnik was not Serbian or Croatian, but both, Yugoslav, that the kajkavian and Protestant literature of the 15th-17th centuries were both Croatian and Slovenian and that Bosnian literature was the common heritage of Croats and Serbs in Bosnia. Finally, for modern literature too it was undisputable that there were links between regional literatures. Of course, there were some superficial

³⁵¹ ["Pa kao što su naši pisci političkih historija raskinuli cio naš prošli život na historijice pojedinih pokrajina i vladara, tako su i naši literarni historici rastrgali jedinstven razvoj našeg nacionalnog kulturnog života (...) u bezbroj malih delova i delića, ne videći, ne osećajući, da su sve te pokrajinske književnosti samo odjek onog zajedničkog života."]

differences between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature, but, as Barac noted, all great authors of the modern period had been proponents of Yugoslav national unity and thus formed part of one Yugoslav literature (ibid: 151-2).

A different approach was suggested by another Croatian historian of literature, Dragutin Prohaska. Although a supporter of Yugoslav national unity himself, Prohaska criticised Barac for being exaggeratedly Yugoslav and distorting the truth. In his opinion Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian literature should be treated separately because they could only be understood against the background of their different societies (Barac 1919c). Prohaska concretised this approach in his 'Overview of Contemporary Croatian-Serbian Literature', a textbook for secondary schools, in which he refrained from establishing any direct links between Serbian and Croatian literature (cf. 5.5.2). As Prohaska maintained:

Croatian and Serbian literature are one whole, because Croats and Serbs are one nation of the same origin and language. Croats and Serbs have lived separated from each other in the past, divided by church and state, so their social life was different, and this led to different literatures. The development of Croatian and Serbian literature does not entirely concur. Both literatures developed side by side, often not knowing of the other (Prohaska 1923: 1).³⁵²

Barac for his part criticised Prohaska for not taking a clear standpoint on the issue whether or not Serbian and Croatian literature formed one unity. Prohaska treated them in one book, but he did not point out any deeper bond between them and paid much more attention to Croatian literature (Barac 1922: 188-9). Moreover, Prohaska was not consistent in his argument that literatures should be grouped on the basis of the society they stemmed from. How could he justify treating Bosnian and kajkavian literature as part of Croatian literature? If Prohaska would consequently apply his approach, he would have to discuss six or seven specific literatures within the South Slav lands. In any case, the distinction between 'tribal' literatures was ungrounded (Barac 1919c: 333; Barac 1922: 189-90).

A specific position in this discussion was, again, occupied by the Slovenian literary tradition. Of course, from a traditionally national point of view, the existence of a separate Slovenian literary language threatened the required homogeneity of Yugoslav national literature. Typically, Serbo-Croatian Yugoslav orientated intellectuals in the first place argued that Yugoslav linguistic unity in time would be realised and

³⁵² ["Hrvatska je i srpska književnost jedna cjelina, jer su Hrvati i Srbi jedan narod istoga podrijetla i jezika. Hrvati i Srbi življahu u prošlosti odijeljeni jedni od drugih, razdvojeni crkvom i državom, pa je stoga njihov društveni život različit, a takav život proizveo je i različitu književnost. Razvitak hrvatske i srpske književnosti ne podudara se zato u svemu. Objе književnosti idu uporedo, čestio i ne znajući jedna za drugu."]

automatically lead to the unity of Yugoslav literature in the near future. Additionally, it was argued that the basic ideas in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literary traditions had in fact been expressions of a common Yugoslav identity. That way, even without linguistic unity, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian literary traditions formed one organic whole. A typical example of such an argument was presented by the writer and literary critic Jovan Kršić in *Nova Evropa*. First, Kršić argued that the linguistic and literary innovations introduced by Vuk Karadžić and the Illyrian movement had not been introduced successfully among the Slovenes because of the specific historical and political circumstances. Only Stanko Vraz,³⁵³ “a romantic ideologist” who had a “broad, but nebulous look at the future” had accepted full national and linguistic unity with Serbo-Croats (Kršić 1924: 143).³⁵⁴ France Prešeren,³⁵⁵ whom Kršić canonised as the greatest Slovenian poet, presented a more realistic, but also short-sighted look at Slovenian culture.

In the first place, Prešeren was a poet, he maintained contact with his close surroundings, he did not want to look to the far, nebulous future – he was not a revolutionary of an idea that required far-reaching perspectives, but a romantic realist who only took into consideration given facts (ibid: 144).³⁵⁶

Prešeren’s poetical superiority was not questioned – Kršić even described him as the first Yugoslav poet who managed to reach formal and thematic perfection (ibid: 144) – but it was clear that his visionary role was downplayed, in contrast to Stanko Vraz. Slovenian literature had further developed in the direction Prešeren had set out, but, according to Kršić, there had always been an awareness that the existence of two literary languages within the Yugoslav nation was temporary and that one day, when the historical circumstances were favourable, full linguistic and literary unity would be realised (ibid.). To prove this, Kršić enumerated a list of Slovenian writers who had used certain Croatian words, and argued that the Illyrian idea had in fact been very strong and influential in the Slovenian nineteenth century (ibid: 145-6). Even if full linguistic

³⁵³ Stanko Vraz was a Slovenian poet from the first half of the 19th century, who participated in Ljudevit Gaj’s Illyrian movement and eventually wrote his poetry in Gaj’s Illyrian language. He symbolised the Yugoslav strand in the thinking on the place of Slovenian within Yugoslav language and literature (Wachtel 1998: 30-1).

³⁵⁴ [“romantički idealista”; “širok ali maglovit pogled u budućnost.”]

³⁵⁵ France Prešeren was a poet from the first half of the 19th century who is typically presented as the father of the Slovenian language and literature. Within the context of the Yugoslav idea he is frequently juxtaposed to Stanko Vraz as the symbol of the autonomist strand in the thinking on the place of the Slovenian language and literature in Yugoslav political/cultural unity (Wachtel 1998: 30).

³⁵⁶ [“Prešeren je bio u prvom redu pesnik, držao se svoje najbliže okoline, nije hteo da upire pogled u daleku, maglovitu budućnost – on nije bio revolucionar jedne ideje koja traži daleke perspektive, nego romantični realista koji računa samo sa danim faktima.”]

unity was not realisable for now, it was an undisputed fact for Kršić that Yugoslav cultural unity was approaching. A special role thereby should be played by literature. In fact, Kršić concluded, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature had always been occupied by the same ideas, had had the same external structure, and all great writers had had the ambition to be heard in all Yugoslav lands. Thus, even without linguistic unity, there were strong organic bonds between modern Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literature (ibid: 147-9). Not surprisingly, such claims were not univocally accepted among Slovenian intellectuals. An important argument introduced by Josip Vidmar in support of Slovenian cultural and national distinctness was precisely that it had been supported by all great representatives of Slovenian literature, namely: Primož Trubar, Valentin Vodnik, France Prešeren, Fran Levstik and Ivan Cankar (Vidmar 1932: 54-71).³⁵⁷ Unlike Kršić, who had called Vraz a visionary ideologist, Vidmar argued that Vraz had been blind for the distinctness of Slovenian culture and its long tradition, solely on the basis of political and quantitative arguments. Prešeren, on the other hand, had been faithful and loyal to the Slovenian cultural tradition (ibid: 56-60). For Vidmar the fact that Slovenian favourites of Illyrism and Yugoslavism had been long forgotten was the best proof that they had made the wrong choices (ibid: 68-71).

4.3.2.2 The Serbo-Croatian look at Yugoslav national literature in curricula

Let us now look at how these issues were dealt with in curricula for literary history. Although certain Yugoslav writers were treated and read in elementary school and the lower years of secondary education, an elaborate overview of the history of Yugoslav national history was only given in the sixth, seventh and eighth year of secondary school. In civil schools and teacher-training schools similar, but far less elaborate overviews of Yugoslav literature were given. As had also been the case for language education, a clear distinction was allowed between curricula for Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian schools. In both curricula Yugoslav literature was presented as a uniform entity of the *multicultural model*. It was subdivided in different periods, for each of which a number of representative Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian writers was selected. That way, curricula stressed the common features of different representatives of certain literary movements, across 'tribal' or regional borders. This conceptual frame was, however, filled in differently in Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian curricula.

³⁵⁷ Primož Trubar was the most prominent Slovenian proponent of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century. He published a number of religious writings in Slovenian and thus played a crucial role in the development of the Slovenian literary language (Rogel 1977: 5). Valentin Vodnik was the most prominent Slovenian poet from the Enlightenment period (ibid: 7). Fran Levstik was a leading Slovenian writer and politician from the second half of the 19th century.

In Serbo-Croatian schools the overview of literary history started with “old Serbo-Croatian literature” in the sixth year of secondary school. Thereby attention went out to the work of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, religious literature in the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets and finally medieval literature (hagiographies, the biographies of St. Sava and Nemanja, the grace of Jefimija, the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja). In the second half of the sixth year so-called “coastal and regional literatures” were treated. This included the Renaissance literature of Dubrovnik (Šiško Menčetić, Džore Držić, Mavro Vetranović, Marin Držić, Marko Marulić, Petar Hektorović), the literature from the period of the Reformation (Primož Trubar, Matija Divković, Ivan Gundulić, Junije Palmotić), the work of Andrija Kačić Miošić, Pavao Vitezović, Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan, as well as an overview of kajkavian theatre plays from the period (Tituš Brezovački). Especially important were ‘Osman’ and ‘Dubravka’ by Ivan Gundulić, which had to be read in their entirety. Throughout the interwar period Gundulić, the greatest Dubrovnik poet from the Baroque period, occupied a prominent position in the canon of Yugoslav literature. In 1938 the 300th anniversary of the death of Gundulić was commemorated, leading to a flood of articles in the Yugoslav press. In *Narodna odbrana* Marko Car praised Gundulić as one of the greatest Yugoslav national writers, who had been convinced of Serb-Croat unity and Slavonic solidarity, as clarified in his epic poem ‘Osman’ which in fact thematically treated the common battles of Serbs and Croats against the Ottomans (Car 1938).³⁵⁸ According to Vladimir Ćorović Gundulić’s work proved that he was not preoccupied with Dubrovnik, but that he was looking beyond the narrow boundaries of his city, toward the national freedom of the entire South Slav nation (Ćorović 1939: 37). Aleksandar Belić praised Gundulić as a “spiritual fighter for our liberation” (Belić 1939: 31).³⁵⁹

In the seventh year modern literature from the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century was treated. For the 18th century the following writers were included: Antun Kanižlić, Jerotej Račani, Zaharije Orfelin, Dositej Obradović, Matija Reljković. The literature of the first part of the 19th century was divided in a transitory period, represented by less important writers as Matija Petar Katančić, Lukijan Mušicki, Sima Milutinović, Milovan Vidaković, Joakim Vujić, and the period of Romanticism, represented by a whole list of writers. For the Slovenian ‘tribe’: Valentin Vodnik, Jernej Kopitar, Stanko Vraz, Janez Bleiweis, France Prešeren, Fran Levstik, Josip Jurčič and Simon Jenko; for the Serbian ‘tribe’: Vuk Karadžić, Đura Daničić, Branko Radičević, Jovan Ilić, Petar Petrović Njegoš, Jovan Sterija Popović, Matija and Ljubomir Nenadović, Đura Jakšić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić, Bogoboj Atanacković, Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša;

³⁵⁸ The epic poem ‘Osman’ revolves around the battle between Slavs and the invading Ottomans from a religious point of view, as the expression of the struggle between Christianity and Islam.

³⁵⁹ [“duhovni borac za naše oslobođenje.”]

and for the Croatian 'tribe': Ljudevit Gaj, Antun Mihanović, Ivan Trnski, Petar Preradović, Ivan Mažuranić, Dimitrije Demeter, August Šenoa and Andrija Palmović. Especially important were the works which had to be read and treated in detail in class: Dositej Obradović's autobiography and fables, Reljković's 'Satire', Karadžić's historical and critical essays, Njegoš's 'Mountain Wreath', Sterija Popović's theatre plays, Ljubomir Nenadović's travel stories and Jakšić's dramas. The fact that most these writers were Serbs – only Reljković was a Croatian writer from the Enlightenment period – indicates a close reliance on the Serbian canon of literature of the Romantic period.

For the eighth year, finally, Realism and Modernist pre-war literature were included in the curriculum, with the following list of representative authors. For the Serbian 'tribe': Svetozar Marković, Jakov Ignjatović, Milovan Glišić, Kosta Trifković, Vojislav Ilić, Laza Lazarević, Janko Veselinović, Simo Matavulj, Stevan Sremac, Ljudevit Vuličević, Jovan Dučić, Milan Rakić, Aleksa Šantić, Branislav Nušić, Svetolik Ranković, Borisav Stanković, Ivo Ćipiko, Svetozar Ćorović, Radoje Domanović, Petar Kočić and Milutin Uskoković; for the Croatian 'tribe': Janko Jurković, Josip Eugen Tomić, Eugen Kumičić, Đuro Arnold, Ksaver Šandor Đalski, Josip Kozarac, Vjenceslav Novak, Ante Kovačić, Janko Leskovar, Josip Pavičić, Silvije Kranjčević, Ivo Vojnović, Vladimir Vidrić, Dragutin Domjanić, Vladimir Nazor; for the Slovenian 'tribe': Janko Kresnik, Anton Aškerc, Simon Gregorčič, Oton Župančič, Ivan Cankar, Fran Finžgar and Fran Meško. Modern literary criticism was represented by the Serbs Ljubomir Nedić, Bogdan Popović, Jovan Skerlić, the Croat Gustav Matoš and the Slovene Ivan Prijatelj. Further, students had to read excerpts from academic prose by Vatroslav Jagić, Stojan Novaković, Tadija Smičiklas, Josip Strossmayer, Franjo Rački, Ilarion Ruvarac, Jovan Cvijić, Slobodan Jovanović and Karel Štrekelj.

The curriculum thus clearly presented a relatively equal selection of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literary figures. It should be stressed that these authors were not classified or grouped on the basis of their belonging to a certain regional or 'tribal' tradition. Rather, curricula presented a random list of writers which were classified on the basis of the literary period and movement they represented. This approach was easily applicable for modern literature from the end of the 18th century, when similar literary movements occurred in all South Slav regions. For this period the curriculum obviously succeeded in presenting a balanced overview of Yugoslav writers. For the Middle Ages – where the focus was strongly on Serbian medieval literature – and the early modern age – where the focus went out to Dalmatian Renaissance literature – the approach resulted in a less balanced overview as a consequence of the great regional diversity and disparity before the 18th century. Although a reasonable number of Slovenian writers was included in the Serbo-Croatian curricula, they occupied a peripheral position in the Serbo-Croatian definition of Yugoslav literature. The 1927 curriculum for example explicitly pointed out that Slovenian literature should be treated only in broad outlines and on the basis of links with Serbo-Croatian literature.

4.3.2.3 Yugoslav literature in Slovenian curricula

In curricula for Slovenian secondary schools a similar temporal division was suggested for the history of literature. For medieval literature students learned about the work of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and literature in Glagolitic and Cyrillic. The only explicit reference to Slovenian literature for this period was that to the Freising Manuscripts (*Brižinski spomeniki*). Consecutively, students learned about Dalmatian Renaissance literature (Menčetić, Džore Držić, Vetranić, Marin Držić, Marulić, Hektorović). For the Reformation and the Reaction the list of authors was more elaborate, because of the importance of this period for Slovenian literature and culture. Authors mentioned were Trubar, Adam Bohorič, Jurij Dalmatin, Tomaž Hren, Janez Svetokriški, Gundulić, Palmotić, Kačić, Vitezović, Zrinski and Frankopan and the Kajkavian theatre plays. Just like their Serbo-Croatian peers, Slovenian students had to read Gundulić's 'Osman' and 'Dubravka' in their entirety.

For modern literature the focus went out to Slovenian literature, but again, Serbo-Croatian literature occupied a fairly prominent place in the curricula. For the seventh year the curriculum included Slovenian figures of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, namely: Marko Pohlin, Žiga Zois, Vodnik, Prešeren, Bleiweiss, Vraz, Jovan Koseski and Anton Janežič, but also Serbo-Croatian contemporaries Reljković, Obradović, Mušicki, Karadžić, Radičević, Njegoš, Sterija Popović, Gaj, Mažuranić, Preradović, Jakšić, Zmaj, Kostić and Šenoa. Students had to read Vodnik and Prešeren, but also the great canonical works from Serbo-Croatian literature: Dositej Obradović's autobiography and fables, Njegoš's 'Mountain Wreath', Sterija Popović's theatre plays and Mažuranić's 'Death of Smail-Aga Čengić'. In the final year modern Slovenian authors were treated: Stritar, Levstik, Jurčič, Jenko, Gregorčič, Aškerc, Ivan Tavčar, Kersnik, Fran Detela, Finžgar, Meško, Cankar, Dragotin Kette, Župančič, Ivan Pregelj and Cvetko Golar, as well as Serbo-Croatian writers like Glišić, V. Ilić, Lazarević, Veselinović, Matavulj, Sremac, Eugen Tomić, Kumičić, Đalski, Kozarac, Novak, Kovačić, Dučić, Rakić, Šantić, Nušić, Ivo Vojnović, Stanković, Kranjčević and Nazor. Clearly, literature curricula for Slovenian schools focused on the position of Slovenian writers within the overarching unity of Yugoslav national literature.

4.3.2.4 Conclusions

The interwar Yugoslav educational program presented an overview of Yugoslav national literature which can be categorised under Wachtel's *multicultural model*. Different 'tribal' and regional literary traditions were presented as parts of a common and uniform national literature. 'Tribal' classifications were completely abandoned in the curricula, in favour of a classification on the basis of historical periods and literary movements. Concerning the distribution of different 'tribal' traditions, for medieval and

early modern literature the result was rather unbalanced, simply because of the great inequality in literary production and quality in the South Slav lands in those periods. The overviews for the period between the 18th century and contemporary times were much more balanced, reflecting the parallel development of South Slav literatures in that period. Curricula for Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian schools made use of the same conceptual framework, but the concrete selection of literary figures differed. In the curricula for Serbo-Croatian schools the overview was centred around a large number of Serbian and Croatian writers, to which a peripheral selection of the most important Slovenian literary figures was added. In curricula for Slovenian schools the share of Slovenian writers was much larger, but Slovenian students were clearly expected to have a substantial knowledge of Serbo-Croatian literature. In other words, the multicultural model was implemented more thoroughly in curricula for Slovenian schools

4.4 Merging 'tribal' histories

A third crucial subject for the development of national consciousness at school was history. National history was taught in the third and fourth year of elementary schools, the three first years of higher popular schools, the three last years of civil schools and the third and fourth year of secondary schools. In higher secondary schools national history was briefly recapitulated within the framework of history of Europe and the World.³⁶⁰ Although the number of hours devoted to history was relatively small, its function in the Yugoslav nation-building project can hardly be underestimated. In all curricula under scrutiny the strengthening of national consciousness was explicitly mentioned as one of the fundamental goals of history education. As argued in the methodological guidelines for elementary schools the ultimate goal of history education was the development of patriotism and love toward nation and state. In order to become faithful citizens of the state and members of the nation, pupils should become familiar with the historical development of their nation. Only that way would they realise that "as individuals they could not achieve anything in the world, because their fortune lay in the community".³⁶¹ In these methodological guidelines it was recognised that history was still difficult to understand for elementary school pupils between the age of seven and eleven and that it would be better from a pedagogical point of view if history would be taught at a later age. However, because history was indispensable for the national education of the children and because a great number of children only finished four years of elementary education, the authorities had no other choice but to introduce history in the third and fourth year of elementary education.³⁶²

No doubt, national history was considered an extremely persuasive and indispensable means for the dissemination of Yugoslav national consciousness. This consideration also underlies the broader preoccupation with history in interwar Yugoslav society, where historical symbolic resources were truly omnipresent. Numerous articles in journals and publications were devoted to historical events or figures, historical resources were extremely popular in political speeches, monuments were built to the memory of historical 'giants' and frequent historical commemorations formed an important feature

³⁶⁰ Some secondary school teachers feared that such an approach would hinder the student's national consciousness and therefore demanded that only a detailed overview of national history would be given in the eighth year of secondary schools (Jovanović M. 1936; Marković Mil. 1936: 279). This further illustrates the dominant nationalist approach to history education.

³⁶¹ 'Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji', 1933: 19. AJ 66-1281-1527. ["kao pojedinci u svetu ne mogu uspevati, jer je njihova sreća u zajednici."]

³⁶² 'Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji', 1933: 17. AJ 66-1281-1527.

of Yugoslav societal life. Moreover, these historical symbolic resources were almost invariably interpreted within the framework of what Chris Lorenz has termed “historical identity”, as expressions of the “persistence” of Yugoslav national identity “through change in time” (Lorenz 2008: 24-30, quotation on 28). However, the definition of a Yugoslav historical identity was by no means unproblematic and straightforward. A specifically complex question for Yugoslav ideologues was how different regional and ‘tribal’ historical narratives could be brought together in one Yugoslav history. As Wendy Bracewell has shown, although elements of South Slav closeness were present in Serbian and Croatian historical narratives before the First World War, history writing had taken a clear Serbo- or Croatocentric stand in pre-war Serbia and Croatia-Slavonia (Bracewell 1994: 143-5). It was clear that the definition of a common Yugoslav national history would require a new strategy.

In this chapter I examine how Yugoslav national history was conceived of in history curricula. I substantiate this examination with references to the Yugoslav historical narrative presented in important professional historical writings of the interwar period, most importantly Vladimir Ćorović’s 1933 ‘History of Yugoslavia’ (*Istorija Jugoslavije*), but also Viktor Novak’s ‘Anthology of the Yugoslav idea and national unity’ (*Antologija jugoslovenske misli i narodnog jedinstva*), published in 1930, and Ferdo Šišić’s ‘Yugoslav idea’ (*Jugoslovenska misao*), published in 1937. Of course, these Yugoslav national histories neatly fit in with similar examples of national history, which was the dominant genre of history writing in Europe in the 19th and 20th century and was one of the major arenas for often conflicting definitions and prescriptions of national identity. With its focus on concepts of origins, uniqueness, continuity and negative counter-examples, the Yugoslav historical master narrative largely concurs with the “general template” of national historiography in the 19th and 20th century (Baár 2010: 295; Berger 2007).³⁶³ However, the strategies which were applied to incorporate sub-national historical narratives within the Yugoslav master narrative make the Yugoslav case stand out.

Surely, professional historiography did not hold a monopoly on the definition of Yugoslav historical identity. In order to include more popular and everyday engagements with national history, I also treat public and school commemorations of historical events and figures. Such commemorations provide insight into

the role played by national symbols in the formation and maintenance of collective identity as an ongoing, dynamic process in which historical symbolic

³⁶³ Between 2003 and 2008 the European Science Foundation programme ‘Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe in the 19th and 20th Century’ conducted a transnational and comparative investigation of national historiography in Europe. The results of the research programme have been published in a number of edited volumes, most importantly Berger & Lorenz (2008) and Berger & Lorenz (2010).

meanings are constantly recycled, actualized, challenged, renegotiated, and reconfirmed – or rewritten, depending on changes in public consensus or the ability or inability of a particular hegemonic societal group to maintain its hold on the collective imaginary (Geisler 2005: xviii).

In other words, whereas historical writings present relatively stable and fixed definitions of historical identity, public commemorations allow us to take a look at the dynamic and negotiated usage of historical symbolic resources in society. As Robert Gillis has stressed:

Identities and memories are not things we think *about*, but things we think *with*. (...). Commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and in some instance, annihilation (Gillis 1994: 5).

4.4.1 Highlighting convergence, reducing divergence: the intellectual construction of Yugoslav national history

In order to present Yugoslav history as one whole educational experts suggested that curricula should focus on those moments in history when Serbs, Croats and Slovenes lived under the same circumstances, or obviously cooperated toward the same goal. Josip Škavić spoke about concentric points, historical events which directly united ‘tribal’ and sub-national histories, or historical figures who had worked for the unification of the South Slavs and thus personalised Yugoslav national unity. Škavić did not deny that there had also been times of divergence, but he argued that moments of convergence had had a stronger impact on Yugoslav history (Škavić 1923: 266-73). Interestingly, Škavić was fully aware that such a definition of Yugoslav history would be an act of conscious construction. However, as he argued, if it had been possible to form a united Croatian or Serbian history out of different regional histories, simply because these regional histories were bound by one idea, “that work could also be realised for the history of our entire nation, regardless of differences in faith and name, if only there is will, love and reasonableness for such a work” (ibid: 272).³⁶⁴

Compilers of curricula followed this framework and structured national history around historical events which occurred among three, or at least two of the Yugoslav

³⁶⁴ [“moći će se taj posao provesti i u historiji čitavoga našeg naroda bez razlike vjere i imena, samo nađe li se volje, ljubavi i razložitosti za takav posao”]

‘tribes’ (Pantelić 1931: 127).³⁶⁵ The 1932 curriculum for higher popular schools prescribed that teachers should especially “treat those phenomena which make our past one, and stress those phenomena which unite and not divide our three tribes”.³⁶⁶ Educational authorities were perfectly aware that in order to achieve Yugoslav national history certain historical phenomena would have to be highlighted, whereas others would have to be forgotten or at least devaluated:

The present and the future impose the holy duty upon us not to forget our past, because the brightest examples from our past call on us and recommend us all to work harmoniously in order to consolidate and protect the unity of nation and state, which we have achieved with blood, and to elevate the spirit and cultural quality of our nation. (...) When explaining the facts, it is especially necessary to highlight those elements which have united us and still unite us, and oppress those elements which our difficult historical past and the malicious activities of our enemies have created as distinct elements for specific parts of our nation.³⁶⁷

This did not mean that history education should ignore all valuable products of the cultural or political activities of one of the Yugoslav ‘tribes’ individually. It could not be “wiped away” that the Yugoslav ‘tribes’ had had their own separate states and that they had lived separate lives for centuries long, and thus “created their own history”, but it was important to stress “that in the course of that long separate life movements have occurred for the rapprochement and unification of the Yugoslavs in one state unity”.³⁶⁸

A similar approach was also applied by Vladimir Ćorović, professor at the University of Belgrade, in his monumental ‘History of Yugoslavia’, first published in 1933. In his preface Ćorović clarified that it was the goal of his study to examine how the South Slavs had developed politically and how their perspective had widened from the level of

³⁶⁵ ‘Opšta i posebna metodska uputstva za sve narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’, 1933: 20. AJ 66-1281-1527. Dušan Pantelić was one of the members of the commission which had formulated the 1930 history curriculum for secondary schools.

³⁶⁶ [“U istorijsku nastavu naročito unositi one momente koji čine našu prošlost jedinstvenu, isticati momente koji spajaju a ne razdvajaju sva tri naša plemena.”]

³⁶⁷ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 179-80. [“I sadašnjica i budućnost nalažu nam svetu dužnost da ne zaboravimo svoju prošlost, jer najsvetliji primeri iz prošlosti pozivaju nas i upućuju da svi složno poradimo da naše krvlju stečeno narodno i državno jedinstvo učvrstimo i očuvamo i da duh i kulturni nivo našega naroda što više uzdignemo. (...) Pri izlaganju činjenica naročito je potrebno uvek isticati ono što nas je sjedinjavalo i što nas sjedinjava i danas, a suzbijati ono, što je kod pojedinih delova našeg naroda kao posebno stvorila teška istorijska prošlost i zlonamerni rad naših neprijatelja.”]

³⁶⁸ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 180. [“se ne može izbrisati”. “stvarala svoje posebne istorije”. “da su se za vreme tog dugog posebnog života javljali pokreti da se izvede zbliženje i ujedinjene Jugosloveni u jednu državnu celinu.”]

small local interests to narrow 'tribal' and finally broad ethnic communities. In Ćorović's view,

when the history of the South Slavs is approached from a broad perspective and when, instead of state history, one has in mind national history, it is clear that in our national life political boundaries did not form real barriers between our tribes and that there was contact, close bonds and common actions between them, proving that there was a certain common consciousness among the nation or that visionary minds have long taken this into consideration (Ćorović 1933: 1).³⁶⁹

A schematic and visual presentation of this approach was provided in the historical chronology of the Yugoslav lands included in the Almanac of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which was published in 1932 and served as a sort of quick guide to crucial official documents related to the Yugoslav Kingdom.³⁷⁰ The historical overview was conceived as a table with seven columns, one for each Yugoslav political region: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia, Vojvodina and Slovenia. For each of these regions a chronological overview was presented. In the first place, such a schematic overview visualised the parallelisms between the histories of the different Yugoslav regions. Moreover, for historical phenomena which were relevant for different regions the relevant columns were merged, so that certain historical phenomena literally crossed regional borders (Stojić 1932).

Let us now examine how precisely this mechanism was applied in history curricula. Yugoslav history curricula of the interwar period typically distinguished between four historical periods. First, the history of the South Slavs until their settlement in the Balkans was treated very briefly. The history of the Yugoslavs in the Balkans was subdivided in three longer periods: the golden age of Yugoslav national history with the formation of independent medieval states (7th – 15th century), foreign oppression under the Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs (12th – 18th century), and finally the national revival and unification in the 19th and 20th century. For each of these periods important events and figures from the histories of the three 'tribes' were selected and interpreted as parallel events within a common Yugoslav national history.

³⁶⁹ ["kad se istorija Južnih Slovena obuhvati širim pregledom i kada se mesto istorije država ima pred očima istorija naroda, vidi se kako u našem narodnom životu političke granice nisu predstavljale i stvarne ograde među plemenima, i kako je među njima bilo dodira, prisnih veza i zajedničkih akcija, koje kazuju da je u narodu postojala izvesna svest o zajednici ili da su dalekovidiji umovi sa njom odavno računali."]

³⁷⁰ This historical overview was formulated in cooperation with two professors of history at the University of Belgrade: Viktor Novak and Stanoje Stanojević.

4.4.2 The primordial unity of the South Slavs and their migration to the Balkans

Typically, curricula first included a short reference to the period before the arrival of the South Slavs in the Balkans. This was the idyllic period of the primordial state of South Slav national unity in their original homeland, as well as strong bonds with the rest of the Slavonic race. Vladimir Ćorović, for example, argued that

in the time when Serbs and Croats were not divided by religion and when they were united by the same origin, language and common interests against foreign enemies, there was no other relation possible than their complete merging and identification in areas where they lived together. That was (...) the biological phase of their ethnical community and assimilation was its natural expression (Ćorović 1933: 20).³⁷¹

Jovan Erdeljanović explained that all Slavs had lived in the Slavonic original homeland “as one nation”. Gradually different branches with specific cultural and linguistic traits developed within the Slavonic race, of which the South Slavs – Slovenes, Serbs, Croats and Bulgarians – were one (Erdeljanović 1928: 9). In other words, it was argued that South Slavs in fact formed one undifferentiated nation before their migration to the Balkans.

Consecutively, curricula emphasised the joint migrations of the South Slavs to the Balkans. The arrival of the Tatar tribe of the Bulgars, its ruling over the Slavonic population in the eastern half of the Balkans and the gradual assimilation of the small Bulgar elite and the Slavonic population was included as a separate topic in the curricula for secondary schools. This obviously served to construct an imagined border between the Bulgarians and “pure” South Slavs. Against the background of political and military tensions between the Bulgarian and Serbian Kingdom before and during the First World War, Yugoslav intellectuals constructed different lines of reasoning about the relation between Bulgarians and the Yugoslav nation. Some excluded the Bulgarians from the South Slav community and argued that “the non-Slavonic elements in the Bulgarian public often form the basis of their anti-Slavonic orientation and their – so to speak – ‘anti-Serbian complex’” (Donković 1937: 239).³⁷² Other intellectuals, such as those

³⁷¹ [“u vreme kad ih nije delila vera, a kad su ih spajalo isto poreklo i jezik i zajednica interesa protiv tuđina, među Srbima i Hrvatima, gde bi živeli zajedno, i ne bi moglo biti drugih odnosa do potpunog stapanja i identifikovanja. To je bila (...) biološka faza njihove etničke zajednice, i stapanje je u njoj nalazilo svoj prirodni izraz”].

³⁷² [“Na ovim pak neslovenskim osobinama bugarske javnosti osniva se često njihova antislovenska orijentacija, njihov – da tako kažemo – “antisrpski kompleks””].

affiliated to *Narodna odbrana*, recognised only one South Slav nation from Triglav to the Black Sea and considered the Bulgarians just another ‘tribe’ of the Yugoslav nation. Therefore, these intellectuals demanded the cultural and political unification of the entire Yugoslav nation, although they left no doubt about the domination of the Serbo-Croatian ‘tribe’ within this future Greater-Yugoslavia.³⁷³

4.4.3 The golden age of Yugoslav history

4.4.3.1 Parallel attempts to liberate and unite the South Slavs

After briefly referring to South Slav primordial unity as the actual fundament of Yugoslav national unity curricula elaborated how this national unity remained the driving force behind the historical development of the South Slavs in the Balkans. A first period of convergence which was treated elaborately was the period of the formation of South Slav medieval states in the Balkans and their parallel development from small regional principalities, to kingdoms and in the case of the Serbian ‘tribe’ an empire. The first South Slav ‘tribe’ to achieve some sort of autonomy were the Slovenes. Curricula mentioned the “first Slavonic state” of King Samo, referring to the autonomy of a number of Slavonic tribes under the rule of the Frankish merchant Samo in the first half of the 7th century in an area which covered the eastern Alps and Bohemia, including present-day Slovenian regions (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 43; Ćorović 1933: 12). Consecutively, curricula included a section on the field of Gospa Sveta (*Gospodsvetsko polje / Zollfeld*), the centre of the Principality of Carantania where the ritual enthronement of rulers took place. The Principality of Carantania emerged as a vague autonomous entity after the disintegration of Samo’s tribal union and was considered the first Slovenian state and the Slovenian equivalent to the first Serbian and Croatian principalities (Ćorović 1933: 31-2).

History curricula for secondary schools also listed “the state of the Macedonian Slavs” of Tsar Samuel under the sub-section “Principalities of the South Slavs”. In the late tenth century Tsar Samuel took control of the western part of the disintegrated First Bulgarian Empire. The centre of his Empire was western Macedonia (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 73-5). Canonical Yugoslav historical writings stressed the discontinuity between the First Bulgarian Empire of Simeon and Samuel’s state in Macedonia in order to reject Bulgarian claims to Macedonia and its history. In his history of Yugoslavia Ćorović for example argued that the state in Macedonia was formed out of aversion to

³⁷³ ‘Narodna odbrana i bugarski problem u okviru integralnog jugoslovenstva’, *Narodna odbrana* 7/3 (1932): 34-5.

the ethnical mixture in the Bulgarian Empire between Slavs and Bulgars. The imperial title was the only thing Samuel took over from the Bulgarian Empire. According to Ćorović, Samuel's state was a completely new state which used the imperial heritage of Bulgaria to safeguard its position, just like Yugoslavia was a completely new state which used Serbia's political tradition (Ćorović 1933: 63-4). In a book which was published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of "Southern Serbia" in 1937 Miloš Rakić claimed that upon their arrival in the Balkans Serbian tribes had first settled in "Southern Serbia" / Macedonia; which was consequently the first Serbian homeland in the Balkans. The Bulgarian rule over this region had left no cultural traces, because the Bulgarians ruled the region as oppressors. They had also not been able to assimilate Macedonian Slavs "because they as a people were half Mongolian and half Slavonic, whereas Macedonian Slavs were pure Slavs, just like other Serbian tribes" (Rakić M. 1937: 227).³⁷⁴ The literary language in "Southern Serbia" in this period was not Bulgarian, but rather the dialect of Macedonian Slavs, which had been the language of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Still according to Rakić, the Empire of Samuel was a new and autochthonous state creation of Macedonian Slavs, the Bulgarian title only had a political and no ethnographical meaning (ibid: 227-8). In other words, the Macedonian Slavic state of Samuel had nothing in common with medieval Bulgaria. Rather, it was one of the "pure" South Slav medieval states and thus tightly connected to the Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnian and especially Serbian medieval states. The Serbian character of Macedonia was further historically substantiated by referring to Skopje as the capital of the medieval Serbian empire (Rakić M. 1937: 228, cf. 4.4.5.5).

Further, curricula focused on the parallel development of Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian medieval states. In the 1933 curriculum for elementary schools a distinct place was attributed to the heyday of the Croatian kingdom under King Tomislav in the tenth century, for Serbia under Tsar Dušan in the 14th century and for Bosnia under 14th century King Tvrtko.³⁷⁵ These medieval kingdoms were represented as parallel attempts to establish free South Slav states in the Balkans, an aspiration which in the end failed because of foreign enmity and internal division. If required, this approach even allowed for the appropriation of Bulgarian medieval state history. Intellectuals affiliated to *Narodna odbrana* frequently included the First Bulgarian Empire of Simeon as one of the South Slav medieval states and pointed to the large number of Bulgarian intellectuals who found shelter in the Serbian Empire of Dušan after the conquest of Bulgaria by the Ottomans (Jojić 1934: 472). Within this line of thinking, the recent political tensions and

³⁷⁴ ["pošto su kao narod bili još pola Mongoli pola Sloveni, dok su makedonski Sloveni bili čisti Sloveni, kao što su bili ostala srpska plemena."]

³⁷⁵ It is striking that in the curricula for elementary schools of 1926 and 1927 Tomislav was not mentioned at all.

wars between independent Serbia and Bulgaria had only been instigated by the great powers and did not hinder the reconciliation and eventual unification of the Bulgarians and the other South Slav 'tribes' (ibid: 472-3).

That way, the South Slav medieval states form an interesting variation to the *topos* of the 'golden age' in nationalist histories (Baár 2010: 224-55). Although none of these cases actually succeeded in freeing and uniting all Yugoslavs, they were glorified as parallel attempts to do so and thus as parallel predecessors of the Yugoslav kingdom. Hereby it should be taken into consideration that the long lifespan of the Serbian medieval kingdom and its period of glory and domination over the entire Balkan peninsula as an Empire in the 14th century – combined with a general preoccupation with symbolic resources derived from Serbian state history – resulted in the obvious dominant position of the Serbian medieval state as the most successful of the medieval Yugoslav states and the most direct predecessor of the present Yugoslav kingdom. In the curricula for elementary education this was expressed in a long list of Serbian medieval rulers which should be treated in the history lessons. In history curricula for secondary and civil schools typically a distinction was made between the earliest attempts at South Slav state formation between the 7th and 12th century, including the medieval Slovenian and Croatian states, as well as the earliest Serbian medieval states (Zeta and Raška between the 9th and the 11th century), and the period between the 12th and 15th century, which covered the ascent of the Serbian state under the Nemanjić dynasty and medieval Bosnia. This distinction was also made by Vladimir Ćorović in his history of Yugoslavia. Similarly, Vladimir Dvorniković distinguished between the earliest, what he called, peripheral South Slav states between the 7th and 12th century, and Serbia and Bosnia between the 13th and 15th century, which he called the central state creations of the South Slavs (Dvorniković [2000] 1939: 848-58).

4.4.3.2 Transcending 'tribal' and regional boundaries: Duke Ljudevit Posavski and King Tvrtko

For this early period curricula not only pointed to parallel but clearly distinct historical traditions. A central position was also attributed to figures or events which indicated concrete cooperation of South Slav 'tribes' during the medieval period. One example included in the curricula was Ljudevit Posavski, ruler of Pannonian Croatia and the leader of a rebellion against the Franks in the beginning of the 9th century (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 42). His importance for Yugoslav national history lay in the fact that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes cooperated in his rebellion, which was why he was explicitly referred to as the first ruler of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the curricula. Ćorović

termed Ljudevit's resistance against the Franks the first attempt to form a Yugoslav state and a "conscious ethnical community against the Franks" (Ćorović 1933: 38).³⁷⁶ Illustratively, Ćorović argued that the Serbian Timok tribe initially sought protection from the Franks against the Bulgarians, which would have been the most logical option, but that they in the end joined Ljudevit, on the basis of "tribal suggestions" (ibid.).³⁷⁷ In a typical lesson for elementary schools the teacher should also mention Duke Borna of Dalmatian Croatia, who refused to support Ljudevit and denied South Slav national unity out of purely personal motives, a sad but recurring phenomenon in the history of the South Slavs.³⁷⁸

Similarly, King Tvrtko was persistently celebrated as "the first king of Serbs and Croats" in the curricula. According to Vladimir Ćorović, Tvrtko himself, as a descendant of Croatian and Serbian noble families, "carried the great synthesis of Serb-Croat unity in his blood" (Ćorović 1929: 18).³⁷⁹ Additionally, he was the first to create a common state of Serbs and Croats which, through its racial homogeneity, would "enable a better development of our national energy" (ibid.).³⁸⁰ That way, Tvrtko realised the role Bosnia was predestined to play as the essential Serbo-Croatian centre:

Not taking a completely determined Serbian or Croatian tribal character, with a Serbo-Croatian population and located in the middle between the Serbian and Croatian state territories, Bosnia was in the position to come to the idea of becoming the centre of one greater Serbo-Croatian group. With Bosnia, our 14th century gave us a solution for the Serbo-Croatian problem, which was, in precisely the same form, propagated by certain patriots after the First World War as the most natural solution (Ćorović 1933: 200).³⁸¹

Many historians argued that Tvrtko's role in Yugoslav national history was greater than that of Tsar Dušan, precisely because he had attempted to unite only "pure" Yugoslav lands and was thus led solely by national motives, whereas Dušan had been led by imperialistic aspirations, had conquered foreign people and had burdened the Serbian

³⁷⁶ ["svesnu etničku zajednicu protiv Franaka."]

³⁷⁷ ["plemenskih sugestija."]

³⁷⁸ Bačić, Dragomir, 'Razvijenje ideje narodnog jedinstva u školi', *Narodn prosveta* 03.12.1933: 1-2. *Narodna prosveta* ('National Education') was a newspaper published by the Association of Yugoslav Teachers.

³⁷⁹ ["u krvi nosio svoju veliku sintezu srpsko-hrvatskog jedinstva."]

³⁸⁰ ["koja bi rasno homogena omogućila bolji razvoj naše narodne energije."]

³⁸¹ ["ne uzimajući sasvim određeno ni srpski ni hrvatski plemenski karakter, a bivši u stvari po svom stanovništvu srpsko-hrvatska i nalazeći se u sredini između srpskog i hrvatskog državnog područja, Bosna je i mogla doći na misao da postane središte jedne veće srpskohrvatske grupacije. Naš XIV vek dao je sa njom jedno rešenje za srpskohrvatski problem, za koji su se (...) svršetkom svetskoga rata, doslovno u istom obliku, zalagali izvesni rodoljubi smatrajući ga kao najprirodnije."]

people with an unbearable legacy (Ćorović 1933: 163-4, 193-4; Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 854-6; Milutinović K.N. 1936: 886). In the words of Vladimir Ćorović Tvrtko was more “nationally real” (Ćorović 1933: 194).³⁸² Dvorniković considered the inclusion of foreign, Greek elements, in Dušan’s state a “fatal turn” (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 854),³⁸³ Ćorović called this the most important mistake made by Dušan (Ćorović 1933: 164). In Viktor Novak’s 1930 ‘Anthology of the Yugoslav idea and national unity’, which consisted of quotes presenting a historical overview of the Yugoslav Idea, the first quote included was Tvrtko’s title as King of Raška, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Primorje, as the first written proof and starting point of Yugoslav national unity (Novak 1930: 1-2). By stressing the Serb-Croat character of Tvrtko’s Bosnian Kingdom Yugoslav historians not only established a continuity of Serb-Croat unity from the Middle Ages to the present, they also circumvented competing pre-First World Serbian and Croatian claims on Bosnia-Herzegovina, which relied heavily on historical interpretations of the medieval Bosnian state as essentially Serbian or Croatian (Okey 2011: 353-62).

4.4.3.3 South Slav medieval states in interwar Yugoslav commemoration policy

The new state also incorporated the legacy of the medieval South Slav states in its commemoration policy. The original plans for the bridge of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević over the Sava, which was built between 1929 and 1934 and connected Belgrade and Zemun, perfectly illustrate how the South Slavs medieval states were incorporated in a Yugoslav national narrative. The initial plans for the bridge foresaw four columns by the sides of the bridge, which would be decorated with sculptures of four historical Yugoslav rulers: King Tomislav, King Tvrtko, Tsar Dušan and finally King Petar I. Thus, the bridge, which both in reality and symbolically united the former Habsburg regions and pre-war Serbia, visualised and narrated the bond between the present Yugoslav kingdom and its historical predecessors, namely medieval Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia (Ignjatović 2007: 360-4). Such a synthetic construction of Yugoslav national history allowed for the appropriation of different sub-national traditions within an overarching Yugoslav narrative. The broad potentials of this approach are revealed in the commemoration of the millennial anniversary of the crowning of Tomislav as Croatian King in 1925. That year a wide range of activities was organised ranging from the publication of academic works to festivities for the normal man. The enormous variety in the concrete character of these commemorations exemplifies how certain symbolic resources derived from Croatian history could be incorporated for

³⁸² [“nacionalno stvarniji”].

³⁸³ [“fatalni obrt”].

conveying a sense of both Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity, whereby those appropriations were not necessarily incompatible.

A look at the speeches, proclamations and festivities of 1925 clarifies that in Zagreb Tomislav was in the first place commemorated as a Croatian King, within a strictly Croatian collective framework. Already in 1924 a group of Zagreb intellectuals under the leadership of Milan Dečak, a lawyer and leader of the Croatian Sokol, had made plans for the erection of a monument to Tomislav on the present King Tomislav Square in Zagreb.³⁸⁴ In 1925 numerous activities were held to popularise and obtain financial support for the Tomislav monument. On 31 December 1925 the commemoration year was festively ended, on the occasion of which the first stone of the monument was officially blessed by Archbishop Bauer (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1997: 243-8).³⁸⁵ In a proclamation by the organising committee of the Tomislav monument, written by Milan Dečak, Tomislav was glorified for having one of the strongest armies in Europe, as well as for unifying all Croatian lands: Littoral and Pannonian Croatia, Slavonia and Bosnia. That way, Tomislav had shown “the viability of Croatia” and “the strength and power of the Croatian People” (qtd. in Kolar-Dimitrijević 1997: 274).³⁸⁶ In a speech held on the occasion of the official blessing of the first stone of the monument the historian Vjekoslav Klaić argued that the commemorations in 1925 had shown “the living consciousness of the Croatian people (...) from Drava and Danube to the Dalmatian coastal cities Šibenik, Split and Dubrovnik, and from Zagreb, Osijek, Zemun and Subotica to Banjaluka, Mostar and Sarajevo” (qtd. in *ibid*: 280).³⁸⁷ In Klaić’s words, the Tomislav monument should be “an eternal commemoration for generations of centuries to come, so that they would welcome the second millennium as true and convinced Croats” (qtd. in *ibid*: 281).³⁸⁸

Probably the most exclusive Croat commemoration in 1925 was an academic volume published by *Matica hrvatska* devoted to the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom. The preface to the volume clarified that the authors wanted to document the achievements of the Croatian nation during the millennium since the establishment of the first Croatian Kingdom, because the present generation was only “a fragment of the

³⁸⁴ The square received its present name in 1927. At that same time, the Zagreb city council also changed the name of the Wilson Square into King Aleksandar Square (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1997: 251).

³⁸⁵ Robert Frangeš-Mihanović finished the bronze sculpture in 1933. Because of financial and political difficulties and discussions about the artistic value of the statue, as well as its concrete position and directions, however, the final erection of the monument only took place in 1947 (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1997).

³⁸⁶ [“da je Hrvatska sposobna za život”, “snagu i moć Hrvatskoga Naroda”].

³⁸⁷ [“Živu svijest naroda hrvatskoga”].

³⁸⁸ [“Vječita spomen generacijama budućih stoljeća, pa da i one dočekaju drugu tisućljetnicu kao pravi i ovejani Hrvati”].

ideal the Croatian nation carried in its soul for centuries long” (Lukas (ed.) 1925: n.p.).³⁸⁹ In an article in the volume Filip Lukas, who would later become president of *Matica hrvatska*, explicitly argued that Croats, Serbs and Slovenes were “three cultural-historical entities, three national consciousnesses, three fully completed and differentiated national types” (Lukas 1925: 86).³⁹⁰ Therefore, he rejected any form of integral Yugoslavism – which in his view came down to a tendency to reduce the Croatian and Slovenian nations to ‘tribes’, whereas the Serbian nation was recognised as a fully completed nation. In his view, Yugoslavism was only viable as a supra-national political and cultural ideal, which would not reject the national distinctness of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes (Lukas 1925: 80-8, esp. 86).

At the same time, however, Tomislav was also incorporated in an overarching Yugoslav narrative. With the financial support of the Ministry of Education, the historian Ferdo Šišić was able to publish a monumental book on the history of the Croats from ancient times until the end of the Croatian “national” Kingdom, which would serve as the Ministry’s contribution to the 1925 jubilee (Šišić 1925: v-vi).³⁹¹ The village of Duvno in Eastern Herzegovina, close to the site where Tomislav was crowned, was renamed to Tomislavgrad. Probably most significantly, on 15 August 1925 King Aleksandar himself, accompanied by a large number of ministers, attended a commemoration in Zagreb organised by the Croatian Sokol (cf. 7.4.2). On this occasion several speakers, including Stjepan Radić and Vjekoslav Heinzl, Mayor of Zagreb, explicitly linked King Tomislav with King Aleksandar and the Croatian medieval Kingdom with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The commemoration also received extensive coverage in *Politika*, clarifying the state-wide relevance of the act. On 16 August *Politika* brought a long and detailed report of the commemorations, which were interpreted as a triumph of the “national agreement” between Pašić and Radić.³⁹² On 17 August the newspaper included an extract from the chapter on King Tomislav from Ferdo Šišić’s recently published book.³⁹³ Finally, it was also no coincidence that Aleksandar’s second son, who was born in 1928, was named Tomislav. Of course, the strong support of the state authorities for the 1925 commemorations can only be understood against the background of the Pašić-Radić government which had been formed in the summer of 1925 (Djokić 2007: 60-4; Matijević 2004: 1131-4).

³⁸⁹ [“fragmenat onog ideala, što ga hrvatski narod, već od vijekova (...) nosi u duši.”].

³⁹⁰ [“Tri kulturno-historijske oline, tri narodne svijesti, tri potpuno izgrađena i izdiferencirana narodna tipa”].

³⁹¹ Šišić envisaged this book as the first part of a complete overview of Croatian history until 1918 in three volumes (Šišić 1925: vii). The two other volumes, however, were never finished.

³⁹² ‘Triumf ideje narodnog sporazuma’, *Politika* 16.08.1925: 1-4.

³⁹³ ‘Kralj Tomislav i njegovo doba’, *Politika* 17.08.1925: 1.

In any case, the 1925 commemorations illustrate how symbolic resources could be appropriated for conveying different forms of collective identity, without necessarily having to have a contested nature. In practice, in Zagreb Tomislav was first and foremost celebrated within a Croatian conceptual framework. Simultaneously, however, the participation and the support of the central Yugoslav authorities added an overarching Yugoslav meaning to the commemoration, while not rejecting or banning its primarily Croatian character. In fact, a similar strategy was also adopted with regard to the Serbian medieval state tradition. A typical lesson on Tsar Dušan for the fourth year of elementary schools, presented by the teacher Zora Stanković in *Učitelj*, for example, gave a typical Serbian national approach to Dušan's historical role (Stanković Z. 1936: 580-6). At the end of the lesson Dušan was compared to King Aleksandar, because both had succeeded in uniting the Serbian 'tribe'. However, it was added, Aleksandar had gone a step further and had united all 'tribes' (ibid: 586). This reference to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, no matter how brief and vague, was sufficient to embed a Serbian historical resource within the Yugoslav collective unity of the present.

4.4.4 Suffering, resistance and heroism

4.4.4.1 Battles against the advancing Ottomans

After treating the golden age of Yugoslav history curricula went over to the long period of oppression and suffering that followed. A specific place in all curricula and in school in general, was occupied by the 1389 battle of Kosovo. *Vidovdan* (28 June), the day the battle took place, was established as the festive last day of the school year, a practice taken over from the Kingdom of Serbia (Höpken 2005: 352-3). On Vidovdan all schools, in cooperation with other educational associations in the area, were expected to organise popular lectures, concerts, festivities and Sokol performances to illustrate the important role played by schools in the national and cultural development of the people. Half of the profit of the day should be sent to the National Fund for Popular Education (especially used for the publication of teaching material), the other half could be used for local activities.³⁹⁴

Vidovdan occupied a central position in the historical narrative of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian nation. In essence, it commemorated the defeat of the

³⁹⁴ 'Vidov-dan, praznik narodnog prosvjećivanja'. O.n. br. 31.021, 13 May 1927. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 158. This circular was repeated in the following years.

army of the Serbian Prince Lazar by the advancing Ottomans at Kosovo in 1389. However, this historical event carried multiple meanings with it in different oral and literary traditions. In the folk-popular oral literature the battle of Kosovo formed the setting for heroic folk songs, especially around the figure of Miloš Obilić, the alleged assassin of the Ottoman sultan Murad. The date was an important symbol in the religious narrative of the Serbian Orthodox Church, especially centred around the martyrdom of the canonised Prince Lazar, whose self-sacrifice in the battle against the advancing Muslims laid the basis for the spiritual victory of Orthodox Christianity (Bakić-Hayden 2004; Koljević 1980: 153-73; Sundhaussen 2007: 97-111). In the second half of the nineteenth century the Serbian state authorities established a national commemoration of Vidovdan and the Battle of Kosovo, which relied on religious, folk-popular and political-national motives. The festive ending of the school year on Vidovdan was part of this national commemoration (Höpken 2005: 350-3). Finally, from the beginning of the twentieth century motives related to Vidovdan and the Battle of Kosovo were appropriated in what Andrew Wachtel has termed multicultural synthetic articulations of Yugoslav national identity, which combined elements from existing 'tribal' cultures (Wachtel 1998: 53-63).

Yugoslav historical writings of the interwar period represented the battle of Kosovo as a common Yugoslav battle and detached it from its exclusively Serbian character. In the words of Vladimir Ćorović, "Serbs and Croats together fought against their common enemy for centuries to come in one of the most decisive moments in our history, as if they had some deeper presentiment on the meaning of this event" (Ćorović 1933: 196).³⁹⁵ First, curricula and Yugoslav historians typically referred to the fact that the army of Prince Lazar was joined by troops of the Bosnian King Tvrtko and a number of Croatian soldiers. The 1927 curriculum for elementary schools explicitly mentioned that Serbs fought side by side with Croats and Slovenes, the 1933 curriculum for elementary schools spoke of the battle of the Yugoslavs against the Turks. In an example of a history lesson on Prince Lazar for the fourth year of elementary schools presented by Milutin Nikolić in *Učitelj*, it was argued that teachers should stress that King Tvrtko and some Croatian leaders came to help Lazar in the battle of Kosovo (Nikolić 1939). Further, some curricula also included references to Croatian battles against the Ottomans, such as the 1493 battle at Krbava where an army under the leadership of Croatian noblemen suffered a crushing defeat (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 301).³⁹⁶ These battles were

³⁹⁵ ["Kao sa nekim dubokim predosećanjem značaja ovog događaja našli su se zajedno u borbi protiv jednog neprijatelja, koji će im vekovima biti zajednički, Srbi i Hrvati, u jednom od najsudbonosnijih časova naše istorije".]

³⁹⁶ The battle at Krbava field was referred to in the 1927 curriculum for elementary schools, as well as the 1932 curriculum for higher popular schools.

interpreted as Croatian parallels to the Serbian battle at Kosovo. Another potential Croatian parallel to the Kosovo battle was the last native Croatian king, Petar Svačić, who, just like Prince Lazar, gave his life for his nation, in his case in a battle against the Hungarians.³⁹⁷

However, there was no discussion about the core position of the Kosovo battle in the Yugoslav historical narrative on the Ottoman conquest and its persistent primary association with Serbian Orthodox historical memory (cf. Höpken 2005: 361-3). On 18 June 1928 for example the Ministry of Education commissioned all elementary schools to hold lectures on the importance of the Orthodox church of the Autocrat (Samodreža) in Kosovo, where Prince Lazar was blessed just before the battle of Kosovo. On the same occasion the teachers should popularise the organisation which was founded to restore the church.³⁹⁸ Obviously, such a commemoration of Vidovdan was not likely to mobilise non-Serbian Orthodox population groups. An element which certainly added to the controversy was the fact that 28 June was the date when the first centralised constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had been legalised in 1921, which symbolised growing Serb-Croat political polarisation and Serbian political hegemony. Reports of local authorities illustrate the contested nature of Vidovdan in non-Serbian schools. On 28 June 1932 elementary school pupils in Komin, in the district Metković by the Dalmatian coast, demonstrated with Croatian flags, thereby shouting “Long live Croatia”, “Long live Maček”, “Glory to Stjepan Radić” as well as anti-state slogans. As reported by the police the local teacher and principal of the elementary school, Ivo Gluščević, who had been transferred to Komin at the start of the school year 1931-32, had been present and had not interfered even after a colleague of his had urged him to do so. Further investigations and reports clarified that Gluščević was “nationally suspicious”. He stemmed from a family of prominent separatists, kept close contact with the most prominent a-national people in the area, had refused to become a member of the local Sokol and had established a branch of *Napredak* in Komin. “Many national persons are not satisfied with Gluščević because under his influence the school going children, especially the boys, were completely perverted”.³⁹⁹ Some of his pupils had even declared that their ancestors were Croats and that they did not like Yugoslavia. Taken into consideration that the village of Komin was completely “infected with separatist

³⁹⁷ King Petar Svačić was included in the 1926 and 1927 curricula for elementary schools. An additional battle of the Croatian ‘tribe’ against the Ottomans was represented by the figure of Nikola Šubić Zrinski, who will be discussed later.

³⁹⁸ ‘Predavanje u svima osnovnim školama na Vidovdan o Samodreži crkvi i o činu koji je u njoj obavljen uoči Kosovske bitke’. O.n. br. 47.240, 18 June 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 570.

³⁹⁹ [“Mnoga nacionalna lica se nepovoljno o Gluščeviću izražuju, i da su deca, a naročito muška, skroz pokvarena, i to sve uzrokom učitelja”], quoted from a police report dated 2 July 1932, forwarded from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education on 21 September 1932. AJ 66 (pov)-13-34.

ideas”⁴⁰⁰ it was demanded that Gluščević would be transferred. After long and detailed investigations, Gluščević was indeed transferred at the end of the school year 1932-33.⁴⁰¹ Clearly, the state-wide commemoration of Vidovdan remained contested and was used by opponents of the regime to express their oppositional stand.

4.4.4.2 Fighting and suffering under foreign rule

For the period between the 16th and 18th century curricula focussed on the common suffering of all South Slavs, be it under Habsburg or Ottoman rule, and their persistent resistance against that oppression. For all Yugoslav ‘tribes’ the curricula selected events or figures, which were interpreted as manifestations of the Yugoslav *national* resistance against foreign political and cultural oppression. For the 16th century the 1926 curriculum for history in the fourth year of secondary schools for example prescribed that teachers should treat “Serbian-Croatian-Hungarian attempts to liberate the Serbian principality and the Bosnian Kingdom from the Turks”, and “the harmony of our people under foreign occupation: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under Turks, Hungarians and Venetians / Serbs and Croats with Christian states against the Turks / Serbs, Croats and Slovenes protect themselves”.⁴⁰² A specific place in the curricula for this period was occupied by Dubrovnik as the only Yugoslav free area of the period. Typical Yugoslav historical interpretations added that Dubrovnik always pertained strong ties with the other Yugoslav regions. In his history of Yugoslavia Ćorović highlighted the strong bonds between Dubrovnik and the rest of the South Slavs, initially through diplomatic and economic contacts, later also in its literature (Ćorović 1933: 277, 337). In a lecture given at the Kolarac popular university on the occasion of the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Ivan Gundulić’s death Aleksandar Belić praised Dubrovnik as a natural bridge between the two parts of the Yugoslav nation, not only economically and

⁴⁰⁰ [“zadojeno separatističkim idejama”], quoted from a police report dated 2 July 1932, forwarded from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education on 21 September 1932. AJ 66 (pov)-13-34.

⁴⁰¹ Letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 21 September 1932; Report from the local authorities to the provincial authorities, 19 October 1932; Report from the provincial authorities to the Ministry of Education, 31 October 1932; Report from the police to the provincial authorities, 9 May 1933; AJ 66(pov)-13-34. Gluščević managed to return to the district Metković at the beginning of the school year 1934-35. His return was immediately criticised by the local authorities and the educational department of Littoral banovina, and on 21 December 1934 Gluščević was again transferred, this time to Gunjače in the district Azbukovica in western Serbia. Report from the authorities of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 29 November 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-13-34.

⁴⁰² [“srpsko-hrvatsko-mađarski pokušaji da se od Turaka povrate despotovina u Srbiji i Kraljevina u Bosni”, “životna snaga našega naroda pod tuđinom. Srbi i Hrvati u službu Turske, Ugarske, Mletaka. Srbi i Hrvati uz hrišćanske države protivu Turske. Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci brane sami sebe.”]

culturally, but also literarily and linguistically. Moreover, Dubrovnik had been the first link between South Slavs and European culture (Belić 1939).

By highlighting common battles against common enemies this period of joint suffering and resistance in fact strengthened the internal cohesion of the Yugoslav nation. As Vladimir Ćorović argued, the Turkish attacks learned the South Slavs that the sectionalism of the Middle Ages would only lead to the nation's complete destruction and urged the South Slavs to cooperate against a bigger evil. Moreover, although the Turkish conquest physically almost destroyed the South Slavs, it cleansed and elevated the nation on a moral level: "In the Middle Ages we had a state, during the oppression we began to feel like a nation" (Ćorović 1933: 279-82, quotation on 282).⁴⁰³ History curricula included a number of symbolic resources which substantiated this idea. A prominent historical symbol in all history curricula was Nikola Šubić Zrinski, who was killed after a heroic resistance against the Ottomans in Siget / Szigetvár in 1566 and personified Croatia as a border region or bulwark of Christianity against the Ottomans (Žanić 2005: 35). Additionally, curricula mentioned the resistance of *hajduks* and *uskoks*, irregular armed bands which were active in the Balkans, especially in border regions between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empire and Venice (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 296-313; Sundhaussen 2007: 53-63); the great Serbian migrations to Vojvodina in the late 17th century under Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 267-8; Sundhaussen 2007: 49-52); and the participation of Serbian and Croatian soldiers in the Habsburg wars against the Ottomans. Finally, the curriculum also included the liberation struggle of the Montenegrins under the Petrović dynasty, one of the few attempts to include elements from Montenegrin collective memory, based on its state tradition, in Yugoslav national history. All these historical events obviously established a strong oppositional relation between South Slavs and the Ottoman Other and strengthened the internal unity of South Slavs in their resistance against a common enemy.

An additional opponent of the South Slavs in this period were the Habsburgs. Although in general the Hungarians and the Habsburgs were seen as a lesser evil in comparison to the Ottomans, because they stood at the European Christian side with the South Slavs, Yugoslav historiography clearly established an image of Hungarians and Habsburgs who looked down on South Slavs, rarely followed their advice in the battle against the Ottomans and were not very concerned about the eventual loss of South Slav lands or lives. This attitude was best exemplified in the historical narrative on Nikola Šubić Zrinski. As Ćorović argued, the Habsburgs left Croatia, the *antimurale Christianitatis*, completely to its own devices and thus showed their insincerity toward the South Slavs

⁴⁰³ ["U Srednjem veku imali smo državu, za vreme robovanja osetili smo se kao narod"].

(Ćorović 1933: 300-4). Additionally, curricula included frequent references to historical events which point to a certain degree of distance between the South Slavs and their Habsburg rulers. History curricula for secondary schools for example prescribed that students would learn about Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian resistance against Habsburg centralism. From Slovenian historical tradition the curricula mentioned the counts of Celje, an important aristocratic family in the 14th and 15th century, who were vassals of the Habsburgs, but at times challenged their authority. The 1933 curriculum for elementary schools explicitly stressed their bonds with Serbs and Croats, referring to the fact that the house of Celje owned lands in Croatia and Slavonia and had dynastical bonds with different South Slav noble families, which was seen as an attempt “to create a new Yugoslav dynasty” (Ćorović 1933: 223).⁴⁰⁴ Also, curricula mentioned the figure of Primož Trubar, especially for his work for the Slovenian language against German cultural oppression. Yugoslav historians typically stressed the influence of the Protestant movement in Dalmatia and Croatia and the fact that the Protestant movement strove for cooperation between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, thus establishing “the first cultural movement which sought and found cooperation between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes” (Ćorović 1933: 320).⁴⁰⁵

From Croatian history curricula typically referred to the Croatian Parliament on Cetin, on the occasion of which the Croatian noblemen elected Ferdinand I of the House of Habsburg as their King, which was interpreted as a proof of the political autonomy of Croatia-Slavonia (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 299; Ćorović 1933: 293-5). Further, the curriculum mentioned the peasant rebellion of Matija Gubec and its following in Croatia and Slovenia and the conspiracy of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan against the Habsburg dynasty as the major acts of resistance against Habsburg oppression. Within Yugoslav historical identity these Croatian historical resources were appropriated as all-Yugoslav martyrs and heroes. The commemoration of Zrinski and Frankopan on 30 April, the date the two noblemen had been beheaded in Vienna on the accusation of a conspiracy against the Habsburg King Leopold I in 1671 (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 305), was well-established throughout the Croatian lands, especially through the activities of cultural-educational associations like *Napredak*. Zrinski and Frankopan were typically referred to as martyrs for the Croatian national case, who had given their lives for the preservation of the Croatian state right and the Croatian nation against Habsburg centralisation.⁴⁰⁶ The commemorations generally consisted of a commemorative service in the local church and a cultural program – with lectures, declamations, songs and theatre plays and finally the singing of the Croatian hymn. The celebration of Zrinski-

⁴⁰⁴ [“Stvoriti jednu novu dinastiju među Jugoslovenima”].

⁴⁰⁵ [“Prvi kulturni pokret u kojim se tražila i našla saradnja Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.”]

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Zrinsko-Frankopanska proslava u Sarajevu’, *Napredak* 11 (1936)/5: 49.

Frankopan day in Samobor in central Croatia in 1932 can serve as a representative illustration of these commemorations. First, members of all important cultural associations in the town – *Napredak*, the popular library, the Sokol, the fire brigade, an association of war veterans and a Croatian choral society – attended a commemorative service in the local church. Thereafter the members of these cultural associations marched to the local library, where a festive commemorative program was held, which consisted of a lecture on the importance of these two Croatian martyrs, a recital of Šenoa's poem 'Na Ozlju gradu' ('At Ozalj fortress') and a performance of Ivan Zajc's song 'Zrinski-Frankopanka' by the local choral society. The commemorative program was ended with the singing of the Croatian hymn by all attendants.⁴⁰⁷

The state authorities made some attempts to integrate the commemoration of Zrinski and Frankopan within a broader Yugoslav framework. On the occasion of his first visit to Zagreb in June 1920 Prince-Regent Aleksandar had laid a silver wreath on the grave of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan in the Cathedral of Zagreb, thus literally appropriating their symbolic legacy. On the same occasion the 35th regiment of the army in Zagreb was officially named Zrinski (Čajkovac 1926c: 188). Attempts were also made to familiarise other parts of the nation with these Croatian martyrs. The rule book on the celebration of school holidays of 22 September 1928 prescribed that on the day of Zrinski and Frankopan (30 April) in all Yugoslav schools a special lecture should be given.⁴⁰⁸ On 30 April 1928 a festive commemoration was organised in the National Theatre in Belgrade. On this occasion the historian Viktor Novak gave a historical overview of the events and compared the conspiracy of Zrinski and Frankopan to the Battle of Kosovo in Serbian history, since both were historical acts of martyrdom against foreign oppression. According to Novak, it was only natural that the Serbian part of the nation would mourn for such a dramatic event from Croatian history because "our nation has always carried with it the biological law of its unity" (Novak 1928: 327).⁴⁰⁹ Although this Yugoslav line of interpretation did not have any obvious impact on local commemorations of Zrinski-Frankopan day in the Croatian areas, there were also no contestations over the Croat or Yugoslav character of the commemoration.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ *Napredak* 7 (1932)/6: 74. See also other descriptions of commemorations in *Napredak* 11 (1936)/5: 61; *Napredak* 12 (1937)/5: 61; *Napredak* 14 (1939)/6: 65-7; 'Zrinsko-Frankopanska proslava u Sarajevu', *Napredak* 11 (1936)/5: 49.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Pravilnik o praznovanju praznika u osnovnim, srednjim i stručnim školama Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. P.br. 15.791, 22 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1928): 796-798, 797.

⁴⁰⁹ ["naš narod je uvek nosio u sebi biološki zakon svog jedinstva"]

⁴¹⁰ It is important to bear in mind that the Croatian Peasant Party and *Seljačka sloga* rejected the commemoration of Zrinski and Frankopan, because they had been noblemen, "gentlemen", and thus suppressors of the Croatian peasant nation. 'Obljetnica Zrinskih i Frankopana'. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/3: 69. This explains the uncontested nature of the commemoration of Zrinski and Frankopan.

This was different in the commemoration of Matija Gubec. The strength of a synthetic approach to Yugoslav national history was that it allowed for the inclusion of different sub-national traditions without imposing drastic re-interpretation of these traditions at a sub-national level. However, such multileveled and multifaceted interpretations of certain symbolic resources also included germs for controversy and competition. For the peasant revolt of Matija Gubec the curricula stressed the cooperation of Slovenian and Croatian peasants against Habsburg oppression, thus highlighting the all-Yugoslav character of this historical event. In an example of a history lesson on Matija Gubec for the fourth year of elementary schools the peasant revolt of Matija Gubec was placed in a Yugoslav context by comparing it to another Yugoslav “peasant revolt”, the first Serbian Uprising under Karađorđe (S.M.B. 1934: 554). Without a doubt, the authorities and Yugoslav ideologues also took into consideration Gubec’s important symbolical role in the Croatian Peasant Party’s peasant ideology. Ćorović, for example, stressed that the Croatian peasant preserved the memory of Matija Gubec more lively than any other historical event, leading to a hatred toward “masters” which was felt until the 20th century (Ćorović 1933: 326).

At the same time Matija Gubec was appropriated in narrow Croatian historical narratives. Especially in the Croatian Peasant Party’s ideological program Matija Gubec occupied a central position as the starting point for the Croatian peasant movement (Pavlaković 2008: 3-5). Already in the early 1920s the Croatian Republican Peasant Party had organised festivities on the day of Gubec’s death, with lectures and cultural activities. In the second half of the 1930s the commemoration of Matija Gubec became increasingly popular, especially through *Seljačka sloga*’s annual so-called “week of Croatian consciousness and popular education” (“*tjedan hrvatske svijesti i narodne prosvjete*”), during which the days of Ante Radić’s (10 February) and Matija Gubec’s death (15 February) were commemorated. It was prescribed that during this week peasants should read the works of Antun Radić, as well as works on Gubec’s peasant uprising. Also, local branches of *Seljačka sloga* organised public lectures on Gubec and Radić, in some cases followed by cultural happenings (Leček 2006: 136-8).⁴¹¹ Gubec also was a popular figure in short stories and poems written by peasant which appeared in *Seljačka sloga*’s journal. In these stories Gubec was glorified from a national (Croatian) and social (peasant) point of view – as the initiator of the struggle of the Croatian peasant nation.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ ‘Tjedan Matije Gubca i dra Ante Radića’. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/3: 68-9; ‘Viestnik Seljačke Sloge’. *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/12: 290-1; ‘Viestnik Seljačke Sloge’. *Seljačka sloga* 2 (1937)/2: 45; ‘Okružnica svim ograncima Seljačke Sloge Božiću 1937’. *Seljačka sloga* 3 (1938)/1: 2-3.

⁴¹² See for example the poem “Matija Gubec i nevolje hrvatskih seljaka”, written by Vinko Redep in *Seljačka sloga* 1 (1936)/1: 3-4; or the text on Matija Gubec written by Rudolf Herceg, which was included in his abecedary (Herceg 1929: 45-7).

After the formation of the Croatian banovina Matija Gubec received a central place in the history curriculum for the third and fourth year of elementary school.⁴¹³

Against the background of growing political and national dissociation in Croatia in the second half of the 1930s, the commemoration of Matija Gubec expressed the strong opposition of the Croatian Peasant Party against the Yugoslav state and its Yugoslav national ideology and came to symbolise the incompatibility of and the boundary between the Croatian and the Yugoslav level of collective identity. In some cases the competition between the state and the Croatian Peasant Party over Matija Gubec took the quite literal forms. On 27 February 1936, for example, the educational department of Sava banovina reported that a number of teachers in Križ nearby Zagreb had attended a commemorative service held in the local church on 20 February in the honour of Matija Gubec, Ante and Stjepan Radić and Ante Starčević. The teachers themselves argued that they had done so because the villagers had forced them and to maintain peace and order in the village. On 5 March 1936 the principal of the school explained that the school was located in front of the church and that it had been surrounded by 2000 demonstrators who had come to Križ for the commemoration. The principal demanded that the authorities would take into consideration the difficult position of the teachers, who would have exposed themselves to serious physical and even life threatening attacks if they would have refused to follow the villagers. On 4 June 1938 the disciplinary court at the Ministry of Education decided that the complaint against the teacher should be filed away.⁴¹⁴ In this case the teachers in question were literally forced to choose between the Yugoslav and Croatian commemoration of Matija Gubec, a middle course was no longer available.

4.4.5 National rebirth and liberation

For the 19th and 20th century curricula selected historical events which can be categorised as common contributions to Yugoslav liberation and unification. The 1930 curriculum for secondary schools listed the following topics on Yugoslav history for the 19th and 20th century:

The national movement among the Yugoslavs. The first Serbian uprising, Napoleon and the western Yugoslav lands, Montenegro under Petar I.
(...).

⁴¹³ 'Iz Banovine Hrvatske', *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 3.

⁴¹⁴ Report from the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 27 February 1936; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 4 June 1938. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

The Yugoslav rebirth. The second Serbian uprising and the formation of the Serbian Principality (1830). The rule of Miloš. Illyrism and the Croatian rebirth; Serbs and Slovenes toward Illyrism.

The rapprochement of the Yugoslavs. The revolt of 1848; Croats and Serbs against the Hungarians. Aleksandar Karađorđević. Prince Mihailo and the rapprochement of the Yugoslavs. Strossmayer and Yugoslavism; the Croat-Hungarian Deal. Vojvodina and Svetozar Miletić. Nationalism among the Slovenes. The uprising in Herzegovina in 1875; the war of Serbia and Montenegro against Turkey, the Russo-Turkish war and the congress of Berlin.

(...).

The Yugoslavs under Austro-Hungarian pressure. Serbia under King Milan and Aleksandar. Croatia under Mažuranić and Khuen. The Austrian government in Bosnia and Dalmatia. Serbia under King Petar. Montenegro under Nikola I. The Serbs under the Turks. The Croat-Serb coalition. The cultural and economic progress of the Slovenes (...). The annexation of Bosnia.

Liberation and unification of the Yugoslavs. The Balkan Wars. The spiritual unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Serbia and Montenegro in the World War. The work of the Yugoslav Committee. The National Council. The unification.⁴¹⁵

A similar, although obviously less detailed, overview of Yugoslav modern history was presented in the curricula for elementary schools. The 1933 history curriculum for the fourth year of elementary schools, for example, prescribed that teachers should treat the independence of Montenegro, the first and the second Serbian uprising, the Illyrian Provinces, the national rebirth, the Yugoslavs in 1848, the development of Yugoslav thought under Mihailo Obrenović, Strossmayer and Bleiweis, the independence of Serbia and Montenegro, King Petar I, the Balkan Wars and the First World War.

Curricula strongly stressed the parallel character of various contributions to Yugoslav national liberation and unification, beyond political and 'tribal' boundaries. I

⁴¹⁵ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*; 164-5. Državna štamparija. ["Narodni pokret kod Jugoslovena. Prvi srpski ustanak, – Napoleon i zapadne jugoslovenske zemlje. Crna Gora pod Petrom I. (...).Preporod Jugoslovena. Drugi srpski ustanak i postanak Kneževine Srbije (1830); Miloševa uprava. Ilirizam i preporod Hrvata; Srbi i Slovenci prema Ilirizmu. Zbližavanje Jugoslovena. Buna 1848 godine; Hrvati i Srbi protiv Mađara. Aleksandar Karađorđević. Knez Mihailo i zbližavanje Jugoslovena. Štrosmajer i Jugoslovenstvo; nagodba. Vojvodina i Svetozar Miletić. Nacionalizam kod Slovenaca. – Hercegovački ustanak 1875; rat Srbiji i Crne Gore s Turskom, rusko-turski rat i Berlinski kongres. (...). Jugosloveni pod pritiskom Austro-Ugarske. Srbija pod kraljevima: Milanom i Aleksandrom, Hrvatska pod Mažuranićem i Kuenom. Austrijska uprava u Bosni i Dalmaciji. Srbija pod Kraljem Petrom. Crna Gora pod Nikolom I. Srbi pod Turcima. Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija. Kulturni i privredni napredak Slovenaca (...). Aneksija Bosne. Oslobođenje i ujedinjenje Jugoslovena. Balkanski ratovi. Duhovno jedinstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Srbija i Crna Gora u svetskom ratu. Rad Jugoslovenskog odbora. Narodno veće. Ujedinjenje."]

have organised the treatment of modern history in the Yugoslav historical narrative as defined in school curricula on the basis of a temporal distinction between five clusters of Yugoslav national cooperation, which finally culminated in the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. For each of these clusters various sub-national contributions to Yugoslav national liberation and unification were given.

4.4.5.1 The first steps toward liberation and unification: The Serbian uprisings, Montenegro and the Illyrian Provinces

A first cluster of events leading to Yugoslav liberation and unification was dominated by the Serbian Uprisings of the early 19th century.⁴¹⁶ The Serbian Uprisings not only occupied a crucial place in all curricula under scrutiny, they were also well-represented in the state's commemoration policy. On 24 January 1939 for example, the Ministry of Education prescribed that lectures should be held on Aleksa Nenadović and Ilija Birčanin, two prominent Serbs who were killed in 1804 by Ottoman Janissaries, which indirectly led to the beginning of the Serbian Uprising. It was argued that the lecture should familiarise the students with the Serbian Uprisings as the beginning of the heroic battle for liberation and unification. Also, teachers should stimulate students to make donations for a monument to the memory of Nenadović and Birčanin.⁴¹⁷

Again, we should make a distinction between a number of interpretative levels on which the symbolic resource of the Serbian Uprisings were included in historical identity. At the one hand, the uprisings were clearly commemorated as the starting point of Serbian independence, and more specifically linked with the Serbian region of Šumadija. However, the uprisings were also included in an overarching Yugoslav narrative as the starting point of the South Slav battles for unification and liberation which would come to an end only in 1918. As Ferdo Šišić argued, Karađorđe “laid the fundamentals for modern Serbia and therefore also for the present Yugoslavia” (Šišić 1937: 44).⁴¹⁸

That way a strong bond was established between the Serbian state and the Yugoslav Kingdom. The 1933 curriculum for history in the fourth year of elementary schools prescribed that a special overview of “the formation of our state from 1804 to 1918”

⁴¹⁶ The First Serbian Uprising broke out in 1804 and was led by Đorđe Petrović, commonly referred to as Karađorđe, the founder of the Serbian dynasty of Karađorđević. Serbian insurgents took control over the region of Šumadija, but the uprising was crushed by the Ottomans in 1813. The Second Serbian Uprising broke out in 1815 and was led by Miloš Obrenović, the founder of the Serbian dynasty of Obrenović. This time the Ottomans granted Serbia autonomy, under strong Russian pressure (Sundhaussen 2007: 65-9).

⁴¹⁷ ‘Predavanja u školama o Aleksi Nenadoviću i Iliji Birčaninu i o početku džinovske borbe za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje’. IV Br. 462, 24.01.1939, *Prosvetni glasnik* 55: 157.

⁴¹⁸ [“položio temelje modernoj Srbiji, a po njoj i današnjoj Jugoslaviji.”]

should be given. The historical continuum between independent Serbia and Yugoslavia was perfectly symbolised on the occasion of the official granting of new Yugoslav flags to the regiments of the Yugoslav army in replacement of their old Serbian flags on 6 September 1930. In his speech, King Aleksandar argued that the old flags had fulfilled their duty and that they from then on belonged to national history. The King called on the army to protect the new Yugoslav flags heroically, like a sanctity.⁴¹⁹ Symbolising the new Yugoslav character of the army, the flags were blessed simultaneously by a Catholic, an Orthodox and a Muslim cleric. On 8 September 1931 the old Serbian army flags were brought for preservation to the recently finished Royal Memorial Church in Oplenac, which was officially opened and blessed on the occasion. The commemoration started with the blessing of the church by the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church Varnava, in the presence of the entire Royal Family, the Council of Ministers, representatives of all regiments of the Yugoslav army and 400 local peasants, who symbolised the peasant origin of the Karađorđević dynasty and the peasant character of the Yugoslav nation and state. Consecutively, the mortal remains of Karađorđe, which had until then been preserved in a mausoleum in Topola, were brought to the new church, where Patriarch Varnava held a speech in which he glorified Karađorđe as the leader who turned Šumadija into the Piedmont for the unification and liberation of “all our brothers in blood and language”.⁴²⁰ Further, he praised the new church as one of the greatest religious-artistic works since the times of the Nemanjić dynasty. The commemoration was ended with the hanging of the old Serbian flags above the graves of Karađorđe and King Petar I.⁴²¹ In fact, these acts symbolised the end of the narrowly Serbian character of dynasty and army, which had fulfilled their historical role with the First World War and the liberation and unification of Yugoslavia, and the army’s inclusion in the new Yugoslav context. At the same time, this commemoration established a strong link between the Serbian uprising of 1804 and the formation of the Yugoslav state in 1918 as the starting and end point of the liberation and unification of Yugoslavia.

The opening ceremony of a commemorative school and museum in Orašac, the place where the first Serbian uprising had started, on 15 February 1933, perfectly illustrates the multileveled character of historical narratives around the figure of Karađorđe, from the local and regional level, to the ‘tribal’ and finally the Yugoslav national level. The building of the school was financed with gifts by the Royal Family, the Ministry of Education and Danube banovina. It was built in the Serbo-Byzantine style by the architect Petar Gačić. The local character of the commemoration seems so banal that

⁴¹⁹ ‘Nj. V. Kralj predao je juče vojsci nove, jugoslovenske zastava.’ *Politika* 07.09.1930: 1-6.

⁴²⁰ [“Vaskoliko naše braće po krvi i jeziku”].

⁴²¹ ‘Kosti vožda Karađorđa prenesene su na Oplenac’. *Politika* 09.09.1930: 1-4.

one would be tempted not to pay attention to it at all. However, the importance of such a commemoration for the local population cannot be underestimated. Without a doubt, the commemoration must have been a peak in the year of the villagers of Orašac, not only because of the high officials visiting the village on the occasion, but also, and maybe even more so, because of the celebrations and festivities that accompanied the official commemoration.⁴²² The official opening was attended by King Aleksandar himself, a great number of ministers, senators and members of parliament and some battalions of the Yugoslav army. In his speech, which was addressed to the Šumadians, King Aleksandar clearly made use of the regional pride of Šumadija:

Šumadija has always stayed faithful to itself: Just like your ancestors fought under the command of Karađorđe in a manner worthy of admiration, you have fought, always first in line, under the supreme command of my Father, the late King Petar, and Myself. You, new Šumadija, have once more upheld the honour of Karađorđe's Šumadija.⁴²³

Also, Aleksandar evoked the image of Šumadija as a remote and combative regions, “an immense ocean of woods and groves” full of “avengers who individually and bravely cut off the heads of tyrants”.⁴²⁴ The religious service which was held at the beginning of the festivities integrated the commemoration within a Serbian Orthodox level of collective identity. In his service Metropolitan Tihon Radovanović blessed the school and held a sermon in which he stressed the national importance of the first Serbian uprising. Finally, the commemoration was also integrated within a wider Yugoslav narrative, in the first place through the presence of a great number of the highest state officials. Second, in his speech Aleksandar integrated the uprising of the Šumadians within the greater whole of the Serbian and finally Yugoslav battle for unification and liberation:

Our battle, which was planned and started here at this place on Visitation of the Virgin 1804, which was waged for Serbian liberation and unification and which was transformed in 1914 from a narrow Serbian into a Yugoslav battle, flowed into the common efforts of all Yugoslav patriots during the World War, as a result of the width of that movement and the enthusiasm of that start. Those efforts in the

⁴²² See the report of the commemoration in ‘Nj. V. Kralj o značaju Šumadije.’ *Politka* 16.02.1933: 1-2.

⁴²³ Quoted in ‘Nj. V. Kralj o značaju Šumadije.’ *Politka* 16.02.1933: 1. [“Šumadija je uvek ostala verna sebi: kao što se divljenja dostojno boriše vaši pradedovi pod komandom Karađorđevom, tako se i vi boriste, vazda prvi, pod vrhovnom komandom Moga pokojnog Roditelja Kralja Petra i Mojom. Vi, nova Šumadija, osvetlaste još jednom obraz Karađorđevoj Šumadiji.”]

⁴²⁴ [“nepregledni okean šuma i lugova”, “puna osvetnika što pojedince hajdučki smiču nasilničke glave.”] Quoted in ‘Nj. V. Kralj o značaju Šumadije.’ *Politka* 16.02.1933: 1.

end, praise the Lord, were crowned with success: the establishment and unification of our great and powerful Kingdom of Yugoslavia.⁴²⁵

A very similar commemoration took place in Zaječar on 14 May 1933, on the occasion of the centenary of the official liberation of the Timok area in 1833. Here too King Aleksandar himself attended the commemoration.⁴²⁶ Tellingly, the Second Serbian Uprising, although not neglected in the canonical representation of Yugoslav history, obviously occupied a much less prominent position in the Yugoslav historical narrative. Whereas Karađorđe's uprising was presented as a revolution of the Serbian people against the Turks, Miloš Obrenović's uprising was presented as a gradual evolution, which made use of diplomatic lobbying rather than outright rebellion. Also, it was stressed that Miloš was never really popular among the Serbs, not during the Second Uprising and certainly not during his authoritarian rule afterwards (Ćorović 1933: esp. 451-2, 475-7).

The Serbian uprisings were also integrated within Yugoslav national narrative by pointing to the direct relevance of the uprisings beyond the boundaries of independent Serbia. Historians like Ferdo Šišić and Vladimir Ćorović referred to the influence the Serbian uprisings had had among other South Slavs and paid great attention to attempts made by the leaders of the Serbian revolt to gain the support of Napoleon and the references they made to the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces in the Habsburg South Slav lands (Ćorović 1933: 441-2; Šišić 1937: 45-53). More importantly, the Serbian uprisings were integrated in a cluster of historical events which marked the starting point of the Yugoslav battles of unification and liberation. Apart from the Serbian uprisings this cluster consisted of the growing independence of Montenegro under Petar I and the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces. Although Montenegrin state independence was included in all curricula under scrutiny, it never occupied a central position in Yugoslav historical identity. Typically, the canonical representation of Yugoslav history included some additional, scant references to the growing autonomy of the Montenegrin state but left no doubt about the continuum between the medieval Serbian state tradition, 19th century Serbia and Yugoslavia, and the peripheral position of Montenegro in this state tradition.

The Illyrian Provinces occupied a central place in the Yugoslav historical narrative, parallel to the Serbian Uprisings. They were established in 1809 and united the South

⁴²⁵ Quoted in 'Nj. V. Kralj o značaju Šumadije.' *Politika* 16.02.1933: 1. ["Naša borba, urečena i započeta ovde na ovom mestu na Sretenje 1804, koja se vodila za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje srpsko, pretvoreno 1914 od uže srpske borbe u jugoslovensku, širinom toga zamaha i silinom toga poleta, slila se tokom svetskog rata u zajedničke napore svih jugoslovenskih rodoljuba, čiji su napori, Bogu neka je hvala, na kraju krunisani uspehom: stvaranjem i ujedinjenjem velike i snažne nam Kraljevine Jugoslavije."]

⁴²⁶ 'Nj. V. Kralj na proslavi stogodišnjice oslobođenja Timočke Krajine.' *Politika* 15.05.1933: 1-2.

Slav parts of the Habsburg Empire with Venetian Dalmatia and Dubrovnik, territories which had all been annexed by Napoleon's France in the preceding years, in one administrative and military department directly under French rule (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 441-4). The Illyrian Provinces were glorified as a crucial step in the national emancipation of South Slavs under Habsburg rule. A first argument was that the Illyrian Provinces were the first form of administrative unity of South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire. As Ćorović argued, the South Slavs under Austria were aware of the fact that they were one ethnic unity, even though they were divided by administrative boundaries. "It was completely natural that the areas of one nation would be united in one administrative region. What Austria could not do, always disturbed by some treacherous suspicion toward its subjects, was done by France" (Ćorović 1933: 437).⁴²⁷ Additionally, the Yugoslav historical narrative highlighted the modern reforms introduced by the French, such as the expansion of the road system or the use of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian in administration, which incited the national rebirth, especially among the Slovenes (ibid: 438-40).

On 13 October 1929 Jože Plečnik's Monument to Napoleon was unveiled in Ljubljana in commemoration of the 120th anniversary of the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces. A closer look at the commemoration illustrates how this symbolic resource was used for conveying a sense of both Slovenian and Yugoslav collective identity. At the one hand, speeches and newspaper articles pointed to the importance of the Illyrian Provinces for the Slovenes, because they initiated the national rebirth of the Slovenes under the leadership of Valentin Vodnik, of whom a poem in the honour of the Illyrian Provinces was inscribed on the monument, and because the Illyrian Provinces formed the first political unity of all Slovenian historical regions. At the other hand the Illyrian Provinces were also glorified as the first unification of "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in one state organisation under the important name Illyria, clarifying that all three are one nation, with one name and one fate".⁴²⁸ Thus, it was stressed, the Illyrian Provinces were a true predecessor of the Yugoslav state.⁴²⁹ The Yugoslav character of the commemoration was further highlighted by the presence of Minister of Defence Stevan

⁴²⁷ ["Bilo je, dakle, sasvim prirodno da se te oblasti jednoga naroda (...) ujedine u jedno administrativno područje. Što nije mogla da učini Austrija, uvek mučena nekim podmuklim podozrenjima prema svojim podanicima, to je učinila Francuska"]

⁴²⁸ Quoted from the speech held by the chief of the Ljubljana district, Dinko Puc. 'Pozdravni nagovor župana dr. Puca', *Ponedeljek* 14.10.1929: 1. ["Srbi, Hrvati in Slovenci v eni državni organizaciji, ki je dobila pomembno ime Ilirija, označajoče že takrat da so vsi trije en narod, ki ima skupno ime in usodo."]

⁴²⁹ See the speech of Puc, 'Pozdravni nagovor župana dr. Puca', *Ponedeljek* 14.10.1929: 1, as well as the speech of Minister of Defence Stevan Hadžić, 'Beseda zastopnika vlade ministra Hadžića', *Ponedeljek* 14.10.1929: 2.

Hadžić and representatives of the Yugoslav army, Yugoslav Sokols and the Yugoslav Association of Secondary School Teachers.⁴³⁰

4.4.5.2 The national rebirth of the Yugoslavs: Vuk and Gaj

Of course, the Yugoslav national renaissance was not only a matter of politics, it was also a matter of cultural cooperation and rapprochement and it was in this field that South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire could claim the leading role:

While at the turn of the 19th century Serbs in the Serbian Piedmont were rising to liberate their fatherland from century long oppression, Croats and Serbs in the Habsburg lands were striving to awake and revive the sleeping spirit of their nation through education and culture (Novak 1928a: 37).⁴³¹

Curricula paid great attention to what was called the national rebirth of the Yugoslavs in the early 19th century. Crucial figures in this cluster were Vuk Karadžić and Ljudevit Gaj, who were co-opted as parallel founding fathers of Serb-Croat cultural and literary unity. Some rather flawed attempts were made to make this parallelism complete by including Slovenian representatives of the Yugoslav national rebirth in the curricula. The 1932 curriculum for higher popular schools included a topic on the national rebirth of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, and added the names of Karadžić, Gaj and Valentin Vodnik. However, it was beyond question that the Yugoslav national rebirth was centred around the Serb-Croat renaissance. The concrete interpretation and commemoration of both Vuk and Gaj again illustrates how closely the ‘tribal’ Serbian or Croatian and Yugoslav level were intertwined in this Yugoslav historical narrative. For both symbolic resources their appropriation within Yugoslav national identity did not result in a radical re-interpretation, but rather made use of the established canonical position of both symbolic resources within Serbian and Croatian levels of collective identity.

The commemoration of Vuk Karadžić in the first place built on the typically Serbian interpretation of Vuk’s work, stressing his importance for the Serbian language and literature, as well as the fact that Vuk stemmed from simple Serbian peasants. In September 1933 Vuk’s house of birth in the small village of Tršić was reconstructed and opened for the public as a museum in the presence of Minister of Education Radenko Stanković, representatives of the King and representatives of high scientific institutions

⁴³⁰ ‘Francosko jugoslovensko slavlje v Ljubljani’. *Ponedeljek* 14.10.1929: 1-2.

⁴³¹ [“Dok se u osvit 19 veka Srbi u srpskom Pijemontu dižu da mačem oslobode otadžbinu ispod vekovnog ropstva, dotle Hrvati i Srbi u habsburškim zemljama nastoje da probude i preporode zamrli duh svoga naroda prosvetom i kulturom.”]

such as the universities of Belgrade and Zagreb and *Matica srpska*.⁴³² Of course, such a commemoration act stressed the simple peasant origins of Karadžić. As argued by Vojin Puljević in an article published in *Narodna odbrana* on the occasion of the commemoration, Karadžić was a national genius in the person of an “illiterate boy from a mountain village” who had done more for his people in fifty years than an academy filled with academics had done in an entire century (Puljević 1933: 599).⁴³³ Further, Puljević called Karadžić the “father of our nationalism”, because he had laid the fundament for “our literature” and because he had collected folk songs which had strengthened the national spirit of both the educated elite and the common people, as had become obvious during the World War, when Serbian soldiers were imbued with the national spirit through Vuk’s folk songs. When Puljević concluded that Vuk was a “complete Serb, Yugoslav and Slav”(ibid.),⁴³⁴ it is clear that the Yugoslav character of Karadžić was not based on his direct relevance for all Yugoslav ‘tribes’. Rather, for Puljević and *Narodna odbrana* Karadžić was a complete Yugoslav on the basis of his contributions to the Serbian ‘tribe’.

In November 1937 the 150th anniversary of Vuk’s birth was celebrated. Earlier, the Ministry of Education had prescribed that special lectures should be held in all Yugoslav schools on life and work of Karadžić. On that occasion, students could voluntarily donate between one and ten dinars for a special Funds which had been established to reward literary and scientific works on Vuk Karadžić.⁴³⁵ On 8 November 1937 the so-called Vuk’s House of Culture was inaugurated in Loznica in Vuk’s home region.⁴³⁶ On 6 and 7 November large-scale festivities were organised in Belgrade. On 6 November a commemorative evening was held in the National Theatre, with a lecture by Vladimir Ćorović, the reading of a number of folk songs collected by Karadžić and performances of a number of short pieces based on Karadžić’s life and work.⁴³⁷ The absolute peak of the celebrations was the unveiling of a statue by Đorđe Jovanović. In a speech held on the occasion the literary historian Pavle Popović distinguished between three great merits

⁴³² ‘Svečana obnova Vukova doma u Tršiću’. *Politika* 18.09.1933: 2. *Matica srpska* is best translated as ‘Serbian Centre’. It is a prominent cultural-scientific centre which was established in 1826 in Budapest and moved to Novi Sad in 1864.

⁴³³ [“u dečku seoskom, nepismenom, planinskom.”]

⁴³⁴ [“sav Srbin, Jugosloven i Sloven.”]

⁴³⁵ ‘Proslava stopedesetgodišnjice od rođenja Vuka St. Karadžića: prigodna predavanja u svima školama i skupljanja dobrovoljnih priloga za Vukovu zadužbinu’. P.Br. 38619, 07.10.1937, *Prosvetni glasnik* 53: 1047-8.

⁴³⁶ See the report in *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 1937-38: 278-80. On 8 February 1932 the Ministry of Education had prescribed that on 20 February 1932 all schools should organise lectures on Vuk Karadžić. On this occasion, students could make voluntary donations for a monument fountain in Tršić and a cultural house devoted to Vuk in Loznica. ‘Podizanje spomenika Vuku Karadžiću – predavanja i skupljanja priloga na dan 20 februara ove godine’. P. Br. 2079, 08.02.1932, *Prosvetni glasnik* 48: 129.

⁴³⁷ ‘U slavu Vuka Karadžića. Svečano veče u pozorištu’. *Politika* 07.11.1937: 6.

of Vuk. He had created the Serbian literary language and orthography, he had collected Serbian folk songs and he had given Serbian literature a national character.⁴³⁸ The Serbian character of the commemoration was only enforced by the prominent presence of Orthodox clericals, who blessed the monument.

Adding to this strictly Serbian component, some elements in the historical narrative on Vuk Karadžić in interwar Yugoslavia also embedded Karadžić within a Yugoslav framework. In a 1932 article in *Narodna odbrana*, for example, Milorad Pavlović argued that the brilliance of Vuk lay in his farsightedness. According to Pavlović, Vuk was one of the few in his times to see that Serbian and Croatian were only dialects of one national language. “Vuk Karadžić was one of those who were ahead of their time, who opened the way to freedom and unity for the Serbo-Croatian language” (Pavlović Milorad 1932: 252).⁴³⁹ In his speech on the occasion of the unveiling of Vuk’s monument in 1937 Pavle Popović pointed to the Yugoslav character of Vuk’s work, by stressing that the Croats had “accepted Vuk’s language” and that the Slovenes, in the person of Jernej Kopitar, had cooperated with Vuk.⁴⁴⁰

The Illyrian movement was a cultural and political movement centred around intellectuals in Zagreb in the 1830s and 40s. The national idea behind this movement combined the level of Croatian national integration (cultural, linguistic and political unification and emancipation of the Croatian historical regions) and the level of Yugoslav (primarily Serb-Croat) cultural and political unification. The leading figure behind the movement was Ljudevit Gaj (Banac 1984: 75-80; Schödl 1990: 20-3). For the Illyrian movement the typical Yugoslav historical interpretation stressed the relevance of the movement for both the Croatian ‘tribe’ and the Yugoslav nation as a whole. As Vladimir Ćorović pointed out, the Illyrian movement formed the starting point of “the correct process of Croatian spiritual unification” (Ćorović 1933: 474).⁴⁴¹ Beyond the strictly Croatian framework, Gaj was praised for annulling potential boundaries between Croats and Serbs by selecting the štokavian dialect as the fundament for the literary language and by adopting one Latin orthography for Serbo-Croatian (Novak 1930: xx). As Ferdo Šišić summarised: “through these brave and decisive acts Ljudevit Gaj removed the last barrier which separated Croat from Croat, and Croat from Serb” (Šišić 1937:

⁴³⁸ ‘Na svečan način juče je u Beogradu otkriven spomenik koji je Vuku podigao srpski narod’, *Politika* 08.11.1937: 5.

⁴³⁹ [“Vuk Karadžić je bio (...) jedan od onih koji je išao ispred svoje epohe, koji je otvarao put slobodi i jedinstvu sprsko-hrvatskog jezika.”]

⁴⁴⁰ ‘Na svečan način juče je u Beogradu otkriven spomenik koji je Vuku podigao srpski narod’, *Politika* 08.11.1937: 5.

⁴⁴¹ [“pravi proces hrvatskoga duhovnoga ujedinjavanja”].

78).⁴⁴² Although Yugoslav historians had no other choice than to recognise that the response to the Illyrian movement among Serbs and Slovenes was minimal, historians like Ćorović and Novak did not fail to mention some Slovenian and Serbian supporters of Illyrism, such as Stanko Vraz or Sava Popović Tekelija (Ćorović 1933: 471, 473-4; Novak 1930: 53-4, 87).

In 1935 the centenary of the Illyrian rebirth was celebrated.⁴⁴³ Although this formed an excellent opportunity to mediate between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of national identity, the authorities failed to integrate the commemoration of this Croatian symbolic resource within an overarching Yugoslav national narrative. On 1 July 1935 the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU, *Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*) sent a request for financial support to the Ministry of Education for the publication of two academic works commemorating the Illyrian movement.⁴⁴⁴ However, the Ministry did not comply with this request. The commemoration of the centenary of the Illyrian movement passed by largely unnoticed in Belgrade newspapers and journals. One exception is an article in *Narodna odbrana* by Antun Milinković, who presented a typical Serb-centred Yugoslav interpretation of the Illyrian movement as the national revival of the Croats in the Yugoslav spirit, as the acceptance of Vuk's language reforms and as a period of strong cultural cooperation between Croats, Serbs and Slovenes (Milinković 1935). The central authorities also failed to appropriate local commemorations throughout the Croatian part of Yugoslavia. In November and December of 1935 in many Croatian cities and villages the centenary of the first publication of the Croatian hymn "Lijepa naša domovina" in Gaj's *Danica* was celebrated. Significantly, these commemorations were organised by non-governmental cultural associations and were characterised by the striking absence of any reference to the Yugoslav state, let alone nation. On 24 November 1935 a commemorative obelisk which had been financed by 'Braća hrvatskog zmaja' ('Brothers of the Croatian dragon'), an association which preserved and popularised the Croatian historical heritage, was officially unveiled and blessed at Zelenjak, near the place where Antun Mihanović, the writer of the hymn, was born. The only political representatives present at the commemoration were members of the Croatian Peasant Party.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² ["ovim kuražnim i presudnim delima Ljudevit Gaj uklonio je i poslednju zgradu što je odvajala najpre Hrvata od Hrvata, a onda Hrvata od Srba".]

⁴⁴³ 1835 was the year when the first publication of Gaj's newspaper *Novine Horvatske* and its literary addition *Danica horvatzka, slavonska y dalmatinzka* appeared.

⁴⁴⁴ The first was a history of literature in the kajkavian dialect by Franjo Fancev, the second a Croatian history from 1792 until 1918 by Ferdo Šišić. Letter from President of JAZU Albert Bazala to the Ministry of Education, 1 July 1935. AJ 66-318-535.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Proslava stogodišnjice hrvatske himne'. *Politika* 25.11.1935: 6.

In many other cities in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina festivities were held to commemorate the centenary of the *Croatian rebirth* and the Croatian hymn in the fall and winter of 1935-1936. Most of these commemorations consisted of a commemorative service in the local church and a cultural happening organised by the Croatian cultural-educational association *Napredak*, which typically consisted of performances of patriotic songs by choral societies and lectures on the historical importance of the Croatian rebirth and was ended with a dance.⁴⁴⁶ On 8 December 1935, for example, a commemoration was held in Sarajevo. First, a commemorative service was held in the Catholic Church by the Archbishop of Vrhbosna Ivan Šarić, who was praised as “the most Croatian bishop”.⁴⁴⁷ During the service Šarić prayed for the Croatian fatherland, Stjepan Radić and Vladko Maček. After the service a “spontaneous” parade was formed, which marched to the rooms of *Napredak*, carrying Croatian flags and singing the Croatian hymn. There, a speech was held by Jure Šutej, one of the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party in Bosnia. During the consecutive festivities several choral societies brought a large number of Croatian patriotic songs and young boys and girls dressed in folk costumes from all parts of Croatia gathered around the Croatian flag and coat of arms.⁴⁴⁸ On 15 December 1935 a similar commemoration was held in Split, again with a parade and the singing of a large number of Croatian patriotic songs. Here too the commemoration was strongly linked to the Croatian Peasant Party: speeches were held by high representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party, a letter written by Ante Trumbić for the occasion was read out loud and a greeting telegram was sent to Vladko Maček.⁴⁴⁹ Also more small-scale commemorations were characterised by the abundance of Croatian national symbols and the prominent position of the Catholic Church and the Croatian Peasant Party. In Knin in northern Dalmatia, for example, the commemoration on 22 December 1935 started with a commemorative service in the local church and then continued in the rooms of *Napredak*, which were decorated with Croatian flags, and many pictures of Stjepan Radić and Vladko Maček. The program consisted of lectures – in which the speakers frequently referred to Maček and the Croatian Peasant Party – and performances of patriotic songs by choral societies. The day ended with a dance, which lasted until the early morning.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁶ See reports in *Napredak* 11 (1936)/1, 11 (1936)/2. Note the difference in terminology: Whereas Yugoslav-orientated historians typically spoke of the Illyrian rebirth, Croat-orientated publications spoke of the Croatian rebirth.

⁴⁴⁷ [“najhrvatski biskup”]. ‘Veličanstvena proslava 100-godišnjice Hrvatskog preporoda i Hrvatske himne u Sarajevu’. *Napredak* 10 (1935)/12: 145.

⁴⁴⁸ ‘Veličanstvena proslava 100-godišnjice Hrvatskog preporoda i Hrvatske himne u Sarajevu’. *Napredak* 10 (1935)/12: 145-6.

⁴⁴⁹ ‘Proslava 100-godišnjice Hrvatske himne u Splitu’, *Napredak* 11 (1936)/2.

⁴⁵⁰ *Napredak* 11 (1936)/2: 22.

The failure to include the commemoration of the Illyrian movement within a broader Yugoslav context indicates the limitations of the Yugoslav historical narrative of the interwar period. As I have argued on the occasion of the 1925 celebrations of the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom, the strength of this approach was that it allowed for multileveled and compatible interpretations of historical events and traditions. However, a factor of competition and division was inherent in this open approach when multileveled interpretations of historical events were perceived or represented as *incompatible*. As was the case with commemorations of Matija Gubec, within the political circumstances of the second half of the 1930s Croatian social, cultural and political actors made use of a narrowly Croatian framework for the commemoration of the Illyrian movement, in which the Yugoslav level was completely absent. Rather, these commemorations visualised the exclusive boundary between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of nationhood. The division between the Croatian and Yugoslav national narrative was further illustrated by the often public boycott of state holidays in Croatian villages during the second half of the 1930s. In many cases, these state holidays were only celebrated by military and civil authorities, whereas villagers ostensibly refrained from participating. In many cases village authorities were also sanctioned for not hanging out state flags on state holidays (Leček 2006: 129-32).

4.4.5.3 Yugoslav unity in the revolutionary year 1848

A third important cluster of historical events on the road to Yugoslav liberation and unification was situated in the year 1848. The central events in this cluster in the curriculum were the government and the military campaign of *Ban* Josip Jelačić against the Hungarians in 1848-49 and the May Assembly of Habsburg Serbs in Sremski Karlovci, where Serbian representatives sided with Vienna against the Hungarian revolution, proclaimed the autonomy of Vojvodina from Hungary and elevated the status of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Sremski Karlovci to Patriarchate (Rihtman-Auguštin 2004: 181-3). This episode was highlighted in curricula and Yugoslav national historiography as the first time that Croats and Serbs in the Habsburg Empire cooperated against their common enemy, the Hungarians (and indirectly also the Habsburgs), referring to the participation of Serbian and Croatian troops in Jelačić's campaign and the alliance between Habsburg Serb leaders and the Croatian Diet (Ćorović 1933: 483-99). In the words of Vladimir Ćorović, the events of 1848 marked the transformation of the Illyrian ideological movement into a mass political action and indicated that "when the idea of nationality was being questioned, under foreign threat, Serbs and Croats were so wise and comprehensive that they could and wanted to combine their national strengths and

thus document their consciousness of national solidarity (ibid: 490).⁴⁵¹ A strong image in this respect was the agreement and apparent personal friendship between Jelačić and the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch of Sremski Karlovci Josip Rajačić. In his anthology Viktor Novak included a number of extracts from the correspondence between Jelačić and Rajačić (Novak 1930: 134-5, 158-9). Ćorović spoke of “emotional manifestations of national unity” on the occasion of Rajačić’s visit to Zagreb in May 1848 (Ćorović 1933: 492).⁴⁵²

Curricula linked this event to other events across the boundaries of the Habsburg Empire, which marked a first peak in South Slav political cooperation beyond political boundaries. In independent Serbia, it was stressed, Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević established contacts with Serbs outside Serbia, as well as with other South Slavs, and supported the Croat-Serb movement against the Hungarians (Šišić 1937: 98-111). This was also the period of the ‘Draft’ (*Načertanije*), a secret document of 1844 in which Serbia’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Ilija Garašanin outlined the geopolitical role of Serbia within the context of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. In brief, Garašanin argued that Serbia should become the centre of the liberation of the Christian Balkans and relied on the Serbian historical right to restore the medieval Serbian Empire of Dušan, although, as Holm Sundhaussen has pointed out, the territorial scope of this program and the national concept behind it remained very vague and fluid (Sundhaussen 2007: 115-20). In the Yugoslav national historiography of interwar Yugoslavia the ‘Draft’ was interpreted as a visionary document which strove for Yugoslav political unity and its author one of the spiritual fathers of the Yugoslav Kingdom (P. 1931; Šišić 1937: 88-9). An extract from Garašanin’s ‘Draft’ was included in Viktor Novak’s anthology of the Yugoslav idea (Novak 1930: 101-3). As Ferdo Šišić argued, the draft clarified that for the first time since its independence Serbia became a historical subject instead of a Turkish vassal: “Serbia gradually became the carrier of the Serbian national idea and soon also of the entire Yugoslav national Unification and Liberation” (Šišić 1937: 115).⁴⁵³

Finally, curricula referred to the rule of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro from 1830 until 1851. He is especially remembered as one of the greatest poets of the period (cf. 4.6.2.4). As a political ruler, however, Njegoš frequently corresponded with other Christian South Slav leaders, espousing South Slav solidarity against their common occupators. The correspondence between Njegoš and other South

⁴⁵¹ [“da su, kad je u pitanju ideja narodnosti, ugrožena od tuđina, Srbi i Hrvati već toliko mudri i uvidavni da mogu i hoće spojiti svoje narodne snage i tim dokumentovati svest o svojoj nacionalnoj solidarnosti.”]

⁴⁵² [“došlo je (...) do dirljivih manifestacija za narodno jedinstvo.”]

⁴⁵³ [“Srbija postaje pomalo nosilac, najpre srpske narodne misli, a doskora i celokupnog jugoslovenskog narodnog Ujedinjenja i Oslobođenja”].

Slav political leaders occupied a prominent place in Yugoslav historical identity as it cut across regional, political and religious boundaries. Especially oft-quoted were the letters between Jelačić and Njegoš (Novak 1930: xxiii-xxiv; Šišić 1937: 111-5).

Very remarkable and indicative of the peripheral position of Slovenian history in Yugoslav historical identity is the absence of any direct reference to Slovenian political history around 1848, both in curricula and academic overviews of 19th century Slovenian history, although 1848 was the year of the United Slovenia program, which demanded the administrative unification of the Slovenian historical regions, and although there was some support for Jelačić's campaign among Slovenian intellectuals (Rogel 1977: 15-8). In the 1933 history curriculum for elementary schools a reference was made to Janez Bleiweis, who was one of the politicians behind the United Slovenia program, but he was placed next to Josip Juraj Strossmayer and Prince Mihailo and integrated within the fourth cluster of Yugoslav cooperation and rapprochement (cf. 4.4.4.4).-

4.4.5.4 The rise of Yugoslavism in the 1860s and 70s

The fourth cluster of historical events in the Yugoslav national rebirth included symbolic resources from the peak in the Yugoslav movement in the 1860s and 70s. For all South Slav areas the curricula mentioned the most important historical figures or events from this period, which were all in one way or another interpreted as manifestations of South Slav political and cultural cooperation. In Serbia Prince Mihailo Obrenović reactivated the 'Draft' of 1844 and established vague plans and contacts for a Balkan alliance against the Ottomans and the creation of a South Slav state under Serbian leadership (Sundhaussen 2007: 119-20, 129-30). Yugoslav national historiography argued that Mihailo's goal in life was "the liberation of the Serbs and the South Slavs under the leadership of Serbia" (Ćorović 1933: 507).⁴⁵⁴ Therefore, he established strong bonds with Serbs outside Serbia, but also with Montenegro, with Bulgarian revolutionaries and with Croats (ibid: 506-9, 520-1; Šišić 1937: 131-42).

For Croatia-Slavonia a prominent place in curricula was taken by Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and his right hand, the historian, politician and priest Franjo Rački. Josip Juraj Strossmayer was Bishop of Đakovo and propagated the religious rapprochement of South Slav Catholics and Orthodox (cf. 4.6.2.3). Strossmayer also stimulated cultural and political cooperation of the South Slavs as the benefactor behind the establishment of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences (JAZU, *Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*) in 1866 and the University of Zagreb in 1874. Strossmayer and Rački led the Popular Party (*Narodna stranka*). In brief, Strossmayer and Rački stressed the cultural

⁴⁵⁴ ["Narodno oslobođenje Srba i Južnih Slovena pod vođstvom Srbije"].

and linguistic unity of Serbs and Croats and their proximity with the Slovenes as the basis for political unity of South Slavs within the Habsburg Empire and solidarity and cooperation between South Slavs *tout court* (Banac 1984: 89-91; Schödl 1990: 51-4). These two figures occupied a central position in history curricula for elementary and secondary schools and a prominent place in the commemoration practice of the Yugoslav state. The birth of Strossmayer was commemorated every year in schools and served as a crucial symbol for negotiating between Croatian Catholicism and Yugoslavism (cf. 4.6.2.3). Some efforts were also made to establish a cult of Franjo Rački, especially by the historian Viktor Novak, who called Rački “the greatest Yugoslav of the 19th century” and an “evangelist of Yugoslavism” (Novak 1924; Novak 1928a). Novak also included a long extract of an essay by Rački on Yugoslavism in his anthology (Novak 1930: 215-29). In 1928 the centenary of Rački’s birth was celebrated with a number of publications and articles. JAZU started with the publication of the correspondence between Rački and Strossmayer, edited by Ferdo Šišić. Also, it organised a formal session to the memory of Franjo Rački, who had been the first President of JAZU. On this session, Slobodan Jovanović, the President of the Serbian Royal Academy (SKA, *Srpska kraljevska akademija*) praised Rački for bringing together Serbs and Croats in his work as a clerical, politician and academic (Jovanović S. 1929). In *Narodna odbrana* Ljubomir Perković called Rački, with Strossmayer, the “most worthy Croat” and the person who had succeeded in merging “the idea of Yugoslavism with specific Croatdom” (Perković 1928: 738).⁴⁵⁵ Additionally, curricula selected the uprisings in Herzegovina and Bosnia of 1875-6 and the military interventions of Serbia and Montenegro, which finally led to the official independence of Serbia and Montenegro (Sundhaussen 2007: 136-42). For Vojvodina curricula for secondary schools selected the figure of Svetozar Miletić, under whose leadership Serbs became politically organised and for whom it was stressed that he favoured South Slav political cooperation, in the short term within Austria-Hungary, in the long term in an independent South Slav state (Ćorović 1933: 508; Šišić 1937: 131-2). In the late 1930s a statue of Svetozar Miletić, sculpted by Ivan Meštrović, was placed at Novi Sad’s central square.

Again, some flawed attempts were made to include Slovenian historical events in this cluster. The 1933 curriculum for elementary schools included a topic called “the development of Yugoslav thought” with the names of Prince Mihailo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer and the Slovene Janez Bleiweis, the publicist and politician who was remembered for introducing a slightly adapted version of Gaj’s Croatian orthography for the Slovenian literary language and for supporting the United Slovenia program of 1848 (Ćorović 1933: 473). In Novak’s anthology Bleiweis was remembered for

⁴⁵⁵ [“najdostojniji Hrvat”, “ideju Jugoslovenstva sa specifičnim Hrvatstvom”]

propagating the second Slovenian publication of Karadžić's collection of Serbian folk songs (Novak 1930: 97). The secondary school curriculum of 1930 vaguely referred to "nationalism among the Slovenes". In his *History of Yugoslavia* Vladimir Ćorović referred to the political and national emancipation of the Slovenes in the *tabor* movement, mass political rallies held outdoors under the leadership of the Young Slovene movement, and Slovenian calls for South Slav cooperation (Ćorović 1933: 518-20; Rogel 1977: 22-3). In his anthology, Novak included a number of texts in which Fran Levstik, a prominent writer and political leader of the Young Slovenes, propagated South Slav political cooperation, as well as the vague program for Yugoslav solidarity and political, economic and cultural cooperation, which was accepted at the 1870 conference of Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian political representatives in Ljubljana (Novak 1930: 327-8, 356-7, cf. Rogel 1977: 23-5). However, Ćorović recognised that the Yugoslav idea in Slovenia was still nascent at that time and that a majority of Slovenian intellectuals still opted for "tribal separatism" (Ćorović 1933: 520). Thus, some vague references to 19th century Slovenian history were added in the curricula, but no strict requirements were made with regard to its direct integration within an overarching Yugoslav national narrative.

Within the Slovenian context, Slovenian historical resources from the period of Slovenian political emancipation were primarily commemorated within a Slovenian national framework. On 26 July 1931 the centenary of Fran Levstik's birth was commemorated in his home village Velike Lašče in the presence of a great number of prominent Slovenian intellectuals, among whom Vladimir Levstik, Oton Župančič, Fran Albreht, Josip Vidmar, Božidar Borko and Ivan Lah, as well as Yugoslav officials like the governor of Drava banovina Drago Marušič and the Colonel of the Triglav regiment, who acted as the official representative of King Aleksandar. Also present was former minister Ivan Pucelj, a prominent Slovenian JNS politician. In his speech Vladimir Levstik stressed the great contributions Levstik had made to the development of Slovenian language, culture in general and politics, thus clearly fixing Levstik's position within Slovenian collective identity. It was only at a secondary level that the commemoration was "Yugoslavised". In his speech, Vladimir Levstik also argued that Fran Levstik had taught the Slovenes that Slovenian culture could only be developed within Yugoslav unity, a vision which had been realised with the establishment of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Also important in this respect was the presence and approval of a number of high Yugoslav officials.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁶ 'Mogočno počaščenje Levstikovega spomina.' *Jutro* 27.07.1931: 2.

4.4.5.5 The wars of liberation and unification

A fifth and final cluster was grouped around the wars of liberation and unification of 1912-1918. The curricula for elementary education remained very vague about how precisely lessons on the First World War should look like, typically mentioning only “World War” and adding King Petar and King Aleksandar. However, there was no doubt about the crucial importance of this historical event in history education. Not only was the World War included in all curricula, the war was also the subject of frequent school commemorations. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the battle of Kajmakčalan, a mountain top on the present border between Macedonia and Greece where the Serbian army achieved a hard-won victory against the Bulgarian army, on 15 September 1926 schools were required to commemorate the battle as a first step toward the triumphant return to the homeland and the unification of the three-named nation. It was prescribed that in all elementary and secondary schools lessons should be held on the importance of the battle, in villages where a requiem would be held for the fallen soldiers the school going children should attend it.⁴⁵⁷ Similar commemorations were held on the tenth anniversary of the breakthrough at the Thessaloniki front on 15 September 1928.⁴⁵⁸ In an amendment to the rulebook on the celebration of school holidays of 20 December 1928, Minister Grol prescribed that in all Yugoslav schools special lectures should be held on 29 October, the day the Austro-Hungarian regions were liberated by the Serbian army.⁴⁵⁹

The legacy of the First World War was concretised in different manners in different regions of and on different levels in the Yugoslav Kingdom. In the Serbian part of the Kingdom the First World War was primarily interpreted within a framework of Serbian collective identity. The Serbian historian Olga Manojlović-Pintar has clarified how important the First World War was as a founding myth in interwar Serbian public life, occupying a central position in journals and publications, monuments and commemorations (Manojlović-Pintar 1996; 2002). For the concrete interpretation and appropriation of the war a biblical symbolic was used:

The year 1915 – the year of the German invasion of Serbia, was symbolically represented as the battle of David against Goliath; the entry of Bulgaria in the war on the side of the Central Powers – symbolised betrayal, like Judas’s betrayal of Christ or even the betrayal of Cain from the Old Testament; the crossing of Albania – the

⁴⁵⁷ ‘Predavanja o Kajmakčalanskoj bitci i njenu značaju na dan 15. septembra ove godine’. P.br. 2.532, 25 August 1926. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 257.

⁴⁵⁸ ‘Proslava proboja Solunskog Fronta’. S.n. br. 27.875, 6 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 820-1.

⁴⁵⁹ ‘Izmena pomenutih odredaba u Pravilniku o praznovanju praznika’. O.n. br. 101.457, 20 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 1076-7.

Serbian Golgotha, while *the Thessaloniki Front* was represented as a symbol for the resurrection of the army and the people (Manojlović-Pintar 1996: 29-30).⁴⁶⁰

At the same time, the World War was also incorporated within a Yugoslav narrative, as the historical event directly leading to the formation of the Yugoslav Kingdom. One of the most important state and school holidays was 1 December, the day the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had been formed in 1918. Typically, 1 December would start with masses in all churches, followed by formal sessions and parades throughout the town or city (cf. 7.2.4). This commemoration allowed for the shifting of the crucial moment in the state-wide commemoration of the First World War from the (Serbian) sacrifices made during the war to its final, Yugoslav, results. The commemoration practice of the First World War in interwar Yugoslavia is in fact characterised by an instable balance between this Serbian and Yugoslav line of interpretation.

For pre-war Serbia the incorporation of the World War within a Yugoslav narrative required little or no additional incentives. On 7 and 8 October 1928 the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front was commemorated throughout the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. A closer look at the commemoration in Skopje illustrates how easily Serbian war sacrifices could be interpreted as a crucial contribution to the establishment of the Yugoslav Kingdom, thus negotiating between Serbian and Yugoslav collective identity. As in other places the commemoration started with a mass in the local church held by Metropolitan (and later Patriarch) Varnava. In his speech Varnava clarified how important the Serbian sacrifices had been for the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and added that the present problems and discussions in the state should be put aside in order to bring about the will of those who had given their lives for the creation of the state. After the mass the Association of Reserve Officers and Soldiers organised a commemoration in the Sokol hall. On this occasion the president of the association stressed that the Serbian nation had laid the foundation for the state with their blood and bones and added that, if necessary, they would do this again to protect the state.⁴⁶¹ Obviously, in such interpretation the boundary between Serbian and Yugoslav historical narrative was almost non-existent.

Closely related to the World War in the Serbian historical narrative were the Balkan Wars, which were often grouped under the joint banner of Wars for Liberation and Unification. The Balkan Wars were included in all curricula for secondary, civil and

⁴⁶⁰ [“Ratni događaji su dakle, uklopljeni u mitske modele i izdvojeni sa gotovo biblijskom simbolikom: *Godina 1915* – godina Nemačke invazije na Srbiju, simbolično je predstavljena kao borba Davida i Golijata; *Ulazak Bugarske u rat* na strani Centralnih sila – simbolisao je izdaju, poput Judine izdaje Hrista, ili čak starozavetnog Kainovog izdajstva; *Prelazak Albanije* – srpsku Golgotu, dok je *Solunski front* predstavljen kao simbol uskrsnuća vojske i naroda.”]

⁴⁶¹ ‘Proslava proboja fronta u celoj zemlji’. *Politika* 08.10.1928: 7.

higher popular schools, as well as the 1933 curriculum for history in the fourth year of elementary school. These wars played an extremely important role in the symbolic integration of “Southern Serbia”, in the first place within Serbia proper and consecutively also in Yugoslavia. On 27 May 1934 the so-called Glory Church was inaugurated at the military cemetery in Skopje, in the presence of King Aleksandar and Patriarch Varnava. This church was built to the memory of soldiers who had fallen during the Balkan Wars. The speech held by King Aleksandar perfectly illustrates the primarily Serbian character of the historical narrative on the Balkan Wars and “Southern Serbia”:

The spirit of St. Sava, the tradition of Kraljević Marko and the martyrdom of the heroes of Kosovo gave our people the strength to toughly and permanently maintain itself in the old lands of the great Nemanja and Dušan the Powerful during centuries of oppression and injustice.⁴⁶² Preserving its Serbian name and its Serbian lands, our people have, even with bloody wounds on their national body, carried their old national rulers in their hearts, and in their souls they have patiently and loyally cherished the hope that their time would come. And God showed mercy: freedom began to shine in the end.⁴⁶³

On 30 October 1937 a huge mausoleum for the soldiers who had fallen during the Battle of Kumanovo, an important victory of the Serbian army over the Ottomans during the Balkan Wars, was inaugurated at Zebrnjak, a hill nearby Kumanovo in present-day northern Macedonia.⁴⁶⁴ One day later the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of “Southern Serbia” started in Skopje, as well as in other cities in Macedonia. On this occasion monuments of King Petar and King Aleksandar were inaugurated in Skopje, in the presence of Prince Regent Pavle, Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović and a large number of ministers. Both commemorations integrated Macedonia and the Balkan Wars within a typical Serbian historical narrative, establishing a firm historical bond

⁴⁶² “Marko Kraljević is the most popular and most controversial Serbian epic hero” (Koljević 1980: 177). The figure goes back to Prince Marko, the 14th century ruler over parts of present-day western Macedonia around the town of Prilep. In the epic tradition Marko is depicted as an incredibly strong man with extraordinary forces who protected the people against injustice, but on the other hand also as a cunning, good, vulnerable and comical mortal man and a loyal vassal to the Ottomans (ibid: 177-211) .

⁴⁶³ Quoted in ‘Skoplje i Južna Srbija dočekali su i pozdravili oduševljeno Nj. V. Kralja pri osvećenju Hrama Slave’, *Politika* 30.05.1934: 3. [“Duh Svetog Save, tradicije Kraljevića Marka i mučeništvo kosovskih junaka davali su snage našem rodu kroz čitave vekove potištenosti i bespravnosti da se održi žilavo i postojano na ovim drevnim zemljama velikog Nemanje i Dušana Silnog. Čuvajući svoje srpsko ime i svoju srpsku zemlju, naš narod je, i pod krvavim ranama na svome narodnom telu, nosio u srcu svoje stare narodne vladare, a u duši gajio nadu strpljivo i verno da će njihovo vreme opet doći. I Bog se smilovao, sloboda je sinula napaćenima.”]

⁴⁶⁴ ‘U prisustvu pedeset hiljada duša, najvećim delom starih ratnika, osvećena je kosturnica na Zebrenjaku i u nju su položene kosti kumanovskih junaka.’ *Politika* 31.10.1937: 1-3

between medieval Serbia, the rule of Tsar Dušan, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Balkan Wars and the present, liberated “Southern Serbia”. In the words of Minister of Defence General Marić after the liberation of 1912 “Southern Serbia and imperial Skopje definitively became part of the lands of the first successors of the Nemanjićs”.⁴⁶⁵ The bond with the Serbian Orthodox Church was personified by high representatives of the church, who blessed both the mausoleum and the monuments of Petar and Aleksandar. On the occasion of the blessing of the mausoleum at Zebrnjak the Metropolitan of Skopje Josif praised “the new Obilićs and the avengers of sad Kosovo”, as well as the Serbian Church, for preserving the Serbian national spirit and for the sacrifices the church had made in supporting its sons in their battles for “the high ideal of divine justice, for King and Fatherland”.⁴⁶⁶

It will be clear that similar commemorations of the wars of liberation and unification would meet with little response outside the boundaries of pre-war Serbia proper. In order to counterbalance the narrow Serbian interpretation of the First World War the Yugoslav authorities applied several strategies. A first strategy was to re-interpret the World War as part of a broader, more abstract Yugoslav battle, as the culmination of sacrifices made by all Yugoslav ‘tribes’ for the unification and liberation of the Yugoslav nation. On the occasion of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front, for example, the Ministry of Education forwarded instructions from the Association of Reserve Officers and Soldiers which called on schools to participate in the commemoration. This call did not only directly refer the soldiers who had died during the First World War, but to all those who had died for the nation, from Kosovo and the field of Gospa Sveta, Zrinski and Frankopan, to Dobro Polje and Kajmakčalan.⁴⁶⁷ Another fine example of this strategy was Ivan Meštrović’s Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Avala, which was finished in June 1938. As Aleksandar Ignjatović has convincingly argued “the Tomb was constructed to perform a cohesive role, uniting different South Slav ethnic groups into one, integral nation which was simultaneously based on the idea of racial unity and cultural diversity” (Ignjatović 2010: 649). Through its specific location just outside Belgrade in a rural natural setting, which connoted “the primordial South Slav cradle” as well as the peasant character of the Yugoslav nation and state, and through its architectural and sculptural details,

⁴⁶⁵ Quoted in ‘Narod iz cele Južne Srbije sa starim ratnicima oduševljeno je proslavio dvadestpetogodišnjicu oslobođenja’ *Politika* 01.11.1937: 3. [“Južna Srbija sa carskim Skopljem definitivno prešla u nasleđstvo prvih naslednika Nemanjića.”] The oft-used phrase “imperial Skopje” referred to the time when Skopje was the capital of Dušan’s medieval empire.

⁴⁶⁶ [“našim novim Obilićima, osvetnicima tužnoga Kosova”, “za visoki ideal božanske pravde, za Kralja i Otadžbinu.”] ‘Pomen palim junacima i polaganje njihovih kostiju u kosturnicu’, *Politika* 31.10.1937: 2.

⁴⁶⁷ ‘Proslava proboja Solunskog Fronta’. S.n. br. 27.875, 6 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 820-1. Dobro Polje was the place where the allies broke through the Bulgarian lines on 15 September 1918.

which represented different Yugoslav regions and ethno-territorial units in full South Slav racial harmony and did not carry any Serbian military ensigns, the monument invoked a Yugoslav national narrative rather than a narrowly Serbian imagery (ibid: 628-49).

A second strategy to counterbalance the narrow Serbian appropriation of the First World War was found in the figures of King Petar I and King Aleksandar, who occupied a prominent place in all curricula under scrutiny. Curricula for elementary schools typically only selected the First World War, King Petar and King Aleksandar. 17 December, King Aleksandar's birthday, was celebrated as a state holiday in which school going children were required to participate.⁴⁶⁸ Without a doubt, the Yugoslav kings played a crucial role in the dissemination of the Yugoslav ideology to the population throughout the Yugoslav Kingdom. As Olga Manojlović-Pintar has argued, the two Yugoslav kings served as the personifications of the First World War and the unification of Yugoslavia, especially in regions outside pre-war Serbia.

The figure of the Serbian soldier (...) could never become a symbol for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as was the case with the French, German or Italian soldier. Citizens of the new state spent the war year in uniforms of two opposing monarchies. Consequently, the level of local commemorations of the First World War significantly differed in Serbia and the other parts of Yugoslavia. Whereas in Serbia there was a very active practice of building monuments in accordance with the European practice of expressing piety toward the fallen civilians through local communities, in other parts of the Kingdom the association with the war in monuments was especially reduced to the representation of kings Petar and Aleksandar in war uniforms (Manojlović-Pintar 2004: 207).⁴⁶⁹

In this light it is significant that King Petar I was always referred to as 'The Liberator' ('Osloboditelj'). Canons of Yugoslav national history also typically referred to the fact that Petar had anonymously fought in the 1875-76 uprisings in Bosnia under the name Petar Mrkonjić, thus only strengthening the combative image of the King (Ćorović 1933: 527). King Aleksandar always appeared in public in his army uniform and was referred

⁴⁶⁸ 'Pravilnik o praznovanju praznika u osnovnim, srednjim i stručnim školama Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. P.br. 15.791, 22 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1928): 796.

⁴⁶⁹ ["Figura srpskog vojnika, naime, nikada nije mogla da postane simbol Kraljevine SHS, kao što je to bio slučaj sa francuskim, nemačkim, ili italijanskim vojnikom. Gradjani nove države ratne godine su proveli u uniformama dveju suprotstavljenih monarhija, tako da se i kasnije, nivo lokalne komemoracije I svetskog rata u Srbiji i ostalim delovima Jugoslavije bitno razlikovao. Jer dok je u Srbiji postojala vrlo živa gradnja spomenika u skladu sa evropskom praksom upotrebe lokalne zajednice da izrazi pijetet prema palim, u ostalim delovima kraljevine asosijacije na rat, na spomenicima su uglavnom svedene na predstave kraljeva Petra i Aleksandra u vojničkim uniformama"].

to as 'The Unifier' ('Ujedinitelj') or also 'the Chivalrous King' ('Viteški kralj'). Both Petar and Aleksandar not only embodied the sacrifices made during the war, but certainly for non-Serbian areas also the outcome of the war, namely the unification and liberation of all South Slavs. In Ljubljana, for example, the unveiling of the monuments to the memory of King Petar, on 6 September 1931, and King Aleksandar, on 6 September 1940, were hugely important events which symbolised the loyalty of the Slovenes to the Yugoslav state, rather than the direct memory to the First World War (Manojlović-Pintar 1997: 207-14).

Without a doubt, King Aleksandar served as the strongest symbol for the Yugoslav state and nation, especially during the dictatorship. Several scholars have already pointed out how important "personal" contact between the King and his people were for the dissemination of Yugoslavism (Dobrivojević 2006: 323-42). An important illustration of this close contact between the King and his people were the featly delegations groups of peasants from all banovinas to their King during the winter of 1929-30. As Christian Nielsen has showed, these visits were in fact meticulously prepared an orchestrated by the central authorities (Nielsen 2002: 185-91). As such, they perfectly illustrate the desired image of King Aleksandar as "peasant King" and as the central unifying force in interwar Yugoslavia, and illustrate how Aleksandar was used to negotiate between the sub-national and Yugoslav national level of collective identity (cf. 4.5.2). On 22 April 1930, for example, 1579 peasants from Sava and Littoral banovina visited the King. In their speech the peasants praised King Aleksandar as the only true successor of Stjepan Radić, they referred to the Yugoslav passage in the Croatian Peasant Party's program of 1904 and to the alleged last words of Stjepan Radić that only the King and the people were left.⁴⁷⁰ On 25 December 1929 the King was visited by a group of peasants from Vardar banovina. In this case King Aleksandar was praised as the liberator of "Southern Serbia" and the successor of Tsar Dušan.⁴⁷¹

Similarly, visits by the King were extremely important for the consolidation of the Yugoslav state ideology, especially in areas outside pre-war Serbia. On 25 January 1931, for example, King Aleksandar arrived in Zagreb for what was to become his third and last visit to the Croatian capital. On this occasion, he was greeted by the mayor of Zagreb, Stjepan Srkulj, as "the symbol of the freedom and independence of state and nation".⁴⁷² Aleksandar himself praised Zagreb, "which has always cherished the shining

⁴⁷⁰ Speech from representatives of Sava and Littoral banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: pages 5-7.

⁴⁷¹ Speech from representatives of Vardar banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 39-40.

⁴⁷² ["simbol svoje nacionalne i državne slobode i samostalnosti."] 'Zagreb je sa ogromnim oduševljenjem dočekaio Nj. V. Kralja i Kraljicu'. *Politika* 26.01.1931: 1.

Croatian traditions and the great Yugoslav idea”.⁴⁷³ The King and Queen stayed in Zagreb until 4 February 1931. In those ten days they visited important cultural and humanitarian institutions, spoke with prominent Zagreb politicians and, most importantly, took their time for the common people. On 28 January the Royal Couple visited the poor neighbourhood of Trešnjevka, a day later they visited a school complex in Zagreb, as well as some of the neighbouring villages, and on 1 February they attended a marriage of four couples in the village of Šestine, to the north of Zagreb. Aleksandar even acted as the witness of one of the couples.⁴⁷⁴ After his death the cult of Aleksandar was only intensified, especially by means of publications, articles and a great number of monuments (Manojlović-Pintar 2004: 48-50). Contemporary commentaries typically distinguished between two great accomplishments of King Aleksandar. First, he had militarily liberated and united the Yugoslav nation. Secondly, Aleksandar had brought order and stability in the state, as well as national unity (Ćišić 1934). Even more critical journals like *Nova Evropa* agreed that King Aleksandar was one of the greatest figures in modern South Slav history and that he had laid solid foundations for the Yugoslav state and nation (Ćurčin 1934)

A third possible strategy to Yugoslavise the historical memory to the First World War was to place the war within a broader cluster of historical events. In the above-quoted curriculum for secondary schools of 1930, the First World War was integrated within a broader historical episode of growing tensions between South Slavs and Austria-Hungary, not only in pre-war Serbia itself, but also among South Slavs under Austro-Hungarian rule. In Austria-Hungary itself these tensions led to the formation of the Croat-Serb coalition, which was seen as the

first lasting Serbo-Croatian political organisation, which consistently and well-considered worked for the deepening of the consciousness about our national unity, which entered all political questions taking into consideration the interests of the entire nation, and which strove for the state freedom of Serbs and Croats, eventually outside the framework of that time. It systematically and carefully orientated Croatian politics away from Vienna and Budapest toward Belgrade, the only correct centre for the solution of the Yugoslav question (Ćorović 1933: 543-4).⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ [“koji od uvek neguje svetle hrvatske tradicije i veliku jugoslovensku ideju.”] ‘Zagreb je sa ogromnim oduševljenjem dočekaio Nj. V. Kralja i Kraljicu’. *Politika* 26.01.1931: 2.

⁴⁷⁴ See ‘Nj. V. Kralj i Kraljica u zagrebačkom radničkom kvartu’, *Politika* 30.01.1931: 1-2, ‘Nj. V. Kralj i Kraljica posećuju zagrebačke škole i humane institucije’, *Politika* 31-01-1931: 1-2, ‘Kralj i Kraljica u Šestinama’, *Politika* 02.02.1931: 1-2.

⁴⁷⁵ [“prva srpskohrvatska trajna politička organizacija, koja dosledno i sa planom radi na produbljavanju svesti o našem narodnom jedinstvu, koja u sva politička pitanja ulazi pazeći podjednako na interese celog naroda i

Curricula for secondary schools also included the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina as one of the historical events leading to increasing tensions between South Slavs and Austria-Hungary. Historians especially focussed on the dissatisfaction among Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbs in the pre-war Serbian Kingdom, and their resistance against the Austrian occupation (Ćorović 1933: 536-40; 550-51). Chapters in Pero Slijepčević's edited volume 'The effort of Bosnia-Herzegovina for liberation and unification' (*Napor Bosne i Hercegovine za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje*), published in 1929, treated armed resistance against the occupation between 1878 and 1882, as well as religious and cultural battles against the Austrian rule. Finally, for the First World War itself curricula included references to Yugoslav-oriented opposition of Austro-Hungarian South Slavs against their oppressors in the work of the Yugoslav Committee.

The assassination of Prince Franz-Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 by Gavrilo Princip, a member of the Bosnian Yugoslav national-revolutionary students' group Young Bosnia (*Mlada Bosna*) was never explicitly mentioned in the curricula, except for the 1932 temporary curriculum for higher popular schools, although this symbolic resource could be interpreted as evidence of the Yugoslav consciousness of South Slavs in Austria-Hungary in the immediate pre-First World War period. Similarly, the events only occupied a peripheral positions in canonical representations of Yugoslav national history. In Viktor Novak's *Anthology of Yugoslav Thought* no quotations were included related to Young Bosnia. Ćorović evaluated these young revolutionaries as impulsive and irresponsible, and stressed that they had no bonds with Serbian official institutions (Ćorović 1933: 561-1). Only Pero Slijepčević presented a positive image of Young Bosnia in his abovementioned volume on the contributions of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Yugoslav liberation and unification, as a group of young men who were willing to give their lives for Yugoslavism and thus re-established Bosnia as a link between the Yugoslav 'tribes'. However, even Slijepčević argued that the role of Young Bosnia should by no means be exaggerated (Slijepčević 1929: esp. 218).

Another potential symbolic resource to interpret the First World War as a common Yugoslav battle which was not employed in the history curricula were volunteers from outside the pre-war Serbian and Montenegrin kingdoms who fought against the Central Powers, especially South Slav emigrants and South Slavs fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army, who had deserted or had been imprisoned on the Eastern Front. A number of Yugoslav intellectuals, who had often themselves had served as volunteers, attempted to establish a cult of the volunteer division. Already in 1925 Pero Slijepčević

koja teži za slobodnom državom Srba i Hrvata, u krajnjoj liniji van dotadašnjega okvira. Ona politiku Hrvatske orijentiše sistematski i oprezno ne više ni prema Beču ne prema Pešti, nego prema Beogradu, kao jedinom pravom sedištu za rešenje jugoslovenskoga pitanja”].

wrote a brief history of the volunteers, initially as an article in *Nova Evropa* and later as a separate booklet. After stressing the moral, political and military impact of the volunteers, Slijepčević turned to the common Yugoslav character of the volunteer movement. Accordingly, all South Slavs had rushed to join the Serbian army “as soon as they got the opportunity” (Slijepčević 1925b: 24).⁴⁷⁶ True, Serbs had dominated the volunteer legions numerically, because Serbian masses had been imbued with the ideas of liberty and unity, while Croatian and Slovenian masses had lagged behind, but this was natural, “because for them this was a new idea” (ibid.).⁴⁷⁷ Moreover, a lot of Slovenian and Croatian officers, representatives of the Yugoslav oriented intelligentsia, had given their lives for the common Yugoslav ideal. The end conclusion was: “All our regions, and especially all Serbian regions, have made numerous contributions for our liberation and unification, also in blood. There is nothing uglier than making distinctions today between liberated and liberators” (ibid: 23).⁴⁷⁸ On the occasion of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front in Split, on 7 October 1928, a commemorative plaque with the names of all citizens of Split who had died as volunteers during the war was officially inaugurated.⁴⁷⁹ Still, the volunteer movement never obtained a central position in the historical narrative on the First World War. On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of the volunteer divisions Ante Defranceschi and Marko Marković complained that the volunteers had thus far only received scant attention, although the decision of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian soldiers from Austria-Hungary to fight with Serbia expressed their great instinctive national consciousness and had a great moral, political and military impact (Defranceschi 1931; Marković M. 1931).

Although Yugoslav historical narratives thus provided different possibilities to place the First World War within an overarching Yugoslav framework, the official state-wide commemorations of the war remained primarily associated to the Serbian point of view. In schools this focus on the Serbian leading role in the wars for liberation and unification was highlighted through the annual commemoration of the Serbian liberation of South Slav lands in Austria-Hungary on 29 October. This practice confirms Melissa Bokovoy’s claim that the Serbian sacrifices made during the First World War for the liberation of all South Slavs elevated them to a position of “first among equals” in interwar Yugoslavia (Bokovoy 2001: 252). This explains the continuing contested nature of commemorations related to the First World War, especially in periods of strong

⁴⁷⁶ [“u svako vreme i na svim mestima, gde mu se pružala i najmanja prilika.”]

⁴⁷⁷ [“jer se kod njih nije radilo o staroj ideji, nego o novoj.”]

⁴⁷⁸ [“Svi naši krajevi, a naročito svi srpski krajevi, dali su i u krvi punu meru priloga za naše oslobođenje i ujedinjenje. I nema ništa ružnije nego praviti danas razlika medju oslobodjenim i osloboditeljima.”]

⁴⁷⁹ ‘Proslava proboja fronta u celoj zemlji’. *Politika* 08.10.1928: 7.

political tensions between Zagreb and Belgrade. In the summer of 1928, for example, *Politika* wrote with obvious criticism that the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front had remained restricted to an official commemoration and an army parade in Zagreb. During the commemoration some shops were closed, but many shopkeepers were very reluctant to do so. Further, flags were only hung out at state buildings and at Jelačić Square not one single flag could be seen.⁴⁸⁰ Within the period of extremely tense relations between Zagreb and Belgrade after the death of Stjepan Radić on 8 August 1928 it became an act of Croatian resistance against Serbian dominance in the new state not to participate in commemorations of the First World War. These tensions also overshadowed the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1928 in Zagreb. On that day in Zagreb state flags were only hung out on official state buildings, whereas many prominent institutions and intellectuals ostentatiously refused to hang out the flags or hung out black flags. Also, shopkeepers had been obliged to close their shops, but many hung out placards clarifying that their shops were closed by order of the authorities and not by free will. Incidents occurred in front of the Zagreb Cathedral, when two young men briefly succeeded in hanging out three black flags, with the dates 1 December 1918, 22 June 1928 (the date of the shooting in the Parliament) and the Croatian coat of arms. Consecutively, it came to riots during which one young man was killed.⁴⁸¹

4.4.6 Conclusive remarks

History curricula made use of codified Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian historical narratives and integrated these as parts of one Yugoslav historical identity. As pointed out by Wendy Bracewell, the message conveyed in pre-First World War Serbian and Croatian historical writings was not inimical to Yugoslavism. Rather, both a narrower and broader strand in South Slav collective identities could be traced in these historical writings (Bracewell 1994: 141-54). As such, the Yugoslav historical narrative presented in interwar curricula did not form a radical departure from pre-war traditions in Serbian and Croatian historiography. The main novelty was that different 'tribal' histories were brought together and that curricula emphasised the parallelisms and common ties in the histories of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This should lead to the conclusion:

⁴⁸⁰ 'Proslave u zemlji i na strani', *Politika* 09.10.1928: 4.

⁴⁸¹ 'Krvave demonstracije u Zagrebu', *Politika* 02.12.1928: 4.

that all parts of our nation once lived in a common homeland, that they had the same name, spoke one language and had one faith, and that for those reasons they form one nation; that afterwards a bad historical destiny divided the nation in different states and several faiths, which caused for differentiation in speech; that the divided tribes suffered under foreign rule, that all our divided tribes fought long battles for their own preservation, liberation and unification, which was finally realised, so that today Serbs, Croats and Slovenes live freely and united in their large, unified and free state (Jovanović J. 1927: 279).⁴⁸²

With the exception of a few symbolic resources which were interpreted as direct examples of Yugoslav unity across 'tribal' or regional borders, such as Ljudevit Posavski, King Tvrtko, Matija Gubec, or the network of Ban Jelačić, Patriarch Rajačić, Njegoš and Prince Aleksandar, most historical resources were indirectly linked to the Yugoslav national level, through parallelism with symbolic resources related to other parts of the Yugoslav nation.

This approach can be categorised under Wachtel's *multicultural model*. It relied on the synthesis of symbolic resources from codified Croatian, Serbian or Slovenian historical narratives within an overarching Yugoslav historical identity. Crucially, this did not require an exclusive choice between the Yugoslav national or the sub-national level of interpretation. Ideally, this historical narrative mobilised regional, 'tribal' and Yugoslav levels of collective belonging depending on the context and allowed for the adaptation of the concrete definition and usage of Yugoslav national history depending on specific sub-national or 'tribal' settings. Put briefly, Yugoslav history could mean different things for different regions and population groups. On the other hand the multi-layered character of this approach to Yugoslav historical identity also left available internal boundaries within the Yugoslav collectivity, which could be activated in contexts where the dissociation of different levels of collective identity became relevant.

Although curricula provided a quantitatively balanced synthesis of different 'tribal' histories, symbolic resources from Serbian state history formed the core elements around which Yugoslav history was structured. This becomes especially clear in the 1933 curriculum for history in the third year of elementary schools, which mentioned only ten crucial figures from Yugoslav history: St. Cyril and St. Methodius, St. Sava, Prince Lazar, Marko Kraljević, Nikola Šubić Zrinski, Karađorđe, Strossmayer, King Petar I

⁴⁸² ["da su svi delovi našega naroda živeli nekada u zajedničkoj otadžbini, da su nosili jedno zajedničko ime, govorili jednim jezikom i verovali jednu veru, da su po tome činili jedan narod, da ih je potom loša istorijska sudbina podvojila na više posebnih država i više vera, zbog čega su nastala diferenciranja u govoru; da su sva naša tako podvojena plemena stradala i patila pod tuđinskim upravama, da su sva naša podvojena plemena vodila duge i mučne borbe za svoje održanje, oslobođenje i ujedinjenje, koje je najzad i ostvareno, te sada Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci žive slobodni i ujedinjeni u svojoj velikoj, ujedinjenoj i slobodnoj državi."]

Karađorđević and King Aleksandar Karađorđević. Of these figures, three were unquestionably Serbian symbolic resources: St. Sava, Prince Lazar and Karađorđe. King Petar Karađorđević and King Aleksandar Karađorđević were also obviously linked to Serbian state tradition, but as kings of the Yugoslav Kingdom in theory they could be interpreted as common Yugoslav symbolic resources. Marko Kraljević had strong historical bonds with the Serbian medieval state tradition and since the times of Vuk Karadžić he had been appropriated as a Serbian epic hero (Koljević 1980: 177). However, as a legendary folk character he was celebrated in folk literature throughout the entire Balkans and as such he could be interpreted as a common South Slav symbolic resource (Popović T. 1988: 1-43). St. Cyril and St. Methodius were celebrated by both Catholics and Orthodox in Yugoslavia. Moreover, since the second half of the 19th century they had been appropriated as national saints among both Catholics and Orthodox in Yugoslavia (cf. 4.6.2.1). Only two of the historical figures mentioned were primarily Croatian: Nikola Šubić Zrinski and Strossmayer.

It can thus be concluded that Serbian political domination in the Yugoslav state was also reflected in the selection of the core symbolic resources for Yugoslav national history from the Serbian historical narrative (cf. Höpken 2005: 361-3). This trend was not only obvious in the curricula, but also in the fact that commemorations of historical symbolic resources in education were predominantly taken from the Serbian historical tradition (Kosovo, the First World War, St. Sava (cf. 4.6), references to the Serbian state tradition), indicating the close reliance on Serbian collective memory in the Yugoslav state's memory culture. The uncontested coexistence of Serbian and Yugoslav interpretations of symbolic resources related to Serbian collective memory among a majority of Serbian intellectuals and cultural-educational actors indicates the viability of the incentives for mediations between Serbian and Yugoslav nationhood provided in the state's prescriptions of Yugoslav historical identity and the contextual irrelevance of a potential boundary between Serbian and Yugoslav nationhood.

Symbolic resources from Croatian collective memory were included in the curricula, but in most cases only on the basis of parallelism with Serbian core elements. Croatian historical resources occupied a central position in curricula for the early Middle Ages, with the Croatian Kingdom of Tomislav, the resistance against Turks and Austrians, with the figures of Nikola Šubić Zrinski, Matija Gubec and Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan, and finally the period between 1848 and the 1870s, with Josip Jelačić and Josip Juraj Strossmayer. By no means these historical resources could compete with the Serbian Medieval Empire and its fall, or 19th century independent Serbia in the state-wide historical narrative. Indicatively, school or other state-wide commemorations of symbolic resources from Croatian history were much less frequent than Serbian counterexamples. This vacuum was filled by various historical commemorations organised by Croatian cultural-educational associations. Such non-governmental sub-national engagements with history could complement the state's memory culture, as in

the 1925 celebration of the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom. Within the favourable political and ideological circumstances of the national agreement between Pašić and Radić the commemoration of the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom was supported and appropriated by the state authorities and seemingly smoothly shifted between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of collective identity, showing the possibilities of the synthetic approach toward Yugoslav national history.

The limitations to the state's approach to Yugoslav national history came to the fore within the context of the increasing dissociation from the dictatorial regime and its Yugoslav national ideology in Croatia in the 1930s, when non-governmental educational associations established an alternative Croatian memory culture in which there was no place for the Yugoslav level. The commemorations of the centenary of the Illyrian movement or Matija Gubec were reduced to narrowly Croatian affairs in which the Yugoslav moment was completely absent and which visualised the dissociation between Croatian and Yugoslav nationhood. Simultaneously, the central authorities abandoned attempts at mediations between Yugoslav and Croatian collective identity through commemorations of Croatian historical resources, as indicated by the failure of the Yugoslav state level to even co-opt the commemorations of the centenary of the Croatian rebirth in 1935-36.

No Slovenian, Muslim, Macedonian, or Montenegrin historical figures were mentioned in the 1933 history curriculum for elementary schools. Especially the Slovenian case is striking, because Slovenes were recognised as one of the three Yugoslav 'tribes'. Also in the more advanced curricula Slovenian symbolic resources occupied a peripheral position in comparison to Serbian and Croatian core events. This only confirms that educational authorities saw the Slovenes and their history as a peripheral and distinct part of Yugoslav national history. Engagements with Slovenian collective memory remained restricted to regional initiatives confined to Slovenia itself, which relied primarily on a Slovenian national framework and in which the overarching level of the Yugoslav state played a secondary role. This Slovenian memory culture occupied a distinct place in the Yugoslav state's memory culture, but did not rely on an exclusionary boundary with the Yugoslav level of collective identity, indicating the compatibility of the Slovenian and Yugoslav level of collective memory.

Apart from the three accepted 'tribes', no significant incentives were provided to mediate between other potential South Slav collective identities and Yugoslav national history. Curricula included isolated resources related to Montenegrin, Macedonian or Bosnian Muslim collective memories but no structural incentives to mobilise these regionally confined historical memories toward Yugoslav nationhood. Apparently, educational authorities considered that these levels of collective identity were insignificant and would be integrated within Yugoslav national identity as virtually undifferentiated parts of one of the recognised Yugoslav 'tribes', without direct appeals to their distinct traditions.

4.5 Making sense of the Yugoslav national territory

Emotional bonds with the homeland are a recurring and central element in national thinking (Lowenthal 1994). Correspondingly, Yugoslav geography curricula stressed the national function of geography education, arguing that it should make the children love their homeland and its inhabitants. The role territory plays in the construction of national identity, however, goes beyond the cult of national landscape icons, which forms the focal point of many studies into the relation between geography and national identity. Guntram Herb has suggested a two-step process to make territorial strategies in the construction of identities more tenable:

First, the territoriality of national identity is dissected into its two fundamental components, territorial differentiation and territorial bonding. Second, the rationale behind the territorial strategy – what I term the “territorial script” – is conceived as a “geograph”. Territorial differentiation and territorial bonding offer insights into the building blocks of territorial strategies in the construction of national identity. The script allows us to see the broader narrative that serves as a justification for the strategy (Herb 2004: 141).

In the first step of the process a distinction is made between two fundamental components of territoriality. First, attention should be paid to the establishment of the border of the national territory, in Herb’s terminology “territorial differentiation”, which visualises the us-them distinction that is fundamental to national thinking. Second, the national population has to be attached to the land, a component which transcends specific boundaries and which Herb calls “territorial bonding”. Finally, these two basic components are embedded within a broader rationale or “territorial script” which explains the importance of the territory to the nation and helps members of the nation make sense of the world through a national lens (Herb 2004: 141–4).

With regard to the component of “territorial differentiation” geography curricula stressed that Yugoslavia was a nation-state and that the Yugoslav national territory concurred with the Kingdom’s political boundaries. The methodological guidelines for the fourth year of secondary education explained that teachers had to “show the state as a geographical, ethnographical, cultural, economic and social whole, and to stress its natural individuality amongst other European states”.⁴⁸³ Clearly, the borders of the

⁴⁸³ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 217–8. [“prikaže državu kao geografsku, etnografsku, kulturnu, privrednu i socijalnu celinu, da je (...) istakne kao prirodnu individualnost među ostalim evropskim državama”].

Yugoslav Kingdom served to distinguish the uniform Yugoslav “us” from “them”. One exception to this rule was that in geography curricula for both elementary and secondary education a reference was included to Yugoslavs outside the borders of the Yugoslav state. Although it was not specified which population groups were meant, this reference clearly allowed for an expansion of the Yugoslav national territory beyond the boundaries of the Yugoslav nation-state in case co-nationals lived outside these boundaries.

One specific border which occupied a prominent place in the territorialisation of Yugoslav national identity was the Adriatic Sea. This was especially related to the activities of *Jadranska straža* (‘The Guard of the Adriatic’), a patriotic association which was established in Split in February 1922 with the task to propagate the enormous importance of the Adriatic Sea for the Yugoslav nation’s economy, culture and international position. The foundation of the association was triggered by Italian claims on and territorial acquisitions along the eastern shore of the Adriatic (Alfirević 1923; Machiedo Mladinić 2005: 25-32; Rubić 1932). Its founding members were prominent politicians and publicists, most importantly Ivo Tartaglia, vice-president and later (1928-1941) president of *Jadranska straža*, who was mayor of Split from 1918 to 1928 and then became the first governor of Littoral banovina. With the financial, organisational and symbolical support of the authorities, the association tremendously expanded. By the mid-1920s it had 20 regional committee in all of the country’s major towns. The number of local committees continuously grew, from 179 in 1925 to 507 in 1931. These local committees were especially well-spread in Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia, Vojvodina and Dalmatia. Membership numbers grew from 33.000 in 1927 to 90.000 in 1931 and even 180.000 in 1939. The association had specific youth sections which were active in secondary schools, with a total of 20.000 members (Machiedo Mladinić 2005: 71-6).

The activities of *Jadranska straža* were quite diverse. A first group of activities focused on propaganda, by means of lectures – in local committees, on the radio and in films –, exhibitions and the publication of a monthly journal and almanacs. These lectures, exhibitions and publications typically covered Yugoslavia’s naval float, episodes from the history of Dalmatia,⁴⁸⁴ important sea battles and natural and cultural sites of interest from the region. Second, *Jadranska straža* organised various festivities, ranging from large-scale naval festivities of several days with lectures, water sports, air shows, boat shows, military exercises, music and singing, fireworks and dances,⁴⁸⁵ to naval days and Adriatic days which were organised annually by local committees and consisted of a

⁴⁸⁴ Especially prominent were references to the medieval Croatian rulers and the sea battles they fought for the Adriatic Sea and the Dalmatian coast (Novak G. 1926).

⁴⁸⁵ See the report on the first naval days in Split in the summer of 1923: ‘Mornarički dani u Splitu’, *Jadranska straža* 1 (1923)/6: 4-21.

similar but more small-scaled program.⁴⁸⁶ Finally, *Jadranska straža* organised summer camps and excursions to the Adriatic Coast (Machiedo Mladinić 2005: 117-219). These activities determined the Adriatic Sea as the most prominent border of the Yugoslav national territory.

The component of “territorial bonding” occupied a more prominent place in geography curricula. Geography education departed from the local and regional level as the basis for eventual definitions of Yugoslav territory. Curricula for elementary education prescribed that in the third year pupils should learn about the geographical features of the direct surroundings of the school, the political district it was located in and then the larger geographical region. Then, in the fourth year the pupils learned about all other Yugoslav geographical regions and thus obtained a synthesised overview of the Yugoslav lands. In their eventual further schooling the children’s knowledge about Yugoslav geography was further expanded, especially in the fourth and eighth year of secondary school. Thus, geography education made use of a classification in scales of increasing geographic extent to make sense of Yugoslav national territory. The crucial point in the geography curricula was not which symbolic resources related to landscape – sites of natural and cultural pride, sites of memory, either at an overarching national, or at a local or regional level – were treated precisely. In fact, curricula remained vague in this respect, mentioning rivers, boundaries, relief, villages and towns, roads and population without specifying which resources should be treated precisely. What was more important was the regional division of the Yugoslav national territory, which was used as a mediatory framework for the territorial bonding of the population to the national territory. This tactic remained in place in geography curricula throughout the interwar period. However, the exact definition of sub-national regions was the subject of continuing debates.

4.5.1 Struggling with regions in curricula of the 1920s

In essence, the question revolved around the use of the established historical regions for the regional division of Yugoslav national territory in the geography curricula, which neatly fits in with the broader discussion concerning the relation between the sub-national and Yugoslav national level of collective identity. Many Yugoslav ideologues feared that the continuous use of historical regions in geography curricula would thwart the development of Yugoslav national consciousness, as they considered these

⁴⁸⁶ ‘Proslava jadranskog dana’, *Jadranska straža* 14 (1936)/11: 510-6; ‘Proslava jadranskog dana u cijeloj zemlji’, *Jadranska straža* 15 (1937)/28-32.

geographical scales of identification incompatible. In his 1923 article Josip Škavić for example suggested that the Yugoslav lands should be divided on the basis of geographically neutral categories, instead of the historical regions, which carried 'tribal' identities with them and as such could not lead to Yugoslav national consciousness. For example, children from Belgrade or Zagreb should first learn about the Sava river. Thereafter, other rivers and their basins would be treated and then finally the mountainous regions. For children from mountain areas, the first step would be the study of their own mountain area, then other mountain regions and finally rivers and flatlands (Škavić 1923: 171-6). Contrary to this viewpoint Jovan P. Jovanović argued that curricula should continue to make use of the traditional historical regions because this was not harmful for Yugoslav national unity and because people would continue to use this framework anyway (Jovanović J. 1927: 276-7).

In the 1926 curriculum for elementary schools a distinction was made between the following regions:

- Yugoslav Alps: comprising the districts of Maribor and Ljubljana (the left bank of the Sava river).
- Dinaric highland: Ljubljana (right bank of the Sava), Primorsko-Krajina (capital: Karlovac), Split, Dubrovnik, Mostar, Travnik, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihać, Vrbas (Banja Luka) and the western part of Zeta (Cetinje).
- Macedonian lands: Skopje, Bregalnica, Bitola, the southern part of Raška (Čačak), southern Kosovo and the eastern part of Zeta (Cetinje).
- East-Serbian highland: northern part of Kosovo, Niš, Timok (Zaječar), Morava (Ćuprija), Kruševac and Požarevac.
- West-Serbian highland: Belgrade and Podunavlje (right bank of the Danube, Smederevo), Šumadija (Kragujevac), the northern part of Raška (Čačak), Užice, Valjevo, Podrinje (Šabac).
- Croato-Slavonian basin: Zagreb, Osijek, Srem (Vukovar).
- Pannonian plain: Belgrade and Podunavlje (left bank of the Danube) and Bačka (Novi Sad).

In the 1927 curriculum for elementary schools a slightly different regional division was proposed:

- Yugoslav Alps: Ljubljana and Maribor
- Croatian Karst and the Croato-Slavonian basin: Primorsko-Krajina, Zagreb, Osijek, Srem.
- Dinaric coastal area: Split, Dubrovnik and western Zeta.
- Dinaric mountains: Bihać, Travnik, Vrbas, Tuzla, Sarajevo, Mostar.
- The mountain land of Southern Serbia: Bitola, Bregalnica, Skopje, Vranje, southern Kosovo and eastern Zeta.

- Mountain land of Eastern Serbia: northern Kosovo, Niš, Timok, Požarevac, Morava, Kruševac.
- Mountains of Western Serbia: Podunavlje and Belgrade (right bank of the Sava), Šumadija, Raška, Užice, Valjevo, Podrinje.
- Pannonian plain: Belgrade and Podunavlje (left bank of the Danube), Bačka.

It is clear that the regions proposed in these geography curricula did not differ greatly from the traditional division in historical regions on the basis of pre-war political and administrative divisions. This is especially true for the 1927 curriculum where the region of the Yugoslav Alps corresponded to Slovenia, the Dinaric coast to Dalmatia, the Dinaric Mountains to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Pannonian plain to Vojvodina. However, educational authorities did refrain from using the traditional names of these regions, apparently reluctant to make use of traditional historical regions for the definition of the Yugoslav homeland all too explicitly. This compromised approach perfectly concurs with the broader ambiguous position toward 'tribal' or historical traditions within definitions of Yugoslav national identity during the 1920s.

4.5.2 The banovina system: An alternative route toward Yugoslav national territory?

The Law on the Name and Division of the Kingdom in Administrative Regions of 3 October 1929 introduced an apparently radical and symbolically charged departure from Yugoslavia's historical regional division, with the introduction of nine new administrative units, called *banovinas*, and an additional administrative unit comprising Belgrade, Pančevo and Zenum. Whereas the actual political relevance of the banovinas was minimal (cf. 2.2.1), the function the banovinas played in the territorial construction of Yugoslav national identity was more extensive. On 2 November 1931 the Ministry of Education decreed that geography courses for the third and fourth year of elementary schools should follow the banovinas instead of the geographical regions which were mentioned in the 1927 curriculum.⁴⁸⁷ In all consecutive curricula the banovina system was used as the primary regional division of Yugoslav territory. In practice, in the third year of elementary school pupils learned about their own banovina, in the fourth year the other Yugoslav banovinas were treated. Also in different types of secondary schools geographical overviews of Yugoslavia were structured on the basis of the banovinas. This novelty in geography education reflected a broader change in the territorial

⁴⁸⁷ 'Nastavno gradivo iz zemljopisa za III i IV razred osnovnih škola ima se obrađivati po banovinama'. O.n. br. 77.657, 4 November 1931. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 908.

representation of Yugoslavia during the 1930s, in which banovinas became omnipresent as the primary sub-national scale of identification. The official almanac of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, for example, structured the geographical overview of the Kingdom on the basis of its nine banovinas (Manakin 1932). The banovinas were also used in *Prosveta*'s journal to familiarise its readers with the Yugoslav territory.

In official interpretations the banovinas were represented as a radical departure from and a neutral and natural alternative for the historical regional division of the country. According to Prime Minister Petar Živković the boundaries of the banovinas were drawn in accordance with natural, communicative and administrative factors (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 99). Symbolically, the neutral and natural character of the banovinas was highlighted by their names, which all referred to water, in most cases rivers, or in the case of Littoral banovina the sea. Additionally, the authorities claimed that the banovinas would “forever put an end to historical boundaries, those obstacles to our national formation and development”.⁴⁸⁸ According to King Aleksandar the banovinas broke with the “visible traces of the past, those artificial boundaries of the administrative division, which became historical during the tragic division and separation of our tribes”.⁴⁸⁹ In this regard, Živković interpreted 3 October 1929 as a radical turning point, as “the starting date in the history of the Yugoslav rebirth” (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 124).⁴⁹⁰

This line of interpretation, however, should be qualified. Clearly, the division in banovinas did not completely ignore historical regional entities. The clearest case in point was Drava banovina, which left intact the historical Slovenian territory in the country and was understood as the continuation of Slovenian collective unity in the Slovenian press (Stiplovšek 2006: 18-20). As had been the case with definitions of Yugoslav language, a status quo toward Slovenian territorial individuality within the larger unity of Yugoslavia was maintained. Additionally, “Savska and Primorska [Littoral] put together resembled the territory of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia” (Djokić 2007: 73). Other historical regions like Montenegro, Macedonia / “Southern Serbia” or Vojvodina and Šumadija were left intact as core territories of respectively Zeta, Vardar and Danube banovina. In fact, the only historical region that was “parcelled out” was Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was divided between four banovinas: Littoral, Drina, Vrbas

⁴⁸⁸ Quoted from a governmental resolution, adopted by the Council of Ministers on 4 July 1930. ‘Značajna sednica Ministarskog Saveta’, *Politika* 05.07.1930: 1. [“prekratila je za uvek istrojske granice, te smetnje nacionalnom formiranju i razvoju.”]

⁴⁸⁹ From King Aleksandar's speech on the occasion of the first session of Parliament and Senate on 18 January 1932. AJ 74-38-56: page 71. [“vidnim tragovima prošlosti, onim veštačkim granicama upravne podele, koje su postale istorijske u tragičnom deljenju i razdvajanju naših plemena.”]

⁴⁹⁰ From Prime Minister Živković's New Year's speech of 31 December 1929 [“početni datum u istoriji jugoslovenskoga preporoda.”]

and Zeta (Šarac 1975: 277). And even in this case, symbolic resources related to the historical and regional entity Bosnia-Herzegovina would continue to play a prominent role in the imagination of the banovinas in question.

In any case, the redrawing of regional boundaries did not necessarily imply a radical departure from the historical regions in the territorial construction of Yugoslav national identity. Rather, the banovinas provided an alternative framework through which regional traditions could be inscribed within an overarching Yugoslav national identity. As expressed by King Aleksandar on New Year's Eve 1929-1930:

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, organised in its banovinas, represents the higher synthesis of our national expressions and characteristics, which will make possible the development of all good characteristics of our race in internal harmony, and show the unity and strength of our nation of one blood toward the outside world (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 128).⁴⁹¹

In the winter of 1929-30 King Aleksandar received fealty delegations from all Yugoslav banovinas. These visits were carefully orchestrated and extensively used for propagandistic purposes. In the first place, they were intended to give proof of the natural bond between King Aleksandar and his people (Nielsen 2002: 185-8). Additionally, as Bogumil Vošnjak, the Slovenian politician and convinced integral Yugoslavist, clarified, these visits were intended as the beginning of a program of Yugoslav popular celebrations during which Yugoslav peasants could get to know different regions of their homeland, a necessary step toward the creation of a joint Yugoslav culture (Vošnjak 1930: 58-63).

A look at the speeches which were held on these occasions illustrates the strong symbolic reliance of the banovinas on regional historical traditions. On 22 April 1930 a delegation of 1579 peasants from Sava and Littoral banovina arrived in Belgrade. First, it is significant that representatives from these two banovinas jointly visited the capital and the Court, indicating their common Croatian character. In the speeches held on the occasion speakers invoked a Croatian legacy, which was strongly tied to the Croatian Peasant Party. It was assured that "the Croatian peasant people" had always protected its Yugoslav homeland and that if Stjepan Radić, "the leader and teacher of the Croatian peasants", would still be alive, he would have surely supported the Royal Dictatorship. This claim was supported by the statement Radić had made just before his death that only the King and the people were left and the Yugoslav elements in the Croatian

⁴⁹¹ ["Kraljevina Jugoslavija, organizovana u svojim banovinama, pretstavlja onu višu sintezu naših nacionalnih izražaja i odlika koja će u unutrašnjoj harmoniji omogućiti razvijanje svih lepih osobina naše rase, a spolja odavati snagu jedinstva i čvrstinu jednokravnog naroda."]

Peasant Party's 1904 program.⁴⁹² In his response the King expressed his satisfaction that the Croatian peasants, like the peasants from Šumadija, had fully understood his reforms and were led by national consciousness, common sense and diligence.⁴⁹³ It should be added here that the choice of the name 'banovina' was also symbolically charged as a concession to the Croats, as the *Ban* had been the noble title for the highest-ranked provincial representative of the Croatian and later Hungarian king in medieval Croatia and Bosnia (Nielsen 2002: 172; Šarac 1975: 278). Another case in point is that especially in the Croatian areas a lot of emphasis was placed on the banovinas as part of a Croatian tradition of opposing centralism (cf. 2.2.2.3). Clearly, Sava and Littoral banovina were appropriated as a framework through which strongly politicised Croatian regional traditions could be integrated within a Yugoslav national whole.

On 25 December 1929 representatives from Vardar and Morava banovina visited the King in Belgrade. The speaker from Vardar banovina referred to the medieval Serbian tradition in "Southern Serbia" and Skopje as the capital of the Empire of Dušan.⁴⁹⁴ The speaker of Morava banovina spoke about the sacrifices its population had made for the liberation and unification of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav orientated declaration which the government had formulated in Niš at the beginning of the World War.⁴⁹⁵ On 29 December 1929 the King received delegations from Zeta and Vrbas banovina. In his speech to the King Tomo Milošević, mayor of Cetinje and leader of the delegation of Zeta banovina referred to the freedom loving tradition of Montenegro, symbolised by Njegoš.⁴⁹⁶ Vrbas banovina was characterised with references to its natural beauty – the rivers Una, Vrbas, Bosna, Sava and its mountains – and the national combativeness of its population, personified by historical heroes like Petar Mrkonjić, the Bosnian Serb writer Petar Kočić and Gavrilo Princip.⁴⁹⁷ Finally, on 12 January 1930 delegations from Drina, Drava and Danube banovina visited Belgrade. The speaker for Drina banovina divided the banovina in three historical regions, "heroic" Šumadija, "proud" Bosnia and the "flat" Srem.⁴⁹⁸ The description of Drava banovina relied on the historical tradition of Slovenia, with references to independent Carantania, the reformation, the Illyrian Provinces, the Unified Slovenia program of 1848 and the "omnipresence" of Yugoslavism since the 1870s.⁴⁹⁹ Danube banovina was divided in Šumadija, the Piedmont of Serbian and Yugoslav independence, and Vojvodina, the economic heart and the

⁴⁹² Speech of representatives of Sava and Littoral banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56, page 5-7.

⁴⁹³ Response from King Aleksandar to the fealty delegation from Sava and Littoral banovina. AJ 74-38-56: 1.

⁴⁹⁴ Speech from representatives of Vardar banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 39-40.

⁴⁹⁵ Speech from representatives of Morava banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 40-1.

⁴⁹⁶ Speech from Tomo Milošević to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 48-9.

⁴⁹⁷ Speech from representatives of Vrbas banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 50-1.

⁴⁹⁸ Speech from representatives of Drina banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 52.

⁴⁹⁹ Speech from representatives of Drava banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 53-4.

granary of Yugoslavia.⁵⁰⁰ In all these cases banovinas were used to give codified regional traditions a place within the Yugoslav national narrative.

Aleksandar Ignjatović has come to similar findings on the basis of a study of the official architecture in the banovinas, either newly built palaces for the provincial administration in Banja Luka, Cetinje, Skopje, Novi Sad and Split, or residencies and country houses which were built for the Royal Family throughout the country. According to Ignjatović these buildings clearly constructed an artificial regional building style which was meant to represent the entire region and which, notwithstanding the official explanations of the banovinas as geographically natural and completely new entities which broke with the past, relied on traditional academic models of regional specificities (Ignjatović 2007: 369-98). Jože Plečnik's royal hunting lodge in the valley of Kamniška Bistrica in the north of Slovenia, for example, did not correspond to the authentic architecture of the region but represented an artificial construction of Drava banovina / Slovenia as a synthesis of Alpine, Pannonian and Mediterranean influences (ibid: 378-9). The monumental palace for the administration of Zeta banovina in Cetinje, a project by Nikola Krasnov which was built between 1930 and 1932, was reminiscent of the authentic building style of the region, certainly in contrast to the neo-baroque and neo-Renaissance state buildings of the pre-First World War period (ibid: 383-4). Importantly, these constructions of regional identities were only meaningful within an overarching Yugoslav national framework:

The essence of the reading of these constructed regionalisms is the whole; it is the whole that represents the epistemological framework of all these identities. Such a "unity of varieties" celebrates natural and cultural types and varieties, and is held together by a sovereign and complete state and its all-pervading apparatus; the entire construction of identities is covered by the political myth of a united Yugoslav nation in different appearances. Therefore each of these provincial identities (...) should be read as the representation of an authentic Yugoslav localism, and not only as regional cultures (Ignjatović 2007: 398).⁵⁰¹

In that way, rather than a complete break with the past, the banovinas presented a framework through which different regional traditions could be symbolically integrated within Yugoslav national unity.

⁵⁰⁰ Speech from representatives of Danube banovina to King Aleksandar. AJ 74-38-56: 55.

⁵⁰¹ ["Suština čitanja ovih konstruisanih regionalizama jeste celina – ona, zapravo, predstavlja totalni epistemološki okvir svih ovih identiteta. Takvo jedinstvo različitosti slavi prirodne i kulturne tipove i varijetete, a obezbeđuje je suverena i celovita država i njen sveprožimajući aparat; čitavu konstrukciju identiteta natkriljuje politički mit o jedinstvenoj jugoslovenskoj naciji u raznolikim pojavnim oblicima. Zato je svaki od ovih banovinskih identiteta (...) trebalo čitati kao reprezentacije autentičnih jugoslovenskih lokalizama, a ne samo kao pokrajinkse kulture."]

A crucial limitation to the inscription of sub-national traditions in Yugoslav national identity through the banovina system was that it could not circumvent the level of 'tribal' territorialities. This was especially obvious in the case of Vardar banovina, which could serve as a framework for mediation between Macedonian regional and Yugoslav national identity, but only via the Serbian 'tribe'. An interesting phenomenon in this regard was the 'Yugoslav Youth of Vardar banovina' (*Jugoslovenska omladina Vardarske banovine*), which had been established on the order of governor Živojin Lazić in January 1931. This association had been formed on the initiative of a group of "South-Serbian" intellectuals in Belgrade with the goal to unite the intellectual forces of "Southern Serbia" in the spirit of Yugoslav nationalism and patriotism. In other words, the movement represented a well-trying strategy of the authorities to mobilise young intellectuals from "Southern Serbia" / Macedonia behind the Yugoslav national idea through a state-loyal and -sponsored association within the framework of Vardar banovina. However, the whole action failed completely. From its foundation, intellectuals from Macedonia supported the establishment of such an association but criticised the dominant influence of Serbian intellectuals or "South-Serbian" intellectuals who were residing in Belgrade. They also rejected the initial name of the association: 'Association of South Serbs' (*Udruženje Južnosrbijanaca*). The movement never really got off the rails and in 1936 it de facto ceased to exist. Instead, a group of intellectuals associated to the movement established a new association, 'Rebirth' (*Preporodište*). These intellectuals lay at the basis of the journal *Luč*, which adopted a moderately critical position against the Yugoslav policy in Macedonia, propagated the use of Macedonian and focussed on Macedonian culture and history. Although the journal worked within a Yugoslav patriotic framework, it was banned by the authorities in May 1938 (cf. 2.3.2.4). As Nada Boškowska concludes: "Die Bereitschaft der jungen Intellektuellen im Jahr 1930, mit dem Staat zusammenzuarbeiten, deutet darauf hin, dass sie zu diesem noch relativ frühen Zeitpunkt der Königsdiktatur bereit waren, die Jugoslawische Idee (...) zu unterstützen" (Boškowska 2009: 309). Even the articles in *Luč* indicate an attempt to negotiate between Macedonian collective identity and a broader Yugoslav collective framework, to make sense of the Yugoslav collective framework from a Macedonian point of view, outside of the official interpretation of the region as an integral and inseparable part of the Serbian 'tribe' of the Yugoslav nation. However, the authorities' approach toward the movement and the eventual ban of *Luč* illustrate their rejection of any form of Macedonian collective identity outside Serbian collective identity, even within the Yugoslav framework, and the failure of the Yugoslav state to mobilise Macedonian intelligentsia behind the Yugoslav idea. As Boškowska clearly points out: "Hätte man den Menschen in Makedonien die jugoslawische Option belassen und nicht darauf bestanden, dass sie zum Serbentum konvertierten, hätten sich viele, die den Staat bejahten, über diesen Weg mit ihm identifizieren können" (Boškowska 2009: 356-8).

4.5.3 Conclusion

During the entire interwar period the territorial construction of Yugoslav national identity relied heavily on the region for the territorial bonding of population and national territory. Whereas there were many debates concerning the exact definition and delineation of the regions, the strategy itself remained undisputed. A second recurring phenomenon was the reluctance to make use of traditional historical regions in the country all too explicitly. Under the dictatorship these two elements were brought together in the banovina system, which occupied a central position not only in state administration, but also in the territorial construction of Yugoslav national identity. Although in the discourse of the dictatorship banovinas were represented as a radical break with the historical regions of the past, in fact the banovina system was a framework through which historical regions and 'tribal' territories were inscribed within Yugoslav national identity. Crucially, the inscription of regional territorial identities in Yugoslav national identity through the banovina system did not circumvent the level of the 'tribes'.

4.6 Religious diversity and Yugoslav national identity: Teaching religious tolerance at school

Whereas the cultural components I have discussed in the previous sub-chapters – language, literature, history and geography – are almost unanimously recognised as standard components of national thinking, both by nationalist thinkers and scholars of nationalism, the relation between nation and religion has been interpreted in seemingly antithetical ways, from the assertion that nationalism is intrinsically secular to that it is intrinsically religious, with various approaches in between (Brubaker 2012; Kennedy J. 2008: 129-34). Nowadays most scholars of nationalism agree that religion is:

by no means a plastic, pre-modern substance that proponents of the modern nation could mould or discard at will. Rather, historians and the arbiters of memory contended with their fellow citizens – and with their fellow believers – over the religious meaning of the nation, and did this for longer (...) than is often assumed (Kennedy J. 2008: 108).

We should understand nationalism and religion as closely intertwined realms of human activity (Brubaker 2012). This intertwining can take different forms. Secular national ideologies relegate religion to a marginal part of national identity, although they rarely completely discard and remove religion (Kennedy J. 2008: 109-19). On the other hand, “religion often served to sacralise the nation, not least in historical representation, especially if we expand our definition of historical representation to include commemorative culture” (ibid: 120). The sacralisation of the nation again takes different forms, ranging from the opportunistic use of religious figures or rituals of civil religions in national ideologies to confessional definitions of the nation in which a dominant confessional identity became nearly coextensive with the nation itself (ibid: 119-27). However, even in the latter case “intertwining is not identity. (...) Even when the languages [of nationalism and religion] are intertwined, the fundamental ontologies and structures of justification differ” (Brubaker 2012: 16-7). The fact that nationalist movements deploy religious symbols or even make religious affiliation a criterion for full membership of the nation does not turn them into religious movements, and vice versa (ibid: 12-7).

A specific complicating factor for proponents of Yugoslav national unity was the question how religious diversity among South Slavs could be reconciled with Yugoslav national unity. Schematically, there were three possible directions to answer this question. First, national unity could be guaranteed by the religious unification of the Yugoslavs. In an article in *Nova Evropa* the publicist Milutin Jakšić argued that it was natural for a nation to belong to one state and one religion. For Jakšić the Yugoslav

nation was given and the religious division among them was external and superficial. Indeed, Jakšić blamed the religious authorities in Rome and Constantinople for religiously dividing the Yugoslavs and thus ignoring their national unity. Whereas the Serbian Orthodox Church had managed to obtain national autonomy, the Yugoslav Catholics were still subjected to the Pope in Rome, which was counterproductive for the Yugoslav national case. The solution, according to Jakšić, would be the establishment of an autonomous Yugoslav Catholic Church, which could then bring about the unification of the Yugoslav Christian Church (Jakšić 1923). The hope to (re-)unite at least the Christian South Slavs certainly had some strong proponents in the immediate post-war period, both in the Orthodox and the Catholic Church.⁵⁰² However, this form of religious unification had less to do with Yugoslav national unity than with strictly religious matters and exemplifies the usage of nationalist language by religious movements rather than vice versa (cf. Brubaker 2012: 16).

Another possible way to reconcile religious diversity with Yugoslav national unity was to detach national unity from religious identity as much as possible, in other words to put aside religious difference as irrelevant for definitions of Yugoslav national identity. This line of thinking was evident in some schematic integral Yugoslav programs published in *Nova Evropa* in the immediate post-war period. Authors like Laza Popović, Ivo Kolbe or Jovo Zubović argued that ‘tribal’ and religious identities were remnants of past times, which should immediately be replaced by a new, modern Yugoslav national culture in which there was no more place for religious fanaticism or traditionalism (Kolbe 1920; Popović L. 1921; Zubović 1923). In a 1924 article Zubović explicitly interpreted every form of clericalism as a problem for Yugoslav national unity. In his opinion, the unification of the Yugoslav churches was a naive solution for this problem, much more realistic was the rationalisation of religion. “We have to get rid of the idea of miracles, the supernatural or fate and we have to push people to life and earth, where they live by their free will within the boundaries of natural and human laws” (Zubović 1924: 153).⁵⁰³ In his characterology of the Yugoslavs Vladimir Dvorniković argued against those who were convinced that religious diversity was the most important hindrance for Yugoslav national unification. “The faith of the Yugoslavs too will become more and more a case and problem of the personal spiritual life, and less and less a Balkan-oriental external characteristic of tribal totemism” (Dvorniković 2000

⁵⁰² For proselytism by the Orthodox Church in interwar Yugoslavia, see Buchenau (2007). For the Catholic Church’s hopes and fears in the immediate post-war period, see Buchenau (2006a: 229-33) and Dimić (1997, 2: 331-3).

⁵⁰³ [“Treba likvidirati s idejama čuda, nadprirodnosti i “kismet”, pa primaknuti ljude životu i zemlji, gde žive inače slobodnom voljom u granicama prirodnih i ljudskih zakona”].

[1939]: 973).⁵⁰⁴ In other words, for these intellectuals religious diversity was not a real problem because it would become irrelevant in the fundamentally modern and secular Yugoslav nation they had in mind.

A third possible direction was to integrate religious tolerance as a crucial aspect of Yugoslav national identity. In fact, this was a compromise between the clerical and liberal lines of reasoning mentioned above, as it maintained religious identity as a crucial element of Yugoslav nationhood and society, but at the same time avoided religious exclusiveness. It was this reasoning that was followed by the Yugoslav state authorities. On 14 March 1929 Minister of Religious Affairs Dragiša Cvetković outlined the government's program with regard to religion. He argued that the separation of church and state was "not yet taken into consideration" and that

it was the patriotic duty of all religions in the Kingdom to unite all its wise and moral strengths toward the quickest possible consolidation of the State, to assist the unification process of soul and heart, to spread peace and love between citizens and to make even and fill all gaps which centuries have created between brothers of the same blood and language (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 50).⁵⁰⁵

In other words, instead of the typical East-European model of one national church per nation, all Yugoslav religious institutions were conceived as national churches and crucial factors in the unification of nation and state. Crucially, the Yugoslav dictatorship made use of a nationalist language with religious elements. The focus was clearly on the nation, religion was only a means toward national and state unity (cf. Brubaker 2012: 16-7). In order to guarantee that religious institutions would carry out their patriotic duty the government established a strict legal framework which regulated the relation between religious institutions and the nation-state, as well as inter-confessional relations (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 50-1). In the course of 1929-1931 the government legalised a number of laws and regulations for the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Islamic Religious Community, the Jewish Community, Reformed Churches and Evangelical Churches. The Concordat with the Roman Catholic Church, for which negotiations had started in 1925 but which was finally only signed in 1935 and submitted to parliament for ratification in 1937 was the last step in this process. However, the ratification of the

⁵⁰⁴ ["Vera će i u Jugoslovena postajati sve više stvar i problem ličnog duševnog života, a sve manje balkansko-orijentaljsko spoljno obeležje plemenskog totemizma."].

⁵⁰⁵ ["se još ne pomišlja", "je patriotska dužnost svih vera u našoj Kraljevini da ujedine sve svoje umne i moralne snage oko što bržeg konsolidovanja naše Države, da pripomogne procesu ujedinjavanja duha i srca, da šire mir i ljubav među građanima i da izravnavaju i zatrpavaju jazove, što su ih kopali vekovi između braće jedne krvi i jednog jezika."]

Concordat provoked fierce protests from leaders and supporters of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which finally forced Stojadinović's government to withdraw the issue from the parliamentary procedure (Buchenau 2011: 409-18).

This approach toward religion and nationhood was also applied in the Yugoslav educational policy. Article 16 in the constitutions of 1921 and 1931 stated that "schools should provide moral education and develop civic consciousness in the spirit of national unity *and* religious tolerance" (qtd. in Mrđenović 1988: 21, 251).⁵⁰⁶ In other words, national unity and religious tolerance were very closely intertwined and in fact formed the basic fundamentals of the state's educational policy. On 10 June 1935 the educational authorities prescribed that at the beginning of every school day one pupil should speak out the following neutral prayer, regardless of his/her faith or that of the classmates: "We pray to You, Almighty God, to inspire our deeds, to guide us with Your mercy and help, that every prayer and every deed of ours may begin and end with You, to the glory of the Creator, to the satisfaction of our parents and to the benefit of the fatherland".⁵⁰⁷ At the end of the day another pupil should speak out: "Thank You for all Your benefaction, Almighty God, who lives and rules in all eternity, Amen".⁵⁰⁸ During and after these prayers pupils could perform the religious acts and signs as prescribed by their religion.⁵⁰⁹ These prescriptions perfectly clarify to what extent authorities intended to push through religious tolerance in school. Also, they illustrate that the authorities attempted to reduce religious division not by drawing clear boundaries between religion and school, but rather by pointing to the fundamental similarities of Yugoslav religiosity. Finally, the prayer also shows the close connection between religion and nationhood.

In this chapter I examine the mediations between religious diversity and Yugoslav national unity the educational authorities provided in curricula and school commemorations. At the same time, I look at the controversies between the religious institutions in question and the state authorities surrounding the relation between religion and nationhood in education. These controversies should be situated within a broader struggle between Yugoslav state authorities and religious institutions over the

⁵⁰⁶ ["Sve škole moraju davati moralno vaspitanje i razvijati državljansku svest u duhu narodnog jedinstva i verske trpeljivosti"].

⁵⁰⁷ ["Molimo Te, Svemoguću Bože, dela naša napajaj, milošću Svojom i pomoći Svojom prati, da svaka naša molitva i svako naše delo tobom započne i Tobom započeto da se dovrši, Stvoritelju na slavu, roditeljima na radost, otadžbini na korist"]

⁵⁰⁸ ["Hvala Ti za sva dobročinstva Tvoja, Svemoguću Bože, koji živiš i vladaš uvek i dovek. Amin."] 'Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola'. O.n. Br. 37.803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 728-33.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Čitanje obaveznih molitava u narodnim školama pre i posle učenja; upotreba verskih znakova – radnja', O.n.Br. 50.996, 28 August 1936. *Prosvetni glasnik* 52 (1936): 658-9.

education and upbringing of younger generations. Both considered it as their undisputable right to guide the growing up of “their” children and schools were one of the most prominent arenas in which this battle was fought out. These discussions for a large part revolved around the relation between religion and Yugoslav nationhood and indicate the possibilities and limitations to the intertwining of religious diversity and Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia.

4.6.1 Teaching religious tolerance in religious education

Symbolic resources from the domain of religion occupied a prominent place in the interwar Yugoslav school curriculum. In the first place, of course, religion was well-represented in the curricula for religious education. The educational laws of the early 1930s prescribed that curricula for religious education would be formulated by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the religious institutions in question.⁵¹⁰ However, in practice the educational authorities seemed not very eager to formulate new curricula for religious education, as most curricula of the period simply stated that the existing curricula for religious education would remain in use. One exception was the temporary curriculum for the higher years of real gymnasia of 1927, in which curricula for religious education for Catholics, Orthodox, Muslims and Jews were included. In December 1938 the Ministry of Education formulated new curricula for Serbian Orthodox religious education in all types of schools.⁵¹¹

For the largest part these curricula focused on purely theological issues and had no direct national meaning. A smaller part of the curriculum paid attention to the history of the religious institution in question, allowing for links with national history. For the history of Islam the curriculum remained very vague, as it was limited to “a cultural history of Islam” and “an overview of Islamic literature”. For Jews the curriculum prescribed a historical overview of Jewry since the Middle Ages and an overview of the most important Jewish philosophers. For Catholics the historical overview treated the history of the Christian Church and remained for the greatest part a-national. One point in the curriculum mentioned the spread of Christianity among Slavs, “especially in our

⁵¹⁰ See article 5 in ‘Zakon o verskoj nastavi’. *Službene novine* 15/237: 1233. 23 September 1933.

⁵¹¹ ‘Nastavni plan iz veronauke za pravoslavnu veroispovest u narodnim školama’, IV br. 22.547, 27 December 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 27-33; ‘Nastavni plan iz veronauke za pravoslavnu veroispovest u građanskim školama’, IV br. 22.600, 29 December 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 33-7; ‘Nastavni plan iz veronauke za pravoslavnu veroispovest u srednjim školama’, IV br. 22.601, 29 December 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 37-44; ‘Nastavni plan iz veronauke za pravoslavnu veroispovest u učiteljskim školama’, IV br. 22.602, 29 December 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 44-9.

fatherland”, and the work of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. This last point clearly included a potential link to the Yugoslav national moment. By mentioning the spread of Christianity among the Slavs in the Yugoslav fatherland on the basis work of Saints Cyril and Methodius the curriculum referred to the Cyrillo-Methodian idea, which had been formulated by Franjo Rački and Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer as an attempt to build bridges between Catholic and Orthodox South Slavs on the basis of the common heritage of the Slavonic Apostles (Buchenau 2006a: 228-33; Žanić 2005: 48-9).

Most national material was clearly found in the curriculum for Orthodox religious education.⁵¹² The curriculum included references to Stefan Nemanja, St. Sava, the Serbian Patriarchate and the Serbian Empire, the battle of Kosovo, the Patriarchate of Peć under the Ottoman rule, the great migrations of the Serbs to Hungary, the Orthodox Church in 19th century Serbia, Montenegro, Dalmatia and Vojvodina. The overview ended with the unification of the Serbian Orthodox Church after the First World War and “the merits of the Serbian Orthodox Church for the education and liberation of the nation”.⁵¹³ In short, the curriculum presented the history of the Serbian Orthodox Church and that of the Serbian nation as inseparable parts of one confessional and national identity.

The varying availability of links with nationhood in these curricula for religious education illustrate what Klaus Buchenau has called “der orthodoxe Vorsprung” on its religious competitors in interwar Yugoslav as far as the connection between religion and nationhood was concerned (Buchenau 2006a: 226-7). Serbian nationhood occupied a central position in the ideology of the Serbian Orthodox Church and consequently also in Orthodox religious teaching. In Orthodox seminars, for example, Serbian nationhood occupied a prominent place in the curriculum and in the extracurricular activities of the seminarians, like commemorations of national holidays or activities of patriotic student associations (Buchenau 2011: 300-14). This was not or much less the case in Muslim or Catholic religious teaching where national elements were practically absent, a reflection of the fact that the position of these institutions toward the nation was still undetermined. In any case, religious education provided little or no links to Yugoslav nationhood. In the case of Serbian Orthodoxy it even remained closely linked to Serbian nationhood.

An interesting state sponsored attempt to merge Islamic education with Serb/Yugoslav nationhood was the Great Medresa of King Aleksandar (*Velika medresa Kralja Aleksandar I*), which was established in Skopje in 1924. Its curriculum was

⁵¹² The history of the Serbian Orthodox Church was given in the second year of higher popular schools and civil schools, and in the fifth (according to the program of 1927) or sixth (according to the program of 1938) year of secondary education.

⁵¹³ [“zasluge Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve za prosvetćivanje našega naroda i za njegovo oslobođenje.”]

completely different from traditional *medreses*, where the national moment was absent, and reflected the state's policy to nationalise religion and religious diversity in Yugoslavia. Religious courses were taught during only two years of the eight-year program, for the rest the curriculum – with great attention to the typical national subjects: language, history, geography and physical education – completely concurred with that in other secondary schools. The language of instruction was Serbo-Croatian and most teachers were Serbian Orthodox, amongst whom Pero Slijepčević. Between 1925 and 1941 187 students received a diploma from the Great Medresa of King Aleksandar, most of them with a scholarship from the Ministry of Education (Aruçi 2008: 345-7).

4.6.2 Teaching religious tolerance in history curricula and commemorations

Religious symbolic resources were not only present in curricula for religious education, they also occupied a prominent position in history curricula and in school holidays. Unlike religious curricula, which had been left largely unmodified by the Yugoslav educational authorities, in history curricula obvious attempts were made to introduce new approaches to give religious division a place in Yugoslav national identity. This was especially true for the Orthodox-Catholic fault line, which was circumvented by pointing to the common Yugoslav national character of a number of important historical figures from both the Orthodox and the Catholic Church. Much less attention was paid to the fault line Islam-Christianity, illustrating the peripheral position of South Slav Muslims within the fundamentally Christian definition of Yugoslav national identity in the educational program.

4.6.2.1 St. Cyril and St. Methodius: The spiritual fathers of (Yugo)Slav Christianity

All curricula under scrutiny highlighted that the Christianisation of the South Slavs had taken place before the schism of 1054, on a common Slavonic basis. The idea behind this was that Yugoslav Catholicism and Orthodoxy went back to the same roots and thus were fundamentally connected. Crucial figures in this respect were Saints Cyril and Methodius, who laid the basis for the Christianisation of the Slavs and were mentioned in all history curricula. Additionally, the holiday on which Saints Cyril and Methodius were celebrated by the Orthodox Church, 24 May (11 May in the Julian calendar) was

established as an official holiday for all Yugoslav schools.⁵¹⁴ This thinking went back to the Cyrillo-Methodian idea of Franjo Rački and Josip Juraj Strossmayer in Croatia-Slavonia, which propagated the cult of the Slavonic Apostles as a possible common bond between Catholic and Orthodox Slavs (Buchenau 2006a: 228-33; Žanić 2005: 48-9). In pre-First World War Serbia too there had been a cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius with a clear overarching Slavonic dimension, certainly in contrast to the narrow Serbian commemoration of St. Sava or the national interpretation of the brothers in Bulgaria at the time (Rohdewald 2008: 290-3; Weber 2006: 113-7, 190-202, 219-24, 342-9). In interwar Yugoslavia these ideas were appropriated by ideologues of Yugoslavism, who interpreted Saints Cyril and Methodius as the spiritual fathers of Slav and Yugoslav Christianity, both in its Catholic and Orthodox version. Saints Cyril and Methodius thus symbolised Slavonic reciprocity as well as, more narrowly, Yugoslav Christian unity. In 1927, for example, *Narodna odbrana* used the 1100th anniversary of the birth of St. Cyril to stress that the work of the brothers had revealed the divine mission of the Slavonic race in the world. It was added that the Slavonic Apostles were the common heritage of both Catholic and Orthodox Yugoslavs.⁵¹⁵ In a less religiously determined interpretation, Vladimir Ćorović argued that the Christianisation of the Yugoslavs by Saints Cyril and Methodius and their disciples “gave nice examples of the spiritual unity amongst them” (Ćorović 1933: 48).⁵¹⁶

Interestingly, Saint Clemens of Ohrid, an important disciple of Saints Cyril and Methodius, who is presently commemorated as the patron saint of independent Macedonia (Rohdewald 2007: 207-14), was never mentioned in interwar Yugoslav curricula, illustrating the scant importance ascribed to potential Macedonian symbolic resources, which could give Macedonia a place within Yugoslav national identity. Tellingly, the figure of St. Clemens was especially appropriated by ideologues of a Yugoslav dominated South Slav political unity with the Bulgarians close to *Narodna odbrana*, such as the Macedonian publicist Georgi Iv. Kapčev. Kapčev had been active as a Macedonian emigrant in Bulgaria, Russia and Zagreb in the pre-First World War period. After the fall of Stamboljski's government in Bulgaria in 1923 he emigrated to Yugoslavia.⁵¹⁷ Here he modified his earlier Bulgarian national point of view and his proposal for a Balkan confederation and propagated the political unity of all South Slavs

⁵¹⁴ ‘Pravilnik o praznovanju praznika u osnovnim, srednjim i stručnim školama u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. P.br. 15.789, 22 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 796; ‘Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola’. O.n. Br. 37.803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 728-33.

⁵¹⁵ ‘Slovenski apostoli Sv. Ćirilo i Metodije’. *Narodna odbrana* 2/15: 251-2.

⁵¹⁶ [“daje lepe primere o duhovnoj zajednici među njima”.]

⁵¹⁷ Biographical information obtained from the Bulgarian Wikipedia-page on Georgi Kapčev, last retrieved 2 February 2012.

under the leadership of Yugoslavia, a standpoint which was well received by *Narodna odbrana*. To support this claim Kapčev appropriated St. Clemens as the “ideological founder and creator of the national unity of South Slavs” (Kapčev 1931: 238).⁵¹⁸ In Kapčev’s opinion St. Clemens’s work would only be completed with the full ethnographical unification of the South Slavs, i.e. with the Bulgarians (ibid: 238-9). The negligence of St. Clemens in the interwar Yugoslav nation-building project contrasted sharply with the central position St. Clemens occupied as a symbolic resource in contemporary Bulgarian claims to Macedonia. In 1916 the millennial anniversary of the death of St. Clemens was commemorated throughout Bulgaria. In Ohrid, which was at the time occupied by Bulgaria, the Bulgarian military commemorated the millennial anniversary of the death of St. Clemens with church services and a procession to the fortress of Tsar Samuel. On its way the procession passed churches and historical ruins, where school children read out Bulgarian patriotic poems. The festivities ended with a popular feast and a banquet (Weber 2006: 190-202).

4.6.2.2 The continuing Slavonic and national character of Serbian Orthodoxy: St. Sava

In definitions of Yugoslav national identity great attention was paid to the continuing Slavonic and Yugoslav character of Christianity among the Yugoslavs after the schism of 1054. Vladimir Dvorniković argued that Christianity perfectly corresponds to the “ethnopsychic” disposition of the Slavs. However, the Slavonic form of Christianity was based on love and feeling and not on force and power, which was why “a true Slav could never be made enthusiastic by the statist Christianity of Rome or Byzantium, and in his mind remained a “natural Christian”, a Bogomil” (Dvorniković 1995 [1937]: 77).⁵¹⁹ This was why, according to Dvorniković, “the ecclesiastical Christianisation” never completely took hold of “the Yugoslav man”, except in the Alpine regions, where the Catholic Church was strongly organised (ibid.).⁵²⁰ In other words, neither the Roman Catholic or the Byzantine Orthodox church hierarchy managed to fully control and shape Yugoslav religiosity, which was illustrated in the traces of pre-Christian paganism or the strength of Bogomilism among South Slavs as a response against cultural dominance from Rome or Byzantium (ibid: 76-82).⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ [“Idejni osnivač i tvorac narodnog jedinstva Južnih Slovena”]

⁵¹⁹ [“pravi Sloven nikad se nije mogao oduševiti za hrišćanstvo na rimski ili vizantijski način etatizovano, podržavljeno, već je ostao u duši “prirodni hrišćanin”, bogumil.”]

⁵²⁰ [“crkvena hristijanizacija.”]

⁵²¹ Bogomoslism was a dualist and social-critical Christian sect which arose in the Bulgarian Empire under Tsar Petăr in the mid-tenth century and gained influence throughout the Balkans (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 69).

Curricula took over this narrative and pointed to parallels and similarities between Yugoslav Catholicism and Orthodoxy – especially situated in the use of Slavonic in liturgy and the national character of the religion – to show that the Slavonic and national fundamentals of Christianity, which had been laid by Saints Cyril and Methodius, were more important and lasting than the superficial and external division between Eastern Orthodoxy and Western Catholicism. By all possible standards St. Sava was the most important historical figure in the interwar Yugoslav educational program. Not only did Sava occupy a prominent place in all history curricula under scrutiny, he was also celebrated as the patron saint of education. St. Sava's holiday, 27 January, was annually celebrated as “a day of general cultural-national school celebration” in interwar Yugoslavia.⁵²² Furthermore, *Prosveta* organised its annual fund-raising activities on St. Sava's Day, so-called *svetosavske zabave*. On this day local branches of *Prosveta* organised social gatherings with lectures on the importance of St. Sava, performances by choral societies, theatre plays and a party.⁵²³

St. Sava occupied a central position in the historical identity of the Serbian Orthodox Church, as the founder and first Archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church. Simultaneously, St. Sava was a popular figure in popular folk tales, where he was depicted as a primitive pagan god; who mastered the forces of nature and blessed and punished the people. In the course of the nineteenth century religious, folk-popular and political-national motives were interwoven in the increasingly prominent Serbian national cult of St. Sava in independent Serbia and the Serbian Metropolitanate and later Patriarchate in Sremski Karlovci. Within the framework of this national cult, St. Sava was celebrated as patron saint of education in independent Serbia and Serbian Orthodox schools in the Habsburg Empire since the mid-nineteenth century, a practice which was continued in interwar Yugoslav schools (Aleksov 2003: 47-51; Buchenau 2006b: 206-9; Rohdewald 2007: 186).

In typical interpretations of the interwar period St. Sava was celebrated as the founder of the *national* Serbian Church and an important figure in the consolidation of the independent Serbian state, and as the “First Enlightener” of the Serbs. With regard to the former element, Sava was praised as the founder of the Serbian autonomous church, which had its own, “national” priests, used the national language and had very strong bonds with the Serbian state (Ćorović 1933: 108; Donković 1935: 72; Slijepčević

⁵²² [“dan opšte kulturno-nacionalne školske proslave”]. ‘Pravilnik o praznovanju praznika u osnovnim, srednjim i stručnim školama u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. P.br. 15.789, 22 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 796; ‘Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola’. O.n. Br. 37.803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 728-33.

⁵²³ ‘Svetosavske besede’, *Prosveta* 18 (1934)/3: 25-6, 18 (1934)/4: 43-6.

1924: 13-6).⁵²⁴ According to Vladimir Ćorović Sava had thus laid the foundation for the Serbian Church's national mission in Serbian history, especially after the fall of the medieval Serbian state (Ćorović 1933: 109). Dvorniković argued that, by establishing the Serbian national church, St. Sava had in fact founded the Serbian nation (Dvorniković 1995 [1937]: 82). In that way, St. Sava had continued and finalised the initial work of Saints Cyril and Methodius toward a Slav and national church. According to Božidar Kovačević, poet and secondary school professor, the Serbian nation had gone through three stages on its way to Christ:

First, Greek priests sowed the seeds of Christ's teachings, thereafter came the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, and Sava finished the work. (...) Sava found Christ in his work for the fatherland. (...) He is the sower of an idea which grew together with the Serbian state and which would survive empires (Kovačević 1935: 197).⁵²⁵

Secondly, St. Sava was praised as national enlightener. It was St. Sava who had brought primitive Serbia in the circle of cultural Christian nations, who had first educated his people and who had pointed to the importance of cultural progress for the fate of the nation (Smolaka 1922: 201; Slijepčević 1924: 19-22). In a typical article in *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* St. Sava was first praised as the founder of the Serbian national church, but, it was argued, his greatest contribution to the nation lay in his pioneering work for national culture and literature. Sava's work had laid the basis for the flourishing cultural life in medieval Serbia, as evidenced in its religious architecture and literature.⁵²⁶

Clearly, St. Sava remained primarily linked to Serbian collective identity and his direct relevance for the Yugoslav nation level remained minimal. In essence, Yugoslav national ideologues of the interwar period argued that St. Sava was important for the entire Yugoslav nation simply on the basis of his contributions to the Serbian state and church. Aleksandar Donković for instance explained:

The Yugoslav aspirations of the present generation and the Yugoslav ideals of the present time are impossible without the great traditions from the past; and the tribal traditions are fruitless without the present Yugoslav reality. In that sense it is incomprehensible that Sava's tradition is neglected and not used sufficiently.

⁵²⁴ The booklet by Pero Slijepčević was a popular lecture on St. Sava. A shorter version of this lecture was published in *Prosveta's* journal as a model for lectures on St. Sava which could be read on St. Sava's Day festivities. P., 'Sveti Sava', *Prosveta* 16 (1932)/1: 2-7.

⁵²⁵ ["prvo su grčki sveštenici bacili seme Hristove nauke, zatim su došli učenici Ćirila i Metodija, a Sava je dovršio delo. (...) Sava je našao Hrista u radu za otadžbinu (...). On je sejač jedne misli koja je rasla zajedno sa širenjem srpske države, misli koja će nadživeti carstva."]

⁵²⁶ 'Jugoslovenski značaj Sv. Save', *Jugoslovenski dnevnik*, 29.01.1930: 1.

Sava's work has a popular-national character and his Serbian ideology of that time played the same role of spiritually unifying regional and tribal mentalities as the Yugoslav ideals of our society, so there is no reason not to establish Sava's work and cult on the present Yugoslav basis (Donković 1935: 77).⁵²⁷

In the abovementioned article in *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* it was explained that:

If the history of the Serbian part of our nation would have gone in a different direction, who knows how the history of our entire Yugoslav people would have developed. In that way the first Serbian Enlightener is also the leader of our national unification and as such of primary importance for all South Slavs".⁵²⁸

Another resource which symbolised the link between Serbian Orthodoxy and nationhood was the Battle of Kosovo, which occupied a prominent place in history curricula. Moreover, Vidovdan was selected as the festive last day of the school year, a practice which highlighted the lasting relevance of the Battle of Kosovo (cf. 4.4.4.1). Apart from its secular-political historical meaning, the battle of Kosovo was also interpreted as a "religious phenomenon with a national function", which "bridged the centuries without state continuity" (Dvorniković 1995 [1937]: 83).⁵²⁹ According to Dvorniković the Kosovo cult was the most representative expression of the authentic religious type of the Yugoslav nation, of the indivisible link between religiosity and nationhood among South Slavs. In fact, the Kosovo cult, which revolved around the renewal of the nation's vital energy through the death of one historical generation, was a nationalised version of Christ's resurrection. Thus, the Kosovo cult fully illustrated the original Slavonic Christian disposition and the heroic vitality of the South Slavs (ibid: 82-4).

⁵²⁷ ["Jugoslovenske težnje današnje generacije i jugoslovenski ideali današnjega doba nemoćni su bez velikih tradicija iz prošlosti; a same plemenske tradicije bez jugoslovenske današnje stvarnosti neplodne su, te je već i zbog toga nerazumljivo da se Savina tradicija zapostavlja i u nedovoljnoj meri iskorišćuje, Savino je delo narodno-nacijonalnog karaktera, a njegova srpska ideologija onoga doba igrala je istu ulogu duhovnog spajanja pokrajinskih i plemenskih mentaliteta koja danas pripada jugoslovenskim idealima našega društva, te sa te strane nema nikakve smetnje da se Savino delanje i kult postave na današnju jugoslovensku osnovu"].

⁵²⁸ ["A da je istorija srpskog dela našeg naroda uzela drugi pravac, ko zna kako bi se razvijala i istorija celog našeg jugoslovenskog naroda. Na taj način prvi srpski prosvetitelj je i prvonačelnik našeg narodnog ujedinjenja i kao takav od prvorednog značaja za sve Južne Slavene."]

⁵²⁹ ["religiozni fenomen sa nacionalnom funkcijom", "premosti stoleća praznine u državnom koninuitetu."]

4.6.2.3 The continuing Slavonic and national character of Croatian Catholicism: Gregory of Nin and Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer

For Croatian Catholicism history curricula typically included a reference to what was called the Slavonic or national liturgy, referring to the Glagolitic and Slavonic tradition in liturgy and religious writings in certain parts of Croatia and Dalmatia, which Yugoslav ideologists typically interpreted as a lasting sign of the Slavonic and national character of Catholicism among the Croats (Ivanišević 1929: 5-60; Škavić 1923: 272-3). Gregory of Nin (Grgur Ninski), the tenth century Bishop of Nin who had unsuccessfully defended the use of Glagolitic and Slavonic in religious affairs, was included in curricula as the personification of the lasting national character of Yugoslav Catholicism, as the first proponent and martyr of, as the academic Grga Novak called it, a Croatian Church (Novak G. 1929). In 1929 the millennial anniversary of the death of Gregory of Nin was commemorated with the unveiling of a statue by Ivan Meštrović in the centre of Split. According to a flyer which was spread in Split before the festivities, the monument symbolised the thousand-years-long battle of the Croats for their language, independence and national territory. Illustrating the importance of this symbolic resource, the commemoration was attended by prominent figures such as the Archbishop of Zagreb Ante Bauer, and Prince Pavle. Initially, King Aleksandar himself planned to attend the festivities, but at the last instance he cancelled his attendance for reasons of health (Ivanišević 1929: 61-75). In a speech delivered on the occasion Ivo Tartaglia, governor of Littoral banovina and President of *Jadranska straža* compared Gregory of Nin with St. Sava. Just like St. Sava, Tartaglia argued, Gregory of Nin was

An educator of the people sent by God, who (...), along with the religious idea also introduced the educational idea of Cyril and Methodius and brought about the final victory of not only the Slavonic language in our churches, but also the mother tongue in our books, our huts and our palaces, thus saving our people and these shores from alienation and ruin, and protecting it through past centuries for our present great homeland.⁵³⁰

In 1930 the Serbian cultural-educational association *Prosveta* included an article on Gregory of Nin in its journal, in which Gregory was portrayed as a brave supporter of the national identity of the Croatian part of the nation and a fierce opponent of

⁵³⁰ 'Pred Meštrovićevim Grgurom Ninskim. Reč dra Tartalje pred kraljevim izaslanikom Nj. V. Knezom Pavlom pre otkrića spomenika', *Jadranska straža* 7 (1929)/11: 296-7. ["Božji i narodni prosvjetitelj, koji (...) uz vjersku provede i prosvjetnu ideju Ćirila i Metoda i ka konačnoj pobjedi dovede ne samo slovenski jezik u našim crkvama, već i materinsku riječ u našim knjigama, u našim kolibama i palačama, spasivši tako narod i ove obale od odnarođenja i propasti i sačuvavši ih kroz vjekove prošlosti za našu današnju veliku domovinu."]

attempts by foreign enemies to alienate the Croatian part of the nation from its national soul, language and culture (Pejanović 1930).

Such interpretations of Gregory of Nin were not unanimously accepted. In an article in *Hrvatska revija*, the journal published by *Matica hrvatska*, the novelist Milutin Cihlar Nehajev for example argued that the “national church” of Gregory of Nin, as it was glorified by Ivan Meštrović and other Yugoslav intellectuals, was in fact naively romantic and doomed to fail in the political circumstances of the period. In fact, if Gregory had succeeded in preserving the autonomy of the Croatian Catholic Church, the Croatian Kingdom would have been immediately conquered by Hungary, Venice or the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, the decision made by the Croatian Kings Tomislav and Krešimir to install Latin as the language of liturgy had been the only politically correct decision (Nehajev 1929). Such a “cold scientific” explanation was, for its part, rejected by Niko Bartulović, who referred to the people’s spontaneous love for Gregory’s battle. This proved that it was irrelevant that Gregory’s battle had been rationally unsuccessful, what was relevant was the national consciousness it expressed. In Bartulović’s view, Gregory of Nin was a sort of cultural Kosovo for the Croats, their last resistance and first sacrifice in the battle of Slavdom against Latinity along the Adriatic Coast (Bartulović 1929: 20-2).

Bartulović proceeded by drawing a parallel between Gregory of Nin and St. Sava, who had both strongly connected their church with national life in their battle for an independent national church. The following passage deserves to be quoted at length, because it perfectly expressed the basic idea behind the integral Yugoslav approach to religious difference between Catholics and Orthodox:

Croats and Serbs sincerely and wholeheartedly accepted the Christian faith, and they were prepared to adhere to the civilisations of older nations. However, the Slavonic element was so fresh and so different from the Latin and Byzantine, that every strong individual among Serbs and Croats instinctively felt the need to preserve the fresh characteristics of his race, to protect it in advance against the danger that a young nation (...) would completely drown and disappear forever (Bartulović 1929: 23).⁵³¹

The two figures who first felt the need to protect their nation were St. Sava and Gregory of Nin:

⁵³¹ [“Hrvati i Srbi su primili iskreno i od srca hrišćansku veru i sa najvećom pripravnosću prionuli civilizaciji starijih naroda. Ali slovenski elemenat bio je toliko svež i različit od latinskog i bizantinskog, da je svaki jači individuum kod Srba i kod Hrvata osećao instinktivnu nuždu da baš te sveže odlike svoje rasnosti očuva, te da se već unapred odbrani opasnosti, da se još mladi narod (...) posve u njoj ne utopi i tako za uvek iščezne”.]

Serbs honour Sava as a saint who gave the Serbian Church its national character and who gave the Serbian state idea a spiritual content. In all later efforts in that field St. Sava remained a model and flag. Gregory of Nin did not completely succeed in doing the same for the Croatian Church and state, because he was living in much more difficult circumstances, he had to fight much stronger opponents and he lived almost three centuries earlier. Precisely for that reasons his efforts deserve attention and honour, not only from Croats, but from all Yugoslavs (ibid: 23).⁵³²

The crucial point in the inclusion of Gregory of Nin and the Glagolitic and Slavonic tradition in Croatian Catholicism in definitions of Yugoslav national identity was thus the potential parallelism with the Serbian Orthodox Church. In an article on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Gregory of Nin Laza Popović stressed that, notwithstanding the ornamental differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, there were many similarities in the actual religious experiences of Serbs and Croats, because both were closely linked to the common Yugoslav national spirit. This was exemplified by Gregory, who had fought for a religion close to the people and, as was logical within Popović's Yugoslavism, for the preservation of the Yugoslav national character of the Croatian church (Popović L. 1929). Thus, Gregory of Nin symbolised the national character of the Catholic religion among the Croats and its link with Serbian Orthodoxy.

A second crucial figure for the definition of Croatian Catholicism as fundamentally Yugoslav was Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer. As we have already seen, Strossmayer occupied a prominent and multifaceted place in all curricula under scrutiny. Indeed, he was not only remembered for his place in the Croatian Catholic Church, but also as an important pro-Yugoslav politician and cultural activist. His birthday (4 February) was annually celebrated as a school holiday.⁵³³ As a Catholic bishop who had explicitly supported the idea of national unity of Serbs and Croats, as well as the necessity of religious rapprochement and tolerance among them, in addition to his role in the field of politics and culture, Strossmayer was of course very useful in the Yugoslav educational program. Another great advantage was that Strossmayer, and even more so

⁵³² ["Srbi poštuju Savu kao sveca koji je srpskoj crkvi dao nacionalni karakter i koji je dao duhovnu sadržinu srpskoj državnoj ideji. U svim poznijim nastojanjima na tom polju Sveti Sava je ostao uzor i barjak. Grgur Ninski nije uspeo da učini to do kraja za hrvatsku crkvu ni za hrvatsku državu, jer je bio u daleko težim prilikama, trebao je da se bori sa daleko jačim protivnicima i živio za gotovo tri stoleća ranije. Ali baš zato njegovi naponi zaslužuju naročitu pažnju i poštovanje, ne same Hrvata, nego i svih Jugoslovena"]

⁵³³ 'Izmena pomenutih odredaba u pravilniku o praznovanju praznika P.br. 15.791 od 22. septembra 1928. god.' S.n. br. 44.972, 12 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 1075; 'Izmena pomenutih odredaba u pravilniku o praznovanju praznika P.br. 15.791 od 22. septembra 1928. god.' O.n. br. 101.457, 20 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 1076-7; 'Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola'. O.n. Br. 37.803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 728-33.

his long-time associate Franjo Rački, had left behind a large number of quotes and writings in which they explicitly formulated their ideas of national unity and religious tolerance. Not surprisingly, the two figures occupied a prominent place in Yugoslav journals and newspapers, as well as in standard works on Yugoslavism of the period (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 892-4; Novak V. 1930: 215-29, 235-7; Šišić 1937: 117-30). Especially in the 1930s, when the Catholic Church took a more oppositional standpoint toward the dictatorship and Yugoslavism, Yugoslav ideologues typically pointed to a number of quotations or letters from Strossmayer as examples of the 'true', patriotic branch of the Yugoslav Catholic Church (e.g. Roca 1937: 420).

As with Gregory of Nin, Yugoslav ideologues highlighted parallelisms between Strossmayer and St. Sava. Whereas in the case of Gregory and Sava attention was paid to their role in the preservation of a national church, Sava and Strossmayer were compared on the basis of their roles as Enlighteners of the people. As argued by Frano Ivanišević, both had had the goal to "awake the people's consciousness, which had almost disappeared under foreign yoke, to fight for its faith, its language, its physical and spiritual freedom" (Ivanišević 1935: 114).⁵³⁴ Both were celebrated as the first enlighteners of Serbs/Croats, who had laid the basis for the spiritual liberation and unification of the Yugoslavs. This idea was also the motif behind the celebration of their holidays as parallel school holidays.

It should be remarked here that some Yugoslav ideologues interpreted the work of Primož Trubar and the Protestant movement in Slovenia and Croatia, historical events which were included in history curricula, as a proof of the national character of religion in these regions and as the Slovenian parallel to St. Sava for the Serbs, and Gregory of Nin and Strossmayer for the Croats. Josip Škavić, for example, argued that Trubar and his associates had served the nationalisation of the church in Slovenia by introducing the local language in liturgy and religious writings, just like St. Sava and Gregory of Nin had done for Serbs and Croats (Škavić 1923: 272-3).

4.6.2.4 The place of South Slavs Muslims within the Christian Yugoslav nation

Educational authorities obviously intended to give the Orthodox-Catholic division a place within Yugoslav national unity by highlighting the common Christian and national character of both religions. Of course, this raises the question which place South Slav Muslims occupied in the definition of Yugoslav national identity presented in the educational program. In pre-First World War definitions of both Serbian and Croatian collective identity the Ottomans had occupied a prominent, negative position

⁵³⁴ ["da probude u narodu svest, koja je bila pod tuđinskim jarmom gotovo zamrla, neka se bori za svoju veru, za svoj jezik, za svoju telesnu i duhovnu slobodu"].

as the 'Other' against whom Serbs and Croats had defended themselves and Christian Europe for centuries.⁵³⁵ Of course, such unbalanced negative positions toward everything Ottoman Muslim seriously complicated the integration of South Slav Muslims in the Croatian, Serbian or Yugoslav nation. Although in the course of the 19th and early 20th century the Ottoman threat and its strong impact on Serbian and Croatian self-definition had become less relevant, it was clear that interwar Yugoslav ideologists had to find new strategies for integrating South Slav Muslims in the Yugoslav nation.

Curricula of the 1920s made no reference at all to South Slav Muslims, clarifying that the authorities either did not consider Muslim collective identity important enough to be taken into consideration, or had not yet formulated clear strategies regarding the position of South Slav Muslims in the Yugoslav nation. Also in other facets of the educational program Muslims were not taken into consideration seriously. In the early 1920s, for example, Muslims in the Sandžak, Kosovo and Macedonia were still expected to go to state schools with an exclusively Orthodox character, in which every school day started with an Orthodox prayer, in which religious education was Orthodox and in which the children were obliged to participate in the religious celebration of St. Sava's Day (Rebac 1922: 176; Simić S. 1920: 461). In Bosnia-Herzegovina the situation was not that dramatic, but here too no attempts were made to make the network of state schools more appealing for Muslims.

This reflected a broader hesitation concerning the place of South Slav Muslims within the new circumstances of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Atif Purivatra has cited numerous examples of physical violence against Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the disproportionally low number of Muslims in administrative organs in the immediate post-war period (Purivatra 1974: 46-65, 85-106, 315-20). To be sure, these tensions resulted from the specific confessional character of the landlord-tenant relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, the tensions not only affected Muslim landlords but also smallholders, and were thus unmistakably confessional in character and illustrate the problematic integration of South Slav Muslims in the new Kingdom (Banac 1984: 367-8). In a 1923 article in *Nova Evropa* S. Ljubičić complained that Yugoslav Muslims were completely ignored in the Yugoslav Kingdom, although they were the purest representatives of the Yugoslav nation qua language, habits and type. According to Ljubičić Yugoslav Muslims were still regarded as 'Turks', as foreigners. The isolation of the South Slav Muslims would only increase as a reaction against the suspicion against them from the part of other Yugoslavs. Therefore Ljubičić urged Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to behave as true brothers of the South Slav Muslims

⁵³⁵ For an overview of the *antemurale* motif in Croatian symbolic identity, see Žanić (2005: 35-58). For the negative treatment of South Slav converts to Islam by Serbian historians, see Aleksov (2005: 158-75).

(Ljubinčić 1923). However, in the same issue of *Nova Evropa* Milan Ćurčin clarified that he had hoped to edit a special issue of the journal on Yugoslav Muslims, but that not one article had been submitted by Muslims themselves. According to Ćurčin this showed that Muslims had not yet decided for themselves which role they should play in the new state (Ćurčin 1923).

Only in the curricula of the 1930s a more qualified position was taken toward the Muslim faith as humble attempts were made to integrate symbolic resources linked to South Slav Muslims within Yugoslav national identity. In the elementary school curriculum for history for the fourth year the conversion to Islam among South Slavs was treated, as well as the figure of Mehmed Sokolović, the 16th century Great Vizier of the Ottoman Empire of South Slav Bosnian origin. In the 1936 curriculum for civil schools a reference to “Islam in our lands” was made. In the 1932 temporary curriculum for higher elementary schools as well as the 1930 history curriculum for the third year of secondary schools the more problematic reference to “Serbian Muslims” was included, which presupposed the Serbianness of Muslims. I first look more in detail at the way conversion to Islam was incorporated in the Yugoslav national narrative and then I turn to the issue of the Muslims’ ‘tribal’ belonging.

How to incorporate the conversion to Islam of South Slavs in the Yugoslav national narrative?

In his history of Yugoslavia Vladimir Ćorović argued that most South Slav Muslims converted to Islam in search of protection, especially against missionaries of the Hungarian King or the Pope who were active against the “Bosnian church”, or in search of a better life. However, he stressed that “their acceptance of Islam (...) was not profound, just like our acceptance of Christianity” (Ćorović 1933: 287).⁵³⁶ Thus, Ćorović reduced the impact of the division Islam-Christianity among South Slavs by arguing that the conversion to Islam had been rather superficial and certainly subordinate to

⁵³⁶ [“njihovo primanje islama (...) nije bilo duboko, kao, u ostalom, ni naše primanje hrišćanstva.”] The Bosnian Church refers to a regional church in medieval Bosnia between the 13th and 15th century, of which the status and political and societal influence remains disputed (Bogomil heretic, Orthodox; or a schismatic branch of the Catholic Church) but which certainly indicates the weakness of Orthodox or Catholic church organisation in the region (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 150, 259; Donia & Fine 1994: 17-44). In interwar Yugoslav historiography the Bosnian Church was interpreted as a Yugoslav national church, which preserved a “national” hierarchy and the “national” language and originated in a national reaction against the “foreign” influence of Hungarian Catholic missionaries (Ćorović 1929: 16-7). Vladimir Ćorović supported the theory that the doctrine of the Bosnian Church was essentially Bogomil, which had been put forward by Franjo Rački. Another scholar of the period, Vaso Glušac, maintained that the Bosnian Church was essentially Orthodox in doctrine (Fine 2007: 21-2).

Yugoslav national origins. Similar points were made by Yugoslav-oriented Muslim intellectuals. In an article which was initially published in *Srpski književni glasnik* and later republished in *Gajret* Hasan Rebac argued that the conversion to Islam of South Slavs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak had to be understood as a result of the weakness of Catholicism and Orthodoxy in these regions, and as a reaction against the aggressive and suppressive character of Hungarian Catholic missions. Further, Rebac stressed that South Slav Muslims had never been profoundly influenced by the Turkish national Islam of the Ottoman central authorities and that they had been able to develop their own form of Islam. As a consequence, Islam did not dissociate South Slav Muslims from their authentic national identity (Rebac 1925: 282-3). In a 1929 article in *Gajret* Edhem Miralem interpreted the fact that South Slav Muslims had retained the purest Yugoslav national identity, regardless of all powerful means the Turks had used to assimilate them into Turks, as a sign of their racial purity and strength (Miralem 1929). In later articles – which would be published as a book by the State Publishing House in 1934 – Miralem treated a number of historical figures who illustrated the continuing national consciousness and racial strength of South Slav Muslims, such as Mehmed Sokolović or Husein-kapetan Gradaščević, a local ruler who challenged the central authorities in order to gain more autonomy for Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1830s (Miralem 1933).

The point that South Slav Muslims had retained their nationhood regardless of their conversion to Islam was made more in detail by a number of “characterologists”, such as Jovan Cvijić and Tihomir Đorđević, who continued a Serbian tradition of works with a scholarly aura on pre-Islamic folk customs among South Slav Muslims (Aleksov 2005: 171-5). These characterologists typically listed a whole number of pre-Islamic cultural remnants among Yugoslav Muslims, namely: language, folk literature, names, customs, the celebration of Christian saints or holidays, *slava* (the celebration of the family’s patron saint) and marriage festivities, rituals concerning the dead and close family ties, and argued that such shared customs illustrated the continuing impact of the common national origins of South Slav Christians and Muslims (Cvijić 1966 [1922]: 408-17; Đorđević T. 1931). Especially the cult of Christian saints among South Slav Muslims was a very popular theme in interwar Yugoslav media (Rohdewald 2009: 161-70). Vladimir Ćorović himself published a study on this topic and in his *History of Yugoslavia* he enumerated a number of Christian saints which were worshipped by Muslims to prove that their acceptance of Islam was not really profound (Ćorović 1933: 287-8). Obviously, such an approach reduced the division Islam-Christianity in the direction of the Christian side, by stressing that South Slav Muslims were converted Christians and that they had preserved a number of Christian traditions.

Within the larger narrative of Yugoslav national history, in which the Ottoman Other continued to play a crucial role, such a small concession to South Slav Muslims remained peripheral and did not challenge the fundamentally Christian character of the

Yugoslav nation. In that sense the position of South Slav Muslims within the Yugoslav nation corresponds to what Mary Neuburger has termed the “Orient within” in her study of Muslims in the Bulgarian independent state. In the Yugoslav case too there was an “ambiguous interplay between sameness and difference” in the relation between Christian and Muslim Yugoslavs, in the Yugoslav educational program too “notions of Muslim difference were always in competition with assumptions about sameness and apprehensions about hybridity” (Neuburger 2004: 5-6). Although the curricula of the 1930s show that attempts were made to integrate South Slav Muslims within the Yugoslav nation and illustrate a nascent awareness that Muslim collective identity to some extent had to be taken into consideration, these attempts were always situated within the contours of an overarching division between Occident and Orient which continued to give meaning to Yugoslav national identity and to internal relations between Christians and Muslims in Yugoslavia, a phenomenon for which Milica Bakić-Hayden has coined the term “nesting orientalisms” (Bakić-Hayden 1995).

The difficult balance between notions of Muslim difference and sameness is perfectly illustrated in the interpretation of Petar Petrović Njegoš’s magnum opus ‘The Mountain Wreath’ (*Gorski vijenac*) as one of the greatest works in Yugoslav literature and thus one of the exponents of Yugoslav national identity and culture. In September 1925 Njegoš’s mortal remains were transferred to a new mausoleum at Lovćen – the initial mausoleum had been destroyed by the Austrian army during the World War – in the presence of King Aleksandar himself (Wachtel 2004: 135-9).⁵³⁷ On a commemorative plate above the entrance to the chapel Njegoš was praised as “the immortal apostle and messenger of the unity of our nation”.⁵³⁸ How precisely this claim about the great national meaning of Njegoš should be substantiated was left open for interpretation. As already clarified, Njegoš occupied a very prominent and multifaceted position in definitions of Yugoslav national identity and was treated in curricula for literary history and history. Indeed, he was not only praised for his literary work, but also as a great religious and philosophical thinker, as well as a visionary political leader. Many commentaries focused on Njegoš’s broad political role, referring to his numerous letters of support to other political leaders of South Slavs as evidence of his visionary Yugoslav national consciousness and

⁵³⁷ Initially, King Aleksandar had commissioned Ivan Meštrović to design the new mausoleum for Njegoš. However, this plan was called off after the church leaders had strongly opposed Meštrović’s design, because his mausoleum included only few Christian elements, and according to the church authorities looked more like a pagan temple or an Egyptian pyramid (Đurović 1994: 76). The final chapel was based on a project by Nikola Krasnov and evoked the architecture of Dalmatian pre-Roman rotundas and the local building tradition (Ignjatović 2008: 384).

⁵³⁸ ‘Prenos Njegoševih kostiju.’ *Politika* 22.09.1925: 3. [“besmrtni apostol i vesnik jedinstva našeg naroda.”]

remained rather silent about his literary work (e.g. Jovanović D. 1925; Šišić 1937: 111-5; Škerović 1925).

However, as Andrew Wachtel has pointed out, it is interesting to see which strategies were used to make 'The Mountain Wreath', which was considered his greatest work and consequently one of the greatest works of Yugoslav literature, but had a strong message of intolerance toward Islamised South Slavs, "acceptable, nay admirable in a Yugoslav context" (Wachtel 2004: 139). The central character in 'The Mountain Wreath' is Bishop Danilo, whose historical prototype was the prince-bishop of Montenegro at the turn of the 18th century. Danilo is tragically paralysed by contradictory desires: on the one hand he is alarmed by the slow conversion of South Slavs to Islam, which threatens Montenegro's hard-won freedom, but on the other hand he is reluctant to go over to the destruction of converts to Islam the leaders of the Montenegrin tribes call for because he recognises the blood bonds with these South Slav Muslims. In the end Montenegrin leaders win over Bishop Danilo and go over to the ridding of the land of converts to Islam (Wachtel 1998: 44-51, 2004: 133). Some Yugoslav intellectuals reduced the historical plot of the work to a peripheral element and turned to more abstract core elements. Pavle Popović for example only spoke about "an important historical event from the beginning of the 18th century, the annihilation of South Slav converts to the Turkish faith, the liberation of Montenegro from the Turks"⁵³⁹, but then turned to more abstract qualities of the work, namely: its link with folk literature, its *couleur locale*, its deep philosophy (the pessimism of a great mind in an uncultured surrounding) and its stylistic value (Popović P. 1927: 97-9, quotation on 98). Ljubomir Stojanović explicitly claimed that 'The Mountain Wreath' was not a historical epic, arguing that the annihilation of the converts to Islam was an insignificant event in history. According to Stojanović it was a work about Montenegrins and life in general, for which Njegoš simply chose a historical event to make it more tangible and lasting (Stojanović Lj. 1925).

Other commentaries focused on the inner tragedy of *vladika* Danilo. Slobodan Jovanović for example stressed that 'The Mountain Wreath' in fact dealt with the harsh and unattainable character of historical destiny, stressing that for Danilo the slaughtering of the Muslims "was not a triumph, but a hard sacrifice, from which his soul remained inconsolable and sad" (Jovanović S. 1925: 488).⁵⁴⁰ Similarly, Rastko Petrović argued that the work in essence revolved around the tragedy of *vladika* Danilo, of a man who, against the background of a contemporary apocalypse, was confronted

⁵³⁹ Popović uses the term *poturica*, which translates he/she who has become a Turk. It refers to South Slav Muslims, and has a pejorative connotation. ["Jedan važan istorijski događaj iz početka 18 veka, istraga poturica u Crnoj Gori, oslobogjenje Crne Gore od Turaka."]

⁵⁴⁰ ["nije nikakav trijumf, nego teška žrtva od koje njegova duša ostaje neutešna i bolna."]

with the law of nature, but had not yet fully accepted it (Petrović R. 1925). Pero Slijepčević listed a number of qualities of Njegoš's work, especially referring to its poetical/stylistic, philosophical, religious and historical depth. Thereby, Slijepčević explicitly denied that Njegoš was a local ruler who did injustice to the Muslims. Rather, "I don't know any work where the enemy is poeticised more affectionately than the Turks in this work. It is not the fight of two Balkanians, but of two cultures, two spheres" (Slijepčević 1925a, quotation on page 513).⁵⁴¹

Still, the division Christianity-Islam and the depiction of South Slav Muslims as internal Others continued to occupy a central position in a number of interwar Yugoslav interpretations of the 'The Mountain Wreath'. On 18 September 1925, in the build-up to the transfer of Njegoš's remains to the mausoleum, *Politika* cited the passage in the work where the slaughtering of the converts to Islam is treated, under the title 'How the converts to the Turkish faith were exterminated in Montenegro'.⁵⁴² Some Yugoslav-orientated commentaries directly referred to the division Christianity-Islam in their interpretations of the work. Branko Lazarević called 'The Mountain Wreath' one of the three greatest products of Yugoslav national culture, beside folk literature and Meštrović. Lazarević first focused on the abstract religious-philosophical elements in the work. However, he also dealt with the concrete historical plot of the work. According to Lazarević the "Turkification of our people on the one hand, and the basic ideal of Kosovo and Christianity on the other hand, are the fundamentals of 'The Mountain Wreath' (Lazarević B. 1925: 15).⁵⁴³ Similarly, Nedeljko Divac, one of the leading figures in the Association of Yugoslav Secondary School Teachers, argued that 'The Mountain Wreath' dealt with "the battle between justice and tyranny, cross and crescent, Serbdom and Islam" (Divac 1925: 554).⁵⁴⁴ According to Divac, Njegoš presented this battle against Islam and Islamicised South Slavs as a natural, logical and religiously and morally correct battle (Divac 1925). Svetozar Matić stated that Njegoš had read and liked Ivan Gundulić's 'Osman' because of Gundulić's "hatred against Turks, his seriousness and abstractness and his Slav and Serbian sentiments" (Matić 1925: 523).⁵⁴⁵ Although these intellectuals did not explicitly exclude South Slav Muslims from Yugoslav nationhood, for them the clash between Islam and Christianity was a fundamental theme in Njegoš's work, and in Yugoslav national culture as a whole, with

⁵⁴¹ ["niti znam da je gde neprijatelj srdačnije umiven poezijom nego tamo Turci. Ne bore se ono dva Balkanca, no dve kulture, dve sfere."]

⁵⁴² 'Kako su istrebljene poturice u Crnoj Gori'. *Politika* 18.09.1925: 5-6.

⁵⁴³ ["turčenje naših ljudi, s jedne strane, i osnovni kosovski ideal i Hrišćanstvo, s druge strane, osnove su 'Gorskog Vijenca'."]

⁵⁴⁴ ["borbe prava protiv tiranije, krsta protiv polumeseca, srpstva protiv muslimanstva."]

⁵⁴⁵ ["zbog Gundulićeve mržnje na Turke, zbog njegove ozbiljnosti i misaonosti, zbog njegovog slovenskog i srpskog osećanja"].

the Yugoslav nation obviously standing on the Christian side, and Muslims on the other side. Within such a framework the position of South Slav Muslims in Yugoslav nationhood was ambiguous and hybrid.

Even in comments which explicitly downplayed the importance of the historical plot the otherness of South Slav Muslims was often indirectly implied. In an article on the pedagogical quality of 'The Mountain Wreath' Jaša Prodanović interpreted it as a work of hope and ideals, regardless of the pessimistic themes which dominated the work at first sight (suicide, murder, the bloody annihilation of South Slav Muslims). It did not so much spread hatred, but rather high ideals of national freedom from any tyranny (Prodanović 1925: 558-62). Branislav Miljković considered the major theme in 'The Mountain Wreath' the heroism of the people in one specific historical event. However, the battle against Islamicised South Slavs was simply a consequence and not the goal of this heroism (Miljković 1925). Although these authors reduced the importance of the concrete historical plot, their insistence on the patriotism of this act obviously implied a degree of otherness of Islam and South Slav Muslims, against whom this heroism was directed.

Hybrid views on the national consciousness of South Slav Muslims were also apparent in political life in Yugoslavia, especially within the framework of political battles between Serbian Radicals, HSS and JMO in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Srpska riječ* ('The Serbian Word'), the newspaper of Bosnian Radicals in Sarajevo, and other Radical publications, frequently attacked JMO as a party of anti-state and anti-national elements (Purivatra 1974: 211-4, 219-20, 237-8). Especially Milan Srškić, the leader of Bosnian Radicals and later Minister and Prime Minister under the dictatorship, frequently made statements about the South Slav Muslims' and especially JMO's 'clericalism' which dissociated them from the Yugoslav nation and state (Purivatra 1974: 226, f. 119, 264-5, f. 9, 387, f. 44, 396-9, 414-6). Irregularities from the part of local authorities associated with the Radical-Independent Democrat government against JMO supporters were frequent in the period between the 1923 and 1925 elections (ibid: 258-60, 284-90). At the same time, however, the Radical Party attempted to win over Bosnian Muslims to its side, departing from the viewpoint that Bosnian Muslims belonged to the Serbian 'tribe' (ibid: 108-9, 274-80, 324-38, 388-9). Similarly, the Croatian Peasant Party frequently organised public meetings in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which it stressed the national bonds between Bosnian Muslims and Croats (ibid: 200-4, 280-2, 338-9). Such claims were contradictory with Radić's assertions that Yugoslav Muslims were "Turks" and "Sulejman's" after JMO had joined the Radical government of Vukićević (ibid: 399-400).⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁶ ["Turcima", "Sulejmanima"]

Whose are South Slav Muslims?

An additional and specific problem with regard to the position of Muslims within Yugoslav national identity was the question to which 'tribe' the South Slav Muslims belonged. In the course of the 19th century, and certainly after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, "begann der national-ideologische Kampf zwischen Kroatentum und Serbentum um Bosnien" (Džaja 1994: 193). Both Croatian and Serbian intellectuals and politicians attempted to enforce their territorial claims to Bosnia-Herzegovina by including Bosnian Muslims in their respective nation (Aleksov 2005: 162-75; Džaja 1994: 192-218; Okey 2011: 351-62; Purivatra 1974: 219-22). Such competing claims not only caused rivalry between Serbian and Croatian ideologues, but also among members of the Bosnian Muslim intelligentsia: part of the Bosnian Muslims intellectuals accepted Serbian nationhood, a larger part Croatian nationhood, whereas a third part opted for a form of Pan-Islamic religious identity (Banac 1984: 359-67; Vervaeet 2010). Within the new circumstances of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes Yugoslav national identity provided possibilities to circumvent the thorny question of the South Slav Muslims' 'tribal' affiliation, an option for which the leaders and intellectuals close to the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation opted (Purivatra 1974: 538-78). In a representative article of 1921 one of the leaders of JMO Sakib Korkut refuted the theory that Yugoslavism could only be realised via Serbian or Croatian nationalism, in other words that South Slav Muslims first had to become Serb or Croat before they could be a proper Yugoslav. In his opinion Yugoslavism, unlike Serbdom and Croatdom, was not linked to religion and was therefore easily and directly acceptable for South Slav Muslims (ibid: 555). Another possibility to avoid disputes surrounding the national or 'tribal' affiliation of South Slav Muslims departed from the religious togetherness of South Slav Muslims. In a 1925 article in *Nova Evropa* Osman Nurij Beg Firdus argued that the constant pressure on South Slav Muslims to declare themselves as either Serbs or Croats had made them a-national. For Muslims Islam was much more important than national identity. They realised that they were part of the Serbo-Croatian nation, but they refused to make a choice between Serbian and Croatian collective belonging because this would mean denying their Muslim religious identity (Nurij Beg Firdus 1925).

However, for many interwar intellectuals it remained impossible to look at South Slav Muslims beyond 'tribal' affiliations. Neutral approaches like that of Tihomir Đorđević, who spoke about Yugoslav Muslims or our Muslims, were rare (Đorđević T. 1931). Even in the period of the Royal Dictatorship integral Yugoslav ideologists, who were generally reluctant to refer to 'tribal' traditions, spoke about South Slav Muslims' Serbian origins. In his *History of Yugoslavia* Vladimir Ćorović for example continued to speak about Serb Muslims ("Srbi muslimani") (Ćorović 1933: 288). In an article in the integral Yugoslav journal *Jugosloven* Hamza Humo, a Serb-orientated Muslim intellectual

and writer, argued against the “empty” Yugoslavism of the former JMO because “lived tribal national consciousness” was a necessary basis for Yugoslavism (Humo 1932: 137).⁵⁴⁷ According to Humo it was natural for South Slav Muslims to be nationally educated in the ‘tribal’ Serbian spirit, on the basis of the similarity of their mentalities and their folk songs (ibid: 138). Similar references to South Slav Muslims as Serbs also continued to characterise the dictatorship’s educational policy, as illustrated in the mentioning of *Srbi muslimani* in curricula of the 1930s, or in the seemingly absurd – within the framework of the Royal Dictatorship’s integral Yugoslavism – decision to change the name of *Gajret* to ‘Serbian Muslim cultural-educational association Gajret’ (*Srpsko-muslimansko kulturno-prosvjetno društvo Gajret*). Although this decision was taken at the annual conference of July 1930, it has been argued by intellectuals close to the leadership of *Gajret* that the initiative for this decision was imposed on by state authorities (Kemura 1986: 189-93).

For sure, the Serbian declaration of *Gajret* did not come out of the blue. In the years leading to the First World War Serb-orientated Muslim intellectuals had gained increasing prominence within the leadership of *Gajret*, under the leadership of writer, journalist and politician Osman Đikić (Kemura 1986: 68-77). Throughout the 1920s *Gajret* was dominated by self-declared Serbian Muslims like Avdo Hasanbegović, Šukrija Kurtović, Ibrahim Hadžiomerović and Hasan Rebac, many of whom had fought in the first Serbian volunteers’ division. Although *Gajret* throughout the 1920s was quite careful in proclaiming its Serbian affiliation, it was clear that the association inclined to the Serbian ‘tribe’ of the Yugoslav nation. In a 1925 article, which had initially been published in *Srpski književni glasnik* and was republished in *Gajret*’s journal, Hasan Rebac, one of the leading figures in *Gajret*, stressed that “the conversion to Islam has not alienated our Muslims from the habits and customs they have had before they accepted Islam and they remained, by language, habits and customs, true descendants and sons of heathen and Christian-heretic Serbs” (Rebac 1925: 282).⁵⁴⁸ In an article which was published in 1928 in *Srpski književni glasnik* Rebac clarified that the goal of *Gajret* was the national education of Muslims, first as Serbs and then as Yugoslavs (Rebac 1928: esp. 40). The Serb-oriented position of *Gajret* was further illustrated by the establishment of a branch in Belgrade, which stimulated Muslims to study in Belgrade (and not in Zagreb) and was named after the self-declared Serbian Muslim Osman Đikić (Kemura 1986: 159-62).

The establishment of *Narodna uzdanica* further illustrated the polarisation between Croat and Serb-orientated Muslim intellectuals. Already in 1922, at the 12th annual

⁵⁴⁷ [“bezsadržajno”, “proživljena nacionalna plemenska svest”]

⁵⁴⁸ [“Primanje islama nije naše muslimane udaljilo od običaja i navika koje su imali i pre primanje islama i oni su ostali, po jeziku, navikama i običajima, pravi potomci i sinovi paganski i hrišćanski-heretičkih Srba.”]

conference of *Gajret*, the local branch of *Gajret* in Zagreb had complained that the more or less Serbian colour of *Gajret* made many intellectuals refrain from entering *Gajret*. Therefore, it demanded that *Gajret* would be led in a broad Yugoslav conception, without “national tribal” exclusivity. This criticism was countered by the central committee with arguments that both self-declared Serbs and Croats were represented in *Gajret* and that both groups were evaluated on the basis of their Yugoslav national work.⁵⁴⁹ The foundation of *Narodna uzdanica* in 1923 was an obvious Croat-oriented reaction against the Serbian character of *Gajret* in that period and the association’s political affiliation with the Radical party (Kemura 2002: 20-4). Although both *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica* were careful in openly exposing Serbian or Croatian national belonging, the division between both associations was clearly interpreted as a Serb-Croat division. In 1927, for example, the leadership of *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica* unsuccessfully discussed the potential merging of both associations. Some of the demands which were raised referred to the free national declaration of members of the new association – either Yugoslav, Serb or Croat – and the equal representation of Croats and Serbs in the central committee (Kemura 2002: 55-6). Tellingly was also that in 1929 the leadership of *Narodna uzdanica* requested that Prince Tomislav – the prince who symbolically represented the Croatian ‘tribe’ – would become protector of *Narodna uzdanica*, parallel to the acting of Prince Petar – who symbolically represented the Serbian ‘tribe’ – as protector of *Gajret*, a demand which was quickly neutralised by *Gajret* President Avdo Hasanbegović (ibid: 51-2). In contrast to *Gajret*, *Narodna uzdanica* sent a majority of its students to the University of Zagreb, where the local branch of *Narodna uzdanica* was led by prominent Croatian intellectuals. From 1935 its President was Milan Dečak, a lawyer and the leader of the Croatian Sokol (cf. 7.3.1). Another Croatian intellectual who stood close the local branch of *Narodna uzdanica* in Zagreb was Filip Lukas, the President of *Matica hrvatska* (Kemura 2002: 68-76, 114).

Strangely enough, at least within the ideological framework of the dictatorship, during the 1930s the Croat-Serb distinction between *Narodna uzdanica* and *Gajret* only increased. In the 1930s *Gajret* officially became a Serbian-Muslim instead of a (Yugoslav) Muslim cultural association, not only in name but also in the discourse and symbols which were used. Articles in *Gajret*’s journal spoke about Serbs Muslims (*srbi muslimani*).⁵⁵⁰ In Edhem Miralem’s series of articles on the racial strength of Yugoslav Muslims examples were given of Yugoslav Muslims who had preserved their Serbian national consciousness and language, as Mehmed Sokolović (Miralem 1933: 6-8). Representatives of the state authorities saw no harm in speaking of *srbi muslimani*

⁵⁴⁹ *Gajret* 9 (1928)/6: 102.

⁵⁵⁰ ‘Gajretov dan’. *Gajret* 11 (1930): 449-50.

during public manifestations of *Gajret*. At *Gajret*'s 1932 congress Velimir Popović, governor of Drina banovina, declared that "for us, who belong to the Serbian tribe", the Serbian name of *Gajret* was a logical step, but, he added, it was also a step toward Yugoslav national consciousness.⁵⁵¹ In 1936 a mausoleum (*turbe*) for Osman Đikić was officially revealed in Mostar. The *turbe* for one of the most prominent self-declared Serbian Muslims had been erected with the financial and organisational support of *Gajret* and a significant donation from King Aleksandar. On the occasion of the official opening again representatives of the Senate and the Parliament spoke about *srbi muslimani*.⁵⁵² These discursive and symbolical acts indicate the position of the state authorities and the association's leadership toward the 'tribal' affiliation of *Gajret* and by extension South Slav Muslims.

The Serbian orientation of *Gajret* also affected the activities of local branches. During the 1930s *Gajret* closely cooperated with *Prosveta*, by means of a shared student home in Trebinje, the joint organisation of popular universities and popular lectures and common libraries.⁵⁵³ *Gajret* and *Prosveta* also frequently co-organised cultural happenings (*zabava*) and commemorations, and thus stimulated social interaction between Serbs and Muslims. In 1931, for instance, *Gajret* and *Prosveta* co-organised festivities on the occasion of King Aleksandar's birthday in Tuzla, Mostar and Bihać. On these occasions students of both associations recited patriotic poems, sang patriotic songs and performed patriotic theatre plays.⁵⁵⁴ Parallel, *Narodna uzdanica* frequently cooperated with *Napredak* for the organisation of cultural happenings (Kemura 2002: 183-6). A rare example of cooperation between cultural associations of the three ethno-confessional communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the organisation of a popular university in Mostar by *Gajret*, *Napredak* and *Prosveta*, with the goal to "level out religious and tribal differences through lectures".⁵⁵⁵

Within this context the competition between *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica* visualised the Serb-Yugoslav/Croat competition over South Slav Muslims, whereby the state authorities clearly took the side of *Gajret*. In January 1933 *Gajret* accused the teacher Mehmed Mulabdić of propagating *Narodna uzdanica* in Zvornik. He had for instance organised a tombola for *Narodna uzdanica*, as a result of which the *Gajret*-tombola had been unsuccessful.⁵⁵⁶ Mulabdić was transferred to Dragodol in western Serbia.⁵⁵⁷ In

⁵⁵¹ *Gajret* 13 (1932)/14-15: 227. ["za nas, koji pripadamo srpskom plemenu"].

⁵⁵² *Gajret* 17 (1936)/2: esp. 26, 27.

⁵⁵³ 'Saradnja sa Prosvjetom'. *Gajret* 13 (1932)/11-13: 176.

⁵⁵⁴ *Gajret* 13 (1932)/1: 7-9.

⁵⁵⁵ Report of the popular university of Mostar to the Ministry of Education, 15 February 1932. AJ 66-2277-2150. ["svojim predavanjima niveliše vjersko plemenske razlike"]

⁵⁵⁶ Report from *Gajret* to the authorities of Drina banovina, 14 January 1933. AJ 66(pov)-46-85.

⁵⁵⁷ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 22 March 1933. AJ 66(pov)-46-85.

February 1932 local authorities from Rogatica in eastern Bosnia reported that members of the Yugoslav Sokol and *Gajret* had attended a party which had been organised by *Narodna uzdanica*, an association which “stimulated the Croatian spirit” among Muslims and created “Croatism” instead of Yugoslavism.⁵⁵⁸ The local authorities suggested the transfer of a number of local state servants who had attended the party, in order to hamper the further development of *Narodna uzdanica*.⁵⁵⁹ This case clearly illustrates that the authorities were instrumental in imposing a national Croat/Serb-Yugoslav division upon the competition between *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica*, and in some cases even the competition itself.

The open Serb orientation of *Gajret* during the 1930s was not unanimously accepted by its membership. Ibrahim Kemura has cited numerous reports and declarations from local branches of *Gajret* which opposed the change of *Gajret*’s official name in 1930 and demanded that the association would refrain from imposing any ‘tribal’ affiliation on its members (Kemura 1986: 193-5). In September 1929 for example Arif Nožić, teacher and local representative of *Gajret*, resigned from his position in *Gajret* out of protest against the ‘tribal’ affiliation of *Gajret*. According to Nožić the local Muslim population was dissatisfied with the new name of *Gajret*, because they were “religiously national”.⁵⁶⁰ In December 1929 Nožić was transferred by the Ministry of Education.⁵⁶¹ Similarly, the Ministry of Education transferred the teacher Alija Čorda because he had protested against the new name of *Gajret*.⁵⁶² The Serbian orientation of *Gajret* was also used by former JMO-politicians, such as Fehim Spaho, the brother of Mehmed Spaho, and *Narodna uzdanica* to discredit *Gajret* as a proponent of the national and religious assimilation of South Slav Muslims to Orthodox Serbs, which reveals the potential unpopularity of the name change (ibid: 195-6). After the relaxation of the Royal Dictatorship the Serbian affiliation of *Gajret* was increasingly criticised within the association itself. At the annual congress of July 1936 Safet Mujić, delegate of the local committee in Mostar and member of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia-Herzegovina, argued:

There are certain questions which make no sense to Muslims, especially whether we are Serbs or Croats. The peasant feels Bosnian or Turk, but is especially aware

⁵⁵⁸ [“gaji hrvatski duh”, “hrvatizam”].

⁵⁵⁹ Report from the local authorities of Rogatica to the provincial authorities of Drina banovina, 12 February 1932. AJ 66(pov)-46-85.

⁵⁶⁰ Report from Arif Nožić to the central leadership of *Gajret*, 7 September 1929. AJ 66(pov)-68-173. [“vjerski nacionalni.”]

⁵⁶¹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 31 December 1929. AJ 66(pov)-68-173.

⁵⁶² Protest letter from Alija Čorda to the leadership of *Gajret*, 9 July 1929; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 13 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-68-173.

that he is his own master. Gajret has been permeated by a certain idea which is forced from above (...), and it should be obvious how much harm it has brought Gajret.⁵⁶³

After the *Sporazum* of 1939 the question of the 'tribal' affiliation of Bosnian Muslims became a hotly debated topic, not only among Serbian and Croatian intellectuals and politicians, but also among Bosnian Muslims themselves. *Gajret*'s journal continued to publish pro-Serbian articles, such as an article by Šukrija Kurtović, who argued that South Slav Muslims unquestionably belonged to the eastern, Serbian part of the nation on the basis of their mentality, popular culture and historical evidence in the Serbianness of King Tvrtko and Mehmed Sokolović (Kurtović 1940). However, the leadership of the association dissociated itself from such claims and supported the movement for autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a fourth banovina within a decentralised Yugoslavia, led by Džafer Kulenović, the successor of Mehmed Spaho as the leader of JMO. In November 1939 the central committee of *Gajret* formulated a resolution in which it fully supported the autonomy movement. This was accompanied with a Yugoslav national idea as a way to evade the Serb-Croat distinction. In the final resolution it was argued that there was enough historical and ethnographical proof that "precisely the Muslim element (...) has preserved its racial and Yugoslav national character" (qtd. in Kemura 1986: 253).⁵⁶⁴ In a joint proposal by eight local branches of *Gajret* it was explicitly stressed: "we are in fact not exclusively Serb or Croat, but both to the same extent" (qtd. in *ibid*).⁵⁶⁵ These developments indicate the limitations and eventual failure of the dictatorship's Serb-centred approach to South Slav Muslims and the continuing availability of Yugoslav nationhood among South Slav Muslim elites.

4.6.2.5 Conclusions

In Yugoslav school curricula of the interwar period religious diversity was integrated within the Yugoslav narrative by referring to the fundamentally national character of religion among the South Slavs. For the Christian churches curricula stressed their common Slavonic origins, personified by Saints Cyril and Methodius, as well as the continuing national character of the Orthodox and Catholic Church. The latter point was substantiated with references to St. Sava as the founder of the Serbian national

⁵⁶³ *Gajret* 16 (1936)/9: 128. ["Ima izvjesnih pitanja za koje muslimani ne pokazuju nikakav smisao, naročito ih se ne tiči da li smo Srbi ili Hrvati, seljak se osjeća Bošnjom ili Turčinom, ali se osjeća i da je svoj na svome. Kroz Gajret je pošla jedna ideja, koja je (...) nametnuto odozgo, pa bi trebalo vidjeti, koliko je to štete donijelo Gajretu."]

⁵⁶⁴ ["da je upravo muslimanski element onaj koji je (...) očuvao rasni i jugoslovenski nacionalni karakter."]

⁵⁶⁵ ["nijesmo u suštini isključivo ni Srbi ni Hrvati već obadvoje u jednakoj mjeri."]

church and the first enlightener of the Serbian people. Parallel, although slightly less successful historical roles in the Catholic Church had been played by Gregory of Nin and Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer.

Such a strong focus on the Christian nature of the Yugoslav nation made the position of South Slav Muslims within the nation highly problematic. Indicative of the peripheral position Muslims occupied within the putative Yugoslav nation, no strong incentives were provided for mediations between Muslim collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood. Only in curricula of the 1930s references to the low impact of the conversion to Islam on the Muslims' Yugoslav nationhood were included, indicating a nascent awareness of the necessity of incentives for mediations between Muslim collective identity and religiosity and Yugoslav nationhood. However, these references did not challenge the primarily Christian approach to Yugoslav religiosity and nationhood and the central role of Islam in the 'Otherness' of the Ottomans. Moreover, with regard to the question of South Slav Muslims' 'tribal' affiliation educational authorities continued to refer to the Serbian 'tribal' origins of Muslims, a claim which was generally challenged by Croats and increasingly rejected by Muslims themselves and limited the potential attractiveness of Yugoslavism for South Slav Muslim elites.

4.6.3 The complex relation between religious and national identity: religious and/or national holidays?

On 22 September 1928 the Ministry of Education formulated a rulebook for the celebration of school holidays, which prescribed that schools would be closed on state holidays, namely: 1 December (Unification Day), 17 December (the anniversary of King Aleksandar),⁵⁶⁶ as well as 24 May (Saints Cyril and Methodius Day). On 28 June (Vidovdan) the school year was festively ended (cf. 4.4.4.1). Additionally, St. Sava's Day – 27 January – had to be celebrated as a special school holiday. On Strossmayer's Day – 4 February – and Zrinski and Frankopan Day – 30 April – special lectures should be held during the first hour of the day in commemoration of these Croatian "giants". In places where a special church service was held Catholic pupils were allowed to attend the mass. Finally, the decree determined a number of religious holidays on which students of the religion in question were permitted absence from school. It was, however, specifically added that parents had the right to let their children go to school on religious holidays if the school was open. Schools where 60% or more of the pupils were absent because of a

⁵⁶⁶ The Law on Holidays was legalised on 27 September 1929. It installed two state holidays, 1 December and 17 December, and a number of religious holidays. 'Zakon o praznicima', *Službene novine* 11/233: 1882-3.

religious holiday were closed. In case less than 60% of the pupils were absent schools were opened, but new teaching material could only be given if less than 25% of the pupils was absent. No homework could be given on these days. Finally, Muslim pupils were allowed to go to the mosque on Fridays, and they were allowed to come to school two hours later or leave school two hours earlier during Ramadan.⁵⁶⁷ In December 1928 the ministry introduced some important changes and added Strossmayer's Day as an additional school holiday. Special lectures should be held on Zrinski and Frankopan Day, as well as on the day the Austro-Hungarian regions were liberated after the First World War (29 October). It is clear that these changes were meant as a gesture toward the Croatian part of the nation. The amendment of 20 December 1928 also clarified that Christmas and Easter holidays would last ten days. If more than 2/3 of the students was Catholic or Orthodox, the school in question would hold the holiday on Catholic or Orthodox Christmas and Easter. If the number of Catholics and Orthodox was more or less equal, the school would organise five days of holidays for Catholic Christmas and Easter each, and five days of holidays for Orthodox Christmas and Easter each.⁵⁶⁸ These prescriptions on school holidays were repeated in a decree of 10 June 1935.⁵⁶⁹

These prescriptions installed a number of religious holidays as school holidays for the entire school going youth, regardless of their religious affiliation, namely: Saints Cyril and Methodius' Day, Vidovdan, St. Sava's Day and Strossmayer's Day. The presupposition that these figures would be celebrated as shared national heroes and not as religious figures turned out very controversial and led to numerous disputes between representatives of the most important religious institutions in the country and the Ministry of Education, especially in the case of St. Sava's Day. Already on 28 December 1928 the Ministry of Education wrote out more detailed regulations to guarantee "that the celebration of St. Sava would fully preserve its character of a general state-educational holiday".⁵⁷⁰ In schools with a homogenous Orthodox pupil community, the festivities on St. Sava's Day was co-organised by the school and the local church. In case the Orthodox pupils formed a majority in the school, the religious service should be

⁵⁶⁷ 'Pravilnik o praznovanju praznika u osnovnim, srednjim i stručnim školama u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. P.br. 15.789, 22 September 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 796-8.

⁵⁶⁸ 'Izmena pomenutih odredaba u pravilniku o praznovanju praznika P.br. 15.791 od 22. septembra 1928. god.' S.n. br. 44.972, 12 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 1075; 'Izmena pomenutih odredaba u pravilniku o praznovanju praznika P.br. 15.791 od 22. septembra 1928. god.' O.n. br. 101.457, 20 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 1076-7.

⁵⁶⁹ 'Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola'. O.n. Br. 37.803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 728-33.

⁵⁷⁰ ["da bi proslava Svetog Save očuvala u potpunosti karakter opšteg državno-školskog praznika"]. 'Proslava Sv. Save, način izvođenja', P.br. 20.621, 28 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 45 (1929): 11-2. Quotation on page 11.

separated from the school festivities, so that non-Orthodox pupils would not have to attend the religious part of the holiday. Where Orthodox pupils formed a minority, the religious celebration could not take place in the school.

In any case it should be made sure that the celebration of St. Sava as national enlightener is understood and experienced by pupils and parents as a common national holiday. In that sense, especially in mixed schools attention has to be paid to the program of the festivities (speeches, declamations, songs, et cetera) so that everything takes place in the wide spirit of religious tolerance and national unity.⁵⁷¹

In article 4 of the rulebook on the performance of religious duties of 10 June 1935 it was explicitly repeated that the commemoration of St. Sava's Day consisted of a religious and a secular part. The religious part could only be attended by Orthodox pupils, the secular part was obligatory for all students.⁵⁷² Clearly, educational authorities attempted to establish a clear distinction between the Orthodox celebration of St. Sava and the national celebration of St. Sava at school. However, the fact that this distinction was not made for schools with a homogeneous Orthodox population already hints at the fuzzy and problematic nature of this division.

Regardless of these measures to embed the commemoration of St Sava within a broader Yugoslav framework and to detach the school holiday of St Sava from the Serbian Orthodox commemoration, at least for non-Orthodox children, the school celebration of St Sava's Day remained very controversial throughout the interwar period and led to frequent disputes between the state authorities and representatives of the religious institutions in Yugoslavia. Essentially, these controversies did not so much revolve around the Yugoslav national idea behind the state's educational policy, but rather around the appropriation of religious symbolic resources in definitions of Yugoslav national identity in education.

4.6.3.1 The Islamic Religious Community and St. Sava's Day

The inclusion of only Christian symbolic resources in the calendar of school holidays confirms the peripheral position of Islam in definitions of Yugoslav national identity in

⁵⁷¹ ["U svakom slučaju obratiti pažnju na to da se proslavljanje Svetog Save kao narodnog prosvetitelja shvati i oseti kod učenika i roditelja kao opšti narodni praznik. U tom smislu, naročito u mešovitim školama, obratiti pažnju na sam program svečanosti (govor, deklamacije, pesme i.t.d.) kako bi sve bilo u širokom duhu verske snošljivosti i narodnog jedinstva"]. 'Proslava Sv. Save, način izvođenja', P.br. 20.621, 28 December 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 45 (1929): 11-2. Quotation on page 12.

⁵⁷² 'Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola'. O.n. Br. 37803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 729.

education. Interestingly, representatives of the Islamic Religious Community in Yugoslavia did not demand the addition of Muslim religious holidays as state-wide school holidays, but rather suggested a strict division between religion and national education. At a congress of Muslim intellectuals, which was organised by *Gajret* within the context of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of its establishment, Džemaludin Čaušević, the head (*Reis-ul-ulema*) of the Islamic Religious Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who presided over the congress, complained that Muslim pupils were alienated from elementary schools because of the educational policy, which forced them to participate in Orthodox celebrations on holidays of St. Sava's Day, Sts. Cyril and Methodius or Vidovdan. He demanded that the Ministry of Education would guarantee that Muslims would no longer be forced to participate in religious holidays, because "in the twentieth century it is no longer necessary to spread nationalism in a religious spirit".⁵⁷³ A resolution which was adopted at the end of the congress demanded that:

All religious ceremonies which have nothing to do with education and which can give our schools an undesired and incorrect characteristic should be deleted from all schools, both civil and military. Like for any other faith for Muslims too the school has to be a temple for education and not for religious ceremonies (...). National holidays cannot be alienated from Muslims through such acts, in the interests of the idea of national unity and harmony.⁵⁷⁴

In other words, the congress of Muslim intellectuals complained that the celebration of Orthodox religious holidays in schools denied South Slav Muslims their *right* of national education. Instead, they demanded the removal of all religious elements from national education, which would allow South Slav Muslims to participate in Yugoslav national education.

In early 1930 Čaušević organised a boycott against the school celebration of St. Sava's Day. On 11 January 1930 Čaušević sent a circular in which he urged Muslim parents not to send their children to school on 27 January "because Islam forbids the celebration of saints from any church".⁵⁷⁵ On 15 January 1931 Čaušević complained to the provincial

⁵⁷³ ["U dvadesetom vijeku nije potrebno širiti nacionalizam u vjerskom duhu."] 'Kongres muslimana intelektualaca', *Gajret* 9 (1928)/19-20: 292.

⁵⁷⁴ 'Završetak kongresa muslimana intelektualaca', *Gajret* 9 (1928)/21: 349. ["da se iz svih škola, građanskih i vojnih, izbace sve vjerske ceremonije koje nemaju nikakve veze sa prosvjetom a u stanju su da daju neželjeno i pogrešno obilježje našoj školi. I muslimanima kao i svakoj drugoj vjeri treba da bude škola hram prosvjete a ne mjesto vjerskih ceremonija (...). Nacionalni praznici ne smiju se takim postupkom u školi otuđivati od muslimana. To traži interes ideje narodnog jedinstva i harmonije."]

⁵⁷⁵ "Pošto Islam zabranjuje svetkovati svece ma koje crkve, to se pozivaju svi muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini, da ne dozvoljavaju svojoj djeci prisustvovati svetosavskim svečanostima ma u kojoj formi one bile i da ne šalju svoju djecu u škole na dan 27/I svake godine". Quoted in a letter from the *Ulema medžlis* in Sarajevo, the

authorities of Drina banovina that his daughter had been forced to sing the Hymn to St. Sava at school, which glorified St Sava as the head of the Serbian church, schools and people and thus strongly intertwined religious and national categories and in fact did not fit in with the Ministry's distinction between religious and secular commemorations of St. Sava (Nielsen 2002: 220-2). In a letter of 20 January 1930 to the authorities of Drina banovina Čaušević repeated that Islam proscribed Muslims to celebrate mortal saints, which was why he had urged South Slav Muslims not to go to school on the Day of St. Sava, who was a saint of "our Orthodox brothers". He added that in these times, when it was necessary to bring peace and order, the state should avoid religious turbulence among Muslims.⁵⁷⁶ Finally, on 23 January 1930 the *Ulema medžlis* in Sarajevo sent similar complaints to the provincial authorities,⁵⁷⁷ and Čaušević sent a letter to Minister of Education Maksimović in which he gave the concrete example of teachers who had forced Muslim students to attend the celebration of St. Sava to convince them that there was only one true faith, Orthodoxy, and of local authorities who had forced Muslim teachers to celebrate St. Sava.⁵⁷⁸ Importantly, the Islamic authorities' rejection of St. Sava's Day celebrations in schools did not remain restricted to this specific case, but also disputed the intertwining of religious and national elements as a general strategy in the state's educational policy. In his letter to the authorities of 15 January 1930, for example, Čaušević argued that it could not be in the interest of the state "to fuse church saints with the nation, as is displayed in the song above [the Hymn to St. Sava]" (qtd. in Nielsen 2002: 222).

In April 1930 Čaušević retired as reis-ul-ulema in opposition against the new Law on the Islamic Religious Community (IVZ, *Islamska verska zajednica*), which united all regional Islamic authorities in Yugoslavia under the reis-ul-ulema and the Supreme religious seniority (*vrhovno versko starešinstvo*), which had their seat in Belgrade and stood directly under the Ministry of Justice. Čaušević was replaced by Ibrahim Maglajlić, the former *mufti* (a high Islamic scholar and interpreter of Islamic law) of Banja Luka and Tuzla and, more importantly, the political leader of the Yugoslav Muslim Popular Organisation, the branch of JMO which had split off from the party after it ended its support to the Radical government in 1922 and which was more supportive of the Radical Party in general (Nielsen 2002: 282-8; Purivatra 1974: 173-83). Further, all nine

highest religious council responsible for the interpretation of Koran teaching, to the provincial authorities of Drina banovina, dated 29 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

⁵⁷⁶ Letter from Reis-ul-ulema Čaušević to the authorities of Drina banovina, 20 January 1930. AJ 66-258-500.

⁵⁷⁷ Letter from the *Ulema medžlis* for Bosnia-Herzegovina to the authorities of Drina banovina, 23 January 1931. AJ 66-258-500.

⁵⁷⁸ Letter from Reis-ul-ulema Čaušević to Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović, dated 23 January 1930. AJ 66-258-500.

muftis in the country and the members of the two *ulema medžlis* in Sarajevo and Skopje were appointed by royal decree. Organs for *vakuf* – highly influential funds for Islamic religious, cultural-educational and humanitarian work –, in which JMO had occupied a prominent position during the 1920s, were appointed instead of elected. The result was a reshuffle of personnel in these organs, which became dominated by representatives close to the central authorities, such as Avdo Hasanbegović, Minister and President of *Gajret*, Ibrahim Hadžiomerović, Vice-President of *Gajret* and Vice-Governor of Drina banovina, Šerif Arnautović, a prominent supporter of the Radical Party, and Hasan Rebac, a leading figure in *Gajret*'s branch in Belgrade and former secretary of the Islamic department in the Ministry of Justice (Bećirović 2008: 191-5; Kemura 1986: 198-203; Novaković 2003: 456-62). With this legal reforms the state authorities subjected the Islamic religious community in Yugoslavia to the Yugoslav nation and state, not only politically and administratively, but also symbolically, as illustrated by the enthronement ceremony of Ibrahim Maglajlić, which took place in the Bajrakli Mosque in Belgrade, in the presence of King Aleksandar, a row of ministers and representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church and the Jewish community in Belgrade.⁵⁷⁹ In that sense the establishment of IVZ reflected the ideological position of interwar Yugoslavia to religious difference and national unity.

After Čaušević's retirement no more complaints about St. Sava's Day celebrations were made by Muslim religious authorities. However, the issue remained controversial. Time and time again the Ministry of Education had to assure that the religious and national commemoration of St. Sava should be strictly separated. On 23 January 1930 Minister of Education Maksimović explicitly clarified that Muslim pupils could not be forced to attend the religious part of the celebrations on St. Sava's Day (Nielsen 2002: 226). On 9 February 1931 the Ministry of Education once more stated that Muslim students could not be forced to take part in the singing of religious songs on school celebrations or festivities.⁵⁸⁰ At the same time, the authorities attempted to provide incentives for South Slav Muslims to identify with the national commemoration of St. Sava. On 15 January 1931 Governor Velimir Popović sent a circular to all district and city authorities in Drina banovina in which he explained the great national role of St. Sava. First Popović presented a typical Serbian national interpretation of Sava's historical role. Allegedly, the South Slavs had had their independent states before Nemanja's Serbia – Tomislav and Vojislav's Littoral Croatia, Ljudevit Posavski's brief independent state in Pannonian Croatia and later also Tvrtko's Bosnia – but none of these states left such a firm mark on the people as Nemanja's medieval Serbia. According to Popović this

⁵⁷⁹ 'Svečano ustoličenje Reis ul uleme g. Maglajlića', *Politka* 01.11.1930: 1-3.

⁵⁸⁰ 'Učenici islamske veroispovesti pri održavanju đачkih akademija, zabava i slično ne mogu učestvovati u horovima koji pevaju crkvene i pobožne pesme'. P.br. 2156. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 127.

was the result of the work of St. Sava, who had been one of the first architects of national unity. Additionally, Popović attempted to provide a specific mediation between South Slav Muslim collective identity and the Yugoslav commemoration of St. Sava. He mentioned that it was in Mileševa, where St. Sava was buried, that Mehmed Sokolović had received his education, and that it was in the honour of St. Sava, because “blood is not water” and because of religious tolerance, that Sokolović had re-established the Serbian Patriarchate. Finally, the governor repeated that the school celebration of St. Sava should be strictly separated from the religious celebrations and he obliged all schools to send a detailed report about the program to the provincial authorities. In any case, Vojislav Ilić the Younger’s poem “Long Live the King!” should be recited and the celebration should be ended with the national hymn and St. Sava’s Hymn.⁵⁸¹ The insistence on the Hymn to St. Sava, with its close intertwining of religious and national categories, in school celebrations indicates the ambivalence of the state’s distinction between the national and religious commemoration of St. Sava.

At the same time, the authorities acted firmly against teachers or parents who boycotted the “national” celebration of St. Sava. On 11 March 1931 Hakije Đozić and Abdulah Gojičić, respectively religious teacher in the local elementary school and teacher in the local *mekteb* in Srebrenica, were fined with 150 dinars or three days in prison because they had led a local boycott against the school celebration of St. Sava’s Day in school.⁵⁸² Also in Srebrenica eight Muslim parents were sentenced to fines of 200–300 dinars, or three days in prison, for not sending their children to school on 27 January.⁵⁸³ One of the sentenced, Alija Selmanagić, took his case to the provincial authorities and clarified that he had refused to send his children to school after inspecting the schools as head of the local school committee. According to him the local teacher had decorated the school and prepared the celebration in a strictly religious way as he had been used to doing in Užice, where he had worked before. Also, Selmanagić claimed that Orthodox pupils did not form a majority in the school and that the religious celebration consequently could not take place at school.⁵⁸⁴ In the meantime, the *Ulema medžlis* sent a letter to the provincial authorities against the sentences, referring to the recently legalised Law on the Islamic Religious Community. Article 11 of that law had stated that Muslims could not be forced to take part in public activities of

⁵⁸¹ Letter from *Ban* Velimir Popović to the local authorities in Drina banovina. 15 January 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

⁵⁸² Report from the educational department of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, 14 September 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

⁵⁸³ Reported in a complaint from the *Ulema medžlis* to the authorities of Drina banovina, 29 July 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

⁵⁸⁴ Complaint from Alija Selmanagić to the authorities of Drina banovina, 27 June 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

other religions. Article 17 prescribed that Muslim pupils should not attend celebrations, at school and outside of it, which “had the characteristics of an exclusive celebration of another faith”.⁵⁸⁵ They also referred to Čaušević’s circular of 1930 that no Muslim pupils should participate in the St. Sava celebrations.⁵⁸⁶ The authorities, however, rejected the arguments used by the *Ulema medžlis* and found that the local authorities and the school had acted according to the law.⁵⁸⁷

In the reasoning of the state authorities these complaints were simply ungrounded because the school celebrations of St. Sava were not religious, but national. On 12 January 1932 the Ministry of Education once more denied the frequent demands from the part of the Islamic Religious Community to release Muslim pupils from attending the school festivities on St. Sava’s Day. Again it was stressed that St. Sava’s Day was not a religious celebration but an overarching Yugoslav national celebration:

The commemoration of St. Sava is not an act or a manifestation of one religion, it is a celebration of the school, which is a temple devoted to science, education and culture, and belongs to all faiths and classes. The celebration of 27 January is not a religious ritual, but the recognition by the school of a great historical figure, who has done the most for our national education and culture, and that celebration belongs to all faiths, not only the faith of our first national enlightener. Since the celebration takes place in school and not in the religious building of one specific faith, I will strictly punish every pupil who will not attend this commemoration, regardless of his faith.⁵⁸⁸

By the end of 1932 the ministry had apparently changed its mind and on 31 December 1932 it declared that Muslim students should not attend the religious part of the commemoration of St. Sava, and that they could not be forced to attend the second part of the commemoration, the “state-school” part.⁵⁸⁹ Under the government of Bogoljub Jevtić this decision was annulled and Muslim pupils were again obliged to attend the

⁵⁸⁵ [“nosi obiležje svečanosti isključivo druge vjere”].

⁵⁸⁶ Complaint from the *Ulema medžlis* to the authorities of Drina banovina, 29 July 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

⁵⁸⁷ Report from the educational department of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, 14 September 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39; Decision from the Ministry of Education, 21 September 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

⁵⁸⁸ [“Proslava sv. Save nije akt jedne konfesije i jedne verske manifestacije, već je to proslava škole koja je hram posvećen nauci i znanosti, prosveti i kulturi, koji je svojina svih vera i staleža. Proslava od 27 januara nije verski obred, već priznanje škole jednoj velikoj istorijskoj figuri, koja je učinila najviše za našu nacionalnu prosvetu i kulturu, a ta prosveta pripada svima verama, a ne samo onoj kojoj je naš prvi narodni prosvetitelj pripadao. Kako se ta proslava ne vrši u hramu jedne veroispovesti, već u školi, najstrože ću kazniti svaki đачki izostanak sa ove proslave, ma kojoj konfesiji đак pripadao.”] This decree was quoted in an internal report by the Ministry of Education on the commemoration of St. Sava, dated 29 March 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁵⁸⁹ ‘Proslava Sv. Save – način izvođenja’. P.br. 52.333, 31 December 1932. *Prosvetni glasnik* 49 (1933): 16-7.

secular commemoration of St. Sava.⁵⁹⁰ Again, the *Ilmija*, the hierarchy of Muslim law experts, criticised this policy, repeating that “the commemoration of St. Sava as a religious saint of the Orthodox church cannot be divided in a religious and a secular part”.⁵⁹¹ Finally, the amendments to the law on the Islamic Religious Community of February 1936, which had been one of JMO’s requirements for joining the governmental coalition of Milan Stojadinović and which assured broad autonomy for the community over religious matters and returned the seat of IVZ to Sarajevo, stressed that Muslim citizens, including school going children, could not be forced to participate in religious festivities or ceremonies of other religions. Crucially, it was added that the Islamic Religious Community had the right decide which ceremonies this precisely included (Bećirović 2008: 197-201; Jahić 2008: 101, f. 18; Novaković 2003: 469-72).

4.6.3.2 The Catholic Church and St. Sava’s Day

Also in Catholic schools the celebration of St. Sava turned out problematic. On 10 February 1930 the educational department of Vrbas banovina reported that St. Sava’s Day had not been celebrated in Catholic schools in Jajce, Aleksandrovac, Delibašno Selo, Nazaret and Banja Luka.⁵⁹² In Šibenik, on the central Dalmatian coast, the district chief started an investigation against the local religious teacher and priest Krste Stošić because he had forbidden his pupils to buy stamps with the picture of St. Sava, and because he had threatened to give them low grades if they would do so. Several pupils confirmed the accusations against Stošić and the school principal added that the stamp with the picture of St. Sava had been much less popular than those with pictures of Karađorđe or Prince Petar. To his own defence, Stošić argued that he had mistakenly thought that the pupils were talking about an icon and not about stamps. He had only advised the pupils not to buy religious objects devoted to St. Sava, and had not had the intention to make any claims about St. Sava as the patron of education. To the contrary: “I greatly value St. Sava for his cultural meaning. In the fourth year of civil school I annually give a special lecture in which I stress that a scholar considers him a Catholic because he died in a monastery which recognised the unity of the church”.⁵⁹³ Although

⁵⁹⁰ ‘Pravila o vršenju verskih dužnosti učenika narodnih škola’. O.n. Br. 37803, 10 June 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 729.

⁵⁹¹ [“niti se proslava Sv. Save kao crkvenog sveca pravoslavne crkve može dijeliti na vjerski i svjetovni dio”]. Resolution of the *Ilmija*, dated 10 October 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-49-85.

⁵⁹² Report from the educational department for Vrbas banovina to district authorities, 10 February 1930. AJ 66(pov)-15-40.

⁵⁹³ [“ja imam uvijek veliko poštovanje radi kulturnog njegovog značenja i o kom u građanskoj školi u IV razredu svake godine dajem posebnu lekciju i ističem da je po nekom učenjaku smatran kao katolik jer je umro

formulated rather clumsily, this interpretation – which strictly separated St. Sava as an Orthodox saint and St. Sava as the patron of education – corresponded to the reasoning of the educational authorities. In his report the district chief concluded that, taking into consideration that Stošić was known as a good citizen, “this should not be considered as an anti-tribal or anti-state act, but as an ill-considered act inspired by his religious fanaticism”.⁵⁹⁴ On 15 June 1931 the educational department of Littoral banovina forwarded the case to the Ministry of Education, suggesting that the ministry should make a “tactical” choice, which would not further incite “the polemics between the two religions”.⁵⁹⁵

On 11 May 1932 Dušan Dadasović, teacher in the elementary school in Koprivnica in northern Croatia, sent a letter to the school principal informing him that his pupils had reacted very hostilely to a voluntary collection for the church of St. Sava he had held, in line with prescriptions by the ministry (see further). Dadasović had barely collected six dinars.⁵⁹⁶ Interrogations of the pupils by the school principal Gustav Ričl confirmed that “religious-tribal” intolerance lay at the basis of the scant success of the collection. One of the pupils had even mumbled that he would give money for the Catholic Church, but “not for the Vlachs”. Some pupils claimed that the teacher had threatened to beat everyone who wouldn’t pay for the church, but more thorough investigations revealed that the pupils had been instigated to tell such lies by students of the local gymnasium. These gymnasium students had also told the pupils not to join the Yugoslav Sokol. One of these students had even broken a Sokol insigne, other students had forced one of the pupils to write down the names of all Sokol members in his class, so that they could beat them up. Further, one of the pupils had taught his friends an “anti-state” song: “Rain is falling, Serbia is going down – The wind is blowing, Croatia expands”, which he had learned from older students.⁵⁹⁷ During the interrogation the pupil who had taught the others this song was asked:

How can you justify that you, as an elementary school pupil, wanted to teach the others a song which spreads hatred toward our Serbian brothers, while as a pupil

u samostanu koji je priznavao jedinstvo crkava.”] Quoted from the interrogation of Krste Stošić, dated 16 April 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

⁵⁹⁴ [“ovo se ne bi imalo smatrati kao neki protuplemenski odnosno protudržavni akt, već kao jedan nepromišljen čin izazvan njegovim vjerskim fanatizmom.”] Report from the district chief of Šibenik to the educational department of Littoral banovina, 17 April 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

⁵⁹⁵ [“iz taktičkih razloga u polemikama djevu religija.”] Report from the educational department of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 15 June 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-40.

⁵⁹⁶ Letter from Dušan Dadasović to Gustav Ričl, 11 May 1932. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

⁵⁹⁷ [“Kiša pada – Srbija propada, Vjetar piri – Hrvatska se širi.”]

of the fourth year you should well know the importance of the Serbian people for our Unification and Liberation?⁵⁹⁸

Finally, there were also rumours that one of the pupils would bring a weapon to a demonstration, which was planned for 30 April 1932, on the Day of Zrinski and Frankopan. In any case Gustav Ričl argued that harsh punishments for these pupils would only have an opposite effect, certainly within the context of the wider spirit of “tribal separatism” among the population of Koprivnica. The authorities should first act against those who were responsible for this atmosphere in Koprivnica. Ričl suggested that it would be more effective if teachers would talk about the importance of the state unity and the merits of the Serbs for the unification and liberation of the Yugoslavs for circa ten minutes every day.⁵⁹⁹ The Ministry of Education agreed that purely pedagogical measures would have more positive effects than strong punishments, but reminded that teachers had the history and geography classes to teach national unity and consciousness, instead of the ten minutes Ričl proposed.⁶⁰⁰

The above given examples illustrate the potentially provocative and explosive nature of the celebration of St. Sava as a national hero in Catholic schools. St. Sava celebrations also led to frequent discussions between the leadership of the Catholic Church and the state authorities. Archbishop of Zagreb Ante Bauer first intervened against a prescription of the Ministry of Education that on 10 May 1932 in all schools special lectures had to be given about the building of the Church of St. Sava in Belgrade. On this occasion pupils could make voluntary donations for the building of the church.⁶⁰¹ This decree was formulated on the suggestion of the Serbian Patriarch Varnava, who had convinced the Ministry of Education of the importance of a big “national” monument for St. Sava and suggested that every student could make a donation of one dinar and thus “repay their first enlightener and teacher”.⁶⁰² On 30 April 1932 Archbishop Bauer explained to the Minister of Education that it was unacceptable for Catholic pupils to

⁵⁹⁸ [“Čime ti možeš opravdati da su kao đak osnovne škole htio naučiti pjesmu kojom se širi mržnja protiv braće Srba, kad si kao đak IV razreda morao dobro znati važnost srpskoga naroda za naše Ujedinjenje i Oslobođenje?”]

⁵⁹⁹ Report from Gustav Ričl to the district authorities, 20 May 1932. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

⁶⁰⁰ Decision by the Ministry of Education, undated. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

⁶⁰¹ ‘Podizanje hrama sv. Save u Beogradu – predavanja i skupljanje priloga na dan 10 maja ove godine’. P. br. 721, 20 January 1932. *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1932): 33. This was the prescription which was mentioned in the above given case of the Koprivnica elementary school. The church in question is the Church of St. Sava on Vračar Hill in Belgrade, for which the first plans were made at the end of the nineteenth century, but is presently still unfinished. 10 May was the alleged date Sava’s relics had been burnt in the late sixteenth century by Ottoman authorities, on Vračar Hill in Belgrade (Aleksov 2003).

⁶⁰² [“odužila svom prvom prosvetitelju i učitelju”]. Letter from Patriarch Varnava to the Minister of Education, 2 January 1932. AJ 66-59-500.

contribute to the building of an Orthodox Church. Bauer's objections were certainly justified, even within the reasoning of the educational authorities, as the decision did not make a clear distinction between the commemoration of St. Sava as a religious and as a national figure. Additionally, however, Bauer questioned the possibility to distinguish between the religious and national St. Sava:

I remark that St. Sava is not a common Yugoslav saint, but just a tribal Serbian saint, and thus such an action leads to the destruction of religious peace and tolerance and provokes religious and tribal passions in the context of the present critical and tense relations among the school population, which is not in the least in the interest of the peaceful upbringing of the youth. I add that in these times of crisis the collection of donations among school going children is very inconvenient, especially those which also insult religious sentiments. I don't know how the Orthodox school population would react to a decree to make donations, for instance, for the building of a Catholic cathedral in Belgrade.⁶⁰³

Of course, this argument was refuted by the Ministry of Education, which responded that St. Sava was not only a saint of the Serbian Orthodox Church, but also a historical figure of significant cultural-national and educational importance for the Yugoslavs. Kojić stressed that the donations were voluntary and referred to an earlier decree in which he had in fact commissioned school personnel to stimulate the sales of lottery tickets for the building of a Catholic church in Belgrade.⁶⁰⁴ The minister did send an additional circular to educational departments in which he explicitly pointed out that the donations for the church of St. Sava were voluntary, especially for pupils of other faiths.⁶⁰⁵

On 10 December 1933 Ante Bauer again wrote a letter to the ministry in which he summed up a number of complaints the Catholic Episcopate had received about Catholic pupils who had been forced to attend commemorations of St. Sava with a predominantly or exclusively Serbian Orthodox character. In most cases the complaint revolved around the fact that Catholic pupils had been forced to sing the hymn to St. Sava. In Slunj, a town in central Croatia, the principal of the civil school threatened to expel all students

⁶⁰³ Letter from Archbishop Ante Bauer to the Minister of Education, 30 April 1932. AJ 66-59-500. ["da sv. Sava nije opći jugoslavenski svetac, nego tek plemenski srpski svetac, pa zato ovakva akcija daje povoda za narušivanje vjerskog mira i trpeljivosti te izaziva u današnjim onako kritičnim i napetim odnosima medju školskom omladinom vjerske i plemenske strasti, što nije ni najmanje u interesu miroljubivog odgoja omladine. Nadodajem, da su u ovo doba krize vrlo nepodesne sabirne akcije novčanih priloga od školske omladine, pogotovo takvih koji još povrjedjuju vjerske osjećaje. Ne znam, kako bi primila pravoslavna školska omladina naredjenje, da mora sakupljati na pr. za gradnju katoličke katedrale u Beogradu"]

⁶⁰⁴ Letter from Minister of Education Kojić to Archbishop Bauer, 4 May 1932. AJ 66-259-500.

⁶⁰⁵ Quoted in a telegram to Archbishop Bauer, undated. AJ 66-259-500.

from school who refused to sing the hymn to St. Sava. In Zagreb the principal of the second real gymnasium for boys had forced the Catholic students to sing the hymn to Sava. The same principal had also obliged a Catholic teacher to attend the religious service in the Orthodox church on the occasion of Unification Day in 1933. In his conclusion, Bauer stated that these practices only led to bitterness among Catholic teachers and pupils. Moreover, he claimed that these acts violated the ministry's prescription that Catholic pupils should not participate in religious celebrations of St. Sava. He demanded that all the persons involved would be punished.⁶⁰⁶ On 13 January 1934 the Archbishop of Vrhbosna, Ivan Šarić, requested the authorities of Drina banovina that the celebration of St. Sava would not take place in Catholic religious schools and that Catholic pupils in state schools would not be obliged to attend these commemorations. In his letter the Archbishop called it a serious anomaly to bring a religious celebration to school. "If you want to give that celebration an all-national and educational meaning, it should be disposed of all religious elements, if not, it should be restricted to children of the Serbian Orthodox faith".⁶⁰⁷

As had been the case with the Islamic religious community, the Catholic Church did not oppose Yugoslav national education *an sich*, but rather its intertwining with religious elements of the Serbian Orthodox faith. However, the Ministry of Education time and again refuted these complaints by arguing that a strict division could and should be made between St. Sava as an Orthodox saint and St. Sava as a national hero.⁶⁰⁸ After Bauer's complaint of 10 December 1933, for example, the Ministry interrogated the persons involved in the cases mentioned in the letter, but they were not fined because they had rightfully decided that all pupils who sang in the choir could also sing the hymn to St. Sava, because this was not a religious but a national song.⁶⁰⁹

The Concordat between the Holy See and the Yugoslav government on the position of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, which had been signed in 1935, determined that Catholic students could not be forced to participate in non-Catholic ceremonies. It is not entirely clear whether this article applied to St. Sava's Day, as maintained by Klaus Buchenau (2011: 413), as the state authorities saw the school commemoration of St. Sava as a national and not a religious celebration.⁶¹⁰ After the establishment of the Croatian

⁶⁰⁶ Letter from Ante Bauer to the Ministry of Education, 10 December 1933. AJ 66-259-500.

⁶⁰⁷ ["Ako se taj proslavi hoće da daje općenarodni i prosvjetni značaj, onda bi je valjalo riješiti svih religioznih elemenata; a dotle bi je valjalo ograničiti na djecu srpsko-pravoslavne vjere."] Letter from the Archbishopric of Vrhbosna to the authorities of Drina banovina, 13 January 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶⁰⁸ Letter from the Ministry of Education to Ante Bauer, 22 January 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶⁰⁹ Internal report by the Ministry of Education on the commemoration of St. Sava, dated 29 March 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶¹⁰ A similar article was also included in the Law on the Islamic Religious Community, but in the interpretation of the authorities it did not apply to school celebrations of St. Sava's Day.

banovina it was prescribed that Orthodox pupils in the banovina could celebrate the feast day according to their traditions, whereas Catholics simply had a day off (Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 90).

4.6.3.3 The Serbian Orthodox Church and St. Sava

Finally, also the Orthodox Church entered the discussion about the celebration of St. Sava's Day. As to make the circle complete, on 16 March 1934 Patriarch Varnava sent a letter to Minister of Education Ilija Šumenković in which he stated that if Catholic pupils would no longer be obliged to participate in the commemoration of St. Sava, the Orthodox pupils for their part should not have to take part in the celebration of Strossmayer's Day.⁶¹¹ In 1935 Nikolaj Velimirović, at that time Bishop of Žiča, polemically commented against Archbishop Bauer's demand that non-Orthodox pupils should not participate in the celebration of St. Sava. According to Velimirović St. Sava had laid the basis for the Serbian medieval and modern state, and thus also for Yugoslavia. Therefore, St. Sava was important for the entire Yugoslav population (Buchenau 2011: 395).⁶¹² Tellingly, at the same time Serbian Orthodox religious thinkers denied the national character of the Croatian Catholic Church and called it a "dictate from outside", especially against the background of the Concordat crisis (Jakir 1999: 127-9). In a review of Dvorniković's 'Characterology' in the journal of Nikolaj Velimirović's bishopric of Žiča Ljubomir Ivančević contrasted the national Serbian Orthodox Church with the international Catholic Church. From this point of view he refuted Dvorniković's glorification of the Yugoslavism of Josip Juraj Strossmayer and instead unmasked it as a manoeuvre of the Roman Catholic Church to enslave the South Slavs in the Catholic "cage" the Austro-Hungarian Double Monarchy was in his opinion (Roksandić 1991: 275-7). Thus: "The figure of Bishop Strossmayer illustrates the failed attempt to merge nationalism with international Catholicism. He is the perfect proof in our Yugoslav history that it is impossible to be a good nationalist and a good Catholic at the same time" (qtd. in Roksandić 1991: 277).⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ Internal report by the Ministry of Education on the commemoration of St. Sava, 29 March 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶¹² Maria Falina refers to a similar article in the official journal of the Serbian Orthodox Church as early as 1922, in which S. Budim argued that the acts of St. Sava were superior to confessional divides and that it should be no problem for nationally conscious Yugoslav Catholics and Muslims to celebrate St. Sava (Falina 2011: 112-3).

⁶¹³ ["Ličnost vladike Štrosmajera nosi u sebi neuspeo pokušaj spajanja nacionalizma sa internacionalnim katolicima. On je jedinstven dokaz u našoj Jugoslavenskoj istoriji da je nemoguće biti u isto vreme dobar nacionalista i dobar katolik."] Ivančević further argued that the suppression of the Croats by the Catholic Church had made them passive. Interestingly, he continued that Stjepan Radić had finally released the Croats

From the Serbian Orthodox point of view the installation of St. Sava as a Yugoslav patron saint confirmed the close link between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Yugoslav state, which had been manifested from the immediate post-First World War in the prominent symbolical role Prince-Regent and later King Aleksandar played in the unification process of the Serbian Orthodox Church and perpetuated the close link between state and church in pre-First World War Serbia (Falina 2011: 85-6; Jakir 1999: 124-9).⁶¹⁴ The state-wide celebration of St. Sava's Day also reflected the unproblematic coexistence of the Yugoslav and Serbian level of national identity in the thinking about Serbian Orthodoxy. Leading figures in the Serbian Orthodox Church enthusiastically greeted the establishment of the Yugoslav state from a Yugoslav national point of view, but at the same time interpreted the unification of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the suffering of the Serbian nation and church during the Balkan Wars and the First World War within a strictly Serbian national framework (Falina 2011: 89-95). The thin line between Serbian and Yugoslav national categories in the relation between Serbian Orthodoxy and nationhood was also manifested in the obligatory presence of high Orthodox clericals on official state commemorations of important dates from the Balkan Wars and the First World War (cf. 4.4.5.5). On 28 August 1924 King Aleksandar and a whole row of ministers and high military representatives attended the enthronement of Patriarch Dimitrije in the Patriarchate of Peć.⁶¹⁵ In the royal charter which was read out by Prime Minister Ljubomir Davidović the state authorities acknowledged the national credentials of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Middle Ages until the First World War.⁶¹⁶ After leading to Dimitrije to the patriarchal throne, King Aleksandar handed him an icon of St. Sava and kissed the cross of Tsar Dušan Dimitrije held in his hand. In his speech Dimitrije compared the present act to the enthronement of Patriarch Janićije by Tsar Dušan and referred to the national tradition of St. Sava, Karađorđe and Prince Miloš. However, the one thing missing in this typical Serbian national setting was a direct reference to the Serbian nation. Instead, Patriarch Dimitrije claimed that "the long desired brotherly embrace of all tribes of our nation has shined today from this

from the Catholic cage and thus reactivated them. In that way, Radić was very similar to St. Sava according to Ivančević, which was why he stood so close to the Serbs (Roksandić 1991: 277).

⁶¹⁴ At the time of the formation of the Kingdom of SCS there were three independent Orthodox church bodies in the region: the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitanate in the Kingdom of Serbia, the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitanate in Montenegro and the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate in Sremski Karlovci. The Orthodox church bodies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, southern Serbia and Macedonia, and Dalmatia enjoyed autonomy under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In 1920 these church bodies were united in the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, with seat in Belgrade (Falina 2011: 82-6).

⁶¹⁵ The enthronement of Ibrahim Maglajlić as *Reis-ul-ulema* of IVZ in October 1930 clearly built on the symbolic tradition surrounding the link between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the state.

⁶¹⁶ 'Dimitriju Patriarhu svih srpskih i pomorskih zemalja mnogaja ljeta', *Politika* 29.08.1924: 1.

sanctuary”.⁶¹⁷ Obviously, in the Serbian Orthodox thinking the line between Yugoslavism and Serbdom was extremely thin.

Indicatively, under the Royal Dictatorship Minister of Justice Milan Srškić had attempted to reduce the narrow Serbian character of the Serbian Orthodox Church. In discussions about the new constitution for the Serbian Orthodox Church Srškić had, for example, suggested that “Serbian” would be deleted from the name of the Church, that Serbian symbols would be removed from the Church’s coat of arms, that the Church’s language would be termed Serbo-Croato-Slovenian instead of Serbian and that the Latin alphabet would be introduced as the Church’s official alphabet. After sharp criticism from the Serbian Orthodox leaders and the threat that the Church would turn against the dictatorship, these demands were withdrawn and consecutively not included in the new constitution which was ratified in 1931 (Buchenau 2011: 342-4).

Although the Orthodox Church did not oppose the state-wide celebration of St. Sava, it did object the strict division between religious and secular celebrations of St. Sava. On 23 January 1933 Patriarch Varnava called for a revision of the legal prescription that in religiously mixed schools the church celebration of St. Sava had to be separated from the school celebration. He argued that St. Sava celebrations had always consisted of a combination of school festivities and a church service, since St. Sava was jointly celebrated “as the first Archbishop of our church and as our national Enlightener and Teacher”.⁶¹⁸ In that way, St. Sava affirmed the strong bonds between Church and nation, Church and state and Church and school. It was precisely this strong bond which would be endangered by the Ministry of Education’s new decrees concerning the celebration of St. Sava’s Day.⁶¹⁹ Serbian Orthodox thinkers sharply opposed any interpretation of St. Sava in which his religious role did not occupy a central place or was subordinated to his national importance. In the course of 1935, for example, Serbian religious publicists criticised a number of publications about St. Sava by prominent intellectuals like Stanoje Stanojević, Miloš Crnjanski or Sava Marković Štedimlja, because they downplayed Sava’s religious role and instead focused on his political role (Buchenau 2011: 394-5; Falina 2011: 198-9). In other words, whereas the state authorities and secular Yugoslav ideologues focused on the nation and deployed religious symbols, the Serbian Orthodox Church focused on religion and deployed a national language to this end (cf. Brubaker 2012: 12-7).

⁶¹⁷ ‘Dimitriju Patriarhu svih srpskih i pomorskih zemalja mnogaja ljeta’, *Politka* 29.08.1924: 1-2, quotation on 1. [“vekovima željeni bratski zagrljaji sviju plemena našega naroda zasijao je danas sa ovoga svetog mesta”]

⁶¹⁸ [“jer je to ujedno proslava Sv. Save kao prvog našeg crkvenog Arhiepiskopa, a narodnog Prosvetitelja i Učitelja.”]

⁶¹⁹ Letter from Patriarch Varnava to the Ministry of Education, 23 January 1933. AJ 66-260-500.

In 1935 the 700th anniversary of the death of St. Sava was commemorated. On 26 November 1934 the Serbian Patriarchate informed the Ministry of Education about its decision to proclaim the year 1935 – more precisely from 25 January 1935 to 27 January 1936 – St. Sava's Year (*svetosavska godina*). The Patriarchate stressed that the commemoration should have an “all-national” character and that the Church – which had, as the Patriarchate argued, been tightly connected to the national state by St. Sava – would make great efforts to impress the figure of St. Sava “in the heart and mind of our nation”.⁶²⁰ For the complete success of St. Sava's Year the Patriarchate demanded the cooperation of the Ministry of Education. The Patriarchate requested that in all schools 27 January 1935 would be celebrated more festively than ever before. On this day teachers could only give lectures related to St. Sava. During the school year students should make excursions to places which were bound with the figure of St. Sava (monasteries, churches), and travelling teachers of the Orthodox Church should be allowed to hold lectures in schools. Finally, Orthodox pupils and parents should make donations for the Church of St. Sava and specific lectures for this purpose should be given in schools on 10 May.⁶²¹

However, the death of King Aleksandar in October 1934 seriously complicated the celebration of St. Sava's Year. On 26 December 1934 the Ministry of Education informed the Patriarchate that it had commissioned all schools to celebrate St. Sava's Day humbly in the light of the general mourning over Aleksandar's death. By no means could the celebration include concerts or festivities. Of course, this implied that the celebration of St. Sava's Day could not be more festive than usually, and the Ministry suggested to postpone the special celebrations to the next year.⁶²² Further, the Ministry of Education agreed with the suggestions made by the Patriarchate about special lectures by representatives of the Patriarchate, collections, excursions and the distribution of books but it stressed that this only counted for Orthodox pupils. The lectures on 27 January were intended for all pupils and thus they could only “speak about the life, work, meaning and personality of St. Sava as a national enlightener and as one of the most important figures in the history of our people”.⁶²³ In other words, whereas the Serbian Orthodox Church again demanded tight cooperation between state and Church – under the leadership of the Church – and the merging of the religious and national celebration

⁶²⁰ [“svenarodni”, “u srce i um našeg naroda.”]

⁶²¹ Letter from the Serbian Patriarchate to the Ministry of Education, 26 November 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶²² Letter from the Minister of Education to Patriarch Varnava, 26 December 1934. AJ 66-260-500.

⁶²³ [“govori samo o životu, radu, značaju i ličnosti Sv. Save kao narodnog prosvetitelja i kao jedne najkrupnije ličnosti u istoriji našeg naroda”.] ‘Proslava Sv. Save’. P. br. 1144, 14 January 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 8; ‘Uputstva u vezi sa svetosavskom godinom’. P. br. 1142, 14 January 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 8-9.

of St. Sava, the state authorities held on to a clear division between the religious and national celebration of St. Sava.

In the second half of the 1930s Serbian Orthodox thinkers, the most prominent of whom was Nikolaj Velimirović, explicitly rejected the Yugoslav interpretation of St. Sava and appropriated St. Sava as the basis of a fundamentally Orthodox and anti-Western definition of Serbian national culture. Although this cluster of ideas, which was grouped under the term *Svetosavlje*, was rather diversified – it included anti-Western, anti-secular, anti-modernist as well as modernist elements – it should be partly understood as a response to the challenges of Yugoslavism and especially the subordinate place of religion in the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. The alternative interpretation of St. Sava as the fundament and embodiment of the Serbian *sacred nation* and *national Church* reflects the deployment of national language by a religious movement in opposition against the subordination of the religious element in the state's appropriation of St. Sava as a national symbol. Additionally, it signals a turn to an unambiguous one nation / one church model away from the state's intertwining of religious diversity and Yugoslav national unity and the coexistence of the Yugoslav and Serbian level of collective identity in the thinking on Serbian Orthodoxy (Buchenau 2006b: 215-24; 2011: 391-407; Falina 2007b: 520-5; 2011: 191-204; Milutinović Z. 2011: 147-67). The increasing polarisation between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Yugoslav state authorities finally culminated in the Concordat Crisis of 1937, when it came to mass demonstrations from leaders and supporters of the Serbian Orthodox Church against the ratification of the Concordat of the Yugoslav state with the Vatican, which allegedly privileged the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, posed a danger to the sovereignty of the Yugoslav state, which the Orthodox Church apparently protected, and was the outcome of a Catholic and internationalist attack on the Serbian Orthodox Church *and* the Serbian sacred nation (Buchenau 2011: 409-36).

4.6.4 Conclusions

In essence the disputes between state authorities and the different Yugoslav religious institutions all revolved around the relation between the religious and the national St. Sava. Whereas educational authorities intended to integrate religious identities within Yugoslav national identity by pointing to their shared national character and making a distinction between the strictly religious and common national character of certain symbolic resources, religious authorities time and again argued that it was impossible to make such a distinction. The leaders of the Catholic Church and the Islamic Religious Community continuously warned the educational authorities that the merging of religious saints like St. Sava with the Yugoslav nation only discredited the Yugoslav national idea among Muslims and Catholics, precisely because St. Sava remained a

Serbian Orthodox saint. These warnings were in fact confirmed by the Serbian Orthodox Church's rejection of any national interpretation of St. Sava in which his Orthodox religious meaning was downplayed or put aside, as by the fact that for Orthodox pupils the educational authorities did not consider it necessary to make a distinction between church and school celebrations on St. Sava's Day.

These disputes over the place of religion within the Yugoslav educational program concur with the complication of the relation between religious diversity and Yugoslav nationhood. During the 1920s Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim religious thinkers in Yugoslavia had adopted a rather ambiguous position toward the Yugoslav idea. In any case, Yugoslavism was not outright rejected by religious thinkers of that period. What is more, a relatively strong wing within the Croatian Catholic Movement, centred around the Seniors and the Croatian Popular Party, favoured Yugoslav national unity (Biondich 2007: 384-5; Buchenau 2006a: 229-33; Krišto 1992, Matijević 1998). The framework of Yugoslavism allowed Bosnian Muslim elites to demand the equal position in politics, religious affairs and culture of Bosnian/South Slav Muslims as a constituent group within the Yugoslav nation, and to circumvent the thorny and internally divisive question of the Serbian or Croatian affiliation of South Slav Muslims. As Xavier Bougarel has aptly put it: "in the 1920s, "Yugoslavism" represented a framework within which the Bosnian Muslim elites could reproduce their "neo-millet" strategy, while remaining ambiguous about their national affiliation" (Bougarel 2008: 340). Numerous quotations above have shown that Reis-ul-ulema Džemaludin Čaušević supported both Yugoslav national unity and the religious togetherness of South Slav Muslims as two distinct strands (see also *ibid*: 340-1). Serbian Orthodox leaders, finally, enthusiastically embraced the Yugoslav national discourse of the 1920s, but at the same time retained an exclusively Serbian national framework. Clearly, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church did not see the need to address potential controversies over religious diversity and Yugoslavism extensively during the 1920s (Falina 2011: 89-100).

During the 1930s Yugoslav religious institutions increasingly turned away from Yugoslavism.

Während sich die orthodoxe Kirche kontinuierlich entwickelt, zentralisiert und ihr Profil als Homogenisiererin, Beschützerin und "Mutter" des orthodoxen Serbentums geschärft hatte, war es in der katholischen Kirche zu einem Umschwung gekommen. Der Kyrillomethodianismus war weitgehend diskreditiert, da die Offenheit gegenüber dem Jugoslawischen Gedanken in das "nationale Versagen" des politischen Katholizismus und in einem unnötigen Konflikt mit der Bauernpartei geführt hatte (Buchenau 2006a: 237).

The Yugoslav strand in the Croatian Catholic Movement was completely outshined by the Croatian political nationalism of the Croatian Peasant Party. After the death of

Stjepan Radić and the ban on political parties, the Catholic Church became of Croatian national “Ersatzmedium” (ibid: 254). As Aleksandar Jakir put it:

In dem Moment, als (...) die Hoffnungen, die sich mit dem neuen Staat verbunden hatten, enttäuscht wurden, erleichterte das Vorhandensein eines Katholischen Milieus, das von Anfang an ein religiös grundierte Gegnerschaft symbolisieren konnte, die Hinwendung zu einer bewußten kroatischen Identität (Jakir 1999: 112).

In the case of the Serbian Orthodox Church too in the second half of the 1930s Serbian Orthodoxy was firmly linked to Serbian nationhood through the ideas of *Svetosavlje*. As Klaus Buchenau has argued, in its earliest phase during the first half of the 1930s the ideology of *Svetosavlje* was not exclusively linked to the Serbian nation, but reached out to the Yugoslav, Slav and even all-human level. In that regard, it indicated the compatibility of Serbian Orthodox and Yugoslav collective identities and can be seen as the religious counterpart to the secular Yugoslav interpretation of St. Sava of the state authorities (Buchenau 2006b: 209-14). From the mid 1930s, however, Serbian Orthodox thinkers under the leadership of Nikolaj Velimirović, glorified St. Sava as the personification and founding father of the indivisible Serbian national church and Serbian nation. In this line of thinking the level of Yugoslav national unity was increasingly abandoned (Buchenau 2006b: 215-224; 2011: 331-407; Falina 2007b: 518-27; 2011: 114-208). The continuing protest from Muslim religious (and secular) leaders against the state’s educational policy brought with it the increasing questioning of the compatibility of Muslim religious identity and Yugoslavism, as it was institutionalised in interwar Yugoslav education. In the second half of the 1930s Mehmed Handžić, the leading figure of Islamic revivalism – which called for a strict implementation of Shari’a rules in Bosnia-Herzegovina – formulated a nascent contemporary Bosniak nationalism which concurred with similar forms of nationalisation of religion by Catholic and Orthodox thinkers in Yugoslavia. Handžić argued that Islam was compatible with nationalism, an idea which in fact fitted in with the ideological framework of interwar Yugoslavia. However, instead of inscribing this national South Slav Islam within a Yugoslav national framework, Handžić adopted a notion of Bosnian Muslim national and cultural identity (*bošnjaštvo*) and thus separated Muslims from Croatian Catholics and Serbian Orthodox, not only religiously but also nationally (Bougarel 2008: 341-2, cf. 5.7).

These evolutions should not be understood as evidential of the inherent and long-term incompatibility of religious diversity and nationhood, or mutual rivalry between different religions, but rather against the framework of the concrete intertwining of religion and nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. The state’s institutionalisation of religious tolerance in happenings of Yugoslav nationhood was challenged by religious thinkers in Yugoslavia, as exemplified in the controversies surrounding the school celebration of St. Sava. In the first instance, religious authorities in Yugoslavia rejected

the secularisation of what they conceived as fundamentally religious resources and not so much the concept of Yugoslav nationhood, which had in fact been appealing to religious thinkers of various religions in Yugoslavia in the 1920s. In response against the subordination of religion to nationhood in the state's national program, religious thinkers adopted approaches to religion and nationhood which in fact concurred with the Yugoslav state's conceptual framework in which religious and national categories were closely intertwined, but deployed nationalist language in support of essentially religious claims. In the case of the Islamic Religious Community and the Catholic Church such an approach signalled a departure from other lines of reasoning which departed from a strict division between religion and Yugoslav nationhood and which had been put forward in controversies surrounding the school celebration of St. Sava during the early 1930s. Additionally, Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim religious thinkers increasingly rejected the concept of Yugoslavism and turned toward delineated, one-to-one religious-national narratives which made sense in the context of opposition against the secular Yugoslavism of the state authorities.

Chapter 5 Negotiating between ‘tribes’ and nation in textbooks

Curricula only provided a framework for the teaching of Yugoslav nationhood in schools. In fact, they often remained quite vague and restricted to an enumeration of brief and superficial subjects, and left considerable room for various interpretations in the context of text production, the middle level where the state authorities’ educational policy is realised in concrete texts (Foster & Crawford 2006: 11-14). In this chapter I examine this level of text production by means of an analysis of textbooks which were used during the period under scrutiny. Many scholars have pointed out that textbooks play a crucial role in the influence top societal forces seek to exert on the youth, as textbooks to a large extent determine which knowledge is passed on to the children. Within the context of national education, textbooks “shape a particular form of national memory, national identity and national consciousness” (ibid: 1-5, quotation on 2; see also Issitt 2004: 688-9). In the case of interwar Yugoslavia textbooks are specifically interesting because they presented sub-national editions of the central curricula in the country’s three publication centres, Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and thus show how social actors at a sub-national level, in the first place textbook authors and publishers, made sense of the Yugoslav identity outlined in the curricula.

5.1 Textbooks in South Slav lands before the formation of the Kingdom of SCS

Before going over to a thorough examination of the textbooks used in the interwar period, I give a brief overview of the situation before the First World War on the basis of Charles Jelavich's influential study of definitions of national identity in Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian elementary and secondary school textbooks during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. This is useful because interwar textbooks elaborated on traditions in pre-war textbooks. Moreover, in the immediate post-war period a number of revised editions of pre-war textbooks were used and many of the authors of interwar textbooks had already been active in the pre-war period.

For Serbian textbooks for national subjects – in the first place reading books, history and geography textbooks – Jelavich concludes that they made use of an exclusively Serbian national framework. Reading books, for example, focused on Serbian history, the Serbian lands and Serbian language (Jelavich 1990: 72-81; 89-98). They included very little information on Croats and largely ignored the Slovenes (ibid: 81-5). Only after the Balkan Wars Minister of Education Ljubomir Jovanović prescribed that more attention should be paid to Croatian culture and especially literature, and that publications of Croatian cultural institutions should be recommended to Serbian pupils (ibid: 39). This caused a shift in Serbian reading books, as is exemplified by the secondary school reading book of 1913 by Vojislav Jovanović and Miloš Ivković, which included texts by Vladimir Nazor on the Croatian medieval king Zvonimir, by August Šenoa on Matija Gubec, and Serb-Croat patriotic poems by Petar Preradović and Ivan Trnski. This last poem was introduced by the composers with a text in which they explained that Serbs and Croats were one nation (ibid: 85-9).

Thus, on the eve of the First World War the secondary school readers for the first time contained information about the Croats that was both sympathetic and coincided with the aspirations of the advocates of Yugoslavism. The need for understanding, harmony, and unity among the Serbs and Croats now found a place in the readers (ibid: 87).

The development of geography textbooks in Serbia was similar to that of reading books. Until the beginning of the 20th century the textbooks exclusively focused on Serbian lands, which included contested regions such as Dalmatia, Bosnia, Vojvodina, Macedonia, Srem and in some cases even Croatia-Slavonia. The inhabitants of these lands were presented as Serbs of the Orthodox, Catholic or Muslim faith (Jelavich 1990: 139-60). Only after the Balkan Wars some modifications were introduced. This was most obviously the case in a textbook by Todor Radivojević, who would become an important

author of textbooks in interwar Yugoslavia, and Sava Antonović, in which the South Slavic lands in Austria-Hungary were treated and defined as Croatian and Serbian (ibid: 146-7).

Serbian history textbooks, finally, presented a continuum of Serbian national history from their arrival in the Balkans to the present. A first important episode was the “national” Christianisation of the Serbs. It was explained that initially the Croats were also Christianised by the followers of Cyril and Methodius – one author, Jovan Đorđević, even claimed that Croats initially were Orthodox – but that after 925 the Croatian authorities chose to ban the use of Old Slavonic in liturgy, against the wishes of the people, and integrated the Croatian lands within the Roman Catholic Church. Further, attention was paid to the Serbian medieval kingdom, the Serbian uprising of the beginning of the 19th century and the independent Serbian state. History textbooks also underpinned Serbian claims to Dalmatia, Vojvodina and the Military Border (Jelavich 1990: 179-90). Some elements from Croatian history, such as the Illyrian provinces and the revolutionary year 1848, were included in the textbooks, but only insofar as they were significant for the Austro-Hungarian Serbs (ibid: 190-4). Again, Jelavich notices a significant shift after the Balkan Wars, more specifically in a textbook by Milenko Vukičević of 1914. A first major difference was that the Croats and Serbs were represented as equal ‘tribes’ at the time of the arrival in the Balkans. Also, Vukičević included an overview of medieval Croatian history, with excerpts on the battle at Krbava field, Nikola Šubić Zrinski, Matija Gubec and Petar Zrinski. Also, it was stressed that both the Serbs and the Croats fought many battles against foreign oppressors. Finally, the Illyrian provinces and the Illyrian movement were discussed as part of a joint Serb-Croat tradition (ibid: 196-205). Jelavich concludes as follows:

The history books provide the best illustration of the extent to which Serbianism and Yugoslavism were a part of Serbian education. Until 1912, it would be difficult to draw any conclusion but that the historians were exclusively concerned with the Serbs and their lands. A Croatian nation, in the sense in which the Serbs conceived their own nation or the Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Hungarian nations, did not exist. Only in 1913-14 was this approach altered; Vukičević and Jović in their respective textbooks modified their previous definitions of the Serbian *otadžbina*, now calling it “the Serbo-Croatian fatherland.” This redefinition represented the first admission of the possible existence of a joint South Slav nation, an assertion made even more apparent when the common language was termed “Serbo-Croatian” (ibid: 208).

Although Croatian textbooks primarily focused on Croatian collective identity, elements of Serb-Croat unity were given a rather prominent place. In the Croatian reading books, for example, most attention went out to Croatian writers, the Croatian Kingdom, its relation with the Hungarian and Austrian dynasties, and the Illyrian

movement (Jelavich 1990: 107-26). Unlike the Serbian reading books, however, the Croatian reading books conveyed a strong message of Yugoslavism. Firstly, the 19th century ideas of Illyrianism and Yugoslavism were presented favourably in the textbooks, “as vehicles through which Croatia’s territorial and linguistic unity could be achieved and preserved. Consequently, the importance of South Slavic understanding remained a regular theme in the textbooks” (ibid: 126). Secondly, the reading books contained a fairly large amount of texts related to Serbian topics such as St. Sava, Tsar Dušan, the Kosovo battle, the migrations of the Serbs, and poems by Vuk Karadžić, Jovan Subotić, Branko Radičević and Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (ibid: 126-33). Finally, in line with the education law of 1874 reading books for Croatian and Serbian pupils in the Croatian Kingdom were identical and in both a second alphabet, Cyrillic or Latin, was introduced in the second year of elementary education (ibid: 43-5).

The Croatian geography books focused on the traditional Croatian regions of the Triune Kingdom: Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. However, they recognised that other peoples, amongst them Serbs, lived there too. Also, there was much information on Serbs outside these Croatian regions. Bosnia was represented as a mixed area of Croats and Serbs, but with a significant Croatian tradition (Jelavich 1990: 160-75). In the Croatian history textbooks Serbs and Croats were represented as two ‘tribes’ of one nation upon their arrival in the Balkans. The Croats had settled in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and the western parts of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro. The authors did accept that Serbs gradually migrated to these areas, but stressed that Croats had lived there first. Further, the history textbooks followed the historical evolution of the Croats, first in their medieval states, then under the Hungarian kings and later as part of the Habsburg Empire. Throughout the centuries, it was argued, the Croats had maintained their state tradition and had served as defenders of Christianity in their battles against the Ottomans (ibid: 210-9, 224-31). However, the textbooks also paid considerable attention to Serbian history with texts on Nemanja, St. Sava, Tsar Dušan and the Kosovo battle for medieval Serbian history, and a detailed overview of the political development of the 19th century Serbian state (ibid: 219-24; 238-41). Also, the Croatian textbooks contained information on common Croat-Serb historical experiences, which were interpreted as events of Yugoslav national cooperation. For the early Middle Ages, the textbooks explained that a Serbian tribe had fought against the Franks with Ljudevit Posavski and that King Tomislav assisted the Serbs in their struggle against the Bulgarian empire of Simeon (ibid: 215-6). The 15th century Bosnian King Tvrtko was praised as a great leader who had unified Serbs, Croats and Bosnians (ibid: 223). For the 19th century the textbooks emphasised the Yugoslav idea as the ideological fundament for Serbo-Croatian cooperation and unity in the Croatian lands, illustrated by the cooperation of Croats and Serbs in the 1848 military campaign against the Hungarians (ibid: 235-8).

Most other regions which would be included in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, such as Dalmatia, Macedonia, or Vojvodina, did not have their own textbooks and used textbooks from the larger cultural centres in the region. Independent Montenegro only published its own textbooks from the last decades of the 19th century, when the authorities established a commission for textbooks as part of a broader policy to come to a modern state controlled education system. The national ideology conveyed in these textbooks was strictly Serbian and was largely based on Serbian examples. Moreover, numerous textbook authors belonged to an influential group of Serbian intellectuals in Montenegro, linked to the United Serbian Youth, a movement established in Novi Sad in the 1860s by Vasa Pelagić, which strove to spread Serbian national culture beyond the borders of independent Serbia.⁶²⁴ By 1916 more than 130 textbooks had been published for Montenegro. Of the 23 authors, 11 were non-Montenegrin citizens, especially Serbs from Vojvodina or independent Serbia. Not surprisingly, Montenegrin textbooks strongly resembled Serbian textbooks, with the important difference that more attention was paid to the distinct role Montenegro played in Serbian national culture and history (Pavlović S. 2008: 54-8)

A specific case was Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Austro-Hungarian authorities scrapped initial plans to use Croatian textbooks and decided to publish special textbooks for the region. The intention was to emancipate the province “from Croat or Serb influence” through the “creation of a specific Bosnian self-consciousness” and its “sanctioning in textbooks” (Okey 1992a: 328). The geography textbooks were expected to instil love of the homeland and represent Bosnia as a constituent part of the Dual Monarchy. History textbooks should point at the influence of the Habsburg monarchy and its good relations with Bosnia (ibid.). Both scripts should be learned in school, Orthodox pupils should use Cyrillic books and Catholics and Muslims Roman script books (ibid: 330). However, the correct treatment in textbooks of the complex and often opposing claims to Bosnia from different sides proved a very difficult task. A first draft for a Bosnian secondary school reading book, for example, was rejected because it did not provide a sufficiently balanced overview of German, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian and Arabic literature (ibid: 328).

Neither in the Serbian or in the Croatian textbooks considerable attention was devoted to the Slovenes. In Serbian textbooks they were interpreted as a distinct South Slav nation but largely ignored. Croatian textbooks, especially the history books, paid some fragmentary attention to the Slovenes, but here too there was no indication that Slovenes played any role of significance within the South Slav collectivity (Jelavich 1990:

⁶²⁴ Members of the United Serbian Youth played a very prominent role in Montenegrin society. Some of them edited the important newspapers *Crnogorac* and *Glas Crnogoraca*, and one them, Jovan Pavlović, even became Minister of Education.

241-2). In Slovenian textbooks of the period there remained a great degree of loyalty toward the Habsburg authorities. Also, there was much factual information about Serbs and Croats, who were presented as one Serbo-Croatian nation, but not in a way that it would support any form of Serb-Croat-Slovene national unity. To the contrary, it was Slovenian self-consciousness which was stimulated in these textbooks (ibid: 244-62).

In his conclusion Jelavich is clear: Textbooks merely expressed “fundamental divisions that existed among [Serbs, Croats and Slovenes] for centuries” and children were not taught Yugoslavism, but Serbianism, Croatianism or Slovenianism (Jelavich 1990: 265).

An analysis of the textbooks makes one point very clear: none of the books – Serbian, Croatian, or Slovenian – even remotely conveyed the type of information and enthusiasm about South Slav unity or Yugoslavism that was being expounded by intellectuals, university students, and a few politicians in the decade before the war. The books made professions of brotherhood, cooperation, and understanding, but not unity or assimilation in the sense that could be interpreted as jeopardizing the interests of one’s own nation. Yugoslavism appealed to idealists, but not to those who had to deal with the realities of the South Slav world (ibid: 272).

Surely, in none of the pre-war textbooks Serb-Croat-Slovene national unity occupied a dominant position. In Serbian and Croatian textbooks the Slovenes were largely ignored. In Slovenian textbooks Serbs and Croats were portrayed as one nation, but clearly distinct from the Slovenes. As far as Serb-Croat relations were concerned Serbian and Croatian textbooks clearly formulated overlapping and conflicting definitions of national identity, especially in terms of claims on mixed territories such as Dalmatia, the military borderlands or Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the tendency in Serbian textbooks to define all speakers of štokavian as Serbs. However, I do not follow Jelavich’s negative conclusion that there was “not even remotely” a basis for Yugoslavism in the textbooks. What Andrew Wachtel has said for Jelavich’s analysis of interwar textbooks, which I will discuss more in detail in the following sub-chapters, can also be applied to his study of pre-war textbooks: “Jelavich appears to expect too much from textbooks. Where it would be possible to see gradual progress, he concentrates on those places where none was made” (Wachtel 1998: 262). Especially in the Croatian textbooks there were a considerable number of elements which conveyed a sense of Serb-Croat national unity. The Croatian textbooks consistently spoke of Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity and included detailed information about Serbian history, geography and literature. In Serbian textbooks after the Balkan Wars elements of Serbo-Croatian national unity and information on Croatian culture were introduced. Even though this might have been an opportunistic attempt “to exploit the support for Serbia in the Triune Kingdom that was implicit in the Croatian-Serbian Coalition and among intellectuals and university

students” (Jelavich 1990: 264), it still signals a shift away from the exclusively Serbian definitions of national identity in earlier textbooks.

True, textbooks in the first place focused on Croatian, Serbian or Slovenian national identity, and there were some obviously conflicting and overlapping interpretations in the textbooks. However, Jelavich’s radical dismissal of elements which point to some form of South Slav unity and mutual understanding in the textbooks is based on a static and substantialist approach, which sees Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national identities as strictly delineated and historically invariable entities, and reduces Yugoslavism to the complete assimilation of other collective identities while rejecting the possible interaction and compatibility of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian (or any other sub-national) collective identities with Yugoslav collective identity. This approach also underlies Jelavich’s later and less detailed studies of Serbian and Croatian textbooks of the interwar period, in which he comes to similar conclusions (Jelavich 1994; Jelavich 2003). In the following examination of interwar textbooks I adopt a more dynamic approach toward collective identities, which allows for interaction between different levels of collective identity, and synchronic and diachronic variations in definitions of collective identities.

5.2 In search of ideal Yugoslav textbooks: Textbook legislation during the interwar period

5.2.1 Revisions of pre-war textbooks for immediate use

In the immediate post-war period authorities at different levels were confronted with a very complex situation in the field of textbooks. At the one hand, in many regions of the new kingdom there was an acute quantitative shortage of textbooks due to long periods of war and occupation. In the beginning of 1921 for example the Main Educational Board treated a request from the regional government in Split to reprint textbooks from Croatia, Bosnia or if necessary Serbia for use in Dalmatia, where there was a shortage of textbooks.⁶²⁵ This situation urged the authorities to quickly come up with new textbooks and for this purpose reprints of pre-war textbooks seemed to be the most realistic option. At the same time, however, many experts agreed that the textbooks which had been used before the war no longer corresponded to the post-war reality, not only because much information in the textbooks was simply outdated, but also because the great regional differences between the pre-war textbooks did not correspond to the ideal of Yugoslav national unity. In a comment to the belated organisation of a competition for state publication of reading books and primers in March 1924 *Učitelj*, the organ of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers, wrote:

[P]resent reading books and primers, even if they somehow satisfied the needs of our schools in pre-war circumstances, now, after the war, should be fundamentally revised in accordance with the circumstances created by the liberation and unification of our three-named nation in one state. The whole system of national education and textbooks should be based on a different fundament than has been the case until now (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924 654-5).⁶²⁶

Thus, it was argued that the state should encourage and coordinate the publication of new, uniform and modern textbooks. In a declaration of intent in 1922 the Association of Yugoslav Teachers demanded that the state would assure that only good textbooks

⁶²⁵ See the report in *Prosvetni glasnik* 38 (June 1921): 95.

⁶²⁶ ["Napominjemo samo uzgred da dosadašnje čitanke i bukvari i ako su zadovoljavali donekle potrebe naše škole u predratnim prilikama sad, posle rata, usled prilika stvorenih oslobođenjem i ujedinjenjem našeg troimenog naroda u jednu državu prilike zahtevaju da se iz osnova preuredi i ceo sistem nacionalnog vaspitanja i udžbenici u narodnoj školi stave na drugu osnovicu no što su do sad bili"].

would be used, not through the monopolisation of the production of textbooks, but through the organisation of open textbook competitions for each subject (Jovanović J. 1922a: 35). At the meeting of the Yugoslav Association of Secondary School Teachers in Zagreb on 25-27 September 1921 teachers demanded that the shortage of textbooks should immediately be brought to an end, but also stressed that the textbook issue should be resolved properly and for the entire kingdom (Ristić 1921: 697).

In any case, the chaotic situation concerning the use of textbooks in the immediate post-war period required the quick intervention of the central authorities. In order to alleviate the most pressing shortage of textbooks and teaching material in certain regions, the educational authorities prescribed small revisions to pre-war textbooks to make them usable within the Yugoslav national framework. Already on 13 October 1919 the Main Educational Board decided that in the first instance short overviews of political history, literature, geography and language of all Yugoslav 'tribes' should be covered in textbooks for national subjects (Koljanin 2008: 204). Special commissions with representatives from regional governments in Zagreb, Split, Ljubljana and Sarajevo, as well as members of the Main Educational Board were established for textbooks for Serbian (!) language and literature under the leadership of Pavle Stevanović, for history under Stanoje Stanojević, for geography under Todor Radivojević and further also for living languages and Latin.⁶²⁷ The commissions agreed that the ideal situation would be the use of one textbook in the whole country for every subject. However, in practice this was deemed not yet possible, so the commission agreed on the following temporary measures:

- Differences in alphabets should not hinder the use of textbooks in certain regions.
- Decisions from certain regional governments to impose the use of one single textbook should first be approved by the commission.
- A homogenous terminology should be used in all textbooks.
- Reading books should include texts written in Latin and Cyrillic, and in Slovenian. In Slovenian books there should also be Serbo-Croatian extracts.
- For geography there should be only one textbook for the entire kingdom.
- For history textbooks every region should have its own textbook with specific attention to the history of that region. However, there should also be short overviews of the history of other parts of the nation. In the end, this should lead to the composition of one history textbook for the entire kingdom.

⁶²⁷ See reports of the work of the Main Educational Board in *Prosvetni glasnik* 38 (June 1921): 95; and *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 1 (1921): 234.

- The commission also suggested one textbook for the eighth grade of secondary education which would include the history of the nation, its geography, cultural situation and state structure (Tešić V. 1980: 105-6).

Clearly, the commission strove for a compromise between the idealistic demand for complete uniformity in textbooks, the considerable differences in pre-war textbooks in different regions of the country and the acute necessity for textbooks in certain regions. The compromise was that different textbooks could remain in use in different regions of the country, but that they all should include a minimum of information on history, language and literature of other Yugoslav peoples and regions, and that they all should be reviewed and approved by the Main Educational Board. Gradually this should lead to the rapprochement of different regional textbooks and the evolution toward uniform Yugoslav textbooks.

5.2.2 Toward new, uniform Yugoslav textbooks: Textbook regulations during the 1920s

In the meantime, the authorities also attempted to stimulate the writing and publication of new, truly Yugoslav textbooks, which should in time replace the revised editions of pre-war textbooks. By the end of 1920 the Main Educational Board formulated a rulebook for textbooks, which stipulated that all textbooks had to be approved by the Main Educational Board and the Ministry of Education before they could be used in schools. Textbooks could be published by the state or by private publishing houses, both in the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet. For state publications either a competition would be held, or the authorities would commission a specific author to write a textbook. In such cases a commission of at least three experts would be appointed by the Main Educational Board to decide if the textbook in question was suitable. After four years, all approved textbooks had to be re-evaluated. In case there were no sufficient textbooks, some books could be approved for temporary use only. If a school used textbooks which were not approved, the teacher and the principal would be held responsible. For other teaching material, such as maps or books, the same rules were applicable.⁶²⁸

A first competition for textbooks was initiated at the Main Educational Board's session of 23 March 1923. It was held for primers and reading books for elementary

⁶²⁸ The rulebook is included in the report of the sessions the Main Educational Board held between 31 August 1920 and 1 February 1921, 'Rad glavnog prosvetnog saveta', *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 1 (1921): 88-89.

schools, arguably the most important textbooks from a national point of view, because they covered a wide range of national topics, from folk literature to geography and history, and were used in all years of elementary school. The crucial question with regard to reading books, and by extension all textbooks for national subjects, was to what extent societal differences should be reflected in the publication of different textbooks for, say, different regions, or urban and rural societies (Prodanović 1923: 193). In brief, did national unity require the use of uniform textbooks for the entire national youth, or could national unity be achieved through different textbooks? The competition regulations clarified that primers and reading books for the first two years should be written in three identical examples: one in the Cyrillic alphabet, one in the Latin alphabet and one in the Slovenian “dialect”. From the third year there should be one reading book with texts in both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet, and one in the Slovenian “dialect”. Moreover, all the material in these books should correspond to the idea of national unity. The winning textbook for each year would be published by the state publishing house, the numbers two and three could also be used in schools. It was thus clearly the intention to establish uniform reading books for the whole country, with the exception of Slovenia, where the Slovenian “dialect” could be used.⁶²⁹

On 1 April 1924 the competition was ended, with a total contribution of 25 primers and 57 reading books.⁶³⁰ On 18 August 1925 the Ministry of Education published a final list of primers and reading books which were approved for use. For state publication the ministry selected one primer in the Latin alphabet, one in the Cyrillic alphabet and one in the Slovenian “dialect”. Further, the ministry selected the reading books by Ljubomir Protić, which were in fact revised editions of reading books which were used in pre-war Serbia, for regions where the Cyrillic alphabet was used; and the reading books by Sigismund Čajkovac for regions where Latin was used. It was added that in both reading books for the third and fourth years both alphabets should be used alternately. The state also published the series of Slovenian reading books by Voder, Flere, Černej, Rape and Gangl. Finally, the following reading books were approved for use in schools in publications by private publishing houses: For the first year the reading books by Mihailo Jović and Milorad Vujanac, for the second year the reading books by Mihailo Stanojević & Živko Stefanović and Jovan P. Jovanović, for the third year by Jovan P. Jovanović and Milorad Vujanac, and for the fourth year by Mihailo Jović and Mihailo Stanojević & Živko Stefanović.⁶³¹ It was prescribed that schools should first make use of

⁶²⁹ ‘Stečaj za izradu bukvara i čitanaka za osnovne škole u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’, *Prosvetni glasnik* 40 (1923), 147-8 (službeni deo).

⁶³⁰ See the report in *Učitelj* 38 (May 1924): 654-5.

⁶³¹ ‘Odobreno štampanje bukvara i čitanaka državnog i privatnog izdanja, a po mišljenju Glavnog Prosv. Saveta’. O.n. br. 46.835, 18 August 1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/25: 890-1.

state textbooks. Only in case these were no longer available the other textbooks could be used.⁶³²

It was the intention that these books would be published after adaptations were made on the basis of suggestions made by the Main Educational Board. However, in March 1926 still very few final versions had been sent to the ministry and Minister of Education Stjepan Radić urged the authors to send in the final versions of their reading books.⁶³³ For the time being, Minister Radić commissioned all publishing houses to submit their textbooks for elementary education for a new evaluation by the Main Educational Board.⁶³⁴ On 14 July 1926 the Ministry of Education repeated that primers and reading books should be used in all four years of elementary school and that the textbooks which had been approved on 18 August 1925 could be used temporarily.⁶³⁵ On 5 October 1927 a new decree clarified that all textbooks which had been approved 'temporarily' for elementary education could still be used in the school year 1927-28, but that a new competition would be organised in the course of that school year.⁶³⁶ However, instead of a new competition the ministry again issued a circular on 4 February 1928, which called for the revision of all textbooks for elementary education in accordance with the new temporary curriculum of 1927.⁶³⁷ That way the situation remained unclear and the ministry had to act repeatedly against schools which made use of textbooks which had not been approved by the Main Educational Board.⁶³⁸

For civil schools and secondary schools no competitions for textbooks were held at all. On 24 July 1924 Minister of Education Svetozar Pribićević issued a list of textbooks which were approved for these types of schools. For language (revised) editions of pre-war reading books from Belgrade, Zagreb and Slovenia were approved:

- For Belgrade the reading books by Milan Šević, Milan Šević & Milan Ćuković and Miloš Ivković.

⁶³² 'Naredba da se u osnovnim školama u Kraljevini upotrebljavaju bukvari i čitanke državnog izdanja'. O.n. br. 68.960, 31.10.1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/32: 1206.

⁶³³ 'Izmene u bukvarima u čitankama prema komisijskim referatima.' O.n. br. 26.455/III, 8 March 1926. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 76.

⁶³⁴ 'Pregledanje udžbenika, koji će se upotrebljavati u škol. god. 1926/27.' O.n. br. 26.454/III, 8 March 1926, *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 76.

⁶³⁵ 'Obavezni udžbenici u osnovnim školama.' O.n. br. 1.249, 14 July 1926. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 363.

⁶³⁶ 'Odobreni udžbenici za osnovne škole važe za još godinu dana.' O.n. br. 65.595, 5 October 1927. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 621.

⁶³⁷ 'Revizija udžbenika, koji se upotrebljavaju u nižoj osnovnoj školi, s obzirom na današnji nastavni program.' O.n. br. 9.061, 4 February 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 81.

⁶³⁸ 'Po svima osnovnim školama moraju se upotrebljavati samo odobreni udžbenici, i to prvenstveno udžbenici držav. izdanja.' O.n. Br. 61.534, 20 September 1927. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 564; 'Nijedna knjiga, koju Glavni Prosvetni Savet nije odobrio, ne sme se upotrebiti u srednjim, građanskim i osnovnim školama, ni kao udžbenik, ni kao pomoćno nastavno sredstvo.' P. br. 18.584, 15 November 1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 982.

- For Zagreb the reading books by Mirko Divković, which were written in the last decade of the 19th century, one reading book by Ivan Šarić and one by Petračić.
- For Ljubljana the reading books by Wester and Brinar.

For history of literature the choice was limited. For Serbian literature the ministry approved works by Pavle Popović, Jovan Skerlić and Tihomir Ostojić, for Croatian literature textbooks by Branko Vodnik and Dragutin Prohaska and for Slovenian literature a textbook by Ivan Grafenauer. For geography the choice was equally small, with books by Todor Radivojević, Borivoje Milojević and Pavle Sokolović & Dimitrije Đorđević. For history finally the ministry approved several textbooks by Stanoje Stanojević, amongst which both a Serbian history and a history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Luka Zrnić's textbook on Serbian history, further a 'History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' by Anton Melik in Slovenian and general history textbooks by the Croatian historians Stjepan Srkulj and Milan Prelog.⁶³⁹ All these textbooks had been written and published before the First World War and only in a small number of them adaptations had been made to the new circumstances. Expectedly, these textbooks continued to have a strong Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian bias. During the 1920s these textbooks remained in use and only gradually a number of new textbooks for secondary schools were published.

Clearly, during the 1920s the Ministry of Education did not succeed in stimulating the writing and consecutive publication of a restricted number of new and uniform textbooks through competitions and state publications. Rather, the ministry continued to 'temporarily' approve a rather elaborate list of textbooks. In numerous cases the textbook authors had already been active before the war and only introduced smaller revisions in their pre-war textbooks. Also, there remained a clear regional division between Slovenian textbooks, which were published in Ljubljana, Croatian textbooks, published in Zagreb, and Serbian textbooks from Belgrade. In the case of the Slovenian textbooks the distinction was clear, as it was based on the use of the Slovenian language. Although in theory Serbo-Croatian textbooks could be used state-wide, there was no doubt – not even for the educational authorities – that, for example, Čajkovac's state published reading books would be used predominantly in the Croatian regions – or, as it was expressed by the authorities, the regions where the Latin alphabet was used – whereas Protić's reading books would be used in the Serbian part of the country, where the Cyrillic alphabet was used.

⁶³⁹ 'Spisak udžbenika'. S.n. br. 7.348, 24 July 1924. *Prosvetni glasnik* 40 (1924): 107-23.

5.2.3 One nation, one textbook: textbook policy under the dictatorship

As with other educational issues, quickly after the establishment of the Royal Dictatorship the textbook policy was legally determined. In the presentation of his program on 12 March 1929 Minister of Education Maksimović had already complained:

With regard to textbooks, there is an absolute chaos, which enabled many immoral persons to start a great commerce in textbooks, which was profitable for them but very harmful for the school. For the sake of order, justice, the uniformity of the spirit and the program of education, and in the spirit of the state's national unity, that chaos should be immediately ended through the publication of state textbooks (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović: 37).⁶⁴⁰

On 27 September 1929 the Ministry of Education legalised a Law on Textbooks for all types of schools in the Kingdom.⁶⁴¹ With this law, the state took full control over the publication of textbooks, by means of competitions which would be written out every four years. In these competitions the Ministry of Education, in consultation with the Main Educational Board, decided which textbooks were suitable for publication by the State Publishing House and only these textbooks could be used in Yugoslav schools (arts. 1-2). For every competition, a first selection of the manuscripts was made by the departments for elementary or secondary education of the Ministry of Education. Thereafter, the selected manuscripts were sent to a special commission (art. 6). For secondary schoolbooks, the commission consisted of one university professor and two inspection experts. For elementary schoolbooks the commission consisted of one inspector or secondary-school teacher, one professor for teacher-training schools and one excellent teacher (art. 8). For textbooks for religious education the Ministry of Justice, which was responsible for religious matters, provided one extra expert on religion. Additionally, these books had to be approved by the religious authorities in question (art. 9). Within six months after the deadline of the competition the commission had to select the three best books for every subject (art. 10). The Ministry then decided which book would be published by the state and used in Yugoslav schools until a next competition would be written out, four years later (art. 12). Clearly, the Ministry wanted to establish completely uniform textbooks for the entire state. The only exception to this rule was made for specific schools or regions with “existing

⁶⁴⁰ [“U pogledu udžbenika vlada apsolutni nered, koji je omogućavao raznim nesvesnim ljudima, po njih unosnu a po školu vrlo štetnu, veliku udžbeničku industriju. U interesu reda, pravice, kao i jednoobraznog duha i programa nastave, i u smislu državnog narodnog jedinstva, taj se haos mora što pre preseći, izdavanjem državnih udžbenika”.]

⁶⁴¹ ‘Zakon o udžbenicima za narodne, građanske, učiteljske i srednje škole’, *Službene novine* 11/230: 1858-9.

linguistic differences”.⁶⁴² In this case – which was rather vague and open for various interpretations – the ministry would commission the author of the textbook or another expert to provide a proper translation of the textbook (art. 13). The first competition had to be written out by the end of December 1929 (art. 20). At the latest by the start of the school year 1931-32 the new law should result in uniform textbooks. After that, privately published textbooks could only be used in case no competition was written out (art. 21).

However, the deadline set in the law soon proved to be unfeasible, and in practice textbooks were, as before the Law on Textbooks had been legalised, approved for use by the Main Educational Board “until a final state publication would follow”. As a result there was complete chaos with regard to textbooks in Yugoslavia. According to Vinko Dorčić the problem was that there were simply too much textbooks available in Yugoslavia and that there remained great differences between these textbooks. This situation was unsatisfactory, not only from a material point of view – many parents and schools could not afford the expensive textbooks –, but also from a national point of view. With this in mind, the author demanded the immediate introduction of state published textbooks as was promised in the Textbook Law (Dorčić 1931). In repeated circulars the ministry however legalised the “temporary” continuation of the regulations on textbooks of the 1920s. On 2 July 1932 the ministry clarified that all textbooks which had been approved by the Main Educational Board were equal – regardless of the publisher – and that schools were allowed to choose freely which books to use.⁶⁴³ After receiving reports of certain schools which used textbooks which did not correspond to the new curricula and which were approved more than four years before or simply not at all, the Ministry again had to intervene. It stressed that the textbooks should follow the most recent curriculum. Only in case no such textbooks had been published, other textbooks could be used. Under no circumstances schools could use textbooks which were no longer approved.⁶⁴⁴ Another problem, which had already been pointed to by Vinko Dorčić, was that many parents could simply not afford to follow all “temporary” changes in textbooks. Therefore the Ministry of Education clarified that teachers could not force their students to buy a certain textbook and that older versions of approved textbooks could also be used. The students should only buy the most necessary books and teachers had to make sure that parents did not make unnecessary costs. Finally, the Ministry of Education reported that it was finishing the work on uniform textbooks and thus “end this accumulation of textbooks, which has

⁶⁴² [“s obzirom na postojeće jezične ralike”]

⁶⁴³ ‘Svi odobreni udžbenici imaju se smatrati kao ravnopravni, bez obzira u čijem su izdanju.’ P.br. 12.625, 2 July 1932. *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1932): 614-5.

⁶⁴⁴ ‘Upotreba udžbenika’. S.n. br. 29.037, 12 September 1932. *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1932): 941-2.

turned out harmful in every aspect, in the course of the next year”.⁶⁴⁵ However, a year later the Ministry of Education was forced to annul this decree.⁶⁴⁶

Finally, on 23 January 1935 the first competition for secondary school textbooks was declared open.⁶⁴⁷ The competition was held for national subjects, once more illustrating the crucial position these subjects occupied within the Yugoslav educational policy. For language the ministry invited submissions for grammars, reading books, histories of Yugoslav literature, historical linguistics with an overview of the dialects, literature theory and anthologies of folk literature. Reading books should represent the most important writers of all three ‘tribes’, so that these books would be true anthologies of Yugoslav literature. The literature textbooks should treat all the writers which were mentioned in the curriculum. Texts should be given in the authentic ekavian or ijekavian variant, and both alphabets should be equally represented. Slovenian writers had to be presented in the original language, so that students outside Drava banovina would become familiar with the Slovenian “speech”.⁶⁴⁸ For Drava banovina, reading books and grammars should be in Slovenian, confirming the distinct position of Slovenian in the Yugoslav educational policy. For history textbooks for the third and fourth year, in which national history was treated, the following guidelines were given:

Emphasise the efforts of our nation toward the establishment of a common state, develop a supreme consciousness of national tasks, create confidence that centripetal forces have brought the homeland to force and greatness, while centrifugal forces have always brought negative results.⁶⁴⁹

History textbooks had to pay specific attention to events and personalities which illustrated the strength and endurance of the nation. Finally, a competition was also written out for geography textbooks for the fourth and eighth year, for which the curriculum prescribed an overview of Yugoslav geography.

On 15 February 1935 a competition was written out for the following elementary school textbooks: reading books and grammars for “Serbo-Croato-Slovenian”, history

⁶⁴⁵ ‘Upotreba udžbenika u srednjim, stručnim, građanskim i narodnim školama’. P. br. 3.930, 17 September 1932. *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1932): 938. [“te će se još tokom iduće školske godine sprečiti ovo nagomilavanje udžbenika koje se u svakom pogledu pokazalo kao štetno”].

⁶⁴⁶ ‘Upotreba udžbenika po svima školama u resoru Min. prosvete.’ P. br. 42.891, 17 February 1933. *Prosvetni glasnik* 49 (1933): 118.

⁶⁴⁷ ‘Konkurs za izradu udžbenika nacionalne grupe predmeta’. S.n. br. 2.800, 23 January 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 166-72.

⁶⁴⁸ [“govor”].

⁶⁴⁹ *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 170. [“Naročito istaći napor našeg naroda u stvaranju zajedničke države, razvijati visoku svest o nacionalnim zadacima, stvarati uverenja da su centripetalni naponi dovodili domovinu do snage i veličine, dok su centrifugalne težnje pokazivale uvek negativne rezultate.”]

for the third and fourth year, one textbook for geography for the third and fourth year, arithmetic, nature study and economy.⁶⁵⁰ Reading books should represent all three 'tribes' of the nation. They should have an encyclopaedic character, enrich the morals and character of the pupils, stimulate self-confidence, sense of duty and above all they should spread love toward fatherland and nation. Texts should be presented in their authentic variant, and both alphabets should be represented equally. Slovenian texts should be given in Slovenian. For history the same remarks were given as for secondary school textbooks.

By this time, opposition against the Ministry of Education's policy could be ventilated more openly and criticism against the monopolisation of textbooks grew stronger, especially in the ranks of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers. Already at its congress of August 1930 the Association had rejected the state monopoly on textbooks as foreseen in the law of 1929. In the opinion of the teachers only through free competition the quality of textbooks could improve continuously (Petković V. 1930: 60). In its annual report for 1934-35 the Association claimed that the strengthening of national consciousness did not require the complete unification of education, but:

An indispensable program, through which and in the spirit of which curricula would be differentiated with regards to local circumstances, made more profound and work maximally. (...) In no circumstances only one textbook for the entire state can be foreseen and approved, but, to the contrary, their variety and richness should be favoured and stressed. From our national and pedagogical point of view the proposed unification presents pedagogical impoverishment and regression instead of progress (qtd. in Milić Majstorović 1939: 209).⁶⁵¹

On 16 December 1934 *Narodna prosveta*, the journal of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers, published an article which argued that complete uniformity of textbooks would not be pedagogically correct because education had to adapt to specific regional circumstances. Moreover, one of the basic fundamentals for cultural progress was competition.⁶⁵² Clearly, the complete uniformity of textbooks was no longer seen as a *sine qua non* for the strengthening of Yugoslav national unity. More and more educational experts argued that regional differences should be taken into account in education and

⁶⁵⁰ 'Konkurs za izradu udžbenika iz nastavnih predmeta državnih osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Jugoslavije'. O.n. br. 1.801, 15 February 1935. *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 173-8.

⁶⁵¹ ["jedan neophodan program, prema čemu se i u duhu čijem se diferenciraju prema mesnim prilikama, produbljuju i rade maksimalni nastavni programi. Prema tome ... nigde se ne mogu predvideti i odobriti samo jedni udžbenici za celu državu, već se, na protiv, favorizira i ističe njihovu raznolikost i bogatstvo. Sa našeg nacionalnog obrazovnog gledišta ovako predložena unifikacija je obrazovno osiromašenje i idenje unazad a ne unapred."]

⁶⁵² M.N.P, 'O udžbenicima'. *Narodna prosveta*, 16.12.1934: 1.

that only by respecting sub-national variety Yugoslav national unity could be established.

Although the Law on Textbooks had prescribed that the commissions should finish their review of manuscripts within six months after the competition had been opened, no decision was made until 19 August 1937, when the ministry reported that textbooks which had been approved less than four years ago by the Main Educational Board could be used in elementary schools. No further news was given about competitions for state textbooks.⁶⁵³ On 26 February 1938 the Ministry of Education convened a meeting with representatives of economic and educational institutions concerning draft versions of new decrees for the State Publishing House and textbooks. On this occasion a resolution was accepted which concluded that the monopolisation of textbooks and other teaching material by the state was harmful and that progress could only be reached through healthy competition in the writing and publishing of textbooks. Consequently, the law on textbooks should be revised so that every form of monopolisation would be annulled (Milić Majstorović 1939: 210). On 24 October 1938, finally, Minister Magarašević published an elaborate list of textbooks which could be used in all types of schools in Yugoslavia.⁶⁵⁴ On 11 May 1939 Minister Ćirić legalised a procedure for the use of textbooks in all types of schools in Yugoslavia, which completely reinstated the earlier practice, whereby textbooks were approved for four years on the basis of a review by the Main Educational Board.⁶⁵⁵ A new circular on 25 June 1939 clarified that the education council of schools could decide which books would be used in the school.⁶⁵⁶

5.2.4 Textbooks as mediators between levels of national identity

By the end of the interwar period none of the legal regulations which prescribed the limitation of the number of textbooks or even the use of one state textbook per subject had been put in practice. Instead, textbooks were submitted to the Main Education Board for approval and, if approved, were used in schools for four years. The best textbooks were selected for publication by the State Publishing House. What is more, by

⁶⁵³ 'Upotreba udžbenika u narodnim školama.' O.n. br. 51.450, 19 August 1937. *Prosvetni glasnik* 53 (1937): 830-1.

⁶⁵⁴ 'Spisak udžbenika koji su sada u upotrebi u narodnim, građanskim, učiteljskim i srednjim školama.' IV Br. 20.004, 24 October 1938. *Prosvetni glasnik* 54 (1938): 1122-73.

⁶⁵⁵ 'Postupak pri donošenju odluka o upotrebi udžbenika u narodnim, domaćičkim, građanskim, srednjim, učiteljskim i drugim srednjim i srednjim stručnim školama u resoru Ministarstva prosvete.' IV br. 5.078, 11 May 1939. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 384.

⁶⁵⁶ *Narodna prosveta*, 29.08.1940: 1.

the end of the period under scrutiny the idea that national education required uniform teaching material was completely rejected by educational experts.

In this chapter I examine textbooks for national subjects, namely: reading books, history and geography textbooks for elementary and lower secondary education, and textbooks for literary history for higher secondary education. In the first place, I make a distinction on the basis of the place of publication. It can be expected that the differences between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian textbooks from the pre-First World War period left a mark on interwar Yugoslav textbooks, especially if we take into consideration that a number of textbook authors from the pre-war period were still active in interwar Yugoslavia. Moreover, the failure to come to a series of uniform Yugoslav textbooks during the interwar period implies that the sub-national diversity between textbooks published in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade in practice could endure, also with regard to definitions of national identity.

I examine to what extent the Yugoslav national ideology, which occupied a crucial place in the interwar Yugoslav educational policy, underpinning curricula and legal regulations concerning textbooks, left its mark on definitions of national identity in textbooks for national subjects. The fact that textbooks were published in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana and were written with an obvious 'tribal' target group does not necessarily rule out categories of Yugoslav nationhood in these textbooks (cf. 1.2). Rather, textbooks in particular can be a fruitful source to study the possibilities and limitations to mediations between the level of Yugoslav and that of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nationhood.⁶⁵⁷ More specifically, a study of textbooks can illuminate whether the mechanisms which were deployed in the state's educational policy and the curricula provided viable common denominators for negotiations between these levels of national identity (cf. 1.2).

⁶⁵⁷ This approach has already been applied successfully to textbooks by Katharine Kennedy, who has studied how regionally differentiated reading books contributed to the building of German nationhood in Wilhelmine Germany (Kennedy K. 1997).

5.3 Serbian textbooks in the early 1920s: balancing between Serbdom and Yugoslavism

For Serbian textbooks I make a chronological division between the textbooks which were published and approved in the immediate post-war period, when educational authorities had not yet prescribed any detailed guidelines concerning the teaching material which should be included in textbooks, and textbooks published after the approval of curricula for the entire kingdom and the formulation of prescriptions on textbooks under the Royal Dictatorship.⁶⁵⁸ What immediately strikes the observer is the large number of textbooks for national subjects – reading books, history and geography textbooks and for secondary education also literary history textbooks – which were published in the first half of the 1920s in Belgrade. Moreover, as a result of the lacking central guidelines concerning the precise way in which the subject material presented in the textbooks should be adapted to the new Yugoslav state and the Yugoslav national ideology, there were great qualitative differences between these different textbooks. Thereby it should also be kept in mind that, as has been clarified by Charles Jelavich, there had been no, or very little, direct Yugoslav elements in pre-war Serbian textbooks, so that adaptations to the Yugoslav ideology required substantial revisions.

5.3.1 Superficial revisions of pre-war Serbian textbooks

Immediately after the war a significant number of revised editions of pre-war Serbian textbooks were published. For elementary education I have examined two series of reading books, one compiled by Ljubomir Protić and Vladimir D. Stojanović, a second by Uroš Blagojević and Mihailo Stanojević. The first edition of the Protić-Stojanović reading book, according to Charles Jelavich “the best example of Serbian emphasis in the [pre-First World War] readers” (Jelavich 1990: 83), was published in 1904. Immediately after the World War these reading books were republished by the state publishing house. Slightly revised editions of the reading books were submitted on the occasion of the textbook competition of 1923 and were selected for publication by the state publishing house in Belgrade in 1926.⁶⁵⁹ The reading books compiled by Uroš

⁶⁵⁸ For elementary school the first detailed guidelines were provided in the temporary curriculum of 1927. For secondary education, the first temporary curricula were formulated between 1924 and 1926 (cf. 3.2).

⁶⁵⁹ ‘Odobreno štampanja bukvara i čitanaka državnog i privatnog izdanja, a po mišljenju Glavnog Prosv. Saveta’. O.n. br. 46.835, 18 August 1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/25: 890-1. I have examined the immediate

Blagojević and Mihailo Stanojević went back to an important reading book Blagojević had compiled with Pera Đorđević in 1891 (ibid: 60-70). Significantly, the authors of these textbooks held important positions in interwar Yugoslav educational institutions. Ljubomir Protić, who had already been a leading educational expert in pre-war Serbia, continued to play a crucial role in the educational policy of the 1920s as principal of the Girls' Teacher-Training School in Belgrade, prominent member of the Main Educational Board and author of a number of pedagogical essays. Mihailo Stanojević was a prolific writer of not only reading books, but also textbooks for history, grammar, geography and geometry. He was also editor of *Teacher (Učitelj)*, the organ of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers from 1920-21 to 1928-29, and member of the Association's central committee. He worked as referee at the Ministry of Education.

In the list of textbooks which were approved for secondary schools on 24 July 1924 a large number of textbooks for national subjects were revised editions of pre-war textbooks.⁶⁶⁰ For reading books, the ministry approved a series compiled by Miloš Ivković and Vojislav Jovanović and one by Milan Šević, the most successful authors of reading books for secondary schools in the immediate pre-war period (Jelavich 1990: 70).⁶⁶¹ Further, I have examined history textbooks by Stanoje Stanojević and textbooks for literary history by Jovan Skerlić and Pavle Popović. In these cases too, the authors of textbooks were prominent figures in Serbian intellectual circles. Skerlić, Jovanović, Stanojević, Šević and Popović were (had been) professors at Belgrade University. The list also included some textbooks which were written by prominent authors of pre-war Serbian textbooks, but included more profound adaptations to the new Yugoslav context, namely: Pavle Popović's 'History of Yugoslav Literature', Todor Radivojević's geography textbooks and Milenko Vukičević's history textbooks. These textbooks will be treated separately (cf. 5.3.3).

It immediately becomes clear that these revised editions only included some superficial amendments to the new Yugoslav context, as well as the addition of a small number of Croatian or Slovenian symbolic resources. A perfect illustration of this superficiality can be found in the Protić-Stojanović reading books. Initially, these remained entitled as 'Serbian reading books'. The chapters in the reading book for the fourth year – 'Serbdom', 'Serbian Lands', and 'From Serbian History' – illustrate the

post-war editions of 1921-1923. Charles Jelavich found only minor adaptations and additions in the editions of 1926 (Jelavich 1994: 134-5).

⁶⁶⁰ 'Spisak udžbenika'. S.n. br. 7.348, 24 July 1924. *Prosvetni glasnik* 40 (1924): 107-23.

⁶⁶¹ I have examined two editions of the reading books by Ivković and Jovanović, one published in 1919, and one published in 1926-28. The former was republished by publishing house Geca Kon without any revisions or adaptations. It was only in the later editions that minor adaptations to the new Yugoslav context were included.

strictly Serbian national approach. In the 1926 edition, which had been selected for state publication in the textbook competition of 1923, the titles of the reading books were neutralised to simply 'Reading books', the same procedure was applied for the chapters in the reading book for the fourth year, which were changed to 'Our Nation', 'Our Lands' and 'From the National Past' respectively (Jelavich 1994: 135).⁶⁶² A salient adaptation in reading books was the addition of the Croatian and the Slovenian hymn. The reading books rendered all three hymns in their original form, and thus did not follow the Ministry of Education's prescriptions in this respect. On 12 September 1919 the Ministry of Education had decided that references to the 'Serbian people', 'Serbian Kingdom' and 'Serbian King' in the Serbian hymn should be replaced by 'our people', 'our Kingdom', 'our King'. Later, on 6 September 1921 the Ministry prescribed that the Yugoslav state hymn should consist of one strophe of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian hymn, "until a final decision would be taken".⁶⁶³ In some cases, authors made small adaptations to delete overt Serbian nationalist approaches in texts. Milan Šević, for example, included an adapted version of Stevan Sremac's 'The Original Homeland of the Slavs' ('Stara postojbina Slovena') in his reading book for the first year of secondary school. In the original, Sremac had spoken about the migrations of the Slavs, thereby reducing all South Slav to Serbs.⁶⁶⁴ In his adapted version, Šević consistently spoke about Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, instead of simply Serbs, as three equal South Slav 'tribes' (Šević 1922: 61).

At the same time textbooks under scrutiny continued to include programmatic texts in which an exclusively Serbian national idea was propagated. In Blagojević and Stanojević's reading book, for example, 'Our Fatherland' by Sreten J. Stojković was included. In this text it was argued:

Serbs are distinguished from many other nations by their cleverness and other wise characteristics. The Serbian language is beautiful and resonant, so that it can be measured with the most beautiful languages in the world. Our customs are worthy and the Orthodox faith is the most beautiful faith in the world (Blagojević & Stanojević 1922: 40-1, quotation on 41).⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶² This procedure was not applied as a rule in all textbooks. Ivković and Jovanović's reading books, for example, retained the title 'Serbian reading books' in the editions of 1927-28.

⁶⁶³ Decrees O.n. br. 21.811 and Pov. ud. 9.614, quoted in Aranicki & Karadžić (1935: 159).

⁶⁶⁴ The original version was still included in Ivković & Jovanović (1919a: 67-8).

⁶⁶⁵ ["Srbi se odlikuju bistrinom i drugim umnim osobinama od mnogih drugih naroda. Srpski jezik je lep i zvučan da se može meriti sa najlepšim jezicima na svetu. Naši običaji su valjani i vera pravoslavna je najlepša vera koju ljudi veruju".]

Almost all reading books under scrutiny included Stojan Novaković's well-known Serb-centred definition of national identity. Novaković considered language to be the crucial distinguishing factor for nations. Further, all members of a nation were proud of the same things and had the same habits. The examples given by Novaković – *slava* feasts (the celebration of the family's patron saint), Marko Kraljević, Miloš Obilić, churches, and Kosovo – clarify that he envisaged the Serbian nation (Ivković & Jovanović 1927a: 159-60; Protić & Stojanović 1923: 9; Šević 1922: 60-1). Only in the reading book compiled by Ivković and Jovanović questions were added which should make connections to Slovenes and Croats, parts of the nation "which [were] called differently".⁶⁶⁶ Further, reading books contained chapters which elaborated on national customs and characteristics by referring to traditional Serbian values and customs, often linked to Serbian folk tradition and Orthodoxy, such as: *slava*, Christmas, *Đurđevdan* (St. George's Day), et cetera. Rare inclusions of information on non-Serbian customs, as in Ivković and Jovanović's reading book, in which a text on the Catholic celebration of Christmas in Slavonia by Janko Jurković was added as a comparison to Vuk Karadžić's text on Serbian Christmas, remained rather insignificant (Ivković & Jovanović 1927a: 123-8).⁶⁶⁷

5.3.1.1 Language and literature

Clearly, at the discursive level adaptations to Yugoslavism remained superficial and marginal in the textbooks under scrutiny. Let us now look at the more elaborate definitions of national identity in these textbooks. An absolute majority of the texts included in the reading books was presented in the Cyrillic alphabet. In Blagojević and Stanojević's reading book for the third year of elementary school, for example, 11 texts were given in the Latin alphabet, on a total of 90 texts. The 1927 edition of Ivković and Jovanović's reading book for the first year of secondary education included 24 texts in the Latin alphabet on a total of 105.⁶⁶⁸ The relation was slightly more balanced in Šević's reading books, where the ratio of Latin to Cyrillic texts was approximately 1:2. Additionally, reading books predominantly included texts in the ekavian variant. Still, although there was a clear Serbian bias in the language used in the reading books, the

⁶⁶⁶ The full question was: "In what are those parts [of the nation] which are called differently, similar, in what are they different?" (Ivković & Jovanović 1927a: 160). ["U čemu su srodni oni delovi njegovi koji se različitom imenom zovu, a u čemu se razlikuju?"].

⁶⁶⁷ Similarly, the second reading book included another Catholic-Orthodox pair of Christmas scenes, namely Silvije Kranjčević's Catholic 'On Christmas Eve' and Janko Veselinović's Orthodox 'Christmas Joy' (Ivković & Jovanović 1928: 146-52).

⁶⁶⁸ In the edition of 1919, which was identical to the pre-war editions, there were eight texts in the Latin script, on a total of 69.

books did allow for variation within national language, as they included texts in both variants and alphabets.

The most marked innovation with regard to language was the inclusion of a small number of texts in Slovenian in all reading books. As a rule, compilers accompanied these extracts with Serbo-Croatian translations of difficult words in footnotes. It is especially illustrating to see how textbook authors interpreted the Slovenian language variant in relation to the Serbian or Serbo-Croatian national language. In a special text on Slovenia Protić and Stojanović explained that

Slovenes speak the same language, because we are one nation. They have some different words, but that doesn't mean that they have a different speech, rather we say that they have their own dialect. Some regions in Serbia also have their own dialects, but nobody claims that some other nation lives there, only because they don't speak, let's say, like us in Belgrade, the glorious capital of our unified tribe (Protić & Stojanović 1923: 127).⁶⁶⁹

Hereafter, the compilers presented a text by Anton Slomšek in Slovenian, with some Serbo-Croatian translations in footnotes, which should clarify that Slovenian was indeed “just a dialect of the beautiful Serbian language” (ibid.).⁶⁷⁰ Of course, this was a simplistic introduction to Slovenian for elementary school pupils, but it perfectly illustrates how these revised editions of pre-war Serbian reading books simply appropriated additional symbolic resources linked to the Croatian or Slovenian ‘tribe’ within the codified definition of Serbian national identity.

The Šević reading book for the fourth year of secondary education included an essay by the linguist Aleksandar Belić entitled ‘The Slovenes in relation to Serbs and Croats’ (‘Slovenci prema Srbima i Hrvatima’), which explained that it was a scientific truth that Serbo-Croatian čakavian, štokavian and kajkavian, and Slovenian kajkavian went back to one ‘proto-language’. Consecutively:

The Slovenian language and people, located far to the West, exposed to German-Italian influence, increasingly differentiated from the Serbo-Croatian language and people in its development, but close common bonds between Slovenes and

⁶⁶⁹ [“Slovenci govore istim jezikom, pošto smo jedan narod. Poneka reč ima i drukčija, ali to ne znači da oni imaju drugi govor, već se to kaže: da imaju svoje narečje. Svoje narečje imaju i poneki krajevi u Srbiji, pa ipak niko ne kaže da u njima žive neki drugi narodi zato što ne govore, recimo, kao mi u Beogradu, dičnoj prestonici ujedinjenog plemena našeg”.]

⁶⁷⁰ [“samo narečje lepog srpskog jezika”.]

Serbs and Croats persisted, and many events have indicated that Slovenes want cultural and political unity with Serbs and Croats (Šević 1923: 140-1).⁶⁷¹

Belić substantiated this claim by pointing to cultural movements in the Slovenian recent past which had proposed the full adoption of the Serbo-Croatian literary language, or at least a reduction of the differences between Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian. In the first place he referred to Stanko Vraz's decision to start writing in Serbo-Croatian. True, Belić admitted that major cultural figures such as Kopitar and Prešeren had opposed the complete unification of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian, but, "over the course of the last twenty years", still according to Belić, there had been renewed attempts among the Slovenes to enrich Slovenian by introducing Serbo-Croatian words and linguistic elements. In the long term, this would lead to the unification or convergence of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian. Finally, Belić argued that the question of the Slovenian literary language was especially important for the Slovenes themselves, taking into consideration that they still had to select one common dialect as literary language to unite the great differences between the Slovenian dialects. In this respect, Belić mentioned that some voices had been raised to immediately adopt Serbo-Croatian as literary language (Šević 1923: 140-2). Clearly, this account was much more balanced than the above-mentioned text by Protić and Stojanović, but it equally reduced Slovenian to a minor, unviable partner in the 'Serbo-Croato-Slovenian' language, which was predestined to be absorbed in Serbo-Croatian.

Another important element for the definition of national identity in textbooks was literature. Most of the textbooks for literary history which were included in the list of approved textbooks of 1924 were pre-war literary histories, restricted to one 'tribal' literature. For the Serbian 'tribe' secondary schools could make use of the pre-war overviews of Serbian literature by Jovan Skerlić and Pavle Popović, as well as a new overview of Serbian literature by Tihomir Ostojić.⁶⁷² Reading books too included a large number of extracts from national literature and thus contributed to the establishment of a canon of national literature. In all reading books under scrutiny – both for elementary and secondary education – folk songs and tales occupied a prominent place and were interpreted as one of the most typical manifestations of national culture.

⁶⁷¹ ["Slovenački jezik i slovenački narod, nahodeći se daleko na zapadu, izložen uticajima nemačko-talijanskim, u svome se razvitku znatno odvojio od srpsko-hrvatskoga jezika i srpsko-hrvatskoga naroda, ali su ostale bliske uzajamne veze Slovenaca sa Srbima i Hrvatima, i mnogi su pojavi pokazivali, da Slovenci žele i kulturno-državnu zajednicu sa Srbima i Hrvatima".]

⁶⁷² Jovan Skerlić, *Istorija nove srpske književnosti*, Belgrade: Cvijanović, 1912, republished by Geca Kon in 1919 and later. Pavle Popović, *Pregled srpske književnosti*, Belgrade: Davidović, 1909, republished by Geca Kon in 1922, and later. Tihomir Ostojić, *Istorija srpske književnosti*, Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1923. Tihomir Ostojić had been appointed professor at the new philosophical faculty in Skopje in 1920.

Textbook authors primarily held on to Vuk's interpretation of this folk literature as a basically Serbian tradition and did not provide mediations with Yugoslav collective identity.⁶⁷³

Further, pupils were introduced to the most important national writers, predominantly taken from 19th century Serbian literature. In their reading book for the fourth year of elementary school Protić and Stojanović for example included the following Serbian authors: Ljubomir Nenadović, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Aleksa Šantić, Vuk Karadžić, Đura Jakšić, Dositej Obradović, Janko Veselinović and Laza Lazarević. In the reading books for secondary education a more elaborate overview of the Serbian literary canon was represented, including contemporary authors like Jovan Dučić, Milan Rakić, Isidora Sekulić, Ivo Andrić, Sima Pandurović, Veljko Popović and others. This traditional canon of Serbian national literature was supplemented with a small number of Croatian and to a lesser extent Slovenian writers. As a result of a ministerial prescription of 1912 the first steps in this direction had already been taken before the World War (Jelavich 1990: 39). Thus, in the 1919 edition of Ivković and Jovanović's reading books some Croatian authors had already been included in the reading books for the third and fourth year, namely: August Šenoa, Ivan Trnski, Vladimir Nazor, Ivo Vojnović, Ivan Gundulić, Josip Eugen Tomić and Ante Trešić-Pavičić. Ivan Cankar was the only Slovenian writer included. In line with the Ministry of Education's prescription of March 1919 that secondary school students should be introduced to Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literary history (cf. 4.1.2), the share of Croatian and Slovenian authors increased significantly in later editions of this reading book, which included texts by Vladimir Nazor, Janko Jurković, Mihovio Pavlinović, Josip Kozarac, Petar Preradović, Silvije Kranjčević, August Šenoa, Ivan Mažuranić, Ljudevit Gaj, Sandor Ksaver Đalski, Ivan Gundulić, Andrija Kačić-Miošić, Ivo Vojnović, Josip Eugen Tomić and Ante Tresić-Pavičić. Interestingly, it was precisely in the biographical notes on these literary figures that reading books referred to Serbo-Croatian literature and national unity, an interpretation which was not applied to Serbian writers. Preradović, for example, was glorified as a "patriot, full of faith in the beautiful future of the Serbo-Croatian nation" (Ivković & Jovanović 1928: 202-3).⁶⁷⁴ Mažuranić's 'The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić' was called "one of the best works in Serbo-Croatian literature" (Ivković & Jovanović 1927b: 177).⁶⁷⁵ Further, the reading books included extracts by Slovenian authors. In Ivković and Jovanović's reading books these were Fran Levstik, Oton Župančič, Josip Stritar, Josip

⁶⁷³ Ivković and Jovanović's reading book for the first year of secondary education included Vuk Karadžić's text on 'Serbian Folk Songs' ('Srpske narodne pesme') (Ivković & Jovanović 1927a: 14-5).

⁶⁷⁴ ["rodoljub, pun vere u lepu budućnost srpsko-hrvatskog naroda."]

⁶⁷⁵ ["jedno od najboljih dela srpsko-hrvatske književnosti"].

Jurčič, Valentin Vodnik,⁶⁷⁶ Anton Aškerc, France Prešeren, Simon Gregorčič and Ivan Cankar. Interestingly, the reading book for the third year included a text in Slovenian on King Matjaž, the legendary king from Slovenian, Croatian and Hungarian folk literature, who was compared to ‘our’ Marko Kraljević, thus providing a possible Yugoslav interpretation of folk literature (Ivković & Jovanović 1927b: 153-4).

5.3.1.2 Geography

For geography, the reference point in the reading books was not in the first place the Yugoslav state, but rather the traditional demarcation of Serbian national territories around the centre of the pre-war Serbian Kingdom. Especially “Southern Serbia” was a popular national landscape in reading books, which included numerous poems and texts on the Serbian national character of the region. Ivković and Jovanović’s reading book for the second year, for example, included the texts ‘Prizren’ and ‘Ohrid’ by Branislav Nušić, and Aleksa Šantić’s ‘Morning at Kosovo’ (‘Jutro na Kosovu’). Clearly, the dominant role “Southern Serbia” played as a national landscape in the reading books should be linked to the period of the Balkan Wars, when it was relevant to introduce Serbian pupils to the newly acquired regions in the South. Further, reading books also included texts by Nenadović on Lovćen and Skerlić’s account of the migrations of the Serbs to Vojvodina, which strongly linked Montenegro and Vojvodina to the Serbian national territory.

Although a certain regional bias in textbooks should not be considered problematic or contradictory to the Yugoslav idea per definition, it is indicative of the very superficial nature of adaptations to the new Yugoslav context in textbooks under scrutiny that the new Yugoslav state and the non-Serbian regions it included occupied only a peripheral place in the territorialisation of national identity in the textbooks. Both elementary school textbooks under scrutiny, for example, included two additional texts, one on Croatia and one on Slovenia. Protić and Stojanović included a text by Davorin Trstenjak on Croatia (Protić & Stojanović 1923: 122-4).⁶⁷⁷ It contained a short description of the beauty of Croatia and Slavonia and ended with a passage on Serbo-Croatian national unity, the only reference to Serbo-Croatian national unity in the entire reading book. For Slovenia the authors explained that “Slovenes [were] simply another name for our people living there” (ibid: 126).⁶⁷⁸ Further, the text evoked the liberation of Slovenia by the Serbian army, again indicative of the Serb-centred

⁶⁷⁶ “One of the fathers of the Slovenian part of our nation” (Ivković & Jovanović 1928: 233). [“jedan od preporoditelja slovenačkog dela našeg naroda.”]

⁶⁷⁷ This text was already included in the pre-war edition of the textbook (Jelavich 1990: 82-3).

⁶⁷⁸ [“Slovinci su samo drugo ime za naš narod, koji onamo živi.”]

approach in the reading book (*ibid*: 126-7). Blagojević and Stanojević included one short text on Zagreb and Ljubljana each in their reading book for the fourth year (Blagojević & Stanojević 1922: 49-50). Secondary school reading books included a more significant number of texts on non-Serbian geographical sites. Milan Šević's secondary school reading books added texts and poems on the Adriatic Coast, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Slovenia and a concluding text by Jovan Cvijić on the Kingdom of SCS based on an overview of the geographical expansion from the Serbian Principality to the Yugoslav Kingdom. In none of these cases, however, these minor additions resulted in a change of the primary geographical scale of reference in the textbooks, which remained restricted to the traditional demarcation of Serbian national territories. Ivković and Jovanović's reading book for the second year, for example, ended with Đura Jakšić's poem 'Fatherland', written in 1874, which evoked patriotism and combativeness for the Serbian fatherland (Ivković & Jovanović 1928: 251-2).

Furthermore, textbooks held on to a strict and clear-cut delineation of Serbian territories. As in pre-war textbooks, these included all regions of the pre-war Serbian kingdom, as well as Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Vojvodina and southern Dalmatia. The introductory text in Blagojević and Stanojević's reading book for the third year, 'The Beauties of Our Homeland' ('Lepote naše otadžbine') even enumerated Central Serbia, Old Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Srem, the Banat and Bačka as Serbian national territories (Blagojević & Stanojević 1921: 20-1). In his history textbook for secondary education Stanoje Stanojević argued that the Serbs had occupied the following lands when settling in the Balkans: Serbia, Montenegro, Vojvodina, Srem, Slavonia, Southern Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia and parts of Macedonia (Stanojević S. 1923: 16). Such a strict delineation of Serbian territories in the new state invariably led to controversies, taking into consideration the numerous zones of overlap to which both Serbian and Croatian collective identity laid claim. Especially controversial in this respect were the exclusive Serbian claims to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dubrovnik. Blagojević and Stanojević portrayed Dubrovnik as a purely Serbian city, which was inhabited almost exclusively by Serbs, of which one fourth was Orthodox and three fourth Catholic. "[E]ven though a majority of the inhabitants of Dubrovnik is Catholic, they think and feel Serbian like Serbs of the Orthodox faith" (Blagojević & Stanojević 1922: 52).⁶⁷⁹ In the history textbooks of Stanoje Stanojević the history of Bosnia and Dubrovnik were treated as a constituent part of Serbian history. When treating the gradually growing autonomy of the medieval Bosnian state, for example, Stanojević argued that "[f]rom that time (...) Bosnia started

⁶⁷⁹ ["U Dubrovniku žive gotovo sve sami Srbi, ali je od njih samo jedna četvrtina pravoslavne vere, a ono drugo – katoličke. Ali, i ako je većina Dubrovačka katoličke vere, ipak oni misle i osećaju srpski kao i Srbi pravoslavne vere".]

living its own life, and formed a separate Serbian state” (Stanojević S. 1923: 37).⁶⁸⁰ Reading books familiarised the pupils with the South Slav Muslim population in Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia, as an integral part of the Serbian ‘tribe’. In ‘Brothers Meet Abroad’ (‘U tuđini se braća poznala’), for example, a Serbian Orthodox man recalled how he had learned in school that South Slav Muslims too were Serbs. That way he found out that they were called Turks for no reasons and that there was no reason for mutual hatred. On one occasion the man encountered two Bosnian Muslims in a foreign city. They started talking and when the Muslims said they were also Serbs, the man wondered if they did not consider themselves Turks, as many Serbian Muslims mistakenly did. The Muslims explained that it had become clear to them that they were Serbs of the Muslim faith after they started talking to a Turk, but could not understand him (Protić & Stojanović 1923: 100-2). A text on Sarajevo claimed that more than half of the city’s inhabitants were Serbs “of the Turkish – Mohamed’s faith” (Blagojević & Stanojević 1922: 58). Within this context, the religious tolerance toward Muslims propagated in Jovan Jovanović Zmaj’s ‘Alija’ had a strictly Serbian meaning (Protić & Stojanović 1923: 98).⁶⁸¹

5.3.1.3 History

As far as the definition of national history was concerned, attention went out almost exclusively to Serbian historical themes, more specifically the Serbian medieval state, the battle of Kosovo and the Ottoman oppression, the Serbian Uprisings under Karađorđe and the gradual expansion of the Serbian state in the 19th and 20th century. Textbooks held on to a strictly Serbian national interpretation of these historical events and figures and did not provide any links between Serbian history and the wider Yugoslav nation. The poem ‘On St. Sava’s Day’ (‘Na Sv. Savu’), for example, included the following verses: “I recalled black darkness / And bloody battles; / And I looked at the icon / Of Sava the Enlightener. / Worrisome thoughts took me / To those regions, / Where even today Serbian children / Do not have Serbian schools” (Blagojević & Stanojević 1921: 11-2).⁶⁸² Obviously, such a depiction of St. Sava provided no elements to mobilise Croatian and Slovenian pupils behind the figure of St. Sava as Yugoslav patron

⁶⁸⁰ [“Od toga vremena, (...) Bosna poče živeti posebnim životom, obrazova zasebnu srpsku državu”.]

⁶⁸¹ The poem ‘Alija’ called on a little Muslim boy to leave aside prejudices based on religious differences in favour of national unity, “because blood is not water”. The text was also included in Ivković and Jovanović’s reading book for the first year. In questions accompanying the poem, the compilers asked what was Alija’s confession and what was his nationality (Ivković & Jovanović 1927a: 23-4). [“Šta je Alija po veroispovesti? Šta je po narodnosti?”].

⁶⁸² [“Seć’o sam se crna mraka / I borbe krvave; / Pa sam gledao u ikonu / Svetitelja Save. / Odvele me brižne misli / Do onih krajeva, / Gde još ni sad srpskoj deci / Srpske škole nema”.]

of education. Furthermore, the poem obviously conveyed a Serbian irredentist message, which was completely outdated after the Balkan Wars and the First World War.

As an adaptation to the new Yugoslav context, textbooks added a minimal selection of Croatian and Slovenian historical events and figures. The only addition on non-Serbian history in Protić and Stojanović's reading books was 'The Story of the Blackbirds' ('Priča o kosovima'), a legend about the Croatian medieval King Dmitar Zvonimir (Protić & Stojanović 1923: 124-5).⁶⁸³ In the reading books of Blagojević and Stanojević no Croatian or Slovenian historical events were included at all. Milan Šević's reading books presented the familiar tropes from Serbian national history, but each of his books included two or three texts on Croatian and to a lesser extent Slovenian historical events, namely the medieval Croatian Kingdom, the enthronement of Carantanian dukes at the field of Gospa Sveta, the conspiracy of Zrinski and Frankopan, the Illyrian movement and 1848.⁶⁸⁴

The First World War and the unification of Yugoslavia – although arguably a historical turning point of key importance and relevance for the Yugoslav nation – received only little attention in the reading books. Ivković and Jovanović's reading book for the third year added Šantić's 'Novo pokoljenje' ('New Generation') written in Zagreb in March 1918 – instead of his 'Pred Bitoljem' ('At the Gates of Bitola', a poem set against the background of the Serbian successes in the Balkan Wars) in the 1919 version – and Ćipiko's 'Ranjenici' ('Wounded persons') about the Serbian army at the front of Thessaloniki (Ivković & Jovanović 1927b: 8-9; 250-1). Only in the 1926 edition of their reading books Protić and Stojanović added two texts on the Balkan Wars and the World War, as well as Yugoslav patriotic poems by the Croatian poets Petar Preradović and Katalinić-Jeretov (Jelavich 1994: 135). In his reading book for the first year Šević included texts which stressed the role Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from outside Serbia had played in the formation process of Yugoslavia. More precisely, he included the poem 'The Yugoslav Volunteer' ('Jugoslovenski dobrovoljac') by Danko Anđelinović and Stanoje Stanojević's account of the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a combined effort of the Serbian army, Yugoslav volunteers from Austro-Hungary and political interest groups like the Yugoslav Committee (Šević 1922: 111-3). In general, however, the First World War occupied only a peripheral place in the historical memory presented in the reading books and textbooks.

⁶⁸³ According to the legend, after Zvonimir's death the field where he was killed was full of blackbirds. It seems likely that the compilers chose this legend because of its link with Kosovo, which literally translates "field of blackbirds".

⁶⁸⁴ It should be stressed that non-Serbian historical events only occupied a very peripheral place in these reading books. In the reading book for the first year, for example, 37 historical texts were included, of which only three dealt with Croatian historical events.

The best illustration of the approach toward Yugoslav history in revised editions of pre-war Serbian textbooks was provided in the Serbian history textbooks for secondary education by Stanoje Stanojević, professor at the University of Belgrade and an important writer of history textbooks in pre-war Serbia and interwar Yugoslavia (Jelavich 1990: 177-9). After the war, revised editions of his textbooks were published, which, in practice, gave a traditional overview of Serbian history but added two short appendices with overviews of Croatian and Slovenian history. The Serbian historical overview presented in the textbooks remained virtually unchanged in comparison to the pre-war reading books. Some minor additions included a short chapter on the “first Serb-Croat-Slovene state” state of Ljudevit Posavski (Stanojević S. 1923: 17-8) and a chapter on “The Battle for Unification of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes”, which discussed the Serbian kingdom during the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the unification of 1918 (Stanojević S. 1924: 92-105). For Croatian and Slovenian history Stanojević provided standard overviews of their historical developments. Numerically, the textbooks obviously paid most attention to Serbian history. Over the total of the two history textbooks by Stanojević, 205 pages treated Serbian history, 36 Croatian and 13 Slovenian history (Jelavich 2003: 111-2). More importantly, no attempts were made to provide a narrative which could establish links between these three historical overviews or could incorporate them within an overarching Yugoslav level of national identity.

5.3.1.4 Conclusions

To conclude, adaptations to the new Yugoslav context in revised editions of pre-war Serbian textbooks remained restricted to superficial revisions and, more importantly, additions of Croatian and to a much lesser extent Slovenian symbolic resources. These few additions of new material linked to the Croatian or Slovenian ‘tribe’ or the Yugoslav state did not result in redefinitions of Serbian national identity. Rather the inverse took place, as these new symbolic resources were simply included as marginal additional elements within a virtually unchanged definition of Serbian national identity. This phenomenon concurs with what Michael Apple has termed “mentioning”, referring to the addition of isolated elements from historical or cultural traditions of less powerful groups, which do not alter the textbook’s organising framework or central message, as for example in the representation of immigrant groups in U.S. history textbooks since the 1960s (Foster 2006: 169). As a result, the line between Serbian and Yugoslav collective identity was extremely vague in these textbooks and the textbooks certainly did not make use of common denominators which would allow for the negotiation between other, non-Serbian, sub-national traditions and Yugoslav national identity. In one of his essays Ljubomir Protić stated:

When in upbringing and education bright examples are given, when ideals, sacrifices, heroism, martyrdom are stressed, when we want to show what is most

holy, there can be no equality, because there simply is none, even though some long for this. No doubt, here Serbia stands out, because Serbia has gathered everything around her, because she has thrown off foreign chains and liberated all others. Her hills, her fields and groves rise above all others in the entire state. In an idealistic sense her flat Mačva rises above the Alps, Velebit and the Šar Mountains and Kajmakčalan reaches to the sky, because there is glory, and therefore we all have to look in that direction, first and foremost our youth (qtd. in Tešić V. 1980: 109–10).⁶⁸⁵

This viewpoint corresponds to what Paschalis Kitromilides has distinguished as a characteristic feature in early nationalist writings of Balkan (esp. Greek) intellectuals, namely that alleged “marginal and less articulate groups” could be easily absorbed within the “dominant nation” (Kitromilides 1989: 156–9, quotation on 156), or the forging of the modern nation around a cultural basis provided by a dominant core *ethnie*. Anthony D. Smith has found characteristic for the relation between pre-modern ethnic communities (*ethnie*) and modern nations (Smith 2001: 19–25). Within the context of interwar Yugoslavia, where various sub-national identities, of which some had already been codified into national ideologies, were available, such an approach was not likely to be inclusive and prevailing intellectual constructions of Yugoslav national identity of the period instead opted for a synthetic approach (cf. chapter 4).

5.3.2 New textbooks, new trends?

Simultaneously with these revised editions of pre-war Serbian reading books, a number of new textbooks were published in Belgrade. For elementary education I have examined reading books by Milorad Vujanac, Mihailo Jović and Mihailo Stanojević & Živko Stefanović, history textbooks by Mihailo Jović, Dragoljub Ilić and Mihailo Stanojević, and geography textbooks by the same Mihailo Stanojević, Pavle Sokolović and Milorad Vujanac.⁶⁸⁶ For secondary education the number of new textbooks included

⁶⁸⁵ [“Ali kad se u vaspitanju i nastavi ređaju svetli primeri, kad se ističu ideali, požrtvovanja, herojstva, mučeništva, kad se hoće da ukaže šta je najsvetije, onda tu ne može biti ravnopravnosti, jer je u stvari nema, pa ma koliko poneko težio za tim. I van svake sumnje tu se ističe Srbija, koja sve prikuplja oko sebe, koja kidajući tuđinske lance oslobađa sve. Njene gore, njena polja i dubrave ističu se nad svima, u celoj državi. Ravna Mačva je i nad Alpima i nad Velebitom i nad Šarom u idealnom smislu, a Kajmakčalan u nebasa para, jer na njemu je slava, pa zato u nj moraju biti uprti pogledi svih nas, a na prvom mestu omladine”.]

⁶⁸⁶ In some of these cases textbook authors had been active before the First World War. Mihailo Jović had been the author of important history and geography textbooks in pre-war Serbia. As we will see, his post-war reading books and history textbooks differed significantly from the pre-war textbooks. In 1923 and 1924

in the list of July 1924 remained restricted to Arandjel Jotić's overview of literary history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and geography textbooks by Borivoje Milojević and Pavle Sokolović & Dimitrije Đorđević.

5.3.2.1 Statements of Yugoslav national unity

First, the Yugoslav national idea took a much more prominent place in these textbooks. In the reading books pupils encountered numerous texts on the Yugoslav homeland and Yugoslav patriotism, and were taught that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes formed one nation on the basis of their linguistic unity. In Milorad Vujanac's reading book for the third year the text 'Love For the Fatherland' ('Ljubav prema otadžbini'), an adaptation of a text by the Italian writer Edmondo De Amicis, was included. It was presented as an essay in which a pupil explained that he loved his Yugoslav fatherland because everybody there spoke the same language. The pupil recalled that he had made Croatian friends during the summer holidays in Germany.⁶⁸⁷ It was only when he played with these Croatian friends that he felt strong and free. "Once a Hungarian hit my Croatian friend; the blood ran to my head and I grabbed the Hungarian by the throat" (Vujanac 1924a: 91-2, quotation on 91).⁶⁸⁸ In 'Our Beautiful Homeland' ('Lepa naša domovina') Jović glorified the natural beauty of Yugoslavia and stressed the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes:

Until recently we have been slaves of other peoples: Turks, Germans and Hungarians. For a long time we have served them, because we did not live in agreement. If the Slovenes and the Croats had been at Kosovo with the Serbs, we would have beaten the Turks and pushed them back to Asia; if the Serbs had helped the Croats and the Slovenes, the Germans and the Hungarians could not have forced them to obey them like slaves. We know that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were one people in old times; and that today they still speak the same language, which proves that they are one nation, that they are brothers. We will love Croats and Slovenes like Serbs, and we will be happy that we are united and that we are a strong and great nation (Jović 1921a: 27-9, quotation on 29).⁶⁸⁹

Mihailo Stanojević published completely revised editions of the reading books he had published with Blagojević, in cooperation with Živko Stefanović.

⁶⁸⁷ The narrator was apparently Serbian, illustrating the Serbian target group of the textbook.

⁶⁸⁸ ["Jednom jedan Mađžar udari moga Hrvata, a meni jurnu krv u glavu, pa zgrabim Mađžara za gušu."]

⁶⁸⁹ ["Mi smo do skora bili roblje drugih naroda: Turaka, Nemaca i Mađžara. Robovali smo dugo, jer nismo bili složni. Da su Slovenci i Hrvati bili sa Srbima na Kosovu mi bi pobedili Turke i oterali ih u Aziju; da su Srbi pomagali Hrvate i Slovence, ne bi ih mogli Nemci i Mađžari nagnati da ih kao robovi slušaju. Mi znamo da su Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci u staro vreme bili jedan narod; da i sad jednim jezikom govore i da se po tome vidi, da su

Živko Stefanović ended his 'On The Duties Toward the Fatherland' ('O dužnostima prema Otadžbini') with the following patriotic claim:

Therefore we respect and love our fatherland – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; we will help and protect her at all times; and if any other state attacks her, we will all – men and women, whoever is capable to fight – jump to her defence, and at all times we will be ready to give our lives for the state (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924: 182-4, quotation on 184).⁶⁹⁰

The reading books were also full of poems and short stories in which the necessity of solidarity and cooperation between brothers stood at the central stage, symbolising solidarity between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian brothers. Katalinić-Jeretov's 'To Quarrelling Brothers' ('Zavađenoj braći') portrayed a ship, which was sinking because the brothers who were sailing it were having an argument. The compilers clarified in footnotes that both the ship and the mother of the brothers – who was also on the ship – were metaphors for the Yugoslav state, so that the pupils would understand that only harmony between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian brothers could lead to Yugoslav progress (ibid: 29). The poem 'Three Bulls' ('Tri bika') told the story of three bulls who were eaten by a wolf, after they had been provoked by a fox to each graze their own land, instead of staying together as they had always done before (Jović 1921a: 27). In history textbooks Yugoslav national unity was historically underpinned by referring to the primordial unity of South Slavs as members of the Slavonic race. It was explained that as a result of the migrations of the Slavs in different directions, several nations had been formed, amongst them the Yugoslavs. These Yugoslavs had settled in the Balkans, and consisted of three 'tribes', Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Bulgarians, it was stressed, were no 'pure' South Slavs but a mixture of South Slavs and Bulgars, a Tatar people, who were "small, stocky, dark in the face, and had big heads, and noses and lips like pugs. They were shrewd, lying and bloodthirsty bandits" (Jović 1921b: 9).⁶⁹¹

Another obvious adaptation to the new Yugoslav context was the attention paid to religious tolerance in textbooks. As clarified in Mihailo Jović's history textbook: "We, who learn at school, should teach the illiterate and simple people, that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are one nation, and that they are brothers and that we should love our

jedan narod, da su braća. Mi ćemo voleti i Hrvata i Slovenca kao i Srbina i radovaćemo se što smo udruženi i što smo sada jak i veliki narod".]

⁶⁹⁰ ["Zato poštujemo i volimo svoju otadžbinu – Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca; potpomažimo je i branimo na svakom koraku; a ako nju napadne druga koja država, svi sloški – i muško i žensko, što god je za borbu sposobno – skočimo u njenu odbranu, i budimo u svako doba spremni da za nju i život svoj rado položimo!"]

⁶⁹¹ ["Bili su mali, dežmekasti, u licu crni, s velikom glavom, prćastim nosom i usnama. Oni su bili lukavi, lažljivi i krvožedni razbojnici."]

brothers, regardless of religious differences” (ibid: 13).⁶⁹² In elementary school reading books pupils were familiarised with the fact that there were different religions within the Yugoslav nation. In Vujanac’s reading book for the first year, for example, pupils read:

I cannot see and hear everything. Only God can. We all believe. I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God. My friend Jusuf believes in the prophet Mohamed. Isak believes in Moses. (...) Christ, Moses and Mohamed were teachers of the people. They learned the people to love, respect and help each other (Vujanac 1920a: 15).⁶⁹³

Further, elementary school reading books also included a large number of stories which proved that religious prejudices were unsustainable. Mihailo Jović’s reading book for example included a story ‘Three Faiths’ (‘Tri vere’) about the families of Žarko, a Serb from Kotor, Osman, a Muslim from Sarajevo, and Jure, a Dalmatian Croat, who all ended up on the island Spas, on the run for Turkish or Hungarian rulers. All three of them were fishermen and gradually they started to help each other. Their children, however, never played together and gave each other bad names. The Muslims were “Turks”, Serbs “Vlachs” and Croats “Šokci”. One day, pirates kidnapped the oldest daughters from the three families. On the pirates’ ship the three daughters gradually got to know each other. On one occasion, a man entered their cabin who looked just like Osman, but he could not understand them. Another time, there was a man with a hat, who looked like Jure, but he too could not understand the girls. After the girls had been rescued by a ship of Dalmatian heroes, the captain on the ship explained them that the people they had seen on the pirates’ ship belonged to different nations. Every nation speaks its own language, “we speak Serbo-Croatian”. The man who looked like Osman was a Turk, the man who looked like Jure was an Italian.

You are three sisters even though you each have a different religion. Your grandparents were brothers, but some of them learned to pray to God like the Italians, others like the Greeks, and still others like the Turks. As they learned it, so did their children and you. And this is not bad. Let everybody pray to God as he wishes and knows. But it is bad to hate each other, to quarrel and to make each

⁶⁹² [“Mi, koji učimo školu treba da poučimo one nepismene i proste ljudi, da su Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci jedan narod i da su braća, a brat je mio koje vere bio”].

⁶⁹³ [“Ja ne mogu sve videti i sve čuti. To može Bog. Mi svi verujemo. Ja verujem da je Isus Hristos sin Božiji. Moj drug Jusuf veruje u proroka Muhameda. Isak veruje u Mojseja. Mi svi verujemo neku veru. Vera nam je velika svetinja. Hristos, Mojsej i Muhamed bili su narodni učitelji. Oni su učili ljude: da se vole, poštuju i pomažu.”]

other ugly, as if you don't know that you are of the same blood and family, that you are sisters and brothers (Jović 1921a: 36-45, quotations on 43 and 44).⁶⁹⁴

In his geography textbook for the fourth year of secondary education, Borivoje Milojević clarified that other European nations, like the Germans, Hungarians or French, also belonged to two Christian Churches, the Catholic and the Protestant Church, but still “feel like one nation, because they speak the same language and live the same life. Christian churches don't divide people, but unite them” (Milojević 1923a: 13).⁶⁹⁵

5.3.2.2 Addition of non-Serbian symbolic resources

Apart from programmatic texts on Yugoslav national unity and religious tolerance, the textbooks also added concrete information on the Croatian and Slovenian ‘tribes’. Important in this respect was the introduction to different linguistic variants among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Of course, it was important to stress that these dialectical and alphabetical differences did not contradict national unity, which was a basic fundament of national unity. In his geography textbook for the fourth year of secondary education Milojević for example clarified that the language of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was divided in dialects, based on “certain insignificant differences” (Milojević 1923a: 118).⁶⁹⁶ Moreover, such dialectical differences also occurred in other national languages, such as French, German and Italian. In fact, “[e]very nation which occupies a larger region has to have such dialects in its language” (ibid.).⁶⁹⁷

In practice, in the elementary school reading books pupils were introduced to both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet, and a considerable number of texts in the Latin alphabet were included.⁶⁹⁸ Further, reading books included texts in both the ijekavian and ekavian variant. Textbooks clearly accepted the distinct character of Slovenian. In reading books pupils were familiarised with Slovenian through the inclusion of a number of Slovenian poems, with Serbo-Croatian translations of difficult words. In both Vujanac's and Jović's reading book for the fourth year the Slovenian hymn was given in Slovenian (Vujanac 1924b: 93-4, Jović 1921a: 4-5). In the reading book for the fourth year

⁶⁹⁴ [“Vi ste sve tri sestre i ako ste svaka druge vere. Vaši su dedovi bili rođena braća, pa se neki naučili da se mole Bogu kao Talijani, neki kao Grci a neki kao Turci. Kako su oni naučili, tako i deca njihova, pa i vi. I to nije rđavo. Neka se moli Bogu kako ko hoće i ume. Ali je to ružno što se vi mrzite, pa se svađate i ružite jedno drugo, a i ne znate da ste od jedne krvi i kolena, da ste sestre i braća rođena.”]

⁶⁹⁵ [“Ali se oni ipak osećaju kao jedan narod, jer govore i pišu jednim jezikom i žive zajedničkim životom.”]

⁶⁹⁶ [“izvesne neznatne razlike.”]

⁶⁹⁷ [“Takvih dialekata mora biti u jeziku svakog onog naroda koji zauzima veću oblast.”]

⁶⁹⁸ In the series of reading books compiled by Vujanac an overview of both alphabets was given in the beginning of his reading book for the third year (Vujanac 1924a: 16-7), in the series of reading books compiled by Mihailo Jović already in the first reading book (Jović 19???: 52).

compiled by Stanojević and Stefanović four poems were given in Slovenian, with Serbo-Croatian translations of difficult words. In his geography textbook Vujanac even recognised that “as far as language was concerned [Slovenes] were quite different from Serbs and Croats” (Vujanac 1923: 81).⁶⁹⁹ However, it was never explicitly recognised that Slovenes spoke a different language, because this would obviously undermine the claim of Serb-Croat-Slovene linguistic and national unity. Most textbooks neglected the linguistic situation in Macedonia. Only Sokolović and Đorđević’s geography textbook for secondary education recognised Macedonian as a “specific dialect of the štokavian speech” (Sokolović & Đorđević 1928: 76).⁷⁰⁰

Pupils were also introduced to a canon of national literature, which included an increasing number of Croatian and Slovenian authors. In Mihailo Stanojević and Živko Stefanović’s reading book for the fourth year, for example, the following Croatian and Slovenian authors were included: Ivan Trnski, Tugomir Alaupović, Simon Jenko, Dinko Šimunović, Rikard Katalinić Jeretov, Andrej Praprotnik, Anton Aškerc, Ivan Cankar, Alojzije Gradnik, Ante Tresić-Pavičić, August Šenoa, Vladimir Nazor.⁷⁰¹ An interesting early attempt to introduce students to all three ‘tribal’ literary histories was made by Arandel St. Jotić. In 1921 Jotić published a ‘Short Overview of Slovenian Literature’. In fact, as clarified by Jotić in his introduction, the book was strongly based on Ivan Grafenauer’s ‘Short Overview of Slovenian Literature’ (in Slovenian), which was published in 1919 and approved as textbook for secondary schools (Jotić 1920: 6). In a critical review of the book, Fran Ilešič, Professor of Slovenian Literature at the University of Zagreb, clarified that Jotić had in fact translated and shortened Grafenauer’s work. Taking into consideration that Grafenauer had written his book for Slovenian students, still according to Ilešič, the book would remain largely incomprehensible to Serbian and Croatian students. “I think that for Serbs and Croats a special textbook of Slovenian literature should be written *ad hoc*, instead of an excerpt of a Slovenian book, just like a special overview of Serbian and Croatian literature is necessary for Slovenes” (Ilešič 1921: 478).⁷⁰² At the same time, Jotić also compiled an

⁶⁹⁹ [“Oni su jezikom dosta različni od Srba i Hrvata.”]

⁷⁰⁰ [“Naročiti dijalekt štokavskog govora je makedonski.”]

⁷⁰¹ Illustratively, in the poem “My Village” by Ivan Trnski Stanojević and Stefanović made the setting more comprehensible to Serbian pupils by adding “Serbian”, “Serbdom” where Trnski had simply spoken of “our”, “our nation”... They explained that they had decided to adapt the poem “because Serbs and Croats are brothers, and speak the same language; and what theirs is, is ours, and what is ours, is also theirs (Stanojević & Stefanović 1923: 19)”. [“jer su Srbi i Hrvati braća, i govore istim jezikom; te što je njihovo, naše je; a što je naše, njihovo je”]

⁷⁰² [“Mislim da bi se za Srbe i Hrvate morao *naročito i ad hoc* da napiše jedan udžbenik slovenačke literature, a ne jedan izdavač iz slovenačke knjige, kao što je potrebno da se za Slovence *naročito* napiše jedan prikaz srpske i hrvatske književnosti.”]

overview of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature in three volumes. The first volume treated Serbian literature until the beginning of the 18th century (Jotić 1921a: 11-95), Croatian literature until the beginning of the 18th century (ibid: 97-114) and so-called provincial literature, namely: Dalmatian (ibid: 115-87), Bosnian (ibid: 187-9) and Slavonian literature (ibid: 189-92). The second volume treated modern Serbian literature (Jotić 1921b: 1-140), modern Croatian literature (ibid: 141-95) – in both cases until the middle of the 19th century – and Slovenian literature until 1848 (ibid: 196-275). The third volume treated contemporary Serbian literature (Jotić 1924: 5-184), contemporary Croatian literature (ibid: 185-239) and Slovenian literature after 1848 (ibid: 240-318). In fact, Jotić simply brought together traditional overviews of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature in one book, without providing any links or a common Yugoslav narrative. Thus, the only difference with ‘tribal’ literary overviews was that Jotić brought these together in one book.⁷⁰³

For history, Minister of Education Pribičević had prescribed that in the fourth year of elementary education the history of Croats and Slovenes should be treated shortly, and especially “the period of their independent life”. Further, a short overview of the history of Zeta, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Coastal regions should be given. In history textbooks this led to additions on Croatian and Slovenian histories, especially for the period of their medieval states. Dragoljub Ilić for example treated King Samo and the specific inauguration ritual of Carantanian rulers at the Field of Gospa Sveta for Slovenian “independent life” (Ilić 1927: 12-4). For the Croats a first important episode was the rule of Ljudevit Posavski, who was glorified as the first ruler of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was stressed that only because of internal discord Ljudevit was beaten by the Franks (ibid: 14). Further, Ilić gave an overview of the medieval Croatian kingdom and its kings Tomislav, Krešimir, Zvonimir and finally Petar Svačić (ibid: 18-23). For later historical periods, the Croats and the Slovenes had experienced no more “independent life”. Consequently, very little information on their history under the Hungarians and the Habsburgs was included. In Mihailo Jović’s history textbook no information at all was given for this period, Dragoljub Ilić briefly pointed to Matija Gubec, Primož Trubar and Zrinski-Frankopan (Ilić 1927: 69-72), the Illyrian movement (ibid: 88-90) and the events of 1848 (ibid: 96-7). Similarly, Croatian and Slovenian historical figures were introduced in historical texts included in the reading books. The historical chapter in Stanojević and Stefanović’s reading book for the fourth year started with a traditional overview of Serbian history from its arrival at the Balkans to the Balkan Wars, but consecutively included texts on crucial historical figures from Slovenian, Bosnian and

⁷⁰³ The first two volumes of the ‘Literary History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes’ were approved for use in secondary schools on 16 September 1920. In 1924, however, the book was no longer included in the list of approved textbooks.

Croatian history, concurring with those mentioned in history textbooks. An unusual addition was the text on Mehmed Sokolović, taken from Milenko Vukičević's pre-war history textbook. It treated Sokolović positively as one of the greatest sons of the nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus presented a rare attempt to include symbolic resources linked to the Ottoman heritage in these early textbooks (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924: 133-4).

For geography, finally, the amendments of 1920 had prescribed that an overview of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes should be included in the curriculum for the fourth year of elementary education. Geography textbooks indeed treated the entire kingdom. In reading books too an increasing number of texts referred to the Yugoslav state in its entirety or non-Serbian regions in the state. In Vujanac's reading book, for example, the story 'New Friends' ('Novi drugovi'), based on a story by Edmondo De Amicis, was included. In the story a Serbian pupil from Belgrade told that three new pupils had joined his class: Bogdan, a Serb from Prizren, "the capital of Tsar Dušan", Osman Ljubibratić, a Bosnian "Serb of the Muslim faith", and Juraj, a Catholic from Croatia. The teacher had explained to the pupils that Bogdan, Osman and Juraj belonged to the same nation as the rest of the pupils, because Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were one nation. Their enemies had attempted to estrange them from each other, but their misery had ended now that they all lived in a free Yugoslav state (Vujanac 1924b: 7-8). Further, Vujanac's reading books also included texts on different regions of the Yugoslav state, such as the Croatian Littoral, Lika, the Sava region, Sarajevo, Dalmatia and Slovenia. In the text 'Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana' Milorad Vujanac gave a short description of these three important cities on the basis of the Sava river, which formed the natural link between them (Vujanac 1924a: 92-3).

5.3.2.3 The underlying framework

Although significant additions were thus included with regard to the Yugoslav state and nation, and the Croatian and Slovenian 'tribe', Serbian national identity occupied a privileged position in the textbooks. In all reading books for the third year of elementary education – which was the year when pupils were introduced to important elements of national identity, most significantly history and geography – attention went out almost exclusively to Serbian symbolic resources. In Mihailo Jović's reading book for the third year, for example, the historical events which were treated were all part of Serbian history, namely: St. Sava, the battle of Kosovo, the Serbian uprisings and the battle of Kumanovo. The geographical overview only treated regions which had belonged to pre-war Serbia. The narrative in these textbooks remained exclusively Serb-centred, linking the Serbian territory to the Serbian people through historical bonds. The text on Kosovo for example began with the following passage: "At Kosovo the Serbian Empire fell. Five hundred years the Serb grieved for Kosovo and prepared to

take it back from the Turks, which he also did. The courageous Serbian army beat the Turks in 1912 and took back Kosovo and all the Serbian lands” (Jović 1922: 92).⁷⁰⁴ The chapter ended with an enthusiastic overview of Serbia’s natural beauty, in which the pupils were urged to rebuild Serbia after the misery it had experienced during the Great War, by reorganising the agriculture, establishing railroads and roads, building clean houses and bathing rooms, sending their children to school and establishing schools for agriculture and domestic science (ibid: 94-6). Tellingly, although the text was written after the Great War, there was no reference to Yugoslavia and it was as if the country Serbia still existed.

Also in textbooks for the fourth year, which included substantial additions of non-Serbian symbolic resources, Serbian national identity took a dominant position. More pages were devoted to Serbian authors, more texts were given in the Cyrillic alphabet, religious symbols or acts were almost exclusively deduced from Serbian Orthodoxy and Serbian historical events and regions occupied almost two thirds of the historical and geographical overview. Vujanac’s geography textbook, for example, devoted 20 pages to regions outside pre-war Serbia, against 43 for pre-war Serbia. In Dragoljub Ilić’s history textbook only 17 pages on a total of 124 were devoted to non-Serbian historical events. In a chapter with the telling title ‘Religion and Customs’ Stanojević and Stefanović included texts on the Serbian Orthodox Saints Sava and Lazar, the Serbian Orthodox celebration of Christmas and Easter and *slava* feasts. The addition of Dinko Šimunović’s ‘Christmas in a Monastery’, which portrayed a Catholic who was impressed by a Christmas service in an Orthodox monastery, was a rather meaningless compensation for the focus on Serbian Orthodoxy (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924: 3-17).⁷⁰⁵ However, such a strong sub-national bias should not be considered problematic *per se*, as has been clarified by Kennedy in her study of Wilhelmine German reading books (Kennedy K. 1997). What was more problematic was that Serbian national identity was delineated and defined in precisely the same way as in pre-war textbooks. In other words, the boundary mechanism which had underpinned pre-war codifications of Serbian national identity were also applied to define Yugoslav national identity in the textbooks.

The problematic character of such an approach becomes very obvious in the historical overviews in the textbooks, the structure of which completely corresponds to

⁷⁰⁴ [“Na Kosovu je propalo srpsko carstvo. Pet stotina godina Srbin je žalio za Kosovom i spremao se da ga otme od Turaka i to je učinio. Hrabra sprska vojska pobedila je Turke 1912. godine, otela Kosovo i sve srpske zemlje”.]

⁷⁰⁵ Šimunović’s story was also included in Sigismund Čajkovac’s ‘Croatian’ reading book for the fourth year (Čajkovac 1926d: 131). The fact that a Catholic attended an Orthodox liturgy of course carried a different meaning depending on the religious target group of the textbooks, in Čajkovac’s case primarily Catholics, for Stanojević and Stefanović Orthodox.

the pre-First World War interpretation of Serbian national history. By focusing on political independence, the Yugoslav state and nation were narrowly linked to the Serbian medieval empire and 19th century independent Serbia, as Croats and especially Slovenes had not had the same state tradition as the Serbs. Only for the medieval period some attention was paid to the Croatian kingdom and a rather nebulous period of 'Slovenian' independence. And even for this period, the Serbian empire was clearly represented as the peak of Yugoslav medieval history. For example, the history textbook by Mihailo Jović placed the first attempts at Serbian state formation in the 10th and 11th century under Časlav (in Raška) and Vojislav (in Zeta) on an equal base with the Croatian medieval kingdom (Jović 1921b: 14-22). Hereafter, attention went out to the Serbian medieval state under the dynasty of Nemanjić, which was clearly presented as a step further in the development of South Slavs (ibid: 23-56). The problem was that the focus on 'periods of independent life' could hardly serve as a common denominator toward other parts of the Yugoslav nation, because it left little room for interpretations that could point to Croatian or Slovenian contributions to Yugoslav history, apart from relatively short periods of independence in medieval times.

The approach also led to elements which contradicted the declamatory equality of different religious traditions within the Yugoslav nation. Whereas, as we have already seen, religious tolerance took a prominent place in the textbooks under scrutiny, the Yugoslav nation remained essentially defined as a Christian nation. In the history textbooks under scrutiny pupils learned that the Yugoslavs had initially all had the same pagan customs and later jointly converted to the Christian faith under the spiritual leadership of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. It was only because of growing discord between Rome and Constantinople that Yugoslavs became divided between Catholics and Orthodox. Although this historical explanation clearly de-emphasised the fault line Orthodoxy-Catholicism, it simultaneously alienated South Slav Muslims from the Christian Yugoslav nation. Throughout the textbooks, barely any attention was given to Yugoslav Muslims, and when they were treated, they were frequently interpreted as an internal Other, who was religiously linked to the Ottoman Empire, the great enemy of the Serbs and, by extension, of the Yugoslavs. In a text on Sarajevo in Mihailo Stanojević and Živko Stefanović's reading book for the fourth year, for example, the compilers included some remarks in which they called Islam the "Turkish faith" and explained that Allah was the "Turkish God" (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924: 75-8). Further, in Sima Milutinović Sarajlija's 'For Faith' ('Za veru') a Serbian hero refused to convert to the "Turkish" faith and exclaimed: "There is no faith better than the

Christian” (ibid: 120–1, quotation on 120).⁷⁰⁶ In the short presentation of Bosnian history in his geography textbook Vujanac even argued that “Serbs of the Muslim faith lived nicely like lords under Turkish rule, and the Christians were their subjects” (Vujanac 1923: 67–8).⁷⁰⁷ Clearly, the persistent strong link between religion and national identity would not serve as viable common denominator for negotiating between religious identity and Yugoslav nationhood.

Finally, most textbooks under scrutiny maintained a strict delineation between the three ‘tribal’ identities. The problematic character of such a clear-cut delineation was manifested most obviously in the demarcation of Serbian territories within Yugoslavia. In order to make sense of Yugoslav national territory the textbooks of the early 1920s continued to make use of the country’s historical regions. Milorad Vujanac’s geography textbook, for example, first presented a general overview of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes: its boundaries, location, state organisation, economy, industry, transport network, administrative division et cetera (Vujanac 1923: 3–19). Then, a long chapter on the geography of pre-war Serbia was included, which was subdivided in ten smaller regions.⁷⁰⁸ Further, Vujanac treated the other regions in the new Kingdom: Montenegro, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Vojvodina, Croatia, Slavonia and Slovenia. Similarly, Mihailo Stanojević’s geography textbook from 1920 started with pre-war Serbia and added an overview of the “new regions of the country”: Baranja, Bačka and Banat; Montenegro; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatia-Slavonia; Dalmatia and Slovenia.

In almost all cases this was accompanied by clear-cut distinctions between Serbian and Croatian territories. Beside the pre-war Serbian Kingdom, with Vojvodina and Montenegro – regions of which the Serbian character was taken for granted – textbooks under scrutiny also agreed about the strictly Serbian character of more contested regions like Macedonia, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia.⁷⁰⁹ The Serbian

⁷⁰⁶ [“Nema vere bolje od hrišćanske”.] The verb used for conversion to Islam was ‘poturčiti se’ which can literally be translated as ‘to become Turkish’.

⁷⁰⁷ [“No Srbi muhamedanci za turske vlade lepo su živeli kao gospodari, a hirščani su im bili raja”.]

⁷⁰⁸ Šumadija; Požarevac and Resava; Lower Drina and Sava; Timok; Kruševac and Aleksinac; Užice and the Ibar; Toplica, southern Morava i Nišava; Polimlje and Raška; Kosovo and the Upper Drina; Vardar and Ohrid.

⁷⁰⁹ The most expansionist Serbian view on Yugoslav national landscape can be found in the textbooks by Milorad Vujanac. In the text ‘Community and State’ (‘Opština i država’) Vujanac attempted to make the concept of the nation-state comprehensible for 8-year olds, by gradually moving from the level of villages, cities and communities to the level of the state. However, the Yugoslav state was completely equalised to a Serbian nation-state: “The majority of the people in Serbia are Serbs, there are less Vlachs, Albanians, Turks, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Italians, Gypsies, Bulgarians and others. Some Serbs call themselves Croats, some Slovenes” (Vujanac 1920b: 28–9, quotation on 29). In his reading book for the fourth year he included Sreten Stojković’s enumeration of Serbian regions, which included Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia (Vujanac 1924b: 76–7). In his geography textbook Vujanac gave a brief overview of the history of Croatia and clarified that the cultural and political centre of the region was Zagreb, where writers from different regions wrote in the

national character of Kosovo and Macedonia was undisputed. Vujanac for example said the following for Kosovo. "Beside Serbs there are also Albanians, who are either Catholics or Muslims. They settled there after the Serbs fled for the Turkish power to other states. The descendants of the emigrated Serbs are now returning to the hearths of their ancestors" (Vujanac 1923: 58).⁷¹⁰ In his reading book for the third year Jović claimed that Albanians had taken the land from the Serbs and owned land which was big enough for a whole village without working it. When the Serbs would move back to Kosovo, it would become "the richest Serbian region, as it was in old times" (Jović 1922: 93).⁷¹¹ Macedonia was largely ignored in the textbooks, apart from frequent references to Skopje as the capital of Tsar Dušan. With regard to the position of Bosnia the general viewpoint in textbooks under scrutiny was expressed in Vujanac's geography textbook: "Bosnians are Serbs. They are Christians and Muslims. Christians are divided in Orthodox and Catholics" (Vujanac 1923: 66-7).⁷¹² About the Dalmatian population, Vujanac argued that, apart from the Italians in the cities and on the islands, "all Dalmatians are Serbs. Serbs of the Catholic faith call themselves Croats and form a majority. But they all speak the Serbian language" (ibid: 72). The Serbian character of Bosnia and Dalmatia was underpinned historically, by arguing that Serbs had settled in Raška, Zeta, Hum, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the lands east of the Morava river and Vojvodina. Croats had settled in Croatia and Slavonia, and together with the Serbs in Dalmatia and western Bosnia (Jović 1921b: 4). In history textbooks Bosnian and Dalmatian history – especially the history of Dubrovnik – were firmly linked to Serbian national history. When Ilić treated the fall of medieval Bosnia, he claimed that this was caused by internal discord between Catholic, Orthodox and Bogomil Serbs in Bosnia (Ilić 1927: 59). In Stanojević and Stefanović's reading books the text 'Dubrovnik' by Pavle Popović was included, in which he interpreted the Renaissance literature of Dubrovnik as part of Serbian literature (Stanojević & Stefanović 1924: 65-6).⁷¹³ Even for Belgrade,

"South Serbian" language, referring to the categorisation of the ijekavian variant as the southern variant (Vujanac 1923: 79-80). For Slovenia, the reading book for the fourth year took over the text by Protić and Stojanović, in which Slovenia was reduced to a Serbian region where a Serbian dialect was spoken (Vujanac 1924b: 92). Although such an approach cannot be considered representative for definitions of Yugoslav national territory in textbooks, these examples illustrate how thin the line between Yugoslavism and Serbdom remained.

⁷¹⁰ ["No osem Srba tamo ima i Arnauta, koji su ili katoličke ili muhamedanske vere. Oni su se tamo naseljavali pošto su Srbi pobjegli ispod turske sile u druge države. Potomci odseljenih Srba, sad se vraćaju na ognjišta svojih pradedova".]

⁷¹¹ ["Kad se Kosovo naseli, biće to najbogatiji kraj srpski kao što je bio i u staro vreme".]

⁷¹² ["Bosanci su Srbi. Oni su hrišćanske i muhamedanske vere. Hrišćani su podeljeni na pravoslavne i katolike".]

⁷¹³ This text was taken from Popović's pre-war overview of Serbian literary history. As we will see, in his later overview of Yugoslav literature, Popović interpreted the literary tradition of Dubrovnik as an early

which as the capital of the new Yugoslav state could easily be inscribed within a Yugoslav national landscape, Vujanac held on to a strictly Serbian interpretation:

Belgrade became the gathering place for every form of progress and development of the Serbian people. As out of a giant source several types of knowledge flow out of the city to the whole people. That is why every Serb loves Belgrade and wants to see it (Vujanac 1923: 23).⁷¹⁴

Such a strict delineation of 'tribal' belongings inevitably led to contentions over mixed areas and had little potential as a common denominator for the imagination of Yugoslav nationhood.

5.3.3 Criticism and suggestions

There was a general consensus among Serbian educational experts that textbooks which were used in the first half of the 1920s remained too narrowly based on pre-war Serbian textbooks and did not meet the high objectives for education in the new Yugoslav state. After reviewing the manuscripts for reading books in Cyrillic which had been submitted in the competition of 1923 the commission – consisting of Svetozar Maksimović, Jaša Prodanović and Jovan Janković – complained that none of the reading books which had been submitted were fully satisfactory and suitable within the new circumstances. Therefore, they suggested that the reading books in question would only be approved for two years.⁷¹⁵ The reading books by Ljubomir Protić were obviously selected for state publications for want of anything better. The biggest shortage in these reading books, according to the commission, was that they did not treat recent history sufficiently and that not enough attention was paid to Croatian or Slovenian literature.⁷¹⁶ In case these textbooks were to be used for the entire state, some Croatian and Slovenian texts would have to be added.⁷¹⁷

manifestation of Yugoslav national consciousness. This illustrates that there was some awareness of the problematic aspect of exclusively Serbian claims to Dubrovnik.

⁷¹⁴ ["Tako je Beograd postao zborni mesto za svaki napredak i razvitak srpskog naroda. Iz njega kao iz nekog ogromnog izvora potiču u sav narod razna znanja. Stoga je Beograd mio svakom Srbinu, i svaki želi da ga vidi".]

⁷¹⁵ 'Referat komisije za pregled i ocenu čitanaka za osn. škole, podnesenih na raspisani stečaj koji je objavljen odlukom O.n. br 19156/23 g'. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/28: 1010.

⁷¹⁶ 'Referat komisije za pregled i ocenu čitanaka za osn. škole, podnesenih na raspisani stečaj koji je objavljen odlukom O.n. br 19156/23 g'. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/29: 1076.

⁷¹⁷ 'Referat komisije za pregled i ocenu čitanaka za osn. škole, podnesenih na raspisani stečaj koji je objavljen odlukom O.n. br 19156/23 g'. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/29: 1081.

In many reviews of textbooks by order of the Main Educational Board referees complained about the hurry with which old textbooks were revised for purely commercial reasons, as for example in a review of Milan Šević's early reading books for secondary education by Jeremije Živanović and Milivoj Jovanović. As they argued, one of the major shortcomings of the reading books was that they did not represent a balanced overview of regional literatures. Especially Slovenian literature was underrepresented and some Slovenian words were left unexplained, although Serbo-Croatian pupils would not understand what they meant, "regardless of all similarities in language".⁷¹⁸ For lack of better alternatives, the Main Educational Board decided that the textbooks compiled by Milan Šević could be used temporarily, but urged "that a permanent textbook should be published as soon as possible".⁷¹⁹ Milivoj Jovanović and Emil Cvetić complained that publishers and authors hurried to launch new textbooks as quick as possible, "and did not care about the quality of the textbooks, or about the new requirements caused by the changed situation in our society".⁷²⁰

At the fourth congress of the Yugoslav Association of Secondary School Teachers Stevo Marković discussed the situation in textbooks after the war.⁷²¹ In his opinion, the problem was that "well-intended and even patriotic, but tribal-religious, regional, narrow and conservative motives, which could not be reconciled with the new era and the spirit of the time" resulted in the fact that "old books were put in new covers, which only reached schools and remained in use for lack of more suitable and modern books" (Marković S. 1923: 378).⁷²² Marković argued that as long as teachers could not work with textbooks which treated all regions and parts of the nation equally, they would fail to give a proper overview of Yugoslav national unity. It was incomprehensible that history textbooks treated the histories of the 'tribes' separately, and moreover that in some cases the history of one 'tribe' covered more than 100 pages, whereas the other 'tribes' were treated in an appendix of three to six pages. The same was true for geography textbooks, where some regions were treated in detail on 40 pages and other regions

⁷¹⁸ See minutes of the meetings of the Main Educational Board in *Prosvetni glasnik* 38/4 (1921): 61-5. Quotation on 63. ["Kraj sve sličnosti u jeziku"].

⁷¹⁹ Ibid: 65. ["no želi da se što pre dobije stalan udžbenik."]

⁷²⁰ On the occasion of their review of Todor Radivojević's geography textbooks for the first and second year of secondary schools, included in the minutes of the sessions of the Main Educational Board, *Prosvetni glasnik* 38/3 (1921), službeni deo: 36-8, the quotation is on 36. ["Brzalo se da se što pre izide ne trg, pa se nije pazilo na valjanost udžbenika niti na naše nove potrebe izazvane potpuno izmenjenim stanjem u našem društvu"]

⁷²¹ The congress was held in Sarajevo, between 5 and 7 July 1923.

⁷²² ["No bezuvjetno je teži onaj svijesni grijeh, koga rukovode dobronamjerni i čak patriotski, ali plemensko-vjerski ili pokrajinski, skućeni i konzervativni motivi, koji se ne mogu da izmire sa novim dobom i duhom vremena, pa da se prema tome iz temelja prerade stari radovi, već se stare knjige zaodjevaju u nove korice, koje samo iz nestašice zgodnijih i savremenijih prodiru i podržavaju se po školama".]

were treated superficially on five to eight pages (ibid: 379). Given the fact that the Ministry of Education failed to formulate strict and clear regulations for textbooks, Marković argued that the Yugoslav Association of Secondary School Teachers itself should select and publish textbooks which were suitable in the new circumstances (ibid: 379-81). In 1926 *Narodna odbrana* complained that school going children still learned the history of Serbs, Croats or Slovenes, instead of the history of the Yugoslavs. The organisation demanded the immediate introduction of a textbook for the history of the Yugoslavs and the immediate removal of the old textbooks, because these continued to provoke 'tribal' division and frictions.⁷²³

In 1929, finally, Aleksandar Milićević claimed that there was an urgent need for proper textbooks for national subjects. Taking into consideration that the immediate realisation of good textbooks for national subjects was technically impossible, preparations should be made for the successful realisation of this necessity in the future. The author referred to the situation in Switzerland, where three nationalities (*narodnost*) had become one nation (*narod*) because all three groups were interested in each other, learned other languages, sent their children to other regions for studying. The Yugoslavs had the advantage that they did not have to learn other languages and that they formed one nationality, but it was necessary for them to get to know the histories and traditions of their brothers. In the textbooks which were used at the moment, this was not the case: "The part which speaks about Croats in our [Serbian] history is small and concisely realised, the part on Slovenia even smaller; and the same is true for our history in their textbooks" (Milićević 1929: 373).⁷²⁴ Milićević suggested that Serbs would learn Croatian and Slovenian history, geography and literature in their textbooks, and vice versa. That way all 'tribes' would become familiar with the histories and lands of other 'tribes', as well as the minimal differences in dialects and alphabets. This system would remain in place for some generations, until historians, geographers and literature historians would establish a uniform textbook for the whole country (Milićević 1929).

Clearly, there was some awareness that the definitions of Yugoslav national identity which were suggested in the textbooks of the early 1920s were too narrowly based on codified Serbian definitions of national identity. In some publications of the early 1920s different approaches to Yugoslav national identity and its relation to different sub-national identities were presented.

⁷²³ 'Narodno jedinstvo u školama', *Narodna odbrana* 1/16 (1926): 249-50.

⁷²⁴ ["Jer odeljak koji govori o Hrvatima u našoj (srpskoj) istoriji mali je i koncizno iznesen; odeljak o slovenačkoj, još manji: a i kod njih je isti slučaj sa našom istorijom".]

5.3.3.1 Naš List: the ministry sets an example

On 25 February 1921 Minister Pribičević announced the launch of a new journal for elementary school pupils, 'Our Journal' (*Naš List*). It was intended to "give possibilities to strengthen the idea of unity, brotherhood, love and harmony of the unified parts of our nation (...), so that in that way new generations can be educated which are completely conscious of that idea".⁷²⁵ The journal appeared between 1921 and 1924 under the editorship of Stevan Bešević and was recommended to all schools of the country as additional reading material for the pupils. The journal primarily consisted of children's poems, stories and songs. The three "variants" of Serbo-Croato-Slovenian were represented in the journal. The Cyrillic and Latin alphabet were used alternately and each issue included about five texts in Slovenian.

In most cases the themes of these texts were restricted to the children's world and imagination, and thus rather remote from typically national themes. The nation was present in a number of texts revolved around typical expressions of Yugoslav national unity, as for example in the song 'Slovene, Serb and Croat' ('Slovenac, Srbin i Hrvat'), which referred to the unity and harmony between the three 'tribes',⁷²⁶ the patriotic poem 'The Fatherland' by a certain M.P.,⁷²⁷ or Aleksa Šantić's 'Our Fatherland'.⁷²⁸ Another important theme in the journal was national history. Many poems and texts revolved around the First World War. Illustrative of the attempt to interpret the World War as a common experience of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was the text 'The Slovenian Hero', which told the story of a Slovenian soldier Ivan Gosar, who deserted from the Austrian army to join the Serbian army, was then wounded and imprisoned by the Bulgarians, handed over to the Austrians and sentenced to death. Gosar, however, remained brave and his last words were "Long live Serbia, the liberator".⁷²⁹

In the second volume (1922) the journal published a feuilleton on the 'History of our tribes', written by M.P. The overview was divided in the following parts: the earliest life of the Slavs; the Christianisation of the South Slavs; the first Serbian and Croatian rulers and kings; the period of kings and Dušan's empire; Bosnia, Herzegovina and Zeta; the Serbian suppression and the uprising of Karađorđe; the fall of Serbia, the second uprising, Croatia and Vojvodina in the first half of the 19th century, the rise of Yugoslavism in the 1860s and 1870s; and finally the rule of Petar I Karađorđević. In this

⁷²⁵ O.n. br. 6.690, 25 February 1921. *Prosvetni glasnik* 38 (1921)/3: 53-4. ["dati mogućnosti da se (...) učvrsti misao o jedinstvu, bratstvu, ljubavi i slozi ujedinjenih delova našega naroda, kako bi se na taj način vaspitavale nove i te ideje potpuno svesne generacije."]

⁷²⁶ 'Slovenac, Srbin i Hrvat'. *Naš List* 2 (1922)/1: 10-11.

⁷²⁷ 'Otadžbina', M.P. *Naš List* 2 (1922)/3-4: 24-5.

⁷²⁸ 'Naša otadžbina', Aleksa Šantić. *Naš List* 2 (1922)/5-6: 25.

⁷²⁹ ["Živjela osloboditeljka Srbija!"] 'Junak Slovenac', M.P. *Naš List* 2 (1922)/10: 13.

overview, which was clearly adapted to a young audience, M.P. attempted to integrate Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian history into one Yugoslav master narrative. Thus, the author departed from the primordial unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and he ended each of the episodes with a flash-forward to the final liberation and unification of the Yugoslavs. Moreover, for each historical episode he made explicit links between the three 'tribes', thus stressing the parallelism of the three 'tribal' histories. However, apart from the first episodes until the fall of the Croatian medieval Kingdom, the focus was strongly on Serbian historical events. For these periods references to Croatian and Slovenian history remained restricted to the brief mentioning of their suppression under "Hungarians" and "Germans" and their growing national consciousness in the 19th century. Another element which points to a strong Serbian bias was the historical definition of Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Dalmatian coast as Serbian lands, medieval Bosnia as a Serbian kingdom and South Slav Muslims as Serbs.⁷³⁰

Finally, the journal also gave an overview of the Yugoslav national territory. In the third volume of the journal (1923) a new feuilleton was started, entitled 'Our beautiful homeland' ('Naša lepa domovina'). This overview was conceived as a journey through the country, in every issue one of Yugoslavia's historical regions was treated: Belgrade and Serbia, the southern areas (Kosovo, southern Serbia and Macedonia), Montenegro, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia-Slavonia. Slightly clumsily, the feuilleton was not continued in September 1923 and thus did not include a report on Slovenia. For each of these regions a number of cultural and natural sites of interest were mentioned, as well as typical sites of memory. The texts were also made more appealing with the inclusion of a number of photographs. Thus, the land was firmly linked to national history, culture and identity, within the framework of Yugoslavia's historical regions. Strikingly, the traveller went as far as Thessaloniki. For this city and region it was argued that the entire population was Yugoslav and that it longed for unification with Yugoslavia. In the future, the author argued, Thessaloniki would become Yugoslavia's southern harbour.⁷³¹ A continuing trace of Serbian bias in this overview was the claim that the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina had the same past, language and feelings as in Serbia, although it was divided in three religions.⁷³²

Naš List presented a more balanced and open overview of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian symbolic resources in the field of language, history and geography. In that sense, it was clearly better adapted to the Yugoslav ideology than the typical Serbian textbooks I have discussed. However, a number of elements in the journal indicate a

⁷³⁰ 'Bosna, Hercegovina i Zeta', M.P. *Naš List* 2 (1922)/9: 13-4; 'Srpsko robovanje i Karađorđev ustanak.' *Naš list* 2(1922)/10: 13.

⁷³¹ 'Naša lepa domovina: južni krajevi', M.P. *Naš List* 3 (1923)/2: 15.

⁷³² 'Naša lepa domovina: Bosna i Hercegovina', M.P. *Naš List* 3 (1923)/5: 15.

clear Serbian approach to Yugoslav national identity, especially the predominance of Serbian historical resources in the overview of Yugoslav history and the continuing definitions of Bosnia and its population as Serbian. This Serbian bias made the journal less suitable for statewide use, although it was clearly intended as such by the Ministry of Education.

5.3.3.2 New approaches to Yugoslav history

In an early article in *Učitelj* Jovan P. Jovanović, one of interwar Yugoslavia's leading educational experts, a prolific writer of essays in specialised journals and referee at the department for elementary education of the Ministry of Education, complained that the history textbooks which were used in schools did not meet the standards to fulfil the crucial role history education should play in the strengthening of Yugoslav national consciousness, because they did not provide equal information on the three Yugoslav 'tribes'. The example he treated was Čedomir Todorović's 'History of the Serbian Nation with the Histories of Croats and Slovenes', which was, according to Jovanović, simply a pre-war 'History of Serbia', with three pages on Croatian and two pages on Slovenian history. If the three Yugoslav 'tribes' formed one unified nation and not three different parts, then the history of the three 'tribes' should be treated as one whole and structured chronologically (Jovanović J. 1922-23: 234-7). Also, national history should stress those historical events which illustrated the unity of the 'tribes', for example the use of Old Slavonic in the Croatian church during the medieval period, and history books should point to direct connections between historical events and 'tribes' (ibid: 237).

In his own history textbook Jovanović put the suggestions he had made in the above mentioned article into practice. A similar approach to Yugoslav history was also applied in Milenko Vukičević's history textbooks for secondary schools. Vukičević had been of the most prominent authors of history textbooks in pre-war Serbia. In the 1914 edition of his textbook he had included some important additions from Croatian history, illustrating the nascent evolution in Serbian textbooks and educational policy in the direction of Yugoslavism (Jelavich 1990: 197-205). Although the new editions of his textbook from the 1920s were "only a revised and supplemented" editions of his pre-war textbooks, this shift was further elaborated in these editions.⁷³³

In both textbooks the result differed significantly from other Serbian history textbooks of the period. Not only did these textbooks include more information on Croatian and Slovenian history, they also provided a narrative which could integrate

⁷³³ ["samo (...) prerađena i dopunjena"]. From a remark on the title page of Vukičević (1927a).

various sub-national histories within an overarching Yugoslav whole. Both authors distinguished between a number of historical periods, concurring with the periods which were distinguished between in history curricula, and presented an integrated overview of different sub-national histories for every period. Thereby the authors stressed broad parallels and links between these histories. For the early medieval period, for example, Vukičević included a concluding chapter about culture and society among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, referring to land possession, political and military organisation, customs, professions and religion. By doing so, Vukičević highlighted the similar organisation of society among South Slavs, which he related to their primordial national unity (Vukičević 1927a: 45-52). For the medieval period both authors treated various attempts at state formation by the South Slavs in the Balkans – in Slovenia, Croatia, Raška, Zeta, Bosnia and Macedonia – and interpreted these as parallel South Slav states. Jovanović for example explicitly linked the Serbian and Croatian medieval kingdoms: “King Tomislav is an equally famous Croatian ruler, as Stevan Nemanja in the Serbian state” (Jovanović J. 1923: 20).⁷³⁴ Although in both cases the Serbian medieval Kingdom and later Empire received by far the most attention, both textbooks also made brief references to the situation in Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia at the period of Serbian dominance in the Balkans, and thus did not restrict their information on Croatian and Slovenian history to their period of “independent life”.

In the chapter on the history of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs under foreign occupation Vukičević and Jovanović emphasised historical parallelisms between the three ‘tribes’ by arguing that all three suffered equally under foreign occupation, be it from Germans/Habsburgs, Hungarians or Turks/Ottomans, and that all three ‘tribes’ had equally revolted against foreign occupation. Again, Jovanović selected some highly symbolic parallel historical events from this period, to make this parallelism more tangible for elementary schools pupils. For the Croats, he argued that the battle at Krbava field was similar to Kosovo for the Serbs (Jovanović J. 1923: 68). Interestingly, later Jovanović argued that Bosnian Muslims too had had their “Kosovo”, by treating the case of Husein Gradašćević, a local ruler from the first half of the 19th century who fought the Ottomans authorities at Štimlje, in Kosovo: “The Bosnian and the Turkish army met at Kosovo and that way the Bosnian Muslims too fought at Kosovo against the true Turks for the freedom of their homeland” (ibid: 92).⁷³⁵

Finally, for the 19th and early 20th century both authors focused on the development of independent Serbia, from the Serbian uprisings until the First World War. That way, they strongly linked the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

⁷³⁴ [“Kralj Tomislav je tako znameniti hrvatski vladar, kao što je Stevan Nemanja u srpskoj državi”].

⁷³⁵ [“Bosanska i turksa vojska susrele su se na polju Kosovu, te su se tako i bosanski muhamedanci borili na Kosovu protivu pravih Turaka za slobodu svoju domovinu.”]

with the military and political history of independent Serbia. Illustratively, Vukičević's chapter on the First World War was entitled 'The battle of Serbia for the unification of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' and paid barely any attention to the experience of the war by South Slavs outside the Serbian Kingdom (Vukičević 1927b: 116). However, both authors also referred to the historical development of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under Austro-Hungary, especially stressing their contributions to the Yugoslav idea in the cultural field. Jovan Jovanović underlined the great influence of Napoleon's Provinces on Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and clarified that it was roughly in this period that writers as Vodnik, Prešeren, Bleiweis, Gaj, Vraz, Karadžić and Obradović started writing in their mother tongue and taught the people that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were all part of one nation and that they all spoke one language. Later, Jovanović argued, these ideas were further propagated by the Croat Strossmayer, the Slovenian bishop and poet Anton Slomšek and the Serbian philologist Đuro Daničić. Obviously, again the principle of parallelism was followed – all three Yugoslav 'tribes' had contributed to Yugoslav cultural rebirth (Jovanović J. 1923: 84-6).

Although both authors clearly succeeded in presenting a more equal and integrated overview of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian history and provided a more open framework through which non-Serbian sub-national historical resources could be inscribed within a Yugoslav historical narrative, certain elements indicate the authors' Serbian point of view. First, there was an obvious focus on political independence as the central parameter for national history. Additionally, both authors stressed the close link between nation and church. Both lines of reasoning perfectly concurred with traditional 19th century definitions of Serbian history and privileged Serbian symbolic resources within Yugoslav national identity. In the abovementioned article of 1922-23 Jovanović suggested that after the treatment of the Serbian battles for unification and liberation, pupils should be asked why the Croats did not wage such battles or, in other words, why the Serbs played the crucial role in the liberation and unification of the Yugoslavs. According to Jovanović the answer was simply that the Croats had quickly lost their independent state and church, after which the Croatian people were left to its own devices. They did not have national leaders, in fact they were equally oppressed by foreign rulers and the Croatian nobility, and thus "the normal people fought to survive as humans, and not also as Croats" (Jovanović J. 1922-23: 314).⁷³⁶ The Serbs on the other hand had managed to maintain their independent state longer and had established their national church, which had kept alive Serbian national consciousness during times of

⁷³⁶ ["a prost narod borio se da se održi samo kao čovek, a ne i kao Hrvat."]

oppression: “This is why only in the Serbian part of our nation a full national consciousness and strong national sentiments were preserved” (ibid: 315).⁷³⁷

Both authors paid great attention to the Christianisation of the South Slavs (Jovanović J. 1923: 20-7; Vukičević 1927a: 49-52). The historical message was that in the initial phase of Christianisation Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had been unified under a national Slavonic Christian church. However, it was clearly only the Serbian Orthodox Church which had retained its initial, national character, contrary to the Catholic Church. Jovanović claimed, for example, that since the time of St. Cyril and St. Methodius “in Croatia and Slovenia religious services were given in the Slavonic language, and people wrote Slavonic letters, or *Cyrillic*” (Jovanović J. 1923: 24, my stress).⁷³⁸ However, Jovanović claimed that after the ban against the use of Old Slavonic in liturgy, “it was (...) forbidden for the Croats to write in Slavonic letters, Cyrillic, in which a great number of Croats had written until then” (ibid: 31).⁷³⁹ This historical anachronism – the church in medieval Croatia and Slavonia used the Glagolitic and Latin alphabet – obviously distinguished the authentic Slavonic character of Cyrillic and by extension the Serbian Orthodox Church from the a-national character of the Catholic Church.

Finally, Jovanović and to a lesser extent Vukičević held on to a strict delineation of Serbian territory, which included Bosnia and Dalmatia. Typically, the medieval Bosnian state was interpreted as a Serbian state, as clarified in the following passage: “[Since the fall of Zeta] Bosnia never again unified with the other Serbian countries, and thus two Serbian states existed since then, Raška or Serbia, and Bosnia” (Jovanović J. 1923: 17).⁷⁴⁰ It was explained that Bosnian Muslims were Catholic, Orthodox and Bogomil *Serbs*, especially landowners, who decided to adopt the Muslim faith in order not to lose their lands (Vukičević 1927b: 12). However, these Muslims never forgot their *Serbian* origin: “all Serbs who adopted the Muslim faith began to dress and live like other Turks, but they continued to speak the Serbian language” (Jovanović J. 1923: 64).⁷⁴¹ Dubrovnik was portrayed as the third Serbian state in the medieval period (ibid: 17). As we have already

⁷³⁷ [“Zato se, eto, samo u srpskom delu našega naroda održala potpuna nacionalna svest i silno nacionalno osećanje.”]

⁷³⁸ [“se u Hrvatskoj i Slovenačkoj služilo u crkvama na slovenskom jeziku, pisalo slovenskim pismima ili ćirilicom”]. In his evaluation of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, Jovanović had also argued that they invented the Cyrillic alphabet (Jovanović J. 1923: 22).

⁷³⁹ [“Od tada je Hrvatima zabranjeno i da pišu slovenskim pismima, ćirilicom, kojima je dotle pisao veliki deo Hrvata”].

⁷⁴⁰ [“Otada se Bosna nikad nije sjedinila sa ostalim srpskim zemljama i zato su otada postojala dve srpske države, Raška ili Srbija, i Bosna”].

⁷⁴¹ [“svi Srbi koji su primili muhamedansku veru počeli su se odevati i živeti kao i ostali Turci, ali su govorili i dalje srpskim jezikom”].

argued, the problem with these elements in the definition of Yugoslav national identity was that they provided little room for varying negotiations between different sub-national traditions and Yugoslav nationhood.

5.3.3.3 Pavle Popović's Yugoslav literature

A significant attempt to come to a Serb-Croat-Slovene or Yugoslav literary canon was undertaken in Pavle Popović's 'Yugoslav Literature', which was approved as textbook for the eighth year of secondary education. The book was completed by Popović in 1918 while in exile in England, by Cambridge University Press, as a piece of intellectual propaganda to support the formation of the Yugoslav state with scientific evidence of the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Trgovčević 1986: 141). It is worth treating this work at length, because it served as an important source for later attempts to form a canon of Yugoslav literature. Popović traced Yugoslav literature back to the work of St. Cyril and St. Methodius (Popović P. 1927: 1-4). As Popović pointed out, the pupils of St. Cyril and St. Methodius continued their work in Serbia and Macedonia (around Ohrid), and along the Dalmatian Coast. In both cultural centres, the original Old Slavonic language of St. Cyril and St. Methodius underwent significant developments. In Ohrid, a new, Cyrillic, alphabet was used, and the language itself became increasingly influenced by the Serbian vernacular of the area. Among the Croats, the Glagolitic alphabet remained in use, but here too the language was influenced by the Croatian vernacular. However, because the Croatian and Serbian vernacular were identical, "[t]he Serbian redaction of the old Slavonic language was the same as the Croatian" (ibid: 3).⁷⁴² Popović also treated the Slovenes, but had to admit that here the Old Slavonic literature of St. Cyril and St. Methodius soon faded away. Instead, literature among the Slovenes was immediately written in Latin and in the vernacular language (ibid.). This point of departure allowed Popović to treat different medieval and early modern literary traditions among the South Slavs as part of an overarching Yugoslav whole, as they went back to the same source. For the medieval period (13th – 15th century) attention went out almost exclusively to literature in Cyrillic.⁷⁴³ For the Renaissance and the early modern period (16th – mid 18th century) the focus was on the Renaissance literature in Dubrovnik and the literature of the Protestant reformation under Primož Trubar.

The Yugoslav character of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature was not restricted to its common origin. From the Renaissance period onwards, literature also directly reflected Yugoslav national consciousness:

⁷⁴² ["Srpska recensija starog slovenskog jezika isto je što i hrvatska."]

⁷⁴³ Throughout the book Popović made a distinction between literature in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet to avoid the application of 'Serbian' and 'Croatian'.

The Yugoslav national idea, as in essence every correct idea about nationality, is a creation of the new age. It represents a clear consciousness, a wide spiritual perspective, an aroused and enlightened reason. It is clear, therefore, that it could not appear in the Middle Ages. The Renaissance, which brought the great awakening and liberation of the human mind, created the first conditions for the birth of the Yugoslav idea (ibid: 50).⁷⁴⁴

Consequently, in his overview of modern literature, starting from the 16th century, Popović focused on manifestations of Yugoslav national consciousness and unity in literature. For Primož Trubar, for example, Popović stressed that he cooperated with a large number of Serbs and Croats, thus expressing Yugoslav national awareness, a point which was also stressed in Ćorović's 'History of Yugoslavia' (ibid: 51). Dalmatian Renaissance and Baroque poets were Yugoslav patriots because they sang about themes from Serbian and Croatian history (ibid: 51-2). In his magnum opus 'Osman' Ivan Gundulić, for example, had glorified Serbian history as "one of the most beautiful histories of the Yugoslav peoples" (ibid: 52).⁷⁴⁵ The early modern historians Mavro Orbini and Pavao Vitezović described the history of all Yugoslav peoples in their works (ibid: 52-3). In the 18th century the idea of Yugoslav national unity further strengthened in literature, especially manifested in the increasing literary bonds between different regions (ibid: 53-5). Popović specifically mentioned the fact that the Serbian Enlightenment writer Dositej Obradović and his Croatian colleague Matija Reljković knew of each other's work, "a nice example of the reciprocity of our Catholic and Orthodox lands" (ibid: 54-5).⁷⁴⁶

Popović continued with the standardisation of the literary language among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on the basis of the popular vernacular. Illustrative of Yugoslav national unity, parallel attempts in that direction were made under the leadership of representatives of each of the three 'tribes'. First, Jernej Kopitar paved the way by writing a Slovenian grammar in which he "showed the characteristics of the spoken dialect of the Slovenes", and by supporting the work of Vuk Karadžić (ibid: 86-7, quotation on 86).⁷⁴⁷ Vuk himself "created a common literary language for the entire Serbian and Croatian people" and "gave our literature a true national character" (ibid:

⁷⁴⁴ ["Jugoslovenska misao, kao u suštini svaka prava misao o narodnosti, tvorevina je novog doba. Ona pretpostavlja jasnu svest, širok duhovni vidik, probugjen i prosvetljen razum. Jasno je prema tome da se ona nije mogla javiti u Srednjem veku. Preporogjaj, koji je doneo sobom veliko bugjenje i oslobogjenje ljudskog uma, dao je prve uslove za ragjanje jugoslovenske misli."]

⁷⁴⁵ ["jednu od najlepših prošlosti jugoslovenskih naroda."]

⁷⁴⁶ ["lep primer uzajamnosti naših pravoslavnih i katoličkih zemalja"].

⁷⁴⁷ ["On tu pokaza osobine govornog narečja Slovenaca."]

87-9, quotation on 89).⁷⁴⁸ Ljudevit Gaj unified Croatian and Serbian literary language by adopting the štokavian dialect and introducing a phonetic orthography for the Latin alphabet (ibid: 89-91). Popović stressed that some Slovenes, most importantly Stanko Vraz, “one of their best writers”, accepted Gaj’s language reforms, but a majority of them chose to “stay with their local dialect as literary language” (ibid: 91).⁷⁴⁹ However, in his newspaper ‘Novice’ Janez Bleiweis often took over Serbo-Croatian words in his literary language in order “to bring the Slovenian dialect closer to the language of Vuk and Gaj” (ibid: 92).⁷⁵⁰ Also, he took over Gaj’s orthography.

That way, he did a lot to bring Slovenian local literature closer to the general Serbo-Croatian literature. A united language could not be reached, but (...) [he] contributed greatly to give the distinct Slovenian literature that same national and Yugoslav character, which had been given to Serbo-Croatian literature slightly earlier (ibid.).⁷⁵¹

For modern Yugoslav literature, Popović presented an integrated overview of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literary traditions, thereby distinguishing between literature written in the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabet, and Slovenian literature. For Romantic lyricism, for example, Popović treated Branko Radičević and Petar Petrović Njegoš as representatives of literature in Cyrillic, Ivan Mažuranić and Stanko Vraz as representatives of literature in the Latin alphabet. Among the Slovenes, Popović discussed Valentin Vodnik and France Prešeren (ibid: 95-105). With regard to Petar Petrović Njegoš, Popović largely neglected the historical plot of the work and instead focused on the more abstract qualities of the work (ibid: 97-9). In his attempt to interpret Njegoš as a Yugoslav national writer, Popović also linked Njegoš to parallel writers among Croats and Slovenes. The Croatian counterpart to Njegoš was Ivan Mažuranić. For his masterpiece ‘The Death of Smilaga Čengić’, an epic on the assassination of an Ottoman official by a group of Montenegrins, Popović argued that it was a purely artistic work, full of dramatic effects – contrary to ‘The Mountain Wreath’, which was in the first place a philosophical work (ibid: 101-2). Finally, “[w]hat Njegoš was for the Serbs, and Mažuranić for the Croats, Prešeren was for the Slovenes. He was

⁷⁴⁸ According to Popović, Vuk’s selection of folk literature had provided all Yugoslav writers a new, truly Yugoslav national thematic source. [“Vuk je stvorio jedan zajednički književni jezik za celu masu srpskog i hrvatskog naroda”, “On je dao pravo nacionalno obeležje našoj književnosti.”]

⁷⁴⁹ [“Oni ostadoše pri svom lokalnom narečju kao svom književnom jeziku.”]

⁷⁵⁰ [“On je često uzimao srpsko-hrvatske reči u svoj književni jezik i hteo da približi slovenačko narečje jeziku Vukovu i Gajevu.”]

⁷⁵¹ [“Time je on vrlo mnogo učinio za zbliženje lokalne književnosti sa opštom srpsko-hrvatskom. Jedinstvo jezika nije se moglo izvesti, (...) ali Blajvajs je mnogo doprineo da se i slovenačkoj posebnoj književnosti da onaj isti nacionalni i jugoslovenski karakter, koji je nešto ranije bio dat književnosti srpskohrvatskoj”].

the third member of that great family of Yugoslav writers” (ibid: 104).⁷⁵² Prešeren was interpreted as a great artist, glorified for his technical virtuosity and strong patriotism (ibid: 104-5). Thus, for the modern period Popović interpreted Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literatures as parallel parts of an overarching Yugoslav literature. The Yugoslavism of Njegoš, Mažuranić and Prešeren was not situated in direct expressions of Yugoslav national unity, but rather in the parallel and similar character of their work. Such an approach to Yugoslav literary history enabled a symbiosis of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literatures, and provided a common denominator which could unite these literary traditions as parts of an overarching Yugoslav unity.

5.3.3.4 New territorial definitions of Yugoslav identity

Textbooks continued to make use of the South Slav historical regions for definitions of Yugoslav national identity.⁷⁵³ In most cases, this was accompanied by a clear-cut distinction between Serbian and Croatian regions. However, certain authors refrained from making any claims about the Serbian or Croatian character of this or that region, thus indicating that alternative approaches for defining Yugoslav national territory were considered. In Mihailo Stanojević’s geography textbook of 1920, for example, no claims about the Serbian or Croatian character of the “new regions” of the Kingdom were made. A similar approach toward Yugoslav national territory was presented in Todor Radivojević’s textbook for the fourth year of secondary school. Although the textbook was a revised edition of a pre-war geography textbook, the focus on the Yugoslav state and its national character distinguished Radivojević’s book from other revised editions of pre-war Serbian textbooks. In the first place, the textbook started with an overview of the entire Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Radivojević 1925: 19-27). Further, Radivojević emphasised the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as three ‘tribes’ of the same nation, and the national character of the Yugoslav state:

The consciousness of national unity is deeply rooted in all social layers of our three-named nation. The new common life in our common state will result in the gradual straightening out of all differences in tribal spirit of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which have been created over centuries by the influences of different

⁷⁵² [“Što je Njegoš u Srba, što je Mažuranić u Hrvata, to je Prešern u Slovenaca. On je treći član ove velike porodice jugoslovenskih pesnika.”]

⁷⁵³ One exception was Borivoje Milojević’s geography textbook for the fourth year of secondary school, in which a distinction was made between geographical regions determined by river basins. His overview started with the Adriatic Coast and then treated the Dinaric Mountains along the coast, the lower Sava basin, the upper Sava basin, the Drava basin, the Danube valley, the lower Morava basin, the central Balkan region and the lower Vardar basin.

religions and cultures, by the persistent work of our oppressors and enemies, whose goal it was to divide and alienate us, i.e. to build four different nationalities from one (ibid: 24).⁷⁵⁴

In his more elaborate overview of Yugoslav geography Radivojević followed pre-war historical regions, with an obvious privileged position for pre-war Serbia.⁷⁵⁵ There was also a clear Serbian bias in the selection of texts for the 'geographical' reading book included in the textbook. Here, texts were included which exclusively portrayed Serbian regions and Serbian national landscape. More importantly, however, Radivojević avoided linking Yugoslav regions exclusively to one of the 'tribes'. In most cases he simply spoke of "our people", only in the case of Montenegro he defined the population as Serbian. When describing the Bosnian population, for example, he argued that "[a]lmost the entire population belongs to our nationality, but religiously it is separated in Orthodox, Muslims and Catholics" (ibid: 84).⁷⁵⁶

5.3.4 Conclusions

Although there were clearly great qualitative differences between textbooks which were published in Belgrade during the first half of the 1920s, most of them continued to rely heavily on codified definitions of Serbian national identity. The revised editions of pre-war Serbian textbooks simply added a small number of symbolic resources linked to Croatian or Slovenian traditions, but integrated these within a virtually unchanged definition of Serbian national identity. The result was that Serbian and Yugoslav national identity completely coincided in these textbooks. Such an approach to Yugoslav collective identity did not provide room for negotiations between other, non-Serbian collective identities and Yugoslav nationhood.

New textbooks published in Belgrade clearly made some adaptations to the new Yugoslav circumstances, in the first place by explicitly referring to Yugoslav national unity, the equality of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Yugoslav religious tolerance, and

⁷⁵⁴ ["Svest o narodnome jedinstvu duboko je ukorenjena u svima društvenim slojevima našeg troimenog naroda a nov zajednički život u zajedničkoj državi učiniće, da se vremenom izravnavaju sve razlike u plemenskom duhu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, koje su stvorene vekovnim uticajima raznih vera i kultura, na čemu su stotinama godina radili ugnjetači i neprijatelji naši, kojima je bio cilj da nas zavade i odrode, t.j. da od jedne stvore četiri razne narodnosti"].

⁷⁵⁵ These were the regions discussed, with the respective pages: Serbia (28-73), Montenegro (74-9), Bosnia-Herzegovina (80-7), Dalmatia (88-95), Croatia (95-104), Istria (105-7), Slovenia (108-15), Banat, Bačka and Baranja (115-20).

⁷⁵⁶ ["Gotovo je sve stanovništvo naše narodnosti, ali se po veri deli na pravoslavne, muhamedance i katolike"].

also by adding more information on the Croats and the Slovenes. However, they continued to make use of the boundary mechanisms which had been applied in codified definitions of Serbian identity and only included Croatian or Slovenian symbolic resources which could be easily integrated in this framework and in fact fully confirmed the Serb-centred view on Yugoslav unity. Such an approach to Yugoslav national identity again provided only little room for negotiations between Yugoslav nationhood and sub-national entities other than the Serbian one.

A considerable number of Serbian intellectuals recognised that such definitions of Yugoslav national identity in textbooks were unsatisfactory and suggested a different approach in textbooks. Some of the early textbooks formulated definitions of Yugoslav national identity which left more room for variation at the sub-national level. This illustrates that there were 'spontaneous' – in the sense that they were not the result of ministerial prescriptions – attempts to unite Serbian collective identity with a Yugoslav national idea which allowed for the persistence of different sub-national traditions and provided incentives for variable sub-national mediations with Yugoslav nationhood. The Ministry of Education too set an example of a more balanced definition of Yugoslav national identity in its journal *Naš List*. Although the journal retained a certain Serbian bias, it did provide room for the integration of different sub-national identities within Yugoslav nationhood. During the 1930s this direction would be further explored in a larger number of textbooks.

5.4 Serbian textbooks under the Dictatorship: exemplary Yugoslavism?

In evaluating textbooks of the early 1920s it should not be forgotten that these were not intended for use in the entire Yugoslav state. This changed after the establishment of the Dictatorship, when educational authorities introduced more elaborate instructions with regard to the definition of Yugoslav national identity in textbooks with the intention to come to a series of uniform textbooks which could be used state-wide. In what follows I examine how these guidelines were concretised in textbooks published in Belgrade during the late 1920s and the 1930s.⁷⁵⁷ That the changed educational policy of the Royal Dictatorship had an effect on textbooks, is manifested in the fact that a large number of new textbooks were approved and published, certainly in the second half of the 1930s. I assess to what extent these textbooks succeeded in avoiding the problematic elements resulting from the close reliance on boundary mechanisms which had substantiated pre-war codification of Serbian national identity in textbooks published in Belgrade in the 1920s, and providing common denominators which could unite, or better, *appear to* unite different collective identities within the putative Yugoslav nation.

The omnipresence of the ideology of integral Yugoslavism during the Royal Dictatorship fully came to expression in the discourse used in the textbooks under scrutiny. From the first year of elementary education pupils read texts about Yugoslav national unity, brotherly love and solidarity between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the virtue of patriotism. The Yugoslav state was represented as the exponent of Yugoslav national unity and patriotism was glorified as one of man's crucial moral duties. In the text 'Fatherland' ('Otađbina') Atanasije Mladenović explained that beside the house pupils grew up in, "we also belong to a bigger house, with our entire nation. That common house is our Fatherland. (...) Just like we love the house of our family, we have to love the house of our nation" (Mladenović 1940a: 169-70, quotation on 169).⁷⁵⁸ In order to make these rather abstract values more accessible for the pupils, reading books relied on a large number of shorter poems and texts in which the national unity of

⁷⁵⁷ Shortly after the formulation of the first all-Yugoslav curricula for elementary and secondary schools in 1926 and 1927 a number of history and geography textbooks were published, which followed these new curricula. I include these textbooks in the following examination, because, there were no significant variations between curricula of the late 1920s and those of the 1930s. Consequently, the textbooks of the late 1920s did not differ fundamentally from those of the 1930s, which was confirmed by the fact that the textbooks in question were approved for use until the end of the interwar period.

⁷⁵⁸ ["mi imamo veći dom kome pripadamo svi, ceo naš narod. Ta opšta kuća – to je naša Otađbina. (...) Onako isto kao što volimo dom svoje porodice, tako isto volimo i dom našega naroda."]

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed, and in which the need for brotherly solidarity and cooperation was symbolically underlined. In the text 'Three butterflies' ('Tri leptirka') a white, a blue and a red butterfly were searching for shelter for the rain. First they asked a red tulip if he could provide them shelter, but he would only let the red butterfly hide. The red butterfly refused: "I would rather die with my brothers, than to leave them behind in troubles".⁷⁵⁹ The same happened with the white tulip. When God saw this, he rejoiced and stopped the rain. At the same time some pupils passed by, singing the anthem: "Embracing in brotherly unity, we will fly away in harmony!" (Matović 1933: 60).⁷⁶⁰ In Stevan Obradović's reading book, pupils read Andrej Rape's 'Little Yugoslav' ('Mali Jugoslovan') in Slovenian: "God has given me / A Serbian hero as brother. / The heroic Serb is my brother, / The Croat is my brother, / Serb, Croat and Slovene / Are and will stay brothers" (Obradović 1938: 84).⁷⁶¹ Mladenović's reading book for the fourth year ended with Krsto Mhotić's poem 'Yugoslavia', which included the following strophes:

We are your children, from ancient times / Only one nation, which the enemy has divided / Because he wants our ruin and disintegration / To easily make sad slaves out of us. (...) / That is why within your boundaries we'll always / Live in harmony, and strengthen your wings / For you, dear Fatherland, / And to the memory of our heroic ancestors (Mladenović 1940b: 203).⁷⁶²

Such patriotic poems, songs and stories also occupied a prominent position in *Jugoslovenče*, a children's magazine which was published by the Yugoslav Association of Teachers from September 1931 and was recommended by the Ministry of Education to all schools.⁷⁶³ The journal was published in 100.000 copies every month.⁷⁶⁴ Children were raised with the idea that they should contribute to the progress of the nation: "I am a little Yugoslav / I arm myself with knowledge / so that, when necessary / I can do my share for my people".⁷⁶⁵ Also, they were reminded that they should be prepared to give

⁷⁵⁹ ["Volim s braćom poginuti, neg' u zlu ih ostaviti".]

⁷⁶⁰ ["Zagrljeni slogom bratskom, poletimo složno mi!"]

⁷⁶¹ ["Srba mi junaka, / Bog je brata dal. / Brat mi je Srb junaški, / Brat mi je Hrvat, / Srb, Hrvat, Slovenec / Je, ostane brat!"]

⁷⁶² ["Mi smo djeca tvoja, od prastara doba / Samo narod jedan, koga dušman dijeli, / Buduć' da nam propast i rasulo želi / Da lakše načini od nas tužna roba. (...) / Stoga ćemo svuda između' tvojih međa / Živjeti u slozi i osnažit krila, / Radi tebe, Otadžbino mila, / I radi spomena junačkih nam pređa".]

⁷⁶³ 'Jugoslovenče, list - preporuka'. O.n. br. 65.925, 11 November 1931. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 713.

⁷⁶⁴ Speech by JUU President Damijan Rašić to the annual congress on 24 August 1932 in Belgrade. *Narodna prosveta* 11.09.1932: 2.

⁷⁶⁵ 'Đače Povardarče', Nazif Resulović. *Jugoslovenče* 1 (1931)/3: 1. ["Jugoslovenče sam malo / Naukom se oružam, / Kada bude zatrebalo, / Da svoj deo rodu dam."]

their lives for the nation. N. Škovrlj's 'To the Holy Flag' ('Zastavo sveta') for example ended with the following strophe: "Love the flag, son / That symbol of our fatherland, / be prepared to perish for the salvation of the people / should freedom require this."⁷⁶⁶

Jaša Prodanović went a step further than merely Yugoslav patriotic exclamations, by including some Croatian patriotic poems in his reading books for secondary schools, to illustrate that Serbian and Croatian patriotism were in fact two utterances of the same Yugoslav patriotism. Thus, in his reading book for the second year pupils read August Harambašić's poem 'To the Fatherland' ('Otadžbini') which the poet addressed to "[T]he lands of the Croats, holy fatherland" (Prodanović 1928b: 142-3, quotation on 142).⁷⁶⁷ His reading book for the third year included a number of 'Greetings to the Homeland' by the Croatian poets Petar Preradović, Silvije Kranjčević, Tugomir Alaupović and Antun Niemčić. The inclusion of these texts clarifies that statements of Serbian or Croatian nationalism were not per definition considered contradictory to Yugoslav national unity, to the contrary.

Although, as clarified in the above mentioned example, the discourse about the three Yugoslav 'tribes' was not completely abandoned, after 1930 textbooks increasingly stressed the integral unity of the Yugoslavs and avoided making references to Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This was, in the first place, evident in the discourse used in textbooks. The standard phrase "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" was consistently replaced by "Yugoslavs" or "our nation". The 1928 edition of Milan Rabrenović's history textbook, for example, was entitled 'History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes'. In the 1930 edition this became 'History of Our Nation'. In 1928 Rabrenović had defined Yugoslav national unity as followed: "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes speak the same language, and are one nation" (Rabrenović 1928: 3).⁷⁶⁸ In 1930 this became: "All those who speak like use are one nation and are called Yugoslavs" (Rabrenović 1930: 3).⁷⁶⁹ An illustrative example of the more reluctant position toward narrowly 'tribal' identities was provided in Miloš Matović's reading book for the fourth year, which included Jovan Jovanović Zmaj's poem 'Serbian Mother' ('Srpska majka'), about a Serbian son who had died "for Serbdom, for freedom". Matović commented that the poem should be situated in the previous century, against the background of the Serbian liberation battle against the Turks. Now, it should be adapted to the new circumstances, and in the last strophe "when the word 'Serbdom' is recited, it should be changed by the words 'his people'"

⁷⁶⁶ N. Škovrlj, 'Zastavo sveta'. *Jugoslovenče* 3 (1933)/2: 3. ["Ljubi zastavu, sine / Taj symbol otadžbine, / I gini za spas roda - / Ište li to sloboda."]

⁷⁶⁷ ["Hrvata zemljo, otadžbino sveta."]

⁷⁶⁸ ["Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci govore jednim jezikom, i oni su jedan narod."]

⁷⁶⁹ ["Svi koji govore kao mi jesu jedan narod i nazivaju se – Jugosloveni."]

(Matović 1934: 7-8, quotation on 8).⁷⁷⁰ Textbooks also increasingly used only the Yugoslav hymn, instead of the three ‘tribal’ hymns. The transition was literally made in Zora Vulović’s reading book for the first year of secondary education, where the three ‘tribal’ hymns were given, as well as the official version of the national hymn of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, consisting of one strophe of each hymn (Vulović 1926a: 123-6). As a rule, in later reading books only the official Yugoslav hymn was given. Bearing in mind, of course, that this remained an amalgam of the three ‘tribal’ hymns, it nevertheless at least gave the impression of a uniform Yugoslav hymn. Let us now examine how this notion of integral Yugoslavism was elaborated in the definition of national identity presented in the textbooks under scrutiny.

5.4.1 Yugoslav Language

Typical definitions of Yugoslav national unity emphasised the crucial importance of linguistic unity. However, the way this linguistic unity was concretised in textbooks indicates a great gap between the stereotypical discourse on linguistic unity as the fundament of Yugoslav national unity and the concrete allowance made for linguistic variants among the South Slavs. Most of the textbooks under scrutiny accepted a distinct position for the Slovenian language, although its specific status – dialect, language or something in between – remained fluid. In Mladenović’s reading book for the fourth year of elementary education a Slovenian text by V. Sadar – ‘Our Homeland’ (‘Naša domovina’) – was given, which presented a rare example of a Slovenian view on the Yugoslav linguistic situation in Serbo-Croatian reading books. The text spoke of the *Slovenian language* and argued that Serbs and Croats spoke a language which was similar to Slovenian and was easily understandable for them, but not completely identical (Mladenović 1940b: 135-6).⁷⁷¹ Milovanović and Milošević’s reading books included some theoretical grammatical explanations that Serbo-Croatian was the national language of Serbs and Croats. This language was one, because all Serbs and all Croats understood each other. The Slovenes, it was argued, spoke a language which was only slightly different from Serbo-Croatian, but nevertheless was accepted as a distinct language (Milovanović & Milošević 1938a: 17). In Milivoj Pavlović and Dragoslav Ilić’s reading book for the first year of secondary education students were introduced to Slovenian by comparing a folk tale in Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian. It was explained that “from all

⁷⁷⁰ [“Ako se deklamuje, reč “Srpstvo” u poslednjoj strofi treba zameniti rečima “rod svoj”.”]

⁷⁷¹ This text was also included in Andrej Rape’s Slovenian reading book for the fourth year of elementary school (Rape 1923: 191-2).

Slavonic languages the Slovenian language was closest to Serbo-Croatian; there are some little differences in speech, but you can see that it is easy to understand” (Pavlović & Ilić 1934a: 41-2, quotation on 42).⁷⁷²

Drava banovina formed a framework through which a distinct Slovenian language variant could be embedded within an overarching Yugoslav national identity. In his treatment of Drava banovina Stevanović for example spoke of a language which was similar to “our old language”, but used č instead of ć, j instead of đ and čr instead of cr (Stevanović 1936: 10). Milan Popović clarified that the Yugoslavs had spoken one language, but that in the course of time this language developed into Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, which was spoken in Drava banovina (Popović Milan 1939: 104). An interpretative approach frequently applied in the textbooks presented the Slovenian language as part of the kajkavian language variant.⁷⁷³ In his 1935 geography textbook for secondary education Todor Radivojević argued that “our nation [spoke] one language in three dialects”, namely: štokavian, čakavian and kajkavian.⁷⁷⁴ Kajkavian was spoken by Slovenes and Croats, čakavian by Croats and a small number of Serbs and Slovenes, and štokavian by Serbs and Croats. Thus, “not one dialect is restricted to one part of our nation, so that dialects do not divide us from each other” (Radivojević 1935: 51-2).⁷⁷⁵ Cvejić and Obrenović referred to inhabitants of Drava banovina as “our kajkavians by dialect” (Cvejić & Obrenović 1933: 7),⁷⁷⁶ and Alimpić and Veljković explained that the national language had three dialects and that “the largest part of the kajkavian dialect, spoken in Drava banovina, [was] called the Slovenian language” (Alimpić & Veljković 1939a: 29).⁷⁷⁷

These quotes indicate that Serbian reading books recognised the distinct character of Slovenian, but at the same time stressed the similarities and the mutual comprehensibility of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian as the fundament for Yugoslav national unity. Although they no longer reduced Slovenian to a mere dialect of Serbo-Croatian, Serbian textbook authors remained reluctant to grant Slovenian the status of a completely independent language. In that sense, the inclusion of a Slovenian text by Ivo Trošt (‘Within the Boundaries of Yugoslavia’, ‘V mejah Jugoslavije’) in which a mother explained to her son that Yugoslavia reached as far as “our sweet *Yugoslav language*” was

⁷⁷² [“Slovenački jezik je od svih slovenskih jezika srpskohrvatskom najbliži; ima malo razlika pri govoru, ali se vidi da se lako može razumeti.”]

⁷⁷³ The kajkavian dialect of Serbo-Croatian is spoken in northern Croatia and stands close to the Slovenian language. Both use “kaj?” for “what?”.

⁷⁷⁴ [“Naš narod govori jednim jezikom na tri narečja.”]

⁷⁷⁵ [“Nijedno narečje nije ograničeno samo na jedan deo našeg naroda, te nas stoga narečja ne dele jedna od drugih”]

⁷⁷⁶ [“Naši kajkavci po narečju.”]

⁷⁷⁷ [“Veći deo kajkavskog, onaj koji se govori u Dravskoj banovini, naziva se slovenačkim jezikom.”]

heard, was not contradictory to references to the Slovenian language in the same reading book (Mladenović 1940b: 20, my emphasis).⁷⁷⁸ In the same spirit, history textbooks pointed to the parallel national revival of language and literature among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the first half of the 19th century and stressed that Janez Bleiweis took over Gaj's script for the Slovenian literary language (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 114-5, 117; Prica 1937b: 126). Đorđević and Stranjaković interpreted the first Slovenian grammar of Jernej Kopitar and Prešeren's poems in the Slovenian "language" as preaches for the unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and did not fail to mention Stanko Vraz, "the most important Slovene who favoured the national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 83).⁷⁷⁹ In practice, the fact that textbooks continued to familiarise pupils with Slovenian on the basis of a small number of poems and texts in Slovenian with Serbo-Croatian translations of unknown words confirms that they continued to depart from a form of common collective unity behind Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian on the basis of which it was justified in the first place to include texts in Slovenian in Serbo-Croatian reading books.⁷⁸⁰

As clarified in the theoretical explanation in Milovanović and Milošević's reading book, Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity was not questioned. Textbooks consistently spoke of the Serbo-Croatian language and avoided making use of outdated references to the Serbian language. Thus, reading books published in the 1930s were entitled 'Serbo-Croatian reading books'. In Atanasije Mladenović's reading book Vuk Karadžić's text on Kraljević Marko was included in a Slovenian translation. Whereas Karadžić had originally spoken of the Serbian language, this revised version argued that stories about Kraljević Marko were told wherever the Serbo-Croatian language was spoken (Mladenović 1940a: 58). History textbooks typically treated Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Karadžić as parallel fathers of the national language among Croats and Serbs. In his history textbook for secondary schools Đorđe Lazarević explained that Vuk Karadžić had chosen the štokavian dialect as basis for the literary language because it was spoken by the majority of the South Slavs. A bit later, Ljudevit Gaj chose the štokavian as the basis for the literary language in Croatia and removed the last separation between Croats and Serb (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 111-8). That way, it was argued that Serbs and Croats had almost simultaneously and consciously come to a common Serbo-Croatian national

⁷⁷⁸ ["Naš mili jugoslovenski jezik."]

⁷⁷⁹ ["Najznatniji Slovenac koji je zastupao narodno jedinstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca."]

⁷⁸⁰ In both Prodanović's and Magarašević, Georgijević and Leskovac's secondary school reading books, for example, every reading book contained ca. ten poems in Slovenian. In the latter case, textbooks for the third and fourth contained relatively long and difficult texts in Slovenian. Levstik's 'Martin Krpan from Vrh' ('Martin Krpan z Vrha') for example was seven pages long and was accompanied by a word list of 2,5 pages (Magarašević, Georgijević & Leskovac 1938d: 195-205).

language. Indicative of a Serbian bias in these textbooks, certain authors claimed that Ljudevit Gaj had wanted to use the Cyrillic alphabet, “the national Slavonic alphabet”, but that this was forbidden by the Viennese authorities (Dragović & Pavićević 1939: 74; Lazarević Đ. 1933: 117, quote from this textbook).⁷⁸¹

Within Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity textbooks allowed for different language variants. With regard to the alphabet, the reading books for the first two years of elementary education were published in two versions, one for each alphabet. In the third year, the pupils were introduced to a second alphabet, and from then on both alphabets were used alternately throughout the reading books. The exact ratio of both alphabets differed from reading book to reading book. In Jaša Prodanović’s reading books for secondary education, for example, I found the following ratio of texts in Cyrillic and Latin: For the first reading book, 83:29, for the second, 85:38, for the third 95:44 and for the fourth 96:40. In the revised edition of Milan Šević’s reading book – the revision was made by Milan Ćuković – both alphabets were literally used alternately. In Magarašević, Georgijević and Leskovac’s secondary school reading books, which were published by the end of the interwar period, the two alphabets were used equally. Pupils were also introduced to the three variants of the language, ekavian, ijekavian and ikavian, and literary extracts were presented in their original variant, either ekavian or ijekavian.

With regard to language there was clearly a great gap between the stereotypical discourse on the integral unity of the Yugoslav language and the concrete allowance for linguistic variation. First, textbooks recognised a distinct position for Slovenian, although uncompromised statements about a distinct Slovenian language were generally avoided and textbooks continued to depart from some form of linguistic unity between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian. For Serbo-Croatian, both literary variants and alphabets were represented equally in the textbooks. Obviously, in practice, Yugoslav linguistic unity could mean different things to different people. It was precisely the variability, the ‘emptiness’ of this definition of Yugoslav linguistic unity, which made it a potentially viable common denominator.

5.4.2 Establishing a canon of Yugoslav literature

The reading books introduced an integrated canon of Yugoslav national literature on the basis of a balanced overview of Serbian, Croatian and to a lesser extent Slovenian literary traditions. First, folk literature occupied a prominent place in both elementary

⁷⁸¹ [“nacionalno slovensko pismo.”]

and secondary school reading books. In Prodanović's reading book for the first year of secondary school, for example, 39 of the 122 texts included were deduced from folk tradition. Prodanović thereby made a distinction between "feminine" and "heroic" folk songs, popular proverbs and folk stories. The "feminine" folk songs treated religious figures and events – for example Christmas songs – whereas the "heroic" songs were mostly drawn from the Kosovo cycle. Zora Vulović structured folk songs and stories thematically. For the first year they all treated Kraljević Marko, for the second year St. Sava and for third year the battle of Kosovo. Vulović justified such a privileged position of folk literature by arguing that it was "the basis of our life, and our literature and history" (Vulović 1926b: 247).⁷⁸² Atanasije Mladenović explained that folk literature was a national treasure, which had kept the nation alive in times of foreign oppression, and should therefore be studied as a "road sign in life" (Mladenović 1940b: 20-1, quotation on 21).⁷⁸³

Further, reading books presented a balanced overview of modern Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature. A crucial position in this canon was occupied by the founding fathers of the Yugoslav modern language and literature among Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The core position was taken by Vuk Karadžić, of whom a large number of texts were included and who was glorified as the founder of the modern Serbo-Croatian literary language and literature. As argued by Milivoj Pavlović, "his work lay the basis for our new literature and national language" (Pavlović & Ilić 1931: 124-6, quotation on 126).⁷⁸⁴ His counterpart among the Croats was Ljudevit Gaj, whose merit was that he had followed Vuk and adopted the štokavian dialect as the basis for the literary language for the Croatian part of the nation. For Gaj textbook authors typically stressed the direct Yugoslav consciousness in his activities, stressing that he had desired that "all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes wrote the same language, so that they would unite and get to like each other even more" (Prica 1937: 116),⁷⁸⁵ or that the goal of his work was "to free the Yugoslavs from oppression, that they could freely speak their national language, that they would have books in the national language, that they would have their schools and that the land would belong to the peasants that worked it".⁷⁸⁶ Among the Slovenes the role of founding father was played by Primož Trubar, who had been the first to write

⁷⁸² ["Osnova i našeg života, i književnosti i istorije."]

⁷⁸³ ["putokaz u životu."]

⁷⁸⁴ ["Njegov rad dao je osnovu našoj novoj književnosti i narodnom jeziku"]. See also 'Jugoslovenski velikani – Vuk Karadžić', D.V. Rašić. *Jugoslovenče* 2 (1932)/2: 12-4.

⁷⁸⁵ ["svi Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci pišu istim jezikom kako bi se još više sjedinili i zavoleli."]

⁷⁸⁶ ["da se Jugosloveni oslobode ropstva, pa da slobodno govore svojim narodnim jezikom, da imaju knjige na narodnom jeziku, da imaju svoje škole i da zemlja pripada seljaku koji je radi."] 'Jugoslovenski velikani – Ljudevit Gaj,' D.V. Rašić. *Jugoslovenče* 2 (1932)/4: 13-4, quotation on 13.

books in the Slovenian language, instead of German and Latin.⁷⁸⁷ History textbooks also referred to the Slovenian national rebirth with Jernej Kopitar, Valentin Vodnik and France Prešeren, and established parallels with the Serbian and Croatian national rebirth (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 111-8). Đorđević and Stranjaković's history textbook for elementary schools explained that "the national movement of Croats and Serbs for the use of the national language in schools and in speech did not pass over the Slovenes", thus establishing a direct link between the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national rebirth (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 83).⁷⁸⁸ Referring to the Slovenian grammar of Jernej Kopitar and France Prešeren's poetry in Slovenian the authors concluded that "in that way they then already preached the unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" (ibid).⁷⁸⁹

After establishing a common Yugoslav basis for modern literature, reading books presented a balanced selection of literary texts. In the elementary school reading books by Miloš Matović, for instance, the following writers were selected: Dositej Obradović, Vuk Karadžić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Fran Levstik, Josip Stritar, Vladimir Nazor, Anton Slomšek, Vojislav Ilić, Desanka Maksimović, Đura Jakšić, Branko Radičević, Petar Preradović, Aleksa Šantić, Davorin Trstenjak, Svetozar Ćorović, Ivan Mažuranić, Ivan Cankar, Anton Aškerc, August Šenoa, Oton Župančič, Ahmed Muradbegović, August Harambašić, Stevan Sremac, Ivo Ćipiko, Simon Gregorčič and Branislav Nušić. In reading books for secondary education the canon of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian literature was further elaborated along the lines of the curricula for history of literature.

Interestingly, reading books presented only a small number of texts by or on Njegoš, although he was typically canonised as the greatest Serbian and Yugoslav poet. In a list of national heroes presented in *Jugoslovenče* Njegoš was not mentioned. In the series of reading books compiled by Magarašević, Georgijević and Leskovac only the excerpt about Vojvoda Draško's visit to Venice was included (Magarašević, Georgijević & Leskovac 1938d: 269-76). The passage was also included in the reading books compiled by Prodanović and Vulović (Prodanović 1928c: 150; Vulović 1927: 90), which confirms Wachtel's finding that this was one of the safest and most oft-quoted passages from 'The Mountain Wreath' (Wachtel 2004: 140). A well-tried approach to appropriate Njegoš as a crucial figure for Yugoslav culture was to provide extra-textual information on his life instead of a large selection of his work (Wachtel 2004: 140). Prodanović's reading book for the fourth year included a section with texts on Njegoš by Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, Ljubomir Nenadović and Pavle Popović (Prodanović 1929: 59-72). Similarly, Vulović presented Njegoš on the basis of a number of texts by Ljubomir Nenadović (Vulović

⁷⁸⁷ 'Jugoslovenski velikani – Primož Trubar,' D.V. Rašić, *Jugoslovenče* 2 (1932)/3: 21-2.

⁷⁸⁸ ["Narodni pokret Hrvata i Srba za upotrebu narodnog jezika po školama i u govoru nije mimošao ni Slovence."]

⁷⁸⁹ ["Na taj način oni su još tada propovedali jedinstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca."]

1926b: 112-25). In his history textbook for secondary education Lazarević argued that Njegoš was an example of religious tolerance and national consciousness and underpinned this argument with the following quotation taken from the title page of the first publication of his 'Pseudo Tsar Stephen the Small' from 1851: "It should not be asked who crosses himself how / but whose blood warms his soul / whose milk nursed him?" (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 121).⁷⁹⁰ Textbooks obviously avoided references to the Muslim-Christian fault line in Njegoš's work, illustrating the increasing irrelevance of the branding of South Slav Muslims as "internal Others" in the national narrative of Slavonic successor states to the Ottoman Empire (cf. 4.6.2.4). However, South Slav Muslims continued to occupy a hybrid position in concrete definitions and usages of Yugoslav nationhood is, as clarified in the following interpretation of 'The Mountain Wreath' in Jovan Popović's reading book for the fourth year of elementary education:

Many Montenegrins had adopted the Muslim faith and with that the duty to protect the Turkish state we served at that time. Those local enemies strongly hindered the efforts of others toward national liberation. That is why they decided to settle accounts with them first. And so they did. On Christmas Eve, somewhere in the beginning of the 17th century, they attacked those Montenegrins of the Turkish faith and defeated them. The most obstinate among them were killed and driven away from the country, the other were Christianised. (...) That is how the liberation of our nation, which was ended only in our days in 1918, began (Popović J. 1935: 153).⁷⁹¹

Although this passage forms an exception from the typical interpretation of Njegoš in textbooks of the 1930s it indicates the continuing availability of the fault line Christianity/Islam in interpretations of Yugoslav national history and culture and the consequent ambiguous position of South Slav Muslims within the Yugoslav nation.

In the course of the 1930s some new textbooks on Yugoslav literary history were published. A fine example is Đorđe Anđelić's 'Historical Overview of Yugoslav Literature', published in 1933.⁷⁹² Anđelić divided Yugoslav literature in three parts: medieval literature from the 9th until the 15th century, 'middle' literature from the 16th

⁷⁹⁰ ["Ne pita se ko se kako krsti / No čija mu krvca grije dušu / Čije l'ga je ml'jeko zadojilo?"]

⁷⁹¹ ["Mnogi Crnogorci primili su bili muslimansku veru, a sa njom i obavezu da čuvaju tursku državu kojoj smo mi onda robovali. Ti domaći neprijatelji jako su ometali drugim rad na narodnom oslobođenju. Zato se oni reše da se sa njima prvo obračunaju. Tako i učine. Na Badnji dan, negde u početku sedamnaestog veka, udare na te poturčene Crnogorce i pobede ih. Najpotpornije pobiju i poteraju iz zemlje, a sve ostale pokrste. (...) Tako je počelo oslobađanje našeg naroda, koje je dovršeno tek u naše dane 1918 godine."]

⁷⁹² I have also examined a series of literary history textbooks written and compiled by Miloš Savković (the first volume in cooperation with Momir Veljković). This textbook applied an approach completely similar to that in Anđelić's textbook.

to the 18th century and modern literature from the 19th and 20th century. The novelty in Anđelić's approach to Yugoslav literature was that it presented a completely integrated overview of different sub-national literary traditions. Whereas earlier literary histories, most obviously in the textbook of Arandel Jotić, had interpreted Yugoslav literature as a symbiosis of three distinct literary traditions, Anđelić avoided making use of such a clear delineation between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian literature, and discussed common Yugoslav manifestations of broader literary movements. The textbook heavily relied on Pavle Popović's 'Yugoslav Literature',⁷⁹³ although the latter had indirectly left 'tribal' literatures intact as structural categories through a distinction between literature written in the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet. Of course, references to Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian categories could not be completely avoided, especially in the introductory sketches of the historical circumstances, which preceded each chapter, but Anđelić clearly refrained from employing these categories as interpretative mechanisms in his discussion of literary figures or movements. For the medieval period, for example, Anđelić treated different genres of religious literature from the period. An absolute majority of the works he treated belonged to the Serbian medieval tradition, but these were not primarily interpreted as such, but rather as Yugoslav manifestations of religious medieval literature (Anđelić 1933: 3-58). The period between the 16th and the 18th century was defined as "the transition from the medieval religious literature to truly national literature" (ibid: 59).⁷⁹⁴ It was in this period that Western cultural movements – Humanism, Renaissance, the Reformation, Classicism and the Enlightenment – entered Yugoslav cultural life, especially in its western parts. For this period Anđelić treated authors from 16th century Dubrovnik alongside Primož Trubar; Ivan Gundulić, Petar Zrinjski and Franjo Frankopan as Yugoslav representatives of 17th century Classicism; and Pavao Vitezović, Jovan Rajić, Andrija Kačić-Miošić, Matija Reljković, Dositej Obradović and Valentin Vodnik as representatives of the Yugoslav Enlightenment (ibid: 59-153).

From the beginning of the 19th century Yugoslav literature obtained a truly national character.⁷⁹⁵ Anđelić presented an elaborate list of modern Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian writers, thereby avoiding a 'tribal' structure.⁷⁹⁶ The integral Yugoslav

⁷⁹³ This is very clear in his description of the beginning of Yugoslav literature (Anđelić 1933: 8-11), which completely concurred with Popović's account (Popović P. 1927: 1-4).

⁷⁹⁴ ["prelaz od srednjevekovne veroispovedne književnosti ka pravoj nacionalnoj."]

⁷⁹⁵ Anđelić did refer to earlier manifestations of Yugoslav consciousness in the work of Trubar, Gundulić, and the literary bonds between different regions (Anđelić 1933: 179-82), again completely identical with Popović's approach (Popović P. 1927: 50-6).

⁷⁹⁶ These were the authors discussed by Anđelić for the period of the 'national rebirth' as ordered in the book: Vuk Karadžić, Ljudevit Gaj, Fran Prešeren, Petar Petrović Njegoš, Ivan Mažuranić, Jovan Popović Sterija, Dimitrije Demeter, Stanko Vraz, Petar Preradović, Branko Radičević, Bogoboj Atanacković, Ljubomir

approach applied by Anđelić becomes especially clear in his treatment of the two prominent figures in Serbian literary history, Vuk Karadžić and Petar Petrović Njegoš, within a direct Yugoslav national framework. Anđelić presented Karadžić no longer as primarily Serbian, but as the direct father of Serbo-Croatian literary language, whose work was of “epochal importance for Yugoslav literature” (ibid: 203).⁷⁹⁷ Further, “especially through folk poetry he aroused the sleepy national consciousness at the periphery of the Yugoslav nation and focused on Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro as centres of Serbo-Croatian nationalism” (ibid.).⁷⁹⁸ Njegoš’s ‘The Mountain Wreath’ was “the best work of the entire Yugoslav literature” (ibid: 216).⁷⁹⁹ According to Anđelić, ‘The Mountain Wreath’ described a historical event, “the annihilation of Islamicised South Slavs in Montenegro”,⁸⁰⁰ but this was only of secondary importance: “Njegoš used the folk tradition on that event only as a framework to materialise his great artistic plan” (ibid.).⁸⁰¹ Above all, ‘The Mountain Wreath’ was a national work, which evoked national heroism, national liberation and “the birth of a new national ethics” (ibid: 217).⁸⁰² Further, the work was also praised for its metaphysical depth, and its elevation of folk motives and style figures to a higher artistic level (ibid: 218-20). Although Anđelić highlighted the more abstract, general Yugoslav national value of the work, implicitly the position of South Slav Muslims within Yugoslav national identity remained ambivalent in this interpretation. Again like Popović, Anđelić explicitly compared Mažuranić’s ‘Death of Smail-Aga Čengić’ to ‘The Mountain Wreath’ and concluded that these works formed the peak of Yugoslav literature (ibid: 220-4).

For Slovenian literature, the most frequently included writers in the reading books were Oton Župančič, Fran Levstik, Anton Slomšek, Anton Aškerc, Simon Gregorčič and Vida Jeraj. In 1928 the Association of Yugoslav Secondary School Teachers published ‘From Slovenian Literature’ by Ljubica Janković, teacher at the second Girls’ Gymnasium in Belgrade. As the author herself explained in introduction, the book was not conceived as a detailed and scientific overview of Slovenian literature, but as an introduction to its most important exponents to establish “the closest possible contact between the Serbo-

Nenadović, Đura Jakšić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Fran Levstik, Jovan Ilić, Simon Jenko, Laza Kostić, Josip Jurčić, Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša, Janko Jurković, August Šenoa, Josip Eugen Tomić, Franja Marković and Josip Stritar.

⁷⁹⁷ [“od epohalnog značaja za jugoslovensku književnost.”]

⁷⁹⁸ [“On je naročito narodnom poezijom razbudio uspavanu nacionalnu svest na periferiji jugoslovenskog naroda i kao žarište srpskohrvatskog nacionalizma istakao Srbiju, Bosnu, Hercegovinu i Crnu Goru.”]

⁷⁹⁹ [“najbolje delo celokupne jugoslovenske knjiženosti”]

⁸⁰⁰ [“istraga poturica u Crnoj Gori”].

⁸⁰¹ [“Njegoš je uzeo narodnu tradiciju o tome događaju samo kao okvir za materijalno ovaploćenje svoje velike umetničke zamisli.”]

⁸⁰² [“stvaranje nove nacionalne etike”]

Croatian reader and Slovenian writers” (Janković Lj. 1928: 3).⁸⁰³ In a first part Janković presented translated extracts from a selected number of Slovenian authors, namely: Valentin Vodnik, France Prešeren, Fran Levstik, Josip Jurčič, Simon Jenko, Josip Stritar, Simon Gregorčič, Ivan Tavčar, Janko Kersnik, Anton Aškerc, Zofka Kveder, Ivan Cankar, Dragotin Kete, Josip Murn Aleksandrov, Oton Župančič, Ivan Prijatelj, Vladimir Levstik and Fran Albrecht. In a second part Janković presented a historical overview of Slovenian literature, in which she focused on the above mentioned authors. Janković adopted an obvious Yugoslav national approach in this historical overview, not by completely reducing Slovenian literature to a branch of Serbo-Croatian literature – tellingly, Janković also always spoke of the Slovenian *language* – but by highlighting the parallel development of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literature, the close common bonds and Yugoslav consciousness behind Slovenian literature. “Beside the religious meaning and the fact that it attempted to introduce the vernacular for liturgical and religious use” the Protestant reformation under Trubar, for example, “also had a national meaning because it aroused the consciousness of Slovenian and Yugoslav unity” (ibid: 64).⁸⁰⁴ This claim was underpinned by arguing that Trubar had had many friends in other Yugoslav lands and that he published his books in Latin, Cyrillic and Glagolitic in order to spread Protestantism over the entire nation (ibid.). When treating the linguistic and orthographic reforms of the mid-19th century, Janković pointed to the influence of Karadžić and Gaj’s reforms, especially in the work of Janez Bleiweis (ibid: 68). France Prešeren was compared to Njegoš among the Serbs and Mažuranić among the Croats (ibid: 75). Janković also mentioned the admiration of Fran Levstik for the work of Vuk Karadžić (ibid: 84-7). However, Janković left considerable room for the distinct character of Slovenian literature. Unlike Pavle Popović, for example, she did not overvalue the work of Stanko Vraz, simply because he accepted Serbo-Croatian literary language (ibid: 67). Instead, Janković focused on Prešeren, whom she praised as the classical Slovenian poet and the father of the Slovenian poetical language (ibid: 68-76). For Levstik, Janković emphasised that he did not want to adopt Serbo-Croatian right away. Instead, she quoted Levstik’s comparison of Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian to two rivers which originated from the same source and which in time should merge into one big river (ibid: 85). For later writers, Janković presented a detailed overview of their work, without imposing a Yugoslav national orientation where it would be hard to find one.

Obviously, textbooks under scrutiny departed from cultural and literary parallelisms as the fundament of Yugoslav literature and not its complete homogeneity. Such an

⁸⁰³ [“što bliži kontakt srpskohrvatskog čitaoca sa slovenačkim piscima.”]

⁸⁰⁴ [“pored verskog značaja, i pored toga što je pokušao da uvede narodni jezik za crkvenu i versku potrebu ima i nacionalni značaj jer je budio svest kako o slovenačkoj tako i o jugoslovenskoj zajednici.”]

approach allowed for various interpretations of different sub-national literary traditions as part of Yugoslav literature. It should also be taken into consideration that the Yugoslav idea had occupied a prominent place in 19th century Serbian, Croatian, and – to a lesser extent Slovenian – literature (Wachtel 1998: 19–66). As such, literary history provided some convenient material for the definition of a common Yugoslav literary tradition.

5.4.3 Yugoslav history

5.4.3.1 Yugoslav primordial unity

As a rule, all history textbooks started by referring to the primordial unity of the South Slavs and explained how the South Slav nation fell apart into different ‘tribes’. As Đorđe Lazarević put it:

One nation began to group itself in different entities and started giving itself different local and tribal names. In the course of time local names were abandoned, and all Yugoslav tribes united and merged in our present tribal names, Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, whose political and spiritual unification was hindered for centuries by enemy force and different foreign influences (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 15).⁸⁰⁵

It was explained that present Bulgarians were descendants of a Tatar people, who subjected Slavs in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, but were completely Slavicised by their more numerous Slav subjects. Whereas in earlier textbooks the historical role of the Bulgarians had been depicted negatively, textbooks of the 1930s adopted a more balanced position toward the Bulgarians. Lazarević for example argued that present-day Bulgarians were “brothers by blood and language” (ibid: 16).⁸⁰⁶

5.4.3.2 The Serbian state tradition

The textbooks for the third year of elementary education presented the pupils to the fundamental historical figures in the history of the Yugoslavs, thus presenting a

⁸⁰⁵ [“Tako se jedan isti narod počeo grupisati u posebne celine, i stao se nazivati raznim mesnim i plemenskim imenima. Ali tokom vremena izgubila su se mesna imena, a sva jugoslovenska plemena su se ujedinila i pretopila u današnja naša plemenska imena Srbo-Hrvate i Slovence, čije je politično i duhovno ujedinjenje vekovima sprečavano neprijateljskom silom i raznim tuđinskim uticajama.”]

⁸⁰⁶ [“Bugari su i po krvi i po jeziku naša braća.”]

pantheon of Yugoslav national heroes. The preoccupation with national heroes was also obvious in *Jugoslovenče*, where children were introduced to national history through an overview of 'great Yugoslavs'. An absolute majority of the historical figures treated were closely linked to Serbian state tradition. In the curriculum of 1927 short additions on periods of 'independent life' among Croats and Slovenes during the Middle Ages had been included. As a result, for the early medieval period the historical overview was centred around parallel attempts at national state formation by first the Slovenes, then the Croats and finally the Serbs. Even for this period it was the Serbian medieval state which received most attention, with relatively long chapters on Stefan Nemanja, St. Sava, Tsar Dušan, Kraljević Marko and Prince Lazar. Milan Rabrenović treated Slovenian independence on pages 25-27, the Croatian medieval state on 27-28 and Serbian medieval rulers on pages 30-62 (Rabrenović 1930). In the curricula for the third year of 1933 these additions on Slovenian and Croatian independent medieval states were deleted, so that the domination of Serbian state history became even more outspoken. Dušan Prica's textbook for the third year for example was structured as followed: St. Cyril and St. Methodius (7-10); St. Sava (11-24); Kraljević Marko (25-34); Prince Lazar (34-47); Nikola Šubić Zrinski (47-50); Karađorđe (51-74); Strossmayer (76-77); King Petar I and King Aleksandar (78-92).

The privileged position of the Serbian state was also manifested in other textbooks for history. Lazarević's history textbook for secondary schools for example treated the Serbian medieval kingdom and later empire under the dynasty of Nemanja as the golden age of Yugoslav history, the culmination of all earlier attempts at state formation among Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. According to Lazarević, Stefan Nemanja was the first of the medieval rulers who established an enduring state organisation and a truly national state:

Although his state in size was not bigger than Tomislav's or Mihailo's kingdoms, it was more stable and of longer duration, because it developed steadily and surely. While Časlav's principality and Samuel's Empire were only linked to their active personality, and while our littoral kings Tomislav, Mihailo, Krešimir IV and others stood under strong, especially religious influence of Rome and the Latin element by the Coast, which hindered a correct national development, Nemanja wiped away all harmful foreign influence, not only political but also religious. For the state religion he took the faith the people loved: the faith of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, which was best adapted to the people, and which did not hinder a correct national development through its dogmas (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 53-4).⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁷ ["Iako njegova država nije bila po obimu veća od Tomislavljeve ili Mihailove kraljevine, ipak je bila stalnija i mnogo dužeg veka, jer se stalno i sigurno razvijala nekoliko stoleća. Dok su Časlavljeva knježevina i Samuilova

Obviously, Nemanja's state was situated a step higher than the other Yugoslav medieval states. The quotation also confirms earlier made arguments about the indirect interpretation of Serbian Orthodoxy as a more national religion than South Slav Catholicism (cf. 4.6.2). In the reading books too it were obviously symbolic resources linked to Serbian medieval state history which were represented as the core elements in Yugoslav history. Zora Vulović's reading books for secondary education, for example, all treated one or more historical figures or episodes in detail. For the first year this was Kraljević Marko, for the second year St. Sava and Tsar Dušan, and for the third year the liberation of Kosovo.

In the same spirit, the Serbian Uprisings and the establishment of an independent Serbian state were represented as the starting point of and fundament for Yugoslav national liberation and unification, and the Serbian state was presented as the central axis around which the final liberation and unification were realised. Dušan Prica's history textbook for the fourth year of elementary schools was concluded with a schematic overview of the "establishment of our state from 1804 to 1918", which came down to an overview of the political history of independent Serbia with short references to the Illyrian provinces, the Illyrian movement and the events of 1848 (Prica 1937: 147-52). In line with the curricula, history textbooks did treat typical Yugoslav moments in the 19th century history of South Slavs under Habsburg rule, especially: the Illyrian provinces, the Illyrian movement, 1848, Strossmayer and the Croat-Serb coalition, but these events only complemented independent Serbia's political and military road toward Yugoslav national liberation and unification. For the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century Lazarević's history textbook for secondary schools for example focused on the military successes of independent Serbia, its increasing international combativeness and, from 1903, the anti-Austrian policy of King Petar. This Serbian national emancipation culminated in the Balkan Wars and the First World War. For this same period Lazarević only briefly referred to typical Yugoslav moments in the history of South Slavs in Austria-Hungary, namely: Strossmayer's Yugoslavism and the increasing Austro-Hungarian political domination (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 140-9), the Croat-Serb coalition (ibid: 160-1), the Yugoslav Committee (ibid: 169-70), and in one sentence the "volunteers from all our regions" (ibid: 172)⁸⁰⁸ and the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Slovenes (ibid: 173). In such a framework the

carevina bile vezane samo za njihovu aktivnu ličnost i dok su naši primorski kraljevi Tomislav, Mihailo, Krešimir IV i dr., bili pod jakim naročito verskim uticajem Rima i latinskog elementa iz Primorja, koji je ometao pravilni nacionalni razvitak, dotle se Nemanja otresao svakog sa strane štetnog uticaja, ne samo političkog nego i verskog. On je za državnu veru uzeo onu, koju je sam narod hteo: veru sv. Ćirila i Metodija, koja je narodu bila najprilagodnija i koja mu svojim dogmama nije sputavala pravilni nacionalni razvitak."

⁸⁰⁸ ["Dobrovoljcima iz svih naših krajeva."]

South Slavs under Austro-Hungarian rule had clearly only played a secondary and complementary role in the final liberation and unification of the Yugoslavs.

5.4.3.3 Adding non-Serbian historical resources

Only in the selection of historical events and figures in the curricula for the fourth year of elementary school and for secondary education the core structure which had been presented to the pupils in the third year – in which the Serbian state tradition played a crucial role – was supplemented with a large number of historical events and figures from other South Slav historical traditions. As the Serbian textbooks of the 1930s meticulously followed these curricula, the textbooks in question added considerable information on non-Serbian historical traditions. Especially Croatian history occupied a prominent place in the textbooks. Textbooks not only treated the Croatian medieval kingdom, but clarified that also after the fall of their medieval state Croats had made contributions to the Yugoslav case. Firstly, they had fought the Ottomans just like the Serbs, symbolically represented by the battle at Krbava field and Nikola Šubić Zrinski's heroic defence of Siget. Secondly, they had revolted against the Habsburgs and the Hungarians. Finally, during the 19th century many Croats played an important role in the cultural rebirth of the Yugoslavs. The end result was a relatively elaborate selection of Croatian historical events in history textbooks for the fourth year of elementary schools and secondary schools. Croatian historical events and figures also occupied a more prominent place in the literary extracts included in the reading books for secondary education. Beside ubiquitous texts on Serbian medieval kings and history, the Serbian uprisings and the Balkan Wars, reading books typically included some of Vladimir Nazor's poems on Croatian medieval kings, extracts from Šenoa's historical novels, especially 'The Peasant Revolt', historical poems on the conspiracy of Zrinski-Frankopan (Evgenij Kumičić) or Nikola Šubić-Zrinski (Andrija Kačić-Miošić) and finally essays on and by Josip Strossmayer.

In comparison to earlier history textbooks, significantly more attention was paid to Slovenian history, with texts on the autonomous state of Carantania, the establishment of Habsburg feudal rule in Slovenian lands, the counts of Celje, the Protestant movement under the leadership of Primož Trubar, the peasant uprising of Matija Gubec, the Slovenian cultural rebirth in the 19th century and the situation in Slovenia after 1867. In textbooks for secondary education a short chapter was included on "the first Slavonic Empire" of Samuel, which was interpreted as "a great Yugoslav empire, which stretched from Thessaloniki and Olympus, to the Danube, Sava and Vrbas rivers, and

from the Adriatic to the Black Sea (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 31-4, quotation on 31).⁸⁰⁹ Furthermore, textbooks included information on the history of the Montenegrin state, first in the Middle Ages (Duklja/Zeta) and later under the dynasty of Petrović. Without a doubt, the Montenegrin state was firmly linked to Serbian history, but a distinct state tradition was accepted. In a table at the end of his textbook for the fourth year Rabrenović presented a visual representation of the territorial expansion of different historical Yugoslav states. In this presentation, a distinct place was attributed to Duklja/Zeta-Montenegro (Rabrenović 1931: 108).⁸¹⁰ In Atanasije Mladenović's reading book a text was included in which Ljubomir Nenadović recalled Montenegro's heroic battles against the Turks, through which they preserved the 'testament' of Kosovo and deserved "recognition from the entire Yugoslavdom" (Mladenović 1940b: 67-69, quotation on 68).⁸¹¹

However, such isolated references to Montenegrin state history were considered insufficient by a number of Montenegrin intellectuals who had established the Association for the Study of the History of Montenegro (*Društvo za proučavanje istorije Crne Gore*) in 1933. On 2 October 1935 the Association sent a letter to the Ministry of Education in which it complained about the superficial treatment of Montenegrin history in textbooks, clarifying "how it hurts Montenegrins that their history was killed instead of being invoked and used as an example and stimulus in our great national and state community".⁸¹² With the competition for state textbooks of 1935 the association expressed its hope that this injustice would be brought to an end.⁸¹³ Their case was supported by Novica Popović and Mihailo Bošković, two Montenegrin representatives in parliament, who sent a letter to the Ministry of Education on 18 July 1935 in which they argued that "the history of Montenegro, with a continuity which was consolidated over centuries, was really an ornament to our national history. Such a history serves historiography and strengthens the national spirit and Yugoslav ideology."⁸¹⁴ On 21 October 1935 the Ministry of Education replied that it could not take any further action

⁸⁰⁹ ["veliko jugoslovensko carstvo, koje se širilo od Soluna i Olimpa do Dunava, Save i Vrbasa, i od Jadranskoga do Crnoga Mora."]

⁸¹⁰ Duklja and later Zeta was the name of a medieval state situated in present-day south-eastern Montenegro, which is typically represented as the medieval predecessor of modern Montenegro in national historiography.

⁸¹¹ ["priznanje celog jugoslovenstva."]

⁸¹² ["koliko boli Crnogorce da se njihova istorija ubija mesto da se invocira i služi primerom i potstrekom u velikoj narodnoj i državnoj zajednici."]

⁸¹³ Letter from the Association for the Study of the History of Montenegro to the Ministry of Education, 2 October 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-91-261.

⁸¹⁴ ["istorija Crne Gore, čiji se kontinuitet utvrđuje vekovima, doista je ukras naše nacionalne istorije. Takva istorija služi istorijskoj nauci, jača duh naroda i jugoslovensku ideologiju."] Letter from Novica Popović and Mihailo Bošković to the Ministry of Education, 18 October 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-91-261.

because the association had not formulated any concrete proposals.⁸¹⁵ A few months later the association repeated its complaints, warning that “so far textbooks have created bad blood and caused a complete revolt under elder and younger people, as the youth has not found the good food it needs with regard to Montenegro and its glorious and great history”.⁸¹⁶ Such claims concur with a broader trend among a part of the Montenegrin intelligentsia – Montenegrin federalists like Sekula Drljević and Savić Marković Štedimlija, and also Montenegrin communists – who stressed the distinct state tradition of Montenegro to make political claims and increasingly attached notions of a distinct Montenegrin collective identity to these demands (Troch 2008). However, this focus on the distinct and continuous character of Montenegrin state history was not considered incompatible with Yugoslav unity, rather to the contrary, it was explained that more attention to the Montenegrin state history could mobilise the Montenegrin population in the direction of Yugoslav nationhood. Although the authorities failed to take this opportunity, the discussion does illustrate that the strategy put forward in curricula to focus on parallel historical developments, rather than complete homogeneity, provided room and incentives for negotiations between in this case Montenegrin sub-national collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood.

5.4.3.4 The underlying framework: parallelism and links

Serbian textbooks did not simply enumerate isolated historical events from different collective memories, but provided a narrative which combined these historical resources as manifestations of a common Yugoslav national history, contrary to earlier Serbian textbooks where a clear distinction between different ‘tribal’ histories had been maintained. In the first place, historical events from different sub-national traditions were treated in chronological order and no longer per ‘tribe’. Further, the textbooks also pointed to indirect and direct links between sub-national histories. The national unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was not so much manifested in a completely homogeneous national history, but in parallelisms between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian history. As in earlier textbooks a first important episode in the history of the Yugoslavs was occupied by parallel attempts to establish independent states during the Middle Ages. Dragović and Pavičević depicted King Tomislav as the first Croatian, “and also Yugoslav” king, pointing not only to his importance for the Croatian ‘tribe’, but also

⁸¹⁵ Reply from the Ministry of Education, 21 October 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-91-261.

⁸¹⁶ [“Dosadanji udžbenici sejali su “zlu krv” i stvarali čitav revolt i starijih i mlađih, a omladina u njima nije nalazila zdravu hranu koja joj treba u pogledu Crne Gore i njene slavne i velike prošlosti.”] Letter from the Association for the Study of the History of Montenegro to the Ministry of Education, 28 March 1936. AJ 66 (pov)-46-85.

for the entire Yugoslav nation (Dragović & Pavičević 1939: 14).⁸¹⁷ Similarly, Tsar Dušan was portrayed as “one of the most important Yugoslav rulers of the medieval period” (ibid: 28).⁸¹⁸ The Empire of Tsar Samuel was appropriated in Yugoslav national history as “the first Yugoslav empire” (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 31-4, quotation on 31). By interpreting these rulers as Yugoslav rulers textbooks strongly highlighted the parallelism of the South Slav medieval states.

Whereas in earlier textbooks parallelisms had in fact been restricted to the period of the independent medieval states, in the new textbooks the principle was also applied for later periods. History textbooks treated the Ottoman conquest of Yugoslav lands as a common historical episode, which affected all Yugoslavs equally. In his treatment of the battle at Krbava field, for example, Rabrenović made the comparison to the battle of Kosovo and explained that after this battle “for the Croats a difficult period began, just like for the Serbs” (Rabrenović 1931: 46).⁸¹⁹ History textbooks for secondary schools also referred to Ottoman raids into Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 14-23). At the same time, the suppression of South Slavs under Habsburg rule was compared to the harsh position of South Slavs under Ottoman rule. In their introduction to the peasant uprising of Matija Gubec, Đorđević and Stranjaković argued: “The life of peasants in Croatia and Slovenia under Austrian rule was as hard as the life of the Serbian people under Turkish rule” (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 57).⁸²⁰ Đorđe Lazarević explained that: “although Austria was a Christian state, the position of our people under the rule of its emperors was as unbearable as under the Turks” (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 31).⁸²¹ Just like the Ottomans, the Austrian rulers did not respect the autonomy of different regions under its rule and wanted to grab all power, regardless of political and national rights (ibid.). Within this framework the conspiracy of Zrinski and Frankopan against the Habsburg dynasty or the peasant revolts in Slovenia and Croatia-Slavonia could be interpreted as acts of resistance against foreign oppression, parallel with South Slav resistance against Ottoman oppression.

For 19th century history textbooks for the fourth year of elementary schools took over the clusters of historical events leading to Yugoslav national unification which had been put forward in the curricula (cf. 4.4.5). For each of these clusters textbooks almost exclusively focused on the Yugoslav national element. For the Illyrian “kingdom” Dušan

⁸¹⁷ [“pa i jugoslovenski kralj”]. A similar message was conveyed in Lazarević’s secondary school textbook (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 26).

⁸¹⁸ [“jedan od najznatnijih jugoslovenskih vladara u srednjem veku.”]

⁸¹⁹ [“Za Hrvate nastaje teški dani kao i za Srbe.”]

⁸²⁰ [“Kao što je bio težak život srpskog naroda pod turskom vlašću, isto tako bio je težak život seljaka u Hrvatskoj i Slovenačkoj pod austriskom vlašću.”]

⁸²¹ [“Iako je Austrija bila hrišćanska država, stanje našega naroda pod vlašću njenih careva bilo je nesnosno kao i pod Turcima.”]

Prca for example highlighted that it united a great part of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and that it taught the people to protect their language and their rights (Prca 1937: 108). Vuk Karadžić and Ljudevit Gaj were praised as the fathers of the national language among Serbs and Croats (ibid: 112-7). The events of 1848 were interpreted as a common national battle of Croats and Serbs against Hungarian oppression and it was stressed that Prince Aleksandar sent “many soldiers” to help his brothers (ibid: 117-21). Prince Mihailo had established a coalition with Montenegro, Rumania and Greece, with the support of Bishop Strossmayer, for the unification and liberation of the entire Yugoslav nation. At that time “Serbian and Croatian writers only wrote about liberation and unification. The people constantly thought about it and waited for Mihailo to call them” (ibid: 121-3, quotation on 122).⁸²² At the same time Josip Juraj Strossmayer “loved his entire Yugoslav people regardless of tribe or religion” (ibid: 124),⁸²³ and Janez Bleiweis finalised the unification of the Slovenian national language. “From that time on it was not only demanded that all Slovenes would be united, but also that Slovenes would fight, with Serbs and Croats, for the unification of all” (ibid: 126).⁸²⁴ For the 20th century, Đorđević and Stranjaković argued that since the arrival of King Petar everywhere the work for the unification and liberation of all Yugoslavs intensified and pointed to the New Course in Croatia and the so-called Tivoli resolution of 1909, in which the Slovenian Social-Democrats had called for the national unification of all Yugoslavia (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 103). In other words, the 19th century history of independent Serbia and South Slavs under Habsburg rule was interpreted from a Yugoslav national point of view, as a chain of events which all pointed in the direction of Yugoslav national unification around the core of the Serbian state tradition. History textbooks for secondary education presented a more detailed and multifaceted overview of 19th century history, but held on to the focus on the parallel increase of national consciousness among South Slavs in independent Serbia and Montenegro, and in the Habsburg Empire/Austria-Hungary.

Textbooks not only pointed to indirect parallels between different regional histories, they also highlighted historical episodes or figures which were considered direct manifestations of Yugoslav national unity. Duke Ljudevit Posavski was typically glorified as the first ruler who attempted “to create a common state from all our three tribes” (Lazarević Đ. 1931: 19).⁸²⁵ For the counts of Celje, it was typically argued that they owned

⁸²² [“Srpski i hrvatski književnici samo su pisali o oslobođenju i ujedinjenju. Narod je neprestano o tome mislio i očekivao da ga Mihailo pozove.”]

⁸²³ [“voleo je sav jugoslovenski narod bez razlike na pleme i veru.”]

⁸²⁴ [“Otsada se ne traži samo to da svi Slovenci budu ujedno, nego se traži da se i Slovenci, zajedno sa Srbima i Hrvatima, bore da svi budu ujedno.”]

⁸²⁵ [“prvi pokušaj (...) da se stvori zajednička država od sva tri naša plemena.”]

many lands in Croatia and Slovenia and that they had good relations with rulers in Serbia and Bosnia. Dušan Prica even argued that Ulrich, one of the counts, hoped to unite a great part of the Yugoslav lands because of his family ties with the Serbian ruler Đurađ of Smederevo (Prica 1937: 67). Dubrovnik was as a joint Yugoslav city, without further clarification of its Serbian or Croatian 'tribal' character. The battle of Kosovo was portrayed as a joint Yugoslav battle, where "Serbs and Croats stood next to each other, shoulder by shoulder, in the battle against the enemy" (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 40).⁸²⁶ Alongside Ljudevit Posavski, the Bosnian King Tvrtko was canonised as unifier of Serbs and Croats:

The first wish of Tvrtko was the unite as large a number of Serbs and Croats as possible in one state. (...) He knew that Serbs and Croats are one nation, so he attempted to establish his power in the three largest regions inhabited by Serbs and Croats, in Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia. Tvrtko devoted his entire life to this (ibid: 41).⁸²⁷

Illustratively, whereas in the 1928 edition of his textbook Rabrenović had still called Bosnian King Tvrtko a "Serbian ruler" who brought some Croatian lands under his rule (Rabrenović 1928: 64), in the 1930 edition of his textbook Rabrenović referred to King Tvrtko as "Serbian and Croatian ruler" (Rabrenović 1930: 62). For Primož Trubar it was stressed that he had bonds with intellectuals from Croatia-Slavonia, and that his works were published in the Cyrillic, Latin and Glagolitic alphabet, which accordingly expressed the Yugoslav character of the movement (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 24-7). As we have seen above, finally, history textbooks interpreted 19th century history from a direct Yugoslav national point of view. Such direct manifestations of Yugoslav unity in the past of course established strong links between different sub-national histories.

5.4.3.5 Conclusions

A strong Serbian bias remained evident in definitions of Yugoslav national history in textbooks under scrutiny, not only in the quantitative predominance of symbolic resources from Serbian collective memory, but also in the central position of the Serbian state tradition as the core around which Yugoslav national history was structured. At the same time, the textbooks for the fourth year of elementary education and for secondary schools adopted the framework of parallel historical developments

⁸²⁶ ["U Kosovskoj bitki našli su se jedni pored drugih, rame uz rame, Srbi i Hrvati u borbi protiv neprijatelja."]

⁸²⁷ ["Prva želja Tvrtkova bila je da ujedini što veći broj Srba i Hrvata u jednu državu. (...) Znao je da su Srbi i Hrvati jedan narod, pa je težio da svoju vlast rasprostire na tri najveće pokrajine u kojima žive Srbi i Hrvati, na Bosnu, Srbiju i Hrvatsku. Na tome je Tvrtko radio celog svog života."]

which had been outlined in the curricula to include non-Serbian historical resources in Yugoslav historical identity. It was precisely in this underlying framework that a new mechanism for the definition of Yugoslav history was applied, which provided alternatives for the Serb-centred focus on independent state traditions and the often controversial delineation between 'tribal' histories and territories. Clearly, an approach focusing on parallelism and common experiences offered more possibilities to accommodate different collective memories within an overarching Yugoslav narrative, in comparison to the more restricted focus on state independence which was applied in curricula and textbooks for the third year of elementary school. In the case of the Serbian textbooks under scrutiny, this approach allowed for the coexistence of a Serbian and a Yugoslav interpretative level. Whereas the former was manifested in the dominant position of the Serbian state tradition as the central axis around which Yugoslav national history was structured – from a golden age over a period of suffering to the gradual re-establishment of the Serbian state – the latter was manifested in parallel historical developments of South Slavs, not only in the field of political independence, but also in the resistance against common enemies and the national rebirth.

The continuing fluidity between Serbian and Yugoslav levels of national identity in definitions of Yugoslav history in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s is nicely illustrated in the treatment of King Aleksandar. Although the traumatic experience of Aleksandar's death and his consecutive martyrdom occupied a significant place in the textbooks, the precise circumstances concerning his death could not be easily appropriated within Yugoslav national identity, because they pointed to internal divisions. Some textbooks simply spoke of the death of Aleksandar, as if he had died a natural death (Rakočević & Lazarević 1940: 58). In some cases his death was ascribed to the external enemies of Yugoslavia (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1936: 77-8). On no account, however, the role of Croatian and Macedonian terrorist groups could be mentioned in the textbooks. For the interpretation of Aleksandar's role in Yugoslav history, textbooks both pointed to his military heroism during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, and his work as Yugoslav ruler. There were some divergent answers to the question which of these aspects was most important. Milovanović and Milošević, for example, placed King Aleksandar within an exclusively Serbian historical tradition, as the ruler who had revenged Kosovo and finished the work of his great ancestors Nemanja, Dušan, Karađorđe and King Petar. His work as Yugoslav statesman, which was from a Yugoslav national point of view the most useful aspect of his life, was treated rather briefly: "You went from battle to battle, from victory to victory, you *enlarged the state boundaries, built monasteries* and gathered brothers, who belonged to one people and one blood, although

they were of three faiths, under your wings” (Milovanović & Milošević 1938b: 141, my stress).⁸²⁸ At the other side of the spectrum, Mladenović for example, selected texts which focused on Aleksandar as king of all Yugoslavs. The text ‘The King among the Peasants’ (‘Kralj među seljacima’, by Isaije Mitrović) described a visit the King made incognito to a village in Vrbas banovina. The local peasants had spoken with the visitor as if he was one of theirs, not realising who they were talking to until a volunteer from the First World War recognised his commander. The peasants concluded that the King was truly a peasant King (Mladenović 1940b: 192-4). The chapter also included a poem by Rikard Katalinić-Jeretov, ‘To Aleksandar I the Unifier, Creator of Yugoslavia, Hero and Martyr’ (‘Aleksandru I Ujedinitelju Tvorcu Jugoslavije, Heroju i Mučeniku’), written in the “dark night of 9 October 1934”. In this poem Katalinić-Jeretov grieved for the death of the king, but at the same time he heard the Spirit of Aleksandar, instructing all Yugoslavs to “protect [his] work as one spirit” (ibid: 194).⁸²⁹ Finally, some Yugoslav patriotic quotations from King Aleksandar were given, in which he propagated Yugoslav national unity, stressed the equal suffering of all Yugoslav regions under foreign rule, or invoked the legacy of Strossmayer, Gaj and Rački (ibid: 194-6). The portrayal of King Aleksandar thus fully illustrates the divergent approaches to Yugoslav history in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s, ranging between a continuation of Serbian state history and a symbiosis of parallel historical traditions.

5.4.4 Yugoslav national landscape

For the geographical definition of Yugoslav national identity geography textbooks and reading books increasingly departed from the Yugoslav state as primary point of reference. The geographical ‘background’ for literary texts in Jaša Prodanović’s reading books for secondary education, for example, was no longer restricted to Serbian national territories – as had been the case in the textbooks of the early 1920s – but covered the entire Yugoslav Kingdom. His reading book for the fourth year included the following texts which presented Yugoslav national landscape: ‘Belgrade-Zagreb-Ljubljana’ by Proka Jovkić, ‘Between Sava and Drina’ by Fran Erjavec, ‘On the Adriatic Coast’ by Marko Car, ‘From Balkan to Triglav’ by Simon Jenko, ‘From Skopje to Kavadarac’ by Fran Tućan, and ‘Sava Valley’ by Hinko Davila (Prodanović 1929). The evolution is perfectly illustrated in the geographical reading book included in

⁸²⁸ [“Išao si iz boja u boj, iz pobeđe u pobeđe, širio granice državne, zidaio manastire, okupljao pod svoja krila braću, iako trovernu, ipak jednorodnu i jednokrvnu.”]

⁸²⁹ [“Svi ko jedna duša čuvajte mi djelo.”]

Radivojević's geography textbook of 1935. Whereas in the earlier editions the texts included in this geographical reading book were all taken from Serbian national landscape, the texts included in the 1935 edition presented a balanced overview of Yugoslav national landscape sites: the Bay of Kotor, Triglav, Kajmakčalan, Belgrade, Sava, Danube, the Iron Gate (Đerdap), Ljubljana, Zagorje, Plitvice lakes, Sušak, Crikvenica, Split, Dubrovnik, Kosovska Mitrovica, Prijedor, Zlatibor, Valjevo, Šumadija, Fruška gora, Novi Sad, Smederevo, Čestobrodica, Vrnjačka Banja, Skopje and Ohrid. A similar broad overview of sites of natural and cultural beauty in Yugoslavia was presented to the children on the pages of *Jugoslovenče*.

5.4.4.1 Unifying the Yugoslav population from inside and from outside

A novelty in the imagination of the Yugoslav landscape in textbooks under scrutiny was that the strict delineation between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian 'tribes' was avoided. In the geography textbooks authors spoke of "Yugoslavs", without making further distinctions between Serbs, Croats or Slovenes. Instead, they provided more neutral demographical information on the Yugoslav population per banovina, such as the religions which occurred in the banovina or which Yugoslav dialects its population spoke. The only exception was the geography textbook by Milan Popović, who first pointed to Yugoslav nationality and subdivided this group in Slovenes, Serbs or Croats. Also, many textbooks linked Drava banovina to the Slovenian 'tribe' (cf. 5.4.4.2). Another persistent 'tribal' claim to certain population groups and the regions they inhabited, was the statement made in history textbooks on the Serbian origins of Bosnian Muslims (cf. 5.4.5.3).

Secondary school pupils were familiarised with the common physical and psychic characteristics of the Yugoslavs. The 1936 methodological guidelines for secondary school teachers had urged them to highlight:

The undoubtedly great national purity of the Yugoslav state, in which the overwhelming majority (85%) is part of the compact Yugoslav nation. National minorities are not only less numerous (only 15%), but they are also heterogeneous, small and peripherally situated.⁸³⁰

Also, teachers had to point to:

⁸³⁰ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 218. ["nesumnjivo velika nacionalna čistota jugoslovenske države, u kojoj ogramnu većinu (85%) stanovnika čini kompaktni jugoslovenski narod. Nacionalne manjine su ne samo malobrojne (svega 15%), no su i raznorodno, malene i raspoređene samo po ivičnim delovima".]

The uniformity of the Yugoslav nation, greater than that of other European nations (Germans, Italians and others). Thereby the important role of migrations has to be highlighted, because our ethnic unification was realised much earlier than our political unification, in fact the latter only came as the natural result of the former, primarily as a result of the migrations.⁸³¹

Textbooks substantiated such claims about the homogeneity of the Yugoslav population on the basis of a large body of literature by ethnographers and anthropologists on the characteristics of the Yugoslav nation. These works departed from works on the ethno-genesis of the South Slavs, for which the basis was laid by the Slovenian Yugoslav oriented physical anthropologist Niko Županič.⁸³² Referring to Županič, Vladimir Dvorniković distinguished between three important ethno-genetic substrates within the Yugoslav ethnos: namely: a Slavonic, an Illyrian and a Central-Asian type, which went back to the pre-Illyrian population of the western Balkans and was re-activated by the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 267-318; see also Vlahović 2006). On the basis of this ethno-genesis, and the influence of specific geographical (especially relief and climate) and historical circumstances these scientists came to a set of characteristics, which distinguished the South Slavs from other peoples.

The standard work on Yugoslav so-called 'characterology' was Jovan Cvijić's 'Balkan peninsula and the South Slav lands' (*Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje*), initially published in French in 1918 and translated in Serbo-Croatian in 1922 (Kaser 1998: 89). In this work Jovan Cvijić gave a detailed description of the mentality of the South Slavs, distinguishing between four types of South Slavs: the Dinaric type initially settled in the Dinaric mountain area, which stretches along the Adriatic Coast, but the scope of this type vastly expanded as a result of migrations during the Ottoman period from the core areas Montenegro, Herzegovina and the Sandžak to southern and central Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Kosovo and finally across Sava and Danube to Vojvodina,

⁸³¹ *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednjim školama*: 219. ["jedinstvenost jugoslovenskog naroda, veću no kod mnogih evropskih naroda (Nemaca, Talijana i dr.). Pri tome valja istaći značajnu ulogu seoba, jer naše etničko ujedinjenje izvršeno je daleko pre političkog, upravo ovo je došlo samo kao prirodna posledica onog prvog, zahvaljujući za to najpre seobama"]

⁸³² Beside his work as anthropologist and ethnographer Županič also had an interesting political career. Before the First World War he had been actively involved in radical Yugoslav student movements in the Double Monarchy, and he had worked in Belgrade. During the war he became a member of the Yugoslav Committee, after the war he was a member of the ethnographical-historical section of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' delegation at the peace conferences. He was a prominent member of the marginal Slovenian branch of the Radical Party, and briefly became minister in the homogeneous Radical government between December 1922 and May 1923. Later he became a supporter of the Royal Dictatorship (Promitzer 2001).

Hungary, Slavonia and Croatia (Cvijić 1966: [1922]: 131-7);⁸³³ the Central type is found in the region of the Upper Morava and the Vardar river but also migrated to the north; the Eastern Balkanic type roughly corresponds to the Bulgarians; and the Pannonian type lives in Slovenia, Slavonia, the Banat and Srem. Still, these four types undisputedly belonged to one linguistic and ethnic unity (Cvijić 1966 [1922]: 353-9).

According to Cvijić the Dinaric type was clearly the dominant and most representative type of the western South Slavs:

In [the representatives of the Dinaric type] all characteristics of the western South Slavs best come to expression. Among them these characteristics are more meaningful and more national. They have not originated from foreign influence or new cultures, as is more or less the case in other regions (Cvijić 1966 [1922]: 361).⁸³⁴

The Dinaric type was characterised by a vivid spirit, decisiveness, intelligence, sensitivity, impulsivity, enthusiasm, heroism, idealism, national pride and consciousness, passion, closeness to nature and ancestors, solidarity, sympathy, mysticism, and a great creativity. Negative aspects of their mentality were thoughtlessness, naiveté, sentimentality, unfairness and at times also the fact that they were too good (ibid: 361-75). The wide expansion of the Dinaric type across the entire Yugoslav national territory further indicated their dominance. Cvijić clearly departed from a Serb-centred approach to Yugoslav collective identity, as the Dinaric type in his work more or less corresponded to the Serbs. This is illustrated most clearly in his constant references to “Dinaric Serbs”, but also in his reference to Serbian symbolic resources – Kosovo, independent Serbia, *slava* – when describing the national consciousness of the Dinaric type, or to South Slav Muslims as Serbs (ibid: esp. 361-75, 408-17).

The other types of South Slavs were depicted less favourably by Cvijić. South Slavs of the Central type, for instance, were less nationally conscious than those of the Dinaric

⁸³³ Cvijić argued that as a result of the migrations of the Dinaric and to a lesser extent Central type Serbs, Croats and Slovenes actually started living together and got to know each other. Thus, national unity was not only based on the initial unity of the South Slav tribes or the uniform Serbo-Croatian literary language, but also on the “ethnic and ethno-biological unification and merging” which took place as a result of the migrations (Cvijić 1966 [1922]: 189-90). [“etničkog i etnobiološkog izjednačivanja i stapanja”]. Dvorniković argued that the resistance of South Slavs against the “Turks” in the form of migrations led to a deep national homogenisation and thus forms “a plus of the great Turkish minus in our history” (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 311) [“plus velikog turskog minusa u našoj istoriji.”]

⁸³⁴ [“Na njima su najbolje izražene sve osobine zapadnih Južnih Slovena. One su kod njih dubljega smisla i nacionalnije. Ove osobine nisu načete stranim uticajima i novim kulturama, kao što je to manje-više slučaj u drugim oblastima.”]

type, and their mentality was marked by century-long suppression by the 'Turks' (ibid: esp. 437-48). The Eastern Balkanics' mentality had been distorted by three Turkic invasions, first the Bulgars from the 7th century, then the Cumans and Pechenegs in the 11th century and finally the Ottoman Turks from the 14th century. In that way, the Eastern Balkanics, i.e. the Bulgarians, had ethnically differentiated from the other South Slavs (ibid: 521-4). Finally, the mentality of the representatives of the Pannonian type too had been influenced by other, non-Balkan civilisations, in the first place the Austrian and Hungarian, Central European civilisation. This was especially reflected in the rationalism and strict organisation among Croats and Slovenes – which made them different from Dinaric South Slavs, who were high-spirited and often irrational –, and their talkative but not very decisive elite. Also, they were inhabitants of the plains, who were, consequently, not as vivid and undertaking as Dinaric South Slavs from the mountains (Cvijić 1966 [1922]: 547-53; see also Kaser 1998: 91-3). Obviously, the Dinaric South Slavs, whom Cvijić largely equated with Serbs, were the purest representatives of South Slavs, other types were in fact mixtures of this authentic South Slav core and foreign influences.

During the rest of the interwar period Cvijić's work was continued by a number of ethnologists and anthropologists, most importantly Niko Županič, Jovan Erdeljanović, Branimir Maleš, Tihomir Đorđević and Vladimir Dvorniković, who further elaborated a theory of the Yugoslav Dinaric race with specific mental and physical characteristics (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 312-6; Maleš 1931; Yeomans 2007: 94-102). Such intellectuals typically based Yugoslav national unity on racial and psychic elements, which were considered more fundamental and lasting than historical circumstances (Dvorniković 1995 [1937]: 31-4). The most elaborate 'characterology' of the Yugoslavs was written by the philosopher Vladimir Dvorniković. In his 'Karakterologija Jugoslovena', originally published in 1939, he gives an impressive overview of the character of the Yugoslav nation, treating a variety of alleged Yugoslav characteristics in the field of vitality and heroism, eroticism, creativity and imagination, humour, intellectual capacities, community spirit, ethics and morals, political spirit and finally also religiosity.⁸³⁵ Dvorniković clearly avoided the Serb-centred tendencies in Cvijić's work, although his list of Yugoslav characteristics largely concurred with that of Cvijić and although he too gave the Dinaric type a dominant position within the Yugoslav nation (Dvorniković 2000 [1939]: 193-249). Taking into consideration the richness of sources used in the book and the broad range of conclusions and remarks presented, a detailed examination of Dvorniković's work goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. Let me therefore restrict

⁸³⁵ For a study of the controversies the book aroused in Croatian and Serbian intellectuals circles in the years 1939-41, see Roksandić (1991).

my comments on this important work to Dvorniković's own conclusion. According to Dvorniković Yugoslavs were essentially characterised by dualism. This dualism was expressed in a once resistant and passive, then active and dynamic character. Yugoslavs were melancholic and high-spirited, expressive and rhythmically dynamic, but at the same time also defensive, reserved and repulsive. Yugoslavs were selfish and at the same time altruistic (toward religion, the nation...), they were morally and ethically inconsistent. Finally, the Yugoslav mind was very receptive, but unproductive (ibid: 976-8). In short:

the Yugoslav spiritual type, defined in one line, would be: not northern not simply southern, not western not simply eastern, not fully Slavonic, not completely non-Slavonic, both sensitive and rational in its own way, both soft deep inside and hard on the outside, lamb and wolf, depending on what life gives and takes – but in general a type of deep Balkanic-Slavonic defensive vitality, a strong, in the middle register not very nuanced sensitive extremity, a lucid and sharp mind, but for work and creation not sufficiently concentrated and crystalised will, and without a clear and concentrated direction for all spiritual energy, except in battle (ibid: 978).⁸³⁶

Obviously, this dualist approach to Yugoslav characteristics was, certainly in comparison to Cvijić's hierarchical typology of South Slavs, much more open and integrative, allowing for varying *sub-national* interpretations of Yugoslav characteristics.

In textbooks and popular publications this elaborate body of 'characterologies' was usually reduced to a much more stereotypical overview, but a similar evolution from a hierarchical typology of the Yugoslav people to more uniform and open definitions of Yugoslav characteristics can be traced in geography textbooks. In his 1923 geography textbook for the eighth year of secondary school Borivoje Milojević neatly followed Cvijić's typology. Accordingly, the population of the Dinaric core region had a vivid fantasy and easily understood things. They were enthusiastic, lucidly made plans and decisions, but were also easily discouraged. They valued spiritual gains more than pure material wealth. Finally, they honoured their past, ancestors and traditions (Milojević 1923b: 89-90). North of Sava and Danube the people had the same characteristics, "only to some degree changed because of the specific living conditions" (Milojević 1923b:

⁸³⁶ ["Jugoslovenski duhovni lik, jednom crtom obuhvaćen, bio bi: ni severnjački ni naprosto južnjački, ni zapadnjački ni naprosto istočnjački, ni potpuno slovenski ni sasvim neslovenski, i osećajan i racionalizovan na svoj način, i mekan u dubini i otvrdnuo na površini, i jagnje i vuk, što život da ili zatraži – ali u celini tiip duboke balkansko-slovenske odbrambene vitalnosti, jake u srednjem registri ne mnogo iznijansirane osećajne ekstremosti, vrlo bistar i izoštrenog uma, ali za rad i stvaranje nedovoljno usredsređene i kristalisane volje i bez određenog i koncentrisanog smjera svih duševnih energija, sem ako se radi o borbi".]

90).⁸³⁷ Slovenes had become enterprising, disciplined and nationally conscious in their battles against the Germans. People from central Croatia had “Dinaric characteristics and [were] the best examples of Croatdom” (ibid: 91).⁸³⁸ The people living in the east of the region north of Sava and Danube lived “a pleasant material life and [were] characterised by practicality” (ibid.).⁸³⁹ Finally, the population of the Morava and Vardar regions had been under Turkish rule for a long time, and as a result they had become tactical and mistrustful. The national consciousness of the Macedonians – called ‘*Vardarci*’ – had become significantly weaker, but nonetheless they still sang about Kraljević Marko, a persistent evidence of their Serbian nationality (ibid: 91).

In later textbooks such internal distinctions between Yugoslavs were clearly avoided. Sokolović and Đorđević gave a list of the psychic characteristics of all South Slavs, which was very similar to the one provided by Milojević in his treatment of the Dinaric population (Sokolović & Đorđević 1928: 75). In his textbook for ethnology for the seventh year of secondary schools Jovan Erdeljanović stressed that “Serbs, Croats and Slovenes today still have largely the same spiritual characteristics as those we know of the old Slavs” (Erdeljanović 1932: 176).⁸⁴⁰ Accordingly, Yugoslavs were soft, open, honest, faithful, hospitable, democratic, patriotic and freedomloving. However, they were also inconsistent and inpersistent, vengeful and intolerant. This was the reason why “parts of our nation in the past could never unite in one large and strong state community” (ibid.).⁸⁴¹ Erdeljanović also explained that the “Turkish invasions” had had a positive influence on the ethnic rapprochement and unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a result of the migrations. Moreover, the continuing migration of parts of the population from mountainous regions to the fertile lowlands also led to the revitalisation and refreshment of the blood of the nation (ibid: 174). In any case, textbooks presented the pupils with the image of a uniform Yugoslav population, instead of distinguishing between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes or types within the Yugoslav nation, as had been the case in textbooks of the 1920s.

Apart from focusing on the common characteristics of Yugoslavs, textbook authors also stressed the internal unity of the Yugoslavs by drawing clear boundaries with non-Yugoslavs. Where possible textbooks emphasised the division between Yugoslavs and national minorities and claimed that the Yugoslavs were the ‘original’ inhabitants of the area. For Danube banovina, for example, Milan Popović argued that it was the Austro-

⁸³⁷ [“samo unekoliko izmenjene naročitim životnim prilikama.”]

⁸³⁸ [“Zagorci imaju dinarski osobine i najbolji su predstavnici hrvatstva.”]

⁸³⁹ [“Žive udobnim životom, i odlukuju se praktičnošću.”]

⁸⁴⁰ [“Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci imaju još i danas većinom onake iste duševne osobine, kakve su nam poznate za stare Slovene.”]

⁸⁴¹ [“se delovi našeg naroda u prošlosti nisu nikad mogli ujediniti u veliku i moćnu državnu zajednicu.”]

Hungarian Double Monarchy which had populated the area with non-Slavs, to “push away the Serbs” (Popović Milan 1939: 8).⁸⁴² For Sava banovina the same author spoke of “an insignificant number of immigrated Germans, Slovaks and Jews” (ibid: 67).⁸⁴³ Ivković spoke of immigrated Turks and Albanians in Vardar banovina (Ivković 1938: 13). That Yugoslavia was envisaged as a pure nation-state, was also reflected in the fact that all textbooks included a chapter on Yugoslavs outside the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The message was clearly that the liberation and unification of all Yugoslavs could only be completed when these brothers would be united with the Yugoslav motherland. Milojević spoke about 500.000 Yugoslavs under Italian rule, all of whom were “nationally conscious” and experienced “the Italian rule as spiritual suffering”. (Milojević 1923b: 91).⁸⁴⁴ Further, there were 100.000 Slovenes in Austria, 250.000 co-nationals in Greece, smaller numbers in Hungary and Romania, and 700.000 Yugoslavs in America (ibid: 91-2). Rabrenović & Simić spoke of 600.000 Yugoslavs in Italy, 160.000 in Austria, 300.000 in Greece and 600.000 emigrants in America (Rabrenović & Simić 1935: 85-6).

5.4.4.2 The banovinas: a new approach to Yugoslav landscape

The new administrative division of the country in banovinas was also used for defining Yugoslav national territory in geography textbooks. In the first place, the result was a more balanced representation of different regions throughout Yugoslavia. For all banovinas information was given on sites of natural beauty (especially lakes, mountains, rivers, spas), climate, relief, rivers, agriculture, industry, roads, population. Also, much attention was paid to the capitals of the banovinas, with references to important cultural institutions, architectural monuments et cetera. Belgrade was invariably represented as the capital of Yugoslavia, and no longer as the centre of the Serbian ‘tribe’, as had been the case in textbooks of the 1920s. Interestingly, whereas in earlier textbooks the nation had been primarily imagined against a rural background, in the 1930s attention was increasingly paid to elements linked to urban life and modernisation. In the geographical overview of banovinas all textbook referred to large factories, new schools, railroad connections and the general economic progress made after the World War. For Sarajevo, for example, Miloš Matović argued:

After the World War Sarajevo becomes an important Yugoslav city. Many schools are founded, the state establishes important institutions, trade flourishes and

⁸⁴² [“Da potisne Srbe.”]

⁸⁴³ [“sa neznatnim brojem doseljenih Nemaca, Slovaka i Jevreja.”]

⁸⁴⁴ [“Svi su oni nacionalno svesni, i osećaju italijansku vlast kao duhovnu patnju.”]

many beautiful buildings are erected. Sarajevo makes more and more progress and becomes the fourth most important Yugoslav city (Matović 1937b: 109).⁸⁴⁵

In the descriptions of the banovinas textbooks also referred to historical events, monuments or figures which linked the Yugoslav nation to its territory, what Guntram Herb has termed “territorial bonding” (Herb 2004: 141-4). The following table presents an overview of the typical historical resources included in definitions of banovinas.

Table 5 Typical historical resources per banovina

Banovina	Historical resources
Drava	Primož Trubar, Napoleon’s <i>Provinces Illyriques</i> , France Prešeren, Ljubljana.
Drina	The first Serbian uprising, Vuk Karadžić, Ottoman architecture in Sarajevo.
Danube	Novi Sad as Serbian cultural centre (with references to the writer Jovan Jovanović Zmaj and the philologist Đuro Daničić), Avala (the monument to the Unknown Soldier, cf. 4.4.5.5), Serbian monasteries in Fruška gora, Šumadija and the first Serbian uprising, Oplenac (the site of the Mausoleum of the Royal House of Karađorđević, cf. 4.4.5).
Morava	Kruševac (capital of Prince Lazar), the first Serbian uprising, Serbian monasteries (especially Žiča), Niš (war declaration of Serbian government in 1914).
Littoral	The Roman heritage of Split, Gregory of Nin, Tomislavgrad, hajduks, Mostar (especially the poets Aleksa Šantić and Osman Đikić).
Sava	Zagreb, Ljudevit Posavski, Petar Svačić, Krbava field, Matija Gubec, Ljudevit Gaj, Strossmayer, Ban Jelačić, Zrinski and Frankopan.
Vardar	The monasteries around Skopje (<i>Srpska Sveta Gora</i> , a.o. Ohrid), Skopje (the capital of Tsar Dušan; important city under the Ottomans), the battle of Kosovo, Balkan Wars (Kumanovo), First World War (Kajmakčalan).
Vrbas	“the area of the former Bosnian state” (Stevanović 1936: 27), Jajce (capital of Stjepan Tomašević, the last Bosnian medieval ruler), Zrin (the residence of the Croatian noble family Šubić Zrinski), Petar Mrkonjić, Banja Luka’s Ottoman tradition.
Zeta	Cetinje as capital of Montenegro, Lovćen (the Mausoleum of Njegoš), Nemanja’s medieval capital (Ras), Dubrovnik, Peć (Serbian Patriarchate, monasteries).

⁸⁴⁵ [“Posle svetskog rata, Sarajevo postaje važan jugoslovenski grad. U njemu se podižu mnoge škole, država osniva važne ustanove, trgovina napreduje i zidaju se mnoge lepe zgradovine. Sarajevo sve više napreduje i postaje po važnosti četvrti jugoslovenski grad.”]

Obviously, the overview of Yugoslav geography on the basis of banovinas led to a more equal inclusion of regional traditions in the territorial definition of Yugoslav national identity. Banovinas served as neutral categories through which local and regional symbolic resources which had hitherto only received marginal attention as peripheral elements in the imagination of one of the Yugoslav 'tribes' could be directly appropriated within Yugoslav national identity. In the treatment of Vardar, Drina and Vrbas banovina attention was paid to symbolic resources linked to the Ottoman Empire and South Slav Muslims (cf. 5.4.5.3). In the imagination of Zeta banovina the Montenegrin state tradition occupied a central position. In that way Zeta banovina provided a framework for mediating between a distinct Montenegrin sub-national identity and Yugoslav nationhood, a demand which had been uttered by the Association for the Study of the History of Montenegro in its complaints on history textbooks (cf. 5.4.3.3). For the Littoral banovina textbooks pointed to the important economic and cultural role the Adriatic Sea played for the population, and referred to the history of Dalmatian Croatia, thus providing mediations between the Dalmatian regional level and Yugoslav national territory which concurred with the engagements with Yugoslav nationhood in the activities of *Jadranska straža* (cf. 4.5).

At the same time, in the elaborate description and imagination of the banovinas the persistence of 'tribal' categories clearly came to the fore. The territorial identities of the banovinas were given a place in Yugoslav national territory via the level of 'tribal' territories. That way, banovinas kept in place the traditional historical entities they – at least in discourse – were intended to replace. Again, the Serbian state tradition and its link with the Serbian church played a dominant role in the imagination of a majority of the banovinas. As clarified in the table above, for Drina, Danube, Morava and Vardar banovina historical references were predominantly deduced from Serbian history. Especially important were the first Serbian uprising, the Serbian medieval kingdom/empire and the Serbian Orthodox Church. For Vardar banovina the commemoration of the Balkan Wars and the First World War served as an additional strong link with Serbian national identity, beside the medieval Serbian state tradition. Zeta banovina was firmly linked to the distinct Montenegrin state tradition, of which the Serbian national character was undisputed. Further, historical sites linked to the Serbian medieval kingdom of Nemanja and the Serbian Orthodox Church only enforced the Serbian character of this banovina. The specific historical position of Dubrovnik, although mentioned, occupied only a peripheral position in the imagination of Zeta banovina. Sava and Littoral banovina were defined through Croatian historical resources, although for eastern Herzegovina and its capital Mostar – part of Littoral banovina – references were made to the Serbian poet Aleksa Šantić and the self declared

Serbian Muslim Osman Đikić (cf. 4.6.2.4). Finally, Drava banovina occupied a specific place as the Slovenian banovina. Cvetko Popović explicitly argued that the population of Drava banovina was predominantly Yugoslav, “and more specifically Slovene”,⁸⁴⁶ which was why it was also called Slovenia (Popović C. 1939: 11). Ljubljana was depicted as the centre of Slovenian cultural life (Ognjanović & Magarašević 1939: 16; Stevanović 1936: 9). Also, as we have already seen, geography textbooks explicitly recognised the specificity of the dialect/language in the banovina. Thus, Drava banovina clearly served as a framework through which Slovenian national identity was given a distinct place within Yugoslav national identity. In fact, only Drina banovina was interpreted as a mixed banovina. In this case, the textbooks pointed to the medieval Bosnian state, but also Serbian and Croatian historical traditions (Petar Mrkonjić and the Croatian noble family of Zrinski respectively).

5.4.4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the use of the banovina framework clearly led to some significant shifts in the territorial definition of Yugoslav national identity in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s. In the first place, a much more balanced overview of different regions and various sites of interest throughout Yugoslavia was given. Second, the banovina structure allowed for the direct integration of symbolic resources related Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which were claimed by Serbian and Croatian collective memory, within Yugoslav national identity, without the level of the ‘tribes’ as necessary mediator. That way problematic delineations between Serbian and Croatian lands and people could be avoided. With the notable exception of these overlapping symbolic resources, however, the definitions of Yugoslav banovinas in textbooks continued to rely heavily on Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian categories. In that sense, textbooks used the banovina system to mediate between three levels of national identity; the sub-national/regional, the ‘tribal’ and the Yugoslav national level.

5.4.5 Religious tolerance and nationhood

5.4.5.1 The model of the Serbian national church

One of the most problematic elements in the imagination of the Yugoslav nation in Serbian textbooks of the 1920s was the strong link between religion and national

⁸⁴⁶ [“i to Slovenci”.]

identity. In comparison to these earlier textbooks, in textbooks of the 1930s significantly more attention was paid to religious diversity among the South Slavs. In order to de-emphasise religious dichotomies textbooks continued to rely on the model of 'national churches'. Textbooks under scrutiny persistently stressed the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church as the protector of the national case among the Serbs, of which St. Sava was the personification. As I have already clarified for St. Sava's Day celebrations, educational authorities made a clear distinction between St. Sava as a Serbian Orthodox saint and St. Sava as the Yugoslav patron saint of education (cf. 4.6.3). Let us see how this distinction was concretised in the teaching material of the 1930s. In a text on St. Sava in *Jugoslovenče* of January 1933 Damnjan Rašić focused on Sava's religiosity – without explicit references to Serbian Orthodoxy – and his educational work, paying less attention to his role within the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian medieval state.⁸⁴⁷ Such an approach corresponded to the authorities' model. However, the history textbooks under scrutiny continued to interpret St. Sava primarily as founder of the Serbian national church and as a crucial political figure in the Serbian medieval empire. Moreover, most authors continued to refer to St. Sava within a Serbian historical framework. In Ilić's 1938 textbook for example pupils read: "Even today, and in the future, as long as our nation will exist, the glory of the immortal St. Sava will shine, the first and greatest Serbian enlightener and teacher" (Ilić 1938: 24).⁸⁴⁸ Jovan Popović explained that Sava had established schools to educate the people and was therefore called the First Serbian Enlightener. That was why "all Serbian schools celebrated St. Sava", and "the Serbian Church canonised St. Sava and celebrated him every year on 27 January" (Popović J. 1936: 61).⁸⁴⁹ Such a persistent strong Serbian bias and link with the Serbian Orthodox Church in interpretations of St. Sava in textbooks, which were in theory intended for all Yugoslav pupils, illustrates the artificial character of the clear-cut distinction between the secular and religious St. Sava which substantiated the celebration of St. Sava as a nation-wide symbolic resource for Yugoslav nationhood.

Another illustration of the persistent link between national identity and the 'national church' can be found the description of national customs and traditions in the reading books. Many reading books referred to folk traditions which were linked to the Serbian 'tribe' and in many cases also to Serbian Orthodoxy as primary manifestations of Yugoslav national identity. Thus, elementary school reading books still included Stojan Novaković's definition of the nation, which referred to *slava*, Kosovo and churches. The

⁸⁴⁷ 'Jugoslovenski velikani – Sveti Sava', D.V. Rašić. *Jugoslovenče* 2 (1933/5: 12-4.

⁸⁴⁸ ["I danas, i u najdaljoj budućnosti dogod bude bilo našeg naroda, blistaće neumrla slava Svetoga Save, prvog i najvećeg srpskog prosvetitelja i učitelja."]

⁸⁴⁹ ["Sve srpske škole slave sv. Savu. (...). Srpska crkva je Savu proglasila za sveca, i ona ga praznuje svake godine 27. Januara."]

folk customs enlisted in Mladenović's reading book for the fourth year were closely linked to Serbian Orthodoxy, with texts on *krsno ime* and *badnjak* (Christmas Eve) by Vuk Karadžić and Christmas by Ivo Ćipiko (Mladenović 1940b: 51-3).⁸⁵⁰ Further, in a chapter on religion, Mladenović included texts on 'St. Nicholas and the Celebration of his Slava', Easter (by Milan Milićević) and *Đurđevdan* (by Borisav Stanković) (Mladenović 1940a: 45-9), as well as an essay by Vuk Karadžić on how the Serbs prayed ('How We Pray to God', 'Kako se moli Bogu u nas') (Mladenović 1940b: 45). A whole chapter in the reading book for the fourth year was devoted to Serbian Orthodox monasteries, which were praised as "eternal monuments of the greatness of our nation" (Mladenović 1940a: 74-83, quotation on page 74).⁸⁵¹

On the other hand, in some reading books, especially those first published in the late 1930s, the dominant position of Serbian religious folk traditions was reduced, which clarifies that there was a growing awareness of the problematic character of the link between Yugoslav nationhood and Serbian Orthodoxy. Whereas Zora Vulović had still included an entire chapter on 'Religion and Customs of Our Nation' ('Vera i običaji našeg naroda'), with typical references to St. Sava, Good Friday, *slava* and Christmas (Vulović 1926b: 3-46), the reading books for secondary education of the late 1930s included significantly less texts on such religiously determined customs. Magarašević and Ognjanović for example included Novaković's definition of the nation, but deleted the overtly Serbian references to Miloš Obilić, Kosovo, *slava*, church and Kraljević Marko. Instead, in a question under the text, the compilers asked the pupils through which factors Serbs and Croats formed one nation (Ognjanović & Magarašević 1939c: 20-1).⁸⁵²

5.4.5.2 De-emphasising the division Orthodoxy-Catholicism

In order to de-emphasise the dichotomy between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, textbooks transferred the portrayal of the Serbian Orthodox Church as a national institution to the South Slav Catholic Church, presenting it as an *authentically* national church. In the first place textbooks emphasised the shared Slavonic pagan beliefs of the pre-Christian era and the common Christianisation of the South Slavs. St. Cyril and St. Methodius, who were presented as the founders of national Christianity among the (South) Slavs, and specifically among both Serbs and Croats, personified the national character of South

⁸⁵⁰ Other customs treated were the *dodole* feasts, the making of the hay, and *moba* (Mladenović 1940a: 41-4). *Dodole* feasts were organised in times of drought, when young women danced and chanted ritual songs for rain. The phenomenon goes back to an old Slavonic mythological figure. *Moba* was a form of collective work at the countryside.

⁸⁵¹ ["Večni spomenici veličine našeg naroda."]

⁸⁵² Note that the Slovenes were not mentioned here.

Slav Christianity in this initial phase. Many authors stressed that Germans, Franks and Greeks had attempted to Christianise the South Slavs earlier, but had failed because the people did not understand Latin or Greek. It was only after St. Cyril and St. Methodius had established a Slavonic form of Christianity that the South Slavs massively turned to the new religion.⁸⁵³ Further, textbooks pointed to the role of St. Clemens and St. Naum in the spreading of the Christian faith among the South Slavs, in one of the rare incentives to integrate historical resources linked to Macedonia within Yugoslav national history. Finally, textbooks stressed that at the time of Christianisation the Yugoslavs belonged to one Christian Church and that the external power struggle between Pope and Patriarch had caused the division of the Yugoslavs in two religious parts.

A number of historical figures linked to the Catholic Church symbolised the persistent national character of the Catholic Church among Yugoslavs. Josip Strossmayer – who had been frequently included in textbooks of the early 1920s – was established as the personification of the correct national consciousness and religious tolerance among Catholics. Magarašević and Ognjanović, for example, asked the pupils at the end of their texts on Strossmayer: “Did Strossmayer, as a Catholic priest, also love Orthodox Serbs?”, clarifying what was the central lesson pupils should learn from Strossmayer (Ognjanović & Magarašević 1939c: 81).⁸⁵⁴ Textbooks focused on Strossmayer’s role as cultural benefactor and included extracts from Strossmayer’s essays on national unity and religious tolerance. Also popular were quotes from Strossmayer, like: “Faith that would sow discord between brothers would not be faith, but superstition, not God’s truth, but a human mistake” (Mladenović 1940a: 115).⁸⁵⁵ A historical figure who had not been frequently included in earlier Serbian textbooks was Bishop Gregory of Nin. In line with curricula for history for both elementary and secondary education, textbooks portrayed him as the leader of the people’s struggle for the use of the Slavonic language in liturgy and religious writings in medieval Croatia, and a symbol of the national character of the Croatian church. Finally, Primož Trubar was appropriated as the Slovenian equivalent of St. Sava and Gregory of Nin/Strossmayer: “Just like the Slavonic apostles St. Cyril and Methodius fought for Slavonic liturgy, and like St. Sava fought for the church in Serbia and Gregory of Nin in Croatia – Primož Trubar did in Slovenia” (Prica 1937: 84).⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵³ ‘Ćirilo i Metodije’, D.V. Rašić. *Jugoslovenče* 2 (1932)/1: 9-10.

⁸⁵⁴ [“Da li je Štrosmajer, kao katolički sveštenik, imao ljubavi i za pravoslavne Srbe?”]

⁸⁵⁵ [“Vjera koja bi bila kadra razdor među braćom sijati ne bi bila vjera, nego puko praznovjerje; ne bi bila istina Božja, nego ljudska zabluda.”]

⁸⁵⁶ [“Kao što su se slavenski apostoli Sv. Ćirilo i Metodije borili za slovensko bogoslužjenje, i kao što se Sv. Sava borio za crkvu u Srbiji a Grgur Ninski u Hrvatskoj – tako je isto radio Primož Trubar u Slovenačkoj”].

Such an interpretation of the Catholic Church implicitly imposed a comparison between the two Christian Churches in favour of the Serbian Orthodox Church; a strong indicator of Serbian bias in these textbooks. Claims about the national superiority of the Serbian church had already been made by intellectuals like Vladimir Dvorniković, who had argued that the Serbian Orthodox Church had most expressively fulfilled its national-state function. Similarly, the Croatian Glagolitic movement was an instinctive battle for the emancipation from western and northern domination, but it had failed and Gregory of Nin remained “an *unsuccessful* Croatian St. Sava” (Dvorniković 1995 [1937]: 82, my emphasis).⁸⁵⁷ Serbian textbooks typically took over such an approach, claiming that the ban on the use of Old Slavonic in the medieval Croatian church was imposed by members of the Latin clergy and the Roman population in the Dalmatian cities, against the will of the entire Croatian people. Đorđević and Stranjaković for example stressed that “all national priests and the whole nation” favoured the use of Slavonic in liturgy (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 14).⁸⁵⁸ Rabrenović argued that the Latin clergy had pushed through this measure because “they hated the Croats for holding their liturgy in their own national language” (Rabrenović 1930: 14).⁸⁵⁹ Within this approach, textbooks interpreted Strossmayer’s work as an attempt to *again* bring the Catholic Church closer to the people, just like the Orthodox Church.⁸⁶⁰ The underlying message was clearly that the use of Latin in fact alienated the Croatian church from its authentic Slavonic character. In the reading book of Magarašević and Ognjanović a text by Tihomir Ostojić was included (‘From Croatian History’, ‘Iz hrvatske prošlosti’), in which the author listed the Latin church – among German, Venetian or Turkish oppressors – as an institution which had attempted to nationally estrange the Croats. However, even the church had not “wiped away Croatian national identity” (Ognjanović & Magarašević 1939c: 146-8, quotation on 147).⁸⁶¹

Such claims about the alleged superior Slavonic character of Orthodoxy and the problematic “Western” and a-national influences among the Catholic population were a recurring theme in conservative Serbian intellectuals circles (Buchenau 2011: 348-407; Milutinović Z. 2011: 81-118, 147-80). In an article of 1929 in *Narodna odbrana* Milan Poljanac for example argued that it was a historical pattern, referring to Sts. Cyril and Methodius, St. Sava and Gregory of Nin, that independent Slavonic churches lead to national progress, whereas subjection to foreign religious institutions (i.e. the Catholic Church) always leads to “de-Slavisation” and national decline. Therefore, Poljanac

⁸⁵⁷ [“neuspeli hrvatski sv. Sava.”]

⁸⁵⁸ [“narodni sveštenici i ceo ostali narod.”]

⁸⁵⁹ [“mrzeli su Hrvate što služe službu na svom narodnom jeziku”].

⁸⁶⁰ ‘Josip Juraj Štrossmayer’, Borivoje Josimović, *Jugoslovenče* 4 (1935)/6: 1-2.

⁸⁶¹ [“Ni Latinska crkva nije Hrvatima izbrisala narodni biljeg (pečat).”]

argued for the Orthodox Church and the Cyrillic alphabet, which were truly Slavonic and free from foreign influence (Poljanac 1929). It was also a recurrent theme in writings of Serbian Orthodox religious thinkers, who typically contrasted the national Serbian church with the international Catholic Church (cf. 4.6.3.3).

5.4.5.3 Giving South Slav Muslims a place within Yugoslav national unity

As far as the dichotomy Islam-Christianity was concerned, there were divergent interpretations of religious tolerance beyond the purely programmatic level. At the one hand, the Yugoslav nation was primarily defined as a Christian nation. Consequently, Islam occupied a marginal and hybrid position within Yugoslav national identity. Like many other textbook authors Atanasije Mladenović, for example, included several programmatic texts on religious tolerance, amongst which Jovan Jovanović Zmaj's 'Alija' (Mladenović 1940a: 47-8). However, further, the author only included texts on Christian religious practices, illustrating that religious tolerance, in his opinion, should not be substantiated with concrete information on Islam. On the other hand, some textbooks did include positive symbolic resources linked to South Slav Muslims. Early examples can be found in Jaša Prodanović's and Milan Šević & Milan Ćuković's reading books for secondary education. In his third reading book for secondary schools Jaša Prodanović included a number of literary extracts which treated themes linked to South Slavs Muslims: 'Ali-bega', a folk song about Muslim notions of heaven and hell (Prodanović 1928c: 237), Anton Aškerc's poem 'In [Gazi] Husrev-beg Mosque' ('V Husrev-begovi džamiji'), in which a non-Muslim, in the spirit of religious tolerance, enters the mosque to "see how Slavs pray to Allah" (ibid: 235-6), and a folk legend about Ali-paša Rizvanbegović, the semi-autonomous Vizier of Herzegovina in the first half of the 19th century (ibid: 234). Šević and Ćuković included Edhem Mulabdić's 'Bairam' and Svetozar Ćorović's 'On the Eve of Bairam' ('Uoči bajrama'), two stories which were situated in a distinct Muslim surrounding (Šević & Ćuković 1928: 36-9; 139-40).

In the 1930s *Jugoslovenče* time by time included a poem or story in which South Slav Muslims stood central, such as 'Alahu Ekbar' by D. Topolović, in which a South Slav Christian is touched by the Muslims' call for prayer, or Nazif Resulović's 'Unkown Saviour', which takes place in a Muslim setting.⁸⁶² In the volume of 1934-35 each issue included a photograph of an important natural or culture site of interest in Yugoslavia, including the Emperor's Mosque in Sarajevo and a mosque in Skopje. Another photograph of Sarajevo depicted two girls in traditional clothing against the background of a mosque. Additionally, the journal included articles on the Emperor's

⁸⁶² 'Alahu ekbar', D.J. Filipović. *Jugoslovenče* 1 (1932)/7-8: 1; 'Nepoznati spasilac', Nazif Resulović. *Jugoslovenče* 3(1934)/8: 8-9.

Mosque in Sarajevo and Ferhat Paša Mosque in Banja Luka.⁸⁶³ Also in the treatment of Drina, Vrbas and Vardar banovina in geography textbooks and reading books significant attention was paid to the Muslim population in these banovinas. Matović for example explicitly pointed to the Ottoman character of cities like Skopje, Sarajevo and Banja Luka. For both Sarajevo and Banja Luka an illustration was included of mosques and minarets (Matović 1937b: 106; 112). Moreover, when treating these cities Matović presented a more positive image of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia, especially by stressing the role some South Slavs Muslims played in Ottoman administration and government. In the text 'Sarajevo' (based on Vladislav Skarić) for example attention was paid to the period of prosperity under the Ottomans, especially under Husrev-beg, "a Serb of origin" (ibid: 105-9, quotation on 108).⁸⁶⁴ Another significant section in the text clarified that Muslim houses had slaves "of our people", of which "some took over Islam, others stayed with the old faith".⁸⁶⁵ However, "Islam considered it pleasing to God to return slaves their freedom" and so the Sarajevo Muslims frequently freed their servants (ibid: 109).⁸⁶⁶ For Banja Luka the textbook mentioned medieval Christian rulers as well as the Golden Age of the city under Ferhat Paša Sokolović in the 16th century (ibid: 111-4, text based on Vasa Glumac).

In the curricula for history several historical elements linked to the history of South Slav Muslims had been included (cf. 4.6.2.4). Most textbook authors agreed that the conversion to Islam among South Slavs was not the result of coercion by the Ottoman authorities. Rather, conversions had taken place in the context of the privileges granted to Muslims and because of the weakness of the Catholic and the Orthodox Church in Bosnia at the time. However, textbooks made different claims with regard to the effect the conversion to Islam had on national consciousness. A first group of authors stressed that the conversion to Islam had not affected the national consciousness of South Slav Muslims. Đorđević and Stranjaković first gave a historical overview of Islam and then explained how some South Slavs converted to Islam because that way they could keep their belongings and wealth.⁸⁶⁷ However:

⁸⁶³ 'Ferhatpašina džamija u Banjoj Luci', Isaije Mitrović. *Jugoslovenče* 4 (1935)/8: 12-3; 'Careva džamija u Sarajevu', Nazif Resulović. *Jugoslovenče* 4 (1935)/5: 12-3.

⁸⁶⁴ ["poreklom Srbin."]

⁸⁶⁵ ["roblja našeg roda. Neki su primali islam, a neki ostaše u staroj veri."]

⁸⁶⁶ ["Islam smatra za bogougodno delo kad se robu da sloboda."]

⁸⁶⁷ This theory on the motivation of conversion to Islam, which was typically put forward in textbooks of the period, has been refuted in recent scholarship, on the basis of the argument that no continuity in families between Bosnia's medieval and its post-conquest Muslim landed aristocracy can be found (Donia & Fine 1994: 41; Imamović 1997: 152-8). John Fine explains the conversion to Islam from the absence of strong Catholic, Orthodox or even Bosnian Church organisations (Fine 2007: 299-308).

Those citizens who changed their faith could not also change their nationality. Christians who had taken the Christian faith did not become Turks, although they took over Turkish clothes and lifestyle. What is most important, they kept their mother tongue and many Serbian national customs (Đorđević & Stranjaković 1940: 51-2, quotation on 52).⁸⁶⁸

Similarly, Rabrenović explained that “some of our people” converted to Islam, especially wealthy people, in order to preserve their wealth. “Many of them called themselves Turks, and even today some still do, although they don’t know Turkish and only speak Serbian” (Rabrenović 1930: 74).⁸⁶⁹

At the same time, textbooks did not completely abandon the ‘Othering’ of South Slav Muslims. Radiša Stefanović for example argued that many Bosnian landowners and Bogomils had converted to Islam to safeguard their possessions. “They continued to speak their mother tongue, but because of their faith they soon forgot their nationality, and protected Islam and chased away Christians” (Stefanović R. 1939: 33).⁸⁷⁰ Lazarević argued similarly that “Yugoslav Muslims” “maintained their language and some customs, but forgot their nationality, which they replaced with faith, and enthusiastically protected Islam and wiped away everything Christian” (Lazarević Đ. 1933: 5).⁸⁷¹ Jovan Erdeljanović interpreted the conversion of Serbs and Croats to Islam a misfortune because a great part of the nation changed its lifestyle, customs and worldview (Erdeljanović 1932: 174).⁸⁷²

The inclusion of a number of positive symbolic resources linked primarily to South Slav Muslims indicates that there was a nascent awareness among educational authorities that Muslim collective identity should somehow be mobilised and could not be simply neglected. There was, however, no consensus about the position of South Slav Muslims within Yugoslav national identity. In the first place, as clarified in the precedent paragraph, some authors held on to the image of South Slav Muslims as internal Other, or in Mary Neuburger’s terms “Orient within” (Neuburger 2004). Although most textbook authors realised that such an interpretation of South Slav

⁸⁶⁸ [“Stanovnici koji su promenili veru nisu mogli promeniti i svoju narodnost. Hrišćani koji su primili islam nisu postali Turci, iako su primili tursku nošnju i način života. Ono što je najvažnije, oni su zadržali svoj maternji jezik i mnoge srpske narodne običaje.”]

⁸⁶⁹ [“Mnogo su se stoga nazivali, pa se i danas neki nazivaju, Turcima, i ako turski ne znaju, i ako i danas govore samo srpski.”]

⁸⁷⁰ [“Oni su i dalje govorili našem jezikom, ali su zbog vere ubrzo zaboravili svoju narodnost, pa su branili islam i gonili hrišćane.”]

⁸⁷¹ [“Oni su i dalje zadržali svoj jezik i neke običaje, ali su zaboravili svoju narodnost, koju su zamenili verom, te su s oduševljenjem branili islam i satirali sve što je hrišćansko.”]

⁸⁷² A second misfortune was the migration of Albanians to those “Serbian areas” the Serbs had left behind on the run for the Ottomans (Erdeljanović 1932: 174).

Muslims should be avoided, there was no agreement on the precise way in which these symbolic resources could be appropriated within Yugoslav national identity, especially in relation with the central position Christianity occupied in the Yugoslav historical narrative. One possible line of reasoning which frequently occurred in the textbooks under scrutiny was to refer to the Serbian origin of South Slav Muslims. As became clear in the quotations in the paragraphs above, textbooks under scrutiny frequently made claims about the Serbian origin of South Slav Muslims. The contributions of South Slav Muslims to the Yugoslav national case were then reduced to their contributions to the Serbian (Orthodox) national case. For Mehmed Sokolović, for example, textbooks not so much stressed his role within the Ottoman Empire, but more his Serbian consciousness. It was explained that, although he was Muslim, he “never forgot his Serbian origin” and “helped the Serbian nation” (Prica 1937: 81).⁸⁷³ That clarified why he had helped to re-establish the Serbian Patriarchate, which was interpreted as his single most important historical contribution. In their reading book for the first year of secondary education Magarašević, Georgijević and Leskovac included a portrayal of Mehmed Sokolović by Milenko Vukićević, the important author of pre-war Serbian history textbooks. In this text the author explained that the work of Sokolović clarified “how a Serb could also be a good Muslim, without preventing him to love his people” (Magarašević, Georgijević & Leskovac 1938a: 144-5, quotation on 145).⁸⁷⁴ Obviously, such claims pertained a strict territorial demarcation between Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and continued to reduce South Slav Muslim symbolic resources to peripheral phenomena in Serbian collective identity.

5.4.6 Qualifying remarks

Before I come to conclusions concerning textbooks published in Belgrade during the interwar period, some qualifying remarks should be made. For the sake of clarity I have made a clear distinction between textbooks published in the early 1920s and those published after the introduction of state-wide curricula and education laws. A number of textbooks which were published in the first half of the 1920s, however, remained in use until well in the next decade, in some cases even until the end of the interwar period. This especially holds true for reading books for elementary education. In this case reading books compiled by Ljubomir Protić & Vlad. Stojanović, Mihailo Jović, Milorad Vujanac and Mihailo Stanojević & Živko Stefanović were all included in the list

⁸⁷³ [“ne zaboravi na svoje srpsko poreklo”, “pomogne srpskom narodu.”]

⁸⁷⁴ [“Kako Srbin može biti i dobar musliman, pa da mu to ne smeta da voli svoj narod.”]

of textbooks approved in 1938. For secondary education the textbooks for Serbian literary history by Jovan Skerlić and Pavle Popović remained approved, as well as Stanoje Stanojević's history textbooks. I will elaborate on two striking cases, namely the reading books for elementary education compiled by Ljubomir Protić and Vlad. Stojanović, and Stanoje Stanojević's history textbooks for secondary education. As I have argued earlier these textbooks served as perfect examples of superficial revisions of pre-war Serbian textbooks, and as such were ill-suited within the post-First World War Yugoslav ideological framework.

In both cases obvious but mechanical revisions were made after the establishment of the dictatorship. The 1926 edition of Protić and Stojanović's reading books was approved for use until the school year 1929-30. In 1930 a new edition of the reading books was approved, revised by Branislav Miljković. In this new edition pupils encountered a larger number of texts in the Latin alphabet and extracts in the ijekavian variant, and a broader selection of Croatian authors, such as Vladimir Nazor, Tugomir Alaupović, Rikard Katalinić-Jeretov, Petar Preradović, August Harambašić, August Šenoa, Ivan Trnski, Ante Tresić-Pavičić and Josip Kozarac. For Slovenian, the reading book for the fourth year presented two short poems, but deleted the text in which Slovenian was reduced to a Serbian dialect. Instead, Miljković argued that the Slovenes were one part of the Yugoslav nation, beside Serbs and Croats. Slovenian history was treated briefly, with references to their brief period of independence in the early Middle Ages and their struggles against Germanisation. It was said that Slovenes "had managed to preserve their beautiful national *language*, and their nationality" and that Slovenian was "almost completely the same as the language of Serbs and Croats" and therefore "a *dialect* of our language" (Protić & Stojanović 1931: 156-7, my stress).⁸⁷⁵ Clearly, the revised editions provided more room for the nation's various language variants and avoided Serb-centred definitions of Yugoslav national unity.

Another difference was that the revised edition included a number of programmatic texts on Yugoslav national unity and patriotism. In the text 'Yugoslavia' the pupils were taught that their homeland was Yugoslavia and that they belonged to the Yugoslav nation, which had settled in the Balkans in the 7th century. The text listed all the regions where Serbs, Croats or Slovenes lived as common Yugoslav national territories and presented a summary overview of Yugoslav national history (Protić & Stojanović 1930: 71-3). In the geography chapter in the reading book for the fourth year non-Serbian regions in the Yugoslav kingdom were treated in detail. There was a text in which the three 'tribal' capitals were presented as equal centres, as well as many texts on the

⁸⁷⁵ ["sačuvaju svoj lepi narodni jezik i svoju narodnost", "Slovenci govore jezikom koji je gotovo isti kao jezik u Srb i Hrvata (...). Zbog toga kažemo da je slovenački jezik jedno narečje našeg jezika."]

Croatian lands and especially the Adriatic Coast (Protić & Stojanović 1931: 101-63). Finally, the reading books no longer included problematic Serbian claims to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia. In the text 'Dalmatian Islands' ('Dalmatinska ostrva'), for example, it was claimed that all inhabitants of the region were Yugoslavs (ibid: 150-2).

In the case of the history textbooks by Stanoje Stanojević a new edition was published in 1930. Whereas in the early editions of his textbooks the overview of Serbian history had been supplemented with two short appendices on Croatian and Slovenian history, in the new editions paragraphs on Croatian and Slovenian history were simply chronologically integrated within the overview of Serbian history. Also, throughout the text references to 'Serbs' were replaced by 'Yugoslavs'. Finally, Serbian claims to Bosnian and Dalmatian history were deleted. For instance, whereas the 1923 edition of Stanojević's history textbook presented Bosnia as a "distinct Serbian state" (Stanojević 1923: 37), in the 1931 edition references to the Serbian character of Bosnia were deleted and medieval Bosnia became simply a "distinct state" (Stanojević 1931: 41).⁸⁷⁶

Apart from these rather superficial, almost mechanical amendments, however, the textbooks under scrutiny departed from the same typical Serb-centred approach to national identity which had also characterised earlier editions. In the history chapters in the reading books compiled by Protić and Stojanović, for example, only two texts on Croatian history were added. In the reading book for the third year a text was included about the mythical princess Tuga, one of the leaders of the alleged twelve Croatian tribes which settled on the Dalmatian Coast (Protić & Stojanović 1930: 142-3). In the historical overview in the reading book for the fourth year an epical poem on Nikola Šubić Zrinski by Kačić-Miošić was added (Protić & Stojanović 1931: 220-2). Similarly, in Stanojević's history textbooks Serbian history occupied the same privileged position it had occupied in earlier versions, given the fact that the revised edition made use of the same texts as the earlier editions and simply 'pasted' extracts from Croatian and Slovenian history overviews within the overview of Serbian history.⁸⁷⁷ The revised editions of these textbooks thus deleted the most provocative elements of Serbian bias, but obviously remained ill-suited within the new Yugoslav context, let alone that they could be used in the entire Yugoslav state.

⁸⁷⁶ From ["posebna srpska država"] to ["posebna država"].

⁸⁷⁷ I find Jelavich's claim that this was a conscious choice made by Stanojević as an expression of his growing disillusion with Yugoslavism rather far-fetched (Jelavich 2003: 112). Although it is difficult to trace personal motives, commercial reasons and time-management will probably have played a more decisive role.

5.4.7 Conclusions

Obviously, the fact that the reading books by Protić and Stojanović, and the history textbooks by Stanoje Stanojević remained in use until the end of the interwar period raises strong reservations with regard to the decisiveness of the Ministry of Education's textbook policy. However, these textbooks cannot be considered representative for the entire field, which was the point of departure in Jelavich's studies of interwar Yugoslav textbooks (Jelavich 1994, 2003). Jelavich's conclusion that interwar textbooks

merely confirmed the fact that [the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nation] were three separate nations, which were not ready to sacrifice a millennium of history and tradition for the Yugoslav concept, which was nebulous at best and could not be understood by the overwhelming majority of the citizenry (Jelavich 1994: 139)

does not take into consideration the multifaceted and interactional character of national identities in interwar Yugoslavia. In rejecting any interaction between the ideology of Yugoslav national unity and Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national identities, Jelavich's substantialist approach is unconvincing. Textbooks published in Belgrade during the interwar period perfectly illustrate that sub-national identities should be understood as categories of perception which "allowed for both resistance to and accommodation of nationalizing forces, often in the same places but to varying degrees" (Applegate 1999: 1177).

There was a clear evolution in definitions of national identity in Serbian textbooks during the interwar period. Whereas in most textbooks of the early 1920s typical pre-war definitions of Serbian national identity remained in place, despite some general Yugoslav statements and the addition of non-Serbian symbolic resources, definitions of national identity in textbooks of the 1930s reflected the increasing Yugoslav character of the state's educational and textbook policy. First, an obvious attempt was made to present a more equal selection of symbolic resources linked to different sub-national traditions (historical, linguistic, religious, geographical). Furthermore, textbooks also employed mechanisms which reshaped sub-national identities, especially through references to links and parallelisms and the introduction of banovinas as geographical categories of perception. At the same time, persisting elements of Serbian bias made these textbooks unsuitable for use in the entire Yugoslav kingdom.

Textbooks for national subjects published in Belgrade during the interwar period were characterised by what could be termed *imaginative interaction* between the Yugoslav ideological context and the definition of Serbian national identity which had been codified in pre-war Serbian textbooks. On the one hand, this codified definition of Serbian collective identity clearly shaped the imagination of Yugoslav collective identity in the textbooks under scrutiny. As we have seen, the textbooks attempted to make sense of the Yugoslav nation by making use of mechanisms which had been

applied in the pre-war imagination of Serbian identity – most enduringly the historical narrative of independent statehood and a nationally conscious church – for the imagination of Yugoslav collective identity and the appropriation of non-Serbian symbolic resources. On the other hand, adaptations to the Yugoslav ideological context – which in the first place consisted of the inclusion of an increasing number of non-Serbian symbolic resources in the textbooks and, more fundamentally, the application of an underlying mechanism of links and zones of overlap between constituent parts of the Yugoslav nation – led to the reshaping of Serbian national identity, in the sense that it was embedded within an overarching Yugoslav whole, which allowed for linguistic, historical, religious and regional diversity and fluidity and reduced the relevance of clear-cut boundaries and internal homogeneity of Serbian collective identity. In other words, the delineated and homogeneous definition of Serbian national identity was challenged by common denominators which allowed for fluidity, diversity and zones of overlap within national unity.⁸⁷⁸ The availability and viability of these common denominators for other sub-national definitions of Yugoslav identity will be assessed in the following chapters on Croatian and Slovenian textbooks.

⁸⁷⁸ This shift from a deterministic and closed definition of nationhood toward a more open definition of nationhood to some extent concurs with Oliver Zimmer's distinction between organic and voluntarist boundary mechanisms as ideal types behind definitions of nationhood (Zimmer 2003, cf. 1.2). However, for the case of Serbian textbooks a distinction between closed and open boundary mechanisms is more informative as there was no focus on the nation as a 'voluntary community' (even open definitions of Yugoslav nationhood were situated toward the organic end of the continuum).

5.5 The Croatian view on Yugoslav nationhood

In comparison to the situation in Belgrade, where there was an accumulation of textbooks during the interwar period, only a very small number of textbooks were published in Zagreb. Immediately after the First World War Sigismund Čajkovac compiled a series of reading books for elementary education. Čajkovac had already assisted in some pre-war textbooks and was professor at the Pedagogical College in Zagreb.⁸⁷⁹ He was also politically active as a member of the Croatian Peasant Party and was elected parliamentary deputy for that party at the elections of 1927, 1935 and 1938 (Leček & Petrović Leš 2010: 15). During Stjepan Radić's short term as Minister of Education from November 1925 until April 1926 he was head of the ministerial department for elementary education (Dimić 1996, 1: 406). Later Čajkovac became one of the authoritative educational experts in the Croatian banovina, as president of the Croatian Pedagogical Council (*Hrvatski pedagoški zbor*). Čajkovac's reading books were first published by the Croatian regional government in 1921 under the title 'Reading books for Lower Public Schools in Croatia and Slavonia' (*Čitanke za niže pučke škole u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*), thus emphasising the target group.⁸⁸⁰ In the second half of 1922 the Main Educational Board decided that the publication of the reading books would be financed by the state.⁸⁸¹ Later, revised versions of the reading books were submitted and approved for state publication on the occasion of the competition for reading books and primers of 1923.⁸⁸² Although the competition for reading books in the Latin alphabet was not great – only one other reading book for the first and for the second year were submitted – the reviewers, Tomo Maretić, Anton Tunkl and Jovan Milojević, stressed that Čajkovac's reading books fully met the prescriptions of the educational authorities from a stylistic, patriotic and pedagogical point of view. Therefore, the reviewers

⁸⁷⁹ The Pedagogical College (*Viša pedagoška škola*) trained teachers for civil schools and specialised schools as well as school inspectors. It only admitted teachers who had passed the teachers' exam with success and whose teaching had been evaluated positively for three years (Knežević 1939: 269).

⁸⁸⁰ See the report of the session of the Main Educational Board of December 1921 in *Prosvetni glasnik* 39 (1922)/5-6: 80.

⁸⁸¹ See the reports of the sessions of the Main Educational Board from May until December 1922 in *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 2 (1922): 510.

⁸⁸² After the formation of the Croatian banovina Čajkovac recalled that his reading books were not published by the State Publishing House on the advice of Stjepan Radić, who had suggested that the reading books be published by a private publishing house, so that they could be published and reach the Croatian schools in time. Accordingly, in the case of Croatian secondary school reading books the authorities had deliberately postponed the publication of Croatian textbooks by the State Publishing House so that Serbian textbooks would have to be used in Croatian areas too (Čajkovac 1940: 336).

suggested that Čajkovac's reading books could be used in the entire country on the condition that for the first two years a Cyrillic version of the reading books would be published and that both literary variants would be used alternately.⁸⁸³ Čajkovac's reading books remained in use until 1937.

In 1928 a new series of reading books for elementary schools was approved, compiled by Stjepan Bosanac and Vladimir Nazor. Stjepan Bosanac was philologist, pedagogue and rector of the Pedagogical College in Zagreb; Vladimir Nazor was one of the most important Croatian poets and novelists of the first half of the 20th century. As Andrew Wachtel notes, "his Yugoslav credentials stretched far back" to the early 1900s, when he wrote sonnets about Kosovo and Kraljević Marko, for which he was compared with Ivan Meštrović (Wachtel 1998: 149). During the Second World War Nazor joined the Partisans, which he described in his wartime diary "With the Partisans" (*S partizanama*), which would become a classic in socialist Yugoslavia. He served important political functions in the immediate post-Second World War period (ibid: 150-1). Regrettably, I have not been able to find these reading books. In 1937 a new series of reading books for elementary schools by Čajkovac, Nazor, Bosanac and Stjepan Ratković was published. This series of reading books had been compiled for the state competition of 1935. Importantly, these Croatian reading books all included lengthy chapters on history and geography, and in fact also served as textbooks for these subjects in elementary schools, as had already been the case in pre-First World War Croatia and Slavonia (Jelavich 1990: 209). In practice, thus, there was only one textbook for national subjects in Croatian elementary schools.

For secondary education immediately after the First World War pre-war Croatian reading books by Mirko Divković, Ivan Šarić and Franje Petračić were approved. In the early 1920s a 'History of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes' for secondary education by Stjepan Srkulj,⁸⁸⁴ a geography textbook by Ivo Juras, an 'Overview of Croatian and Serbian Literature' by Branko Vodnik, professor at the University of Zagreb, as well as Antun Prohaska's 'Overview of Contemporary Croatian and Serbian Literature' were published and approved. These textbooks added summary information on Serbs and Slovenes and thus corresponded to similar Serbian 'patchwork' textbooks of the early 1920s. Srkulj's history textbook, for example, consisted of a typical pre-war overview of Croatian history with superficial and clearly separated additions on Slovenian, Serbian and

⁸⁸³ 'Referat komisije za ocenu Bukvara i Čitanaka za osn. škole, pisanih latinicom podnesenih na raspisani stečaj odlukom O.n. br. 19.156/23 g.' *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/30: 1134-6. To this, the reading books were indeed also published with Cyrillic as the basic alphabet, but all texts remained in ijekavian.

⁸⁸⁴ Beside a historian Stjepan Srkulj was also a prominent politician. He was member of the Croat-Serb Coalition and later the Croatian Union, and served as mayor of Zagreb between 1917 and 1919, and again between 1928 and 1932. Between 1932 and 1934 he was Minister of Buildings.

Bosnian history. Slovenian history was treated on eight pages, Serbian and Montenegrin history on 33 pages and Bosnian history on nine pages, on a total of 271 pages. The textbook did include some Yugoslav elements – such as the treatment of King Tvrtko's Kingdom as an early attempt at Serb-Croat state formation or the Yugoslav interpretation of the Illyrian Provinces (Srkulj 1921: 82, 193-5) – but these were taken over from pre-war Croatian history textbooks. In general, no thorough attempts were made to formulate an overarching narrative which could bind these histories together. In that sense, Srkulj's textbooks strongly resembled Stanojević's earliest histories of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

In the course of the 1920s these pre-war and early post-war textbooks were replaced by new textbooks with more profound adaptations to the Yugoslav context. Stjepan Srkulj's history textbook was replaced by Živko Jakić's new history textbook in the second half of the 1920s. Jakić was a professor at the teacher-training school in Zagreb. In the same period a Croato-Serbian (note the word order!) reading book for secondary schools was published, compiled by Vladimir Nazor and Antun Barac. Antun Barac was literary historian at the University of Zagreb. We have already encountered some of his integral Yugoslav articles on Yugoslav literature in *Književni Jug* (cf. 4.3.1, 4.3.2.1). These new textbooks were used throughout the entire interwar period.

In what follows I examine the construction of national identity in Croatian textbooks which were used throughout the interwar period, especially: Čajkovac's 1926 reading books, Jakić's history textbooks and Nazor & Barac's reading book for secondary schools. I treat the 1937 reading books for elementary schools separately, as these introduced modifications in definitions of national identity. As with Serbian textbooks, I examine to what extent and how Yugoslav national identity was defined in the textbooks under scrutiny, and which common denominators were used to mediate between Croatian sub-national identity and Yugoslav nationhood. Additionally, I draw comparisons with Serbian textbooks of the period.

5.5.1 The value of patriotism and national unity

In comments which accompanied the submitted manuscripts for the competition of 1923 Sigismund Čajkovac clarified that the primary goal of his reading books was national education. More specifically, the author had attempted to make children proud of the nation, to familiarise them with the beauty and richness of the homeland and the glory of the national past, to deepen spiritual unity and brotherhood and to propagate the beauty and richness of the nation as expressed in its customs, language, literature

and other creative products.⁸⁸⁵ This Yugoslav patriotism was prominently manifest in the 1926 series of reading books. In the first instance shorter poems about the brotherhood of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes made the abstract concept of national unity more palpable for the young pupils. Examples include 'Our Wreath' ('Naš vijenac'), with the strophe "I love the flowers from that wreath / The Serb-Croat and the Slovene / But other people too / I will love like real brothers" (Čajkovac 1926a: 67),⁸⁸⁶ Branko Radičević's 'To the Home Region upon Parting' ('Zavičaju na rastanku') and Petar Preradović's 'Two Birds' ('Dvije ptice', Čajkovac 1926b: 134-135). Patriotic poems in which the unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the love toward their free homeland were glorified frequently returned in the reading books for elementary and secondary schools. Many of these patriotic poems evoked the experiences of the World War and the consecutive unification, as for example: Aleksa Šantić's 'Our Fatherland' ('Naša otadžbina') or his 'New Generation' ('Novo pokolenje'), Nazif Resulović's 'To the Homeland' ('Domovini'), Mihailo Gradojević's 'Falcon Song' ('Sokolska pjesma') or Rikard Katalinić-Jeretov's 'New Kolo' ('Novo kolo'). The value of patriotism was also propagated to pupils in stories like Stjepan Ljubiša's 'Blood' ('Krv'), about a Montenegrin who was chased away from his tribe after he had killed one of his fellow tribesmen, but refused to take the offer of an Albanian pasha to help him beat his fellow tribesmen in exchange for a large sum of money. He would rather kill himself than betray his brothers (Čajkovac 1926d: 137-9).

Čajkovac also attempted to explain notions of national unity and homeland to the pupils. Especially for the youngest pupils Čajkovac referred to family bonds to make the nation more concrete: "Where your mother's eye for the first time lovingly hung over your cradle, where she first took you in her arms: there is love, there is your homeland" (Čajkovac 1926a: 66).⁸⁸⁷ The nation was often compared to a family with three equal brothers. The King was represented as the loving father at the head of the Yugoslav family:

Just like in our village people call each other brothers and help others in trouble, our nation does the same in our dear homeland. Croats, Serbs and Slovenes care for and respect each other as true brothers. Every family has its head, which feeds it and protects it from evil. That way our homeland too has its leader, who loves and cares for us all. (...) That ruler of ours is King Aleksandar I Karađorđević. He

⁸⁸⁵ 'Referat o čitankama pisanim latinicom.' *Osnovna nastava* 1(1925)/31: 1190.

⁸⁸⁶ ["Volim cvijeće iz tog vijenca / Srb-Hrvata i Slovenca / Al i druge ljudi znat ću / Voljeti ko pravu braću."]

⁸⁸⁷ ["Gdje se prvi put majčino oko ljubezno nadvilo nad tvoju kolijevku; gdje te je majka prvi put u svojem naručju nosila: tu je ljubav, to je domovina tvoja!"]

carries out heavy duties and watches over our welfare and progress (Čajkovac 1926b: 135).⁸⁸⁸

In the text 'Homeland or Fatherland' ('Domovina ili otadžbina') pupils were introduced to the concept of national territory and language as the most important fundament for national unity:

Far away – across the hills and valleys – there are still many places, villages and cities, where people speak the same language or speak like we do. All these regions far away with countless numbers of villages and cities, where our speech is heard and our people live and work – all that is one country where our elders have lived for a long time – that is our homeland or fatherland. That common homeland of ours is called Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It is inhabited by one nation with three names: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. We are all brothers, and we all equally love our beautiful kingdom, which extends far away over cultivated plains and green hills (Čajkovac 1926b: 133-4).⁸⁸⁹

In 'Blood and Language' ('Krv i jezik') Čajkovac explained that all members of a nation were born in the same homeland and were bound together by blood ties. That was why they all loved their homeland, and were proud of their nation and country, no matter how poor the country might be. Other crucial factors which bound the Yugoslav nation together were language, folk songs and history: "We are all bound by blood and language; we have the same friends and enemies around us. We are bound by our folk stories and popular proverbs. We are bound by the great sons of our nation, by the history of our people" (Čajkovac 1926c: 66-7, quotation on 67).⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸ ["Kao što u našem selu jedni druge braćom nazivaju i pomažu jedan drugome u nevolju, tako to čini i sav narod u našoj dragoj domovini. Paze se i poštuju Hrvati, Srbi i Slovenci kao prava braća. Porodica imade domaćina, koji je hrani i od zla brani. Tako i naša domovina imade svoga poglavara, koji nas sve ljubi i pazi(...). Taj naš glavar je Njegovo Veličanstvo Aleksandar Prvi Karađorđević, kralj Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. On vrši teške dužnosti kraljevske i brine se za naše dobro i naš napredak."]

⁸⁸⁹ ["Ima nadaleko i široko – po brdinama i ravninama – još sva sila mjesta, sela i gradova, gdje ljudi govore jednako, istim jezikom ili govorom kao i mi. Svi ti krajevi nadaleko i naširoko s nebrojevim selima i gradovima, kud se naš govor čuje i gdje naš svijet živi i radi – sve je to jedna zemlja u kojoj su odavna i naši stari bili – to je naša domovina ili otadžbina. Ta naša zajednička domovina zove se Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. U njoj živi jedan narod s tri imena: Srbi, Hrvati i Slovenci. Svi smo mi braća i svi mi jednako ljubimo našu lijepu kraljevinu, što se stere daleko preko pitomih ravnica i zelenih bregova."]

⁸⁹⁰ ["Sve nas veže krv i jezik; jedni su nam prijatelji i neprijatelji oko nas. Vežu nas pjesme naše narodne, pripovijetke i poslovice. Vežu nas svi veliki sinovi naroda našega, veže nas prošlost – povijest roda našega."]
Notice the use of *prošlost* and *povijest*, the Serbian and Croatian variant for 'past'.

5.5.2 Defining Yugoslav language and literature

Pre-First World War Croatian reading books included a significant number of texts in the Cyrillic alphabet, roughly between 15 and 30 per cent of the texts included (Jelavich 1990: 104). In Čajkovac's series of reading books for elementary education the reading books for the first two years were published in both a Latin and Cyrillic version, as had been suggested by the reviewers in the competition for state textbooks. On the first pages of the reading book for the third year the two alphabets of the Serbo-Croatian written language were introduced (Čajkovac 1926c: 3-9). After this, the reading books for the third and fourth year used the two alphabets alternately. The reading books for secondary education compiled by Nazor and Barac similarly included texts in both alphabets, although in this case the Latin alphabet was clearly privileged. The reading books for elementary education were written entirely in the ijekavian variant, even texts which had originally been written in ekavian. Only in the reading book for the fourth year of elementary school some texts were included in the original ekavian variant.⁸⁹¹ Reading books for secondary schools included texts in both ijekavian and ekavian, although here too the ijekavian variant was privileged.

A novelty in interwar Croatian reading books was that a number of texts in Slovenian were included.⁸⁹² In Čajkovac's reading book for the fourth year of elementary education pupils were introduced to Slovenian in a specific geographical chapter on Slovenia. This chapter included some shorter poems in Slovenian by Jakob Razlog, Andrej Prapotnik and Engelbert Gangl, as well as the Slovenian national hymn 'Forward' ('Naprej') by Simon Jenko (Čajkovac 1926d: 107-12). Further the textbook included poems in Slovenian by Simon Gregorčič and Oton Župančič. Similarly, the reading books for secondary education compiled by Nazor and Barac included between five and ten extracts in Slovenian per reading book. For each of these short extracts in Slovenian words which Serbo-Croatian pupils would not understand were translated in Serbo-Croatian.

With regard to the representation of the national language in Croatian reading books, the Croatian language variant occupied a privileged position, but pupils were also introduced to other language variants. Although Yugoslav linguistic unity was generally stressed as a crucial factor of Yugoslav national unity, in practice reading books departed from a model of linguistic unity which allowed for different language variants. In this regard, Croatian textbooks were very similar to the Serbian textbooks of the

⁸⁹¹ 'Referat o čitankama pisanim latinicom.' *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/31: 1193-4.

⁸⁹² In the period before the First World War no texts in Slovenian were included in Croatian textbooks (Jelavich 1990: 136).

1930s, illustrating the viability of this common denominator for definitions of Yugoslav language.

Reading books also introduced the pupils to an overview of national literature. The most important literary tradition in this respect was, without a doubt, folk literature. In all reading books under scrutiny a large number of folk poems and tales were included, from fables to epic poems, treating a wide variety of themes. Especially popular were folk songs from the Kosovo cycle and about Kraljević Marko, who clearly appealed to the pupils' imagination. Folk literature was not only included for its literary value, but also as a unique Yugoslav national phenomenon, a source for high moral values and for historical memory. Indeed, in the historical chapters in Čajkovac's reading books nearly for all historical events or figures a folk song was added. For Croatian historical events many of these songs were contemporary imitations of folk literature, written by a certain Bogdan Krčmarić. Folk literature was represented as a common tradition among all Yugoslavs. In his history textbook for secondary education Živko Jakić for example referred to the tradition of folk songs about national heroes in the battles against the Turks as a shared Serbian and Croatian tradition. "That way those heroes, and especially Marko Kraljević, are common to our entire nation" (Jakić 1929b: 17).⁸⁹³ Jakić even went a step further, adding that Bosnian Muslims too had their folk songs, which glorified their heroes in the battles against the Christians (ibid.). Such an interpretation, which completely dissociated folk literature from religious meaning, forms an interesting alternative to the narrowly Orthodox Christian interpretation of folk literature presented by Miloš Đurić and Branko Lazarević, for example (cf. 4.3.1). It illustrates the viability of folk literature as a building block for various mediations between the sub-national and Yugoslav national level.

Apparently, it was not considered problematic that folk literature "had served as a central building block of exclusively Serbian nationalism in the nineteenth century" (Wachtel 1998: 101). What is more, the compilers of Croatian textbooks did not see harm in including Serb-centred interpretations of folk literature. In their reading book for the fourth year of secondary education Nazor and Barac included Jovan Cvijić's account of the three greatest virtues in Serbian folk literature: St. Sava, Prince Lazar and Miloš Obilić, who, in Cvijić's view, had all sacrificed themselves for higher national and moral ideals, and thus represented the strength of the Serbian people (Nazor & Barac 1930: 17-9). Originally, this was an extract of a lecture Jovan Cvijić held in Prague, which was published in *Nova Evropa* in 1922. In this lecture Cvijić discussed the contributions each of the Yugoslav 'tribes' would make in the process of the establishment of a higher Yugoslav culture. The virtues of the Serbian 'tribe' were represented in the folk

⁸⁹³ ["Tako su ti junaci zajedničkom čitavom našem narodu, a svima je na čelu Marko Kraljević."]

literature on St. Sava, Prince Lazar and Miloš Obilić, as argued above. Obviously, Cvijić considered folk literature a purely Serbian phenomenon and the Serbian contribution to Yugoslav “civilisation”. Croats had made more progress in the field of science and high culture and this would be their contribution to Yugoslav culture. Finally, the Slovenes – who were not burdened by traditions in Cvijić’s opinion – would add their diligence and rationalism (Cvijić 1922).

Further, reading books familiarised pupils with modern literature through an equal representation of Croatian and Serbian authors. In Čajkovac’s reading books for elementary education the Croatian authors most frequently included were Vladimir Nazor, August Šenoa, Davorin Trstenjak, Rikard Katalinić Jeretov, August Harambašić, Ksaver Đalski, Petar Preradović and Ivo Vojnović. Serbian authors included were Branko Radičević, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Petar Kočić, Aleksa Šantić, Stojan Novaković, Vojislav Ilić, Janko Veselinović and Dositej Obradović. In the reading books for secondary education compiled by Nazor and Barac this list was supplemented with a more elaborate number of Croatian and Serbian authors. These reading books also introduced the students to important Slovenian writers like Simon Gregorčič, Anton Aškerc, Ivan Cankar, France Prešeren, Simon Jenko and Oton Župančič. A central place in the reading books’ definition of Yugoslav literary history was occupied by Vuk Kardadžić and Ljudevit Gaj. For both, beside a considerable numbers of their texts, textbooks also included essays in which their contributions to Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity and literature were outlined. Other literary figures who occupied a prominent place in the reading books were Petar Petrović Njegoš, Ivan Mažuranić, France Prešeren and Ivan Cankar. Mažuranić’s ‘The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić’ was considered “the best work in Croatian literature” (Nazor & Barac 1930: 187).⁸⁹⁴ Cankar was called “one of the greatest Yugoslav writers” (ibid: 183).⁸⁹⁵ Prešeren was one of “the greatest Slovenian and, more generally, Yugoslav poets” (ibid: 188).⁸⁹⁶ Finally, Nazor and Barac interpreted Njegoš in a similar way as in Serbian textbooks of the period. They included some extra-textual information by Ljubomir Nenadović on the life of Njegoš, as well as a letter from Petar Preradović to the Prince-Bishop (Nazor & Barac 1934: 49-51). Also, they included the scene of Vojvoda Draško’s visit to Venice from ‘The Mountain Wreath’ (Nazor & Barac 1929: 38-40). In conclusion, with regard to national literature the approach applied in Croatian reading books did not differ greatly from that in Serbian reading books. In both cases folk literature occupied a central position in the literary canon presented to the pupils. In addition, reading books selected largely the same representatives of modern literature and in both cases they were drawn from the three ‘tribal’ literary traditions.

⁸⁹⁴ [“smatra se najboljim delom hrvatske književnosti”.]

⁸⁹⁵ “jedan je od najvećih jugoslovenskih pisaca”.

⁸⁹⁶ [“ide među najveće slovenske i uopće jugoslovenske pesnike”.]

A Croatian counterpart to Pavle Popović and Đorđe Anđelić's overviews of Yugoslav literary history along Wachtel's multicultural model was not published during the interwar period. In the early 1920s Croatian textbooks on the history of Croatian and Serbian literature were published by Branko Vodnik and Dragutin Prohaska. Like their Serbian counterparts, both authors distinguished between three historical periods in the development of Croatian and Serbian literature: the period of religious and feudal literature (10th-15th century), Renaissance, aristocratic and popular literature (15th-19th century), and civil and national literature (19th-20th century).⁸⁹⁷ Still, these literary histories clearly differed from Serbian examples of the interwar period. First, not surprisingly, there was a strong Croatian bias in these textbooks. In Prohaska's textbook Serbian literature was treated on ca. 40 pages on a total of 202. In his chapter on medieval literature Vodnik focused on Croatian literature in Glagolitic (Vodnik 1923: 7-11), and only briefly referred to Serbian medieval literature, although the latter had a much stronger tradition (ibid: 12-3). The extracts included for this period were all taken from what was interpreted as 'Croatian' literature, most importantly the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja, instead of the typical examples of Serbian medieval literature.

Secondly, although both authors explicitly stressed the national unity of Serbs and Croats and the unity of Serbian and Croatian literature, their concrete interpretation of Yugoslav national unity in literature differed from the multicultural (in Wachtel's terminology) model in Popović and Anđelić's overviews of Yugoslav literature. For each of the periods under scrutiny Vodnik and Prohaska distinguished between a number of literary movements, phenomena and writers, but maintained a clear distinction between Serbian and Croatian literature. This led to some controversial delineations. The Renaissance and Baroque literature of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia, for example, were unconditionally interpreted as part of Croatian literature (Prohaska 1923: 93-4). Texts by the Bosnian Muslim writer Safvet beg Bašagić too were included in a chapter on Croatian contemporary realism. This approach especially differed from the multicultural approach for modern 19th and 20th century literature. Indeed, whereas before the 19th century regional literatures had not developed parallel in the South Slav lands, modern Serbian and Croatian literature had developed side by side, making it an outstanding case-study for the multicultural model. Still, even for that period Prohaska maintained a clear-cut distinction between Croatian and Serbian literature (cf. 4.3.2.1 for the debate between Prohaska and Antun Barac of the early 1920s). Tellingly, the Ministry of Education did not prolong the approval of Prohaska's textbook after 1924.

⁸⁹⁷ Vodnik's textbook was conceived as a two-volume work. In the first volume the first two periods were covered, in the second volume the third period. The second volume, however, was never finished. The first volume was approved for use throughout the interwar period.

5.5.3 Religious tolerance and unity

As in Serbian textbooks, the principle of religious tolerance took a very prominent place in the textbooks under scrutiny, especially in the reading books for elementary education. In his reading book for the fourth year, for example, Čajkovac argued:

A true patriot is he, who has a hearth, compassion, love and goodness for all citizens of his country. It is really ugly and low if you hate your brothers and compatriots because they are not of the same faith or social class as you, or look at them angrily (Čajkovac 1926d: 140).⁸⁹⁸

Let us now examine how precisely the idea of religious tolerance was substantiated in the Croatian textbooks.

5.5.3.1 Yugoslav Christianity: circumventing the Catholic-Orthodox divide

Like in Serbian textbooks, the Catholic/Orthodox fault line was de-emphasised by explaining the historical development of religious division among the South Slavs. First, it was argued that the South Slavs were Christianised by followers of St. Cyril and St. Methodius in the tradition of Slavonic Christianity and that initially all South Slavs had belonged to one common Christian faith. However, unlike in Serbian textbooks, it was stressed that all South Slav Christians stood under the leadership of the pope in Rome (Čajkovac 1926d: 147-51; Jakić 1929a: 30-2). Interestingly in this regard, Živko Jakić did not fail to mention that the first king of medieval Serbia Stevan Prvovenčani Nemanjić was crowned by the Pope and that he initially sided with the Catholic Church, an element which was left aside in Serbian textbooks (Jakić 1929a: 81-2).

Further, textbooks stressed that it was only because of gradually growing discord between the Greek and the Latin fraction in the Church, finally resulting in the religious Schism, and the location of the South Slavs on the boundary between East and West, that they became religiously divided: “The animosity between the two churches divided and alienated the Croats and Serbs, brothers of the same blood, for many centuries, because the former adhered to Rome and the other to Constantinople” (Jakić 1929a: 30).⁸⁹⁹ Specific attention was also paid to the tradition of the Slavonic liturgy in medieval Croatia and especially the figure of Bishop Gregory of Nin. Whereas Serbian textbooks

⁸⁹⁸ [“Pravi rodoljub je onaj, koji imade srca i milosti, ljubavi i dobrote prema svima građanima zemlje svoje. Doista je ružno i nisko, ako mržiš ili prijekim okom gledaš brata i sugrađanina svoga, koji nije iste vjere kao ti ili je iz drugoga društvenoga staleža”.]

⁸⁹⁹ [“Neprijateljstvo koje je nastalo između jedne i druge crkve, rastavilo je i otuđilo je za mnogo stoljeća također jednokrvnu braću Hrvate i Srbe, jer jedni prionuše uz Rim, a drugi uz Carigrad”.]

considered the ban on the use of Old Slavonic in the medieval Croatian Church a sign of the lesser degree of national consciousness of the Catholic Church in Croatia, the Croatian textbooks under scrutiny provided an alternative interpretation. In the first place, it was stressed that King Tomislav – under whose rule Old Slavonic was first banned in 925 – himself had allegedly supported Gregory of Nin and the national church, “but could not openly oppose [the Latin clergy] for political reasons” (Jakić 1929a: 38).⁹⁰⁰ Further, it was considered evidential of the national consciousness of the Croats that they had managed to maintain the tradition of Slavonic liturgy and the Glagolitic alphabet on Krk, in Senj and some parts of Dalmatia, against the wishes of the powerful Latin bishops in the coastal cities and the islands (Čajkovac 1926d: 154). Although the interpretation differed from that in Serbian textbooks, Croatian textbooks did take over the model of the national church as outlined in interwar codifications of Yugoslav historical identity and curricula.

As in Serbian reading books, Čajkovac’s reading books for elementary education included chapters on national customs and characteristics in which religious acts and traditions occupied a prominent place. By selecting phenomena such as the *zadruga* (extended family groups), marriage, Christmas, saint’s days, *moba* (collective work) and *kolo*, Čajkovac clearly emphasised the traditionalistic, agricultural and Christian character of the Yugoslav nation. Čajkovac obviously represented these traditions as customary among both Catholics and Orthodox. For saint’s days for example, the reading book for the third year included a toast made by the head of a household on its saint’s day, obviously from a Catholic point of view (Čajkovac 1926c: 124-5), whereas the reading book for the fourth year spoke about the Serbian *slava* feasts (Čajkovac 1926d: 132-3). In texts on Christmas Čajkovac discussed both the Orthodox and Catholic rituals (Čajkovac 1926c: 118-20). The reading book for the fourth year included Dinko Šimunović’s ‘Christmas in a Monastery’ (‘Božić u manastiru’) in which a Catholic was brought to tears by the Orthodox celebration of Christmas (Čajkovac 1926d 131).⁹⁰¹ Clearly, the Yugoslav nation was presented as a deeply Christian nation, beyond superficial differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

These elements in Croatian textbooks indicate the viability of the paradigm of the national church as a common denominator between at the one hand the Serbian Orthodox and Croatian Catholic level of collective identity, and on the other the level of Yugoslav nationhood. In this regard it is telling that even after the installation of the Croatian banovina, when integral Yugoslav elements were banned from the curriculum,

⁹⁰⁰ [“iz političkih razloga nije mogao da otvoreno zađe u borbu”.]

⁹⁰¹ As we have seen, this text was also included in Stanojević and Stefanović’s Serbian reading books. Obviously, the fact that a Catholic attended an Orthodox liturgy carried a different meaning depending on the religious target group of the textbooks.

symbolic resources related to the national character of Christianity among Croats and Serbs continued to take a prominent place in adapted curricula for elementary schools. In the first year of history education pupils learned about national customs which went back to the pagan beliefs of Croats and Serbs, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, St. Sava and Prince Lazar. The curriculum for the fourth year included a reference to the Christianisation and the Glagolitic alphabet. The figure of Gregory of Nin was not mentioned.⁹⁰² Clearly, the problem was not so much the model of the national church, nor its personification in St. Sava for the Serbian people; but attempts by the state authorities to expand symbolic resources related to Serbian Orthodoxy to the Yugoslav national and state-wide level, as in the case of St. Sava's Day (cf. 4.6.3). Illustratively, in Croatian textbooks St. Sava took quite a prominent place. Typically, reading books included folk songs and tales or historical texts about St. Sava. However, none of these texts expanded the primary historical and national meaning of St. Sava beyond the Serbian collective framework. Čajkovac's reading book for the third year included a poem by Andrija Kačić Miošić which focused on the religious aspect of St. Sava's biography, and a folk tale about Sava and two rich men (Čajkovac 1926c: 141-4). In the reading book for the fourth year for elementary education a text was included by the Serbian historian Stanoje Stanojević, which only made claims about the Serbian national character of St. Sava (Čajkovac 1926d: 166).

5.5.3.2 The place of South Slav Muslims in Yugoslav national identity

As far as the Yugoslav Muslims were concerned, little efforts were made to apply the principle of religious tolerance directly to them. Textbooks under scrutiny included only little additional information on South Slav Muslims and continued to portray them in a hybrid way, as an "internal Other". Both in elementary and secondary school reading books South Slav Muslims were ignored. One exceptions was 'Alija' by Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, a poem which was also obligatorily included in Serbian reading books, which argued that the religious differences between a Muslim boy and a Christian boy be set aside, because "blood is not water" (Čajkovac 1926d: 133-4). However, such superficial statements of Muslim-Christian tolerance were not substantiated with a more positive or open view on South Slav Muslims. In fact, in Nazor and Barac's reading books the only references to Islam were included in stories about the resistance to Ottoman oppression, as the already mentioned 'Blood' by Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša and 'Holy Revenge' ('Sveta osveta') by Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, which positively portrayed a Montenegrin Serb who was sentenced to death by the Montenegrin authorities for

⁹⁰² 'Iz Banovine Hrvatske'. *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 3.

taking revenge on a “Turk” who had killed one of his family members (Nazor & Barac 1930: 94-7; 32-5).

In his historical overview Čajkovac propagated solidarity toward the Muslim population and stressed that Muslims were not Turks, as they were sometimes called by the people. “They are Slavs just like use; descendants of Slavonic tribes, who moved from the North to the warm South with our ancestors. They are our brothers by blood and language, they speak like us and do not know any Turkish, so they can’t be Turks” (Čajkovac 1926d: 151).⁹⁰³ Religious differences should never get the upper hand of national bonds, as was conveyed to the students with the omnipresent popular proverb ‘Brat je mio, koje vere bio’ (ibid.). However, the conversion to Islam of a part of the Yugoslav nation was clearly considered a historical misfortune and a departure from the *essential* Christian nature of the nation. Čajkovac stressed that ‘in the beginning’ the South Slavs had all been Christians and that after the arrival of the Ottomans in the Balkans a part of the nation took over the Islamic faith, as if the “nation was not already torn apart enough” (ibid: 150-1).⁹⁰⁴

A more elaborate introduction to Islam and South Slav Muslims was presented in Jakić’s history textbooks for secondary education. First, Jakić included a chapter on the origins of Islam and the fundamentals of the Muslim faith (Jakić 1929a: 57-9). Further, he treated the conversion to Islam among South Slavs in Bosnia. According to Jakić converts primarily belonged to the class of Bogomil landowners, who obtained privileges and preserved their wealth by converting to Islam, whereas Bosnian peasants held on to the Christian faith (Jakić 1929b: 12-3). For Jakić the Muslims’ historical role had not been positive: “Bosnian Croats and Serbs who had converted to Islam began considering themselves as one nation with the Turks and began to chase away and hate their Christian brothers” (ibid: 13).⁹⁰⁵ Similarly, when describing the Montenegrin liberation battles Jakić argued that “Islamicised Montenegrins were even worse than Turks”, which was why the Montenegrins “slaughtered them”, referring to Njegoš’s ‘The Mountain Wreath’ (ibid: 71).⁹⁰⁶ Interestingly, further Jakić quoted the introductory verses from Njegoš’s ‘Pseudo-Tsar Stephen the Small’: “It is not important how one makes the cross” (“Ne pita se, ko se kako krsti”...), depicting him as a religiously tolerant ruler (Jakić 1929b: 119). Obviously, this was not considered contradictory to the message

⁹⁰³ [“Oni su Slaveni kao i mi; potomci slavenskih plemena, koja su se doselila sa sjevera na topli jug zajedno s našim predima. Oni su naša rođena braća po krvi i jeziku; govore kao i mi, a turski i ne znadu, pa po tome ne mogu biti Turci”].

⁹⁰⁴ [“Ali još nije bilo dosta cijepanja našega naroda”].

⁹⁰⁵ [“bosanski su se Hrvati i Srbi, koji postadoše muslimani, stali smatrati s Turcima kao jedan narod i počeli su progoniti i mrzeti svoju kršćansku braću”].

⁹⁰⁶ [“Crnogorske poturice, koje bijahu još gore od samih Turaka”, “pokolju ih”].

of intolerance toward South Slav Muslims in 'The Mountain Wreath', illustrating that religious tolerance did not necessarily apply to South Slav Muslims. By continuing to interpret South Slav Muslims as alien elements within the own nation, as agents of Ottoman oppression, Croatian textbooks, just like their Serbian counterparts, failed to provide incentives for viable negotiations between South Slav Muslim and Yugoslav national identity.

5.5.3.3 South Slav Muslims' criticism against textbooks

The hybrid position toward South Slav Muslims in both Serbian and Croatian textbooks was continuously criticised by representatives of Yugoslav Muslims. Immediately after the first state competition for elementary school textbooks was closed *Reis-ul-ulema* Džemaludin Čaušević protested to the chief of the Sarajevo district against the use of Serbian reading books of Jovan Jovanović, Ljubomir Protić and Milorad Vujanac in schools with Muslim pupils, because these offended the religious sentiments of Muslims and because the textbooks "inconveniently and wrongly treat national and religious belonging, as they at times identify the notion of nationality with that of religion".⁹⁰⁷ On this occasion, the district department for education presented Čaušević with the series of reading books by Čajkovac, to examine whether these were more suitable for use by Muslim pupils. Čaušević explained that he preferred these reading books because they contained less religious material. He added that they could be used by Muslims only in case all religious references were deleted, namely: texts about Christmas, St. Peter, 'Our people under Turkish rule' and *krsno ime*. Moreover, although quotations from the Bible in principle did not violate Islamic prescriptions, it was problematic that no quotations from Koran were included in the reading books.⁹⁰⁸ As a response to Čaušević's complaints, on 30 October 1926 the Ministry of Education decided that for the time being schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Muslim students could continue to make use of older textbooks which had been published by the regional government in Sarajevo immediately after the war. In case students had already bought new Serbian or Croatian textbooks articles which were contradictory to Islam could be omitted.⁹⁰⁹ At the congress of Muslim intellectuals which was held in Sarajevo between 6-8 September 1928, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of *Gajret's* establishment, *Reis-ul-ulema* Čaušević

⁹⁰⁷ ["nezgodno i pogrešno tretira nacionalno i vjersko opredjeljenje, pa se gdje-gdje identifikuje pojam nacionalnosti sa pojmom vjere."] Quoted from a letter from *Reis-ul-ulema* Čaušević to the chief of the Sarajevo district, 28 October 1926. AJ 66(pov)-63-167.

⁹⁰⁸ Letter from *Reis-ul-ulema* Čaušević to the chief of the Sarajevo district, 28 October 1926. AJ 66(pov)-63-167.

⁹⁰⁹ 'Upotreba bukvara i čitanaka izdanja izdanja bivše Pokrajinske Uprve u Sarajevu u školama koje pohađaju i daci islamske vere'. O.n. br. 14.489, AJ 66(pov)-63-167.

repeated his complaint that Muslim pupils had to use textbooks which “are composed in the spirit of the Orthodox faith and contain incorrect historical pieces which offend the religious sentiments of Muslims.”⁹¹⁰ In the resolution which was adopted at the end of the congress it was stressed:

Not only out of reasons of religious sensitivity, but also out of reasons of national and cultural unity and culture in general, we most energetically demand that all elements which could offend the religious sentiments of Muslims be deleted from school textbooks.⁹¹¹

Similar complaints from representatives of South Slav Muslims returned throughout the 1930s. In 1932 the Central Committee of *Gajret* presented Prime Minister Milan Srškić, the Ministry of Education and the *Reis-ul-ulema* with a long list of textbooks which were not suited for Muslims, and demanded that these textbooks would no longer be used in Muslim schools. Further, it was demanded that the Ministry would formulate a rulebook which could prevent the approval of such textbooks in the future. Finally, *Gajret* also requested the appointment of a number of Muslim pedagogues in the Main Educational Board, who could warn against elements in textbooks which could hamper “the correct development of national consciousness and national unity”.⁹¹² The Ministry of Education spread a circular in which it forbade the usage of Milorad Vujanac’s reading book for the third year of elementary schools and other textbooks which included texts and songs which referred to the Christian religion in those areas with a considerable Muslim population.⁹¹³ However, this measure clearly had little effect. In 1933 *Gajret* repeated its criticism against the use of textbooks which offended the religious sentiment of Muslims.⁹¹⁴ At the annual congress of July 1933 in Sarajevo the question was treated again and a resolution was adopted which criticised the fact that textbooks were not formulated in accordance with the principle of general tolerance, which lay at the basis of any successful national education, and warned that this created resentment against national education among Muslims.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹⁰ [“jer su udžbenici sastavljeni u duhu pravoslavne vjere i sadrže netačne istorijske članke, koji vrijeđaju vjersko čuvstvo muslimana.”]. ‘Kongres muslimana intelektualaca’, *Gajret* 9 (1928)/19-20: 292.

⁹¹¹ [“Ne samo iz razloga vjerske osjetljivosti, nego iz razloga kulturnog i nacionalnog jedinstva i kulture uopće, tražimo najenergičnije da se izbací iz školskih udžbenika sve što može da povrijedi vjerske osjećaje muslimana.”] ‘Završetak kongresa muslimana intelektualaca’, *Gajret* 9 (1928)/21: 349.

⁹¹² ‘Pitanje školskih udžbenika’, *Gajret* 13 (1932)/19: 321-2. [“pravilan razvoj nacionalne svijesti i narodnog jedinstva.”]

⁹¹³ O.n. br. 77.229, 7 October 1932. AJ 66-476-751.

⁹¹⁴ ‘Pitanje udžbenika’, *Gajret* 14 (1933)/10: 162.

⁹¹⁵ Report on the 27th annual congress of *Gajret* on 16 July 1933 in Sarajevo, *Gajret* 14 (1933)/17-18: 281.

On 25 July 1934 representatives of *Gajret* again sent a short letter to the Prime Minister in which they complained that the textbook question still had not been solved and that there were still many elements in textbooks which offended the religious sensibility of Muslims. *Gajret* requested the Prime Minister to withdraw textbooks which offended the Muslim faith and to establish a commission of experts on textbooks, so that schools could finally become “pure temples of science, which will sow and strengthen brotherly love between all citizens of our beautiful national state”.⁹¹⁶ At the Ministry of Education’s request on 8 February 1935 *Gajret* substantiated its argument, explaining that many textbooks contained passages which offended the *national and religious* sensibility of Muslim pupils, and adding a detailed list of problematic passages in a large number of Croatian and Serbian textbooks of the period. With regard to religious sensibility, *Gajret* complained that textbooks simply contained a large number of Christian elements and incorrect statements about Islam, such as references to God in heaven, angels, saints, Christmas, Mohamed as a prophet instead of God’s messenger, and pictures of churches. From a national point of view it was problematic that textbooks often equated Islam with the Turkish nation, which was harmful for the Yugoslav national consciousness of Muslims and simply confirmed the popular opinion that all Muslims were Turks.⁹¹⁷

These criticisms indicate that representatives of South Slav Muslims were not only dissatisfied with the incorrect treatment of Islam in textbooks from a religious point of view, but also more abstractly with the authorities’ strategy to negotiate between religious difference and Yugoslav national unity (cf. 4.6.3.1). *Reis-ul-ulema* Čaušević for example had argued that the central problem was that textbooks “identify the notion of nationality with that of religion”.⁹¹⁸ He suggested that instead of stressing the parallel national character of all South Slav religions, definitions of Yugoslav nationhood should not make use of religious symbolic resources at all and hold on to a strict distinction between religion and nationhood. Although *Gajret*’s Serb-oriented national ideology differed from Čaušević’s neutral Yugoslavism in 1935 the Central Committee of *Gajret* similarly recognised that “the identification of Serbdom with Orthodoxy in these textbooks is a great hindrance for the correct interpretation and feeling of national consciousness among Muslims”.⁹¹⁹ This latter complaint was substantiated with

⁹¹⁶ [“pravi i čisti hramovi nauke, koji će sejati bratsku ljubav među svim državljanima naše lepe nacionalne države i učvršćivati je.”] Letter from *Gajret* to the Prime Minister, dated 25 July 1934, forwarded in a report to the Ministry of Education, 28 July 1934. AJ (pov)-46-85.

⁹¹⁷ Report from *Gajret* to the Ministerial Council, 8 February 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-46-85.

⁹¹⁸ [“idenitifikuje pojam nacionalnosti sa pojmom vjere.”] Quoted from a letter from *Reis-ul-ulema* Čaušević to the chief of the Sarajevo district, 28 October 1926. AJ 66(pov)-63-167.

⁹¹⁹ [“identifikovanje srpstva i pravoslavlja u ovim udžbenicima uveliko je smetnja za pravilno shvaćanje i osjećanje nacionalne svesti među muslimanima.”]

examples from textbooks which pointed to the close link between the Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbdom especially in texts about St. Sava. The solution, according to *Gajret*, was the publication of uniform textbooks for the entire Kingdom without references to religion.⁹²⁰ Thus, representatives of South Slav Muslims challenged the authorities' appropriation of religious symbolic resources to make sense of Yugoslav national identity. Importantly, these critical voices did not demand the publication of specific textbooks for South Slav Muslims or the inclusion of a representative number of texts on Muslim religious symbolic resources in the textbooks. Rather, they rejected the authorities' approach to religious diversity and Yugoslav nationhood altogether and suggested that definitions of Yugoslav nationhood should ignore religious symbolic resources.

Also at a local level controversies around the predominance of Christian religious elements in textbooks occurred. On 6 January 1934 the local authorities of the Cazin district in north-western Bosnia reported to the provincial authorities that the religious teacher Mahmut Džaferović of the local elementary schools had entered the classroom of the second year during a break and crossed out articles with religious references to St. Sava, Christmas Eve and *dodole*, and told the pupils that they should not learn these texts. Džaferović had already been sentenced for similar offenses with a fine of 250 dinars. Earlier in 1933, the local authorities had already accused the religious teacher Bećir Kadarević from Gnjilavac in the same area because he had crossed out similar articles in the reading books for the second and fourth year. Both matters had been taken to the Court for State Security and the provincial authorities suggested the Ministries of Interior and Education to dismiss the teachers in question to set an example.⁹²¹

On 28 August 1933 the educational department of Drina banovina informed the Ministry of Education about a number of complaints by representatives of the *vakuf* council of Zvornik against the local teacher Samara Stevanović, who had accordingly offended pupils of the Muslim faith by treating the following poems with them: Branislav Nušić's 'Prayer' ('Molitva'), which referred to God in heaven, and Aleksa Šantić's 'Mother's prayer' ('Majčina molitva'), which referred to angels, both included in Ljubomir Protić's reading book. In the same report the provincial authorities referred to similar earlier complaints by local Muslim authorities about references to God in heaven, *krsno ime* or angels in heaven in reading books. These complaints had been based on a decision of the Ministry of Education of 4 January 1932 that pupils of the Muslim faith should not read texts in reading books which could offend their religious

⁹²⁰ Report from *Gajret* to the Ministerial Council, 8 February 1935. AJ 66 (pov)-46-85.

⁹²¹ Report from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Education, 13 February 1934; Report from the educational department of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, 5 March 1934. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

sensitivity. However, and this is the crux of the discussion, the provincial authorities for their part did not agree with the complainants that all references to Christian religious acts or symbols were offensive to religious sentiments of Muslim pupils. To the contrary, the authorities explained that it was one of the crucial tasks of elementary education to raise children in the spirit of religious tolerance and brotherly love, which could only be successful if pupils learned about the customs of other religions. Moreover, in the poems mentioned religious symbols were primarily used to convey patriotism and national consciousness. The provincial authorities suggested that the Ministry of Education would start a dialogue with the Islamic Community and formulate a decree that it could not be considered harmful if pupils were made familiar with other religious customs, in case there was no direct claim made about the inferiority of certain religions.⁹²² Clearly, the authorities did not grasp that it was precisely the link between Orthodoxy and Yugoslav nationhood that was problematic for South Slav Muslims.

These repeated complaints further confirm that the common denominator of the national church in Yugoslav education in practice did not provide incentives for negotiations between Muslim sub-national collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood but rather discredited the attractiveness of Yugoslav nationhood for South Slav Muslim intellectuals. As illustrated in the discussion about the celebration of St. Sava's Day in school and the treatment of South Slav Muslims in textbooks, Muslim intellectuals increasingly dissociated themselves from the treatment of religion in the authorities' educational policy. As Bougarel has rightly pointed out, these "religious debates (...) played a key role in the way Bosnian Muslim elites have positioned themselves towards European political modernity, which means, first of all, towards the nation-state" (Bougarel 2008: 343). Reformist Muslim intellectuals – both secular (*Gajret*, JMO) and religious (Čaušević) – time and again rejected the close link between nationhood and religion in interwar Yugoslavia. At the same time these intellectuals increasingly rejected Croatian and Serbian claims to South Slav Muslims and instead argued for the unity of South Slav Muslims as an equal part of the Yugoslav nation. The following quotation from Džemaludin Čaušević, from an article published in 1935, is representative for this standpoint:

There are in our state Croats and Serbs who are closely following the Islamic faith, and this has to be taken into account. I am firmly convinced that the most accurate solution is that neither the Catholics nor the Orthodox link their Croat or Serb identity with their religious feelings, since it causes a great confusion among

⁹²² Report from the educational department of Drina banovina, 28 August 1933. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

those Croats who are not Catholic and those Serbs who are not Orthodox (qtd. and translated in Bougarel 2008: 341).

However, this standpoint continuously clashed with the dominant vision among Serbian and Croatian intellectuals as expressed in the educational policy of the period, which was clearly that Muslims first had to become Serbs or Croats and then Yugoslavs, and that the Yugoslav nation was *authentically* Christian. Within the context of increasingly polarised Serb-Croat relations of the late 1930s, in which the question of Bosnia and its population played a central role, the Yugoslav tactics of reformist Muslim intellectuals were less and less tenable. The nascent contemporary Bosniak nationalism of the leading figure of Islamic revivalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mehmed Handžić, in fact made more sense within the framework of the institutionalisation of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, as it departed from a close link between nationhood and religion, although it did not integrate the national Bosniak Islam within an overarching level of Yugoslav national unity but rather opposed it to the dominant Serb-Croat and Christian Yugoslavism, which informed the Yugoslav educational policy (ibid: 341-2).

5.5.4 Yugoslav history

History typically played a crucial role in the underpinning of national unity, and this was not different in the Croatian textbooks of the interwar period. As clarified by Čajkovac the history chapter in his reading books was intended to develop national consciousness and pride. The strategy he had used was similar to that in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s: “Especially those moments have been highlighted, which have united us in any way and which have had an influence on our final liberation and unification”.⁹²³ To what extent did the concretisation of this strategy in Croatian textbooks concur with that in Serbian textbooks?

5.5.4.1 Primordial Yugoslav unity

Great attention was paid to the primordial national unity of the Yugoslavs. Relevant textbooks – for elementary education reading books, for secondary education the history textbooks of Živko Jakić – treated the original homeland, societal organisation and shared pagan customs of the Slavs. Gradually, it was argued, the migration of Slavs

⁹²³ ‘Referat o čitankama pisanim latinicom.’ *Osnovna nastava* 1(1925)/31: 1192. [“Naglašuju se naročito oni momenti, koji nas u prošlosti ma čime udružuju, ističu se oni događaji, koji su utjecali na konačno naše oslobođenje i ujedinjenje.”]

in different directions had led to the formation of different languages and nations within the Slavonic family, the Yugoslavs being one of those nations. After settling in the Balkans, some of the South Slav tribes began dominating surrounding tribes as an effective form of protection against enemies. Two of the South Slav tribes, in the east the Serbs and in the west the Croats, were obviously stronger than the others and organised all other tribes around them. It was explicitly stressed that “[a]t that time there were no significant differences between Croats and Serbs, not in name, not in speech, not in religion, not in anything else” (Jakić 1929a: 18).⁹²⁴ The emergence of a third ‘tribe’ was the consequence of specific external historical factors:

The Slovenes early fell under foreign occupation and failed to organise themselves around the strongest tribe in one state under their specific name, but only preserved the general Slavic name under foreign occupation. (...) That way, our nation became divided in three parts and spent the past separated in different states, all under their own name. However, by its identical blood and language they form one nation, although they have three names (Čajkovac 1926d: 147).⁹²⁵

The Croat-biased approach in the textbooks was manifested in the focus on the settlement of the Croatian ‘tribe’ in the Balkans. Jakić clarified how twelve Croatian tribes settled at the Adriatic Coast, “and spread the Croatian name from there further north and east toward Sava and Drava” (Jakić 1929a: 19).⁹²⁶ Nazor and Barac’s reading books for secondary education included Vladimir Nazor’s poem ‘The Migration of the Croats’ (‘Seoba Hrvata’), which portrays how the Croats migrated toward the Adriatic Coast after they had been instructed to do so by the god Perun (Nazor & Barac 1934: 6-7). Čajkovac’s reading book for the fourth year included two poems by Vladimir Nazor which treated the actual arrival of the Croats at the Adriatic Coast (Čajkovac 1926d: 143-4). Obviously, these poems firmly linked Dalmatia and the Adriatic Coast to the Croatian ‘tribe’.

⁹²⁴ [“Između Hrvata i Srba ne bijaše tada znatnijih razlika ni u imenu ni u govoru ni u vjeri ni u čemu drugomu.”]

⁹²⁵ [“Slovenci su rano potpali pod tuđu vlast te nijesu dospjeli da se okupe oko najjačega plemena u jednu državu pod njegovim imenom, nego su pod tuđom vlasti sačuvali samo opće slavensko ime. (...) Na razloženi način dogodilo se, da je naš narod razdijeljen u tri dijela proživio prošlost razdijeljeno u posebnim državama, svaki pod svojim posebnim imenom, ali po svojoj jednoj krvi i jednom jeziku to je jedan narod, makar da imade tri imena. Sada je pak ujedinjen u jednoj državi”.]

⁹²⁶ [“Otuda su oni proširili hrvatsko ime i dalje na sjever i istok prema Savi i Dravi”].]

5.5.4.2 The golden age: the medieval South Slav states

After it had been historically explained how the three Yugoslav ‘tribes’ had been formed and how they became religiously divided, the textbooks continued with a relatively balanced overview of the histories of Serbs and Croats. Croatian history occupied a slightly privileged position in the historical overviews, certainly in comparison to Serbian textbooks. In Jakić’s history textbook, for example, the Croatian medieval state was discussed on 28 pages, against 24 for the Serbian medieval state, whereas for the 19th century the South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire were treated on 30 pages, against 17 for independent Serbia.⁹²⁷ As in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s, Croatian and Serbian historical symbolic resources were given in their chronological order and were structured and interpreted in such a way that parallel historical developments and cooperation between them became obvious.

Each of the medieval South Slav states was treated in detail and interpreted as part of a cluster of parallel and interwoven attempts at Yugoslav state formation and national unification. Jakić started with a brief discussion of the Slovenian medieval state of Carantania on pages 20-22, then discussed the Croatian Kingdom on pages 22-28 and 35-55, the Serbian kingdoms on 32-35, 55-57, 74-85 and 98-105, and the Bosnian state on 70-74 and 107-111 (Jakić 1929a). Interestingly, he briefly treated the Empire of Samuel as one of the early Serbian medieval states (ibid: 34). Textbooks explicitly stressed the parallel historical development of Serbs and Croats in this period. For Serbian medieval history, Čajkovac for example explained that “like the Croats” the Serbs too lived divided in smaller regional states and that Stefan Nemanja was the first who succeeded in uniting the Serbs in one state, like Tomislav for the Croats (Čajkovac 1926c: 139). In his reading book for the fourth year Čajkovac clarified that King Tvrtko was for Bosnia what Tomislav was for Croatia and Dušan for Serbia (Čajkovac 1926d: 179).

Additionally, textbooks highlighted direct bonds and cooperation between Yugoslavs in this period. Jakić specifically mentioned that “between Croats and Serbs it never in their history came to bloody clashes because of changes of state borders” (Jakić 1929a: 52).⁹²⁸ A crucial episode in this respect was the revolt and short-lived ‘state’ under Ljudevit Posavski, who was celebrated as the founder of the first “national state of Croats, Slovenes and Serbs” (Jakić 1929a: 23, see also Čajkovac 1926c: 129-33).⁹²⁹ For King

⁹²⁷ Bosnian history is not taken into account in both cases.

⁹²⁸ [“Valja napose istaknuti, da između Hrvata i Srba nije nikada u čitavoj njihovoj prošlosti došlo do krvava obračunavanja poradi pomicanja državnih granica.”]

⁹²⁹ A similar message was conveyed in Čajkovac (1926c: 129-33). The textbooks also stressed that the Dalmatian ruler Borna supported the Franks against Ljudevit, and thus caused the fall of the first Yugoslav state. The trope of internal discord would return frequently in the history of the Yugoslavs and it obviously presented a lesson for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Tomislav it was stressed that he protected Serbs against the Bulgarians of Emperor Simeon (Čajkovac 1926d: 151-2).⁹³⁰ Tvrtko was glorified as the creator of the first state of Croats and Serbs (Čajkovac 1926d: 179-80; Jakić 1929a: 111).

The medieval independent states were presented as the golden age of Yugoslav national history and provided an almost bottomless source for national pride and consciousness. Medieval rulers and historical events from both Croatian and Serbian history were omnipresent in the Croatian textbooks. Very popular in all reading books under scrutiny were the historical poems by Vladimir Nazor on the Croatian medieval kings. For Serbian medieval history reading books included extracts from folk literature on Stefan Nemanja, St. Sava, Tsar Dušan and the Battle of Kosovo. Finally, reading books also discussed the Bosnian medieval kingdom, with references to Kulin Ban, King Tvrtko and Stjepan Tomašević. To give an impression, in Nazor and Barac's reading book for the second year of secondary education texts were included by Ivan Mažuranić and Vladimir Nazor on the Croatian medieval kingdom, by Vatroslav Jagić on St. Methodius, by Stevan Sremac on St. Sava, as well as folk songs on Tsar Dušan, Prince Lazar, the battle of Kosovo, Marko Kraljević and the fall of the Bosnian kingdom (Nazor & Barac 1934: 7-35).

5.5.4.3 Suffering and resistance

After the golden age of Serbian and Croatian history in the Middle Ages, textbooks treated the long period of foreign oppression that followed. First, textbooks focused on parallel battles of the Yugoslavs against the advancing Ottomans. The Battle of Kosovo was in the first place linked to the Serbian 'tribe', but the textbooks also stressed its direct Yugoslav character. Prince Lazar allegedly realised that the Turks posed a threat not only to his state, but also to his "brothers" in the north. Therefore he called for their help and the Bosnian King Tvrtko and Ivan Horvat, a former Croatian governor, sent troops (Čajkovac 1926c: 148). Additionally, the battle was linked to its Croatian counterpart, the battle at Krbava field: "The most terrible and disastrous battle against the Turks the Serbs had at Kosovo, the Croats at Krbava field" (Čajkovac 1926c: 157).⁹³¹ Čajkovac explained that after the battle of Mohacs, a decisive victory of the Ottomans over the Hungarian Kingdom in 1526, a great part of Croatian territory fell under Ottoman rule and the remainders of independent Croatia were constantly threatened by Ottoman invasions and raids (Čajkovac 1926d: 182-5).

⁹³⁰ This historical episode also conveyed the idea of Serbs and Croats cooperating against the Bulgarians, which was obviously meaningful for the present reality of the pupils.

⁹³¹ ["Najstrašnji i najnesretniji boj s Turcima imali su Srbi na Kosovu polju, a Hrvati na Krbavskom polju".]

Further, textbooks discussed the difficult situation of the South Slavs under foreign rule and common revolts against the oppressors. For this historical period, parallelism obviously lay in the suffering and combative character of all Yugoslav 'tribes' and in their common enemy, the Ottoman Empire (Čajkovac 1926d: 185-8). In his history textbook for secondary school Živko Jakić paid great attention to the common resistance of South Slavs against the Ottomans, as came to expression in similar folk songs among both Croats and Serbs, the popular resistance of *hajduks* and *uskoks* and the measures the South Slav population in the border area between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires had taken to protect themselves against Ottoman raids (Jakić 1929b: 17, 31-2, 49, 44-6). As summarised by Jakić, "the common threat of the Turks united Slovenes, Croats and those Serbs who had settled on the Croatian border, and together they protected their country and Christian Europe for two centuries" (Jakić 1929b: 31).⁹³² The historical message was that the Serbs had fought the Ottomans at Kosovo, and would later expel them from the Balkans, but that it were the South Slavs under Habsburg rule who had stopped the Ottoman advance. The most important historical figure in this respect was Nikola Šubić Zrinski. As was clarified in a text by the historian Ferdo Šišić, it was Zrinski's brave defence of Siget – where he gave his own life – which marked the start of the waning Ottoman power in the Balkans (Čajkovac 1926d: 188-9). Croatian history textbooks for secondary schools also treated the gradual rolling back of the Ottoman Empire from the late 17th century by Christian European states, adding that Croats and Serbs played a prominent role in these wars (Jakić 1929b: 47-8, 61-3). In any case, the historical narrative presented to the children in textbooks established the Ottomans as a shared South Slav 'Other'.

As far as the relation between Croats and their Hungarian and later Habsburg rulers was concerned, these were depicted as a lesser evil in comparison to the Ottomans. In fact, as long as the Ottomans posed a common threat to Christian Europe, Croatia and its Habsburg and Hungarian rulers were allies in the battle against the Ottomans (Jakić 1929b: 72-3). However, the relation between the Croatian people and Hungarian and Habsburg rulers was not unconditionally friendly. It was stressed that the Croatian Kingdom always maintained a degree of autonomy from Hungarian and Habsburg rule. When treating the Parliament on Cetin Jakić stressed that the Croatian nobility freely chose Ferdinand as their King and that this decision was made out of historical necessity, as a form of protection against the advancing Ottomans (Jakić 1929b: 21). Further, a specific chapter was devoted to the autonomy of the Croatian governor (*Ban*) and Diet (ibid: 54-5). Textbooks first referred to tensions between Vienna and Croatia

⁹³² ["Zajednička opasnost od Turaka zbližila je Slovence i Hrvate i one Srbe, što su se naselili na hrvatskoj granici, te su oni tako zajednički stajali na braniku svoje zemlje, a i kršćanske Evrope dva puna stoljeća."]

from the 17th century, when Vienna attempted to enforce centralisation “to the detriment of the state freedom of Croatia, Hungary and the Czech lands” (Jakić 1929b: 55).⁹³³ These tensions reached an apogee in the conspiracy of Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan, an event which occupied a prominent position in all history textbooks (Čajkovac 1926c: 165-71; Čajkovac 1926d: 189-91; Jakić 1929b: 57-61). Also, a prominent place in textbooks was given to the harsh situation of South Slav peasants under Habsburg rule, which led to the peasant uprisings of the 16th century (Jakić 1929b: 28-31).

5.5.4.4 The Yugoslav national revival, liberation and unification

For the 19th century textbooks treated both the military successes of independent Serbia and political and cultural life of South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire and later Austria-Hungary. Special attention was also paid to two bastions of South Slav independence, Dubrovnik and Montenegro. In his historical overview for the third year Čajkovac only included texts linked to independent Serbia, namely texts on the Serbian Uprisings, Petar Mrkonjić and the Balkan Wars. In his reading book for the fourth year he included texts on independent Dubrovnik and Montenegro, the Serbian uprisings, the national rebirth (Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Karadžić), Strossmayer and the Balkan Wars. Such an approach neatly concurred with that in Serbian textbooks, and apparently did not question the leading position of independent Serbia in the “national” 19th century.

Živko Jakić’s history textbook for secondary schools presented a more elaborate overview of 19th century history, which neatly concurred with the clusters of increasing Yugoslav national cooperation and consciousness which had been presented in history curricula (cf. 4.4.5). Significantly, whereas in Serbian textbooks 19th century Yugoslav history had been centred around independent Serbia and attention to the history of South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire had been given on the basis of parallelism with the growing national consciousness in independent Serbia, in Živko Jakić’s history textbooks a much more detailed overview was given of the growing national consciousness and resistance of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a reaction against Austrian and Hungarian oppression. In that regard the events in independent Serbia and the national rebirth of South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire were represented as two strands of the Yugoslav national revival. It is no coincidence that whereas the textbooks for history education in secondary schools by Đorđe Lazarević first treated the historical events in 19th century Serbia and then turned to simultaneous events in the Habsburg Empire, Jakić ordered 19th century history inversely and thus established the growing

⁹³³ [“na štetu državne slobode Hrvatske, Ugarske i Češke.”]

national consciousness among Habsburg South Slavs as the core around which 19th century Yugoslav history could be understood.

Within the Habsburg Empire itself the national rebirth of South Slavs took place simultaneously for Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but the Croats obviously took the lead. For instance, when referring to the national rebirth of the early 19th century Jakić first treated the national rebirth of the Slovenes (Kopitar, Prešeren and Bleiweis) and Serbs (Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić), as well as the preparation of the national rebirth among Croats (Pavao Štoos, Maksimilijan Vrhovac, Antun Mihanović) (Jakić 1929b: 102-4). Consecutively, he treated the Croatian national rebirth at length, interpreting it as both a narrow Croatian national movement and a broader Yugoslav movement (ibid: 105-8). With regard to Gaj's linguistic reforms, for example, Jakić explained that Gaj "had removed the last partition that separated Croat from Croat and Serb from Croat" (ibid: 107).⁹³⁴ In his further depiction of 19th century history Jakić highlighted Serb-Croat cooperation, in line with typical Yugoslav national historiography (cf. 4.4.5). However, Jakić did not neglect the political program of the Party of Right and periods of Croat-Serb opposition in the last decades of the 19th century, but stressed that this period was "very sad" for the nation and argued that the Croat-Serb discord was provoked by the Austrian and Hungarian authorities (ibid: 131-2).⁹³⁵

Finally, the textbooks under scrutiny also paid attention to the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the establishment of the new Yugoslav state. Whereas in Serbian textbooks the Balkan Wars and the First World War were treated as one war for liberation and unification, in which the Serbs had played the leading role, Croatian textbooks made a clear distinction between the two wars and focused on the common Yugoslav character of the World War and the Yugoslav unification. The Balkan Wars were treated as a distinct Serbian affair, directed toward the liberation of "Southern Serbia" and revenge for Kosovo. Čajkovac's reading books for the third and fourth year, for example, included a number of Serbian patriotic poems on the Balkan Wars under the title 'Revenge for Kosovo' (Čajkovac 1926c: 178-83; Čajkovac 1926d: 204-7). The First World War was approached as a common Yugoslav affair. The textbooks referred to Serbia's military campaigns, but added texts on Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian emigrants from Austria-Hungary and their work for national liberation (Čajkovac 1926c: 183-4), the volunteer corps in which "Croats and Slovenes fought shoulder by shoulder

⁹³⁴ ["Tako je Gaj ujedno uklonio i posljednju pregradu koja je dijelila Hrvata od Hrvata i Srbina od Hrvata."]

⁹³⁵ ["vrlo žalosno i nesretno"]. Starčević and the Party of Right were not included in the interwar curricula for history. Only in the amendments to the history curriculum for the fourth year of elementary education in the Croatian Banovina of November 1940 a reference to Starčević was included. 'Iz Banovine Hrvatske', *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 3.

with Serbs”,⁹³⁶ as well as the political decisions of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in the second half of 1918 (Čajkovac 1926d: 207-13, quotation on 209; Jakić 1929b: 143-4).

Another crucial figure for the commemoration of the First World War and the consecutive Yugoslav unification outside pre-war Serbia was King Aleksandar (cf. 4.4.5.5). Croatian textbooks typically established a close personal bond between King Aleksandar and the Croatian part of the new kingdom. In Nazor and Barac’s reading book for the second year of secondary education, for example, the text ‘King Aleksandar and the Croatian flag’ (‘Kralj Aleksandar i hrvatska zastava’) was included, which explained that during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Belgrade in the First World War the Hungarian and Croatian flags were displayed at the Royal Palace. After the liberation the masses wanted to take down both flags. However, Aleksandar decided to wave the Croatian flag while entering the Royal Palace, to indicate the national unity with the Croats (Nazor & Barac 1934: 78). Reading books for elementary education included texts in which King Aleksandar’s first visit to Zagreb was described (Čajkovac 1926c: 186-9; Čajkovac 1926d: 219-21). These texts confirm the important role King Aleksandar played as Yugoslav unifying figure from recent and contemporary times in the Croatian part of the Kingdom.

5.5.4.5 Conclusions

In general, the historical overview presented in Croatian textbooks concurred with that of Serbian textbooks of the 1930s. Both groups of textbooks defined Yugoslav national history not as a uniform entity, but rather as a synthesis of Croatian and Serbian and to a lesser extent Slovenian historical traditions. Within this approach these sub-national historical traditions were maintained and at the same time embedded within a Yugoslav framework by pointing to parallelism and direct links between them. Consequently, the fact that certain historical resources were only of direct relevance for one specific ‘tribe’ did not mean that these episodes were completely irrelevant for the other Yugoslavs. To the contrary, what had been important for one ‘tribe’ was a source of pride for the entire Yugoslav nation. For the Croatian medieval kingdom for example, Čajkovac argued:

The proclamation of the Croatian Kingdom is a great and meaningful event in the history of our nation, and taking into consideration the fact that it happened a

⁹³⁶ [“Rame o rame uz Srbe bore se Hrvati i Slovenci.”]

thousand years ago it is a renowned and glorious event our entire nation should take pride in, regardless of difference in name (Čajkovac 1926d: 152).⁹³⁷

The major difference between historical overviews in Croatian and Serbian textbooks lay not in the mechanism or common denominators which were applied to construct Yugoslav national history, but rather in the point of departure for establishing parallels between symbolic resources. Whereas Serbian history textbooks had typically departed from the Serbian state and the Serbian resistance against the Ottomans and added non-Serbian historical resources *on the basis of* parallelism with these Serbian resources, Croatian textbooks established Croatian historical traditions as an autonomous strand of Yugoslav national history. The fact that the mechanism for constructing Yugoslav national history allowed for a distinct Croatian and Serbian approach to Yugoslav history indicates that it provided common denominators which could indeed viably negotiate between Yugoslav nationhood and Croatian and Serbian national identities within it.

Like in Serbian textbooks, Slovenian historical resources were underrepresented in the historical overviews in the Croatian textbooks under scrutiny. As we have seen, the formation of their ‘tribe’ was presented as a historical anomaly in the first place. In Jakić’s history textbooks only occasionally some information on the Slovenes was added, in seven short chapters of two or three pages.⁹³⁸ In the reading books only for the early Middle Ages information on the Slovenian ‘tribe’ was included, in references to the brief period of independence in the free ‘state’ of Carantania (Čajkovac 1926d: 161-3; Nazor & Barac 1929: 32-4). It was argued that the Slovenes quickly lost their independence and became the subject of German domination, which the historian Stjepan Srkulj interpreted as the actual end of Slovenian history (Čajkovac 1926d: 163-4).

5.5.5 Yugoslav geography

The primary goal of Croatian textbooks for geography education was to make pupils familiar with all regions of the Yugoslav homeland, and to instil a feeling of patriotism into the pupils. Čajkovac argued that:

⁹³⁷ [“Proglašenje Hrvatske kraljevinom velik je događaj u prošlosti našega naroda po svome značenju, a s obzirom na starinu od hiljadu godina taj je događaj slavan i dičan, pa se njime ponosi sav naš narod bez razlike imena”].

⁹³⁸ These chapters treated Carantania, Slovenia in the 12th and 13th century, Slovenia under the Habsburgs, Slovenia in the 16th century, the Reformation in Slovenia, the national rebirth and Slovenia in the second half of the 19th century.

In the reading book for the third year the principle of interpreting the homeland on the basis of historical, tribal or regional parts is abandoned. Rather, our entire land and nation are represented as a uniform and indivisible whole, which is completely encircled in the fourth year.⁹³⁹

Indeed, Čajkovac constructed his geographical overview in the reading book for the third year around neutral geographical categories, namely: Sava, Danube, the “central regions of Serbia and Bosnia” and the Adriatic Coast. More specifically, Čajkovac included texts on Belgrade, the Sava basin, Mačva, Zagreb and surroundings, Ljubljana (the Sava region), Fruška Gora, the Upper Danube area, Šumadija, Kosovo, Skopje, Sarajevo (central regions), the Adriatic Sea, the Croatian Littoral and Dalmatia (Adriatic region). In other words, the geographical overview used these neutral geographical categories to present a brief ‘tour’ around the Yugoslav state. The obvious focus on the former Austro-Hungarian part of the kingdom, which was treated much more in detail in comparison to pre-war Serbia and Montenegro, indicates the Croatian bias in these reading books.

The Sava river was presented as the central axe around which the Yugoslav national territory was unified, clearly indicating the regional point of departure in these reading books. The text ‘Sava and its tributaries’ (‘Sava i njene pritoke’), based on a text by Julije Kempf, gave an overview of the entire Yugoslav kingdom by following the Sava river and its tributaries and presented the river as the connection between Yugoslav regions: first Slovenia, then Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro and finally Serbia. Also, it was along the Sava that the South Slavs settled 1300 years earlier and that “the first Croatian national hero” Ljudevit Posavski gathered Slovenes, Croats and Serbs under his flag:

You are ours, Sava! Across centuries you have flowed in tears for our divided brothers. But since mother Yugoslavia opened its arms and happily embraced its children from Triglav to Lovćen – you should flow happily and fill the sacred land of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with eternal blessing (Čajkovac 1926c: 73-6, quotation on 76).⁹⁴⁰

Finally, the Sava was the natural link between the centres of the three Yugoslav ‘tribes’: Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. As the capital of the country, Belgrade was in the first place defined as the governmental centre of the country and as the place where the

⁹³⁹ ‘Referat o čitankama pisanim latinicom.’ *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/31: 1192. [“U čitanci III razreda, napušten je princip upoznavanja otadžbine po istorijskim, plemenskim ili pokrajinskim delovima. Pa se cela naša zemlja i narod predstavljaju kao jedinstvena i nepodeljena celina, koja se u četvrtom razredu potpuno zaokruži.”]

⁹⁴⁰ [“Naša si, Savo! Suzama si kroz stoljeća tekla od žalosti za razdvojenom braćom. No otkad je majka Jugoslavija raskrilila ruke i radosno zagrlila svu svoju djecu od Triglava do Lovćena – teci odsele radosno, pa napajaj vječnim blagoslovom svetu zemlju Slovenčevu, Hrvatovu i Srbinovu!”]

King resided. Further, it was linked to Serbian history, with references to Vračar, where St. Sava's relics were burnt, the Serbian uprisings, 19th century Serbian rulers Milan and Miloš, and Vuk Karadžić and Dositej Obradović (Čajkovac 1926c: 68-73). Zagreb was represented as a spiritual and cultural centre of the country, on an equal level with Belgrade (ibid: 80).⁹⁴¹ For Ljubljana the reading book argued:

In our unified homeland Ljubljana is the third part of the trefoil of our main cities. Two brothers, two green pine trees, Belgrade and Zagreb, will care for their little sister, Ljubljana, a fir with a small crown. They will help her, to develop even more, because during several centuries under foreign rule she could not develop worthy or spread its ornate branches (ibid: 87-9, quotation on 89, text based on F. Orožen).⁹⁴²

Such a depiction corresponded to the general image of the Slovenian 'tribe' as the little brother in the Yugoslav family, as for example in the poem 'New kolo' ('Novo kolo') by Rikard Katalinić Jeretov, which portrayed how the Croat Ivo and the Serb Jovo danced a *kolo*, and were then joined by "little" Janez, the Slovene (Čajkovac 1926c: 185).

In the reading book for the fourth year, then, Čajkovac gave an overview of the entire Yugoslav state on the basis of the historical regions of the country. For each of these regions the textbook included texts on typical sites of natural and cultural beauty and sites of memory. Macedonia and Kosovo were defined as integral parts of Serbia, illustrating the unproblematic Serbianness of these regions among Croatian intellectuals. Such an overview of the Yugoslav landscape was also presented in Ivo Juras' textbook for geography in secondary education, which first gave a general overview of Yugoslavia and then turned more in detail to each of the historical regions. Thus, Croatian textbooks under scrutiny took a middle position in discussions on the use of historical regions for geographical definitions of Yugoslav identity. In the first instance, Čajkovac's reading books for the third year defined Yugoslav national territory on the basis of natural links in the Yugoslav landscape, especially the Sava river. Although this approach departed from a clear Croatian point of departure, it focused on the links within the Yugoslav national territory instead of internal boundaries. However, once such links were established, the reading books made use of historical

⁹⁴¹ Interestingly, the text on Zagreb gave Serbian and Croatian synonyms for words like *kazalište-pozorište*, *knjižnica-biblioteka*, *sveučilište-univerzitet*, indicating the non-divisive character of the Croat-Serb distinction in vocabulary at this time.

⁹⁴² ["U našoj ujedinjenoj domovini Ljubljana je treći dio trolista naših glavnih gradova. Dva brata, dva bora zelena, Beograd i Zagreb, pazit će svoju sesticu tankovrhu jelu Ljubljanu. Oni će joj pomagati, da se još bolje razvije, jer pod tuđinom u nizu stoljeća nije mogla da valjano razvije i širi svoje kitnjaste grane".]

regions to present the Yugoslav landscape more in detail and to connect the national population with its national territory.

Contrary to Serbian textbooks of the interwar period, there was no discussion about the Croatian character of Dalmatia. Čajkovac included several texts in his reading book which linked the Adriatic Coast to the arrival of the Croats in the Balkans and the medieval history of the Croatian 'tribe'. In the text 'By the Sea' ('Po moru') Ante Tresić-Pavičić spoke about the arrival of the Croats at the Adriatic Coast under the leadership of five brothers and one sister, the Croatian medieval king Trpimir and the noble family Šubić, crucial historical events which linked to Croats to the sea (Čajkovac 1926d: 96-7). In the historical chapter on the arrival of the South Slavs in the Balkans two poems by Vladimir Nazor about the arrival of the Croats at the Dalmatic coast were included (ibid: 143-4). Further, the reading book also included Rikard Katalinić-Jeretov's 'Croatian Sailor' ('Hrvatski mornar', Čajkovac 1926c: 104-5). In his history textbook Živko Jakić argued that Dalmatia was "the most important part of the old Croatian Kingdom" (Jakić 1929b: 63). After the disintegration of the medieval Croatian state, as Jakić stressed, in the Dalmatian cities Italian was spoken, "but outside the cities everything was Croatian" (ibid: 64).⁹⁴³ The Renaissance literature of Dubrovnik was firmly integrated within Croatian literature (ibid: 38-42). Consequently, Jakić maintained that it was 'logical' that throughout the 19th century Croatian and Dalmatian politicians strove for the unification of Croatia and Dalmatia as historical Croatian state regions. However, unlike Serbian claims to Dalmatia in Serbian textbooks of the 1920s the inclusion of Dalmatia in the Croatian historical territory did not bring with it claims about the homogeneous Croatian character of the entire population of Dalmatia.

Further, Croatian textbooks challenged Serbian claims to Bosnia-Herzegovina by defining the land and its population as mixed Croat-Serb. Čajkovac solely focused on its natural beauty and avoided integrating the region exclusively within the Serbian or Croatian part of the country (Čajkovac 1926c: 98-100; Čajkovac 1926d: 98-107). In Jakić's history textbook the region was represented as a mixed Croat-Serb region, but it was highlighted that there was a significant Croatian tradition in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jakić explicitly argued that Bosnia had been part of the Croatian medieval kingdom under Tomislav and Krešimir and that the first Bosnian governor (*Ban*), a certain Borić was a Croatian nobleman (Jakić 1929a: 71). Further, he emphasised that King Tvrtko, after the end of the Croatian national dynasty, was the only ruler who had Croatian blood in his veins – because he was a descendant of the abovementioned Borić – and that Tvrtko was a Catholic for his entire life (ibid: 111). In this respect, it is also significant that Jakić argued that many Croats "from southern regions (southern Dalmatia, Bosnia,

⁹⁴³ ["a izvan gradova bijaše sve hrvatsko".]

Herzegovina, Lika, Slavonia)” migrated to the north after the Ottoman invasion (Jakić 1929b: 15). Finally, with regard to South Slav Muslims Jakić argued that they were Croats and Serbs, especially Bogomil noblemen who wanted to preserve their wealth (ibid: 13). Illustrative of this approach, Živko Jakić challenged the Serbian claims to Mehmed Sokolović. Jakić explained that Sokolović stemmed from a famous Herzegovinian family, and that the establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć was not prompted by Sokolović’s Serbian consciousness, but was part of a Ottoman strategy to win over the Serbs (ibid: 33). Thus, unlike in Serbian textbooks of the 1920s, where a strict delineation was applied between the Serbian and Croatian territories in the kingdom, the Croatian approach to historical regions within the Yugoslav national territory allowed for zones of overlap.

It should be mentioned in passing that Čajkovac’s definition of Yugoslav national landscape transcended the boundaries of the Yugoslav state. His reading book for the fourth year treated Yugoslav regions outside the Yugoslav state in the chapter ‘Our People outside Our State’ (‘Naš narod izvan naše države’): namely Rijeka, Istria and Goriška. In all cases, the message was that these regions should belong to the Yugoslav nation-state. For Rijeka, Julije Kempf argued that it was under Italian rule, regardless of the fact that a lot of the inhabitants were of Yugoslav blood, for Istria Rikard Katalinić Jeretov lamented about the sad faith of Istria, first under the Germans, now under the ‘Latins’. For Goriška, finally, Simon Gregorčič’s poem ‘To the Soča’ (‘Soči’) was included (Čajkovac 1926d: 116-24).

5.5.6 Conclusions

In comparison to the Serbian textbook of the 1930s, Croatian symbolic resources occupied a privileged position in Croatian textbooks. Also, certain interpretations of symbolic resources differed from the ones put forward in Serbian textbooks, especially with regard to the Croatian state tradition, the national character of Catholicism and the delineation between the Serbian and Croatian ‘tribe’. Thus, the textbooks under scrutiny were clearly written with a Croatian bias and ill-suited for use in the entire Yugoslav Kingdom, just like Serbian textbooks. However, the Croatian bias in these textbooks did not imply a rejection of Yugoslavism, as maintained by Charles Jelavich in his study of Živko Jakić’s history textbooks (Jelavich 2003: 112-3). Rather, this Croatian view was deployed to make sense of Yugoslav national unity. Unlike Serbian textbooks of the early 1920s Croatian textbooks found a workable balance between Yugoslavism and Croatianism from the start of the interwar period. Of course, pre-First World War Croatian textbooks had already provided a basis for Yugoslav understanding and included a considerable number of Serbian symbolic resources, so that adaptations to the Yugoslav context after the World War were less profound than in Serbian textbooks.

At the same time, however, the coexistence of the Croatian and Yugoslav level of national identity indicates the contextual relevance and viability of mediations between Croatian and Yugoslav national identity in Croatian intellectual circles, even those close to the Croatian Peasant Party, during the 1920s.

The common denominators which were used to integrate Croatian symbolic resources within Yugoslav collective identity were largely identical to those applied in Serbian textbooks of the 1930s and, importantly, allowed for the maintenance of a Croatian sub-national entity within the Yugoslav whole. Yugoslav unity was not so much manifested in the homogeneity of Yugoslav national identity, but rather in the parallelism, common bonds and zones of overlap between Serbian and Croatian 'tribal' identities. Interestingly, both Serbian and Croatian textbooks agreed that other potential sub-national entities within Yugoslav unity could be largely ignored. Thus, in both groups of textbooks the Slovenian tradition occupied only a very marginal and peripheral position in the imagination of Yugoslav national identity. Illustrative in this respect was the fact that the Serbian and Croatian hymn were given in the beginning of Čajkovac's 1926 reading book for the fourth grade, whereas the Slovenian hymn was only presented in the geographical chapter on Slovenia, in the middle of the reading book. However, textbooks provided room for a distinct Slovenian sub-national tradition within Yugoslav national identity. This was different for South Slav Muslims. Both groups of textbooks emphasised the primarily Christian nature of the Yugoslav nation and thus agreed that South Slav Muslims were somehow unauthentic Yugoslavs, whose distinct religious tradition could be left aside. Additionally, both groups of textbooks agreed that South Slav Muslims would identify with the Yugoslav nation on the basis of their Serbian or Croatian collective belonging. Such an approach did not allow for viable negotiations between a South Slav Muslim collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood and was instrumental in the increasing dissociation between South Slav Muslim collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood.

Regardless of all the talks about uniform Yugoslav textbooks, the authorities themselves clearly made a distinction between Croatian and Serbian textbooks, as illustrated by the distinction made between reading books written in the Cyrillic and in the Latin alphabet during the state competition for textbooks of 1923, which *de facto* came down to a distinction between Serbian and Croatian textbooks. This indicates that the Yugoslav nation-building program of interwar Yugoslavia accepted a distinct Croatian approach to Yugoslav nationhood in textbooks. Indeed, for the authorities the Croatian bias in these textbooks was not a concern *an sich*, but rather the use of these textbooks outside what was considered the Croatian part of the Kingdom. On 9 July 1929 the school inspector of the Subotica district, for example, reported to the Ministry of Education that the reading books compiled by Čajkovac were, accordingly, not well received by the local population, because they were predominantly written in ijekavian, whereas the local variant was ekavian. The issue had been solved when textbooks in

ekavian by Milorad Vujanac and Jovan P. Jovanović, both with a clear Serbian bias, were published in the Latin alphabet and distributed in the area. Recently, the inspector continued, new reading books for elementary schools by Vladimir Nazor and Stjepan Bosanac were used in the region. Again, he argued that these reading books were not suited for the region because of the Croatian bias in historical texts and because in an article on Subotica the compilers spoke of Croatian Bunjevci, which was part of “the artificial creation of Croatian Bunjevci”.⁹⁴⁴

Bunjevci are a South Slav ethnic group living in the Bačka region. They presumably originate from Herzegovina, are Roman Catholic and speak the ikavian variant. Throughout the 19th and 20th century the national status of Bunjevci has been disputed from a Serbian, Croatian, Yugoslav or Bunjevci point of view. At present, most Bunjevci declare themselves as Croats or Bunjevci (Todosijević 2002). In interwar Yugoslavia the official point of view refrained from making clear statements about the Serbian or Croatian status of Bunjevci. It was argued that Bunjevci, together with the Šokci, a similar ethnic group living in Bačka, Slavonia, Baranja and Srem, formed the smallest ‘tribe’ of the Yugoslav nation, or that they represented the “middle point between the Serbian and Croatian tribe”.⁹⁴⁵ This point was frequently made in *Jugoslovenski dnevnik*, the pro-regime journal which appeared in Subotica between 1930 and 1935.⁹⁴⁶ A central symbolic resource in this regard was Bishop Ivan Antunović of Subotica, an activist for cultural and political rights of Bunjevci in the Hungary of the second half of the 19th century, whose Yugoslav statements – similar to those of Josip Juraj Strossmayer – were frequently quoted in the journal.⁹⁴⁷ As already illustrated in the complaints by the school inspector from the Subotica district, whereas the official line of interpretation considered Bunjevci Serbs and Croats, it was time and again stressed that Bunjevci were certainly not strictly Croats. In March of 1930 for example *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* polemically reacted against a book by Petar Pekić, which was published by *Matica hrvatska* in 1930 and argued for the Croatian national status of Bunjevci.⁹⁴⁸ One of those polemical articles explained that if Bunjevci were to choose between the Serbian and Croatian name, they would certainly not choose the Croatian name.⁹⁴⁹ These disputes

⁹⁴⁴ [“veštačko stvaranje bunjevačkih Hrvata.”] Report from the school inspector of Subotica to the Ministry of Education, 9 July 1929. AJ 66(pov)-59-153.

⁹⁴⁵ [“sredina između srpskog i hrvatskog plemena”]. ‘Jedan nacionalni zločin’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 23.03.1930: 1.

⁹⁴⁶ ‘Jedan nacionalni zločin’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 23.03.1930: 1; ‘Bunjevci, Hrvati i Srbi’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 28.03.1930: 2.

⁹⁴⁷ ‘Setimo se najvećeg Bunjevca-Jugoslovena’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 13.02.1930: 1.

⁹⁴⁸ ‘Jedan nacionalni zločin’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 23.03.1930: 1; ‘Bunjevci, Hrvati i Srbi’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 28.03.1930: 2.

⁹⁴⁹ ‘Bunjevci, Hrvati i Srbi’, *Jugoslovenski dnevnik* 28.03.1930: 2.

indicate the continuing controversies surrounding the delineation between the Croatian and Serbian 'tribe' in the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia.

5.5.7 The 1937 reading books: The Croatian response to the dictatorship's educational policy

In 1937 a new series of reading books for elementary schools by Sigismund Čajkovac, Vladimir Nazor, Stjepan Bosanac and Stjepan Ratković was published. The reading books had been compiled for the state competition of 1935 and were in fact the first Croatian textbook to be published within the context of the Royal Dictatorship and the educational legislation of the first half of the 1930s. Thus, it can be considered as a Croatian response to the changes in Yugoslav education and society of the 1930s. A first striking development, both in comparison to Čajkovac's reading books of 1926 and Serbian textbooks of the 1930s, was that the reading books lacked the typical programmatic declarations of Yugoslav nationalism and patriotism (cf. 5.5.1). The reading books did include patriotic texts, such as Đuro Arnold's 'The Homeland' ('Domovina'), which was written within a Croatian national framework, and a text written by the compilers about 'Native Soil' ('Rođena gruda'), which did not refer directly to the Yugoslav homeland and could thus be interpreted from a Croatian national point of view (Čajkovac e.a. 1937b: 42-6). Although the inclusion of Croatian national poems in textbooks did not necessarily imply a rejection of Yugoslavism, the fact that no direct references to Yugoslav national unity were included, indicates a remarkable shift in comparison to the earlier reading books. In fact, only in texts on the Yugoslav state, its state symbols, dynasty and administrative organisation direct references were made to Yugoslav collective unity (Čajkovac e.a. 1937a: 83-4; 1937b: 82-4). Did this shift signal a departure from Yugoslavism in the Croatian reading books in question, concurring with the increasing political and intellectual dissociation from the regime's Yugoslavism in Croatia at the time?

Especially in geography and history overviews new approaches were introduced, which indicate a shift in the definition of nationhood in the reading books in question. The reading books neatly followed the history curriculum of 1933 and consequently established parallelisms in the historical development of the South Slavs. Direct references to Yugoslav nationhood were, however, lacking. For most of the ten historical figures enumerated in the history curriculum for the third year the reading book included literary accounts instead of typical short biographies with a focus on national credentials. In the reading book for the fourth year a more elaborate historical narrative was presented, although still clearly much more summary in comparison to

the historical overviews in the 1926 reading books. Again direct references to Yugoslav national unity were avoided in interpretations of symbolic resources which had typically occupied a central place in the integral Yugoslav historical narrative. When treating the arrival of the South Slavs in the Balkans the 1937 reading book no longer referred to the formation of different 'tribes' to explain the divisions within Yugoslav history (cf. 5.5.4.1). Whereas in the 1926 reading book Ljudevit Posavski had been glorified as the first Yugoslav nationally conscious ruler, the 1937 reading book simply spoke of "our first unification" and interpreted the union of Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian tribes as a form of rational cooperation against foreign enemies (Čajkovac e.a. 1937b: 95-6, quotation on 95).⁹⁵⁰ When evaluating the importance of King Tomislav's rule the 1937 reading book deleted the conclusion that all parts of the nation, regardless of differences in names, could take pride in Tomislav (cf. 5.5.4.5), thus again annulling an explicit link between historical symbolic resources and the Yugoslav level of national identity (Čajkovac e.a. 1937: 99).

In the 1926 reading book the Illyrian movement of Ljudevit Gaj had been interpreted from a Croatian and Yugoslav point of view. It was explained to the pupils that with his reform of the literary language and orthography Gaj had in the first place intended to unite the Croats, but he "had also thought further! He wanted to expand all benefits of the unification in one literary language and orthography to our entire people of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes" (Čajkovac 1926d: 198-9).⁹⁵¹ With Serb-Croat national unity in mind he had chosen the štokavian dialect of Herzegovina and the common name Illyrians (ibid). In the 1937 reading book this paragraph on the direct Yugoslav meaning of the Illyrian movement was entirely deleted. Instead, Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić were simply placed next to each other (Čajkovac e.a. 1937b: 134-5). In other words, the parallelism between Croatian and Serbian history was left intact, but not the direct link to Yugoslav nationhood. Similarly, whereas the 1926 reading book had included some quotes from Josip Juraj Strossmayer which explicitly spoke about the national unity of Serbs and Croats, the 1937 reading book only included a text by Strossmayer on the mother tongue in which the national unity of Serbs and Croats was not explicitly mentioned (Čajkovac 1926d: 202-3; Čajkovac e.a. 1937a: 102). Finally, the texts on the First World War and the formation of the Kingdom of SCS were identical in the reading books for the fourth year of 1926 and 1937, except for a brief conclusion by Čajkovac himself in which he argued that national unity and harmony would bring economic and cultural prosperity, and Yugoslav national poems by Branko Radičević ('Jugoslavensko kolo', 'The Yugoslav kolo') and Dragan Boranić ('Iz bratskog zagrljaja',

⁹⁵⁰ ["naše prvo ujedinjenje."]

⁹⁵¹ ["Gaj je mislio i dalje! Sve prednosti ujedinjenja u jednom književnom govoru i pravopisu želio je proširiti na cjelokupni naš narod Hrvata, Srba i Slovenaca."]

‘Out of a brotherly embrace’), which were omitted from the 1937 reading book (Čajkovac 1926d: 213, 218-9).

At the same time the reading book introduced some clear references to the ideology of the Croatian Peasant Party in interpretations of historical events. For Matija Gubec a text by Antun Radić was given which focused on the peasant uprising as a battle for equal rights for Croatian peasants. For the events of 1848 a text on the abolishment of serfdom under the government of Josip Jelačić was included, which was interpreted as the termination of the battle of the peasants which had been started by Matija Gubec in the 16th century (Čajkovac e.a. 1937b: 125-8; 139-41). This latter point would also be explicitly mentioned in the amendments to the history curriculum for the fourth year of elementary schools in the Croatian banovina.⁹⁵² For both events the reading book included poems in the style of the peasant literature which was stimulated by *Seljačka sloga*, for Matija Gubec by Mihovil Pavlek Miškina and for the abolishment of serfdom by Mijo Stuparić, both founding members of *Seljačka sloga* (Leček 1996: 359). Obviously, for history the reading books of 1937 negotiated between a form of Yugoslav collective identity which was manifested in parallelism, cooperation and harmony instead of direct national unity, and a distinct Croatian identity which was linked to the peasant ideology of the Croatian Peasant Party.

The territorialisation of national identity in the 1937 reading books established a similar mediation between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of collective identity. In the reading book for the third year the geographical overview was structured around neutral geographical links, especially rivers. The geographical chapter was subdivided in four regions: ‘Alongside Sava and Drava’, with texts on the Sava basin, Zagreb, Belgrade, the Drava basin and Međumurje; ‘Between the Important Rivers’, with texts on the Croatian Zagorje, Požega, Đakovo and Fruška gora; ‘Karst and the Littoral’, with texts on the Plitvice Lakes, Velebit, Lika and the Adriatic Coast; and finally a short chapter entitled ‘Central Regions’, which included texts on Sarajevo, Šumadija and Kosovo. Obviously, the first three chapters focused on the historical Croatian state regions: Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. The Croatian character of these regions was further underpinned by the inclusion of the entire Croatian hymn at the end of these chapters (Čajkovac e.a. 1937a: 78). In the reading book for the fourth year the banovinas were given in the table of contents, where a division was made between northern, central and southern banovinas. However, in the textbook itself the banovinas were not even mentioned. In practice, the textbook included a number of texts on typical sites of cultural and natural beauty from the northeast to the southwest of the country.⁹⁵³ In that

⁹⁵² ‘Iz Banovine Hrvatske’, *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 3.

⁹⁵³ The text on Vojvodina repeated the statement about Subotica as the cultural centre of “Bunjevci Croats”, which had been criticised by the school inspector of Subotica in 1929 (cf. 5.5.6) (Čajkovac e.a. 1937b: 60-1). In

way the 1937 reading books rejected the banovina model for defining Yugoslav territory. Instead, they departed from a distinct Croatian historical territory within the Yugoslav state, which was precisely what the banovina system was intended to do away with. In the reading book for the third year the Croatian land was defined and only brief attention was paid to other regions of Yugoslavia. In the reading book for the fourth year, then, more attention was paid to non-Croatian regions in the state. In that sense the reading books foreshadowed the amendments to the territorialisation of national identity in the curriculum for elementary schools in the Croatian banovina, which prescribed that pupils first learned about the Croatian banovina as the primary level of territorial identification.⁹⁵⁴

To conclude, definitions of national history and geography in the 1937 reading books maintained a distinct Croatian entity within an overarching Yugoslav whole. A good illustration of this mediation between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of collective identity can be found in a text on Zagreb in the reading book for the third year:

Every Croatian soul rejoices when the name Zagreb is mentioned. That is the city where the history of the Croats was made during many hundreds of years, at its graveyard so many famous people rest, and it is the place where the most valuable creations of the Croats in the field of education are located. Since they have created their national state Yugoslavia, together with their brothers, the Serbs and the Slovenes, Zagreb is about its most beautiful city, and not only Croats, but also Serbs and Slovenes are proud of the city (Čajkovac e.a. 1937: 46).⁹⁵⁵

In the first place, Zagreb was established as a strong territorial bond between the Croats and their collective identity, primarily manifested in history. In the second instance, this Croatian collective identity was integrated within an overarching Yugoslav level of collective identity, which the Croats shared with Serbs and Slovenes. This focus on Croatian collective identity clearly differs from the same passage in the 1926 reading

the reading books of 1940 this text was followed by the poem 'Šokac-Croat' ('Šokac-Hrvat'), which enforced Croatian claims to Bunjevci and Šokci (Čajkovac e.a. 1940: 94-6).

⁹⁵⁴ 'Iz Banovine Hrvatske', *Narodna prosveta* 19.12.1940: 2-3. Importantly, in Čajkovac's 1940 textbook for the third year beside the sub-chapters 'Between Sava, Mura and Drava', 'Lika and the Croatian Littoral' and 'Dalmatia' a sub-chapter on Bosnia-Herzegovina was included in the geographical overview of the Croatian banovina, with a Croatian patriotic poem by the Archbishop of Sarajevo Ivan Šarić and a text on the Bairam celebration of "our Muslims" (Čajkovac e.a. 1940: 85-92). The reading book also included a sub-chapter on Croatian areas outside the Croatian banovina: Fruška Gora, Vojvodina and the Bay of Kotor (ibid: 93-7).

⁹⁵⁵ ["Svakome je Hrvatu milo pri duši kad mu se spomene ime Zagreb. To je grad u kome se mnogo stotina godina stvarala povijest Hrvata; na njegovu groblju počivaju toliki i toliki znameniti ljudi, a u njemu je i najvrednije što su Hrvati stvorili na polju prosvjete. Otkako su oni sa svojom rođenom braćom Srbima i Slovencima stvorili svoju narodnu državu Jugoslaviju, Zagreb je u njoj ponajljepši grad, pa se njime ne ponose samo Hrvati, već i Srbi i Slovenci".]

book: “Every one of us loves Zagreb, the centre of the Croatian part of our nation, and every one of us is proud of that city” (Čajkovac 1926c: 80),⁹⁵⁶ where a direct link was established between Zagreb and the Yugoslav level of collective identity. In brief, whereas in his early textbooks Čajkovac clearly negotiated between a Croatian and a Yugoslav level of nationhood, with a focus on Yugoslav national unity, in his 1937 reading books he brought the Croatian level of nationhood to the foreground and avoided direct links with the Yugoslav level.

In that sense the development in approaches to nationhood in Croatian textbooks of the interwar period was contrary to that in Serbian textbooks. Whereas Serbian textbooks of the 1930s were characterised by an increasing prominence of the Yugoslav level of national identity and the opening up of Serbian collective identity as a result of its integration in a Yugoslav level of collective identity which allowed for linguistic, historical, religious and regional diversity, in the 1937 reading books by Čajkovac and others the level of Croatian collective identity was brought to the fore. Thereby the distinctness of Croatian national identity within the Yugoslav whole was highlighted and the degree of fluidity between both levels of national identity was reduced, in the sense that Croatian symbolic resources were no longer directly related to the Yugoslav national level, but only through parallelism and harmony with Serbian and Slovenian “brothers”. In other words, the reading books affirmed the distinct position of Croatian collective identity as an intermediary building block of Yugoslav unity. That way, the 1937 reading books reflect the dissociation from integral Yugoslavism in Croatian intellectual and political circles during the 1930s and foreshadowed the complete rejection of the national component of Yugoslavism after the establishment of the Croatian banovina.

In a speech of 1939 Čajkovac – as president of the Croatian Pedagogical Council – espoused a Croatian nationalism in which there was no more place for Yugoslav national unity (cf. 3.3). In 1940 an adapted version of Čajkovac’s reading books was published for elementary schools in the Croatian banovina. These reading books perfectly reflected the ideological transformation which accompanied the formation of the Croatian banovina. The reading book for the third year started with the following text:

Throughout all our lands white villages and towns are spread. The Croatian people has lived in them for centuries, generations have come one after the other. They have worked the land to earn their daily bread. On its land the Croats have created a unique national life: their Croatian language, their songs, stories, costume,

⁹⁵⁶ [“Svaku je od nas mio Zagreb, glavno mjesto hrvatskoga dijela našega naroda, a svaki se od nas njime ponosi.”]

dances, customs. In zadrugas those national characteristics have developed to a high degree of beauty. Croats have established their state. She has lived for more than thousand years. They have protected her freedom like the apple of one's eye. Often they had protect her freedom with weaponry. They gave their blood and lives, to pass her on to the children in freedom. And they have preserved the freedom of our homeland (Čajkovac e.a. 1940: 3)!⁹⁵⁷

Consecutively, the text glorified the Radić brothers as the great leaders of the Croatian peasant people (ibid: 4-5). This text perfectly summarises the ideological fundamentals of the reading books, namely: the Croatian peasantry as a cultural, political and economic subject; the uniqueness of Croatian national identity in history, language, territory and popular culture; and the glorification of the Radić brothers as the leaders of the Croatian peasant people. Within this ideological framework there was no more place for Yugoslav national unity.

⁹⁵⁷ ["Preko svih naših krajeva bijele se sela i gradovi. Stoljećima živi u njima hrvatski narod. Redaju se pokoljenja jedno za drugim. Obraduju zemlju, da na njoj zarade svoj svagdanji kruh. Na svojoj zemlji stvaraju Hrvati poseban narodni život: svoj hrvatski jezik, svoje pesme, pripovijetke, nošnju, plesove, običaje. U zadrugama ta se narodna obilježja razvijaju do visokoga stepena ljepote. Hrvati osnovaše svoju državu. Živi ona preko tisuću godina. Čuvaju oni slobodu njezinu kao zjenicu oka. Često puta su u dugoj prošlosti morali oružjem braniti slobodu njezinu. Krv i život su davali, da je slobodnu namr'u djeci. I sačuvaše nam djedovi slobodnu domovinu!"]

5.6 The Slovenian view on Yugoslav nationhood

A third and final group of textbooks was published in Ljubljana. The use of Slovenian clearly sets these textbooks apart from Croatian and Serbian counterparts, and makes the strictly Slovenian character and target group of these textbooks much more tangible than in the Croatian and Serbian cases, which in theory could be used throughout the Serbo-Croatian part of the Kingdom. In this chapter I examine how Slovenian textbooks made sense of Yugoslav nationhood, and which common denominators were used to mediate between the Slovenian and Yugoslav level of collective identity. I also look at possible developments in the Slovenian approach to Yugoslav collective identity against the background of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the Yugoslav Kingdom. At the same time, I compare Slovenian textbooks with Serbian and Croatian textbooks.

Again, I examine textbooks for national subjects for elementary and secondary schools. As in the case of the Croatian textbooks, elementary school reading books were not only used for language education, but also for history and geography. Immediately after the war revised editions of Henrik Schreiner's pre-war reading books for elementary schools were published and approved. In the course of 1921 and 1922 a new series of Slovenian reading books for elementary schools was published and approved by the Slovenian regional government. The reading book for the second year was compiled by Engelbert Gangl, poet, school inspector and long-time president of the Yugoslav Sokol Union and later Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (cf. 7), that for the third year by Ljudevit Černej, for the fourth year by Andrej Rape and for higher public schools by Pavel Flere, referent at the Ministry of Education. In August 1925 this series of reading books won the state competition for Slovenian textbooks, and the Ministry of Education approved these reading books for use in Slovenian elementary schools.⁹⁵⁸ They were used throughout the rest of the interwar period. Within the framework of the textbook competitions of 1935 two new series of reading books were published in the late 1930s, one by Pavel Flere, Josip Jurančič, Andrej Skulj and Ernest Vranc, and one by Kristina Hafner and France Ločniškar. One specific type of textbooks for national subjects in Slovenia were reading books for Serbo-Croatian. From the early 1920s the regional government in Ljubljana approved such textbooks by Ivan Lesica and Tomo Jedrlinič. These textbooks were used throughout the entire interwar period.

⁹⁵⁸ 'Odobreno štampanje bukvara i čitanaka državnog i privatnog izdanja, a po mišljenju Glavnog Prosv. Saveta'. O.n. br. 46.835, 18 August 1925. *Osnovna nastava* 1 (1925)/25: 890-1.

For secondary education in the early 1920s a series of reading books by Josip Wester, who had been an important author of pre-war reading books, was used. Regrettably, I have not been able to find all of these reading books. To compensate I have also studied an early series of reading books for civil schools compiled by Josip Brinar. In the early 1930s a new series of reading books for secondary schools was compiled by Anton Bajec, professor of Slovenian language at the University of Ljubljana, Rudolf Kolarič, Mirko Rupel, Anton Sovre and Jakob Šolar. These reading books were used until the end of the interwar period. For geography, in 1921 a textbook by Anton Melik was published. Melik was professor of Geography at the University of Ljubljana and a prominent pro-Yugoslav intellectual whose articles on Yugoslav linguistic unity we have already encountered (cf. 4.2.1). Only in the second half of the 1930s new geography textbooks for secondary schools were written by Janko Orožen, and Valter Bohinec, Maks Miklavčič and Roman Savnik. The same Anton Melik also wrote a history textbook for higher secondary schools in 1919. In 1924 he published a history textbook for lower secondary schools. In 1928 Melik and Orožen published a new history textbook for the third and fourth year of secondary schools. In 1938 a new history textbook was written by Bogdan Binter and Vojteh Štrukelj. Finally, a Slovenian textbook for literary history was written by Ivan Grafenauer in the early 1920s. This textbook was used during the entire interwar period.

5.6.1 Multileveled statements of patriotism and collective unity

Like their Serbian and Croatian peers, Slovenian children were imbued with values of patriotism and national consciousness from an early age. Engelbert Gangl's reading book for the second year of elementary education included a patriotic chapter entitled 'From my beloved homeland' ('Iz moje ljube domovine'), which introduced the pupils to concepts of patriotism and national identity through patriotic poems, texts on the homeland, the hymns of Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, a text on the Yugoslav flag, and finally a number of texts, stories and poems about King Petar I and King Aleksandar (Gangl 1923: 114-25). Also in Pavel Flere's 1938 reading book for the second year of elementary schools a short chapter introduced the pupils to the concepts of patriotism and national unity, in the form of the account of a school commemoration of 1 December, with patriotic poems and explanations by the teacher about the state hymn and the Yugoslav Kings (Flere e.a. 1938: 49-52). Typical for Slovenian reading books was the coexistence of the Yugoslav and the Slovenian level of collective unity in such programmatic introductions to patriotism and national belonging.

Typical Yugoslav patriotic and national poems in the reading books were Ljudevit Černež's 'Little Bogdan the Yugoslav' ('Bogdanček Jugoslovanček'), about a young boy who wanted to learn and become stronger for the future of the Yugoslavs (Flere e.a.

1938: 50; Gangl 1923: 13; Schreiner 1923: 142), or 'The little Yugoslav' ('Mali Jugoslovan'), by Andrej Rape, which included the strophes:

I am a little sweetheart, / But I will become a hero. / God has given me / A Serbian hero brother. // The heroic Serb, / The Croat is my brother. / Serb, Croat and Slovene / are and will remain brothers! // Listen father, mother: / I am your only son / but I am also the son / of the free homeland (Gangl 1923: 119).⁹⁵⁹

Further, in all reading books for elementary schools under scrutiny the Yugoslav kings were appropriated as crucial symbols for familiarising the pupils with the Yugoslav level of collective unity. The immediate post-First World War reading books strongly built on the fresh memory of the war. King Petar I was glorified as the Saviour ('Rešitelj') of the Yugoslavs and the Slovenes in particular. In Gangl's reading book for the second year pupils learned that "his entire life he cherished only one wish, to see all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes liberated and unified in one great and powerful state" (Gangl 1923: 116).⁹⁶⁰ In Černej's reading book for the third year pupils read that "[w]ithout his help, we Slovenes would be lost, so we write down to him in hearts of gratitude one name: Saviour" (Černej 1925: 154).⁹⁶¹ Reading books also glorified the great moral leadership of the old King Petar during the World War and his close bond with the soldiers (Gangl 1923: 117-8; Rape 1923: 39-40; Schreiner 1923: 153-4). Similarly, the pupils were told how King Aleksandar had fought heroically during the war, side by side with his soldiers (Rape 1923: 42-4, 293-5; Schreiner 1923: 154-5).

Additionally, the reading books pointed to the close bond between the Kings and their people. It was argued that the Yugoslav Kings were in fact fathers to the entire nation, who took care of and loved Slovenes, Serbs and Croats (Černej 1925: 154). For King Petar Gangl stressed his love for Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian peasants, and Rape's reading book for the fourth year told the story of a trip Aleksandar made incognito to Bosnia, where he spoke with normal people and even acted as godfather to one of the children he met (Gangl 1923: 117; Rape 1923: 44). The reading books also established a special bond between King Aleksandar and the Slovenes. Thus, Engelbert Gangl claimed that King Aleksandar "love[d] us Slovenes specifically", as illustrated by his frequent trips to the Bled area (Gangl 1923: 124).⁹⁶² In the same spirit, reading books

⁹⁵⁹ ["Srček sem, junak pa / šele bom postal. / Srba mi junaka / Bog je brata dal. // Brat mi Srb junaški, / Brat mi je Hrvat. / Srb, Hrvat, Slovenec / je, ostane brat! // Čujta, oče, mati: / vajin sem edin / in pa domovina / svobodne sem sin!"]

⁹⁶⁰ ["vse življenje je gojil eno samo željo, da bi videl vse Srbe, Hrvate in Slovence osvobodjene in ujedinjene v eni veliki in močni državi."]

⁹⁶¹ ["Mi Slovenci pa, ki bi bili brez njegove pomoči izgubljeni, mu zapišimo v hvaležnih srcih še eno ime: Rešitelj."]

⁹⁶² ["Posebno ljubi nas Slovence."]

also included accounts of Aleksandar's official visits to Slovenia (Černej 1925: 155-6; Rape 1923: 44-5; Schreiner 1923: 155).

In the reading books of the second half of the 1930s the memory of the First World War had lost its urgent relevance. In the patriotic chapter in Flere's textbook for the second year Petar I and Aleksandar were only briefly mentioned as the heroes who had united "all Yugoslavs" in one state (Flere e.a. 1938: 52). A strong new symbol was the legacy of King Aleksandar as martyr for Yugoslav unity. Hafner and Ločniškar's reading book for the third year included a poem about an angel who carried the final wish of King Aleksandar from Triglav to Vardar: "Be one, brothers! / May the quarrels between you cease, / so that we could enjoy untroubled peace / in our beautiful homeland. // Come to the defence of the homeland, / bring her joyfully to glory, / and fulfil my last wish: / love Yugoslavia" (Hafner & Ločniškar 1940: 16).⁹⁶³ These reading books added a chapter on King Petar II, which depicted the young King as a smart, modest and loving child (Flere e.a. 1938: 11-4).

Although Yugoslav patriotism and unity occupied a prominent position in Slovenian reading books, this did not mean that the Slovenian level of collective identity was completely absent. Illustratively, in Engelbert Gangl's reading book for the second year the following three patriotic mottos were given as examples in the introductory chapter in which the alphabet was recapitulated, namely: "Slovene, Serb, Croat / We all shake hands, / like brothers, / we love each other sincerely"; "Be healthy, homeland – my dear, Slovenian land" and "Homeland, I constantly think of you and our brothers who are not liberated!" (Gangl 1923: 12).⁹⁶⁴ Both Schreiner and Flere's reading books included the poem 'The Prayer of our Morning Star' ('Molitev naše Danice'), in which the morning star referred to the Slovenian name, mother, brothers and sisters and soil God had given her and prayed to God "to give her strength, to show her the way / so that she could be useful / for her home and the Slovenian people!" (Flere e.a. 1938: 50; Schreiner 1923: 142).⁹⁶⁵ Apparently, statements of Yugoslav and Slovenian collective belonging were not considered incompatible or contradictory in the Slovenian reading books under scrutiny. The patriotic chapter in Flere's 1938 reading book for the second year, which was intended to be used on the state holiday 1 December, included both the abovementioned Yugoslav patriotic poems 'Little Bogdan the Yugoslav' and 'The Little Yugoslav', as well as 'The Prayer of our Morning Star' (Flere e.a. 1938: 49-50). Similarly, Henrik Schreiner's adapted reading book for the second and third year of elementary

⁹⁶³ ["Bodite, bratje, si edini! / Med vami mine naj prepri, / da v lepi naši domovini / užival neskajen bom mir. // Z domovino v bran stopite, / vodite srečno k slavi jo, / poslednjo voljo mi spolnite: / ljubite Jugoslavijo!"]

⁹⁶⁴ ["Slovenec, Srbin, Hrvat / vsi v roke si sezimo, / kot ljubi brat brata / iskreno se ljubimo!", "Budi zdrava, domovina – mili moj, slovenski kraj" and "Domovino, vedno mislim nate in neosvobojene brate!"]

⁹⁶⁵ ["da jo krepiš, ji kažeš pot / da bo koristna moglo biti, / za dom svoj in slovenski rod!"]

schools placed 'The Prayer of our Morning Star' next to 'Bogdan the Little Yugoslav' (Schreiner 1923: 142). Pavle Flere's 1940 reading book for the fourth year of elementary school started with a patriotic poem directed to the powerful Yugoslav motherland, which referred to the sacrifices made by Yugoslav ancestors, the territorial unity of the land between Banat and Adriatic Sea and between Thessaloniki and Triglav, and the harmony between the three brothers Serb, Croat and Slovenes, to end with: "We love you, we honour you, / we adore you, we live for you, / we want to give our lives for you, / Yugoslavia, you are our mother" (Flere e.a. 1940: 10).⁹⁶⁶ The reading book continued with the poem 'I am a Slovene' ('Slovenec sem'), which evoked love and faith toward a Slovenian collective entity (Flere e.a. 1940: 11; also included in Hafner & Ločniškar 1940: 24). Let us now look to what extent and how Slovenian textbooks negotiated between these levels of collective identity more concretely and elaborately.

5.6.2 Language and literature in Slovenian reading books

Slovenian elementary schools made use of distinct reading books for Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian. With the exception of the Serbian and Croatian hymns, no texts in Serbo-Croatian were included in the reading books for Slovenian and vice versa no Slovenian texts were included in the reading books for Serbo-Croatian. The early reading books for secondary education typically included a small amount of between five and ten texts in Serbo-Croatian, but the reading books for secondary education of the 1930s, compiled by Bajec and others, no longer included texts in Serbo-Croatian, although they did contain Slovenian translations of extracts from Serbo-Croatian. The simple fact alone that Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian texts were not combined in the same reading books hints at the different approach to the Yugoslav language question compared to that in Serbian and Croatian reading books.

As far as the relation between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian was concerned, Slovenian textbooks recognised the close connection between the two on the basis of common origins as the fundament for an overarching Yugoslav collective identity. In Andrej Rape's reading book for the fourth year V. Sadar explained that Slovenes were united by the Slovenian language and that Serbian and Croatian brothers spoke a language which was "similar and related to our language" and easily understandable (Rape 1923: 191).⁹⁶⁷ In Černej's reading book for the third year Ivo Trošt's 'Within the

⁹⁶⁶ ["Mi te ljubimo, mi te častimo, / obožujemo, za te živimo, / zate hočemo življenje dati, / Jugoslavija, ti naša mati!."]

⁹⁶⁷ ["našemu jezik podoben i soroden jezik".]

boundaries of Yugoslavia' ('V mejah Jugoslavije') was included, which argued that the Yugoslav national territory reached as far as the *Yugoslav language* was heard (Černej 1925: 156). In his 1921 geography textbook for secondary schools Anton Melik repeated claims he had made in *Književni jug* in 1918 about Yugoslav linguistic unity and the development of a distinct Slovenian literary language within specific historical circumstances (Melik 1921: 148-50, cf. 4.2.1). Janko Orožen took over this argument, explaining that all Yugoslavs spoke the same language, of which the dialects flow over into each other without strict boundaries, and that only as a result of distinct historical developments two literary languages had been formed: Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian (Orožen 1937: 45-6). Bohinec, Miklavčič and Savnik explained that the Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian literary languages had been formed out of one proto-South Slav language (Bohinec, Miklavčič & Savnik 1938: 52).

Thus, like Serbian and Croatian textbooks Slovenian reading books recognised some form of overarching Yugoslav unity in the domain of language. However, unlike in Serbo-Croatian counterparts this overarching unity did not bring up for discussion the distinct character of the Slovenian language as the fundament for a distinct Slovenian national identity. In Engelbert Gangl's reading book for the second year of elementary schools a short introductory chapter on Slovenian grammar was included, in which the pupils were explained that "because we are Slovenes, our mother tongue is Slovenian" (Gangl 1923: 126).⁹⁶⁸ In Hafner & Ločniškar's reading book for the third year Anton Slomšek's glorification of the Slovenian mother tongue was included (Hafner & Ločniškar 1940: 7). In their history textbook for secondary schools Anton Melik and Janko Orožen referred to Valentin Vodnik's resistance against plans of the French authorities to introduce one language for Slovenes, Serbs and Croats in the Illyrian Provinces, arguing that regardless of their national unity, the Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literary languages had developed separately (Melik & Orožen 1929: 75-6). In treatments of the Slovenian national rebirth of the first half of the 19th century textbooks typically mentioned Stanko Vraz's choice to write in Serbo-Croatian, but stressed that prominent historical figures like Primož Trubar and France Prešeren had all convincingly propagated the use of the Slovenian literary language and that the autonomous development of the Slovenian literary language could no longer be stopped from then on (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 103; Melik & Orožen 1929: 78). More than anything else, the use of distinct reading books for Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian clearly delineated the Slovenian language as a category of practice in education in the Slovenian part of Yugoslavia, and sets the approach toward the place of the Slovenian

⁹⁶⁸ ["Ker smo Slovenci je naš materinski jezik slovenski jezik ali slovenščina."]

language within Yugoslav national unity in Slovenian reading books apart from that in Serbo-Croatian reading books.

Within the same framework Slovenian reading books for elementary education almost exclusively contained extracts from and references to Slovenian literary figures. The series of Slovenian reading books from the early 1920s included brief introductions to essential 19th and 20th century Slovenian writers: Valentin Vodnik, France Prešeren, Anton Slomšek, Josip Stritar, Fran Levstik, Simon Jenko, Josip Jurčič, Fran Erjavec, Simon Gregorčič, Anton Aškerc, Janez Trdina, Janko Kersnik, Ivan Tavčar and Oton Župančič. For most of these authors some form of Slovenian national consciousness was highlighted (esp. Rape 1923: 315-21; Flere 1935: 114-79). In the reading books for secondary schools too students read extracts from these canonical Slovenian national writers. Ivan Grafenauer's literary history for the higher years of secondary schools presented a historical overview of Slovenian national literature on the basis of literary extracts. Grafenauer made a distinction between medieval literature, the period of the Protestant Reformation and the Counterreformation, the Enlightenment period, Romanticism, and the national awakening. For the medieval period Grafenauer included extracts from medieval manuscripts, especially the Freising Manuscripts, and from Slovenian folk literature. For the Reformation Grafenauer focused on Primož Trubar, for the Enlightenment on Valentin Vodnik, for Romanticism France Prešeren and for the national awakening Fran Levstik and Simon Jenko. In this overview there was no place for references and links to Serbo-Croatian literature (Grafenauer 1922, 1925).

References to Serbo-Croatian literature were given only seldom in Slovenian reading books. Both elementary and secondary reading books typically included some texts on Marko Kraljević, illustrating the popularity of the figure in Slovenia. In a text by Fr. Hubad on Marko Kraljević, which was included in the reading books for secondary schools of Brinar and Grafenauer, it was argued that "Marko Kraljević is the most popular hero for Yugoslavs, his name is glorified in songs from the Triglav to the Black Sea" (Brinar 1921: 198-202, quotation on 198; Grafenauer 1922: 230-8).⁹⁶⁹ Additionally, in reading books for the fourth year other examples from Serbo-Croatian folk literature were included in historical chapters on Serbian and Croatian medieval and early modern history. At the same time Slovenian folk stories occupied a prominent position in all reading books under scrutiny. A popular figure in the Slovenian reading books was the legendary King Matjaž, who was the hero of numerous folk poems and tales which were thematically situated against the Turkish invasions, and who "blurred together"

⁹⁶⁹ ["Jugoslovanom se je priljubil med vsemi junaki najbolji kraljevič Marko, njegovo ime slavi pesem od Triglava do Černega Mora."]

with Marko Kraljević in “the Slovenian cultural imagination” (Wachtel 1998: 33).⁹⁷⁰ In that way, Slovenian reading books clearly established folk literature as a common Yugoslav literary heritage, confirming Wachtel’s assessment that “the fact that similar songs were traditionally sung by people living throughout the South Slavic lands provided a powerful argument for the essential unity of the South Slavs” (ibid.). References to modern Serbo-Croatian literature were rare and superficial in Slovenian reading books. Rape’s reading book for the fourth year included a short text on Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, which explained that he was the father of the Serbo-Croatian language and mostly focused on anecdotes from Karadžić’s youth, as well as the support he received from the influential Slovenian linguist and philologist Jernej Kopitar (Rape 1923: 322-3). In Flere’s reading book for higher popular schools short texts were included on Serbian medieval literature, Dositej Obradović, Petar Petrović Njegoš and the support of Jernej Kopitar for Karadžić’s work (Flere 1935: 94-7).

More elaborate information on Serbo-Croatian literature was reserved for the specific textbooks for Serbo-Croatian in elementary schools and higher popular schools. The first reading book for Serbo-Croatian, which was used in elementary school, began with a detailed introduction to the Cyrillic alphabet. Consecutively, the three reading books for Serbo-Croatian – the first reading book was intended for elementary school, the second and third for higher popular schools – presented Slovenian students with texts from the most important Serbo-Croatian writers in both the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabet. All texts were given in the ekavian variant. The names of writers included in the reading books roughly concurred with the Serbian and Croatian authors included in Serbo-Croatian reading books of the interwar period. Slovenian reading books for Serbo-Croatian also included extracts from folk literature, most frequently songs about Marko Kraljević and songs from the Kosovo cycle. Finally, typical Yugoslav patriotic poems like Katalinić Jeretov’s ‘New Kolo’ (‘Novo kolo’), Branko Radičević’s ‘Yugoslav kolo’ (‘Jugoslavenko kolo’), Petar Preradović’s ‘To the people on language’ (‘Rodu o jeziku’), or Aleksa Šantić’s ‘New generation’ (‘Novo pokolenje’) occupied a prominent place in these reading books.

To conclude, Slovenian reading books made a strict distinction between Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian language and literature. In that regard, the approach to Yugoslav collective unity in the field of language and literature strongly differed from that in Serbo-Croatian textbooks. Serbo-Croatian textbooks, although heavily Serb-

⁹⁷⁰ King Matjaž is a legendary king in folk poems and stories in parts of Slovenia, Croatia and Hungary. This personage relies on historical material from the period of autonomous Carantania, the counts of Celje and especially the 15th century King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. Folk poems and stories depict King Matjaž as a just and heroic defender of the common people against the Ottomans and the nobility, and the bringer of a golden age of prosperity (Šmitek 2009).

Croat biased, had provided a framework which brought together different sub-national traditions as parts of one overarching Yugoslav collective identity through direct parallelisms between sub-national, amongst which the Slovenian, variants in language and, more explicitly, literature. This point of departure explained the tendency in Serbo-Croatian textbooks to reduce Slovenian to a dialect of an overarching Yugoslav language. The Slovenian reading books, on the other hand, focused exclusively on Slovenian language and literature and presented Slovenian language and literature as a clearly delineated entity. In Slovenian reading books a model of cultural cooperation was used: Slovenian students had to know Serbo-Croatian language and literature, but Slovenian language and literature were not directly integrated within an overarching Yugoslav whole and no direct links with Serbo-Croatian language and literature were given. Exceptions to this rule were the appropriation of folk literature as a common link between Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literature and the references to the common roots of the Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literary languages in geography textbooks for secondary education.

5.6.3 Yugoslav history

5.6.3.1 Historical overviews in elementary school reading books

Remarkably, definitions of national history in Slovenian reading books for elementary education did not follow the history curricula. Instead of the ten figures enumerated in the curriculum for the third year of 1933, Ljudevit Černej's reading book for the third year of elementary school included texts on the counts of Celje, the Ottoman forays in Slovenia, Petar Zrinski, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, King Matjaž and the First World War. The reading book compiled by Hafner and Ločniškar included stories about the arrival of the Slovenes in their homeland, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the oppression of peasant serfs in the Middle Ages, the Ottoman forays into Slovenian lands, King Matjaž, the Ljubljana earthquake of 1895 and the First World War. Importantly, these historical sections did not establish a compelling and coherent overview of national history, but rather consisted of freestanding historical stories. Still, it is clear that the historical texts in reading books for the third year departed from a Slovenian collective framework.

The reading books for the fourth year of elementary school expanded the framework for the historical overview to the Yugoslav level and added texts on Serbian and Croatian history. However, the historical overviews maintained clear boundaries between Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian history, and kept intact these sub-national entities to make sense of Yugoslav history. Andrej Rape's 1923 reading book started with a number of texts on Slovenian history: an overview of the history of Ljubljana and Ptuj,

the Romans in the Slovenian lands, the migrations of the Slavs, their societal organisation and faith, and the enthronement of Carantanian rulers at the field of Gospa Sveta. Consecutively, the reading book introduced the pupils to the histories of Croats and Serbs. For each 'tribe' first a short text sketched its history in broad outlines, and then a number of important historical events were treated more in detail. If we take the example of the Serbs, pupils were first introduced to the broad outlines of Serbian history, referring to the medieval Serbian state, the Ottoman yoke, the Serbian uprisings of the early 19th century and finally the gradual expansion of the Serbian state. Consecutively, specific texts treated the battle of Kosovo, St. Sava, Karađorđe and King Aleksandar. For Croatia the introductory text schematically referred to the medieval Croatian Kingdom, Hungarian, Habsburg and Ottoman oppression, and finally the national rebirth from the 19th century. Then, texts were given on King Tomislav, the counts of Celje and Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Similarly, Flere's 1940 textbook for the fourth year started with a section on Slovenian history, with texts on the arrival of the Slovenes in their homeland, the Slovenian state of Carantania, the enthronement of Carantanian rulers, the Ottoman invasions, the peasant uprising of Matija Gubec and the French rule over the Illyrian Provinces. Consecutively, a chapter was devoted to Croatian history, with texts on the arrival of the Croats in the Balkans, Ljudevit Posavski, King Tomislav, and Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan. Finally, Serbian history was treated in two chapters, one on the medieval state and its fall, and one on the Serbian national liberation from Karađorđe and the Serbian Uprisings to the First World War.

The approach to Yugoslav history in these Slovenian reading books clearly differed from the multicultural approach which was outlined in the history curricula for elementary schools and which was taken over in Serbian and Croatian textbooks of the period. Slovenian reading books for elementary schools maintained Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian histories as distinct entities on the basis of which pupils could make sense of Yugoslav history, an approach which can be classified under Wachtel's model of cultural cooperation. Slovenian pupils got to know the history of Serbs and Croats in broad outlines, but the reading books did not explicitly integrate these historical resources within a Yugoslav national framework by pointing to direct bonds, Yugoslav national consciousness or parallelism, as had been the case in Serbian and Croatian textbooks. This approach allowed compilers to depart from a Slovenian national framework in the reading books for the third year and to expand the framework to the Yugoslav level by *adding* introductions to Serbian and Croatian history, without directly intertwining these historical entities.

Only in Andrej Rape's reading book for the fourth year some texts were included which broke out of this pattern and illustrate how direct links between the Slovenian and the Yugoslav level could be established. In the text 'Unification' ('Ujedinjenje') a Slovenian, Serbian and Croatian pupil were celebrating their unification as the final

realisation of the age-old yearning of the people, when suddenly they heard the voices of predecessors who had prepared Yugoslav unification. Significantly, all of these predecessors were historical figures who were related to Slovenian history. King Samo told about his Slavonic state union, “our first common deed” which hinted at “the dawn of unification, of Slavonic freedom” (Rape 1923: 271).⁹⁷¹ One of the dukes of Carantania spoke about the “old Slovenian independence” (ibid: 272).⁹⁷² For Ljudevit Posavski it was told that he had given his life for the unification of his people and that he had shown which great power lies in unity. Otokar II of Bohemia, the 13th century King of Bohemia who ruled over Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, told about his intentions to unite Slavs against foreign occupation. The peasant uprising of Ilija Gregorić and Matija Gubec was interpreted as an expression of the Yugoslav idea for freedom. Valentin Vodnik and Napoleon explained how the Illyrian Provinces had reawakened the national consciousness of the people. Finally, King Petar I Karađorđević glorified these “warriors for the unification of my unified people” (Rape 1923: 276).⁹⁷³ By presenting a list of Slovenian contributors to Yugoslav unification Rape clearly mediated between Slovenian and Yugoslav levels of collective identity, thereby simultaneously making Yugoslav unification more Slovenian and, vice versa, Slovenian history more Yugoslav.

In a second text, ‘Suffering for freedom’ (‘Po trpljenju k svobodi’), the narrator explains how he had dreamt about the Battle of Kosovo, the holy land where “our” blood was shed and where “a sad, sad, but at the same time the most glorious period of our Yugoslav history” began (Rape 1923: 279).⁹⁷⁴ First, Prince Lazar told how he had fought the Ottomans at Kosovo. Consecutively, a girl from Kosovo glorified the heroes from Kosovo, but, she continued, “who was next to defend themselves against the wild Turks, after the blossom of the Serbian people had fallen? The poor *raja*! The poor brother Croats and Slovenes” (ibid.)!⁹⁷⁵ What followed were voices of numerous Croats and Slovenes who had fought the advancing Ottomans, who had suffered from Ottoman raids or who had been taken by the Ottomans as blood tax, and also Hervard Turjaški (Herbard VIII von Auersperg), a Habsburg general who fought the Ottomans, a Slovenian soldier who fought in his army, and Nikola Šubić Zrinski. In the end, the narrator briefly jumped to the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the final expulsion of the Ottomans from the Balkans (ibid: 278-84). Such an approach established the Ottomans as parallel Other for

⁹⁷¹ [“prvo naše združeno delo”, “zoro ujedinjenja, zoro svobode slovanske”.]

⁹⁷² [“stare slovenske državne samostojnosti.”]

⁹⁷³ [“borcev za ujedinjenje mojega ujedinjenjega naroda.”]

⁹⁷⁴ [“žalostno, žalostno, čeprav je to najslavnejša doba naše jugoslovanske zgodovine.”]

⁹⁷⁵ [“kdo naj se poslej postavi v bran divjim Turkom, ko je padel cvet srbskega naroda? Uboga raja! Ubogi bratje Hrvati in Slovenci!”]

all South Slavs, and highlighted the role of Habsburg South Slavs and especially Slovenes in fighting the Ottomans.

Finally, reading books for elementary schools typically included texts about South Slavs from Austria-Hungary who had volunteered in the Serbian army during the First World War, such as 'The Mother' ('Mati') by Cvetko Golar, about a Slovenian mother who visited her son, who got wounded during the war, in Belgrade (Černej 1925: 152-3), or 'The diary of a volunteer' ('iz dobrovoljčevega dnevnika') by Josip Jeras (Flere 1935: 105-6). Another illustrative text is 'Brother' ('Brat'), which tells the story of a Serbian soldier whose house, with his children and wife in it, had been burnt down by a Habsburg officer. Later in Thessaloniki the soldier meets that same officer, who was serving as a Slovenian volunteer in the Serbian army. The Slovene admits what he had done and excepts the Serb's revenge, but explains that he had had no other choice. The Serbian soldier goes away without taking revenge, because the Slovenian officer was his brother now (Rape 1923: 9-10). Obviously, such poems and texts stressed the common suffering of South Slavs during the First World War.

5.6.3.2 The approach to Yugoslav history in secondary schools

History textbooks for secondary schools followed the curriculum more closely. As a result, more elaborate and structured attempts were made to integrate Slovenian history as part of a Yugoslav whole. Similarly, in reading books for higher popular schools a more integrated overview of Slovenian, Serbian and Croatian history was presented. Although the freestanding historical texts and stories in these reading books did not present a compelling national narrative, they did depart from a framework similar to that in history textbooks for secondary schools.

Primordial unity

As in Croatian and Serbian textbooks, Slovenian textbooks started their historical overview with the period of primordial Slavonic unity, with references to the societal organisation, pagan beliefs and customs of the Slavs and the consecutive migrations of South Slavs to the Balkans. Whereas the texts in elementary school reading books had typically been restricted to the arrival of the Slovenes in their new homeland, secondary school textbooks paid specific attention to the arrival of the South Slavs in Alpine regions, but also stressed the overarching unity of the South Slavs in this period:

When the Slavs settled in their new homeland distinct parts did not differ from each other as they do today. Their speech was more alike, customs, habits and

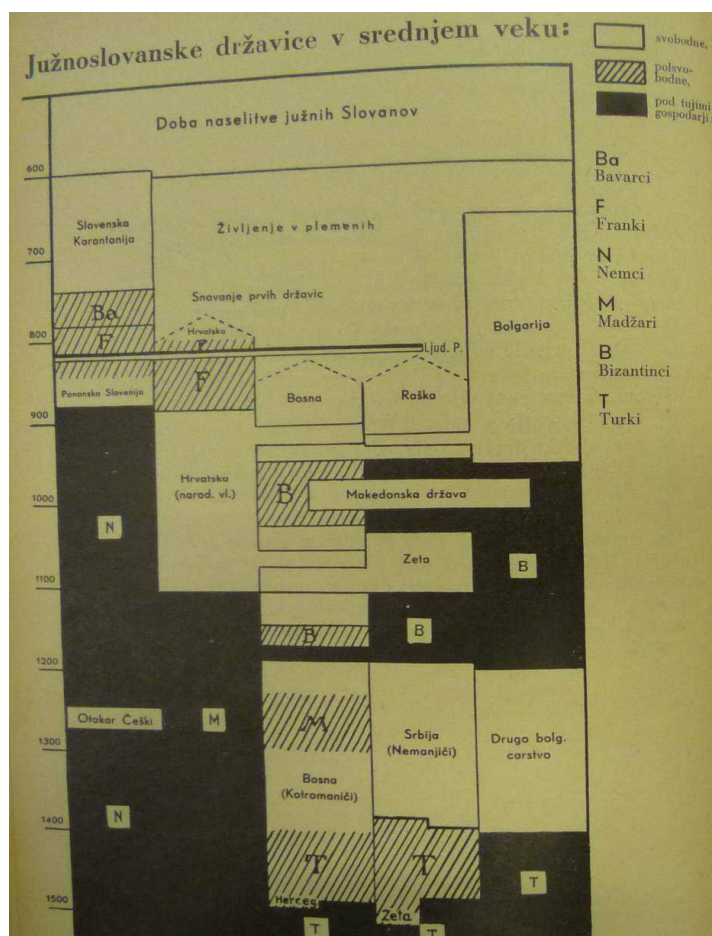
organisation were the same everywhere from the sources of Drava and Mura to the Aegean, Black and Adriatic Sea (Melik & Orožen 1928: 26).⁹⁷⁶

Further, students learned about the emergence of the 'tribal' names of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, about the first South Slav state formations and the arrival of the Bulgars. Obviously, these references to Slav and South Slav primordial unity established a basis for a continuum of Slav and South Slav collective unity through time.

The Middle Ages: Independence and growing state consolidation

In line with curricula for history Slovenian textbooks paid great attention to medieval South Slav states and established clear parallels between these states as attempts to establish free South Slav states. This parallelism was visualised in an introductory scheme in the history textbook by Binter and Štrukelj which presented a timeline of Yugoslav states from 500 to 1500. Thereby a distinction was made between free states (white), semi-autonomous states (shaded), and foreign rule (black). The timeline started with a period of freedom for all South Slavs during their settlement in the Balkans and consecutively placed different medieval Yugoslav states of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria next to each other. The timeline ended with the subjection to foreign rule of the entire Balkans.

⁹⁷⁶ ["Ko so se naselili Slovani v novi domovini, med posameznimi deli še ni bilo onih razlik, kakor jih imamo dandanes. Njihova narečja so si bila sličnejša, šege, običaji ter uredbe so bile enako povsod od izvora Drave in Mure do Egejskega, Črnega in Jadranskega morja."]



South Slav states in the Middle Ages (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 6)

In their treatment of these medieval South Slav states Slovenian history textbooks made a distinction between what Melik and Orožen termed the period of nascent state formation, between the 7th and 11th century, and the period of Serbian domination between the 12th and 14th century, as prescribed in curricula. For the first period the textbooks focused on the ‘Slovenian’ state of Carantania, first in Samo’s state union and later on itself, its subjection to Bavarian and later Frankish rulers, and the gradual spread of Christianity among its Slavonic population. Within the framework of the gradual expansion of the Franks to South Slav lands, Slovenian history textbooks treated the common resistance of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs under Ljudevit Posavski. Although the resistance of Ljudevit Posavski was unsuccessful in the end, this attempt to establish “a powerful state of Yugoslav tribes” (Melik 1924: 18)⁹⁷⁷ had great national meaning, because it showed the South Slavs that political unification could protect them against their enemies. It “strengthened the self-confidence in Croatia, because it showed what a great military force the Franks had to mobilise against the united Croats,

⁹⁷⁷ [“močno državo jugoslovanskih plemen.”]

Slovenes and Serbs” (Melik & Orožen 1928: 33).⁹⁷⁸ Binter and Štrukelj took over the typical Yugoslav interpretation of Ljudevit’s rule as the first time that “Yugoslav tribes from Soča to Timok were unified” (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 30).⁹⁷⁹ Their introductory scheme to the South Slav Middle Ages clearly visualised the rule of Ljudevit Posavski as a first political link between Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (cf. figure above). Consecutively, textbooks treated the medieval states of Croatia, the empire of “Macedonian Slavs” under Samuel, Raška and Zeta in detail, presenting a rather elaborate list of rulers and kings. It was stressed that the empire of Samuel was not simply a continuation of the First Bulgarian Empire, but rather a specific South Slav medieval state of “Macedonian Slavs”. Melik explained that the empire was often called Bulgarian because all the lands which had once belonged to Simeon’s Empire were called Bulgarian, but that this did not imply that the empire of Samuel was part of Bulgarian national history (Melik 1924: 34). In their schematic introduction to the South Slav Middle Ages Binter and Štrukelj visualised the “Macedonian state” as part of the Serbian medieval state tradition, with links to Bosnia and Bulgaria (cf. figure above).

Slovenian textbooks paid specific attention to the political and cultural domination of the Franks on Croats and especially Slovenes. In Flere’s and Schreiner’s reading books for higher popular schools a text by Ljudevit Pivko was included on ‘Germanisation’ (‘Ponemčevanje’). Pivko explained that Germans had the specific characteristic that they wanted to expand their territory across the boundaries of their language. Moreover, they did not tolerate speakers of other languages under their rule and forced the people they subjected “to turn into Germans” (Schreiner 1924: 267).⁹⁸⁰ The Slovenes in particular had suffered from this German expansionist instinct and since the Bavarian and Frankish occupation of Slovenian lands half of the original Slovenian territory had been Germanised. The result was that the authentic Slovenian areas Upper Styria, Carinthia and Eastern Tyrol had lost their Slovenian character (Flere 1935: 60-2; Schreiner 1924: 267-9). Binter and Štrukelj devoted an entire sub-chapter to “Slovenes in the period of the worst Germanisation”, referring to the “waves” of German speaking colonists from the 10th century onwards (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 39-44).⁹⁸¹ It was explained to the pupils that during this period the Slovenes lost a good half of their original lands. Additionally, it was argued, Slovenian society was significantly altered and a strict division originated between a small group of German(ised) landlords and a large mass of oppressed Slovenian peasants (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 42-4; Melik 1924: 25-

⁹⁷⁸ [“je povečal samozavest v Hrvatski, ker se je pokazalo, kako velike vojne sile so morali Franki postaviti proti združenim Hrvatom, Slovencem in Srbom.”]

⁹⁷⁹ [“prvič so bila združena južnoslovanska plemena od Soče do Timoka.”]

⁹⁸⁰ [“preleviti se morajo v Nemce.”]

⁹⁸¹ [“Slovenci v dobi najhujše germanizacije.”]

7; Melik & Orožen 1928: 42-4). The prominent position of the Germanisation of 'Slovenian' lands and people in history textbooks indicates the crucial place of the German 'Other' for Slovenian historical identity, whereas this national boundary was practically irrelevant in Serbian textbooks of the interwar period. It concurs with Slovenian claims to Carinthia in the territorialisation of national identity (cf. 5.6.5).

For the period between the 12th and 14th century history textbooks focused on the Serbian medieval state, treating each of its rulers in detail. Textbooks also briefly spoke about the independent Bosnian Kingdom and especially the rule of King Tvrtko, for whom it was stressed that he had succeeded in uniting Serbs and Croats (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 144; Melik 1924: 78-9; Melik & Orožen 1928: 89). Still, in comparison to Serbian and Croatian textbooks the "Yugoslav" rule of King Tvrtko was given a less prominent place in Slovenian textbooks. Illustrative is the fact that in Binter and Štrukelj's schematic overview of the South Slav Middle Ages the Serb-Croat character of Tvrtko's Bosnia was not visualised (cf. figure above). For the same period, Slovenian history textbooks also treated the gradual consolidation of Habsburg rule in Slovenia and Hungarian rule in Croatia and Bosnia, historical events which had been treated only superficially – as the end of national freedom – in Serbian textbooks of the period, as they did not concur with the focus on "national" states of the Yugoslavs. Illustratively, Melik and Orožen defined the period between the 12th and 14th century as the period of state consolidation in the Balkans (Melik & Orožen 1928: 64). They established parallels between state consolidation in medieval Serbia and Bosnia and the consolidation of German and Hungarian state power in Slovenia and Croatia. Such a link which would have been inconceivable of in Serbian textbooks as it linked national states with foreign oppression. Of specific importance for this period were the Counts of Celje, who occupied a prominent place in textbooks for elementary and secondary education. Typically, textbooks stressed the fact that the Counts of Celje obtained lands in Slovenia and Croatia and that they had diplomatic and marriage bonds with Bosnian and Serbian dynasties. The increasing power of the counts of Celje was interpreted as a positive symbolic resource in Slovenian history, as a form of autochthonous movement toward political unification and freedom and as an attempt to establish political links with other South Slavs (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 131-6; Melik & Orožen 1928: 69-74).

Social and national oppression and resistance

With the arrival of the 'Turks' in the Balkans a new episode in South Slav history began.⁹⁸² Unlike in Serbian textbooks, where the Turkish Other was considered a

⁹⁸² Slovenian textbooks always referred to the Ottomans as 'Turks'.

predominantly Serbian affair, Slovenian textbooks paid great attention to battles between Slovenes, Croats and Serbs under Habsburg rule and Ottomans. For sure, Slovenian textbooks referred to the Serbian resistance to Ottoman advance, symbolised by the Battle of Kosovo, which was frequently referred to in reading books for elementary schools and also received considerable attention in history textbooks for secondary education. Binter and Štrukelj even included a typical Yugoslav reference to the cooperation of Serbian and Croatian troops against the Ottomans at Kosovo (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 116). However, the fact that the Ottomans also attacked Croatian and especially Slovenian lands was strongly highlighted in these textbooks. Textbooks for elementary schools and higher popular schools for instance typically included texts about Ottomans forays in Slovenian lands and how the local population protected itself against the 'Turks', as for example in Rado Murnik's story 'The Turks attack Ljubljana' ('Turki napadajo Ljubljano', Flere 1935: 75-7) or Josip Jurčič's story 'The Turks in Muljava' ('Turki na Muljavi', Černej 1925: 150-1; Hafner & Ločniškar 1940: 131-2, 133-4; Flere e.a. 1940: 118-20). Also in legends and stories about King Matjaž the Turks were portrayed as great enemies of the people.

Textbooks for secondary school further sharpened the boundary between 'Turks' at the one and Christian Europe on the other side, with a leading position for Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in the Habsburg Empire. Textbooks paid great attention to the initially unsuccessful crusades of Christian armies against the advancing Ottomans, the frequent Ottoman raids in Slovenian and Croatian lands, the defence methods of the population against such raids, and Nikola Šubić Zrinski's heroic defence of Siget, a first sign of Ottoman weakness and South Slav strength (Melik & Orožen 1929: 39). From the 17th century onwards textbooks treated the gradual successes of the Habsburg armies against the Ottomans and stressed that it were these efforts of Christian Europe which had initiated the rolling back of the Ottomans from the Balkans. Melik and Orožen explained that it was the "offensive of Central and Eastern Europe against the Turkish state which wakened the hope for liberation [among the part of the nation under Ottoman rule] and simultaneously stirred them up to vigorously participate in these battles" (Melik & Orožen 1929: 41-2).⁹⁸³ Although South Slavs and Habsburgs were allies in the battle against the Ottomans, their alliance was not completely sincere. As Binter and Štrukelj argued, South Slavs had expected that the Habsburgs would lead their struggle against the Ottomans, but they were disillusioned by the lack of time and will of the Habsburgs. This finally led to the conspiracy of Zrinski and Frankopan, which marked the nascent resistance among South Slavs against Habsburg rule and the

⁹⁸³ ["mu je ofenziva Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope proti turški državi budila nade za osvoboditev ter ga hkrati vzbudila k najkrepkejšemu sodelovanju v teh bojih."]

beginning of troubled relations between Habsburg rulers and South Slavs (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 36).

Unlike Serbian textbooks, which focused on the suffering of South Slavs under the Ottoman yoke and where the boundary with the Ottoman 'Other' practically served as the exclusive resource for the self-definition of Yugoslav national history for the period between the 14th and 19th century, Slovenian textbook also focused on specific Habsburg developments, such as Reformation and Counterreformation, peasant revolts and enlightened absolutism, and situated these events within a broader European context. As Anton Melik explained in the preface to his 1919 history of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the 'Turkish' conquest of the largest part of the Balkans roughly concurred with the election of the Habsburg dynasty as ruling dynasty over the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and the first period of national awakening of Slovenes in the form of peasant uprisings and the Reformation (Melik 1919: 2-3). In that regard, the wars against the Ottomans were in fact only one aspect of Yugoslav history for this period in the Slovenian history textbooks. For the Reformation textbooks typically highlighted the pioneer work of Primož Trubar for Slovenian literature and language. They also treated the Reformation and Counterreformation in Croatia and established parallels and links between the two movements. Melik and Orožen for example explained that the reformation and counterreformation laid the basis of Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian literary language and that the reformers were "convinced of the national unity of Yugoslavs and Slavs altogether (Melik & Orožen 1929: 15)."⁹⁸⁴ Binter and Štrukelj stressed that Slovenes, Croats and some Serbs cooperated in the Reformation and that books were printed in the Latin, Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabet (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 15-6).

Also important were the peasant uprisings of the 15th and 16th century, and more specifically the Slovene-Croat peasant revolt of 1573, under the leadership of Matija Gubec and Ilija Gregorić. Indicative of the differences in approach between Slovenian and Serbian textbooks, Binter and Štrukelj treated the peasant revolts in the Habsburg lands and the difficult life of Serbs and Croats under Ottoman rule in one overarching chapter on 'The social position of South Slavs' ('Socialni položaj Južnih Slovanov', Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 22-7). Whereas Serbian textbooks typically interpreted the suffering of the South Slavs under Ottomans rule exclusively as *national* suffering, Binter and Štrukelj also focussed on the *social* element on the basis of parallelisms with the difficult social position of Slovenian and Croatian peasants in the period. Such an approach clarifies how Slovenian textbooks interpreted parallel South Slav historical events from a Habsburg South Slav point of view.

⁹⁸⁴ ["prepričani o narodni enotnosti Jugoslovanov in Slovanov sploh."]

Finally, textbooks for secondary education treated the period of Enlightened absolutism in detail, referring to the “useful social, religious and educational reforms” of Maria Theresa and Joseph II (Melik & Orožen 1929: 59).⁹⁸⁵ The parallel development of Enlightenment and national “awakening” among Slovenes (Žiga Zois, Anton Linhart), Croats (Reljković, Kačić-Miošić) and Serbs (Dositej Obradović) in the late 18th century was situated against the background of Enlightenment ideas in the Habsburg Empire. Again, unlike Serbian textbooks, which had discussed the national rebirth among Croats and Slovenes on the basis of parallelism with and influence from the Serbian uprisings, Slovenian textbooks argued that the development of national consciousness among South Slav intellectuals in the Habsburg Empire was based on the influence of Enlightenment ideas and the reforms of Habsburg Enlightened monarchs. Slovenian textbooks interpreted the history of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs as an integral part of broader European cultural and political developments. The centre of South Slav national history in these interpretations was clearly not the area which suffered under Ottoman rule, but rather the South Slav lands under Habsburg rule, from where European movements like the Reformation, Counterreformation and Enlightenment linked South Slavs with Central and Western Europe and initiated the strengthening of national consciousness among Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, and from where the Ottomans were rolled back.

National consciousness and liberation

A similar approach was applied for 19th century history. In his 1924 history textbook Anton Melik focused on 19th century history of South Slavs under Habsburg rule and added information on South Slavs in independent Serbian and Montenegro and under Ottoman rule in two brief chapters, one for each half of the century (Melik 1924: 157-72, 193-205). In later textbooks the history of independent Serbia was more and more integrated with that of South Slavs under Habsburg rule. However, although the clusters of parallel historical events treated in Slovenian textbooks corresponded to those in curricula and Serbian and Croatian textbooks, the concrete interpretation and approach still reflected that of Melik’s earliest textbooks and departed from a broader European and Habsburg point of view. Whereas Serbian textbooks focused on the leading role the Serbian state played in the liberation and unification of South Slavs, starting with the Serbian uprisings of the early 19th century and ending with the Balkan Wars and the First World War, Slovenian textbooks departed from the French Revolution and its direct influence on South Slav lands under Habsburg rule – what Melik and Orožen

⁹⁸⁵ [“koristne socialne, verske in prosvetne reforme.”]

called the “Western part of the people” – as the starting point of the Slovenian and South Slav national awakening and further focused on the increasing national consciousness of South Slavs under the Habsburg rule as a reaction against Austrian and Hungarian domination.

Slovenian textbooks started their overview of the “national” 19th century with the French Revolution and the Illyrian Provinces. Reading books for higher popular schools gave stories about the French army in Slovenian lands, as well as the experiences of Slovenes who had fought in Napoleon’s army, such as Josip Jurčič’s ‘With Napoleon to Russia’ (‘Z Napoleonom na Ruskem’, Flere 1935: 89-92; Schreiner 1924: 349-51). Reading books and history textbooks also paid a lot of attention to the Illyrian provinces as a positive national experience which lay at the basis of the Slovenian national awakening (Flere 1935: 92-3; Schreiner 1924: 370-1). Only consecutively the Serbian Uprisings were treated. That way, the Serbian Uprisings and liberation battle were embedded within a broader European national revival and were not represented as the indigenous starting point of Yugoslav liberation they were depicted as in Serbian textbooks.⁹⁸⁶ Binter and Štrukelj for example started their chapter on the national 19th century as followed: “Along with other European peoples the wave of national revival also awakened South Slavs. In Napoleon’s Illyria and Karađorđe’s Serbia the people experienced the beginning of new freedom” (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 79).⁹⁸⁷ In other words, the cluster of historical events which was treated in textbooks was familiar: Napoleon’s Illyrian Provinces and the national rebirth of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats in the Habsburg Empire, and the resistance of South Slavs under Ottoman rule, i.e. the Serbian Uprisings and the Montenegrin struggle for independence. However, Slovenian textbooks clearly focused on the South Slav Habsburg context in interpreting the national rebirth. As Melik and Orožen explained:

Already during the Enlightenment national consciousness and work for national education had developed in a small circle of intellectuals. During the French rule that circle grew and through schools and writings national education gradually began to reach the wider population. From then that seed further grew” (Melik & Orožen 1929: 77).⁹⁸⁸

⁹⁸⁶ Illustratively, Đorđe Lazarević had first treated the first Serbian Uprisings and only then turned to the Illyrian provinces and the first elements of national thinking in the works of Dositej Obradović, Andrija Kačić-Miošić, Matija Reljković or Žiga Zois (Lazarević Đ 1933).

⁹⁸⁷ [“Val narodnega prebujenja je vzbudil poleg drugih evropskih narodov tudi Južne Slovane. V Napoleonovi Iliriji in Karađordjevi Srbiji je narod začutil začetek nove svobode.”]

⁹⁸⁸ [“Že prosvetljena doba je v ozkem krogu izobražencev rodila narodno zavest in delo za narodno prosveto. Za časa francoske vlade je ta krog narasel in potom šol in spisov je jela narodna prosveta polagoma pronicati med ljudstvo. Zdaj je to seme dalje klilo.”]

For the further development of national consciousness among Slovenes and South Slav the Slovenian textbooks focused on the negative role of the Habsburg Empire/Austria-Hungary. Reading books for higher popular schools for example included Vladimir Levstik's 'From the time of persecution' ('Iz dobe preganjanja'), a sad story about a Slovenian boy who was taken away from his mother to serve the alien Habsburg army by order of some local clerk who liked to speak German ("nemškutar") (Flere 1935: 103-4; Schreiner 1924: 371-4). Textbooks for secondary schools further elaborated on the parallel national struggle of South Slavs against Austrian and Hungarian domination. They referred to the history of independent Serbia and Montenegro *on the basis of* parallelism with central events in the Habsburg Empire/Austria-Hungary. For the events of 1848-1849, for instance, textbooks stressed the 'United Slovenia' program, and the Serb-Croat battle under Josip Jelačić against the "imperialistic" Hungarians. It was stressed that "all three tribes longed for the closest bonds" and that Serbs and Croats jointly fought the Hungarians because these wanted to "destroy the Yugoslavs" (Melik & Orožen 1929: 106-7).⁹⁸⁹ Then, a brief chapter was added on the situation in independent Serbian around 1848, referring to the 'Draft' of Ilija Garašanin as an attempt to unite all Yugoslavs under Serbian leadership and Serbian support of the battle of Croats and Serbs against the Hungarians (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 117; Melik & Orožen 1929: 106).

The central message for the second half of the 19th century was that national consciousness rose among Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, both at the 'tribal' level and at the Yugoslav level. For the Slovenes textbooks referred both to 'narrow' Slovenian demands, such as the unification of the Slovenian lands and the equal use of Slovenian in education and administration, and broader demands for Slav and South Slav cooperation, especially manifested in the Young Slovene movement and the Yugoslav Program of 1870 (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 119-23). For Croats the textbooks focused on the cultural and political activities of Josip Juraj Strossmayer and his Yugoslav program (ibid: 123-6). For the Serbs, finally, the textbooks treated the demands for emancipation by Svetozar Miletić in Vojvodina, the South Slav political program of Prince Mihailo in Serbia and finally the independence and expansion of Serbia and Montenegro in 1878 (ibid: 126-31). In other words, as Anton Melik argued, the central historical development in this critical period was the agreement of all South Slav leaders in the Habsburg Empire/Austria-Hungary that only mutual cooperation and unity could protect them against Austrian-Hungarian oppression. The developments in independent Serbia were of secondary importance (Melik 1924: 190-1). For the period after 1878 textbooks focused on the further strengthening of South Slav unity in the common battle against

⁹⁸⁹ ["vsa tri plemena pa so težila po tesnejši zvezi", "Jugoslovane uničiti."]

Austrian and Hungarian oppression, resulting in intensification of political life in Slovenia, the Croat-Serb coalition in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia and finally the anti-Austrian policy of King Petar Karađorđević in Serbia (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 132-50).

A final cluster of historical events revolved around the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Slovenian textbooks highlighted the role of independent Serbia during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, but also pointed to the volunteer movement, the harsh situation of South Slavs under Austro-Hungarian occupation and the political decision of South Slav politicians in the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and the Yugoslav Committee (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 163-5, 167-8).

Conclusion

In broad outlines definitions of Yugoslav history in Slovenian history textbooks for secondary education followed history curricula and concurred with those in Serbian and Croatian history textbooks. Thus, for the most part textbooks referred to familiar symbolic resources from history and the same historical periods were used to structure Yugoslav national history. Also, the historical overview departed from the common denominator of parallelisms between sub-national histories, rather than complete uniform historical experiences. Still, the concretisation of this framework was decisively Slovenian not only because Slovenian historical resources received most attention, but also in the concrete approach toward Yugoslav clusters of parallel historical events and experiences. Slovenian textbooks departed from a Slovenian and Central-European point of view. Although, like their Serbian and Croatian counterparts, for the Middle Ages textbooks focused on the experience of national freedom in medieval South Slav states, the increasing influence from 'German' and 'Hungarian' rulers and the boundary with these external enemies formed an additional decisive factor for the definition of Yugoslav national history in that period. For later periods, when South Slav lands were divided in a Habsburg and Ottoman part, Slovenian textbooks clearly departed from a Habsburg point of view, not in the sense that they supported Habsburg rule, but rather that they departed from the point of view of Slovenes and South Slavs in the Habsburg Empire to make sense of South Slav history. In Serbian textbooks the Serbian 'tribe', and especially the part under Ottoman rule and later in independent Serbia, had been represented as the autonomous driving force behind Yugoslav national resistance and liberation. Instead, Slovenian textbooks focused on typical Western European historical events from the period (feudalisation, social unrests, Protestantism, Enlightened absolutism) and the participation of Slovenes and other Habsburg South Slavs in the prevention of further Ottoman advance in Europe and the gradual rolling back of the Ottomans from the Balkans. Events in the Ottoman South Slav lands were treated *on the basis of parallelism* with these developments. For the late 18th and 19th century, when the Ottoman threat had become much less pressing, Slovenian textbooks focused on the

growing national consciousness of South Slavs under the influence of broader European developments and the common resistance against Austrian and Hungarian oppression. Again, the developments in the Ottoman and former Ottoman regions were depicted on the basis of parallelism with events in the Habsburg/Austro-Hungarian part of the nation. Such a specific Slovenian interpretation of the approach to Yugoslav history outlined in curricula indicates the viability of the common denominators provided in this approach.

5.6.4 The irrelevance of religious diversity in the Slovenian view on Yugoslav nationhood

Remarkably absent in Slovenian textbooks were references to religious tolerance as a basic fundament for Yugoslav national unity. Elementary school reading books did not include the programmatic statements of religious tolerance, which took a prominent place in Croatian and Serbian reading books. Additionally, history textbooks did not explicate or highlight the common national character of all Yugoslav churches. For crucial symbolic resources which were used to substantiate this idea in the curriculum and in Serbian and Croatian textbooks, Slovenian textbooks typically presented a brief, factual historical account. Sts. Cyril and Methodius were praised as Slavonic apostles, the true fathers of Christianity among the Slavs and the founders of the Cyrillic alphabet. It was even argued that: “Only then, when the people heard the Christian truths in their mother tongue, the Christian faith was finally victorious among them” (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 38).⁹⁹⁰ Similarly, Slovenian history textbooks referred to St. Sava as the father of the Serbian national church and as an educator of the people (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 70-1; Melik 1924: 63-4; Melik & Orožen 1928: 97-8) and they briefly mentioned the figure of Gregory of Nin (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 45; Melik & Orožen 1928: 45). Finally, the textbooks explained the origins of Islam and the conversion of South Slavs to Islam after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans as a result of the weak position of Christianity in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the societal privileges which could be obtained (Binter & Štrukelj 1938: 25-6; 1939: 26; Melik & Orožen 1928: 25-6; 1929: 30-1). However, in none of these cases the textbooks appropriated these symbolic resources to explicitly point to religious tolerance or the parallel national character of religious

⁹⁹⁰ [“Šele tedaj, ko je ljudstvo poslušalo krščanske resnice v domačem jeziku, je med njim dokončno zmagala krščanska vera.”] The direct influence of St. Cyril and St. Methodius on Slovenia was minimal. The Slav population in the Slovenian lands was christened by missionaries from the Archbishopric of Salzburg from the 8th century. The region fell under the authority of Rome and liturgy took place in Latin (Clewing & Schmitt 2011: 44-5).

institutions among the South Slavs. Apparently, the need to reduce the impact of religious difference was not pressing, indicating that religious difference in Yugoslavia was less relevant in Slovenian society at the time.

5.6.5 The narrow and broad homeland: Slovenian definitions of Yugoslav national landscape

Slovenian reading books for elementary schools made a distinction between the narrow homeland Slovenia and the broad homeland of Yugoslavia. In the text 'Our Homeland' ('Naša domovina') by V. Sadar in Andrej Rape's reading book for the fourth year of elementary schools the author explained that "around our birth region there are many other regions where people speak the same language, sing our songs, celebrate the works of our heroes, where our ancestors have lived and worked. Those regions belong to our *narrow homeland*, Slovenia" (Rape 1923: 191, my stress).⁹⁹¹ Further, it was explained that beyond the narrow homeland Serbian and Croatian brothers lived with Slovenians in "the great and indivisible unity, our *wider homeland* Yugoslavia" (ibid., my stress).⁹⁹² For this wider homeland adults had to make themselves useful and had to be prepared to give their lives (ibid: 191-2). That way, in Slovenian textbooks Slovenia and Yugoslavia coexisted as geographical scales in the territorialisation of national identity. Reading books for the third year typically focused on the narrow homeland Slovenia and presented the pupils with a list of geographical sites of interest. Ljudevit Černej's reading book included texts on Celje, especially as a site of memory related to the Counts of Celje, the river Drava, the Pohorje mountains and the Lake of Bled. Further, the reading book introduced the pupils to Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade, with the river Sava as the natural link between these three cities and between the Slovenian narrow homeland and the wider homeland: "That way, we see that the Sava river unites the three most important places of our Kingdom as a natural link" (Černej 1925: 133-4; also in Schreiner 1923: 140-1).⁹⁹³ Hafner and Ločniškar's 1939 reading book for the third year included a chapter entitled 'My homeland', which solely included patriotic poems about the Slovenian homeland and texts on sites of interest within Slovenia (Hafner & Ločniškar 1939: 75-120).

⁹⁹¹ ["okoli našega rojstnega kraja pa so še mnogi kraji, v katerih govore isti jezik, pojo naše pesmi, slave dela naših junakov, kjer so živeli in delovali naši pradedi. Ti kraji so naša ožja domovina Slovenija."]

⁹⁹² ["v veliko, neločljivo celoto v naši širši domovini, v Jugoslaviji."]

⁹⁹³ ["Tako vidimo, da spaja Sava kot prirodna vez tri najvažnejša mesta naše kraljevine."]

In the reading books for the fourth year of higher elementary schools and for higher popular schools the entire Yugoslav homeland was presented more in detail. Thereby reading books made a clear distinction between Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian regions of the state. In Rape's reading book for the fourth year the Yugoslav territory was divided in a Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian part. For each of these parts the reading book presented a number of texts on important sites, as well as a concluding overview of the entire region. For Croatia the reading book treated the basins of Sava and Drava, Fruška Gora, the Croatian coast and the Dalmatian coast. For Serbia the reading book included texts about Kosovo, the Sandžak, the Vardar basin and Macedonia, and also Thessaloniki. The only exception was Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which it was stressed that the population was entirely Serb and Croat (Rape 1923: 236). The geographical overview was ended with a general overview of Yugoslavia, which referred to Yugoslavia's mountains, traffic net, economy and political regions (Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia) and explained that the Yugoslav were one people, which was divided in Slovenes, Croats and Serbs by dialect ("narečje") and customs (ibid: 250-3). Similarly, Henrik Schreiner's reading book for higher popular schools presented the Yugoslav national territory on the basis of an overview of Slovenia, the pre-war Serbian Kingdom, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and concluded with the general overview of Yugoslavia which was also included in Rape's reading book. In Pavle Flere's 1940 reading book a distinction was made between Slovenia – subdivided in sub-chapters on mountain regions, Carinthia, the Karst region, and flatlands and valleys –, the region of Sava, Drava and Danube (Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina); the Adriatic Coast; the western and southern mountainous areas (Bosnia, Montenegro), "Southern Serbia"/Macedonia and central Serbia. Slovenian reading books for elementary education thus continued to make use of Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian historical regions to make sense of Yugoslav national territory, and established Slovenia as a primary scale of collective identity – the "narrow" homeland – for the pupils. Even after the introduction of the banovina system, which left intact a Slovenian territorial entity within Yugoslavia as Drava banovina, reading books did not mention these banovinas at all.

For definitions of the Slovenian homeland reading books did not follow the Yugoslav state borders, but included all Slovenian historical regions and especially focused on those regions which were not part of the Yugoslav kingdom, i.e. Carinthia, which had been allotted to the Austrian Republic after the Carinthian plebiscite of October 1920, and the Slovenian Littoral, Goriška and western Carniola, which had become part of Italy with the Treaty of Rapallo. In Schreiner's and Flere's reading books for higher popular schools a text was included on the part of the homeland which was not yet liberated ('neodrešena domovina'), which referred to the Slovenian and Croatian Littoral, the Goriška region and the parts of Carniola which had been occupied by Italy. "All this are lands which have been taken by the greedy Italian foreigner, lands of which

we will never forget that they are part of our holy homeland which groans under foreign yoke” (Flere 1935: 48-9; Schreiner 1924: 297-9, quotation on 297).⁹⁹⁴ Engelbert Gangl’s 1923 reading book for the second year included a story about Slovenian children in Italy, who were forced to speak and learn in Italian at school, but who “remained Yugoslavs anyway!” (‘Mi pa ostanemo Jugosloveni!’, Gangl 1923: 118). Rape’s reading book for the fourth year included a description of a train travel from Graz/Gradec to Trieste/Trst (Rape 1923: 202-4),⁹⁹⁵ a text on the Goriška region, which “was part of the Slovenian homeland” and was waiting “for King Matjaž and his powerful army to rescue them” (ibid: 213),⁹⁹⁶ and a text on the Idrija mine, which was located in the Italian part of Inner Carniola (Rape 1923: 205).

Another region outside Yugoslavia which was defined as part of the Slovenian homeland was Carinthia. Rape’s 1923 reading book for the fourth year included a description of a train travel from Maribor to Unterdrauburg/Zgornji Dravograd, passing Klagunfurt/Celovec, Villach/Beljak and Spittal/Špital (Rape 1923: 199-202). Further, Rape’s reading book also included a text on Wörthersee/Vrbsko jezero, located in the Austrian part of Carinthia (Rape 1923: 205-6). In the new reading books of the late 1930s such explicit challenges of the post-First World War borders were avoided, but reading books still included texts about the Soča river, located in Italy at the time (Flere e.a. 1940: 11-2) and a short chapter about Carinthia (ibid: 53-7). Also the frequent references to the field of Gospa Sveta, which was located in Austrian Carinthia, as a Slovenian site of memory expanded the boundaries of the Slovenian homeland beyond Yugoslavia’s state borders. In Binter and Štrukelj’s history textbook for secondary education, finally, the problematic negotiations with Italy and Austria after the First World War were treated in detail, whereby the abovementioned contested regions were represented as purely Slovenian regions (Binter & Štrukelj 1939: 171-5).

Only in geography textbooks for secondary education of the late 1930s geographical definitions of Yugoslav identity corresponded to the curriculum for geography. First, these textbooks started with a general overview of Yugoslavia’s relief, climate, rivers, economy and population. With regard to population, the textbooks stressed that Yugoslavia was a nation-state, with over 85% of Yugoslavs, although it was stressed that linguistic differences had originated as a result of the long political and cultural division of the Yugoslavs. Racially the Yugoslavs were “very uniform”, as the Dinaric race had provided the racial basis for the entire Yugoslav territory (Bohinec, Miklavčič & Savnik

⁹⁹⁴ [“vse to je zemlja, ki si jo je prilastil zemlje lačni tujec Italijan, zemlja, o kateri ne zabimo nikoli, da je to oni kos svete naše domovine, ki ječi pod tujim jarmom.”]

⁹⁹⁵ The same text was also included in the adapted version of Schreiner’s reading book for higher popular schools (Schreiner 1924: 257-61).

⁹⁹⁶ [“del naše slovenske domovine”, “ki čakajo kralja Matjaža in njegove mogočne vojske, da jih rešita.”]

1938: 52-3; Orožen 1937: 44-5). Janko Orožen added that spiritually Yugoslavs were characterised by rich fantasy, a sense of art, the capacity to think abstractly and concretely, patriotism, bravery and righteousness, a democratic spirit and a sense of state organisation (Orožen 1937: 45). Consecutively a detailed overview of Yugoslavia's banovinas was presented, with references to several branches of economy, an overview of the population (religion, illiteracy rates...) and an enumeration of the most important towns per banovina.

5.6.6 Conclusions

Throughout the interwar period Slovenian textbooks for elementary education continued to depart from a clearly delineated Slovenian collective identity to make sense of Yugoslav unity. Whereas in approaches to Yugoslav nationhood in Serbian and Croatian textbooks clear-cut boundaries between sub-national collective identities were challenged by the allowance for zones of overlap, parallelisms and links, in the first place between the Serbian and Croatian sub-national entity, in Slovenian textbooks the distinct place of the Slovenian entity within the Yugoslav whole was not questioned. Rather, reading books for the third year exclusively made use of a Slovenian collective framework in defining language, literature, history and geography. Reading books for the fourth year then added distinct overviews of Croatian and Serbian geography and history. The Serbo-Croatian language and literature were treated in separate reading books. That way, Slovenian reading books for elementary schools defined Yugoslav unity as an overarching whole of clearly distinct building blocks, an approach which can be categorised under Wachtel's model of cultural cooperation. Only in history and geography textbooks for secondary schools the curricula were followed. However, in neither of the cases this implied a departure from the negotiation between Slovenian and Yugoslav collective identity installed in elementary school textbooks. History textbooks clearly departed from a Slovenian point of view to make sense of parallelisms in Yugoslav national history and Drava banovina allowed for the maintenance of a distinct Slovenian territorial entity within the Yugoslav national territory.

Remarkably, the curriculum for elementary schools of 1933, which precisely focused on parallels and links between sub-national entities and challenged the clear-cut boundaries between 'tribes', was not implemented in Slovenian textbooks for elementary education. The symbolic resources selected in the historical overviews in the reading books of the late 1930s completely differed from those given in the curricula and banovinas were not even mentioned. The prescription in the curricula that Slovenian pupils would continue to study the Slovenian language variant and the establishment of Drava banovina, which completely concurred with Slovenian national territory, were elements in the dictatorship's nation-building policy which in fact

deviated from the integral Yugoslav ideology of the dictatorship and instead maintained Slovenian collective identity within the overarching Yugoslav whole. Similarly, Slovenian pro-regime politicians and publicists time and again stressed that Yugoslavism did not imply the negation of the Slovenian language and individuality. In a typical article in the pro-regime newspaper *Jugoslovan*, for instance, it was explained that:

Yugoslavism has fulfilled Slovenedom, because it leads to a higher goal, to the establishment of the Yugoslav state nation. Slovenedom is the fundament and with Croatdom and Serbdom the juice which gives life and power to the Yugoslav state nation. (...) Slovenedom, expanded to the Yugoslav horizon, is width and greatness to all sides, Slovenedom, tied to itself, is narrowness and tightness from the beginning and therefore decline.⁹⁹⁷

This quotation clearly falls under Wachtel's model of cultural cooperation: all Yugoslav nations should interact as much as possible within the overarching unity of the Yugoslav *state nation*, but their individualities were not at stake. Instead, as argued in the same newspaper, the essence of Yugoslavism was the consciousness that all Yugoslavs formed one state nation, and that this state nation was the only guarantee for "the preservation of our individualities".⁹⁹⁸ The observation that Slovenian reading books for elementary schools were not obliged to follow the curricula and could instead retain the Slovenian collective framework for the study of language, history and geography further confirms the distinct position of Slovenian collective identity within the dictatorship's nation-building policy in education. At the same time, there is no sign of a changing position toward Slovenian and Yugoslav collective identity in the textbooks of the second half of the 1930s. Regardless of political dissatisfaction and disillusion with the Royal Dictatorship, textbooks continued to present Slovenian and Yugoslav collective identity as compatible scales of collective belonging. This indicates the viability of the distinct approach toward nationhood in Slovenian textbooks, which in fact left Slovenian national identity intact as a building block of an overarching Yugoslav identity.

⁹⁹⁷ 'Slovenstvo in jugoslovanstvo', *Jugoslovan* 08.06.1930: 2. ["Jugoslovanstvo je izpopolnilo slovenstvo, ker vodi v višji cilj, v ustvaritev jugoslovanskega državnega naroda. Slovenstvo pa je temelj in s hrvatstvom in srbstvom oni sok, ki daje življenje in moč jugoslovanskemu državnemu narodu. (...) Slovenstvo, razširjeno v jugoslovanski horizont, je širina in velikost na vse strani, slovenstvo, omejeno le na sebe, je ozkost in tesnost v začetku in nato propadanje."]

⁹⁹⁸ 'Slovenski jezik', *Jugoslovan* 31.10.1930: 2. ["ohranitev naših individualnosti."]

5.7 Conclusions

The prominence of the Yugoslav national ideology in interwar Yugoslavia's educational policy clearly had an impact on the level of text production in education. Not only did all textbooks under scrutiny explicitly stress basic values of Yugoslav patriotism and unity, they also established a Yugoslav framework for collective identification in the spheres of language, literature, history and geography. At the same time, textbooks provided various sub-national lines of interpretation of the schematic outline of Yugoslav national identity which was presented in curricula. Although Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian textbooks included considerable information on other sub-national entities within the Yugoslav whole, the textbooks were characterised by a clear sub-national bias, which was manifested in the quantitative domination of symbolic resources related to the 'tribe' in question, but also in the distinct approach toward the Yugoslav level of national identity. In any case, textbooks adjusted the discourse of integral Yugoslavism provided by the Royal Dictatorship and illustrate that at a more practical level the state's educational policy did allow for sub-national approaches to Yugoslav nationhood on the basis of Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian lenses, to use Eric Kaufmann's terminology. In that way, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian textbooks for national subjects negotiated between the Yugoslav and 'tribal' level of collective identity, rather than establish a uniform Yugoslav national identity.

Negotiations between the sub-national and national level made use of common denominators which had been provided in the curricula. These common denominators ideally allow for differing formulations of national identity depending on the point of departure without questioning the national unity. Generally speaking, the Yugoslav educational program suggested definitions of Yugoslav collective identity which focused on parallelism and links between various sub-national traditions. Definitions of Yugoslav unity in Slovenian textbooks relied on delineated building blocks and left intact a clearly distinct Slovenian national entity. In the Serbian and Croatian textbooks the boundaries of sub-national collective identities were much more fluid, as the Yugoslav national level was much more pronouncedly manifest in direct links and zones of overlap, in the first place between the Serbian and Croatian 'tribe'. In the Serbian textbooks of the 1930s the increasing interaction between the Yugoslav and the Serbian level of national identity led to a more open and dynamic approach toward national identity which marked a clear departure from codifications of Serbian national identity in pre-war Serbian textbooks, as it allowed for fluidity, diversity and zones of overlap within national identity. Croatian textbooks were characterised by a contrary evolution. The Croatian reading books of 1937 brought the Croatian level of national identity to the

fore and reduced the degree of fluidity and overlap between both Croatian and Serbian national identity, and between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of national identity.

The varying approaches toward nationhood in textbooks reflect the possibilities and limitations inherent in the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, and the interactive happenings of different levels of nationhood within the specific context of interwar Yugoslavia. More than political statements and programs, textbooks illustrate the fluid and dynamic character of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. In the first place, the textbooks show that Yugoslav collective identity relied on sub-national levels of identity. Regardless of the integral Yugoslav discourse of ruling political elites throughout a great part of the interwar period, concrete definitions of Yugoslav national identity made sense on the basis of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian sub-national lenses. Textbooks mediated between both levels of national identity, illustrating that both levels were not inherently exclusive or incompatible, but at the same time also that Yugoslav collective identity would only work insofar as it succeed in mobilising sub-national identities. In the second place, textbooks illustrate the remarkable short-term dynamics and adaptability of nationhood in changing responses to the context of interwar Yugoslavia and the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood. Within the short time span of the interwar period the approach toward nationhood in Serbian textbooks shifted toward fluidity, overlap and variability within national identity and the boundaries of Serbian national identity within the Yugoslav whole became blurred. Definitions of nationhood in Croatian textbooks, to the contrary, placed increasing stress on Croatian national identity and accentuated the boundaries of Croatianness within the Yugoslav whole. Slovenian textbooks consistently rejected – and were allowed to do so by the authorities – definitions of Yugoslav national identity as presented in the curricula and instead held on to the model of cultural cooperation, which left intact Slovenian national identity as a building block of Yugoslav culture.

One common element in textbooks published in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana was that they did not provide room for negotiations between sub-national entities other than the Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian ‘tribe’ and Yugoslav collective unity. Especially in the case of the South Slav Muslims this approach was problematic as a result of the close link between religion and national identity in Serbian and Croatian textbooks. Indeed, concretisations of the model of the national church in Serbian and Croatian textbooks defined the Yugoslav nation as a fundamentally Christian nation and thus hampered the identification of South Slav Muslims with Serbian and Croatian approaches toward Yugoslav nationhood. Opposition against such definitions of Yugoslav nationhood strengthened the salience of confessional approaches to collective identity among South Slav Muslims. Whereas initially the greatest part of the Muslim intelligentsia suggested a clear distinction between religion and nation, by the end of the interwar period a nascent Bosniak nationalism accentuated the religious-national boundaries of South Slav Muslim collective identity within the Yugoslav whole.

Chapter 6 “Pillars of Yugoslav nationalism”: Teachers and Yugoslav nationhood

In the previous chapters I have focused on definitions of Yugoslav national identity in teaching material. Although this examination has brought important insights concerning the possibilities and limitations to the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in top-level prescriptions on Yugoslav education and the dynamic interrelation between Yugoslav national identity and the sub-national identities it relied on, it remains to be assessed in what context specific interactive happenings of nationhood gained relevance. In order to clarify this question I turn to the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood at the local level in the following two chapters, what Foster and Crawford have termed the context of practice (Foster & Crawford 2006: 13). In this chapter I focus on the position of teachers in interwar Yugoslavia's nation-building program. Teachers played a crucial role in the “realisation” of the educational policy and its national component. They were one of the most direct representatives of the Yugoslav state and as such required to concretise Yugoslav nationhood in school and in many cases also in the village the school was located in. Within the context of the Yugoslav state's increasingly authoritarian character teachers were closely followed by state authorities. On the basis of reports by local authorities on teachers, as well as contemporary publications by different teachers associations, I attempt to gain some insight in the happening of Yugoslav nationhood within the context of practice.

6.1 Back and forth between national ideology and political colours: Yugoslav teachers in the parliamentary period

Throughout the interwar period state authorities closely followed the activities of teachers. In 1927 the Ministry of Education legalised a decree determining that teachers who had damaged the profession's standing or failed to carry out the teacher's duties could be given a warning, could be fined for maximally ten per cent of their wage, or could be transferred to another school. Further, local educational authorities could transfer teachers whose work had been evaluated negatively for two years in a row. In more extreme cases of disciplinary violations the Ministry of Education could also reduce a teacher's wage with 20 per cent for a period of maximally twelve months, it could send the teacher on premature retirement, or even completely dismiss him or her from state service (Petrović Lj. 2005: 48-9). In practice these measures, and especially the tactics of transfers or retirements, had already been applied since the early days of the Kingdom of SCS. In many cases interferences with teachers were not only based on purely pedagogical and school related issues, but also on political motivations, illustrating the politicisation of Yugoslav society and the broad impact teachers were considered to have. From the early 1920s the authorities closely checked any form of communist sympathies among the teachers, especially in the period after the *Obznana* of December 1920 and the Law on State Security of August 1921 (ibid: 46-8). Furthermore, authorities also interfered with teachers who supported legal opposition parties. It is in these latter cases that national categories came into play.

6.1.1 Croatian and Yugoslav teachers

Immediately after the First World War representatives of different pre-war teachers associations formed the Association of Yugoslav Teachers (UJU) and the Association of Yugoslav Secondary School Teachers (JPD). One of the crucial motives behind this merging was a notion of Yugoslav national unity (cf. 3.2.1). However, the precise organisation of these Yugoslav teachers associations was not univocally accepted and in Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia a number of teachers maintained distinct teachers associations. Within the Union of Croatian Teachers Associations (SHUD, *Savez hrvatskih učiteljskih društava*) it came to a split between a group of teachers under the leadership of Josip Škavić, which supported the establishment of UJU, and a group of teachers under Ivan Tomašić, which demanded that regional teachers associations would retain absolute autonomy in internal affairs and that an overarching Yugoslav organ would only treat common concerns of all Yugoslav teachers. After a stormy session in July 1921

the group around Škavić joined UJU, whereas the group around Tomašić continued to operate under the banner of the Union of Croatian Teachers Associations (Tomašić 1923). Similarly, a group of Croatian secondary school teachers did not join JPD in opposition against its centralised organisation. Instead, they envisaged the establishment of a union of the different associations of secondary school teachers, in which regional organs would retain a degree of autonomy (Ristić 1920a: 47; Ristić 1920b).

The split among Croatian teachers in the first place revolved around practical questions, especially concerning the status of the association's property and the prestigious Teachers Hall in Zagreb (Tomašić 1923: 273-8). However, typical for the immediate post-war period in Croatia-Slavonia, the split was also rooted in the broader political battle between centralist and federalist political options. The Croatian branch of the Yugoslav Teachers Association was closely associated with the Yugoslav Democratic Party of Minister of Education Svetozar Pribićević, the teachers of SHUD were linked to the Croatian federalist parties, in the first place the Croatian Peasant Party. Within this context the political turnarounds of the first half of the 1920s had a strong impact on teachers in the former Austro-Hungarian regions:

When one of these parties [(S)DS and H(R)SS] came to power, they would start to chase away and transfer teachers of the other camp. One would get the impression that these parties fought their battles through the teachers. This can be seen as the reason for the numerous transfers of teachers in 1921, 1924, 1925 and 1926 (Milanović 1930: 64).⁹⁹⁹

Reproaches of arbitrary and inhuman interferences with teachers for their political orientation were hurled in both directions. Importantly, national categories occupied a prominent position in such discussions, reducing the conflict to the expression of a clear division between “Yugoslav” and “Croatian” teachers. The 1922 and 1923 volumes of *Hrvatski učitelj* (‘The Croatian teacher’), SHUD’s journal, were filled with reports about transfers of Croatian teachers who supported the Croatian Bloc. Remind that this was the period of Svetozar Pribićević’s first term as Minister of Education, during which some of his close co-operators, most prominently Juraj Demetrović, who held the post of regional royal deputy of Croatia-Slavonia between July 1921 and December 1922, conducted a strict centralist and unitarist policy in the former Austro-Hungarian regions of the country (Janjatović 1995: 59-60, 63). According to Tomašić, between July and September 1922 446 teachers in Croatia-Slavonia were transferred, 78 were

⁹⁹⁹ [“Čim bi koja od tih partija došla na vlast, počelo bi odmah gonjenje i premeštanje učitelja iz suprotnog tabora. Tako se dobio utisak da je između ove dve partije glavna borba vođena preko učitelja. Tome se odnosu mogu pripisati mnogobrojni učiteljski premeštaji iz 1921, 1924, 1925 i 1926 godine.”]

pensioned off (Tomašić 1923: 280-2). It was reported that Marko Horvatić, a teacher in Šestine, a suburb of Zagreb, was pensioned off because he had attended a meeting of the Peasant Party in Šestine on 11 June 1923, the name day of Ante Starčević. On this meeting, where republican slogans had been shouted, Horvatić's son had held a speech, and Horvatić himself had led a *tamburica* performance by his pupils to celebrate Starčević.¹⁰⁰⁰ Another example given in *Hrvatski učitelj* was that of Josip Butarac, who had established a Croatian Sokol club and a Croatian reading room and was an opponent of the Democratic Party, and was therefore transferred from Petrinja, close to Sisak, to Krmpote, nearby Senj in the Croatian Littoral.¹⁰⁰¹ Eugen Rein, secondary school teacher in Gospić in the Lika area, was forced to retire because he was member of the Croatian Peasant Party and because he had held 'tribal' speeches on the occasion of Zrinski-Frankopan Day and during an excursion. Moreover, when one student had suggested to sing the Serbian hymn during that excursion, Rein had refused to do so.¹⁰⁰² Finally, Drago Čepulić, secondary school teacher in Zagreb, was transferred to Zemun after he had been denounced by a student for claiming that the ijekavian variant was softer than the ekavian variant, and thus, according to the authorities, "ridiculing" ekavians.¹⁰⁰³ These cases were typically interpreted along political and national lines, as part of a "persecution of Croatia" by anti-Croatian Serbs of the Democratic Party, personified by Svetozar Pribićević and Sava Roksandić, the school inspector for Croatia-Slavonia, and a number of Croatian hypocrites and careerists (*'štreber'*), personified by Juraj Demetrović. In a report about transfers of teachers from the Subotica area, for example, for each transfer it was argued that the reason behind the transfer was that the teacher in question was Croat.¹⁰⁰⁵ In a comment on the transfers of 1921 the leadership of the Croatian Bloc spoke about "the destruction of the Croatian being itself", of "Croatian culture and education", and of "the notion of the Croatian homeland".¹⁰⁰⁶

Such an interpretative framework was also apparent in the authorities' position toward teachers who were involved in Croatian political opposition. In the summer of 1922 local authorities investigated the dissemination of the HRSS-ideology in Trebinje

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Hrvatski učitelj* 2 (1922)/9-10-11: 281-4. The *tamburica* is a specific type of lute which was especially popular in Slavonia, Vojvodina and Hungary.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Hrvatski učitelj* 2 (1922)/9-10-11: 284-6.

¹⁰⁰² *Hrvatski učitelj* 2 (1922)/9-10-11: 289-91.

¹⁰⁰³ *Hrvatski učitelj* 2 (1922)/9-10-11: 292-3.

¹⁰⁰⁴ ["progon hrvatstva"], quoted from the report about Marko Horvatić, *Hrvatski učitelj* 2/9-10-11: 283.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Hrvatski učitelj* 3 (1923)/6-7: 185.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Quoted from a resolution by the Presidency of the Croatian Bloc dated 8 September 1921, published in *Hrvatski učitelj* 2 (1922)/7-8: 256. ["uništenjem samoga hrvatskoga bivstva", "hrvatske kulture i prosvete", "sam pojam domovine Hrvatske."]

by a number of teachers. The local district chief explained that immediately after the “liberation” he had succeeded in merging the Croatian choral society ‘Slavuj’ (‘Nightingale’) and the Serbian choral society ‘Soko’ (‘Falcon’), both with their reading rooms. However, with the arrival of the judge Josip Kobasica tensions rapidly grew in the new cultural association. Finally, the Serbs had re-established their choral society and reading room after one of the Croatian singers had stated that no Serbian could be spoken in the choral society and the reading room. After the appointment of the Muslim Hakiya Hadžić as principal of the new gymnasium the Croatian reading room was turned into a centre of political propaganda for the Croatian Bloc. Moreover Hadžić and another local teacher, Nikola Sambrajlo, began to incite local Muslims into joining the Croatian reading room. The district chief concluded that both teachers worked against the unity of state and nation and that as a result of their agitation the antagonism between the different confessional communities in the village had markedly increased.¹⁰⁰⁷ In a comment accompanying the report by the district chief the regional government for Bosnia-Herzegovina confirmed that Hadžić was a self-declared Croat, that he was rather “liberal” from a religious point of view (he wore a hat and his wife was allowed to walk around unveiled) and that he was a dedicated agitator for JMO. However, at school Hadžić’s work could not be criticised: he treated all his students equally, regardless of “faith and nationality”.¹⁰⁰⁸ The regional government carefully suggested that a transfer of Hadžić might not be at its place, because it could be interpreted as an act against the Muslim population in the village.¹⁰⁰⁹ Still, Hadžić was dismissed from his position as principal and appointed secondary school teacher in another secondary school.¹⁰¹⁰

Also in the summer of 1922 local authorities started an investigation against the law student Hasan Saračević, who received a scholarship but apparently agitated for the Croatian Peasant Party. It was reported that Saračević had participated in political meetings against JMO’s participation in the government and in support of the Croatian Peasant Party. Also, Saračević had been involved in “exclusive Croatian” activities, as for example during a Zrinski-Frankopan commemoration. The district authorities explained that they “did not have, and could absolutely not have anything against the fact that Saračević felt himself a Croat but (...) that he as such could also work to the benefit of the unity of state and nation instead of opposing it in a spirit of extreme opposition and

¹⁰⁰⁷ Report from the district chief of Trebinje to the regional government for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 25 June 1922. AJ 66(pov)-52-110.

¹⁰⁰⁸ [“vjere i narodnosti.”]

¹⁰⁰⁹ Report from the regional government for Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Ministry of Education, 15 July 1922. AJ 66(pov)-52-110.

¹⁰¹⁰ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 28 July 1922. AJ 66(pov)-52-110.

separatism”.¹⁰¹¹ These cases indicate the availability of a division between Yugoslav and Croatian nationhood for making sense of political divisions in the former Austro-Hungarian parts of the country.

In 1923, when Pribićević and his Democrats were ousted from power and the Radical government adopted a more compromise orientated policy toward Croatian federalists, symbolised by the appointment of Ernest Ćimić, member of the Radical Party, as Royal Deputy for Croatia-Slavonia, the “persecution” of Croatian teachers stopped (Tomašić 1923: 286). In this period it were “Yugoslav” teachers who complained about politically and nationally motivated acts against their teachers. In a resolution of 7 May 1923 UJU demanded that the authorities would protect and guarantee the positions of the “national” teachers in Croatia and Slavonia who had joined UJU and favoured national unity against “all attacks to which they are constantly exposed because of their patriotic and national work”.¹⁰¹² On 29 October 1923 UJU sent a complaint to the Ministry of Education concerning the forced transfer of a number of teachers in the area of Sarajevo. Milan Kukić for example was working in Donji Žabar in north-eastern Bosnia. According to UJU Kukić was a nationally correct teacher, not only at school but also outside school. He had established an educational committee in the village, founded a Yugoslav Sokol and supplied the village library with Serbian books. Still, for no clear reason beside political and anti-Yugoslav motives, Kukić had been transferred to Preslaj, accordingly one of the worst places in Bosnia. Similar cases of political-national transfers were also reported in Croatia.¹⁰¹³

After the formation of the Pašić-Pribićević government in March 1924 roles were again reversed. According to *Hrvatski učitelj* in December 1924 and January 1925 286 Croatian teachers were transferred or retired.¹⁰¹⁴ On 17 March 1925 Minister of Education Pribićević banned SHUD, because it was based on purely ‘tribal’ fundamentals, and because “it stirs tribal battles between teachers and passes on that battle to the people”.¹⁰¹⁵ When Stjepan Radić became Minister of Education in November 1925 he

¹⁰¹¹ Report from the district authorities of Bihać to the local town authorities, 7 August 1922; Report from the district authorities of Bihać to the regional government for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 13 October 1922. AJ 66(pov)-52-110. [“Ovo načelstvo nema, a ne može ni imati apsolutno ništa protiv toga, što se Saračević osjeća Hrvatom, ali napominjem, da je i kao takav mogao da radi u prilog državnom i narodnim jedinstvu, a ne protiv toga i to u skrajnem opozicionalmom i separatnom duhu.”]

¹⁰¹² Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of UJU on 7 May 1923. AJ 66-2053-2041. [“od svih nasrtaja, kojima je ono stalno izloženo za svoj patriotski i nacionalni rad.”]

¹⁰¹³ Letter of UJU to the Ministry of Education, dated 29 October 1923. AJ 66-2053-2041.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Hrvatski učitelj* 4 (1924)/11-12: 240.

¹⁰¹⁵ ‘Hrvatsko učiteljstvo pod obznanom’, *Hrvatski učitelj* 4 (1924)/11-12: 236-7. [“raspiruje plemensku borbu među učiteljstvom i prenosi tu borbu među narod.”]

quickly annulled this decision,¹⁰¹⁶ but apparently Tomašić did not succeed in completely reorganising SHUD and the association disintegrated.¹⁰¹⁷ In the second half of the 1920s arbitrary transfers of teachers decreased. However, the authorities continued to be very careful with national incorrect behaviour of Croatian teachers. On 27 July 1928, for example, a complaint was lodged against Slavica Klarić, teacher in an elementary school in Osijek, because she had reprimanded one of her pupils who had said that she spoke Serbian, explaining that Serbian was only spoken in Serbia, and that in Osijek only Croatian was spoken.¹⁰¹⁸

In any case, the involvement/participation of Croatian and Yugoslav teachers in political conflicts in Croatia-Slavonia in the first half of the 1920s was interpreted along strict national lines, as expressions of a clear division between Croatdom and Yugoslavism. Apparently, teachers were either Croat or Yugoslav; a position in-between was difficult to conceive of within the political circumstances of the early 1920s in Croatia-Slavonia. However, in reality this division was not so clear-cut. First, representatives of Croatian teachers in SHUD too supported a form of Yugoslav unity. In an article in *Hrvatski učitelj* Ivan Tomašić clarified that SHUD opposed those who forcefully wanted to unite Serbdom, Croatdom and Slovenedom. “This mean not to hold back from all means to destroy everything through which (...) a centuries long completely separate culture has divided us, and to bring everything which unites us to the surface” (Tomašić 1923: 112).¹⁰¹⁹ In practice, this approach came down to “the drowning of Croatdom in Greater-Serbianism, under the label of the creation of Yugoslav unity” (ibid.).¹⁰²⁰ Tomašić and the teachers behind him were more “sober” people, who objected such violent and repressive methods and instead suggested that first spiritual national unification should be realised, following the natural evolutionary law of assimilation (ibid.). In a resolution adopted at its meeting of 15 July 1921 SHUD argued for close cooperation between different regional teachers associations in Yugoslavia “for the purpose of the realisation of the national unity of the Yugoslav brotherly peoples, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes” (ibid: 213).¹⁰²¹ Clearly, SHUD supported Yugoslav national unification, but it opposed forceful assimilation and Serbian domination and instead propagated a more open definition of Yugoslav national unity, with space for internal variation. Furthermore, in none of the above given cases lodged

¹⁰¹⁶ ‘Ministar Radić ukida obznanu’, *Hrvatski učitelj* 4 (1924)/11-12: 238.

¹⁰¹⁷ See ‘Uvodna Riječ’, *Hrvatski učitelj* 3(9) (1929)/1-4: 1-2, which explained that a split had occurred within the ranks of SHUD under a group of teachers who opposed the politicisation of the movement by Tomašić.

¹⁰¹⁸ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 27 July 1928. AJ 66(pov)-59-153.

¹⁰¹⁹ [“Ovo znači: ne žacajući se sredstava zatrti sve, čime nas je (...) do sada dijelila mnogostoljetna sasvim različita kultura, i na provršinu dignuti sve ono, što nas spaja.”]

¹⁰²⁰ [“utapljanje hrvatstva u velikosrpstvu pod firmom stvaranja jedinstva jugoslavenskoga.”]

¹⁰²¹ [“u svrhu oživotvorenja narodnoga jedinstva jugoslavenskih bratskih naroda Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.”]

against teachers a clear Croat-Yugoslav division is evident. In the case of Drago Ćepulić, for instance, the fact that he had called the ijekavian variant softer than the ekavian variant does not at all imply that he was not Yugoslav-oriented. Rather, it seems that such a national distinction was added to make more sense of politically or probably also purely personally motivated acts against teachers, illustrating the enormous societal capital of Yugoslav nationhood, and its inclusive and exclusionary potentials in Croatia-Slavonia during the 1920s.

6.1.2 Liberal and Catholic teachers in Slovenia

Similar political divisions between teachers also occurred in Slovenia. In 1889 Slovenian teachers had established the Union of Slovenian Teachers Associations (*Zaveza slovenskih učiteljskih društev*) as the professional association of all Slovenian elementary school teachers. The association became closely connected to the Liberal camp in Slovenian politics, which was supported by a majority of the teachers, and got involved in the broader political-ideological battle between Liberals and Clericals. In 1900 teachers supportive of the Slovenian People's Party formed their own association, called the Slomšek Union (*Slomškova zveza*), named after Anton Slomšek, Bishop of Maribor, poet and activist for Slovenian religious education (Šuštar 2009: 230-1). Immediately after the World War both teachers associations greeted the establishment of the Yugoslav Kingdom with great optimism. Against this background, there were some attempts to come to a unified Slovenian teachers association which would promote the professional interests of all teachers, regardless of political preferences, and as such could become part of an overarching Yugoslav teachers association. However, political and ideological cleavages between teachers associations remained manifest, and when the first meetings for the formation of the Yugoslav Teachers Association were held in Belgrade in the summer of 1919 representatives of the Slomšek Union were not invited (Dolenc 1996: 40-3; Šuštar 2009: 233-44).¹⁰²²

During the first half of the 1920s the antagonism between Liberal and Catholic teachers associations increased, fuelled by continuing interference of political authorities. In brief, the participation of Slovenian Liberals or Clericals in central and regional governments invariably led to personnel changes and appointments of teachers who were members of the right teachers association (Šuštar 2009: 234-4; Zečević 1985: 366). The Yugoslav national question did not occupy a prominent role in

¹⁰²² At the end of 1919 the Slovenian branch of UJU had 2200 members, against 500 members for *Slomškova Zveza* (Šuštar 2009: 234).

the continuing antagonism between Liberal and Catholic teachers associations. Rather, these battles formed part of a larger political-ideological *Kulturkampf* in Slovenia, in which the level of Yugoslav collective identity remained peripheral (Šuštar 2009: 244-53). By the end of 1925 disillusion with and opposition against continuing political interference reached its peak among Slovenian teachers. In December 1925 teachers from Mežiška dolina in Slovenian Carinthia formulated a resolution in which they called for the de-politicisation of the teaching profession and the teachers association. On the regional meeting of UJU in Celje, in July 1926, the resolution was accepted by an absolute majority of the local departments of the Slovenian UJU. The teachers who had been organised in the Slomšek Union joined the new Slovenian branch of UJU, only preserving the Slomšek Union as a purely cultural association. A small part of the teachers initially remained faithful to the politics of the Democrat Party and its integral Yugoslavism, and formed its own association, but in 1928 this group disbanded itself and joined UJU (Dolenc 1996: 219-23).

6.1.3 Political interference with teachers in Serbia

In many Serbian villages in the Kingdom local authorities associated to the Radical Party used their political power against teachers who supported other political parties. On 21 November 1923 – the period of the homogeneous Radical government which was formed after the elections of March 1923 – the cabinet chief of the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a complaint to the Ministry of Education concerning the political activities of two teachers, Novak Tripković and Đorđe Đurković, who allegedly neglected their teaching because of their political activities in the district of Upper Morača in present-day Montenegro. According to the complaint, these teachers had supported a local candidate for the Republican Party and had successfully agitated for the establishment of a coalition list of Republicans and Democrats, the only opponent of the Radicals at the elections. The cabinet chief concluded that in general a large number of teachers supported the Democratic Party, which was a serious hindrance for the dominance of the Radical Party. On the basis of these complaints both teachers were transferred by the Ministry of Education.¹⁰²³ Similarly, a local representative of the Ministry of Education charged the teacher Jošo Ivanović with political activism for the Democratic Party because he had openly blamed the government for the death of some policemen who had been killed in fights with Montenegrin rebels in Ugnji in Old Montenegro. In

¹⁰²³ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 21 November 1923; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 17 January 1924. AJ 66(pov)-59-149.

this case, however, the Ministry of Education decided that the complaint against Ivanović was ungrounded.¹⁰²⁴ On 26 July 1927 the district chief of Banja Luka sent a complaint to the Ministry of Education concerning Milan Stojanović, a teacher in the village of Krašnica. Accordingly, Stojanović had agitated for the Independent Democratic Party of Svetozar Pribićević, which was of great harm for the Radical Party because the village of Krašnica had much influence over the surrounding villages. Therefore, the district chief demanded the immediate transfer of Stojanović.¹⁰²⁵

Other cases were more banal, such as the complaint against Todor Mitić, a teacher in Kavadar in central Serbia, who in a drunken state had started a tirade against Nikola Pašić, calling him a thief.¹⁰²⁶ In another example on 11 January 1927 the district chief of the Zeta oblast started an investigation against Filip Hajduković, teacher at the elementary school of Goransko, in north-western Montenegro. The reason was that Hajduković had refused to treat the first Serbian Uprising in history class and that he had started a round dance in class after the death of Nikola Pašić as a sign of gratitude.¹⁰²⁷

National claims were generally absent from such politically motivated acts against teachers in Serbia. This was different in Macedonia. In July 1928, for example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded that Veljan Apčević, who taught in Brusnik nearby Bitola, be transferred to the north, because he spread opposition against the state and was therefore harmful for the national case, especially in a sensitive area like Macedonia.¹⁰²⁸ The authorities were very suspicious of local teachers who had been trained in schools of the Bulgarian Exarchate before the Balkan Wars. According to a military report of 1926 there were 470 elementary school teachers in the oblast Bitola, of whom 111 had been trained in Bulgarian schools. In the report it was argued that these teachers should be immediately removed for “[e]s ist besser, in einem Dorf keine Schule zu haben als seine Schule und einen Lehrer, der den Kindern beibringt, dass sie Makedonier sind” (qtd. and translated in Boškovska 2009: 268).

¹⁰²⁴ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 29 December 1923. Decision by the Ministry of Education, 6 February 1924. AJ 66(pov)-59-149.

¹⁰²⁵ Report from the district chief of Banja Luka to the Ministry of Education, 26 July 1927. AJ 66(pov)-59-152.

¹⁰²⁶ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 14 May 1924. AJ 66(pov)-59-149.

¹⁰²⁷ Report from the district chief of Zeta oblast to the Ministry of Education, 11 January 1927. AJ 66(pov)-59-150.

¹⁰²⁸ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 5 July 1928. AJ 66(pov)-59-149.

6.1.4 Growing dissatisfaction among teachers

Obviously, political interference with teachers was a common feature in all Yugoslav regions during the 1920s. Especially in Croatia-Slavonia and Macedonia such interferences were typically substantiated on the basis of a distinction between “Croatian separatist” or “Bulgarist” and “nationally correct” Yugoslav teachers; in other regions political interferences and distinctions were much less nationalised. Not surprisingly, by the end of the 1920s dissatisfaction and disappointment had grown significantly within the ranks of Yugoslav teachers. Illustrative is the following resolution by UJU from 13 September 1928, which once more criticised the arbitrary transfers of teachers in Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Srem:

Here, teachers are not the pillars of the school and educational policy, but simply a weapon in the hands of several agitators and partisans. We have never been opposed to the fact that everybody should be held responsible for their own mistakes, but we strongly oppose the fact that teachers are transferred according to the wishes of somebody or other, that teachers constantly have to fear for an eventual transfer, and that this hinders the work they have devoted themselves to as well as the children they have to educate. For once and for all this old-fashioned way of working with public teachers has to stop. The authorities have to guarantee that teachers can work peacefully and fruitfully, elementary schools and teachers have to be respected at least by those who take care of them.¹⁰²⁹

The members of the educational commission established by Minister Kumanudi in the winter of 1927-28 similarly demanded that politics and education would be strictly separated and that there would come an end to personnel changes, which had been the general rule with the arrival of every new minister. For that purpose, schools had to be liberated from the arbitrary power of local authorities and put directly under the Ministry of Education.¹⁰³⁰

In the light of this general dissatisfaction many teachers began to doubt the Yugoslav idealism of politicians themselves, especially in contrast to the high hopes intellectuals had placed in education for Yugoslav nation-building. At the third general congress of

¹⁰²⁹ Letter of UJU to the Ministry of Education, dated 13 October 1928. AJ 66-2053-2041. [“Učitelj ovde ne predstavlja jedan stub školske i prosvetne politike, već jedno oruđe u rukama raznih korteša i partizana. Mi nikad nismo bežali od toga da onaj ko je kriv odgovara za svoju krivicu, ali smo odsudno protivni da se učitelj premešta po volji ovoga ili onoga, da učitelj svakog časa strepi od premeštaja te da čekajući isti šteti i rad kome se posvetio i deci koju treba voditi napred. Treba prekinuti jednom sa tim zastarelim načinom rada sa narodnim učiteljima; treba nu jednom obezbediti miran i plodan rad, treba narodnoj školi i učitelju da ugleda i poštovanja bar od strane onih koji se o njoj staraju.”]

¹⁰³⁰ ‘Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa’. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 171.

UJU, held on 8 August 1926 in Belgrade, President Petar Vuksanović once more clarified the high national goals the teachers set for themselves. Vuksanović warned that the unification of the state had not yet brought national unity and that the Yugoslavs had still not surpassed the stage of tribal discord and disunity, just like in the Middle Ages. If politicians would not urgently formulate a clear and uniform educational program, the Yugoslav state would meet with the same fate as the Serbian state of Nemanja, which fell apart because of disunity.

In the light of what we have been taught by history we have to create awareness that above the tribes stands the nation, above the regions the state. Contrary to the idea that every individual is as great as his individual strength, we have to assure people that every citizen is as great as his homeland is strong. (...) We have to wipe out tribal differences and fasten the process of spiritual unification of our three-named people – that is the task of the Yugoslav teachers (Vuksanović 1926: 26-7).¹⁰³¹

In a similar spirit Jerotije Novitović argued:

If we had been luckier and if there had been more love for our state interests and less for other inferior interests, a law on secondary schools would have been ratified a long time ago, and education would have been unified in the entire state. He, who has been minister of education for the longest period [Svetozar Pribićević] bears the responsibility for this delay. One politician has aptly said – even if it is a sad finding – that there was time to ratify a decree on the police, but not for the formulation of education laws (Novitović 1925: 395)!¹⁰³²

In 1926 *Narodna odbrana* reproached the Ministry of Education that it apparently wanted to continue “to cultivate narrow and harmful tribal sentiments among our children and youth” instead of propagating national unity.¹⁰³³ At JPD’s annual congress, held on 11 and

¹⁰³¹ [“Poučeni istorijom moramo nastati da se stvori osećaj: da je iznad plemena narod, iznad pokrajine – država. Na suprot osećanju da je svaki pojedinac veliki, koliko ima sopstvene snage, treba stvoriti uverenje: da je svaki građanin veliki onoliko, koliko je velika i snažna njegova otadžbina. (...) Izgladiti plemenske razlike i ubrzati proces duhovnog jedinstva našeg troimenog naroda – eto to je zadatak, koji se nameće Jugoslovenskokom učiteljstvu.”]

¹⁰³² [“Da je bilo sreće i više ljubavi prema interesima države a manje prema drugostepenim interesima, odavno bi se doneo zakon o srednjim školama i tako bi se nastava izjednačila u celoj državi. Za ovo zakašnjenje najveću odgovornost snosi onaj, koji je bio najduže ministar prosvete posle ujedinjenja. Lepo je jedan naš političar kazao – ako je to žalosna konstatacija – da se imalo vremena za donošenje uredbe o žandarmeriji, a nije bilo vremena za donošenje prosvetnih zakona!”]

¹⁰³³ ‘Narodno jedinstvo u školama’. *Narodna odbrana* 1 (1926)/16: 249-50, quotation on 249. [“i na dalje kultivisati kod naše dece i kod naše omladine uski i štetni plemenski osećaj.”]

12 November 1928 in Sisak Vice-President Mirko Popović aptly described the disappointment of the teachers:

Let us admit openly that we don't await the tenth anniversary of the realisation of our age-old dream with the same enthusiasm as expected. The spiritual building, which has also been built by teachers through the valuable particles of their souls and their great love toward their nation, has been attacked. What was considered indivisible as long as it remained in the hands of scientists, writers, artists and teachers, was considered divisible as soon as it came in other hands, and it has even been predicted from different sides how it will be divided (Popović Mirko 1928: 636).¹⁰³⁴

Under the dictatorship educational authorities did show more decisiveness in their educational policy. However, at the same time this brought with it increasing ideological pressure on and interference with teachers.

¹⁰³⁴ ["Priznajemo otvoreno: desetgodišnjicu ostvarenja vekovnog sna ne očekujemo sa onakvim oduševljenjem, kako smo zamišljali da ćemo je dočekati. Počelo se udarati i na duhovnu zgradu, koju su i profesori podizali dragocenim česticama svoga duha i svoje velike ljubavi prema svom narodu. Ono što se smatralo nedeljivim, dokle je bilo u rukama naučnika, književnika, umetnika i profesora, prelaskom u druge ruke počelo se smatrati deljivim, pa se s raznih strana čak i najavljivalo kako da se podeli."]

6.2 Teachers under the Royal Dictatorship

With the establishment of the Royal Dictatorship teachers were given a crucial role in the state's nation-building project. Already in the presentation of his educational policy to the Council of Ministers on 12 March 1929 Minister of Education Maksimović had stressed that every teacher was in the first place "a state organ and carrier of the state idea" (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 35).¹⁰³⁵ Teacher-training schools should educate qualified teachers, whose work would "not clash with fundamental ideas about the state organisation, proper behaviour, the structure of society and the unity of state and nation, as has frequently been the case during the last years" (ibid.).¹⁰³⁶ In a handwritten message to the 11th congress of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers, dated 20 July 1931, King Aleksandar himself called the teacher "the centre of education, pillar of Yugoslav nationalism and stimulus for all beautiful aspirations in the future of Yugoslavia".¹⁰³⁷ At the same time, the authorities made it clear that they would not tolerate any departures from this norm. As argued by Maksimović, the state should "immediately get rid of" teachers whose work did not correspond to the state interests (qtd. in Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 35).¹⁰³⁸

The Law on Popular Schools elaborated on what the ministry expected of teachers. At school teachers were obliged to follow the curricula and to teach in accordance with the general goals of education, in other words the strengthening of the unity of the Yugoslav state and nation (art. 78).¹⁰³⁹ The work of teachers, however, did not stop outside the school walls. One of the primary tasks of teachers was to contribute to popular education outside schools (art. 78 & 82). Further:

The teacher is obliged to be a model of civil, religious, political and cultural tolerance. Therefore he has to avoid all actions of a private and public, and especially purely political character, which could lead to these intolerances. Consequently, teachers cannot be members of organisations which hinder the

¹⁰³⁵ ["državni organ i nosilac državne ideje".]

¹⁰³⁶ ["neće dolaziti u koliziju sa bitnim idejama o uređenju države, o obliku vladavine, o društvenom poretku, kao i o državnom i narodnom jedinstvu, kakvih je slučajeva dosta bilo poslednjih godina".]

¹⁰³⁷ Qtd. in *Učitelj* 12 (1931)/1: 3 ["Žiža prosvete, stub jugoslovenskog nacionalizma i podstrek za sva lepa stremljenja u budućnosti Jugoslavije".] The message was written in the Latin alphabet.

¹⁰³⁸ ["smesta debarasirati od njega".]

¹⁰³⁹ The following paragraph is based on 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76, 5 December 1929.

goals of popular schools in any possible way, or occupy themselves with activities which do not concur with the teaching profession (art. 81).¹⁰⁴⁰

In order to prevent such improper behaviour all teachers had to ask permission of the ministry to take part in extramural activities (art. 81). In a later decree the Ministry of Education gave a more detailed prescription of the teacher's behaviour and work outside school. First, the general behaviour of the teacher should be impeccable at all times: "The people should not see teachers play cards, get drunk, spend time with singers or other similar women, gamble, lodge complaints or take cases to the communal court, as has been the case in some places".¹⁰⁴¹ Teachers should always be punctual in their work, they should always be at school on working days and in the weekends they should remain in their village, because this was the time when they could make contact with the villagers. Teachers should not insult or ridicule popular customs, rather they should make bad habits disappear. At school, teachers should form theatre groups and choral societies for the singing of folk songs. Outside school teachers should organise lessons against illiteracy and popular lectures, and establish Sokol clubs, choral societies, popular libraries and credit unions for the economical education of the population.¹⁰⁴²

Teachers were evaluated twice a year by school inspectors of the educational department at the level of the district and the banovinas through a point system which varied between one and five points (arts. 103 & 104).¹⁰⁴³ Thereby the following criteria were taken into consideration:

Success at school; successful work in village schools with large and undivided classes and in difficult surroundings; work in the field of popular education; spreading of literacy; organisation of cultural associations and the assistance of agricultural cooperatives; the protection of public health; the stamping out of alcoholism; contributions to school literature; contributions to associations for

¹⁰⁴⁰ ["Učitelj je dužan davati primer građanske, verske, političke i kulturne trpeljivosti. Zato on ima izbegavati sve akcije privatnog i javnog, naročito čisto političkog, karaktera, koje mogu dovesti do ove netrpeljivosti. Toga radi učitelji ne mogu biti ni članovi organizacije koje su ma u kome pogledu štetne po ciljeve narodnih škola, niti se zanimati poslovima koji se ne slažu sa učiteljskim pozivom".] Article 51 of the Law on Civil Schools was completely identical to this paragraph.

¹⁰⁴¹ ["Narod ne treba da vidi prosvetne radnike da se kartaju, pijanče, provode vreme sa pevačicama i njima sličnom ženskinju, da se parniče, da pišu tužbe, da odlaze u opštinske sudnice, kao što se to ponegde dosada dešavalo."] 'Vanškolski rad nastavnika', P.Br. 1.130 (Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 155).

¹⁰⁴² 'Vanškolski rad nastavnika', P.Br. 1.130 (Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 155-7).

¹⁰⁴³ This paragraph is again based on 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

the strengthening of national consciousness and religious tolerance; family needs; length of service (art. 98).¹⁰⁴⁴

School inspectors were required to check if the school provided education in the spirit of the education laws and if it contributed to the main goals of elementary education, namely: national unity, religious tolerance, morality and civil sense of duty. With regard to the teachers inspectors should also consider his/her devotion to work, general behaviour at school and outside the school, and his/her work on popular education in the village, more concretely the organisation of lessons against illiteracy, schools and courses for domestic science and agriculture and contributions to village libraries and local Sokol clubs.¹⁰⁴⁵ On 22 December 1930 the Ministry of Education reported that a large number of inspectors had noticed that elementary school teachers did not pay enough attention to the national subjects. Given the great importance of national education the ministry ordered all inspectors to pay specific attention to the work of teachers for national education, both in and outside the school. Teachers who were negatively evaluated for national teaching could not be positively evaluated in general, even if other aspects of their work were excellent.¹⁰⁴⁶

The inspection of secondary schools was carried out similarly. In these cases, school inspectors of the Ministry of Education checked if the teachers followed the curriculum, if the school used approved textbooks, how the teacher treated the students, the state of the school buildings and the school administration.¹⁰⁴⁷ The evaluation of secondary, civil and teacher-training school teachers was carried out annually by a special commission at the level of the banovinas.¹⁰⁴⁸ These commissions were led by the head of the educational department of the banovinas, who was joined by qualified inspectors and a number of school principals (art. 5). Evaluations of these teachers were made on the basis of reports set up by the principal of the school in question and reports by the

¹⁰⁴⁴ ["uspeh u školi; uspešan rad u seoskim školama u nepodeljenim udeljenjima i težim mestima; rad na narodnom prosvetivanju, širenju pismenosti, organizovanju kulturnih ustanova, organizovanju i pomaganju zemljoradničkih zadruga, čuvanju narodnog zdravlja, suzbijanju alkoholizma, rad na književnosti prvenstveno školskoj, rad u organizacijama za jačanje svesti o narodnom jedinstvu i osećanju verske snošljivosti; porodične potrebe; vreme službovanja".]

¹⁰⁴⁵ 'Podnošenje polugodišnjih nadzorničkih izveštaja', 31 December 1929, O.n. br. 72.314, *Prosvetni glasnik* 45 (1929): 303-8; 'Ocenjivanje nastavnika prilikom završnog pregleda narodnih škola', O.n. br. 40.287, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 536-7; 'Uredba o vršenju nadzorničke službe', 15 February 1935, O.n. br. 10.800, *Prosvetni glasnik* 51 (1935): 273-94.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 'Obrađivanje nacionalnih predmeta i nacionalno vaspitanje učenika u narodnim školama', 22 December 1930, O.n. br. 95.394, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1322.

¹⁰⁴⁷ 'Pravilnik o nadzoru rada i uspeha u srednjim školama i o honorisanju izaslanika za tečajne ispite', S.n. br. 14.591, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 505-8.

¹⁰⁴⁸ 'Pravila o ocenjivanju nastavnika srednjih, učiteljskih i građanskih škola', 3 April 1936, S.n. br. 11.511, *Prosvetni glasnik* 52 (1936): 286-90.

inspectors of the banovinas (art. 11). The reports focused on the following factors: the qualification of the teachers, the pedagogical and methodological aspects of his/her work, the devotion to the job, behaviour in and outside school and scientific work (art. 17).

On the basis of these evaluations the educational authorities had the possibility to reward faithful teachers and to punish teachers whose work did not concur with the norms of the dictatorship. First, in order to be permanently appointed all beginning teachers had to pass a practical exam and had to be evaluated positively for two years within a term of maximally four years after their graduation from teacher-training school. Teachers who had not passed the exam within this term would be dismissed (art. 71 & 72).¹⁰⁴⁹ Annually the provincial authorities also presented a proposal to the Minister of Education for a reshuffle of teachers in their banovina on the basis of inspections, which was another mechanism to transfer unsuitable teachers (art. 98). Only teachers who had been evaluated “successful” (three points) on average for the last three years and who had not been evaluated “unsatisfactory” (two points) or “bad” (one point) for the previous year were considered for an eventual transfer of their own choice (art. 100). Finally, the law did not make any specifications concerning the appointment, transfer and dismissal of teachers, thus leaving the decision solely to the Ministry of Education (art. 94). In fact, the Ministry of Education had the right to withdraw a teacher’s payment for a period between three days and three months, to transfer him or her to another school or finally to dismiss the teacher in case it had found that the work of the teacher in question was unsatisfactory, without defining what this vague criterion precisely implied (art. 88).

Yugoslav authorities obviously attached great importance to teachers as crucial links in the implementation of the dictatorship’s integral Yugoslav policy at the local level. Teachers were expected to be examples of moral and especially national correctness and they were required to actively propagate these principles not only among their pupils but among the entire village population. The frequent complaints lodged against teachers during the first half of the 1930s both by school inspectors and by representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs seem to illustrate that the actual work of teachers did not meet the high requirements concerning the teachers’ national work.¹⁰⁵⁰ If we look at these cases more carefully, however, a more complex picture of the concrete use of the omnipresent term “national correctness” is revealed.

¹⁰⁴⁹ This paragraph is again based on ‘Zakon o narodnim školama’, *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Very often initial complaints against teachers were filed by Departments for State Security in the banovinas on the basis of anonymous denunciations and consecutively forwarded to the Ministry of Education, which commissioned local educational authorities to further investigate the case.

6.2.1 Assuring the professional loyalty of teachers

One of the typical features of the Yugoslav Royal Dictatorship was that it attempted to tighten its control over the population through a number of state-checked and – promoted associations. In this spirit, the authorities attempted to guarantee the loyalty and correctness of Yugoslav teachers by putting pressure on Yugoslav teachers to enter Yugoslav teachers associations and by curtailing the autonomy of these associations. Not that JPD or UJU had expressed any criticism against the dictatorship’s educational policy. To the contrary, both teachers associations greeted the establishment of the dictatorship and the decisiveness it showed to finally unify the Yugoslav educational system and to fully Yugoslavise the educational network. Already on 11 January 1929 UJU sent a declaration to the King and the Council of Ministers in which it stressed the necessity of a unified educational system in the interest of national unity, a demand they repeated on the occasion of an audition with the King and the minister of education in February 1929 (Dimić 1997, 2: 254-5). However, in the eyes of the Yugoslav teachers Yugoslav education could only be successful if it guaranteed that the school would remain “free in its service to the nation and national idea, without any interference from outside”.¹⁰⁵¹

Although the educational laws of 1929 clearly did not meet the latter demands of the teachers, teachers associations remained willing to cooperate with the educational authorities on the basis of these laws. On the annual congress of UJU on 21-22 August 1930 President Vuj. Petković greeted the Law on Popular Schools, regardless of its shortcomings, as the necessary fundament for the further development of the Yugoslav educational system (Petković V. 1930: 53). In the resolution adopted at the 1930 congress UJU stressed that “every teacher of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia would continue to work with all his strength for the realisation of one spiritual, national Yugoslav idea and aspiration” (ibid: 59).¹⁰⁵² However, for their work to be successful the teachers demanded that they would be involved in the development of the Yugoslav educational policy and that a large number of new elementary schools would be built. Further, the material situation of the teachers should be improved and the permanent position of teachers should be guaranteed (ibid: 59-60). At the same congress however Dragoslav Đorđević, a representative of the Ministry of Education, made clear that the Ministry would not tolerate any form of criticism from the part of the teachers. Đorđević praised the Yugoslav teachers for bravely standing behind “the flag of integral Yugoslav

¹⁰⁵¹ From a letter of UJU to the Ministry of Education, 10 September 1929. AJ 66-2053-2041. [“da škola ostane slobodna u službi narodu i nacionalnoj misli bez ikakvih smetnja sa strane.”]

¹⁰⁵² [“svaki učitelj Kraljevine Jugoslavije svim snagama radi na postizanju jednog duhovnoga narodnog jugoslovenskoga shvatanja i istih težnja.”]

brotherhood and unity” even in the general chaos of the past ten years (Petković V. 1930: 54-5, quotation on page 55).¹⁰⁵³ Now that the “King Saviour” Aleksandar had brought back peace, calmness and harmony, the Ministry of Education expected teachers to continue their work as “warriors for the creation of the purest Yugoslav nationalism” (ibid: 56).¹⁰⁵⁴ “Those who won’t or can’t follow that way and persevere in that role, will be – and this I say as representative of the minister of education – mercilessly wiped away from your ranks” (ibid.).¹⁰⁵⁵

Similarly, when evaluating the work of JPD since the unification Nedeljko Divac, JPD’s President, claimed that the teachers could be satisfied, because they had remained faithful to their ideals. Finally a law on secondary schools had been formulated which in many points corresponded to the viewpoint of the teachers and could further serve as the basis for the realisation of national unity through schools (Divac 1930: 405-6). However, here too the ministry clarified that it would not tolerate any alternative or dissident voices from the part of the secondary school teachers. At the jubilee congress JPD held on 3 and 4 July 1930 in Belgrade Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović pointed to the role secondary schools had played in the strengthening of national unity during the past ten years, often against great odds. With the establishment of the Royal Dictatorship, he argued, “our national ideology has been determined clearly”¹⁰⁵⁶ so that secondary schools could truly fulfil their tasks, namely the specialist and national training of students.¹⁰⁵⁷ Maksimović urged the teachers: “Your national educational work has to be accompanied by such warmth, enthusiasm and awareness of duty that it borders on a national cult”.¹⁰⁵⁸ He did not forget to add that any aberrations from this norm would be “wiped out mercilessly” (ibid.).¹⁰⁵⁹

In the early 1930s UJU and JPD were muzzled by the dictatorial authorities and reduced to marionettes of the Ministry of Education. Especially in UJU this was accompanied by an internal struggle for power. At UJU’s congress of 1930 new statutes were formulated which foresaw the abolishment of the former regional departments

¹⁰⁵³ [“barjak integralnog jugoslovenskog bratstva i jedinstva.”]

¹⁰⁵⁴ [“borci u stvaranju najčistijeg jugoslovenskog nacionalizma”.]

¹⁰⁵⁵ [“Ko neće ili ne može da ostane na tome putu i izdrži u toj ulozi, on će – ovo velim u zastupstvu gospodina ministra prosvete – nepoštedno biti uklonjen iz vaših redova”.]

¹⁰⁵⁶ [“naša nacionalna ideologija je sasvim određeno obeležena.”]

¹⁰⁵⁷ ‘Zapisnik XI redovnog kongresa Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva održanog 3 i 4 jula 1930 godine u Beogradu’. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 10 (1929-30)/10: 635-41, quotation on 683.

¹⁰⁵⁸ ‘Zapisnik XI redovnog kongresa Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva održanog 3 i 4 jula 1930 godine u Beogradu’. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 10 (1929-30)/10: 639. [“Vaš nacionalno-vaspitni rad treba da bude sproveden sa takvom toplinom, takvim poletom i osećanjem dužnosti, da to već graniči s jednim nacionalnim kultom.”]

¹⁰⁵⁹ ‘Zapisnik XI redovnog kongresa Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva održanog 3 i 4 jula 1930 godine u Beogradu’. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 10 (1929-30)/10: 639. [“Nepoštedno da bude suzbijeno.”]

and their replacement by sections per banovina. Also, the name of the association was modified to *Jugoslovensko učiteljsko udruženje* (JUJ). However, not all members were satisfied with these statutes. As a compromise, it was decided that provincial sections would only be established where 2/3 of the local sections approved. In the chaos that followed, representatives of the regional sections from Zagreb, Split, Ljubljana and Sarajevo, as well as representatives from Vojvodina and Montenegro left the congress, in protest against the intentions of regional representatives from Belgrade, who formed a majority at the congress, to push through the elections of the association's central committee.¹⁰⁶⁰ At the same time a leftist group under former UJU President Danilo Milanović demanded that the association would focus more on social questions. The result was complete chaos, which was only ended through state intervention.¹⁰⁶¹ On 14 April 1931 a new leadership was appointed under Damnjan Rašić, and on 14 May 1931 the Ministry of Education imposed the association's new statutes, abolishing the regional departments and replacing them by sections per banovina.¹⁰⁶²

JUU was reduced to a faithful messenger of the dictatorship's educational policy. On every occasion it glorified the teacher's "indefatigable" work for national unity and their loyalty to the King and his ministers. The new, docile position of JUJ became clear at the congress of 23-24 August 1931 in Belgrade, which was held in the presence of Minister of Education Maksimović. In his opening speech Damnjan Rašić claimed that Yugoslav teachers had always opposed separatism and regionalism and had consequently been unsatisfied with the political situation in Yugoslavia in the 1920s. Furthermore, the organisation of JUJ in regional departments corresponded to the old historical regions and thus did not fit with the modern principles of Yugoslav national unity. With its new organisation JUJ entered a new era, in which it decisively set out to educate new generations in the spirit of integral Yugoslavism (Rašić 1931: 7-9). The annual congresses of the associations became little more than celebrations of the dictatorship's educational policy and integral Yugoslavism. Examples are countless, so let it suffice to refer to a resolution adopted at the congress held in Ljubljana between 19 and 21 August 1933. In this resolution JUJ demanded:

- a. That Yugoslav teachers would continuously and with unabated energy and love strive to foster the spiritual, ethical and physical values of the Yugoslav national whole and all its individuals.

¹⁰⁶⁰ A report of the congress by one of the attendants was submitted to the Ministry of Education on 25 August 1930, illustrating how closely the teachers associations were followed by the authorities. AJ 66 (pov)-46-85.

¹⁰⁶¹ Damnjan Rašić, 'Dve godine našeg rada', *Narodna prosveta*, 16.04.1933: 1; Damnjan Rašić, 'Osvrt o trogodišnjici', *Narodna prosveta*, 15.04.1934: 1; 'Naše udruženje', *Narodna prosveta* 05.03.1933: 2-3; 09.03.1933: 2.

¹⁰⁶² 'Pravila Jugoslovenskog učiteljskog udruženja.' Written out by the Ministry of Education, 14 May 1931. AJ 66-2053-2041.

b. That they would continuously and with increasing energy enter the spirit and sense of the Yugoslav national idea, that they would spread this idea continuously among all layers of the population and that they would always keep their great goal in mind: the construction of Yugoslav national culture in the spirit of the internal fundament of justice in all aspects of life, the development of the Yugoslav man, healthy in mind and body, carried out in accordance with the principles of the Yugoslav Sokol.

c. That they would continuously propagate the idea that education and upbringing are a common popular and cultural good, that school education is organised by the state, that it is compulsory and free, and that without good national education there can be no happy and strong Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁶³

In this spirit, the Yugoslav teachers made some typical integral Yugoslav demands, such as the use of uniform, state-wide textbooks, the complete unification of the curriculum, or the establishment of teacher-training schools in each of the provincial capitals, which would be organised as boarding schools and attended by students from all Yugoslav areas, of all 'tribes' and faiths.¹⁰⁶⁴ To promote Yugoslav national identity JUU also started the publication of the children's magazine *Jugoslovenče* (The Little Yugoslav) from the beginning of the school year 1931-32.¹⁰⁶⁵

Although the critical character of the teachers associations was thus considerably muzzled under the Royal Dictatorship germs of dissatisfaction were slumbering in returning demands made in resolutions and decisions of JPD and JUU. The academic year 1931-32 was a very difficult year for secondary school teachers, because a lot of secondary schools were closed and consequently many teachers had lost their jobs. At the twelfth congress of JPD, held on 6 and 7 July 1932 in Belgrade, secondary school teachers strongly criticised this situation, arguing that the reduction of secondary schools was extremely harmful for a country with an underdeveloped school network

¹⁰⁶³ 'Rezolucija primljena na XIII glavnoj skupštini u Ljubljani', *Narodna prosveta* 30.08.1933: 3-4, quotation on page 3. ["a. da će jugoslovenski učitelji stalno sa neumanjenom energijom i ljubavlju nastojavati na negovanju duhovnih, etičkih i fizičkih vrednosti jugoslovenske nacionalne celine i svih pojedinaca; b. da će stalno sa povećanom energijom ulaziti u duh i smisao jugoslovenske nacionalne ideje, da će ovu neprekidno širiti u svima slojevima narodnim i da će imati stalno na umu veliki cilj: građenje jugoslovenske nacionalne kulture u duhu večitih načela pravde u svima stranama života, razvijanje jugoslovenskog čoveka, zdravog duhom i telom, izvođeno po načelima jugoslovenskog sokolstva. v. da će stalno kroz jugoslovenski narod razvijati misao da su vaspitanje i obrazovanje opšte narodno kulturno dobro, da je školsko vaspitanje državno, za sve obavezno i besplatno, jer se bez dobrog nacionalnog vaspitanja i obrazovanja ne može zamisliti srećna i snažna Jugoslavija".]

¹⁰⁶⁴ See the speech of Damnjan Rašić to the congress of JUU on 24 August 1932 in Belgrade, *Narodna prosveta*, 11.09.1932: 1-2.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Letter from Damnjan Rašić to the minister of education, 18 August 1931. AJ 66-2053-2041.

like Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁶⁶ Furthermore, the teachers became increasingly critical of the authoritarian policy of the authorities and demanded that teachers would be consulted when the reorganisation of the educational system was discussed (Divac 1933). JUU too complained about the lacking financial support for education and the insecurity of the teaching profession. In a resolution adopted at a meeting of 19-20 April 1933 the Main Committee of JUU demanded that new schools would be erected, that a new curriculum would be formulated, that the demands placed on teachers concerning their work outside school would be reduced and that the arbitrary transfers of teachers would be brought to an end.¹⁰⁶⁷ Especially this last point frequently returned in resolutions and demands by the teachers. At the same session JUU's Main Committee formulated a proposal for amendments to the law on popular schools which would guarantee that teachers who had passed the state exam would be given a permanent position and could only be replaced in case the school was closed or if they were evaluated negatively.¹⁰⁶⁸

Within the dictatorship's policy membership of Yugoslav teachers associations was considered evidential of the teacher's national correctness and loyalty. Vice versa, not joining JUU was seen as a conscious act of opposition. On 28 December 1932 JUU President Damnjan Rašić sent a letter to King Aleksandar himself in which he demanded that all elementary school teachers should be obliged to become members of JUU. According to Rašić at the time of writing JUU had 17.300 members, which meant that circa 7000 teachers, or one third of the elementary school teachers, had not joined JUU.¹⁰⁶⁹ Although such a prescription was never issued, the authorities clearly placed indirect pressure on teachers to participate in JUU. As will become clear in some of the cases discussed below, teachers who had not joined JUU immediately became suspicious in the eyes of local authorities and very often non-membership was cited as an additional piece of evidence of the teacher's lacking state loyalty and national consciousness. Local authorities also closely followed the activities of teachers who had supported the Union of Croatian Teachers Associations and did not join JUU after SHUD was abolished within the framework of the Law on the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State.¹⁰⁷⁰

Very revealing is the case against Stjepan Gorupić and Franjo Matasović, both principal of an elementary school in Zagreb. Both were dismissed on 6 August 1931 on

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Rezolucija donosena na XIII redovnom kongresu Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva, održanom 6 i 7 Jula 1932 g. u Beogradu'. *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 13 (1932-33)/2: 74-6.

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'Rad glavnog odbora', *Narodna prosveta*, 30.04.1933: 1.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'Predlozi projekata za izmene i dopune u Zakonu o narodnim školama.' *Narodna prosveta*, 11.07.1933: 1

¹⁰⁶⁹ Letter from Damnjan Rašić to King Aleksandar, 28 December 1932. AJ 66-261-501.

¹⁰⁷⁰ 'Zakon o zaštiti javne bezbednosti i poretka u državi'. *Službene novine* 11/9-IV: 54-5. On 26 May 1933 the Ministry of Education transferred all the possessions of the former SHUD to the JUU section for Sava banovina. See Đuro Logomerac, 'Učiteljima Savske banovine', *Narodna prosveta*, 23.07.1933: 1.

the basis of a report that they had occupied an important place within the Union of Croatian Teachers associations and that the work of the two was “extremely Croatian” and “Croatian separatist”.¹⁰⁷¹ More detailed investigations confirmed this accusation and added that Gorupić and Matasović were close associates of Ivan Tomašić, the former President of SHUD. Additionally, the two consciously boycotted the work of JUU in the Zagreb area. This was obvious from the fact that in their schools none of the teachers were member of the Yugoslav Teachers Association. On the other hand, it was explicitly stated that formally their work as pedagogues could not be criticised, quite to the contrary. “Still, as is obvious from the viewpoint of their national orientation, that toward which we all go and have to go, is missing in that [pedagogical] success, namely true national consciousness and love of the unity of nation and state”.¹⁰⁷²

Another typical case is that of Nikola Toth, who had been one of the leaders of SHUD during the 1920s. He had also spread his “separatist” ideas as leader of the local choral society of Velika Gorica in central Croatia. On 14 February 1924 Toth had been sent on premature retirement by the former regional government for Croatia and Slavonia. However, after Stjepan Radić had been appointed as Minister of Education Toth was reappointed as school inspector for Velika Gorica. He was transferred to Rijeka Crnojevića in Zeta banovina by the Ministry of Education on 15 March 1930, but had been able to evade this transfer for reasons of health and was finally retired on 10 September 1930. However, he continued his “destructive” work against the regime and the local authorities in Velika Gorica once more demanded that Toth would be reactivated as teacher and transferred away from Velika Gorica, to a place “where he would have to change his behaviour”.¹⁰⁷³ However, Toth managed to evade the authorities and the case was filed away in 1936 (Nielsen 2002: 342).

Not only the prominent and vocal leaders of SHUD were checked by the authorities. In the report of 10 July 1931 in which the educational department of Sava banovina had demanded the dismissal of Stjepan Gorupić and Franjo Matasović, it also demanded the dismissal of Bartol Tomećak, another principal of an elementary school in Zagreb. Tomećak was a peaceful man and his ‘tribal’ orientation was not very visible from the outside. However, according to the authorities, “in his heart” he opposed everything

¹⁰⁷¹ Report by the Department for State Security to the Ministry of Education, 13 March 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁰⁷² Report by the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 20 April 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“No u tom uspehu, kako je i razumljivo s pogledom na njihovu nacionalnu opredeljenost, nedostaje ono, za čim svi idemo i moramo ići: nedostaje prave nacionalne svesti i ljubavi za jedinstvo naroda i države.”] Report by the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 10 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 6 August 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁰⁷³ Report from the chief of the district of Velika Gorica to Sava banovina, 28 October 1933; Report by the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 2 November 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“gde će morati da izmeni svoje držanje.”] Quoted from the report of the district chief.

which was not Croatian: He supported SHUD and had not joined JUU, and he participated in the “tribal association” ‘The Brotherhood of the Croatian Dragon’ (*Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja*), an organisation which preserved the Croatian historical heritage especially by erecting monuments and commemorative plates, where “he nurtured his soul with tribal romanticism”.¹⁰⁷⁴ One of the teachers who was suggested as a candidate for the vacant positions was Franjo Marković, one of the most important members of SHUD who had supported the merging of SHUD with JUU and thus apparently had proved his national correctness, or Janja Šimatović, a “convinced Yugoslav”, although in that latter case it was considered problematic that Šimatović maintained very close and friendly bonds with a Catholic priest.¹⁰⁷⁵ A similar case was lodged against Mica Kličar after the local police had interrupted a letter in which she openly wrote that she would never participate in the Yugoslav Teachers Association and in which she expressed regret for the ban on SHUD.¹⁰⁷⁶ On the basis of this report the ministry demanded a further investigation of the work and behaviour of Kličar at school and in private, “especially from a national point of view”.¹⁰⁷⁷ The governor of Sava banovina himself briefly responded that Kličar’s behaviour was completely improper, especially for this area, which required “not only nationally and politically correct, but also active teachers”.¹⁰⁷⁸

These cases perfectly indicate the close link between the Yugoslav Teachers Association and Yugoslav nationhood. Membership of JUU was seen as a guarantee of the teachers’ loyalty to state *and* nation. On the other hand, any link with SHUD or non-membership of JUU could be interpreted as an indicator of conscious opposition against the Yugoslav state *and* nation, showing the contextual salience of an exclusionary

¹⁰⁷⁴ Report by the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 10 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“tu hrani dušu plemenskom romantikom.”]. *Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja* for example organised the transfer of the mortal remains of Petar Zrinjski and Krsto Frankopan to Zagreb in 1919 and those of Eugen Kvaternik in 1921. In 1925 they played an important role in the commemoration of the millennial anniversary of the establishment of the Croatian Kingdom. See the website of the organisation, <http://www.braca-hrvatskoga-zmaja.hr/povijest.html> (last retrieved: 30 January 2012). Eugen Kvaternik was a close associate of Ante Starčević who died in an armed uprising against the Habsburgs in 1871 (Banac 1984: 85-9).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Report by the educational department of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 10 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. It should be remarked that educational authorities did not only look at national behaviour when evaluating teaching personnel. The same report of 10 July 1931 also demanded the dismissal of two principals because they did not have the formal skills for the position.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Report by the department for state security of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 26 December 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 1 March 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“naročito u nacionalnom pogledu”]

¹⁰⁷⁸ Reply by the governor of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 25 March 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“nacionalno i politički ne samo ispravni nego upravo aktivni nastavnici.”]

national boundary between Yugoslav nationhood and Croatian “separatism” in the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood among teachers.

6.2.2 Assuring the political loyalty of teachers

6.2.2.1 Active support to JRSD/JNS

Instead of the political neutrality mentioned in the Law on Popular Schools, teachers were required to actively support the dictatorship on the occasion of important political events, such as the parliamentary elections of November 1931, the establishment of JRSD or the local elections which were held in August and October 1933. On 12 June 1933 Miloš Dragović of the Yugoslav Popular Party questioned the minister of education concerning the pressure put on teachers in the entire country to join JRSD. In concrete, Dragović reported that teachers of the district of Niš had been obliged by school inspectors to attend a special JRSD meeting for teachers. Inspectors had threatened that they would have all teachers who had not attended the meeting transferred.¹⁰⁷⁹ Although the local department of JRSD denied these accusations and argued that the meeting had been organised by the teachers themselves, and although the case was finally filed away,¹⁰⁸⁰ many other cases clarify that local authorities indeed directly and indirectly put political pressure on teachers.

Teachers who did not (sufficiently) support JRSD were closely followed and often transferred. The chief of the district Karlovac in central Croatia, for example, lodged a complaint against the local school inspector Milan Lulić, because he had not only refused to participate in the attempts of the local authorities to strengthen the local branch of JRSD, but had also advised local teachers against joining JRSD. Lulić had deliberately left the village when the local authorities organised a public JRSD meeting, he was not active in national associations outside school and he reprimanded teachers who were active in the local Sokol or in JRSD.¹⁰⁸¹ Iva Medveščak, teacher in Buševac in central Croatia was transferred because she had openly criticised a former HSS-member who had supported JRSD during the elections of 1931.¹⁰⁸² Similarly, local authorities reported that Jovan Živković, teacher in Bela Palanka in south-eastern Serbia, had

¹⁰⁷⁹ Question of Miloš Dragović to the minister of education, 12 June 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Report from the authorities of Morava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 8 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸¹ Report from the district chief of Karlovac to the authorities of Sava banovina, forwarded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 30 May 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸² Report from the district chief of Velika Gorica, 24 November 1931; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 23 January 1932. AJ 66(pov)-16-41.

ridiculed members of the former Radical and Democratic Party who had joined JRSD and had advised villagers not to go to the great national JRSD meeting organised in Niš in April 1933.¹⁰⁸³

In a similar case the teacher Marko Milošević was transferred from Donja Dubnica in northern Kosovo to Strmosten, nearby Despotovac in eastern Serbia, because he had demanded that his membership of JRSD would be stopped. Further, he had treated all former members of the Democratic Party to *rakija* and advised them to quit JRSD. A former member of the Radical Party who asked Milošević if he too could get some *rakija* was fobbed off. It was added that Milošević's intolerant behaviour provoked tensions between the local Orthodox and Muslim population, certainly after the local mosque had been damaged by explosives, a case which had not yet been solved.¹⁰⁸⁴ Svetoslav Ilić was transferred from Trnjane in the district Nišava, close to the Bulgarian frontier, to Rajkinac in the district Resava in central Serbia because he had allegedly supported Democratic opposition against the government during the local elections. A group of teachers and citizens of the village, as well as Pavle Jevtić, deputy in the national parliament, challenged this transfer, arguing that Popović was a good teacher, that he played an active role in the local Sokol, the library and the agricultural cooperative and that he had four children while his wife was seriously ill. Apparently, these calls had effect, as Ilić was transferred back to his home region, this time to Velika Lukanja in the district Pirot.¹⁰⁸⁵

Even supporters of the Yugoslav Popular Party – although officially recognised and Yugoslav orientated – were considered suspicious. Minister without portfolio Albert Kramer, for instance, forwarded a complaint from the local branch of JNS in Petrinja in central Croatia against Ivan Filković, principal of the local elementary school. Filković had been member of the local JNS, but he had been expelled from the party after criticising JNS in a local weekly of the Yugoslav Popular Party.¹⁰⁸⁶ An investigation by the local authorities confirmed this, but added that Filković had been evaluated positively

¹⁰⁸³ Report from the authorities of Morava banovina to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, forwarded to the Ministry of Education on 26 April 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 8 October 1934. Decision by the Ministry of Education, 30 May 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-33. Milošević had already been involved in a feud with his colleague teachers in Dubnica, Miljko and Radmila Lovčević. The teachers had frequently attacked each other verbally and physically, they had even taken axes and guns to the school. Both camps had also obliged the pupils to do personal jobs for them. The young son of the Miljko and Radmila Lovčević frequently stayed in the school, hindered the lessons and had even relieved himself in the spittoon of the school. The married couple Lovčević was transferred to Halovo, in the district Zaječar. Report from the school inspector of Morava banovina, 21 December 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 30 September 1933. Letters in support of Ilić, December 1933. Decision by the Ministry of Education, 13 September 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Letter from Albert Kramer to Minister of Education Radenko Stanković, 18 January 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

during the latest inspections and that he was “nationally correct”: he participated in the activities of the local Sokol, had held a lecture on the Day of St. Sava, as well as courses against illiteracy in the army.¹⁰⁸⁷ Consequently, the case was filed away by the Ministry of Education.¹⁰⁸⁸ In November and December 1934 different complaints were lodged against Miljko Lovčević, teacher in Halovo, in the Zaječar district in eastern Serbia, from the part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defence. Accordingly, Lovčević had publicly expressed his support to the Yugoslav Popular Party, spreading rumours about corruption of high state officials and complaining about the lack of freedom for the population and the high taxes.¹⁰⁸⁹ As explained by Miloš Dragović, a deputy of the Popular Party, Lovčević indeed was a member of that party, but he had not criticised the present state in Yugoslavia. Moreover, Lovčević was a true Yugoslav and was member of the local Sokol.¹⁰⁹⁰ Still, in this case arguments about national correctness had no effect, as Lovčević was fired by the Ministry of Education.¹⁰⁹¹

6.2.2.2 Serbian political opposition

Local authorities closely followed teachers who had been politically active before 1929 or maintained contact with prominent members of former political parties. On 5 February 1931 for example the Ministry of Education transferred Petar Barjaktarović from Pančevo to Vlasotince in Vardar banovina, after it had been informed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs about Barjaktarović’s close contact with Dušan Bošković, a prominent leader of the former SDS. Moreover, it was argued that Barjaktarović was still politically active against the regime. First, his passive behaviour obstructed the work of the local branch of *Narodna odbrana*. Further, he had been elected president of the Union of Civil School Teachers with the votes of SDS sympathisers. On the occasion of a recent reshuffle of the government he had openly criticised some of the new ministers, calling the minister of education a “cop”. Finally, he was known as extremely hostile toward the pre-war Serbian Kingdom. For example, he had called one of the public servants

¹⁰⁸⁷ Report from the chief of the district Petrinja to the provincial authorities, 3 August 1934.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 18 August 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Report from the chief of the district Zaječar to the authorities of Morava banovina, 3 November 1934. Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 14 November 1934 and 31 December 1934. Report from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Education, 11 December 1934. Report from the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to the Ministry of Education, 14 December 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Letter from deputy Miloš Dragović to Minister of Education Stevan Ćirić and to Prime Minister Bogoljub Jevtić, 26 December 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹⁰⁹¹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 15 April 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-36. The same Lovčević had been transferred a year earlier after a feud between him and his wife and a colleague had escalated (cf. footnote 1082).

from pre-war Serbia who was working in Pančevo a “peasant”.¹⁰⁹² In August 1935 the teacher Vojislav Gligorić from Banja Koviljača in western Serbia reported to the Yugoslav Teachers Association that a certain Dimitrijević, the local candidate for JNS and a former member of the Radical Party, had threatened to have all teachers who did not vote for him transferred to the frontier with Albania. After the elections of 5 May 1935 Dimitrijević indeed claimed that he would apply his friendship with a local school inspector to have Gligorić, who had voted for Milutin Jevtić, another JNS candidate but a former member of the Democratic Party, transferred.¹⁰⁹³

Bogosav Ivanović, a teacher in Šutci in central Serbia who had supported the Agricultural Union before 1929, was transferred after the Ministry of Internal Affairs had intercepted a letter from Dragoljub Jovanović, the leader of the left wing of the Agricultural Union and one of the most active opponents of the regime from pre-war Serbia (Stojkov 1969: 90, 149-54, 181-3), to Ivanović.¹⁰⁹⁴ Similarly, a case was started against Čedomir Milošević, teacher in Pirot in south-eastern Serbia and former member of the Agricultural Union for allegedly keeping contact with Jovan Jovanović Pižon and Vojislav Lazić, two leaders of the party, and abusing his position as director of the local agricultural cooperative to spread the political ideas of SZ, although close surveillance had not revealed any concrete evidence of Milošević’s political activity.¹⁰⁹⁵ In the summer of 1933 Milorad Jovanović, teacher in Žitni Potok in southern Serbia was transferred on the basis of a report by the chief of the district Prokuplje. In a tavern in the village Dubovska the chief had overheard a conversation between Jovanović and Dragutin Mirović, former deputy. Both were very drunk and criticised the present political situation and the restriction of personal freedom. During their conversation, Jovanović several times stressed that he was a supporter of Ljubodrag Davidović and the Democratic Party. Thereupon Mirović had called Jovanović a coward because he had voted for the government candidate in the last elections. As Jovanović clarified, his wife, who was also a teacher in Žitni Potok, had also reproached him for voting for the government.¹⁰⁹⁶ Finally, in August 1934 the Ministry of Education transferred Milovan Glišić, teacher in Vukosavci in the district Orašac in central Serbia, to Topolovnik in eastern Serbia, because he had organised a meeting with Ljubodrag Davidović during one of his visits to the area. True, Glišić had been eligible on the JNS-list during the

¹⁰⁹² [“gegula”]. Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 26 January 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁰⁹³ Letter from Vojislav Gligorić to the Yugoslav Teachers Association, 13 August 1935. AJ 66-2054-2041.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 2 April 1931; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 20 April 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Report from the governor of Morava banovina to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, forwarded to the Ministry of Education on 16 September 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 3 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

latest elections, but in secret he, allegedly, had supported the work of an opposition list, which had won the local elections.¹⁰⁹⁷

6.2.2.3 Croatian political opposition

The authorities took especially firm actions against teachers who were suspected of supporting the Croatian Peasant Party, or other more extremist Croatian nationalist movements. On 28 December 1929 Ćiril Maštrović, teacher in the district Križevci in northern Croatia, was transferred to Lešnica in western Serbia on the accusation of carrying out political activities for the Croatian Peasant Party. However, on 6 January 1930 Maštrović had been declared ill and was hospitalised in Koprivnica, from where he, according to the police, continued his anti-state political activities. He had, for instance, supported one of the leaders of the local fire brigade in his attempts to thwart the organisation of a fealty delegation to the King. A detailed investigation by the local authorities of Križevci could, however, not confirm the accusations against Maštrović and the case was filed away.¹⁰⁹⁸

Local authorities also started a case against Juraj Frankov, the director of the elementary school in Sesvete, now a suburb of Zagreb. Frankov was suspicious because he had been a supporter of the Croatian Peasant Party. He had been appointed director of the school in Sesvete under the Ministry of Stjepan Radić and he had been an active member and supporter of SHUD. After the establishment of the Royal Dictatorship Frankov had joined UJU and the Yugoslav Sokol, according to the local authorities only for the sake of appearance. In reality, it was explained, he continued to keep close contact with members of the former Croatian Peasant Party, and he thwarted the work of the local Sokol by advising all his pupils not to join the Sokol and by not allowing the Sokol to use the school building for its activities. Furthermore, Frankov was an alcoholic and he had obliged the school pupils do jobs for him during the school hours.¹⁰⁹⁹ Similarly, the department for State Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the Ministry of Education that Slavko Findrih, teacher in Petrinja in central Croatia, was neglecting his work at school because he was an active supporter of the Croatian Peasant Party.¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁷ Report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 11 June 1934; decision by the Ministry of Education, 24 August 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Report from the police of Bjelovar to the local army authorities, 16 February 1930. Report by the chief of the district Križevci to the authorities of Sava banovina, 13 June 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Report by the chief of the district Zagreb, 19 August 1932. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁰⁰ Report from the department of Public Security to the Ministry of Education, 14 May 1929. AJ 66(pov)-59-151.

The Ministry of Education also started an investigation against Slavko Modrijan, principal of an elementary school in Zagreb, on the basis of an anonymous denunciation to Prime Minister Petar Živković. According to the denunciation, Modrijan was generally known as a sympathiser of the Frankist Party of Right and a strong opponent of the regime. In 1929, on the occasion of a lesson organised by *Seljačka sloga*, Modrijan had invited Josip Predavec, one of the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party, and expressed his loyalty to him. Further, Modrijan had organised secret meetings with peasants and had held frequent lectures until late at night, after which attendants went home singing political and anti-state songs. Finally, Modrijan had been a prominent member of SHUD.¹¹⁰¹

Neither in the case of Frankovm Findrih or Modrijan it is clear whether the Ministry of Education decided to transfer the teachers in question, although by analogy with other similar cases, this was very probable. A certain Pejaković, for example, a teacher in Petrinja, nearby Sisak in central Croatia, was transferred to Lijevi Dubrovčak, close to Ivanić-Grad and Zagreb, on the accusation of maintaining close contact with representatives of the former Croatian Peasant Party in Gora.¹¹⁰² Similarly, on 1 October 1935 the local authorities of Varvarin in central Serbia lodged a complaint against Marica Jareb, who was evaluated positively during the past years, but had already been transferred to the region from Slunj in the Kordun region in central Croatia. According to the report Jareb had attended two political manifestations in support of the Croatian Peasant Party in her home village Slunj. Thereby a small badge with the Croatian flag had been pinned on her chest and she had “provoked the masses” by shouting anti-Yugoslav slogans like “Long live free Croatia” and singing “separatist” songs.¹¹⁰³ The disciplinary court at the Ministry of Education decided that Jareb would not be punished – a transfer made no sense because Jareb already worked in a “nationally safe” area – but that she should be warned not to take part in such manifestations in the future.¹¹⁰⁴

Antun Kaštelan, principal of an elementary school in Šibenik, was fined with two monthly wages because he had participated in a demonstration with a ‘tribal’ and anti-Yugoslav character, which was held after a commemorative service for Stjepan Radić in Zagreb on 20 February 1933. During the manifestation, Kaštelan, with other demonstrators, had shouted “Long live Croatia”. When a passer-by shouted “Long live

¹¹⁰¹ Report of the provincial authorities in Zagreb to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Forwarded to the Ministry of Education, 12 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁰² Report by the authorities of Sava banovina, forwarded to the Ministry of Education by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 4 August 1930. Decision by the Ministry of Education of 20 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁰³ Report from the district authorities of Varvarin to the provincial authorities, 1 October 1935 [“razdraživala masu”, “da živi slobodna Hrvatska”.]

¹¹⁰⁴ Decision by the disciplinary court at the Ministry of Education, 15 February 1936. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

Yugoslavia” Kaštelan had accordingly loudly protested, although he himself denied this.¹¹⁰⁵ The teacher Franjo Valdman was fined with 500 dinars because he had accordingly instigated a ‘tribal’ manifestation of a group of students in the village Malo Polje, nearby Perušić in the Lika region. According to the authorities Valdman had first gathered these students in his house. Thereafter, the pupils walked the streets, shouting slogans in favour of Croatian independence and Vladko Maček. Moreover, one of the students was dressed in the colours of the Croatian flag, and they were singing the Croatian hymn “and other provocative and tribal songs”.¹¹⁰⁶

After the so-called Lika Uprising, a failed terrorist attack organised by the *Ustašas* in the fall of 1932, who had hoped to instigate a popular revolution in the area of Lika (Dobrivojević 2006: 287-9), local authorities closely followed local teachers who might have been involved. In the period between the summer of 1932 and the summer of 1933 three accusations were filed against Ivan Pavlaković, teacher in the elementary school in Banjevci. Although no concrete violations from the part of Pavlaković had been found, he was suspicious because in “his” village a “terroristic” attack had been revealed. According to the report 30 fire weapons had been found and ten persons from Banjevci had cooperated with the so-called “bandits of Velebit”, referring to the Lika uprising. In any case, for the authorities this proved that Pavlaković had not worked enough to disseminate the ideals of national unity in his village, or that he had known about the terrorist attack and had done nothing to prevent it. Either way, he had not done his job as national teacher. A later report from the local police clarified that Pavlaković had maintained close contact with some of the persons who had been arrested on the accusation of terrorist activities. It was repeated that, although no concrete violations had been revealed, Pavlaković had not done his job properly and should be replaced by a nationally correct and agile teacher who could change the situation in Banjevci, where the population was completely “perverted and embittered with the present state in the country”.¹¹⁰⁷ Finally, Pavlaković was transferred by the ministry on 10 November 1933.¹¹⁰⁸

The above given cases illustrate that political disloyalty of teachers was very broadly interpreted. Of course, in some cases teachers will surely have had a strong political impact on their surroundings and might have even been part of an oppositional political

¹¹⁰⁵ Report by the Ministry of Education, 5 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁰⁶ Report by the authorities of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 3 September 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-34. [“druge izazovne i plemenske pesme.”]

¹¹⁰⁷ Report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 16 July 1932, 13 March 1933, 20 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“skroz pokvareni i ogorčeni protivu današnjeg stanja u državi”] Qtd. from the report of 20 July 1933.

¹¹⁰⁸ AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

network. However, in many cases the political “disloyalty” of the teachers in question was rather banal and low-impact. A typical example is the case against Djuro Čaić, teacher in Jaramica, in the Novska district, close to the present-day Croatian-Bosnian border in western Slavonia. In October 1932 the police of Lipovljani had started an investigation against Čaić after an informant had heard how Čaić had publicly held a Croatian patriotic toast in a local tavern in the night of 20 October 1932. Some of the witnesses confirmed that Čaić had held a patriotic toast; others denied that Čaić had made any national claims. A Czech teacher who had been in the tavern explained that he had not understood a thing, because they were speaking Serbo-Croatian too quickly. Čaić himself claimed that he had not made any political or national comments in his toast. Allegedly, he had only challenged a claim by one of his companions that he was a better Yugoslav than Čaić, explaining that only a good Croat can be a good Yugoslav.¹¹⁰⁹ In any case, for lack of evidence Čaić was acquitted by the State Court for State Security.¹¹¹⁰ A year later the chief of the district Novska lodged a new complaint against Čaić because he had advised villagers from Jaramica not to vote at the local elections of October 1933. As the head of the local fire brigade he had much influence and the result was that only 11 villagers had voted. Also, Čaić had verbally attacked a school inspector on the occasion of an inspection carried out in June 1933.¹¹¹¹ Finally, on 30 November 1934 a new complaint was lodged against Čaić, who was still working in Jaramica, because he had ridiculed a delegation of the local Yugoslav Popular Party which was waiting with Yugoslav flags in a local tavern to take the train to Belgrade and further to Oplenac to honour King Aleksandar. Allegedly, Čaić had wondered “to which fair all these people were going”. When one of the supporters of the Yugoslav Popular Party had urged him to stop making scenes, Čaić had replied that they could “go f..k their Vlach mother”.¹¹¹² However, for lack of evidence the case was filed away by the Ministry of Education in April 1935 (Nielsen 2002: 368).

6.2.2.4 Liberals and Catholics in Slovenia

In Slovenia teachers were divided along the lines of the continuing political and cultural battles between Clericals and Liberals camps. In January 1936 the deputies Rudolf Pleškovič and Karel Doberšek, members of the liberal opposition to the Slovenian

¹¹⁰⁹ Police report against Djuro Čaić, 29 November 1932. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹¹¹⁰ Report by the State Court for State Security, 3 December 1932. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹¹¹¹ Report from the chief of the Novska district, 25 November 1933; Report from the authorities of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 7 December 1933 and 15 December 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹¹¹² [“na koji vašar idu toliki ljudi?”, “im j..e mater vlašku.”] Quoted from a police report dated 30 November 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

Clericals, who at that time were in power as members of the Yugoslav Radical Union, questioned the Minister of Education concerning what they saw as “terror” against liberally orientated teachers in Drava banovina, organised by Clerical politicians and local priests.¹¹¹³ On 18 May 1936 the educational authorities of Drava banovina formulated a detailed response, which provides some valuable, although politically biased, information about the position of teachers in Drava banovina during the 1930s. It was not denied that many teachers had been transferred after the Clericals had come to power, but it was stressed that even more teachers had been transferred under the government of JNS: In the school year 1934-35 in Drava banovina 414 teachers were transferred, in 1935-36 (until January) “only” 274. It was added that the “reorganisation” of the teaching personnel in Drava banovina was absolutely necessary to end the “anarchy and demoralisation” of teachers in the region and was approved by a majority of the population.¹¹¹⁴ Under the JNS government educational authorities of Drava banovina, under the leadership of school inspector Anton Arigler, had forced all teachers to follow the political line of the dictatorship, especially during the elections of 1931, 1933 and 1935. Numerous examples were given of teachers or principals who had denounced other teachers, clericals and normal people whom they considered not loyal to the regime. Further, examples were given of teachers who had been transferred to Morava, Danube, Drina or Littoral banovina, amongst whom Franc Erjavec, the present educational referent of Drava banovina, who was transferred from Most to Vučitrn in Kosovo.¹¹¹⁵ By means of conclusion, the period 1932-34 was called a period of political interference with all teachers who did not docilely follow JNS.¹¹¹⁶ Thus, in the eyes of the new authorities it was only just that “fanatical JNS teachers, who are

¹¹¹³ Questions of Rudolf Pleškovič and Karel Doberšek to the Ministry of Education Dobrivoje Stošović, AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹¹¹⁴ [“saniranje”, “tolika anarhija in demoralizacija”]. Quoted from the third answer of the educational department of Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education, dated 18 May 1936. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹¹¹⁵ On 24 February 1933 an officer and prominent member of the local Sokol sent a letter to the Ministry of Education in which he described how a political meeting had been held in Kodeljevo-Moste, nearby Ljubljana, in support of the *punktacije* of Korošec (cf. 2.2.3.1). Some of the attendants at the meeting were teachers at the local elementary school, amongst whom the principal of the school and Franc Erjavec. These two were, allegedly, the leaders of a separatist group in the village. They held frequent political meetings in the local cinema, because the authorities could not check them there. The officer suggested that the teachers in question would be transferred and replaced by Yugoslav-orientated teachers. Apparently, this was the denunciation which led to Erjavec’s transfer to Vučitrn. Anonymous letter to the Ministry of Education, 24 February 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹¹⁶ Report in response to the questions of Pleškovič and Doberšek, 18 May 1936. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

intolerant, unpredictable and immoral political provocateurs and who have denounced so many of their colleagues”, had been removed.¹¹¹⁷

6.2.3 Assuring national correctness of teachers

The above given examples clarify that even the slightest politically motivated act from the part of teachers, insofar as it did not concur with the political line of the dictatorship, made a teacher suspicious in the eyes of the authorities. Many examples also illustrate the close link between political and national loyalty. In what follows I turn to cases in which the national element predominated, although the line between national and political disloyalty was always very thin under the dictatorship.

6.2.3.1 Curtailing Croatian separatism

National categories were predominantly used in accusations against Croatian “separatists”. As we have seen in the examples above, national incorrectness was frequently added as an additional accusation against teachers who supported the Croatian Peasant Party or the Union of Croatian Teachers Associations. Authorities were also on the alert for the slightest expression of Croatian bias from the part of teachers. In some cases it was sufficient if a teacher was described as unsympathetic toward national unity or Croat biased to be transferred. In April 1930, for example, the Ministry of Education transferred Micika Braum from Pisarovina nearby Zagreb to Čačak in western Serbia on the basis of a report of the cabinet of Prime Minister Petar Živković which accused Micika Braum of propagating ‘tribal’ and separatist ideas, without further specifications about the precise nature of this violation.¹¹¹⁸ Similarly, the Ministry of Education complied with a demand by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to transfer Cvetko Romić and his wife, who was also a teacher, to Macedonia, because he was “an exclusive Croat”.¹¹¹⁹

In another case the Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded the transfer of a certain Jelaković, teacher at the elementary school in Gora, close to Petrinja in central Croatia. Although he did a good job at school, he had disparaged himself because he had not

¹¹¹⁷ [“fanatičnih JNS učiteljev, ki so nestprljivi, žive nemoralno, so preračunljivi, politični provokaterji, ki so denucirali celo svoje lastne stanovske tovariše.”] Quoted from the fourth answer of the educational department of Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education, dated 18 May 1936. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹¹¹⁸ Report from the cabinet of Prime Minister Živković to the Ministry of Education, 21 February 1930; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 1 April 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹¹⁹ Report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 6 April 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

celebrated some school and state holidays. Further, for the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the school in Gora Jelaković had programmed and allowed a speech by a representative of SHUD, in which great attention was paid to the “tribal moment”, whereas no attention at all was devoted to the King and national unity, and thus Jelaković had failed “to perform his patriotic duties and the duties of national educators”.¹¹²⁰ The authorities of Sava banovina and the Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded the transfer of the teacher Vilko Kolar, who worked in Draganić, close to the border with Slovenia in central Croatia. In the summer of 1932 Kolar had watched a game of handball with a group of Croatian “separatists”. After the game, some of the players got drunk and started shouting Croatian anti-state slogans. It was not sure whether or not Kolar himself had shouted such slogans, but he was in any case guilty for not interfering. Besides, Kolar had not been active in the dissemination of national culture in his village.¹¹²¹ A certain Hercegovac, elementary school teacher in Donja Dolina, nearby Bosanska Gradiška on the present northern border of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia, was transferred because he had mistakenly glorified Emperor Franz Joseph instead of King Aleksandar on the occasion of the festivities the school had organised on 17 April 1933.¹¹²²

In March 1934 a group of “sincerely Yugoslav citizens” of the village Gajić in Baranja lodged a complaint against the local teacher Bela Šajdl and his wife, two “Magyarised Germans” who supported a group of HSS-sympathisers in the area and educated the children as Croats instead of Yugoslavs. Gajić was predominantly inhabited by Šokci, a distinct South Slav ethnic group living in Slavonia, Srem, Baranja and Bačka, who are Roman Catholic and speak a mixed ikavian and ekavian variant of Serbo-Croatian. Today Šokci mostly declare themselves as Croats, in the interwar period they were a contested population group, just like the Bunjevci (cf. 5.5.6). As the writers of the complaint argued, previously the Šokci had never been taught that they were Croats, but now, as a result of the work of Šajdl and other HSS-activists, all Šokci children declared themselves Croats. The provincial authorities clarified that Šajdl had already been transferred twice, but that he had managed to return to Gajić, where he had established a local Sokol only for the sake of appearance. Both the local villagers and the Ministry of

¹¹²⁰ Report by the authorities of Sava banovina, forwarded to the Ministry of Education by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 4 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“izvršiti svoje patriotske dužnosti, a i dužnosti narodnih vaspitača”].

¹¹²¹ Report by the Department for State Security of Sava banovina, forwarded to the Ministry of Education by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 10 October 1932. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹²² Letter from district chief Drag. Stošović to the provincial authorities, 27 April 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

Internal Affairs demanded that Šajdl would be transferred in order to end the Croatisation of Šokci.¹¹²³

These examples all indicate the salience of national categories in cases where teachers did not completely follow the norms of the dictatorial regime in Croatian regions, without specifying the precise nature of this national opposition. In other cases the authorities were more specific about the teachers' national incorrectness. In the summer of 1932 a school inspector reported that the teachers in the elementary schools in the region of Fojnica and Visoko in central Bosnia strongly opposed national and state unity. Especially in the teaching of national history it was obvious that the teachers did not support Yugoslav unity. Croatian historical figures, such as Ljudevit Posavski, King Tomislav and Nikola Šubić Zrinjski, were treated in detail, whereas Serbian figures like Stevan Prvovenčani, Tsar Dušan, Prince Lazar and Karađorđe were treated extremely briefly, or not at all. In the fourth year of the elementary school of Vareš the hatred against the Serbs was so strong that the pupil Stjepan Rajber had perforated the faces of Stevan Prvovenčani, Dušan, Lazar and Karađorđe in his history textbook. The inspector suggested that the teacher in question should be transferred to Serbia.¹¹²⁴ The teacher, Katarina Crvenković, claimed that she did not know anything about the case. According to her the history book was only used by the pupils when they repeated their lessons at home. She insinuated that a group of adversaries of hers in the village stood were the instigators behind the negative inspection report, which was confirmed by the school principal Ivan Tomas. The mother of the pupil in question, Marija Rajber, who was also a teacher in Vareš, defended herself and her son by pointing to the general spirit of 'tribal' separatism and religious intolerance in Vareš. Local parents had, for example, boycotted the Yugoslav Sokol in the village and they had taught their children anti-state songs. In one case a Serbian pupil had even refused to answer when his teacher asked him questions about Croatian rulers. According to Rajber it was not the school which was guilty for this, but the education at home. Rajber herself was nationally correct: she had already requested a transfer away from Vareš to remove her children from this environment. Before the dictatorship she had joined a Yugoslav Sokol club which was located in Majdan, a neighbouring village of Vareš, instead of joining the Catholic gymnastics club or the Croatian Sokol club in Vareš, because she considered the Yugoslav Sokol the only correct carrier of the Yugoslav national idea. Later, she had been the driving force behind the establishment of a local

¹¹²³ Letter from a group of "sincere Yugoslav citizens" ["iskrenih Jugoslovenskih građana"] to Minister of Education Šumenković, March 1934. Report by the authorities of Danube banovina, forwarded by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 14 April 1934. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹²⁴ Report from the authorities of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, including a report by inspector Drag. Stojković of 3 July 1932, 22 July 1932. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

branch of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Vareš and she had become its local secretary. Finally, Rajber stressed that she had been positively evaluated as a teacher. Nevertheless, Rajber, Crvenković and the school principal were transferred to “less convenient places”.¹¹²⁵

Very illustrative is the case against Ivana Kovač. On 19 June 1934 the school inspector of Osijek had visited the elementary school where Kovač taught in the second year. In the pupils’ notebook he had found the following “incorrect” phrase: “Croats, Serbs and Slovenes speak similar languages”.¹¹²⁶ This sentence had been given as an example to show the pupils that the first letter of proper names was written with a capital letter. The problem was, of course, that Croats, Serbs and Slovenes did not speak similar languages, but one Yugoslav language. Later, in the same class, the inspector interfered when the pupils were reading a text on the Fatherland in their reader, and asked them questions to find out if they were aware of the fact that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes formed one Yugoslav nation. None of the pupils, however, seemed to know this. All they could say was that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were brothers or that Croats, Serbs and Slovenes were all Croats. It was thus clear to the inspector that the pupils had not learned about “Yugoslavism” at school. Kovač defended herself by arguing that the children had forgotten this lesson about Yugoslavism and that it was too early for pupils of the second year to remember this, but the inspector found that children had to know this from the first year of elementary school.¹¹²⁷ In addition to these complaints, the chief of the Osijek district reported that Kovač did not participate in the activities of Yugoslav national associations and had not joined the Association of Yugoslav Teachers. The chief clarified:

There are still such people among us who cannot or do not want to get accustomed with our present circumstances. Educated under foreign rule, in their minds they are still in the period of our national division and they consider their tribal and regional interests and aspirations more important than our national and spiritual unity. If such persons can still exist at all, such actions can certainly not be taken by teachers of Yugoslav popular schools, as educators of future Yugoslav citizens.¹¹²⁸

¹¹²⁵ Report by the authorities of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, with statements by Katarina Crvenković, Marija Rajber and Ivan Tomas, 17 October 1932. AJ 66(pov)-15-39. [“na nepogodnija mjesta”].

¹¹²⁶ [“Hrvati, Srbi i Slovenci govore sličnim jezicima.”]

¹¹²⁷ Report by school inspector Radoje Stepanac, 23 June 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹²⁸ [“Može da bude još među nama takovih, koji ne mogu ili neće da se sažive sa današnjim prilikama, nego vaspitani sa strane tudjina, duhovno su još uvijek u doba naše narodne rascepanosti i koji svoje plemenske i regionalne interese i težnje pretpostavljaju vrhovnim interesima naše narode i duhovne zajednice. No ako to iko može da bude, ono ne smije da bude i da čini učitelj, odnosno učiteljica, jugoslovenske državne narodne

For these reasons the school inspector and the chief of the district demanded that Ivana Kovač and Julijana Petrović, the director of the school who was also held responsible, respectively 53 and 61 years old, would be sent on retirement.¹¹²⁹ However, the decision was postponed because the inspector who had filed the complaint was officially not authorised to inspect schools in the city of Osijek but only in the district of Osijek.¹¹³⁰ A year later, on 3 May 1935, a new inspection was held in the school by the same inspector who had filed the first complaint. No violations against the school legislation were found in the work of Kovač and Petrović in school, but both still had not joined any Yugoslav cultural organisation or the Yugoslav Teachers Association. As argued by the school inspector, both were too old anyway and could not give “the young Yugoslav nation anything”.¹¹³¹ On 30 December 1935 the two teachers were sent on retirement by the Ministry of Education.¹¹³²

A final interesting case was that against Katica Lekić, elementary school teacher in Brčko in north-eastern Bosnia. After a complaint had been lodged against her by a mother of one of her pupils, who found that her daughter had not been evaluated objectively by Lekić and therefore could not advance to higher popular school,¹¹³³ the educational department of Drina banovina demanded the further investigation of the case. Local authorities quickly came up with a long list of violations in the domain of religious and ‘tribal’ intolerance by Lekić. First, she had refused to accompany her Orthodox pupils to church. On one occasion she had ostentatiously remained seated while attending an Orthodox service with her pupils, even when the name of King Aleksandar was mentioned. When the priest had urged her to stand up, she had even left the church, claiming that she could not stand the smell in the church. Second, she always wrote certificates and diplomas in the Latin alphabet, although it was customary that certificates for Orthodox children were written in Cyrillic. After the school principal had pointed this out to her, Lekić did write certificates in Cyrillic, but she continued to sign them in Latin. Further, she advised her pupils against buying Cyrillic textbooks. On one occasion she had even obliged a Muslim pupil who had bought a textbook in the Cyrillic alphabet to return it to the shop and replace it with a book in the Latin alphabet. Finally, she had given low grades to three Serbian Orthodox pupils

škole, kao vaspitač budućih građana Jugoslavije.”] Quoted from a report by the chief of the district Osijek, 3 July 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹²⁹ Report by the chief of the district Osijek, 3 July 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹³⁰ Report by the chief of the district Osijek, 15 February 1935. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹³¹ [“ne mogu već više mladoj jugoslovenskoj naciji dati bog zna šta.”] Quoted from a report by the school inspector of Osijek, Radoje Stepanac, 20 July 1935. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹³² Report by the Ministry of Education, 30 December 1935. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹³³ Letter from Mara Bošković to the educational department of Drina banovina, 17 September 1932. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

who were members of the local Sokol, which was no coincidence according to the authorities, but rather a conscious act of 'tribal' intolerance.¹¹³⁴ As argued by the chief of the district:

The work of Ms. Lekić is harmful for the interests of religious tolerance and the position of the elementary school, and therefore we suggest that she would be transferred to a remote village within the boundaries of pre-war Serbia, where Ms. Lekić will not have the possibilities to differentiate pupils and to show them her intolerance and where Ms. Lekić will probably change her viewpoints under the influence of the surroundings. If she would be transferred to her home region she would not be given the opportunity to change her ideas.¹¹³⁵

In a final report to the Ministry of Education the educational department of Drina banovina agreed that Lekić had insulted the religious feelings of children and townspeople of the Serbian Orthodox faith and that she had been led by 'tribal' intolerance in her hostility toward the Cyrillic alphabet and Serbian Orthodox pupils. It was demanded that "such phenomena should be wiped out with the most effective measures".¹¹³⁶ On 23 November 1932 Lekić was transferred to Srebrenica.¹¹³⁷

6.2.3.2 Was there something like Serbian 'tribal' intolerance?

Strikingly few cases were lodged against national incorrectness or 'tribal' intolerance from the part of Serbian teachers. One rare example is the complaint lodged against Radomir Rajković, teacher in Hrtkovci in Srem. On 2 March 1933 Nikola Nikić, deputy in parliament and leader of the so-called Peasant Club (*seljački klub*), a group of deputies which wanted to solve the Croatian question instead of ignoring it (Dimić 1996, 1: 292), forwarded a complaint he had received from villagers of Hrtkovci to the Minister of Education. Allegedly, Rajković constantly insulted the Croats. On one occasion he had praised Puniša Radić, the murderer of Stjepan Radić, and he had also offended Croatian

¹¹³⁴ Report by the district of Brčko, 26 September 1932, 5 October 1932 and 10 October 1932; Report by the authorities of Drina banovina, 21 September 1932, 8 October 1932. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹³⁵ ["da je rad g-đe Lekić štetan po interese verske trpeljivosti i ugleda narodne osnovne škole, te zbog toga predlaže, da se ista premesti u što zabačenije selo i to granice predratne Srbije, gde bi g-đa Lekić bila onemogućena, da vrši razliku između đaka i da po njima pokazuje svoju netrpeljivost, a gde bi g-đa Lekić verovatno izmenila pod utiskom okoline svoje nazore. Ako bi ista bila premeštena u svoju okolinu ne bi joj se dala prilika da izmeni svoje mišljenje."] Quoted from the report of the chief of the district Brčko, dated 5 October 1932. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹³⁶ ["se ovakve pojave moraju suzbijati efikasnijim merama."] Quoted from a report of the educational department of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, 7 November 1932. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹³⁷ AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

pupils in his class as “peasant swines”.¹¹³⁸ A detailed investigation clarified that Rajković in a drunken state had insulted the Croats and called them Radićists and republicans, in a reaction to the Zagreb Points of November 1932. Some witnesses claimed that he had threatened to use violence against the Croatian “infidels”. One witness also claimed that he had attempted to smash a portrait of Stjepan Radić, which was hanging in a local tavern, and that he had claimed to like Hungarians better than Croats. Rajković himself confirmed all this, but added that the Croats simply wanted him, as the only Serbian teacher of the village, out of the way so that they could hold secret political meetings against the Yugoslav state, the Serbian name and even the King. In fact, Rajković himself had lodged a complaint for anti-state activities against the chief of the district, Antun Pepčić, the brother in law of Nikić and the one who had denounced Rajković to Nikić. As argued by the school inspector of Danube banovina, Rajković should be transferred because he was a person “who could never get accustomed to the ideological calling of the teachers, because he considered it as his duty to be involved in politics and to impose his will on the weaker”.¹¹³⁹ On 21 September 1933 the disciplinary court for teachers decided that the position of Rajković in Hrtkovci had become insufferable. However, the court decided that he was not guilty, because he had simply “defended his Serbian name”,¹¹⁴⁰ and because the complaint against Rajković was obviously a personal reaction by Pepčić because Rajković had accused him of anti-state activities. On 28 September 1933 Rajković was transferred to Čantavir, in the district Bačka Topola.¹¹⁴¹

Unlike with cases of Croatian bias – which were quickly interpreted as clashing with and opposite to Yugoslav nationhood – complaints about Serbian “separatism” or Serbian bias did not occur. On the basis of what has been argued in the chapter on Serbian textbooks, it would be naive to conclude that there was no Serbian bias in the teaching of teachers in Serbian regions. Rather, this Serbian bias was simply not considered problematic or incompatible with Yugoslav nationhood. What is more, as explicated in the case of Radomir Rajković, a Serbian bias was evaluated as a justified defence of the Serbian and Yugoslav case. In this light it is also revealing that the authorities transferred nationally incorrect teachers from former Habsburg regions to

¹¹³⁸ Letter from Nikola Nikić to the Minister of Education, 2 March 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39. [“seljačkim svinjama”].

¹¹³⁹ [“koji se neće moći nikada da uživi u čisto idealni učiteljski poziv; on je čovek koji smatra da mu je dužnost da vodi politiku i da mu se nameću oni koji su od njega slabiji.”] Quoted from a report of the school inspector of Danube banovina, 17 April 1933. This report also included the minutes of interrogations of witnesses and Rajković himself. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹⁴⁰ [“jer je samo ustao u odbranu svoga srpskog imena.”] Report by the Ministry of Education, 28 September 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹⁴¹ Report by the Ministry of Education, 28 September 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

Serbia, “where the Yugoslav idea had taken deeper and firmer roots”.¹¹⁴² Thus, the clear Croat-Yugoslav distinction, which had already been prominent in discussions between and about teachers during the 1920s, remained salient in the institutionalisation of nationhood among teachers in Croatian areas during the dictatorship. A similar Serb-Yugoslav or Slovene-Yugoslav dichotomy was apparently much less relevant in the happening of Yugoslav nationhood in education.

6.2.3.3 The specific case of Macedonia

One region where the distance between the Yugoslav norm and the actual work of the teachers was specifically great was Macedonia. In order to reduce harmful influences from pro-Bulgarian intellectuals and communists on village teachers, the authorities even forbade them to attend lectures at the Philosophical Faculty in Skopje or popular universities (Jovanović V. 2011: 209-11). Especially salient in this region was the division between loyal Serbian/Yugoslav and ‘Bulgarist’ teachers (*bugaraši*). Nada Boškowska and Vladan Jovanović have found that many Macedonian teachers were transferred to Serbia or Bosnia because they had spoken the Macedonian “dialect” at work or at home and that many inspectors complained that Macedonian teachers did not fully master the Serbo-Croatian literary language (Boškowska 2009: 269-71, 311-2; Jovanović V. 2011: 211-2). Suspicion against Macedonian teachers also rose if they did not celebrate their family’s *slava*,¹¹⁴³ if they had taken a dubious standpoint toward the Bulgarian occupation during the First World War, if they had served in schools of the Bulgarian Exarchate before the Balkan Wars, or if they did not work enough in the domain of popular education (Boškowska 2009: 268-76; Jovanović V. 2011: 209-12). Cvetanka Rosić, for example, an elementary school teacher in Krupnje, was fired because she refused to take part in national holidays. On 17 December 1932, the birthday of King Aleksandar, she had ostentatiously left the local church and later that day she had insulted participants in a manifestation in the honour of the King. Investigations by local authorities clarified that Rosić had called herself a Bulgarian and that she supported Macedonian autonomy.¹¹⁴⁴ Vladan Jovanović gives the example of a complaint by the Ministry of Internal Affairs against five teachers from the Bitola district who did not know the

¹¹⁴² Quotation from an anonymous letter to Prime Minister Živković against Slavko Modrijan in a report of the provincial authorities in Zagreb to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was forwarded to the Ministry of Education on 12 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁴³ The celebration of the family’s patron saint’s name day (*slava*) in Macedonia was typically quoted as evidential of the Serbian national character of popular culture in the region (Erdeljanović 1924: 331-2).

¹¹⁴⁴ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 27 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-40.

Serbian literary language, sympathised with Bulgaria and hid away pictures of St. Sava in drawers instead of hanging them out in the classroom (Jovanović V. 2011: 212).

In order to Yugoslavise education in “Southern Serbia” the Ministry of Education stimulated young teachers from “nationally conscious areas” to go work in the region. In the early 1920s it was decided that eight and later even six months of work in “Southern Serbia” counted for one entire year of service (Boškowska 2009: 268). As a result, in 1931-32 only 28,7% of all teachers in Vardar banovina were born in the region (Dimić 1997, 2: 107). At the same time, however, a great number of teachers, especially Serbs from Danube banovina, were also transferred to Vardar banovina for punishment and not because of their Yugoslav national credentials (Jovanović V. 2011: 208-9). On the basis of reports of local inspectors Ljubodrag Dimić has pointed out that a majority of the teachers who were appointed in Macedonia considered this as a punishment, even if this was not the case, and used every possible occasion to request their transfer (Dimić 1997, 2: 107-10; see also Jovanović V. 2011: 211-2). Illustrative of the unpopularity of the region, in 1932 there were 302 vacant teaching positions in Macedonia. 57 popular schools there did not have any teaching personnel (Mayer 1995: 109). By 1939 there were around 400 vacant teaching positions in Vardar banovina, which meant that every second village school did not have a teacher (Jovanović V. 2011: 211). In any case, the national motivation of teachers in Macedonia did not concur with the high national ideals the authorities expected from teachers in a sensitive national area like Macedonia. At the same time the salience of the dichotomy between Serbs/Yugoslavs and ‘Bulgarist’ teachers illustrates the exclusionary and divisive character of nationhood in daily life in the region. The fact that the national distinctions between Serbs/Yugoslavs and *Bugaraši* were in many cases rather motivated by banally personal, material or political motives, instead of high national ideals (Jovanović V. 2011), indicates the broad applicability of this national boundary.

6.2.3.4 National correctness at university

Universities were considered the highest institutions for the construction of Yugoslav national culture. Consequently, great attention was paid to the national correctness of university professors. Throughout the interwar period a majority of the professors at the University of Belgrade were strongly Yugoslav orientated. Examples were the historians Vladimir Ćorović, Viktor Novak, Jovan Radonić, Stanoje Stanojević and Milan Šević, the ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, the philosopher Miloš Đurić, the linguist Aleksandar Belić and the historian of literature Pavle Popović (Dimić 1997, 3: 345-6). Ljubodrag Dimić has argued that most of these Yugoslav orientated intellectuals opposed the authoritarian way in which the dictatorship attempted to construct Yugoslav national unity. In his view, they boycotted the dictatorship’s Yugoslav nation-building project by refusing to participate in theoretical and public discussions on

Yugoslavism during the 1930s (ibid: 349). Still, the canon of integral Yugoslavism we have discussed in chapter 4 was for the greatest part written precisely by these intellectuals, clarifying that they did continue to play an important role in the dictatorship's nation-building policy.

At the University of Zagreb a fierce battle between Yugoslav and Croat orientated intellectuals took place since the early 1920s. The most important proponents of the Yugoslav line were the linguists Tomo Maretić and Milan Rešetar, the historians of literature Dragutin Prohaska, Fran Ilešič, Antun Barac and Branko Vodnik, the historians Ferdo Šišić, Milan Prelog and Grga Novak, and the philosophers Vladimir Dvorniković and Stjepan Bosanac (Janićijević 1984: 138). The Croatian line at the university of Zagreb was represented by the linguist Stjepan Ivšić, the philosopher Albert Bazala and the historian Rudolf Horvat (ibid: 138-9).¹¹⁴⁵ Whereas Svetozar Pribićević had made sure to appoint professors who were loyal to his Yugoslav viewpoints, under Stjepan Radić's ministry a large number of these Yugoslav professors, amongst whom Branko Vodnik, Milan Prelog, Vladimir Dvorniković, Petar Bulat and Grga Novak, were sent on premature retirement or transferred (Bajagić 2006: 142). During the 1930s the atmosphere at the University of Zagreb became more and more hostile toward Yugoslav orientated professors. The pro-Yugoslav historians Viktor Novak and Jorjo Tadić for example had to leave the University of Zagreb and were given a position at the University of Belgrade (Dimić 1997, 3: 345-6; Janićijević 1984: 140). During this period Croatian nationalists of the extreme right occupied an increasingly vocal position at the University of Zagreb, spreading theories about the national distance between Croats and Serbs and the racial superiority of Croats over Serbs (Yeomans 2007: 112-5). The military authorities in Zagreb, for example, reported that in one of his lessons Rudolf Horvat, a historian who was politically affiliated with the Croatian Peasant Party, had claimed that Croats had been free for a very long time, even during the union with Hungary and had called on the Croats to show that they were still capable of doing great things. Horvat had presented the Serbs as a completely backward people, contrary to the prosperous and advanced position of the Croats. For example, he had stressed that Prince Miloš Obrenović could not read and that he signed acts with three crosses. Finally, he had ridiculed the governor as nothing but a high clerk.¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴⁵ The division between these groups was not always clear-cut or stable. Maretić and Ivšić were members of the commission which formulated the Serbo-Croatian orthography of 1929, which departed from Serbo-Croatian literary unity. By the second half of the 1930s both founded the journal *Hrvatski jezik*, which propagated the separateness of the Croatian language (cf. 4.2.2.1). Dragutin Prohaska and Antun Barac were engaged in a polemics on the concrete nature of Yugoslav national literature (cf. 4.3.2.1).

¹¹⁴⁶ Report by the military authorities in Zagreb, forward to the Ministry of Education, 3 July 1930. AJ 66(pov)-74-201.

Similar reports were also made about university staff in Ljubljana or Skopje. Since its foundation the University of Ljubljana had been the stage of a fierce battle between centralists and autonomists. Already on the occasion of one of the preparatory meetings, held in December 1918, the future rector of the university, the mathematician Josip Plemelj, had opposed a proposal that all courses would be held in the Slovenian language, arguing that there was only one literary language, namely Serbo-Croato-Slovenian (Janičijević 1984: 153). Conflicts between centralists and autonomists continued to characterise the university during the interwar period. In 1930 the Rector of the University of Ljubljana for example started an investigation against Professor Ujčić of the Faculty of Theology after local authorities had reported about a critical speech Ujčić had held, in which he had said that Croats and Slovenes were abused by the Belgrade regime and that the fealty delegations to the King were pure fiction. The case was, however, filed away after Ujčić denied these accusations as slander.¹¹⁴⁷ In Skopje too great attention was paid to the national correctness of the university staff. In February 1931 the governor of Vardar banovina, Žika Lakić, presented a detailed report to the Ministry of Education about the work of university teachers in Skopje. The Croatian anthropologist Ćiro Truhelka was evaluated negatively, because he had written disrespectfully about Karađorđe and had argued that the celebration of *slava* was not a popular custom in “Southern Serbia”.¹¹⁴⁸ Milan Prelog was evaluated very positively and was decorated for his national work (Boškowska 2009: 301-2).

6.2.4 The use and abuse of nationhood in daily life

As already obvious in the previous examples, in many cases complaints against teachers resulted from anonymous denunciations. With such anonymous denunciations the line between patriotic responsibility and personal feuds was extremely thin. In the summer of 1930, for example, anonymous sources reported to the Ministry of Education that Matija Tucakov, teacher in Bački Breg in Bačka and a former secretary of the Croatian Peasant Party, continued to occupy himself with the politics of his former party and

¹¹⁴⁷ Report of the Ministry of Education to the Rector of the University, 14 June 1930. Report by the Rector of the University of Ljubljana, 12 July 1930. AJ 66(pov)-74-201.

¹¹⁴⁸ Before the First World War Truhelka had been the director of the Bosnian Agricultural Museum in Sarajevo. He had published a book about “Croatian Bosnia”, in which he had argued that Croats and Muslims were identical in genetical make-up, whereas Serbian Orthodox represented a distinct, physically degenerate type of Vlach descent. Truhelka was able to repeat these views in an article in *Hrvatska smotra*, a journal published by a dissident group of Crusaders (cf. 7.4.2), in 1934 (Yeomans 2007: 103-5, 113).

thus obstructed national and state unity.¹¹⁴⁹ However, a detailed investigation by the local authorities revealed that Tucakov was unrightfully accused. The head of the local Sokol club, where Tucakov was secretary, the principal of the school he worked in and the village council all described Tucakov as a correct national teacher and agitator. According to Tucakov himself the complaints had been lodged by two dismissed public servants out of purely personal grievances. The chief of the district suggested that the case should be filed away, concluding: "If it is taken into consideration that Mr. Tucakov before 6 January 1929 was a member of the Croatian Peasant Party (...), it is a great gain of the present regime that it has turned him into a sincere Yugoslav and an enthusiastic nationalist".¹¹⁵⁰

Very similar was the case against Stjepan Fabri, teacher in the elementary school in Soljani, in the district Županje in eastern Slavonia. Already on 2 June 1928 a first complaint had been lodged against Stjepan Fabri by a group of local public servants under the leadership of the clerk Stjepan Pavlović. In this complaint it was said that Fabri waged propaganda for the Croatian Peasant Party, that he forced his pupils to join the Croatian Sokol, did not take his pupils to church and that he had told the villagers that they should not pay any taxes.¹¹⁵¹ After a long and detailed investigation the authorities of Drina banovina found that the complaints were ungrounded and that Fabri was the victim of a local political power struggle.¹¹⁵² However, Stjepan Pavlović did not give in easily and he formulated a new report with complaints against Fabri, adapted to the new circumstances of the dictatorship. First, he argued that Fabri had continued to support the Croatian Peasant Party: On one occasion, when reading in the newspaper about the trial against Josip Predavec, one of the leaders of HSS, Fabri allegedly complained that the Belgrade government intended to get rid of all leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party. Fabri even had a portrait of Stjepan Radić in his house. He also occupied the post of secretary in the local Croatian library, which was led by former members and sympathisers of the Peasant Party. Moreover, the village library organised no cultural or educational activities at all and only served as a meeting point for Croatian separatists. Pavlović added a number of Croatian nationalist acts by Fabri, which had to prove that Fabri was not only politically but also nationally disloyal to the regime. Once, he had criticised the new orthographical guidelines of 1929, because

¹¹⁴⁹ Report by the Ministry of Education to the educational department of Danube banovina. 20 September 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹¹⁵⁰ Report by the district chief of Bački Breg to the authorities of Danube banovina, 10 October 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-33. ["Ako se uzme još u obzir da je g. Tucakov pre 6 januara 1929 godine pripadao Hrvatskoj seljačkoj stranci (...), onda je velika dobit što je od njega sadašnji režim stvorio iskrenog Jugoslavena i oduševljenog nacionalistu."]

¹¹⁵¹ Letter from a group of villagers, 2 June 1928. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁵² Report by the authorities of Drina banovina to the Ministry of Education, 14 March 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

these were solely based on the Serbian dialect and as such not suited for the Croats. He continued to hang out the Croatian 'tribal' flag on holidays, and he bought books with an obvious 'tribal' character.¹¹⁵³ This time, however, the Ministry of Education immediately filed away the complaint.¹¹⁵⁴

In the build-up to the local elections of October 1933 a public meeting of the local JNS candidate for Gradac, in the district Makarska in central Dalmatia, Ivan Miošić, was disturbed by supporters of his main opponent. Consecutively, Miošić lodged a complaint against three local teachers who had allegedly participated in the events. A report of the local authorities, however, clarified that the teachers in questions had not at all participated in the obstruction of the JNS meeting. Quite to the contrary, they were known as good teachers and "loyal Yugoslavs", who had been falsely accused by Miošić because they did not follow him politically and personally.¹¹⁵⁵

Other more complex cases indicate the salience of categories of nationhood for making sense of banal personal conflicts in villages. On 31 August 1932, for example, the Department for State Security at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Belgrade informed the Ministry of Education about a Croatian "tribal and separatist" lecture held by Petar Davidović, director of the elementary school in Ludina in central Croatia, on the holiday of Zrinski and Frankopan. The complaint was based on a denunciation by another local teacher, Mira Kosina. Kosina had added that Davidović had attended a celebration in a public tavern the same evening, where both the Yugoslav flag and the Croatian 'tribal' flag were hung out. Although Kosina was trustable, as a member of the Sokol and a "convinced Yugoslav", it was problematic that none of the other attendants had confirmed her complaints. After Davidović had been interrogated by the police, it came to riots in the village. First, a Sokol manifestation was disturbed and later that night shots were fired at the houses of Sokol members and Kosina. Only with firm interception by the local authorities peace had returned, but the instigators of the riots had not been found. In order to end these riots, the Ministry of Internal Affairs demanded the transfer of both Kosina and Davidović and his wife.¹¹⁵⁶

A particularly complex example was the case of Nikola Frankić, teacher in Lovreć in the district Imotski in the hinterland of central Dalmatia. Two complaints had been made against Frankić by a certain Luka Petričević. The first complaint concerned the work of Frankić in the local consumers' cooperative, where he had led a so-called "anti-national wing". This first complaint was largely denied by the chief of the district, who

¹¹⁵³ Report by Stjepan Pavlović to the district authorities, 2 July 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁵⁴ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 12 July 1930. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁵⁵ Report by the district authorities of Makarska, 9 November 1933; decision by the Ministry of Education, 16 November 1933. AJ 66(pov)-13-36.

¹¹⁵⁶ Report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 4 August 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

defended Frankić as a politically loyal teacher: Frankić had been member of the Democratic Party before 1929, he had organised a JNS meeting and he was a member of the local Sokol. In a second complaint Petričević had added that Frankić supported illegal political activities, that he had organised secret political meetings and had contact with anti-Yugoslav orientated people, that he had left the local Sokol and that he was responsible for national intolerance in Lovreć. By this time a new district chief had been appointed and he fully confirmed the complaint, adding that Frankić was in close contact with a local clerical teacher, who was “nationally suspicious”.¹¹⁵⁷ Later a new complaint against Frankić was lodged by a certain Zaradić, who added that Frankić often did not come to school, that he was blasphemous and that he, in brief, did nothing for the strengthening of Yugoslav national consciousness: “Instead of devoting his free time to the dissemination of Yugoslav national consciousness, teacher Frankić rides his motorcycle and organises secret political meetings”.¹¹⁵⁸ The district chief repeated that Frankić maintained close contact with some prominent clericals and separatists from the area. He had been member of the Sokol, but after he had found out that the activities of the Sokol hindered his anti-national work, he no longer actively supported it. Instead he had taken over the local consumers’ cooperative and had stimulated school children to help him with his work for the cooperative, instead of going to the Sokol. The district chief also referred to a police report, according to which Frankić had bribed and physically threatened one of the witnesses in a case against a villager who had spread anti-state flyers in the area to take back his testimony. Finally, the district chief warned the ministry to be careful because Frankić was a cunning man who could “stick out his breast about his Yugoslavism”.¹¹⁵⁹ A later police report, dated 25 January 1935, clarified that Frankić was a friend of Stipe Lugonjić, who had been found guilty of spreading flyers with “Long live dr. Pavelić” and “Long live the Independent State of Croatia”.¹¹⁶⁰

When interrogated, Frankić himself denied all accusations against him and claimed that these complaints were lodged by Zaradić and Petričević who personally opposed him in the consumers’ cooperative and simply wanted him out of the village.¹¹⁶¹ Thereupon, the school inspector of Littoral banovina was commissioned to investigate

¹¹⁵⁷ Report by the educational department of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 28 July 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁵⁸ Letter of Zaradić to the Ministry of Education, 6 September 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“Učitelj Frankić, mesto da svoje slobodno vreme provodi na širenju Jugoslavenske nacionalne svesti, on ga provodi na šetnje motociklom i držanje tajnih političkih sastanaka.”]

¹¹⁵⁹ From a report of the district chief of Imotski to the provincial authorities, 21 November 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“se isprsi svojim Jugoslavenstvom”]

¹¹⁶⁰ Police report, 25 January 1935. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁶¹ Interrogation of Nikola Frankić, 10 December 1936. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

the case. The inspector found that the school where Frankić worked actually consisted of one classroom, in which three teachers held classes alternately. None of the teachers was active in the Sokol. Furthermore, the classroom was completely neglected. The entrance hall was occupied by Frankić's motorcycle, dust was all over the room, there was only an old geographical map of Dalmatia, no heating, a few windows were broken and some of the children walked barefoot. According to the inspector, Frankić should be sanctioned for neglecting the classroom, but he had not found evidence of Frankić's anti-national political activities.¹¹⁶² The educational department of Littoral banovina decided that it would present its final conclusions after the court had made a final decision concerning the accusation against Frankić for bribing a witness in the case against Stipe Lugonjić. Apparently, the whole case against Frankić was finally filed away after the court had acquitted Frankić.¹¹⁶³ If anything, the case against Nikola Frankić perfectly illustrates the versatility and omnipresence of notions of Yugoslav nationhood and correct national behaviour in daily village life under the dictatorship.

On 7 November 1931 the cabinet of Prime Minister Živković received a letter from self-declared "regular Yugoslavs" who opposed the return of the teacher Mato Sudeta to Koprivnica in northern Croatia. Earlier, Sudeta had been transferred to Berak, close to Vukovar, for his a-national and anti-Yugoslav work. As clarified in the letter, Sudeta had strongly opposed the participation of Croatian teachers in the Yugoslav Teachers Association, arguing that "we Croats cannot be Yugoslavs – only Serbs can, because they provide ministers, governors and generals and we Croats are even more exploited in this state than in Austria-Hungary".¹¹⁶⁴ On another occasion Sudeta had propagated full Croatian autonomy.¹¹⁶⁵ Apparently, the return of Sudeta had been demanded by another group of citizens from Koprivnica, who also declared themselves correct Yugoslavs "regardless of religion or class".¹¹⁶⁶ They praised Sudeta as the most agile cultural and educational worker in the town. According to them, Sudeta had been transferred on the basis of false, anonymous accusations.¹¹⁶⁷ The accusations against Sudeta were confirmed by the head of the local district, who argued that Sudeta's return could not be tolerated,

¹¹⁶² Report of school inspector Nikola Zelić to the provincial authorities, 13 December 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁶³ Report by the district chief of Imotski, 28 December 1934. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁶⁴ Letter from a group of "regular Yugoslavs" ["ispravnih Jugoslovena"] to the Prime Minister, forward by the Ministry of Education to the educational department of Sava banovina, 26 November 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. ["Mi Hrvati ne možemo biti Jugosloveni – to mogu biti samo Srbi, jer njihovi su ministri, banovi i đenerali, a mi smo Hrvati gore podjarmljeni u ovoj državi nego u Austro-Ugarskoj."]

¹¹⁶⁵ Letter from a group of "regular Yugoslavs" ["ispravnih Jugoslovena"] to the Prime Minister, forward by the Ministry of Education to the educational department of Sava banovina, 26 November 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁶⁶ ["bez razlike vjere i staleža."]

¹¹⁶⁷ Letter from a group of inhabitants of Koprivnica to the Ministry of Education, 1 October 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

especially in Koprivnica, which was close to the border with Hungary, “where Yugoslav national consciousness was not yet fully consolidated”.¹¹⁶⁸ However, the Ministry of Education considered that the case was of a purely personal nature and therefore the return of Sudeta to Koprivnica was not cancelled.¹¹⁶⁹

In the summer of 1931 Petar Sekulić, teacher in Gornji Zagarač, nearby Danilovgrad in central Montenegro, was transferred to Blaga in the vicinity of Bugojno, in central Bosnia. In a letter to the minister of education Sekulić opposed this transfer and argued that it was solely based on a political discussion between him and the chief of the district, a certain Milošević. In brief, Sekulić had supported a candidate for the position of mayor of Komanska against the wishes of Milošević. Milošević had threatened that Sekulić would be transferred if he continued to support this candidate, but Sekulić had refused to give in. To his defence Sekulić argued that he had always behaved nationally correctly, at school and outside it. Moreover, during the “revolution” in Montenegro, probably referring to the guerrilla warfare of the ‘Greens’, supporters of the Montenegrin dynasty and state tradition between 1919 and 1924, Vuletić had fought against anti-state elements. Finally, Sekulić mentioned that he had a family of six, for which a transfer to Bugojno would be dramatic.¹¹⁷⁰ In his comment to the letter of Sekulić, Milošević clarified that Sekulić had supported Blago Martinović, a prominent Montenegrin monarchist and federalist. After the unification with Serbia Martinović had emigrated to Italy, where he had joined the Montenegrin army in exile in Gaeta. Later, after returning to Montenegro, he had joined the Montenegrin Federalist Party. Finally, Martinović had called on his supporters not to vote for the government at the elections of 8 November 1931. However, since Milošević had allegedly heard that Sekulić publically and privately regretted his support to Martinović, and taking into consideration that his work as a teacher was excellent, Milošević suggested that Sekulić could return to Gornji Zagarač, on the condition that he would end all bonds with Martinović.¹¹⁷¹ The governor of Zeta banovina followed this advice.¹¹⁷²

The case of Milorad Popović, teacher in Komoran, in the district Gračanica in Vardar banovina, forms a rare example of criticism by educational authorities themselves against the arbitrariness with which local authorities handled teachers. On the basis of a short report from the chief of the district Gračanica, which accused Popović of secret

¹¹⁶⁸ Report by the district authorities of Koprivnica, 26 October 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. [“gdje jugoslavenska nacionalna svijest nije još potpuno utvrđena.”]

¹¹⁶⁹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 10 December 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁷⁰ Letter by Petar Sekulić to the Ministry of Education, 11 September 1931.

¹¹⁷¹ Report by the district authorities of Danilovgrad to the educational department of Zeta banovina, date unclear. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁷² Decision by the governor of Zeta banovina, 1 January 1932. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

political agitation against the Royal Dictatorship, the Ministry of Education had transferred the teacher.¹¹⁷³ Popović had challenged his transfer and referred to his good work in Komoran: He had managed to erect a new school building in Komoran and he supported the new regime in all possible ways.¹¹⁷⁴ Apparently, the educational department of Vardar banovina was not aware of the transfer of Popović. After further investigations had not revealed a clear reason for Popović's transfer a representative of the educational department of Vardar banovina strongly criticised the transfer as well as the treatment of teachers in general. First, the ministry was criticised because it blindly followed the reports of local authorities and left the teachers completely unprotected against the arbitrariness of local authorities. In this case, even the educational department of the banovina had not been consulted. Local authorities, who generally had little experience with the cultural missions of teachers, abused their growing power at the local level to solve personal feuds and problems:

It is dramatic that a teacher is transferred only because he had an argument over a purely school related issue with the chief of the district or somebody below him. (...) It seems to me that in that way characters are broken which are already quite rare today, and that we in that way put the blame on these young people, who leave in incredibly difficult circumstances in the countryside and from whom we ask to work almost for free in all fields of national education.¹¹⁷⁵

Instead of letting local authorities punish every teacher who challenges his authoritarian local power, teachers should be given the right to correct injustice, disrespect and violations from the part of the local authorities. Secondly, it was argued that a simple village teacher like Popović, "petty, weak, without political past and without any material means to undertake any action",¹¹⁷⁶ could hardly be dangerous for a village, let alone for an entire state. And if he was indeed dangerous a transfer was not enough, in that case he should be dismissed completely.¹¹⁷⁷ On 31 July 1931 the Ministry of Education annulled its prior decision and Popović was allowed to stay in Komoran.¹¹⁷⁸

¹¹⁷³ Report by the district authorities of Gračanica, 15 November 1930, forwarded to the educational department of Vardar banovina on 1 April 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹¹⁷⁴ Letter from Milorad Popović to the Ministry of Education, 4 March 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹¹⁷⁵ Quoted from a report by the educational department of Vardar banovina, 28 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33. ["Rđava je praksa da se trači premeštaj jednog učitelja samo za to, što je po nekoj stvari čisto školske prirode došao u sukob sa načelnikom sreskim ili nižim od njega. (...) meni se čini da lomi na ovakav način karaktere, kojih i inače danas nemamo tako mnogo i da pakujem krivice onim mladim ljudima, koji čive po neverovatno teškim prilikama na selu a od kojih se traži da rade gotovo besplatno u svima pravcima narodnog podizanja"]

¹¹⁷⁶ ["sitan, slab, bez ikakve političke prošlosti, bez materijalnih sretstava da vodi ma kakvu akciju"]

¹¹⁷⁷ report by the educational department of Vardar banovina, 28 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

¹¹⁷⁸ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 31 July 1931. AJ 66(pov)-13-33.

6.2.5 National indifference and the imposition of national boundaries

Typical of authoritarian regimes, the Yugoslav Royal Dictatorship established a clear-cut and exclusive boundary between those who were loyal to the regime and those who were not. The strict criteria for matching the ideal type of the Yugoslav teacher were in keeping with the teachers' crucial position as state representatives *par excellence*. The teachers were expected to display Yugoslav patriotism and national consciousness at all times and to disseminate loyalty to the state and the nation among the villagers. The teachers' loyalty was primarily measured on the basis of active involvement in and support for some of the pillars of the Royal Dictatorship, namely the Yugoslav Teachers Association, the Yugoslav Sokol and preferably also some other branches of popular education (courses against illiteracy, reading rooms, popular lectures). Crucially, the teacher was also expected to actively support the political course of the dictatorship and the Yugoslav National Party. The numerous complaints about opportunistic teachers who had simply joined one of these Yugoslav state associations for the sake of appearance indicate the limitations to these criteria.

In programmatic statements by representatives of the dictatorship – both at the central state level and at the local level – the teachers' loyalty to the dictatorship was closely intertwined with Yugoslav national consciousness. In that sense, membership of and participation in Yugoslav state associations was considered demonstrative of national consciousness. Within this framework the exclusive boundary between the loyal and the disloyal became a national boundary between correct Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs. It is striking that this potential national boundary was especially activated in the case of Croatian and Macedonian teachers who were considered disloyal to the regime. Reports against teachers who were involved in or linked to Croatian associations which challenged the dictatorship, most importantly the Union of Croatian Teachers Associations or the Croatian Peasant Party, frequently used national arguments in the line of Croatian anti-Yugoslavism to substantiate accusations. Local authorities also frequently reported about elements of Croatian bias in the work or activities of teachers, interpreting these as acts of 'tribal' intolerance. In other words, educational authorities continuously used Croatian and Yugoslav national belonging as mutually exclusive categories. A similar national division was also used for distinguishing loyal Serb/Yugoslav teachers in Macedonia from 'Bulgarists'. Such national boundaries were not added to complaints against teachers who did not fully meet the high criteria of the dictatorship in Slovenia or Serbian regions. This does not mean that all teachers in these areas supported the dictatorship, were conscious Yugoslavs and showed no sign of Slovenian or Serbian bias, but rather indicates the irrelevance of national boundaries between the Slovenian/Serbian and the Yugoslav level of national identity in the distinction between the loyal and the disloyal.

By continuously using national divisions between correct Yugoslavs and incorrect Croats or 'Bulgarists' the authorities were instrumental in making such a division available as a category of practice in these areas, whereas this was much less the case in other regions of the country. Of course, it has to be considered that precisely in these areas opposition against the Yugoslav Dictatorship and its national ideology were widespread, and in the Croatian case well organised by the Croatian Peasant Party. Still, the way in which the Yugoslav authorities responded to this opposition only enforced the nationalisation of these conflicts and widened its scope. Indeed, many of the cases described above illustrate that a teacher who did not meet one of the authorities' demands accompanying the teachers' mission quickly became *nationally* suspicious although the motives behind his acts in many cases had little to do with conscious national belonging or not-belonging. In that sense the authorities imposed national boundaries on teachers who might as well have been indifferent to nationhood or for whom Croatian/Macedonian and Yugoslav national identity were not incompatible or mutually exclusive but simply relevant in different contexts.

In a recent article Tara Zahra has convincingly suggested historians to "move beyond imagined communities and to consider the history of individuals who stood outside or on the margins of such communities", to pay attention to those nonelites who were indifferent to national appeals, to explore the potential of national indifference as a category of analysis (Zahra 2010: 97). In the case of interwar Yugoslavia this reasoning suggests us to look beyond the dominant national narrative with which authorities and educational experts often referred to education and the teaching profession more specifically. National indifference was for example evident in the absence of national categories in the politicisation of the teaching profession and the accompanying conflicts in Slovenia or the Serbian part of the Kingdom. In these areas questions of nationhood were apparently not very relevant for teachers or authorities. In the Croatian areas and Macedonia, on the other hand, national categories were obligatorily added to make sense of the division between teachers who were loyal to state and nation and teachers who were not loyal to the state and were consequently excluded from the Yugoslav nation. Whereas some of the cases treated certainly revolved around conscious acts of opposition against the dictatorship and its national ideology, in many other cases it would be difficult to find conscious national belonging as the primary generator behind the teacher's actions. It would be even more difficult to find conscious acts of resistance against Yugoslav nationhood in these actions. In the case of Bartol Tomećak for instance the authorities interpreted the fact that he had supported SHUD and not joined JUU, and that he was an active member of the 'Brotherhood of the Croatian Snake' as demonstrative of his 'tribal' orientation and his rejection of Yugoslav nationhood although it was explicitly recognised that Tomećak was a peaceful man and that his Croatian anti-Yugoslavism was not visible from the outside (cf. 5.2.1). Analogically, a Croatian or Macedonian bias was not *per se* incompatible with Yugoslav

nationhood, as it was interpreted by local authorities, rather to the contrary, such a sub-national bias was necessary to make sense of Yugoslav nationhood.

In that way the authorities' preoccupation with the Croat-Yugoslav and Yugoslav-'Bulgarist' division was instrumental in rejecting multileveled national identities and strengthening the contextual relevance of this national division. This is illustrated by the many cases in which notions of Yugoslav nationhood were used in much more profane and banal ways than envisaged in the idealised prescriptions about the teachers' national mission by the highest educational authorities, again especially in the Croatian and Macedonian part of the Kingdom. Instead of an ideal mission, Yugoslav nationhood simply became an instrument in often banal local power struggles, which indicates that the population took over the distinction between the Croat/Macedonian and the Yugoslav level of national identity as a category of practice. In the authorities' treatment of teachers in the Croatian and Macedonian parts of Yugoslavia Yugoslav nationhood was institutionalised as a powerful and omnipresent instrument which was primarily defined on the basis of an imagined, exclusive boundary with Croatian and 'Bulgarist'-Macedonian national identity. Instead of the inclusive Yugoslav national identity which had been defined in curricula and textbooks, which provided room and incentives for the integration of different sub-national variations within an overarching Yugoslav collective identity, Yugoslav nationhood was reduced to a rigid and exclusionary category.

6.3 Teachers after the death of King Aleksandar

6.3.1 Yugoslav Teachers Associations in the second half of the 1930s

After the death of King Aleksandar, more and more criticism was heard against the dictatorship's educational policy. At the congress of 18 August 1934 it had come to reconciliation between JUU's leadership and the leftist opposition. Under the new slogan 'Unity and Harmony' (*Sloga*) a new Presidency was appointed under the leadership of the Slovene Ivan Dimnik.¹¹⁷⁹ The association's new policy focused on the common interests of the teachers as a social class, regardless of political, religious or 'tribal' factors, and rejected the preoccupation with political and national loyalty which had characterised the association's work under the dictatorship, in a way a return to national indifference. JUU focused on the improvement of the material position of the teachers,¹¹⁸⁰ the stability of the teachers' position and the reduction of the high demands with regard to work outside school. Also, the association called for a better maintenance of schools, which was often irregular or completely absent, the amelioration of the hygienic situation in schools and a significant increase of the number of elementary schools. Finally, JUU resolutely demanded the autonomy of schools and teachers from all external interferences through the revision of the inspection system.¹¹⁸¹ Also in this period JUU representatives openly criticised the 1933 curriculum for elementary schools as passive, vague, abundant and superfluous (Janković 1935) and the main committee of JUU organised a competition amongst its members for draft proposals for a new curriculum.¹¹⁸²

Similarly critical voices were heard at JPD's annual congress of 5 and 6 July 1936 in Varaždin. In the first place, JPD demanded a complete revision of the Yugoslav educational system, in consultation with representatives of Yugoslav teachers. Further, JPD requested specific amendments to the Law on Secondary Schools which would guarantee the rational appointment of secondary school teachers, the liberation of education from all external interference and the urgent building of a number of new

¹¹⁷⁹ 'Jugoslovenskom učiteljstvu'. *Narodna prosveta*, 16.09.1934: 1.

¹¹⁸⁰ Martin Mayer has found that until 1922 the annual salary of teachers was 2400 dinars. After 1923 this fluctuated between 1600 and 6600 dinars, depending on the rank of the teacher. After the new law on state personnel of 1931 the salary decreased to 1600-2400 dinars, which was far below the average income in Yugoslavia (in 1938 for example 4500) and was comparable to that of day labourers (Mayer 1995: 131-2).

¹¹⁸¹ 'Rezolucija XV glavne skupštine Jugoslovenskog učiteljskog udruženja održane u dane 22, 23 i 24 avgusta 1935 godine u Sarajevu', *Narodna prosveta*, 04.09.1935: 2.

¹¹⁸² 'Konkurs za izradu nastavnog plana i programa', *Narodna prosveta* 15.03.1936: 3

school buildings.¹¹⁸³ The curriculum for secondary schools was criticised because it was not elastic, superfluous and only generated passive knowledge (Tkalčić 1936: 683-5).

The disillusion with the dictatorship's educational policy did not result in a complete abandonment of Yugoslav national ideals. At JUU's annual congress of August 1937 President Ivan Dimnik for example argued as followed:

Now more than ever teachers should be aware of their mission with regard to tribal, religious and political tolerance. More than ever today the slogan should be heard: "I love my brother, regardless of his faith". More than ever, today we have to look for what binds us and not what divides us.¹¹⁸⁴

According to Dimnik, it was the task of the teachers to become familiar with specific elements of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian tradition. Only that way could they contribute to the mutual acquaintance of the 'tribes'.¹¹⁸⁵

However, the teachers associations clearly distanced themselves from the authoritarian integral Yugoslavism of the early 1930s:

Each activity which develops the contents of our nation and state should be seen as nationalism. Our nationalism can not only be seen in spontaneous national sentiments, enthusiasm or exterior expressions. We cannot allow anybody to rent nationalism and to deny it to others. We condemn national suspicion and denunciation as immoral acts. Uncompromisingly we denounce each nationalism that is built on brutal force and destroys social and legal justice.¹¹⁸⁶

This quotation clearly clarifies that Yugoslav teachers were completely disillusioned with the manner in which the dictatorship had attempted to disseminate Yugoslavism in education, namely through a monopoly on the correctness of nationalism and the rejection of any act which did not correspond to this correct national behaviour. Instead, teachers demanded that authorities would allow for a certain degree of

¹¹⁸³ *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 17 (1936): 216-8.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ivan Dimnik, 'XVII glavna učiteljska skupština, govor predsednika JUU', *Narodna prosveta*, 02.09.1937: 1. ["Ako ikada, danas treba da su učitelji svesni svoje misije u pogledu plemenske, verske i političke trpeljivosti; ako ikada, danas treba podvući geslo: Brat je mio, koje vere bio!; ako ikada, danas treba tražiti ono što nas spaja a ne ono što nas razdvaja!"]

¹¹⁸⁵ Ivan Dimnik, 'XVII glavna učiteljska skupština, govor predsednika JUU', *Narodna prosveta*, 02.09.1937: 1.

¹¹⁸⁶ 'Deklaracija o smeru staleške politike Jugoslovenskog učiteljskog udruženja'. *Učitelj* 16/1: 2-6, quotation on page 4. ["Nacionalizam moramo smatrati svaki rad koji izgrađuje našu narodnu i državnu sadržinu. Naš nacionalizam ne sme se ogledati samo u spontanom nacionalnom osećanju, oduševljenju i spoljnjem izrazu. Ne dozvoljavamo nikom da nacionalizam uzme pod zakup i da ga odriče drugima. Osuđujemo nacionalno sumnjičenje i potkazivanje kao negativno i nemoralno delo. Beskompromisno otklanjamo svaki nacionalizam, koji je građen na brutalnoj sili i na rušenju socijalne i zakonske pravičnosti."]

autonomy, openness and variability in Yugoslav nation-building. In their view, there was not just one form of correct national behaviour.

It is also interesting in this regard that educational experts criticised the dogmatic way in which educational authorities had attempted to disseminate national consciousness in schools and instead supported a more open and creative approach to national identity. Marijan Tkalčić argued that curricula could not simply disseminate a constructed national idea, as had been the case in Yugoslavia, but should stimulate cultural life. The problem with a “romantic” approach to national education was that students were simply given a list of national events or figures which were nothing more to them than empty phrases.

The situation our nation finds itself in, its tasks for the future require workers who will elevate our material and spiritual culture, instead of romantics and phrasemakers. When all other subjects are placed in the service of the national subjects, the latter cannot fulfil their educational function, because they too often overstress and glorify certain phenomena which do not deserve this, as far as their meaning and value is concerned, whereas everything that does not fall within the narrow national framework is ignored and reduced. The national subjects, as represented in the curricula, necessarily do not only lead to phrasemaking but also, as the nucleus of our education, to superficiality and verbalism in all other subjects. It is in the interest of our national education that this verbalism is annulled through concrete instructions and replaced by true forces which will set our national life in motion (Tkalčić 1936: 686-7).¹¹⁸⁷

Tkalčić suggested that more attention be paid to social sciences, which would teach the pupils how societies evolve and how they are constantly in relation to other societies (ibid: 687-8).

¹¹⁸⁷ [“situacija našega naroda i njegovi zadaci u budućnosti traže umjesto romantičara-frazera, radnike, koji će podizati materijalnu i duhovnu kulturu. Nacionalna grupa predmeta, ako joj se i stave svi ostali predmeti u službu, ne može da ispuni svoju obrazovnu i odgojnu zadaću, jer i suviše često uzdiže i veliča neke pojave koje to svojim značenjem i svojom vrijednošću ne zaslužuju, dok usporedo s tim zanemaruje i reducira sve ono što prelazi uži i najuži nacionalni okvir. Nacionalna grupa predmeta, kako je zastupana u programu, nuždom dovodi ne samo da frazerstva nego, kao jezgra koncentracije nastave, do površnosti i verbalizma i u svim ostalim predmetima. U interesu je nacionalnog odgoja da se verbalizam pobija stvarnijim upućivanjem u prave sile koji pokreće nacionalni život”]

6.3.2 Continuing interference with teachers

The government of Milan Stojadinović presented its educational policy as a radical departure from that of the dictatorship and promised the end of all arbitrary interference with teachers (cf. 3.3). Still, local authorities continued to closely follow the activities of teachers and took actions against teachers who did not follow their norms. Ante Lovrović, teacher in Silba, nearby Preko on the island Ugljan in central Dalmatia, was fined because he had been absent for no legitimate reason and because he had participated in a commemoration of the centenary of the composition of Croatian hymn, which was organised by the Croatian Peasant Party. Moreover, Lovrović had joined the commemoration with all his pupils, who had carried Croatian flags with them.¹¹⁸⁸ On 6 March 1937 Lovrović lodged an appeal against the decision of the educational department of Littoral banovina with the Ministry of Education. According to him, he had not been present at the manifestation and his pupils had been there with their parents. Further, he proved his national consciousness with membership of Yugoslav orientated patriotic associations like *Jugoslovenska matica* and *Jadranska straža*.¹¹⁸⁹ However, the Ministry did not follow Lovrović and the fine was confirmed.¹¹⁹⁰ In a rare case against Serbian 'tribal' intolerance the Ministry of Education transferred the elementary school teacher Dušan Popović from the district Podunavski in Vojvodina because he had removed names of pupils written in Latin and forced them to write in Cyrillic, although it was argued to Popović's defence that he came from southern Serbia and could not read the Latin alphabet, again indicating the irrelevance of the potential distinction between Serbian and Yugoslav nationhood.¹¹⁹¹ Finally, in February 1939 Štefica Macinauer, teacher in the elementary school in Slavonska Požega in southern Slavonia, was transferred because she had told Orthodox pupils, who comprised 4/5 of the school's pupils, that in Croatia there were no Serbs, only Vlachs or Orthodox. According to her, there were only Serbs in Serbia. She had also forced her pupils to make the sign of the cross in the Catholic way.¹¹⁹²

The rise to power of the Slovenian Clericals led to the reorganisation of the teaching personnel in Drava banovina. As argued in a question by deputies Pleškovič and Dobrovšek to the Ministry of Education since the beginning of the school year 1935-36 274 teachers had been transferred. Pleškovič and Dobrovšek further claimed that the

¹¹⁸⁸ Police report, 6 March 1936; report by the district authorities of Preko to the authorities of Littoral banovina, 7 May 1936; decision by the authorities of Littoral banovina, 31 December 1936. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁸⁹ Appeal by Ante Lovrović, 6 March 1937. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁹⁰ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 10 August 1937. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹¹⁹¹ Report by the district authorities, 11 January 1938. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹¹⁹² Report by the district authorities, 9 May 1939. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

authorities had banned numerous publications by Yugoslav orientated teachers and that they allowed local politicians, clericals and journals to spread hatred against these teachers. For example, at a meeting of JRZ in Sveta Ana Franjo Žabot, JRZ politician in Maribor and member of the city council, had openly said that the authorities would transfer and dismiss all those teachers, those “-ići, -čići, gypsies and looters” who had forced Slovenian children to enter the Sokol.¹¹⁹³ In another Slovenian village, Šmartno na Pohorju, during his sermon the local priest had stated that those who had been responsible for the ban of the Catholic Educational Association would be transferred (cf. 7.4.2). Not much later, the local school principal was indeed transferred.¹¹⁹⁴ Although we should be careful not to make any rash evaluations on the basis of these politically motivated accusations, they do indicate the continuing political interference with teachers in Slovenian regions during the second half of the 1930s.

6.3.3 Local tensions with teachers in Croatian areas

After the death of King Aleksandar in Croatian regions the atmosphere around education became increasingly tense, politically coloured and even hostile, reflecting the polarising political and ideological context of the second half of the 1930s. At the beginning of the school year 1935-36, for example, a group of villagers in Veliko Grablje, on the island of Hvar, attacked the newly appointed teacher Luka Tudor, because he was a declared Yugoslavist and supporter of the government of Bogoljub Jevtić. Under the leadership of the local priest all but one of the villagers kept their children away from the local elementary school and demanded that a new teacher would be appointed. The villager who continued to send his children to school was threatened by other villagers, who even set fire to a stack of wood next to his house.¹¹⁹⁵ On 16 December 1935, finally, the Ministry of Education complied with a request of Luka Tudor himself and transferred him to Opanci nearby Lovreć in central Dalmatia.¹¹⁹⁶

A similar situation occurred in Pakoštane, in the district Biograd na Moru in central Dalmatia, where one of the local teachers, Jovan Mihovilović, made himself increasingly unpopular in the village because he had physically punished a number of his pupils who

¹¹⁹³ [“ići, čići, cigani i pljačkaši.”]

¹¹⁹⁴ Questions of Rudolf Pleškovič and Karel Doberšek to the Ministry of Education Dobrivoje Stošović, 24 January 1936. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹¹⁹⁵ Report by the authorities of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Internal Affairs; Internal report of the authorities of Littoral banovina, 11 October 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁹⁶ Report by the authorities of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 18 October 1935; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 16 December 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

had worn badges with the Croatian flag, had openly supported Maček and had attended political manifestations. Finally, on 7 October a group of drunken villagers had attacked the teacher, to which the principal of the school demanded that Mihovilović would be transferred.¹¹⁹⁷ The Ministry of Education complied and transferred him to nearby Diklo.¹¹⁹⁸ On 24 February 1936 the chief of the district Gospić, in the Lika region, reported about the escalation of a conflict between the local teacher and parents. On 15 January 1936 a majority of the parents had gone to the school and took their children with them. According to them, the teacher, Živorad Marković, had severely punished the pupils because they were dressed in the colours of the Croatian flags. The teacher denied this, saying that he had mildly punished the pupils, because they were waving with Croatian flags and singing Croatian patriotic songs. In any case, after this day only four of the 24 pupils came to school. For this reason, the chief of the district demanded that Marković would be transferred.¹¹⁹⁹

After the establishment of the Croatian banovina Croatian teachers left JPD and JUU *en masse*, illustrating the problematic position of these Yugoslav associations in Croatian areas. The Association of Croatian Secondary School Teachers became completely independent and increasingly thwarted the work of JPD's sections in Zagreb and Split (Divac 1940: 818-9). On the congress of JUU in Banja Luka in August 1939 all Croatian delegates left the congress (Milić Majstorović & Bjelić 1940: 836). Quickly thereafter, on 3 February 1940, the representatives of teachers from Sava banovina held a meeting on which they decided that the JUU-sections for Littoral and Sava banovina would be disbanded and that all Croatian teachers would join the re-established Union of Croatian Teachers Associations (*Savez hrvatskih učiteljskih društava*). All the belongings of the JUU-sections of Littoral and Sava banovina went back to SHUD.¹²⁰⁰ The Croatian teachers explained these moves as a rejection of the dictatorship's policy, which reduced the teaching profession to the "exponent of a utopian political party" and consisted of "forceful and utopian experiments", referring to integral Yugoslavism.¹²⁰¹

¹¹⁹⁷ Report by the principal of the elementary school of Pakoštane to the district authorities of Biograd na Moru, 7 October 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁹⁸ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 8 November 1935. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

¹¹⁹⁹ Report by the district authorities of Gospić to the educational department of Littoral banovina, 24 February 1936. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁰⁰ 'Stav Upravnog odbora JUU', *Narodna prosveta* 15.02.1940: 1; 'Posle likvidacije sekcije JUU za Savsku i Primorsku banovinu', *Narodna prosveta*, 29.02.1940: 1.

¹²⁰¹ Based on articles by Franjo Marinić, the leader of the section of JUU for Sava banovina, quoted in Leček & Petrović Leš (2010: 72). ["eksponenturu jedne utopističke političke partije", "nasilnih i utopističkih eksperimenata."]

6.3.4 Conclusion

The death of King Aleksandar and the new JRZ government clearly initiated a relaxation of the dictatorship's authoritarian policy and led to open discussions about the concrete institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the first half of the 1930s, although it should be kept in mind that political interference with teachers remained commonplace during Stojadinović's government. Interestingly, Yugoslav oriented teachers suggested more open and variable definitions of Yugoslav nationhood instead of the authoritarian and restricted use of Yugoslav nationhood under the dictatorship. Additionally, teachers opposed the omnipresence and predominance of Yugoslav nationhood under the dictatorship, demanding a more confined relevance for Yugoslav nationhood in education and society in general and room for national indifference and irrelevance. These suggestions clearly reacted against the omnipresent, exclusive and restrictive character of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in education during the first half of the 1930s.

At the same time, the political and national polarisation in the Croatian parts of the country seriously complicated the position of Yugoslav-oriented teachers and indicates that the clear-cut Croat-Yugoslav division, which was, as I have argued, continuously used in the Yugoslav authorities' policy toward Croatian teachers, became an increasingly tangible and relevant societal feature in the Croatian parts of the Kingdom. By no means I claim that the rise of Croatian nationalism in the second half of the 1930s was solely the result of the educational policy of the authorities. Rather, the continuous use of the Croat-Yugoslav divide in the authorities' policy toward Croatian teachers reflects a broader feature of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood during the interwar period and forms part of the framework within which we should consider the polarisation between Croatian and Yugoslav nationhood which came to the fore in the second half of the 1930s. In brief, the rise of Croatian nationalism and the rejection of Yugoslavism in the second half of the 1930s was not the eruption of an inherent Croatian resistance against Yugoslavism, or a purely politically or economically based development. Rather, Croatian and Yugoslav national belonging were incompatible within the framework of the happening of Yugoslav nationhood in Croatian areas during the interwar period, which provided little room and few incentives for negotiations between Croatian and Yugoslav levels of national identity and instead strongly relied on an exclusionary boundary between both categories of nationhood.

6.4 Teaching religion in a multi-religious and national society

The Yugoslav nation-building program of the interwar period gave religious diversity a place in Yugoslav national identity by highlighting the parallel national character of Yugoslav Orthodoxy, Catholicism and to a lesser extent Islam and by stressing religious tolerance as a basic virtue of the Yugoslav nation (cf. 4.6). In order to promote religious tolerance religious teaching was placed firmly under the control of the Ministry of Education. However, such steps invariably led to conflicts with religious authorities, who considered religious education their domain and responsibility. As had been the case with discussion about the school celebration of St. Sava's Day, these disputes reflect more fundamental divergences in the approach to the relation between religion and nationhood.

6.4.1 Competing for children: Disputes between state and religious authorities over religious education at school

Already during the 1920s issues surrounding religious education led to frequent disputes between the liberal intelligentsia close to the Ministry of Education and representatives of religious authorities. In brief, the Ministry of Education wanted to set clear boundaries between school and church, whereas religious authorities demanded full control over religious education in school. The commission for the formulation of a state educational program, which was convened by Minister of Education Kosta Kumanudi in the winter of 1927-28, was asked to formulate a response to a number of demands made by representatives of the religious institutions in the kingdom.¹²⁰² These demands perfectly summarise the minimal demands made by religious authorities concerning religious education. In the first place, religion should be taught two hours per week in all types of schools. Further, the religious institutions themselves should be responsible for the appointment of religious teachers, for the inspection of their work, as well as for the formulation of curricula and textbooks for religion. Similar demands were repeated in criticism by representatives of the religious institutions in the kingdom against liberal measures which were introduced in drafts for education laws.¹²⁰³

¹²⁰² It is not further specified in the report which religious institutions in fact stood behind these demands.

¹²⁰³ For more detailed examinations of disputes between the educational authorities and representatives of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia see Dimić (1997, 2: 329-67) and Dolenc (2010: 36-52); for discussions with representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church see Buchenau (2011: 205-6).

Tellingly, the members of the commission did not formulate a clear answer to these demands, but simply repeated them, adding some short and vague comments from their part.¹²⁰⁴

These disputes should be situated against the background of a broader ideological competition between religious institutions and thinkers and a number of secular ideologies grouped under the banner of liberalism, which was especially salient in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. In brief, liberally orientated intellectuals argued that religion was a private matter and that it should not interfere with the political, cultural or socio-economic organisation of society. In a reaction against these challenges, the leadership of the Catholic Church and intellectual laypersons close to it increasingly rallied together in a Catholic Movement precisely with the intention to reoccupy the leading position of Catholicism in different branches of public life, especially education, politics and socio-economic issues, in short, to rechristianise society.¹²⁰⁵ Certain circles within the Serbian Orthodox Church too adopted a more radical and prominent position in public life in response to the challenges they faced, most notably manifested in the *Bogomoljci* (“God worshippers”) lay movement of the interwar period (Buchenau 2011: 223-45; Falina 2011: 129-57).

The education laws of the early 1930s installed a liberal approach toward religious education and explicitly listed religious tolerance as a central goal of education, closely combined with the national function of education. Apparently, the authorities considered that religious tolerance and successful Yugoslav nation-building could only be assured by keeping religious education firmly under the control of the ministry. The Law on Popular Schools, for example, left parents the choice to decide whether religion should be instructed by members of the clergy or by laypersons. Moreover, clericals would be selected by the Ministry of Education from a list of candidates proposed by the religious institution in question. These clericals had to pass the state exam for teachers and they could be dismissed at any time if their work did not conform to the general prescriptions of state education. Furthermore, the curriculum for religious education would be formulated by the ministry in consultation with the religious institutions (art. 43). Finally, the law restricted the impact of the church on the children’s upbringing in general. It was prescribed that “pupils [could] not be member of associations which were based on religion, or organisations which in any possible way thwart[ed] religious tolerance or work[ed] against the state or the national unity of Serbs, Croats and

¹²⁰⁴ ‘Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa’. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 175-6.

¹²⁰⁵ For a rather favourable overview of the development of the Croatian Catholic Movement (*Hrvatski katolički pokret*) before the First World War, see Krišto (2004: 15-120), for a rather negative overview see Dimić (1997, 2: 317-28), for its conflicts with liberal intellectuals see Krišto (2006: 97-102). For a brief introduction to the so-called cultural battle (*Kulturni boj*) in the Slovenian lands before the First World War, see Dolenc (1996: 95-104).

Slovenes" (art. 68).¹²⁰⁶ Students could only take part in school and public commemorations related to the state, the nation or the school (art. 69).¹²⁰⁷

Such a restriction of the Church's influence on the upbringing of the youth was unacceptable for religious institutions in the country. Already on 14 March 1929 the Archbishop of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, Ante Bauer, wrote a letter to Prime Minister Petar Živković with remarks made by the Catholic Episcopate concerning a draft for the law on secondary schools. The complaints made in this letter also applied to other types of schools and as such perfectly illustrate the general criticism of the Catholic Church authorities against the dictatorship's educational policy.¹²⁰⁸ Bauer demanded that the new law would take into consideration "the right of the Catholic Church to children of Catholic parents".¹²⁰⁹ Within this ideological framework religious education and moral upbringing of children of Catholic parents had to concur with the prescriptions of the Catholic Church. The state could organise education, but it was obliged to follow the demands of the family and the church, because these had "the primary right to the religious education of their children".¹²¹⁰ In concrete, the Catholic Episcopate demanded that religious education would be added as one of the basic goals of education in the first article of the law, instead of the dissemination of religious tolerance.¹²¹¹ Further, religious institutions should retain the right to establish and maintain private secondary schools and curricula and textbooks for religion would be formulated by the religious institutions and only submitted for approval to the ministry. As for holidays, the church authorities should decide which religious holidays would be celebrated in school. On the last day of the school year, which was legally determined on 28 June, a religious celebration should be held. The paragraph on student organisations should be adapted to: "Students of every secondary school can establish associations for their intellectual, religious, moral, aesthetical and hygienic completion, but not on a tribal basis".¹²¹² Finally, the bishops demanded the right to appoint religious teachers and

¹²⁰⁶ ["Učenci ne mogu biti članovi udruženja na verskoj osnovi, niti udruženja koja bi ma u kom vidu smetala verskoj snošljivosti ili bila protiv državnog ili narodnog jedinstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca".]

¹²⁰⁷ 'Zakon o narodnim školama', *Službene novine* 11/289: 2159-76, 5 December 1929.

¹²⁰⁸ Ljubodrag Dimić has treated a similar letter from Bauer to Živković concerning elementary education (Dimić 1997, 2: 399-401).

¹²⁰⁹ ["prava rimokatoličke Crkve na djecu rimokatoličkih roditelja".]

¹²¹⁰ ["Porodica i Crkva imaju prvenstveno pravo na vjersko uzgajanje svoje djece."]

¹²¹¹ Anton Korošec, the leader of the Slovenian Clericals and the Catholic Church's spokesman in the government, clarified the Church's point of view and argued that the explicit mentioning of religious tolerance could provoke precisely the opposite, namely religious friction (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 132). As demonstrated by the controversies surrounding the celebration of St. Sava in schools, which can be considered as an ultimate act of religious tolerance, this warning was in fact legitimate.

¹²¹² ["Učenci svake srednje škole mogu obrazovati udruženja u cilju intelektualnog, religijoznog, moralnog, estetičkog i zdravstvenog usavršavanja, ali nikako na osnovi plemenskoj."]

to inspect their work. To summarise these demands, religious education should take a prominent place in the upbringing of the youth, both in and outside schools, and the church should remain responsible for all aspects of religious education: who would teach it, the curricula and textbooks that would be used, as well as the work of student associations.¹²¹³ It should be stressed that the Catholic Episcopate did take over the integral Yugoslav discourse of the Dictatorship, especially in its agreement not to allow 'tribal' youth movements. Similar complaints about the "laicisation" of schools and their separation from their "God-given natural source", the Church, were also made by the Patriarchate of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Babović-Raspopović 2002: 215).

On 11 January 1930 the Council of Ministers held a special meeting to discuss the criticism of the Catholic Episcopate against the new education laws. Indicative of the deep frictions between the Catholic Church and the government, Prime Minister Živković stressed that he personally would not have treated the criticism, because of its tone and the nature of the demands, but that the King had urged him to. Juraj Demetrović warned that the demands by the Episcopate came down to "the capitulation of the state to the church" (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002:131-4, quotation on 134).¹²¹⁴ Still, the Council of Ministers formulated a rulebook on the implementation of decrees on religious education in the new education laws which in fact gave in to some of the objections of the Catholic Church, illustrating the seriousness with which criticism by the Catholic Church was handled.¹²¹⁵ Minister of Education Maksimović could convince the ministers at least not to adapt the basic fundamentals of his educational policy by leaving the first paragraph of the law, which mentioned religious tolerance as a central fundament of education, unchanged, and the prescription that all parents had the right to indicate whether they wanted a clerical or a layman to teach their child religion on the occasion of the child's first subscription (art. 1). Further, the rulebook introduced the following compromising clarifications: Religious teachers had to pass an exam which was to be written out by the ministry in consultation with the religious institution in question (art. 2). Religious institutions had to approve the teachers who were appointed for religion and they had the right to inspect their teaching once a year. If they were not satisfied, they could demand the dismissal of the teacher in question (arts. 3-5). Curricula for religion would be written out by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the religious institutions (art. 6). Finally, it was clarified that article 156 and 157 of the Law on Popular Schools, which prescribed that the Ministry of

¹²¹³ Letter from Ante Bauer to Prime Minister Živković, 14 March 1929. AJ 66 (pov)-63-167.

¹²¹⁴ ["to dokazuje kapitulaciju države pred crkvom."]

¹²¹⁵ 'Pravilnik o izvršenju odredaba o verskoj nastavi i privatnim školama po zakonu o narodnim školama od 5 decembra 1929'. *Službene novine* 12/10: 14-5, 15 January 1930; 'Pravilnik o izvršenju odredaba o verskoj nastavi prema zakonu o srednjim školama i učiteljskim školama'. *Službene novine* 12/10: 13-4, 15 January 1930.

Education would coordinate the work of all non-governmental cultural associations, did not apply to religious institutions and associations (art. 14).

On 7 July 1930 more far-reaching concessions were made in amendments to the paragraphs concerning religious education in the Law on Popular Schools.¹²¹⁶ Later, on 23 September 1933, these amendments were repeated in a specific Law on Religious Education, which covered all types of schools.¹²¹⁷ It was prescribed that religion in popular schools and civil schools had to be taught by clericals, who were to be appointed by the religious institutions and approved by the provincial authorities. Only in case the religious institutions had not done what was necessary to appoint religious teachers of their own choice, the ministry could appoint a substitute. Thus, parents could no longer choose laypersons to teach their children religion and morals and the religious institutions themselves were responsible for the appointment of teachers.¹²¹⁸ In secondary and teacher-training schools religious education could only be given by qualified teachers, who had graduated in theology at university or at a pedagogical high school. The religious authorities had to approve the appointment of religious teachers in this case. In all schools religious institutions could inspect the teaching of religious education once per year. Pupils were allowed to participate in activities of religious associations outside schools and it was specified that the articles in the education laws which prescribed that pupils could only participate in commemorations with a general national or state character did not apply to religious celebrations. At the same time, the state's control over religious teachers was restricted to the organisation of state exams for religious teachers, in consultation with the religious institutions, and the authority to dismiss religious teachers whose work did not correspond to the basic pedagogical-methodological fundamentals of the Yugoslav educational system, or whose "behaviour in or outside school [did] not correspond to the general goal of popular schools".¹²¹⁹ However, clerical teachers were not obliged to ask permission for the organisation of activities outside school, as was required for normal teachers. Curricula for religion would be written out by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the religious institutions.

¹²¹⁶ 'Zakon o izmenama i dopunama u Zakonu o narodnim školama od 5 decembra 1929 godine'. *Službene novine* 12/155: 1479-80.

¹²¹⁷ 'Zakon o verskoj nastavi u narodnim, građanskim, srednjim i učiteljskim školama u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. *Službene novine* 13/237: 1233-4.

¹²¹⁸ At the session of the Council of Ministers of 11 January 1930 Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović had still rejected this demand, arguing that it "would be inappropriate if somebody other than the state authorities would appoint teachers in state schools" (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 133). ["nezgodno da neko drugi sem državne vlasti postavlja učitelje u državnoj školi."]

¹²¹⁹ Quoted from the first paragraph of the amendments to the Law on Popular Schools of July 1930. ["njihovo držanje u školi i van nje nije u skladu sa opštim ciljem narodnih škola."]

6.4.2 Religious intolerance at school: a threat to national unity?

These controversies between state authorities and religious institutions over the place of religious education in the general upbringing of the youth greatly affected the work of religious teachers in Yugoslavia. Local authorities in general were rather suspicious of religious teachers and any act which hinted at religious intolerance was reported and investigated. The contextual salience and great societal capital of these controversies are illustrated by the complaint which was lodged by Milorad Jović, teacher in the civil school in Bugojno in western Bosnia, against Jovan Popović and Emil Miličević, respectively Orthodox and Catholic priest and both religious teachers. According to Jović both religious teachers were typical clerical opponents of Yugosocialism: Popović had claimed that the people had been better off under Austrian rule, that Serbian state servants and politicians exploited the people and that all Serbs from pre-war Serbia should be sent back. Miličević had organised an excursion with the local Croatian reading room to a performance by a Croatian choral society with money of the school funds. Both priests returned the accusation and stated that Jović had an extramarital affair, that he had insulted them and threatened to have them kicked out of school and in general constantly hindered religious education. In the end, all accusations were confirmed, although it was highlighted that Jović was nationally correct: he gave popular lectures and was active in *Jadranska straža*. The school inspector Josip Karaman suggested that all three teachers should be warned that their behaviour was intolerable, but that no further measures should be taken.¹²²⁰ This case illustrates the complex interplay of political, banal, ideological and national motives in the controversies surrounding religious teachers at the local level. In what follows I focus on the national meaning these disputes carried with them.

6.4.2.1 Catholic teachers and religious intolerance

Perhaps not very surprising, if we consider the Catholic Church's open hostility toward the dictatorship's educational policy, authorities were especially suspicious of Catholic clericals. In one case the chief of the Sombor district in the Bačka region opposed the appointment of the priest Antun Skenderović as religion teacher in the civil school in Sombor, because Skenderović was, in the opinion of the chief, a Croatian nationalist. First, he propagated Croatian nationhood among the Bunjevci, to whom the chief referred as "Serbian Catholics" who were separated from Orthodox Serbs by men like

¹²²⁰ Report from school inspector Josip Karaman to the Ministry of Education, no date given. The complaint by Milorad Jović was dated 6 November 1937. AJ 66(pov)-102-302.

Skenderović (cf. 5.5.6). Before 1929 he had also established a local department of the Catholic gymnastics movement *Orel* (cf. 7.3.2.1) and he had even demanded that the city administration of Sombor addressed him in the Latin alphabet instead of in Cyrillic.¹²²¹ Friar Barbarić was forced to resign as director of *Napredak*'s student home in Mostar because he had referred to Croatian heroes who had died for the Croatian case, such as Stjepan Radić, in his sermon during the mass on Zrinski-Frankopan Day.¹²²² Equally illustrative was the case against friar Marijan Stašić. Stašić had first called suspicion on himself when he had held a sermon about pilgrims who had gone to Rome and apparently heard from the Pope that the Croats would be liberated quickly. An investigation followed suit, but did not reveal concrete violations from the part of Stašić. In fact, the school inspector and two principals Stašić worked for argued that he did a good job as a teacher. Also, although he had not been a proponent of the Sokol movement, he had not actively opposed it or obstructed its work. However, the chief of the district perfectly expressed the general suspicion toward Catholic clerical teachers:

Stašić is an obstinate clerical. It is clear what can be expected from such a person today, when the clerical movement in our state has taken a strictly opposite position toward our present state order. Under the mask of clericalism it covers several separatist and defeatist elements in our state. On the basis of practical experiences I think that the educational authorities should remove from service all those religion teachers who do not openly demonstrate the principles of unity of state and nation.¹²²³

Although the police in Split decided that there was too little evidence against Stašić, it is illustrative that the case was further followed by the educational department of Littoral banovina.¹²²⁴

In another case the principal of the civil school in Mostar accused friar Martin Sopta, who had been appointed to replace the religious teacher friar Ivan Marinčić in the school. Accordingly, Sopta had reprimanded a Catholic teacher, Stanka Samardžić,

¹²²¹ Letter from the chief of the Sombor district, Milinković, to the educational department of Danube banovina. AJ 66(pov)-12-32. It is not clear which decision the authorities took.

¹²²² From a report by the authorities of Drina banovina about *Napredak*'s annual meeting of 5 July 1933, 14 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-91-261.

¹²²³ ["Stašić je zaguljeni klerikalac. Šta se od takvog čovjeka može očekivati danas, kad je klerikalizam u nas prema postojećem državnom poretku zauzeo strogo opozicioni stav pokrivajući plaštem vjerskog rada sve moguće separatističke i defetističke elemente u našoj državi, svakom je jasno. Uostalom, a na osnovu rezultata iz prakse tvrdim, da bi bilo potrebno da prosvjetne vlasti odbijaju prijem u službu onih vjeroučitelja koji otvoreno ne ispoljavaju načela državnog i narodnog jedinstva."] Quoted from a letter of district authorities to the police in Split, dated 4 August 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹²²⁴ Police report, 14 September 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

because she was married to an Orthodox and had claimed that she was no longer a Catholic. Further, in class Sopta had called the traditional early rising at *Đurđevdan* a gypsy ritual. The direction of the school had already demanded the local Catholic authorities that Sopta would be replaced again, but these had not reacted. Consecutively, the school turned to the educational department of Littoral banovina with the urgent request to dismiss Sopta as religion teacher.¹²²⁵ The educational department clarified that Sopta had never been approved by the Ministry of Education to replace Marinčić as religious teacher and that the principal of the school should not have allowed him to teach in the first place.¹²²⁶ At the same time the Catholic bishopric in Mostar was informed that Sopta could not be approved as religious teacher.¹²²⁷ After it had been informed about the events, the Ministry of Education demanded that an “energetic investigation” would be carried out against Sopta, probably to set an example that clericals too had to follow the law.¹²²⁸ Sopta was fined with 500 dinars.¹²²⁹

The local authorities of the district Preko in northern Dalmatia demanded that the local priest Niko Kuvač from the village Lukoran would be dismissed immediately as religious teacher and would be transferred, because he was “imbued with tribal and religious separatism”.¹²³⁰ Concrete complaints against him were manifold. First, he had fervently opposed the local Sokol club, by advising the pupils and their parents not to enter the Sokol, because it was an “atheist” organisation. He had established a local Crusaders group, as an alternative for the Sokol (cf. 7.3.2). Further, Kuvač frequently held sermons which violated against the principles of ‘tribal’ and religious tolerance. On one occasion he had said that only Catholic teachers could teach Croatian children,¹²³¹ which should be seen as a threat toward a local Orthodox teacher. Another time, he had claimed that Croats had only one fatherland, Croatia, and that they could consequently only love Croatia and no other country. Finally, he had done everything he could to hinder the work of the local teacher Sirotković, the leader of the local Sokol club and an “indefatigable worker in the national field, as was only desirable here close to the

¹²²⁵ Letter from the principal of the civil school in Mostar to the educational department of Littoral banovina, dated 9 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²²⁶ Response from the educational department of Littoral banovina, 17 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²²⁷ Letter from the educational department of Littoral banovina to the Catholic bishopric of Mostar, 17 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²²⁸ Instructions from the Ministry of Education of 25 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²²⁹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 28 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-40.

¹²³⁰ [“zadojen je plemenskim i verskim separatizmom.”]

¹²³¹ On 2 March 1932 the Episcopate had demanded the Minister of Education that in schools with a Catholic majority only Catholic teachers would be allowed to teach. Letter from the Catholic Episcopate to the Minister of Education, 2 March 1932. AJ 66-259-500.

border”.¹²³² He had even convinced a local peasant to lodge an ungrounded complaint against Sirotković. As an act of protest against the appointment of Sirotković as president of the election committee of Ugljan, Kuvač had allowed villagers to write offensive slogans on the church walls against Sirotković, Prime Minister Bogoljub Jevtić and all Serbs. Moreover, Kuvač had not taken measures to remove the slogans to make sure that all villagers had first seen them, even the school going children.¹²³³

Illustrating the at times tense character of local conflicts about religious education, on 26 April 1937 a group of 70 villagers attacked the teacher Miladin Ivanović in the elementary school in Hrtkovci, in the district Ruma in Srem. Ivanović only managed to keep off the angry villagers with a revolver. After these events the school was closed by way of precaution. The situation, however, remained tense and in the night of 7 May the villagers provoked some other Serbian teachers in the village and smashed the windows of one of them. Apparently, the main reason for the hostility was that Ivanović, in the eyes of the villagers, had hindered the Catholic education of their children. On one occasion, he had forced the children to make little figures out of clay. Further, on Sundays he tried to keep children away from church by organising all sorts of activities. He had also taught the children to greet each other with “Good day” instead of the common “Jesus be praised” (“Hvaljen Isus”). The main instigator of the attacks was the local Catholic priest Ante Mijaković, who had apparently called for a “school war” in his Sunday sermon.¹²³⁴ In order to re-establish peace and order in the village the Ministry of Education took firm measures. First, Ivanović himself, although a “nationally correct” teacher, was transferred to a place within pre-war Serbia for his own safety. The principal, Pavle Dešalj, was transferred to a place in pre-war Serbia and was denied any promotion for the next three years because he had not interfered and had even cooperated with Mijaković. The school inspector was sent on retirement because he had failed to take firm actions to end the unrest. The request of all other teachers in the elementary school of Hrtkovci to be transferred, for fear of further attacks, was granted by the Ministry. Further, the Ministry of Education also sent a letter to the Bishop of Đakovo to take actions against priest Mijaković and urged the Ministry of Internal Affairs to take actions against the local police corps and some members of the village administration because they had not acted energetically against the attacks.¹²³⁵

¹²³² [“jednog neumornog radnika na nacionalnom polju, kakav se samo može poželiti ovde na granici.”] Letter from the local authorities of Preko to the authorities of Littoral banovina, dated 14 May 1935. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²³³ Letter from the local authorities of Preko to the authorities of Littoral banovina, dated 14 May 1935. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²³⁴ Report from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Education, 8 May 1937. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²³⁵ Report of the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Defence, 8 June 1937. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

6.4.2.2 Muslim teachers and intolerance

Cases in which Muslim teachers were involved were less common. One reason for this was that there were simply not many Muslim pupils and teachers in the Yugoslav state. Martin Mayer has found that in 1931 only 5,1% of the elementary school pupils in Yugoslavia were Muslims, whereas their total share of the population was 11,2%. In secondary education their share of the student population decreased dramatically: in 1931 only 0,2% of the students in gymnasias and civil schools were Muslim (Mayer 1995: 196). On a conference of Muslim intellectuals in Belgrade in 1939 the following numbers were given: there were only 2633 Muslim secondary school students on a total student population of 110.000; only 1723 Muslim students studied in civil schools; the number of Muslims in teacher-training schools was as low as 38; only 238 Muslim students were enrolled at Yugoslav universities; and, finally, there were only 56 Muslim teachers in Yugoslav secondary schools (Kemura 1986: 313). This low participation of Muslims in the state educational system should be related to the late arrival of the phenomenon of secular state education among Muslims in the South Slav lands and the traditional leading position religious institutions continued to occupy in Muslim society, not in the least in education (Ferhadbegović 2005; Mayer 1995: 196-7). Especially in the countryside the Muslim population remained hostile toward secularised, “religiously tolerant” education. On 13 December 1932 for example Nazif Salihović was transferred from Bijeljina to Koraj, a small village nearby Lopare in north-eastern Bosnia. However, the arrival of Salihović had led to great consternation among the local Muslim population in Koraj because Salihović was married to a Catholic woman and was father of three children, of whom one had a Muslim name, one an Orthodox name and one a Catholic name, the perfect example of an integral Yugoslav and religiously tolerant family. The villagers refused to send their children to school until a new teacher would be appointed.¹²³⁶ On 6 March 1933 the Ministry of Education decided that Salihović should stay in Bijeljina for the time being.¹²³⁷

Some cases were lodged against Muslim teachers on the accusation of religious intolerance, as with religious teachers Mahmud Džaferović and Bećir Kadarević, who were both accused of crossing out articles with Christian themes in textbooks (cf. 5.5.3.3). On 16 January 1934 the chief of the district Kosovska Mitrovica in northern Kosovo forwarded a report to the educational department of Zeta banovina concerning Merima Selimović, religious teacher in the local girls’ school. Allegedly, Selimović had told her pupils that they should not learn Serbian but rather Turkish, because only that

¹²³⁶ Report from the district authorities of Bijeljina to the authorities of Drina banovina, 18 February 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²³⁷ Decision from the Ministry of Education, 6 March 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

way they could go to heaven. Also, she sent her pupils to the local *mekteb* – although it was only allowed for children between five and seven – so that they would not have to learn the state language and follow the national courses in the state elementary school.¹²³⁸ The Islamic Religious Community interfered, arguing that school inspectors did not have the authority or the knowledge to evaluate teachers of Islam, but the Ministry did not comply and dismissed Selimović.¹²³⁹

In all these cases, the line between national incorrectness, religious intolerance and personal feuds was very thin. On 27 February 1931, for example, the Ministry of Education summoned local authorities in Livno in western Bosnia to investigate a complaint which had been lodged against Franjo Milković. Allegedly, Milković, a Catholic school inspector in Livno, had told some teachers that the local teacher Muharem Šeremet would be transferred because he was wearing a fez. Interrogations of the people in question, held by the local authorities in the beginning of March 1931, clarified that the complaints were completely ungrounded, as they were only confirmed by Živana Stanišić, a local Orthodox teacher who had been transferred from Livno to Crni Luk and then to Visoko in central Bosnia, and who had probably denounced Milković initially. She had already attempted to discredit Milković by arguing that he had demanded her transfer out of religious intolerance. Both the chief of the district and Milković added that Stanišić was a “babbler”¹²⁴⁰ and that she had made up the complaint to take revenge for the fact that Milković had transferred her. As Milković said, Stanišić stood “under the influence of the Livno small town mentality, which attempted to undermine and accuse every public servant who did not stand under the influence of particular people, but who did his job according to the law and decrees and not according to dictates from aside”.¹²⁴¹ According to the chief of the district, Stanišić had blazed abroad that she could arrange things through her family’s connections with Prime Minister Milan Srškić. Also, her family had spread rumours that the banovina system would be revised. Moreover, Stanišić’s allegations were completely tripped up by the fact that Šeremet, as he himself pointed out, did not wear a fez in the first place. Milković himself guaranteed that he was nationally and religiously correct: “I have

¹²³⁸ Report from the local authorities of Kosovska Mitrovica to the education department of Zeta banovina, 16 January 1935. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²³⁹ Letter from the Islamic Religious Community to the Ministry of Education, 5 March 1935. AJ 66(pov)-15-39; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 10 April 1935. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁰ [“brbljavica”], quoted from the interrogation of Franjo Miljković by the local authorities, 12 March 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴¹ [“pod uplivom ove Livanjske čaršije, koja nastoji podvaljivati i optuživati svakog državnog činovnika, koji ne stoji pod uplivom stanovitih lica, i koji svoje dužnosti vrši po zakonima i propisima, a ne po diktatu sa strane”], quoted from the interrogation of Franjo Miljković by the local authorities, 12 March 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

never even thought about looking whether [Šeremet] wears a fez or anything else”.¹²⁴² The chief of the district added that Milković was a good inspector, who closely followed the work of local teachers “regardless of religion or tribe”.¹²⁴³ The educational department of Littoral banovina confirmed that Milković was “conscientious, accurate, correct and national”.¹²⁴⁴ On 23 May the Ministry of Education filed the case away.¹²⁴⁵

6.4.2.3 Was there something like Serbian Orthodox intolerance?

Remarkably absent in the documents of the Ministry of Education were complaints against religious intolerance from the part of Orthodox teachers. Tellingly, such complaints were only made by Muslim or Catholic religious authorities and never by representatives of state authority, as was the case with the abovementioned complaints against Catholic and Muslim teachers. From the early 1930s the Islamic Religious Community demanded explanations and interventions from the Ministry of Education against local Orthodox religious teachers who violated the religious rights of Muslim pupils, especially by obliging Muslim pupils to follow Christian religious education at school. Although the Ministry of Education had announced firm measures against such cases, little had changed according to the Islamic authorities. In Orahovac in western Kosovo the Orthodox teacher Gligorije Baljošević, for example, had forced the Muslim pupils to stay in class during his Orthodox religion lessons. According to the Islamic religious authorities:

such acts offend the religious sentiments of Muslims and create hostility toward the school, because in this way schools get a Christian and not a general national character and furthermore they strengthen religious antagonism, which should be soothed in the interests of the state and not strengthened and inflamed.¹²⁴⁶

The leadership of the Catholic Church too intervened against acts of religious intolerance by Orthodox teachers, especially related to the celebrations of St. Sava's

¹²⁴² [“ja nikad nijesam promislio da gledam na to da li on nosi fez ili što druga”], quoted from the interrogation of Franjo Miljković by the local authorities, 12 March 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴³ [“bez obzira na veru i pleme”], quoted from a report by the chief of the district, 5 April 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁴ [“Savestan, tačan, ispravan i nacionalan”]. Quoted from a report by the educational department of Littoral banovina, 11 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁵ Decision by the Ministry of Education of 23 May 1931. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁶ [“Ovakvim radom vređaju se verski osećaji muslimana kod kojih se stvara neraspoloženje prema školi, koje se daje time obeležje hrišćansko, a ne opšte narodno, a sem toga pojačava se verski antagonizam, koji bi u interesu napretka našega naroda trebalo stišavati, a nikako pojačavati i raspirivati”]. Letter from Reis-ul-ulema Maglajlić to the Ministry of Education, dated 28 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

Day. In another case the Catholic Archbishopric in Zagreb criticised the removal of the crucifix in the elementary school in Uljanik in the district Daruvar in central Croatia.¹²⁴⁷ As explained by the local authorities, this decision had been made on the basis of a circular of the Ministry of Education, which had prescribed that schools should remove all religious attributes in case teachers in mixed schools could not reach an agreement. In the school in Uljanik the Orthodox and Catholic teachers had not been able to come to an agreement concerning which type of crucifix should be hung on the wall. The icon of St. Sava was not removed from the walls, although this had been demanded by Catholic teachers, because that “was not considered a religious attribute but a picture of a great national figure”.¹²⁴⁸ Since the local authorities had handled in accordance with the ministry’s prescriptions the case was filed away.¹²⁴⁹ On 12 December 1938 representatives of the Catholic Church lodged a complaint against Svetozar Pavličević, teacher in Stara Moravica in the Bačka region, because he had insulted Catholic children and had forbade them to go the church. Pavličević himself did not deny the complaint, but justified his acts by arguing that Catholic education in the school took place exclusively in Hungarian and that all Catholics, even Yugoslav Catholic pupils, used Hungarian textbooks. This was confirmed by the school inspector, who added that Hungarian pupils avoided following any lessons in Serbo-Croatian and that he had found insults to King Aleksandar and Vuk Karadžić in their textbooks. The school inspector also recognised that Pavličević had insulted the Catholic pupils and was extremely unpopular in the area.¹²⁵⁰ Still, the Ministry of Education decided that the complaint against Pavličević was ungrounded and the case was filed away.¹²⁵¹

6.4.3 Conclusions

The Yugoslav educational policy put great stress on religious tolerance as a crucial prerequisite of Yugoslav national unity. The controversies surrounding religious teachers in fact indicate that this framework complicated the relation between religious and national identity, as any ‘narrow’ religious act could be interpreted as an act of resistance against Yugoslav nationhood, although religiously motivated opposition against the regime’s secular educational policy in many cases had little to do with

¹²⁴⁷ Report from the Ministry of Education to the district authorities of Daruvar, 3 May 1938. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁸ [“jer se ne smatra vjerskim rekvizitom, nego slikom nacionalnog velikana”]. Response from the district authorities to the Ministry of Education, 10 May 1938. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹²⁴⁹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 18 May 1938. AJ 66 (pov)-15-39.

¹²⁵⁰ Report from the educational department of Danube banovina, 26 January 1939. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

¹²⁵¹ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 7 February 1939. AJ 66(pov)-15-39.

nationhood. Local authorities were especially suspicious of cases of religious intolerance from the part of Croatian Catholic teachers. Of course, these complaints reflect how the increasing polarisation between the dictatorship and the Croatian Catholic Church also affected societal relations at the local level. However, the authorities' preoccupation with religious intolerance by Croatian Catholic teachers and especially its continuous connection with 'tribal' intolerance and opposition against Yugoslav nationhood were instrumental in establishing a clear division between Croatian collective identity and Catholicism at the one side and the Yugoslavism of the regime at the other side. In other words, the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the Croatian part of the Kingdom increasingly relied on an exclusive boundary with Croatian and Catholic collective identity, which not only rejected the potential coexistence of the Croatian and Yugoslav level of national identity, but also of Catholic religiosity and Yugoslav nationhood. Catholic and Muslim religious representatives took over this conceptual framework to point to acts of religious *and* 'tribal' intolerance from the part of Serbian Orthodox teachers. Thus, these conflicts show that the strategy to give religious differences a place in Yugoslav unity by referring to the shared national character of all Yugoslav churches in fact led to the questioning and complication of the compatibility of religious diversity and Yugoslav national identity.

6.5 Concluding remarks

The usage of notions of Yugoslav nationhood with regard to Yugoslav teachers reveals three main characteristics of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia and especially during the Royal Dictatorship. First, Yugoslav nationhood was a very powerful and omnipresent, and also versatile and exclusive category in interwar Yugoslav society. Distinctions between those who were Yugoslav nationally conscious and those who were not were used to make sense of a broad variety of societal relations, ranging from political, professional and ideological cleavages to purely personal feuds. In that way, the contextual salience of nationhood strongly increased, to the extent that categories of nationhood were imposed on and became available for making sense of events in which the Yugoslav national element was not necessarily of primary interest to the actors involved. At the same time, the potential variability in meanings given to Yugoslav nationhood decreased, as it was restricted to a narrow set of criteria which distinguished the loyal from the disloyal.

The exclusive and restrictive character of Yugoslav nationhood was most salient in the Croatian part of the country, where a clear distinction was made between Croatian and Yugoslav national identity. The potential compatibility of these two levels of collective belonging was increasingly rejected within the framework of the institutionalisation of nationhood, in which any evidence of Croatian bias could be interpreted as an act of resistance against Yugoslav nationhood. A similar phenomenon occurred in Macedonia, where a distinction was made between correct Serb/Yugoslav national behaviour and 'Bulgarist' opposition. Although I do not dispute the increasing disillusion with and rejection of Yugoslavism in these regions, the incompatibility of the Croatian and Macedonian and the Yugoslav level of national belonging was not a given but rather a specific development which became increasingly available and salient within the context of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia.

Finally, the close link between religious tolerance and national identity which was used to make sense of religious diversity within the Yugoslav nation in fact led to the questioning of the compatibility of religious diversity and Yugoslav national unity. In the variable meanings which were given to Yugoslav nationhood in the domain of education clerical opposition against the liberal educational policy of the authorities was interpreted along national lines as an act of resistance against Yugoslav nationhood. Such a nationalisation of liberal-clerical divisions was especially salient in conflicts with Croatian Catholic teachers and concurred with the abovementioned distinction between Croatian and Yugoslav levels of national identity.

Chapter 7 The Yugoslav Sokol and the performance of the Yugoslav nation

The Sokol movement was the largest and most wide-spread cultural-educational association in interwar Yugoslav society. It was the only movement with local branches throughout the Yugoslav lands, and thus, with schools, the only all-Yugoslav cultural-educational institution of the interwar period. Initially a non-governmental organisation, the Sokol was increasingly integrated in and subjected to Yugoslav state authority. During the dictatorship the organisation became fully state controlled and obtained a status which in the end did not differ greatly from that of state institutions like school and army. With this status the Sokol movement played a prominent role in manifestations, uses and happenings of Yugoslav nationhood in Yugoslav society, which was one of the central aspects in the movement's ideology, and thus forms an outstanding indicator of the happening of Yugoslav nationhood in the context of practice. In this chapter I make a distinction between affirmative and exclusionary performances of nationhood by the Sokol. For the Sokol's affirmative performances of nationhood, I look at conscious attempts made by the Yugoslav Sokol to forge Yugoslav nationhood by means of planned and orchestrated activities, and close cooperation with the state authorities. The increasingly exclusive character of the Yugoslav Sokol's performances of nationhood resulted from its participation and appropriation in political and ideological competitions in interwar Yugoslav society. Within the context of these competitions, acts of rivalry between the Sokol movement and other social actors visualised and enacted national boundaries at the local level.

7.1 The development of the Yugoslav Sokol Movement: toward an all-encompassing national movement for physical education

7.1.1 The South Slav Sokol before the First World War

The Sokol (lit. 'Falcon') was a gymnastics movement with a liberal, national and pan-Slavonic orientation, which was founded in Prague in 1862 and consecutively spread among other Slavonic peoples. From the outset, Sokol activities consisted of both strict gymnastic training and social activities. Between 1868 and 1872 Miroslav Tyrš, one of the founders of the Prague Sokol and its most important ideologue, determined the fundamentals of the Sokol gymnastics system. Gymnastic training consisted of free exercises (calisthenics, running, jumping, marching), apparatus exercises (with wands, poles, dumbbells, parallel bars, horizontal bar, horse, rings et cetera), group exercises (especially human pyramids) and combative exercises (wrestling, boxing, fencing). Although Sokol gymnastics was obviously inspired by German gymnastics, it had some distinct characteristics, such as the regimentation of Sokol exercises, the militaristic character of public performances and the inclusion of elements from sports and athletics (Nolte 2002: 84-6). Social activities consisted of evening programs with speeches, dance and music, masked balls, banquets and finally lectures about gymnastic techniques, physical conditioning, health maintenance and national issues. The gymnastics and social activities of the Sokol were combined in frequent public performances, which were centred around parades and callisthenic displays carried out by Sokol members, often accompanied by music (Nolte 2002: 50-73, 87). However, the Sokols' ideology as formulated by Tyrš in the 1870s far transcended gymnastics to reach the national and international level. In brief, the ideal of the Sokol movement was the physical and spiritual liberation of Slavonic nations within a spirit of Slavonic brotherhood and cooperation. It was believed that only through the creation of a morally and physically strong national body the Slavs could assure their position within the human race. In order to be successful in this regard the Sokol movement set out to comprise the entire nation, regardless of political preferences, faith, social position and sex (Nolte 1991: 40-8; 2002: 90-100).¹²⁵²

¹²⁵² By the end of the 19th century the Czech Sokol faced increasing problems to realise its claim to represent the entire Czech nation against the background of growing opposition from socialist and clericalist camps who started to form their own gymnastics organisations (Nolte 2002: 135-57). Although women were in theory

During the second half of the 19th century the Sokol movement spread to the South Slav lands. Already in 1863 students who were studying in Prague founded a Sokol club in Ljubljana, which was called 'southern Sokol' (*Južni Sokol*) and had a membership number of 229 in 1865. In 1867 the club was banned after fights had occurred between Sokols and German *Turner*, but in 1868 the club was re-opened as the Sokol of Ljubljana. Soon, other Sokol clubs were established throughout the Slovenian lands. In 1888 the Ljubljana Sokol organised the first all-Slovenian jamboree, a mass public performance organised after the example of the Czech Sokols, which was attended by delegates from the Czech and Croatian Sokols (Kessler 1991: 201-2; Nolte 2002: 71-2; Pavlin 2000: 12-8).¹²⁵³ The activities of the Slovenian Sokols were obviously inspired by the Czech Sokol, but there was no system behind it. Gymnastic training was carried out differently in the various clubs, according to Czech and German systems, depending on the teachers. It was only in the 1890s, under the impulse of Viktor Murnik and Vladimir Ravnihar, that the Slovenian Sokol movement was firmly organised on the basis of Tyrš's Sokol system. In the first place, gymnastic training in Slovenian Sokol clubs was systematised on the basis of the Czech Sokol system. Also, Tyrš's Sokol ideology was introduced in the Slovenian Sokol and the activities of the Sokol clubs were expanded to include national and moral education. Finally, the internal organisation of the Slovenian Sokol was structured, leading to the formation of the Slovenian Sokol Union under the leadership of Vladimir Ravnihar in 1905. In 1904 the Slovenian Sokols organised a second all-Slovenian jamboree, with guests from the Czech, Polish, Croatian and Russian Sokol, as well as the Serbian gymnastics movement *Dušan Silni* ('Dušan the Strong', referring to Tsar Dušan) and the Bulgarian *Junak* ('Hero'). By 1913 the Union had a membership of 6613 men and 1040 women grouped in nine regional districts (*župa*) and 114 clubs. 1761 of the male members and 537 of the female members were active gymnasts (Pavlin 2000: 18-22).

In 1874 the first Croatian Sokol club was established in Zagreb and soon this example was followed in other towns in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia. In 1877 the Czech Sokol František Hochmann took over the technical leadership of the Croatian Sokol in Zagreb and introduced Tyrš's ideology and gymnastic training methods in the Croatian Sokol. In 1904 Croatian Sokol clubs formed the Union of Croatian Sokol Clubs (*Savez hrvatskih*

considered equal in the Sokol ideology, their position within the movement remained controversial and unclear. Women continued to have their separate sections, were barred from the Sokol leadership and could not wear the Sokol uniform or march in Sokol parades (ibid: 173).

¹²⁵³ The first Czech Sokol jamboree was organised in June 1882. It set the pattern for all later Sokol happenings. Typically, a jamboree lasted several days and consisted of the ceremonial greeting of arriving guests at the train station, social events in the evening, marches through the hosting city, mass callisthenic displays and Sokol competitions (Nolte 2002: 106-8).

sokolskih društava), consisting of 14 districts in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia, two districts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and three districts among Croatian emigrants in North America. By the beginning of the First World War the Croatian Sokol had 15.000 members, of whom 4500 male and 500 female active gymnasts. The Croatian Sokols organised all-Croatian jamborees in 1906 and 1911 (Kessler 1991: 204-9).

The first Serbian Sokol club was established in Belgrade in 1891, originating out of the Serbian gymnastics and fighting club, which had been established in Belgrade in 1857. A rival gymnastics organisation, called *Dušan Silni*, with more distinct training methods and a Greater Serbian program, was also active in pre-war Serbia. Both groups remained poorly organised and had low membership numbers. In 1908 František Hochmann, who had earlier worked in Zagreb, was appointed head coach of the Belgrade Sokol club, in order to systemise Sokol training on the basis of the Czech training program. After interference of Czech Sokols and King Petar in 1909 the two organisations merged to form the Union of Serbian Sokol Clubs *Dušan the Strong* (*Savez srpskih sokolskih organizacija Dušan Silni*). In 1910 the new Serbian Sokol Union organised its first and only pre-war all-Serbian jamboree and by 1913 the Union had 122 clubs with 8000 members. The centre of Serbian Sokol activities was situated in the Austro-Hungarian lands. In 1904 a Serbian Sokol club was established in Sremski Karlovci, in 1905 in Zagreb and later also in other towns with Serbian populations in Austria-Hungary, including Dalmatia (Zadar, Dubrovnik) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Sarajevo). By the beginning of the First World War Serbian Sokol clubs in Austria-Hungary were organised in four regional districts, one in Vojvodina (*Fruška Gora*), consisting of 17 clubs and 1100 members, one in the Military Border (*Krajiška*), consisting of 12 clubs and 1000 members, one for Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor, and one for Bosnia-Herzegovina (Kessler 1991: 205-6, 208-9; Nolte 2002: 168-9). Finally, there were nascent Sokol movements in Montenegro and among the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1906 representatives of the Czech Sokol Union held a public performance in Cetinje. Thereafter, several Sokol courses were organised in Montenegro by delegates of the Czech Sokol (Brozović 1934: 202-3). In Bosnia-Herzegovina specific Sokol clubs for Muslims were established in Sarajevo, Mostar, Rogatica, Tuzla, Bijeljina, Trebinje and Čapljina in the immediate pre-war years (ibid: 117-28).

7.1.2 The Yugoslav Sokol Union in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

Already in the period before the First World War there had been a strong tendency toward cooperation between the South Slav Sokols, which was not only manifested in cooperation between union leaderships, but also in frequent common performances of

Croatian and Serbian Sokols in mixed areas in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Kessler 1991: 206-9). The first contacts between Croatian and Slovenian Sokols to establish a formal cooperative structure went back to the late 1870s (Kessler 1991: 206-7; Pavlin 2000: 25-6). After the formation of Federation of Slavonic Sokols in 1907-8 contacts between South Slav Sokols intensified and on 18 June 1914 representatives of the Slovenian Sokol Union, the Union of Croatian Sokol Clubs, the Union of Serbian Sokol Clubs Dušan the Strong and the Serbian Sokol District Krajiška gathered in Zagreb to discuss further steps toward cooperation. On the basis of a pronounced Yugoslav national idea Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian Sokols decided to form a Yugoslav Sokol Union (*Jugoslovenski sokolski savez*), with the task to develop Sokol gymnastics among South Slavs, strengthen South Slav cultural rapprochement, assist each other materially and morally and hold joint specialist courses. Most importantly, the South Slavs would perform together at jamborees and co-organise their own happenings. The first common performance of the South Slavs was scheduled for the all-Slovene Sokol jamboree in Ljubljana, which was scheduled for 28 June 1914, but in the end this event was banned by the authorities (Brozović 1934: 221-4).

With the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the movement for cooperation between South Slav Sokols gained momentum. Already on 26 January 1919 the leaders of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokols came together in Zagreb and decided to merge into one Sokol organisation under the name Sokol Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (*Sokolski savez Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*).¹²⁵⁴ It was decided that on *Vidovdan* 1919 the unified Sokol union would hold its first meeting to discuss its further organisation and work (Brozović 1934: 225). The resolution which was adopted at this meeting perfectly illustrates the spirit of the time:

The Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nation is one, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokol clubs have been, are and have to be national associations. The nation is one, so Sokol clubs also have to be one. The Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian nation was, is and has to be Slav and one. Slavdom is one. Slavdom is part of humanity. The ideals of humanity are the same. The Slav Sokol movement and the Sokol movements of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes have strove, strive and will strive for the realisation of those ideals. What remains after physical exhaustion and intellectual chaos is the great capital of our national being, namely our national morals and virtues, which have to revive and manifest themselves. In order to build a powerful and joyful state, our national morals have to become the cornerstone in the battle against angry and negative human souls and chaos. Let our morals become a bulwark and shield! The strength of our

¹²⁵⁴ At that time the Slovenian Sokol had 6839 members, the Croatian Sokol 14653 members and the Serbian Sokol 7729 members (Brozović 1934: table nr. II, n.p.).

national morals, no matter how enormous, should be cherished and taken care of, so that they can endure, develop and strengthen. The organisation of our national morals has to be realised in all ranks, classes and sexes of our entire nation, and the centre of the organisation can and should be our Sokol clubs. The rejuvenated, renewed and unified Sokol of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes joyfully greets the nation, progress and flourishing, and gives itself fully. It is convinced that the victory of national thought, truth and justice will bring the fruits of joy and peace, and it is deeply persuaded that the Sokol will be the cultural and ethical force which will carry on its shoulders and save the human soul in times when the old gods die (qtd. in Brozović 1934: 225-6).¹²⁵⁵

Between 28 and 30 June 1919 representatives of Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian Sokols gathered in Novi Sad for the first meeting of the unified Sokol Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in the presence of representatives of the King, the government and the Czech Sokol Union. On this occasion the decision to form the Sokol Union of SCS was affirmed, the Slovene Ivan Oražen was elected to become its first leader, with Lazar Car and Miloš Popović as vice-leaders. The Sokol Union was subdivided in districts (*župa*) and clubs (*društvo*) and the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokol Unions were disbanded, at the latest by the next general meeting which would be held in the summer of 1920. In fact, these decisions only required major reorganisations in those areas where Croatian and Serbian Sokol districts and clubs overlapped, whereas in other areas in practice little changed (Brozović 1930: 93; Pavlin 2009: 218-20). On the first general Sokol meeting in Maribor on 30 August 1920 the name of the organisation was changed into Yugoslav Sokol Union (*Jugoslovenski sokolski savez*) (Brozović 1930: 94).

The establishment of the Yugoslav Sokol Union was accepted among Serbian and Slovenian Sokols. Only among Croatian Sokols the proposed unification caused some

¹²⁵⁵ ["Narod Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca jeste jedan, Sokolska društva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bila su, jesu i moraju biti narodna društva. Narod je jedan, pa i Sokolska društva moraju biti jedna. Slovenstvo jeste jedno. Narod Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca bio je, jesti i mora biti slovenski i jedan. Slovenstvo je deo čovečanstva. Ideali čovečanstva su jedni. Slovensko Sokolstvo pa i Sokolstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca težilo je, teži i težiće za ostvarenjem tih ideala. Nakon fizičkog iscrpljenja i intelektualnoga kaosa, ostaje jedan veliki kapital našeg narodnog bića, koji mora da oživi i da se pojavi, a to je naš narodni moral, vrline i čednosti. U težnji da sagradimo moćnu i srećnu državu našu, naš narodni moral treba da bude temelj-kamenom gradnje u borbi protiv srdite i negativne čoveče duše i rasula. Neka naš moral bude bedemom i štitom! Snaga našega narodnoga morala, kolikogod je ogromna, mora biti negovana i mora se o njoj voditi briga, da izdrži potrebno vreme i da se razvije i ojača. Organizacija našega narodnog morala mora biti provedena kroz sve redove, staleže i polove celokupnog naroda našeg, a središtem te organizacije mogu i moraju da budu sokolska društva naša. Pomladjeno, obnovljeno i ujedinjeno Sokolstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca pozdravlja radosno narod, napredak i cvetanje, pa daje sebe. I snažno verujući, da će pobeda narodne misli, istine i pravde doneti obilne plodove sreće i mira, duboko je osvedočeno, da će Sokolstvo biti ona kulturna i etička sila što će u času smrti starih bogova, na svojima ledjima preneti i spasiti čoveču dušu."]

heated discussions, which would eventually lead to the re-establishment of the Union of Croatian Sokol Clubs in the course of 1922 (cf. 7.3.1). The membership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union increased steadily from 59.202 in 1921 to 74.763 in 1924. Then, the number dropped to 65.150 in 1925, but rose again to 73.674 in 1928.¹²⁵⁶ Simultaneously, the number of local clubs increased from 361 in 1921 to 443 in 1929 (Pavlin 2000: 55). The Sokol was strongly dominated by men. In June 1928 there were 37.097 male members in the Yugoslav Sokol Union, against only 8797 female members. 7848 of these male members and 2603 of the female members were active gymnasts. At the same time the youth sections had 12.036 members, the children's sections 15.744 members (Švajgar 1929: 87).¹²⁵⁷ The Sokol was especially well organised in Slovenia. Not only did the Yugoslav Sokol have the highest membership concentration in Slovenia, the best gymnasts were Slovenes and practically the entire leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union stemmed from the ranks of the Slovenian Sokol (Pavlin 2000: 56-8). Further, the Yugoslav Sokol was relatively well represented in other former Austro-Hungarian regions. It was particularly weak in pre-war Serbia and Montenegro. The overall increase in membership numbers of the Sokol movement during the 1920s was the consequence of sharp increases of membership numbers in pre-war Serbia and Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Vojvodina and Dalmatia the membership numbers remained stable, but in Croatia-Slavonia and Slovenia the numbers declined sharply. This was the result of growing competition between the Yugoslav Sokol and a number of other gymnastics organisations, namely the Croatian Sokol and the Catholic Orel movement (cf. 7.3).¹²⁵⁸

Table 6 Membership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union per district.¹²⁵⁹

Region	District	Membership total		Clubs	
		1923	1928	1923	1928
Slovenia	Celje	3.562	3.084	26	23
	Kranj	3.466	2.726	14	13
	Ljubljana	3.532	6.932	15	36
	Ljubljana I ¹²⁶⁰	6.371	-	27	-

¹²⁵⁶ The sharp decrease in membership numbers in 1924-25 was due to the Yugoslav Sokol's difficult financial situation (Pavlin 2000: 56).

¹²⁵⁷ Sokol members were divided in four categories. For adult members a distinction was made between members (*član-ica*) and actual gymnasts (*vežbač-ica* / *telovadec,-kinja*). Also, Sokol clubs had branches for youth (between 15 and 18, *naraštaj* / *naraščaj*) and children (between 11 and 14, *deca*) (Pavlin 2000: 44-5).

¹²⁵⁸ *Orel* (Slovenian) / *orao* (Serbo-Croatian) literally means 'eagle'. I will use the Slovenian term.

¹²⁵⁹ The numbers for 1923 are taken from *Sokolski glasnik* 5(1923)/11-12: 382. Those for 1928 are from Švajgar (1929: 87).

	Maribor	5.614	4.695	31	31
	Novo Mesto	2.777	2.014	22	19
		25.322	19.451	135	122
Croatia-Slavonia	Bjelovar	1.595	1.298	9	15
	Osijek	1.988	2.660	12	12
	Rijeka	3.833	3.035	20	24
	Zagreb	5.465	2.981	29	23
		12.881	9.974	70	74
Vojvodina	Novi Sad	5.609	6.217	24	28
	Vel. Bečkerek	3.117	2.366	19	14
		8.726	8.538	43	42
Dalmatia	Split	5.699	4.549	25	25
	Šibenik	1.808	2.482	14	19
		7.507	7.031	39	44
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Mostar	3.676	3.907	24	25
	Banja Luka	1,903	2.581	13	13
	Sarajevo	1.416	2.261	8	13
	Tuzla	2.334	3.006	18	16
		9.329	11.755	63	67
Serbia / Montenegro	Belgrade	3.035	4.364	12	15
	Cetinje ¹²⁶¹	-	2.504	-	12
	Kragujevac	1.977	2.310	11	10
	Niš	1.273	1.584	7	11
	Skopje	1.641	5.017	13	29
	Šabac ¹²⁶²	1.552	-	7	-
	Užice	451	1.099	1	9
	Zaječar ¹²⁶³	479	-	2	-
		10.408	16.878	53	86
Total		74.473	73.674	417	435

¹²⁶⁰ The two Ljubljana districts were merged at the congress of 1924 (Pavlin 2000: 55).

¹²⁶¹ Formed in 1928.

¹²⁶² Abolished at the congress of 1924 (Pavlin 2000: 55).

¹²⁶³ Abolished at the congress of 1924 (Pavlin 2000: 55).

7.1.3 The state takes over: The Sokol under the Royal Dictatorship

7.1.3.1 The establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Under the Royal Dictatorship the Sokol movement was appropriated as one of the pillars in the dictatorship's nation and state-building policy. Against the background of other decisions taken after the proclamation of the dictatorship there was little doubt that the dictatorship would soon expand its centralist and Yugoslav policy to cultural organisations like the Sokol movement. Although the Law on the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State was directed at political organisations and thus in principle did not have implications for gymnastics movements, the leadership of the Croatian Sokol Union reported many cases in which local authorities banned or hindered the work of Croatian Sokol clubs on the basis of this law. The leaderships of the Croatian Sokol and the Orel felt obliged to personally assure the King that they were not based on 'tribal' fundamentals, but rather that they had always supported national unity (Pavlin 2000: 65; 2002: 57).¹²⁶⁴ At the same time the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union seized the opportunity to strengthen its position. In March 1929 the President of the Yugoslav Sokol Union – and later also President of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – Engelbert Gangl sent a draft for a law on physical education to King Aleksandar, a month later Gangl was granted an audience with the King and in August 1929 Gangl sent a long letter to the King in which he further elaborated on his vision about physical education (Nielsen 2002: 195-9; Pavlin 2002: 57-9).

In the meantime the issue was also discussed by the government. On the 15th session of the Council of Ministers, held on 18 June 1929, Prime Minister Petar Živković raised the issue of the parallel existence of Yugoslav and 'tribal' Sokol clubs. Živković gave the examples of Zemun and Belgrade, where Yugoslav, Croatian and Serbian Sokol clubs were active. Živković had also been informed that in Zagreb, Sisak and Subotica Croatian Sokol clubs had organised festivities on the occasion of which they had sung the Croatian hymn instead of the state hymn. Given the fact that these 'tribal' Sokol clubs clearly "cultivated separatism" Živković suggested that their activities would be brought to an end (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 76). On 26 October 1929 Živković again reported that he had been informed about exclusively 'tribal' politics carried out by the Croatian Sokol. In one case HSS leaders Trumbić and Maček had even held a speech at a diner organised by the Croatian Sokol. The ministers agreed that steps should be taken to eliminate the Croatian Sokol, in line with the new ideology of Yugoslavism (ibid: 104). At the 26th session, held on 4 December 1929, the discussion was continued. Živković

¹²⁶⁴ 'Kraljev Ukaz i Hrvatsko Sokolstvo'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 11(1929)/2: 49-50.

first gave a brief historical overview of different gymnastics movements in the country, referring to the close bonds of different Sokol associations with political parties. Živković argued that it was the task of the state to take the lead in the establishment of a new, truly Yugoslav Sokol movement, the existing Sokol movements could either join the new Sokol or be disbanded. The King had already agreed that the Heir to the Throne would become the symbolic leader of the new Sokol. After a short discussion the ministers accepted the new law on the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and formulated an official communiqué, which included a warm letter of approval by King Aleksandar (ibid: 106-8, 110).

On 5 December 1929 the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was officially founded.¹²⁶⁵ It was called a “chivalrous organisation” with the goal to educate all citizens of the state physically and morally (art. 1).¹²⁶⁶ The movement was fully supported by, but also subordinated to the state authorities. The Heir to the Throne was legally appointed as the leader (*starešina / starosta*) of the Sokol Union (art. 5). The leadership of the Sokol Union was appointed by the Ministries of Education and Defence, in consultation with the Prime Minister (art. 6). It was specifically added that all students could be member of the Sokol (art. 9). The Ministry of Traffic was commissioned to formulate a decree on discounts for Sokols for public transport to and from Sokol happenings. Also, the Ministry of Defence was authorised to write out a decree on the reduction of military service for Sokol members (art. 10). On 14 February 1930 the Ministry of Education approved the Statutes of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹²⁶⁷ The goal of the Sokol was defined as the upbringing of “physically healthy, morally strong and nationally conscious citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia” (art. 1).¹²⁶⁸ Every citizen older than 18 years could become a regular member of the Sokol. Children between 6 and 12 could join the Sokol children’s branch, those between 12 and 18 could join the Sokol youth (art. 3). The task of the Union was to propagate the Sokol in all branches of public life, to study scientific methods for successful physical education of the members, to organise lectures and publish literature on the Sokol movement, to organise public happenings and competitions, and to coordinate physical education in school and army, as well as the wider area of popular education (art. 16). Districts had the task to organise assemblies, excursions, happenings and competitions. They should publish a local journal and organise lectures for specific local needs. Finally, they should coordinate the work of clubs within the district and establish new clubs where necessary (art. 17).

¹²⁶⁵ ‘Zakon o osnivanju sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije’, *Službene novine* 11/287: 2151-2.

¹²⁶⁶ [“viteška organizacija”].

¹²⁶⁷ ‘Statut o organizaciji i poslovanju Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije’, *Službene novine* 12/36: 315-20.

¹²⁶⁸ [“telesno zdrave, moralno jake i nacionalne svesne državljane Kraljevine Jugoslavije”].

Article 12 of the Law on the Foundation of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had given existing gymnastics movements, namely the Yugoslav Sokol, the Croatian Sokol, the Orel and the Serbian Sokol three weeks to decide whether they would enter the new Sokol or be disbanded. On a meeting organised in Belgrade on 15 and 16 December 1929 representatives of the leadership and districts of the Yugoslav Sokol Union decided that the organisation would liquidate itself and collectively enter the new Sokol (Pavlin 2000: 86-9; 2002: 67-9). The same decision was taken by the small Serbian Sokol in Belgrade (Pavlin 2000: 93; 2002: 70). The leadership of the Croatian Sokols left the decision up to the Sokol clubs and it seems that a considerable number of clubs decided to join the new Sokol (Pavlin 2000: 93; 2002: 70). Two former leaders of the Croatian Sokol, Lacko Križ and Pavao Mergenthaler, occupied leading positions in the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Pavlin 2000: 106). Also, the immediate sharp increase of the Sokol's membership number to 114.506 by the summer of 1930 – in comparison to the 72.806 members the Yugoslav Sokol Union had in 1929 – can only be explained if we assume that a substantial number of Croatian Sokols joined the new Sokol (ibid: 93). Only the Catholic Orel categorically refused to join the new Sokol (Pavlin 2002: 70-1). On 5 January 1930 the Ministries of Education and Defence wrote out a Decree on the Liquidation of the Yugoslav Sokol, Croatian Sokol, Orel and Serbian Sokol, adding that all possessions of these organisations would be transferred to the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (art. 1-2).¹²⁶⁹

Although the Yugoslav Sokol Union officially ceased to exist and a number of Croatian and Serbian Sokols entered the new Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, it was clear that the new Sokol continued the tradition of the Yugoslav Sokol, both structurally and ideologically. Significantly, the new Sokol leadership refused to accept a declaration that the new Sokol had no bonds whatsoever with any of the former Sokol or Orel movements, which was proposed by the new leader of the Zagreb district Lav Mazzura, one of the leaders of the former Croatian Sokol (Pavlin 2000: 97). On the first assembly of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, held on 29 March 1931 in Belgrade, the organisation formulated a brief overview of the Sokol's fundamental goals and the way it sought to realise these goals, which perfectly corresponded to the tradition of the Yugoslav Sokol movement. It was specified that the goal of the Sokol was “the development of all physical and moral powers of the individual and, through him, the entire Yugoslav nation and other Slavonic nations”.¹²⁷⁰ The fundamental means to realise this goal was physical education according to Tyrš's method, embedded in a fundamentally progressive and Yugoslav ideology. The Sokol presented itself as a

¹²⁶⁹ ‘Zakon o likvidaciji jugoslovenskog sokola, hrvatskog sokola, orla i srpskog sokola’, *Službene novine* 12/5: 3.

¹²⁷⁰ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 5. [“teži za podizanjem svih telesnih i moralnih sila pojedinca, a preko njega, čitavog jugoslovenskog naroda i drugih slovenskih naroda.”]

modern movement which could contribute to the development and advancement of the human race. It valued every human being on the basis of his/her merits and not on the basis of class, faith, or 'tribe', it sympathised with the socially weak and attempted to improve their situation, it considered man and woman completely equal and it recognised and respected every religious conviction because it saw religion as "the most intimate part of the internal spiritual life".¹²⁷¹ Further, the Sokol was essentially national, i.e. it "considered Yugoslav national consciousness a crucial condition for the complete and healthy development of [the] nation".¹²⁷² The final goal was the creation "of a higher cultural type of Yugoslav man, regardless of tribe, faith or class, who will protect the unity of the Yugoslav nation and the unity and independence of the Yugoslav Kingdom at all times".¹²⁷³ However, this Yugoslav nationalism was not narrow-minded, it was embedded within a pan-Slavonic ideology: the step from Serbdom, Croatdom and Slovenedom to Yugoslavdom was considered only a first step to cultural unity of all Slavs. This Slavonic solidarity and unity had to accord with common human ideals.¹²⁷⁴

7.1.3.2 Sokol, school and army: Three links in the chain of national education

Throughout the interwar period the Sokol movement was closely connected to state institutions for education: school and army. In fact, the Sokol occupied an intermediary position between a state institution and a non-governmental association. As a result of its integration in state education the Sokol movement played a prominent role in the upbringing of not only actual members of the Sokol, but all school going children and recruits. From the early 1920s the Sokol liked to represent itself as a third partner for national education of younger generations, alongside school and army. In 1920 Laza Popović, one of the leaders of the Serbian Sokol club in Zagreb and one of the founding members of *Nova Evropa*, presented a proposal for a law on obligatory physical education for all Yugoslav citizens from the age of three or four, which would be carried out according to the Sokol system in schools, army and Sokol clubs. Obligatory physical education would be coordinated by a specific state department for physical education, which would in fact serve as an executive branch of the Yugoslav Sokol. The authority of this department remained restricted to the coordination of state support (both

¹²⁷¹ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 5-10, quotation on page 9. ["najintimniji deo unutrašnjeg duševnog života."]

¹²⁷² *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 6. ["smatra jugoslovensku nacionalnu svest za bitan uslov svestranog i zdravog razvoja našeg naroda."]

¹²⁷³ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 12. ["bez obzira na pleme, veru i stalež stvori viši kulturni tip jugoslovenskog čoveka, koji će u svako doba od svih neprijatelja čuvati i braniti jedinstvo jugoslovenskog naroda, jedinstvo i nezavisnost kraljevine Jugoslavije"]

¹²⁷⁴ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 11-6.

financially and organisationally) for the Yugoslav Sokol and the execution of the Yugoslav Sokol's decisions with regard to physical education (Popović L. 1920b).

During the 1920s some measures were taken to tighten the links between the Yugoslav Sokol and schools, especially when the Yugoslav Democratic Party was in power. In the first place, attempts were made to introduce the Sokol gymnastics system and its ideology in the school curriculum. On 19 January 1920 Minister of Education Pavle Marinković introduced the Sokol system for gymnastics in schools. He recommended gymnastics teachers to place their expertise at the disposal of local Sokol clubs and all teachers were required to actively contribute to the dissemination of the Sokol ideology among the local population. Finally, Sokol clubs were allowed to make use of school halls and apparatuses for their exercises.¹²⁷⁵ His successor in a government coalition in which Slovenian Clericals participated, Miloš Trifunović, annulled this decision on 12 May 1920, but his successor Svetozar Pribićević again enforced the decision (Dolenc 1996: 273). Further Pribićević legalised a detailed curriculum for physical education according to the Sokol system in secondary and teacher-training schools,¹²⁷⁶ and he prescribed that the winter gymnastics lessons in secondary and teacher-training schools should be used to give special lectures on different aspects of Sokol ideology and history.¹²⁷⁷

Also, students were strongly encouraged to join the Yugoslav Sokol movement. On 16 July 1922 Minister Pribićević commissioned that school going children could only become member of the Yugoslav Sokol Union.¹²⁷⁸ In February 1923 this decision was withdrawn, not surprisingly after Pribićević's Democratic Party had been ousted from power (Krišto 2004: 130), but on 23 July 1924 Minister Pribićević again explicated that no teachers or students could be members of gymnastics or sports associations which were based on what he called separatist, 'tribal' or religious ideas, which in fact came down to all gymnastics associations apart from the Yugoslav Sokol. On 11 August 1924 the new Minister of Education, not surprisingly the leader of the Slovenian Catholics, Anton Korošec, annulled the decision of his predecessor, but after Pribićević had again been appointed Minister of Education he reintroduced his measure on 15 November 1924.¹²⁷⁹ In

¹²⁷⁵ 'Raspis Ministarstva Prosvete o sokolstvu u školi', O.n. br. 374. *Sokolski glasnik* 2 (1920)/1: 55-6.

¹²⁷⁶ S.n. br. 5885, 22 April 1921. *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/9-10: 353-8.

¹²⁷⁷ 'Raspis ministarstva prosvete o telesnom vežbanju', S.n. br. 14.028, 4 October 1920. *Sokolski glasnik* 2 (1920)/12: 514-6.

¹²⁷⁸ 'Pribićević brani hrvatskim djacima vježbati u Hrvatskom Sokolu'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/10-11: 165-6.

¹²⁷⁹ Decisions p.br. 7307, 8132 and 12.418, AJ 66-258-500. I have not encountered an official withdrawal or revision of this decision, but after Pribićević had been ousted from office very little complaints against the decree were made. Also, I have found many reports which mentioned school going children who were member of the Croatian Sokol, so it seems plausible to conclude that the decree was no longer strictly applied.

the resolutions of the commission which formulated a general state program for education under Minister Kumanudi in February 1928 Sokol training was explicitly mentioned as one of the crucial elements in the state's educational program. It was explained that the hygiene and the physical state of Yugoslav young generations had deteriorated since the First World War. In order to reverse this trend, Sokol gymnastics should be introduced in school curricula, because this guaranteed the physical and moral strengthening of the students and because it perfectly corresponded to the Slavonic character of the Yugoslavs.¹²⁸⁰ Participation in Sokol happenings was also encouraged. On 20 January 1927 the Ministry of Education commissioned all schools in the Sokol district of Belgrade to participate in the regional jamboree organised by the Sokol.¹²⁸¹ On 15 March 1928 the ministry commissioned all gymnastics teachers to work intensively with the Sokol district in Skopje for the preparation of the regional jamboree which would be organised in the summer of 1928. For that purpose they were exempted from all extracurricular jobs at school, and they were allowed to train with students after the school hours. School inspectors were obliged to help the Sokol clubs with the preparation of the jamboree.¹²⁸²

After the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the link between Sokol, school and army was fully tightened. In its ideological program of 1931 the Sokol leadership substantiated the close bonds between the Sokol, school and army by representing these three institutions as three links in the upbringing of physically and morally healthy members of the nation. Sokol and army were seen as two different stages in the process of physical and national education. The basis of physical and national education was laid in the Sokol, then it was brought to perfection in the army and finally Sokol-soldiers would return to the Sokol and pass on their knowledge to the next generation. The close bond between Sokol and army also came to expression in the military character of Sokol exercises.¹²⁸³ In January 1930 the Ministry of Defence formulated significant privileges for Sokol members in the army. Soldiers who had been a Sokol for a continuous period of five years enjoyed a reduction of between 45 days and three months on their military service. For those soldiers who had been recruited in 1930 it was sufficient if they had been member of one of the pre-1929 Sokol movements (Yugoslav, Croatian or Serbian) for three years continuously. Further, Sokol members

In October 1926, for example, the district chief of Zagreb allowed all secondary school students in his district to train in Croatian Sokol clubs for free. See *Hrvatski Sokol* 9 (1927)/1: 35.

¹²⁸⁰ 'Rezolucije komisije za izradu državnog prosvetnog programa'. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 171-3.

¹²⁸¹ 'Naraštajski slet Beogradske sokolske župe "Dušan Silni" u maju tek. god., u Beogradskom Košutnjaku'. S.n. br. 774, 20.01.1927. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 20-1.

¹²⁸² 'Sokolska župa Kraljevića Marka: predletski školski dan u Skoplju o Duhovima 3 juna ove god.' S.n. br. 7674, 15.03.1928. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44 (1928): 285.

¹²⁸³ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 22-3.

enjoyed priority to make promotion and Sokol members were allowed to take furlough to participate in Sokol happenings.¹²⁸⁴

Additionally, the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia demanded that pupils would become familiarised with the Sokol gymnastics system and its ideology in schools. Schools should place their material and rooms at the disposal of the Sokol and vice versa Sokols should assist the school in gymnastics lessons. In teacher-training schools future teachers should become familiar with the basic principles of Sokol gymnastics, so that they would be able to teach physical education properly. At university a special department for Sokol gymnastics should be established.¹²⁸⁵ For a large part the authorities complied with these proposals. First and foremost, the Sokol gymnastics system received a prominent place in all school curricula for physical education of the early 1930s.¹²⁸⁶ Additionally, students were “strongly recommended” to become members of the Sokol.¹²⁸⁷ The Sokols were allowed to use school gymnastics halls for their exercises.¹²⁸⁸ The Ministry also supported the dissemination of Sokol media among the school population. All schools were recommended to subscribe to the Sokol journals *Sokolski glasnik*, *Soko* and *Sokolić* (‘The Young Sokol’), all elementary schools should also subscribe to *Naša radost* (‘Our Joy’), the Sokol’s children’s magazine.¹²⁸⁹ Movies about

¹²⁸⁴ ‘Vojni rok za članove Sokola’, *Politika* 11.01.1931: 2.

¹²⁸⁵ *Putevi i ciljevi Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 24-5.

¹²⁸⁶ Still, some Sokol ideologues went a step further in their demands. Dušan Bogunović, for example, demanded that Sokol subjects would not only occupy a prominent position in physical education, but also in music education (singing Sokol songs), history education (attention to the place of “Sokol characteristics” in national history), geography (the importance of the Sokol for the protection of the country) and language education (the reading of texts from Sokol journals). Further, schools should participate in Sokol jamborees, Sokol texts should be included in readers and each year the school should organise a Sokol day (Bogunović 1934).

¹²⁸⁷ A first decision in this direction was made by the Ministry of Education for elementary school pupils, on 20 March 1930 [AJ 66-473-746]. This decision had come about as a direct reaction on a complaint by the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol that local authorities did not support the Sokol sufficiently. This complaint was reported by Prime Minister Živković at the 6th session of the Council of Ministers on 24 February 1930 (Đimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 153). On 7 April 1930 the Sokol leadership repeated its complaint [AJ 66-254-497]. In response the Ministry of Education recommended students of all types of school to become member of the Sokol [‘Sokolske organizacije – preporuka svim upravama osnovnih, srednjih i stručnih škola da školska omladina stupa u pomenute organizacije’, P.br. 13621, 11.06.1930, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 706.]

¹²⁸⁸ ‘Dvorane za gimnastiku osnovnih, građanskih, srednjih i učiteljskih škola – stavljene istih na raspoloženju Sokolu Kraljevine Jugoslavije’, S.n. br. 3804, 28.03.1930, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 406; ‘Školske dvornice – ustupanje istih Sokolu Kraljevine Jugoslavije za vežbanje članova’, O.n. br. 28206, 07.04.1930, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 407.

¹²⁸⁹ ‘Sokolski časopisi: Sokolski glasnik, Soko, Sokolić i Naša radost – preporuka školama za pretplatu’, P.br. 2476, 31.01.1931, *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 126.

Sokol happenings were recommended to students.¹²⁹⁰ Finally, teachers and other school personnel who were member of the Sokol were allowed to take vacation on the occasion of important national or international Sokol happenings.¹²⁹¹

On 3 December 1931 a special Ministry for Physical Education of the People was established (*Ministarstvo fizičkog vaspitanja naroda*), which took over the control over the Sokol from the Ministry of Education (Žutić 1991: 40-2). On 17 January 1934 the ministry legalised the Law on Obligatory Physical Education, which was the culmination point of the state support to the Yugoslav Sokol.¹²⁹² This law made physical education obligatory for all school going children in Yugoslavia and obliged all boys to participate in physical education outside school between the end of elementary education and their 21st anniversary (art. 1). Physical education outside school could be organised either in holiday training sessions or in local Sokol clubs (art. 7). Holiday training sessions were free, had to be organised within every elementary school of the country and could be given by teachers who had passed a special exam organised by the Ministry of Physical Education. If necessary, the Ministry of Physical Education was authorised to oblige state personnel to lead such holiday training sessions (art. 8, 10, 14-15, 19). Obligatory physical education could also be given by Sokol clubs on the condition that they obtained a special license from the Ministry of Physical Education of the People. Members of such Sokol clubs were exempted from the obligatory holiday training sessions (art. 9).

On 26 March 1935 the Ministry of Physical Education legalised a curriculum for obligatory physical education,¹²⁹³ which determined its patriotic and militaristic goals more in detail:

¹²⁹⁰ 'Prikazivanje filma I svesokolskog sleta Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije treba da posete učenici sviju škola', P.Br. 1901, 24.01.1931, *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 125; 'Film 'Oj letni, sivi sokole' može se prikazivati učenicima pomenutih škola', P.Br. 5143, 02.02.1937, *Prosvetni glasnik* 53 (1937): 238.

¹²⁹¹ 'Deveti sveslovenski sokolski slet u Pragu – odobrenje odsustva činovnicima resora Min. Prosvete, članovima Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije', P.Br. 16737, 16.05.1932, *Prosvetni glasnik* 48 (1932): 523; 'I pokrajinski slet Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, koji će se održati u Ljubljani – odobrenje odsustva drž. službenicima koji će učestvovati u ovom sletu', A.d.Br. 575, 03.04.1933, *Prosvetni glasnik* 49 (1933): 371; 'II pokrajinski slet Saveza sokola – odobrenje odsustva činovnicima i službenicima u resoru Min. prosvete', P.Br. 13499, 30.04.1934, *Prosvetni glasnik* 50 (1934): 364; 'Pokrajinski sokolski slet u Skoplju – odobrenje desetodnevnog odsustva svim drž. službenicima u resoru Min. prosvete koji su članovi Sokola', P.Br. 6054, 26.02.1937, *Prosvetni glasnik* 53 (1937): 238; 'Svesokolski i sveslovenski slet u Pragu – odobrenje odsustva činovnicima u resoru Min. prosvete koji su članovi Sokola, a koji žele uzeti učešća na pomenutom sletu', I Br. 9296, 18.03.1938, *Prosvetni glasnik* 54 (1938): 354-5.

¹²⁹² 'Zakon o obaveznom telesnom vaspitanju'. *Službene novine* 16/6: 77-9.

¹²⁹³ 'Plan i program nastave obaveznog telesnog vaspitanja u prazničnim tečajevima, sokolskim i ostalim društvima telesnog vaspitanja'. *Službene novine* 17/77: 350-3.

1. To develop national consciousness and love toward the Fatherland, expressed in the preparedness to make all sacrifices for its protection.
2. To stimulate the natural development of the organism, exclude and prevent all harmful influences and their consequences on it.
3. To develop the active competences of the organism, in the first place quickness and agility.
4. To form spiritual capacities (values), especially strong will, courage, presence of mind, bravery, self-discipline, aestheticism, friendship and community spirit, and feeling of duty and discipline.
5. To awake understanding of physical education and hygiene as the basis for the health of present and future generations.
6. To raise the general resistance and military capacities of the future protector of the Fatherland, and prepare him for all difficulties in the strenuous military service.¹²⁹⁴

In concrete, physical education lessons would be held in three age groups: group I between 11 and 14,¹²⁹⁵ group II between 15 and 18 and group III between 18 and 21. Twice a week lessons of 90 minutes each would be held. These lessons included both moral/national and physical education, as well as specific military training.¹²⁹⁶ Once a month an excursion should be organised, and group III also went on summer camp. The curriculum, which had to be followed in the Sokol clubs and in holiday training sessions, closely followed the Sokol gymnastics system. The short lessons on moral and national education treated well-known national themes such as the dynasty, history, geography, or the importance of the army, as well as a list of positive moral qualities (obedience, discipline, duty, friendship, honour, bravery, decisiveness, endurance). Physical education completely concurred with the Sokol program for physical education (cf. 7.2.1). In the military part of the training children learned to march and orientate themselves and also learned to use fire weapons. In that way Sokol gymnastics became the cornerstone of the state's physical and national education programme.

¹²⁹⁴ [“1. Razvija nacionalnu svest i ljubav prema Otadžbini, koja se ispoljava u podnošenju svih žrtava za njezinu odbranu; 2. Pomaže prirodnom razvoju organizma, odstranjuje i sprečava štetne uticaje i njihove posledice po isti; 3. Razvija radnu sposobnost organizma, u prvom redu brzinu i okretnost; 4. Formira duševne sposobnosti (vrline), osobito jaku volju, odvažnost, prisutnost duha, srčanost, samosavlađivanje, smisao za lepotu, drugarstvo, zajednicu i osećaj dužnosti i discipline; 5. Probuđuje razumevanje za telesno vaspitanje i higijenu, koje su osnov zdravlja sadašnjih i budućih generacija; 6. Diže opštu otpornost i vojničku vrednost državljanina budućeg branioca Otadžbine, te ga priprema na sve tegobe naporene vojničke službe.”]

¹²⁹⁵ This group should be established only in case there was no higher elementary school – which was in fact contradictory to the Law on Elementary Education, which obliged 8 years of education.

¹²⁹⁶ 15 minutes should be devoted to spiritual education and special military training each, 60 minutes to physical education; for group II 30 minutes were reserved for special military training.

7.1.3.3 The overexpansion of the Sokol movement under the Dictatorship

Not surprisingly, as a result of the strong state support to the Sokol movement, there was a sharp increase in membership numbers in all districts of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the first half of the 1930s.

Table 7 Membership of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia per district, 1930-37 (Pavlin 2000: 130-1, 136, 200-1)

<i>District</i>	1931		1934		1937
	<i>Members</i>	<i>Clubs</i> ¹²⁹⁷	<i>Members</i>	<i>Clubs</i>	<i>Members</i>
Banja Luka	3.503	44	8.744	69	6.790
Belgrade	14.302	47	22.877	122	22.730
Bjelovar	7.149	69	8.017	84	3.142
Celje	10.890	25	12.008	64	8.568
Cetinje	6.691	70	13.524	153	6.944
Karlovac	5.050	30	7.794	58	4.310
Kragujevac	4.441	29	8.496	53	8.726
Kranj	5.855	32	5.815	39	4.913
Ljubljana	16.024	65	18.451	80	12.963
Maribor	14.917	88	18.386	106	12.120
Mostar	12.684	108	19.324	181	10.979
Niš	9.832	109	17.908	242	11.592
Novi Sad	20.730	64	20.487	75	22.480
Novo Mesto	2.303	18	2.722	21	1.800
Osijek	17.643	142	18.090	139	7.105
Sarajevo	8.281	40	14.787	84	10.120
Skopje	8.136	92	14.342	119	11.570
Split	7.693	43	9.235	62	5.673
Sušak	8.221	42	12.536	71	7.455
Šibenik	5.062	38	9.924	88	4.846
Tuzla	4.272	55	11.803	105	8.970
Užice	2.916	23	3.293	48	1.240
Varaždin	9.207	57	11.164	87	3.396
Vel. Bečkerek	16.114	72	14.707	77	10.891
Zagreb	17.416	125	27.782	233	6.664

¹²⁹⁷ Clubs were divided in *društvo* and *četa* (lit.: a military company). *Četas* were established in peasant villages. Beside Sokol gymnastics these clubs also had the task to ameliorate the economic and cultural situation in the villages (cf. 7.2.3). They were especially well represented in the Bosnian districts, as well as Cetinje, Niš, Skopje and Zagreb.

Total	240.239	332.356	215.924
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Not all Sokols were, however, unqualifiedly satisfied with this expansion. Many Sokol clubs complained that they lacked the financial and material capacities to cope with this increase, especially against the background of the economic crisis, which meant that voluntary contributions from members and sympathisers dropped down sharply and that the Sokol became almost exclusively dependent on state aid.¹²⁹⁸ Additionally, many Sokols complained that the quality of the Sokol work had in fact deteriorated.¹²⁹⁹ As expressed by the leader of the Osijek district:

We are experiencing a crisis and a – qualitative! – depression which are the logical consequence of the unhealthy and sharp numerical growth for which we were not ready and which we have not been able to cope with ideologically and even less technically.¹³⁰⁰

One of the most important reasons for this qualitative regression was that a considerable part of the new members joined the Sokol “out of some sort of opportunism or other motives”.¹³⁰¹ Many members barely participated in Sokol exercises, but rather liked to walk through town, or play cards or billiards in local cafés. However, when the Sokol club organised some sort of festivity it were precisely these people who were sitting in the first rows in their uniforms.¹³⁰² Indeed, the privileges given to Sokol members were considerable and surely played a crucial role in the expansion of the movement in the first half of the 1930s. Sokol members for instance enjoyed a reduction of their military service and Sokols had priority when applying for a job as public servant.¹³⁰³ The superficial expansion of the Sokol movement was especially salient in

¹²⁹⁸ See for example the reports from the Sokol districts for the year 1930-31. ‘Reč braće župskih starešina o stanju i razvoju Sokolstva u našim župama’. *Sokolski glasnik* 2/49 (01.12.1931). 8-13.

¹²⁹⁹ See for example the reports on the work in Sokol districts in 1932. ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 5-19.

¹³⁰⁰ [“Proživljujemo krizu i – kvalitetnu! – depresiju, kao naravnu posledicu nezdravog, naglog brojčanog porasta, za koji nismo bili spremni te koji nismo savladali ni idejno a još manje tehnički”]. ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 12.

¹³⁰¹ From a report of the Sokol district of Maribor, *Sokolski glasnik* 2/49 (01.12.1931): 10. [“iz bilo kakego oportunizma ali pa iz kakih drugih motivov.”] Similar complaints were also uttered by leaders of Sokol districts in reports on the progress made by the movement until 1932. ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 5-19. The leader of the Sokol district of Split for example spoke of members who had entered the Sokol “not to serve it, but to benefit from it”. ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 14. [“ne da mu služi, nego da vuče od njega koristi”].

¹³⁰² Paraphrased from the report on the work in the Sokol district of Kragujevac, ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 8.

¹³⁰³ ‘Dopuna čl. 10 zakona o osnivanju Sokola kraljevine Jugoslavije’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/10 (03.03.1933): 2.

southern regions of the state, where the Sokol was not deeply rooted and its expansion was clearly a rather opportunistic response to the privileged position of the Sokol in the Dictatorship. In Zeta banovina, for example, 17 of the 29 clubs which were active in 1931 had only been formed after 1929. It was reported that the work of the Sokols was barely noticed in the area and that the results of its work were unsatisfactory. In Berane, in northern Montenegro, the Sokol club had 300 members, but it did not do anything (Babović-Raspopović 2002: 140-1).

Clearly, the quantitative expansion of the Sokol movement in the 1930s did not go hand in hand with a qualitative leap forward in the Sokol's patriotic and national activities. In practice, state authorities and local and regional Sokol leaders found that people decided to join (or not to join) the Sokol movement for reasons which had little to do with patriotism, that the Sokol became a vehicle for more banal motives and that people showed little enthusiasm for the Sokol. In March 1930 Sava Bogunović, former member of the Radical Party, informed the Ministry of Education that he and other former members of the Radical Party had not been allowed to join the Sokol club in Batajnica, a village nearby Zemun, by the leader of the club, a former member of the Independent Democratic Party.¹³⁰⁴ To this, Minister of Education Maksimović commissioned the leadership of the Sokol to dismiss local Sokol leaders who used the Sokol club for political reasons.¹³⁰⁵ The great discrepancies between the high expectations of the state authorities and the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol about patriotic participation in the Sokol movement and the often opportunistic, insincere or indifferent reactions to these demands from the part of the Yugoslav population are particularly evident in the authorities' evaluations of the work of teachers in the Sokol movement. Quickly after the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia it was clarified that teachers were required to contribute to the working of the Sokol at the local level, both in the classroom and outside of it. More specifically, teachers were expected to be familiar with the legal prescriptions concerning the Sokol movement, as well as the fundamentals of the Sokol gymnastics system and ideology. Teachers had to actively participate in the Sokol and take a prominent position in local clubs. In places where no Sokol club existed teachers should attempt to establish such a club as quick as possible. In small villages teachers should establish and actively support Sokol *četas* (cf. 7.2.3). The teacher should familiarise the population with the privileges attached to Sokol membership. Finally, teachers could in no way dissuade students from joining the Sokol and they should place the school at the disposition of the Sokol. The work of the

¹³⁰⁴ Letter from Sava Bogunović to Minister of Education Božidar Maksimović, 26 March 1930. AJ 66(pov)-74-202.

¹³⁰⁵ Decree from the Ministry of Education to the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 8 April 1930. AJ 66(pov)-74-202.

teacher in the Sokol was inspected annually and this evaluation was taken into account for the eventual promotion or transfer of teachers.¹³⁰⁶

The result of these measures was that a relatively large number of teachers joined the Sokol movement. In 1934, for example, the number of teachers who were member of the Sokol was 15.849, accounting for 8,9% of the total membership of the Sokol (Pavlin 2000: 140-1). According to statistical data given by Martin Mayer the total number of teachers in elementary schools, civil schools, secondary schools and teacher-training schools in the school year 1933-34 was 36.155 (Mayer 1995: 98, 108, 111, 113), which means that more than four teachers out of ten were member of the Sokol movement. In September 1934 as much as 3746 of the 3912 elementary school teachers in Drava banovina were member of the Sokol and 1606 of them were actively involved in Sokol clubs.¹³⁰⁷

Reports from local authorities confirm that teachers had not only joined the Sokol movement in great numbers, but that in many cases they were also the driving forces behind local Sokol clubs. Often, as indicated in the reports, teachers faced great difficulties and indifference in their work for the Sokol, which explained the poor results of their efforts. In the district Litija nearby Ljubljana only 25 or 27% of the elementary school teachers had not joined the Sokol movement, 54 teachers actively led activities in the Sokol clubs. However, because the teachers in most cases were not well trained to lead Sokol clubs, the success of their work remained meagre.¹³⁰⁸ In the district Derventa, in north-eastern Bosnia, a Sokol club was active in 31 of the 34 elementary schools in the district and in all these cases teachers led the activities. However, the results of the increasing activity of the Sokol were not completely satisfactory. First, most teachers had not been familiar with the Sokol ideology and gymnastics method and thus did not always follow the Sokol's rules perfectly. Second, in many villages the Sokols lacked a proper hall, apparatuses and well trained coaches. Third, many villagers could not pay the membership fee for the Sokol. Finally, "the population of this district [was] religiously and nationally very heterogeneous, and [was] still quite addicted to alcohol",¹³⁰⁹ which made Sokol work difficult. In these circumstances, a majority of the teachers received hostile or unenthusiastic reactions when attempting to popularise the Sokol.¹³¹⁰ Teachers were also active in the four Sokol clubs in the district Benkovac in

¹³⁰⁶ 'Školski nadzornici, upravitelji i nastanici-ce građanskih i narodnih škola imaju učestvovati i pomagati rad Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije', O.n.Br. 87.082, 25.11.1930, *Prosvetni glasnik* 46 (1930): 1332-5.

¹³⁰⁷ Report from the authorities of Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 27 September 1934. AJ 66-266-509.

¹³⁰⁸ Report from Litija district to authorities of Drava banovina, dated 28 December 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

¹³⁰⁹ ["stanovništvo ovog sreza je u vjerskom i nacionalnom pogledu vrlo heterogeno i dosta još odatu alkoholu."]

¹³¹⁰ Report from the district authorities in Derventa to the authorities of Vrbas banovina, dated 10 July 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

central Dalmatia. Moreover, it were teachers who had formed *četas* in eight smaller villages in the district. Still, here too the authorities were not completely satisfied with the development of the Sokol. Many teachers were not trained in the Sokol ideology and gymnastics method, villages in the district were very dispersed, which hindered the frequent gathering of the peasants and, finally, the population in the district was economically and culturally backward, “and so it was difficult to enthuse them”.¹³¹¹

At the same time, Sokol clubs frequently complained about teachers who opposed the Sokol movement, or teachers who only participated in the Sokol because they were obliged to and were not sufficiently enthusiastic in their work in the Sokol. On 20 May 1931 for example the Ministry of Education reported that several Sokol clubs had complained to the ministry that teachers did not show enough enthusiasm for the Sokol, or that they even hindered the work of Sokol clubs in all possible ways, for example by forbidding them to use school buildings.¹³¹² In their annual report for 1930 the Sokol clubs of Novi Sad and Subotica complained that teachers did not show enough interest for the Sokol in the region. On 4 March 1931 the local school inspector, Radomir Vujić, denied these accusations, claiming that 27% of the teachers in the district Subotica was active in the Sokol. Moreover, those teachers who had not joined the Sokol had not done this out of opposition against the movement, but simply because they could not afford to pay the membership fee (annually 185 dinars) and the costs for participation in Sokol events (ca. 300 dinars per year).¹³¹³ When forwarding Vujić’s report to the Ministry of Education the educational department of Danube banovina confirmed that “it would be hard to find a group of people who (...) are more committed and loving in their work for the Sokol movement than teachers”.¹³¹⁴ However, in its response of 22 April 1931 the Sokol district repeated that in many clubs teachers had not only not joined the Sokol, but also opposed its activities. The Sokol district stated that in Novi Sad for example only seven teachers were actively involved in the Sokol, or that in Bačka Palanka the school principal actively opposed the Sokol.¹³¹⁵

Further confirming the enormous gap between the expectations of the state authorities and the leadership of the Sokol and what they encountered in daily practice, in a report of 30 June 1935 the district authorities of Novi Marof in northern Croatia

¹³¹¹ [“pa se teško i sporo oduševljavaju”]. Report from the district Benkovac to the authorities of Littoral banovina, 18 July 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

¹³¹² O.n. br. 38.470, *Prosvetni glasnik* 47 (1931): 524-6.

¹³¹³ Report from Radomir Vujić, school inspector in Subotica, to the educational department of Danube banovina, 4 March 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

¹³¹⁴ [“Teško da bi se našao još koji red ljudi koji (...) predanije i s više ljubavi radi na sokolstvu od učitelja”] Accompanying letter from the educational department of Danube banovina to the Ministry of Education, 6 March 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

¹³¹⁵ Report from the Sokol district in Novi Sad to the Sokol Union, 22 April 1931. AJ 66-2288-2153.

praised the teachers Dragutin Šifmen and Josip Bosanac for their work in the Sokol, which was especially valuable in the region of Novi Marof, “where the popular masses support separatism and where they stand under the firm control of the Catholic clergy, where the Sokol is looked at with animosity and distrust”.¹³¹⁶ As a reward for their patriotic work for the Sokol the local authorities proposed these two as candidates for the job of school inspector. Their patriotism was clearly an exception among teachers in the region: “Whereas practically all or a majority of the teachers participates in Sokol activities more or less out of a feeling for their professional duties, for these two we could say that they participate in this work out of love toward the Sokol and national idea”.¹³¹⁷ The report was also very clear about the Yugoslav idea in the district: “For the whole district, only for these two and maybe two or three others it can be guaranteed that they are ideological Yugoslavs”.¹³¹⁸

7.1.3.4 The Sokol movement as a marker of loyalty

Authorities took firm actions against teachers who opposed the Sokol movement or did not sufficiently support it. The local authorities in Drava banovina even went so far to keep a detailed record of the Sokol activities of every teacher who was working in the region, with possible reasons for teachers who were not active in the Sokol.¹³¹⁹ In that sense, the Sokol movement served as an additional institution via which the authorities could distinguish the loyal from the disloyal. However, as had been the case with the teachers’ political and professional loyalty to the regime, the clear-cut boundary between the loyal and the disloyal, which resulted from the authorities’ firm actions and suspicion toward anybody who had not joined or did not sufficiently support the Sokol movement, was often over-exclusionary, in the sense that it turned every act of opposition against the Sokol movement – be it out of indifference, or ideological, banal, financial or personal motives – into a conscious act of opposition against the regime and everything it stood for.

¹³¹⁶ [“gde su narodne mase separatistički nastrojene i pod jakim uticajem katoličkog sveštenstva, gde se na sokolski rad gleda neprijateljski i sa nepovjerenjem.”] Report from the district authorities of Novi Marof to the Ministry of Education, 30 June 1935. AJ 66(pov)-16-41.

¹³¹⁷ [“Dok gotovo svi ili većina učitelja učestvuje u sokolskom radu više manje iz osećaja svoje službene dužnosti za njih dvoicu se može tvrditi da u ovom radu učestvuju iz ljubavi prema sokolskoj i nacionalnoj ideji.”] Report from the district authorities of Novi Marof to the Ministry of Education, 30 June 1935. AJ 66(pov)-16-41.

¹³¹⁸ [“U celom srezu za njih dvoicu i možda još dva tri lica može se garantirati da su idejno jugoslaveni.”]. Report from the district authorities of Novi Marof to the Ministry of Education, 30 June 1935. AJ 66(pov)-16-41.

¹³¹⁹ Reports from local authorities in Drava banovina, to the Ministry of Education, 16 August 1932. AJ 66-2288-2153.

At the one hand there were clearly teachers who actually opposed the Sokol movement. On 28 October 1930, for example, local authorities from Vrbnik, on the island of Krk, reported that none of the 11 teachers who were working in the village were member of the Sokol. Even though the local authorities had insisted that the teachers should join the Sokol movement in August 1930, the teachers of the civil school still refused to do so. According to the authorities the instigator behind this act of resistance was Vladimir Vukovac, the principal of the school, who had a history of anti-Sokol acts. In the school year 1928-29 he had reprimanded a number of students who were member of the Yugoslav Sokol. He had also insulted Yugoslav Sokols who were parading through the village. Moreover, Vukovac gave all students who were members of the Sokol very bad grades and many of them were expelled from his school. The authorities of Sava banovina added that Vukovac had been a well-known Frankist before 1929 and that he rejected the Yugoslav idea. On 21 April 1931 the Ministry of Education decided to transfer Vukovac to a school in Mol in the Banat.¹³²⁰ On 16 September 1938 the Sokol district of Split reported that the Sokol club in Supetar was booed at when returning from a public happening in Split. Accordingly, the main instigator behind this was a local teacher, Josip Nekić. Further investigations by local authorities confirmed this and added that Nekić had attended a political manifestation of the Croatian Peasant Party in Supetar on 11 September 1938. On the basis of these complaints the provincial authorities demanded that Nekić would be sanctioned.¹³²¹

Some cases also illustrate that opponents of the dictatorial regime simply used membership of the Sokol as a cover. On 30 May 1934 for example the educational department of Sava banovina received a report from the local authorities in Vukovar about the teacher Josip Gol, who had been recently appointed as teacher in Tordinci. Accordingly, Gol had joined a group of anti-state and anti-regime elements led by a certain Andrija Vidaković, of whom it was known that he had not voted for the government in the parliamentary elections of 1931 and who had formed an opposition list of “communists and separatists” for the local elections of 1933. After these elections, which the opposition had lost, Gol had established a local Sokol club which was not established to spread the true Sokol ideology, but “served as a shelter and bastion for the realisation of his suspicious plans under the mask of the Sokol idea”.¹³²² The local

¹³²⁰ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 17 February 1931; decision of the Ministry of Education, 21 April 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-16-41.

¹³²¹ Complaint from the Sokol district of Split to the educational department of Littoral banovina, 16 September 1938; report from the local authorities of Supetar, 21 September 1938; report from the educational department of Littoral banovina to the Ministry of Education, 6 October 1938. AJ 66 (pov)-16-41.

¹³²² [“mu bude zaklonište i uporište, da pod vidom Sokolstva može svoje sumnjive ciljeve provoditi.”]

Sokol had, for example, performed a play in which peasants revolted against financial oppression.¹³²³

In many cases, however, it is difficult to assess whether complaints against teachers' opposition against the Sokol movement were made out of patriotic responsibility from the part of the denunciator, or were rather used to solve personal feuds. In the complaint made by a group of "true Yugoslavs" against the return of the teacher Mato Sudeta to Koprivnica (cf. 6.2.4), one of the arguments used against him was that he had been excluded from the Sokol because he was a "Yugoslav by force of the circumstances", who had only joined the Sokol to cover his true position as a Croatian separatist.¹³²⁴ In Španovica in western Slavonia complaints about the work of some of the teachers in the local Sokol club were used to solve a personal feud between a group of teachers in the school behind principal Milan Budim and a group behind two teachers, Milan Vuković and Danica Hanževački. Further investigations revealed that these complaints were ungrounded and the Ministry of Education decided to transfer all three teachers in question.¹³²⁵

Additionally, in many cases the teachers' "lacking enthusiasm" for the Sokol movement rather reflected the extremely high expectations and suspicion of the authorities, instead of a conscious act of opposition. It was not simply enough for teachers to be member of the Sokol movement, they were required to take a leading role in the development of the Sokol movement. In 1933, for example, the chief of the Dubrovnik district presented the Ministry of Education with a list of 15 teachers who were not suited for teaching in an important border area like Dubrovnik, where the influence of enemies of the Yugoslav state, i.e. Italy, Clericals and separatists, stood strong. In most cases it was explicitly stressed that the work of the teachers in school was satisfactory and that there were actually no other reasons for their transfers apart from the fact that they were not sufficiently active in the local Sokol clubs. Zorka Vlahović, for example, was teacher in Pohomje, where there were two camps among the villagers, one "nationally correct" camp, which was organised in the local Sokol club, and one "separatist" camp, which obstructed the work of the Sokol. The teacher who had worked in Pohomje before Vlahović had been a fervent supporter of the Sokol and had greatly contributed to the progress of the local Sokol bloc. Vlahović on the other hand was rather passive, which had led to the decay of the Sokol. Therefore, the old

¹³²³ Report from the department for state security of Sava banovina to the educational department of Sava banovina, 30 May 1934. AJ 66 (pov)-13-34.

¹³²⁴ Letter from a group of Yugoslavs from Koprivnica to Prime Minister Živković, dated 7 November 1931. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32. ["on je Jugosloven silom prilika da pokrije svoj položaj."]

¹³²⁵ Report from the local authorities to the Ministry of Education, dated 8 July 1932, and the decision by the ministry of 19 August 1932. AJ 66 (pov)-16-41.

teacher should be transferred back to Pohomje. Another example the chief mentioned was the case of Nikica Arbanas, who worked in a village on Mljet. Her work as a teacher had been evaluated positively and she was active in the local Sokol. However, it was not sure whether she had not joined to Sokol for the sake of appearances and the local police was investigating a complaint against her for not celebrating a state holiday properly. In any case, it would be better if Arbanas was transferred, because, as the chief argued, female teachers could not carry the Sokol by themselves in this area and had to be supported by young male teachers.¹³²⁶

In a similar report the chief of the district Sušak complained that the teachers in his district were not sufficiently active in the field of popular education. Although there were 35 teachers in the districts, the number of cultural organisations in the district was very low, according to the chief. There were only six popular libraries, six Sokol clubs, and three branches of *Jadranska straža* and *Narodna odbrana* each. A possible reason the chief mentioned was that of the 35 teachers who were active in the district, only nine were men. Therefore, he urged the authorities to send some new teachers, preferably young, nationally correct and male teachers. Further, some teachers were simply unqualified and should be replaced. One of them was Slavko Dubrović, who should be transferred because he did not cooperate with the local Sokol club. Another teacher who had to be replaced was Vila Molnar-Srića, because her husband was an Italian state citizen who worked in Rijeka.¹³²⁷

7.1.3.5 The Yugoslav Sokols after the death of King Aleksandar

After the death of King Aleksandar and the formation of a new government under Milan Stojadinović membership numbers of the Sokol decreased in districts throughout Yugoslavia, with the exceptions of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Kragujevac (see Table 7). Of course, the concurrence of this sharp decline in membership numbers of the Yugoslav Sokol and the change of government was no coincidence. Especially in Drava, Sava and Littoral banovina the government shift in 1935 strongly affected the Sokol at the local level. In these regions the roles were reversed as local political adversaries, in Slovenia the Slovenian Clericals and in the Croatian banovinas the Croatian Peasant Party, used their increasing power to obstruct the work of Sokol clubs. Suddenly Sokol meetings and happenings were closely observed by police authorities, Sokol clubs had to ask for permission to organise public events, Sokol teachers were transferred, Sokol clubs could no longer use public buildings, Sokol happenings were disturbed and there halls were

¹³²⁶ Report from the district chief of Dubrovnik to the Ministry of Education, 7 July 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹³²⁷ Report from the chief of the district Sušak to the Ministry of Education, 2 February 1933. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

vandalised (Jakir 1999: 378-80; Pavlin 2000: 125-34, 161-2, 106, 204-11).¹³²⁸ In October 1936 for example Slovenian Sokol leaders sent a complaint to the Ministry of Education in which they reported that elementary school teachers in Drava banovina had been forbidden to wear Sokol insignias at school. Illustrative of the lacking communication between authorities at different levels and the practical autonomy of provincial authorities in Drava banovina, soon thereafter the ministry prescribed that such decrees were illegal.¹³²⁹ In February 1936 the JUU-section for Drava banovina adopted a resolution in which it criticised the arbitrary, asocial and inhuman transfer of teachers who were active in the Sokol movement, often to places outside the banovina. The governor informed the Ministry of Education that he had sanctioned the teachers who had signed the resolution.¹³³⁰

At the state level in Belgrade the change in policy toward the Sokol was less abrupt. The jamboree organised in Subotica on Vidovdan 1936, for example, was attended by a number of ministers and high dignitaries, amongst whom Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović.¹³³¹ On 16 May 1937 the Sokol club in Cetinje festively unveiled its new flag, a gift of King Petar II.¹³³² However, here too it became clear that the Sokol's privileged position had come to an end. For instance, the Sokol was more and more neglected in the implementation of the new Law on Obligatory Physical Education. Whereas initially it had been the intention that Sokol clubs would play a prominent role in the organisation of physical education sessions, in a new decree on obligatory physical education, legalised in February 1937, the Sokol was not even mentioned. In practice, obligatory physical education was organised solely in holiday training sessions in schools, which in fact became a state supported rival of Sokol clubs (Žutić 1991: 145). Although often poorly organised, obligatory physical education sessions made progress in all banovinas except for Sava and Littoral, where they were boycotted by the Croatian Peasant Party. In 1938 the Ministry of Physical Education of the People organised 2112 holiday training sessions, with 4798 teachers and 634,284 attendants (ibid: 146-7). From 1936 discussions were held concerning the complete reorganisation of the Ministry of Physical Education and the state's physical education program. When the reorganisation was finally legalised in 1939, the Sokol was reduced to a marginal element in the state supported physical education network, marking the official end of

¹³²⁸ See also 'Za pomoć progonjenoj braći', *Sokolski glasnik* 10/4 (27.01.1939): 1.

¹³²⁹ Decision by the Ministry of Education of 20 November 1936. AJ 66-473-746.

¹³³⁰ Report from the ban of Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 14 March 1936. AJ 66(pov)-46-85.

¹³³¹ 'Veličanstveni sokolski i nacionalni dani u Subotici'. *Sokolski glasnik* 7/27-28 (10.07.1936): 1-12.

¹³³² 'Velike Sokolske svečanosti na Cetinju'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8/16 (29.05.1937): 3-4.

the Yugoslav authorities' support for the Sokol movement as a quasi-governmental organisation for physical education (ibid: 151-60).¹³³³

Of course, the change in the governmental policy toward the Sokol cannot solely explain the drop in the Sokol membership numbers after 1935 throughout Yugoslavia. A general "Sokol fatigue" among the population, a form of apathy resulting from the omnipresence of the Sokol movement during the first half of the 1930s, should be added to this. Already in 1932 leaders of the Sokol districts of Užice and Zagreb warned that Sokol clubs organised too many activities and that the population consequently became indifferent to them.¹³³⁴ Another indicator of this indifference was the complaint by many Sokol leaders that a large number of Sokol members in fact was not interested in the movement as such, but only in the privileges it brought with it or the entertaining character of Sokol festivities, music performances or dances. In any case, it seems fair to assume that for many people Sokol membership became entirely redundant as soon as it became clear that it was no longer obligatory or profitable.

¹³³³ After the establishment of the Croatian banovina the situation for the Yugoslav Sokol became increasingly critical, both in the Croatian banovina as in the Slovenian and Serbian part of the Kingdom, see Pavlin (2000: 234-56).

¹³³⁴ 'Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva'. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 16-7.

7.2 The Sokol's affirmative performances of nationhood

In line with the prominent place the Yugoslav idea occupied in the Yugoslav Sokol's ideological program Yugoslav nationhood was also strongly manifested in the Sokol's activities. In this sub-chapter I give an overview of such *affirmative* performances of nationhood. These not only include conscious and deliberate attempts by the Sokol to directly promote Yugoslav nationhood, but also indirect ways in which the Sokols performed the Yugoslav nation in their activities.

7.2.1 Sokol happenings: visualising and embodying national identity

The absolute peak for the Sokols were public jamborees (Serbo-Croatian: *slet*; Slovenian: *zlet*) in which they presented their gymnastic exercises to the public. The scale of these happenings differed, ranging from small-scale local jamborees, to regional, national and international or all-Slavonic jamborees. The latter were attended by Sokols from throughout the Slavonic lands and gymnasts from friendly states. They were considered crucial not only as a mass national performance for internal use, but also for the international image of the country. In interwar Yugoslavia two of these all-Slavonic jamborees were organised, one in Ljubljana in 1922 and one in Belgrade in 1930. Annually the Yugoslav Sokols also organised a national jamboree in important Yugoslav cities like Maribor, Novi Sad, Zagreb, Split, Sarajevo, Skopje, Belgrade et cetera.¹³³⁵ Finally, all regional districts as well as local clubs organised happenings on a frequent basis. In the following paragraphs I analyse the activities carried out during these happenings in order to assess how the Sokols performed Yugoslav nationhood. I focus on the all-Slavonic and national jamborees, because these were well documented in contemporary publications, but I will draw comparisons to Sokol happenings organised at a regional or local level, as well as other activities organised by the Sokol.¹³³⁶

Sokol happenings formed an important cultural and social event. Typically, jamborees lasted several days and consisted of a wide variety of activities, ranging from parades, Sokol competitions and performances, to masked balls, banquets, dances and other mundane social events. Activities took place in the city centre and on special terrains for the Sokol competitions and performances. For large-scale national and

¹³³⁵ In most cases these national jamborees were organised on Vidovdan.

¹³³⁶ The Sokol's journal, *Sokolski glasnik* (Sokol's Herald), included frequent reports on activities organised by local Sokol groups or Sokol districts.

international jamborees special stadiums were erected temporarily for the occasion. For the 1922 jamboree in Ljubljana the stadium provided place to approximately 36.000 spectators. Significantly, the wooden stadium was built in the Serbo-Byzantine style, reminiscent of medieval Serbian churches and monasteries (Petrović K. 1935: 58).¹³³⁷ The combination of the Central European character of Ljubljana and the Byzantine character of the stadium served as a typical architectural imagination of the Yugoslav nation as a synthesis of all constituent parts of the nation. The stadium for the 1930 jamboree in Belgrade provided place to 40.000 spectators (Petrović K. 1935: 58-9). It too represented a synthesis of different architectural traditions in the Yugoslav lands (Ignjatović 2007: 423).

Although obviously organised on a much smaller scale and with much less financial means than the all-Slavonic jamborees, the impact local Sokol happenings had on the cultural and social life in smaller Yugoslav villages should not be underestimated. In these cases too Sokol happenings dominated the entire city or village life for a number of days and it was made almost impossible for the local population to ignore or miss these events, even if they had wanted to. Sokol happenings were always accompanied by social events which were not directly related to gymnastics, such as parties, performances by choral societies and theatre groups, banquets, masquerades and masked balls. Sokol clubs also participated in the traditional popular festivities on *Đurđevdan* (St. George's Day, especially for the Orthodox population) or St. Nicholas's Day (especially in Slovenia) and frequently organised fundraising evening programs, with performances by singers and choral societies, theatre plays or *tableaux vivants* and usually a closing party. As such Sokol happenings were also interesting social events for persons who were not primarily interested in Sokol gymnastics. In any case, there can be no doubt that both local, regional and national Sokol happenings occupied a very important place in the social and cultural life in Yugoslavia, not only for the Sokols themselves, but also for non-members.

The visibility of the Sokol movement was also guaranteed by the large number of Sokol halls, special and often prestigious seats and training halls for important Sokol clubs. In 1935 the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had 211 of such Sokol halls. More than 150 of these had been built after the First World War (Ignjatović 2007: 285). The most wealthy districts in this regard were Ljubljana, with 27 halls, and Skopje, with 24 halls (Pavlin 2000: 130-1). The building of Sokol halls was coordinated by a special architectural department within the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Momir Korunović, a prominent architect of the period, who also designed official governmental buildings like the provincial administration in Banja Luka and the

¹³³⁷ *Spomenica o prvem jugoslovenskem vsesokolskem zletu v Ljubljani 1922: 63-77.*

control department of the Ministry of Post, Telegraphy and Telephony in Belgrade, as well as the stadium for the all-Slavonic Sokol jamboree in Belgrade in 1930. These Sokol halls typically included motives reminiscent of what was imagined as authentic local or regional architecture. In the Serbian part of the Kingdom most Sokol halls, a majority of which were built by Korunović himself, typically included elements of the Serbo-Byzantine style – onion domes and onion-formed window openings, flat gables, connected archivolts – or a more “oriental” style, like the protruding facade of the second floor of the Sokol hall in Uroševac in Kosovo. The Sokol hall in Makarska in southern Dalmatia consisted both modernist elements (flat roof, no ornaments on facade) and local “Mediterranean” elements (a shadowy porch, small windows, plastered walls). The steep roof and the rough stone blocks which were used for the facade of the Sokol hall in Jesenice, in the Julian Alps in Slovenia, were reminiscent of local mountain architecture. That way, Sokol halls inscribed (imagined) local and regional identities within the prominent Yugoslav national ideology of the Sokol and presented an architectural imagination of Yugoslav national identity as a synthesis of regional traditions. Some more prestigious Sokol halls, such as the Sokol halls in Belgrade, Užice and Bijeljina (designed by Momir Korunović), and Ljubljana and Kranj (by Ivan Vurnik) presented a syncretised image of Yugoslav national identity on themselves. The abovementioned Sokol halls by Momir Korunović included not only typical Serbo-Byzantine elements, but also some ‘Western’ architectural elements, such as prismatic or polygonal towers, just like in his monumental state buildings. Vurnik’s Sokol halls consisted Gothic, folkloristic and Serbo-Byzantine elements (Ignjatović 2007: 399-426).

Let us now take a look at the gymnastic performances carried out by the Sokols. As a result of the extremely politicised character of the Sokol movement in interwar Yugoslavia one would almost forget that it was in essence a gymnastics movement and that the largest part of the activities of Sokol clubs consisted of gymnastic exercises. These gymnastic exercises themselves were considered crucial elements for the dissemination of Yugoslav national identity. Contemporary Sokol publications abound with one-sided and superficial references to the ‘intuitive’ and thus inexplicable national character of Sokol gymnastics. Allegedly, they “corresponded to our general Yugoslav and Slav aspirations”, “originated from our national culture and our nation’s life”, and “concurred with our tradition” (Bogunović 1931: 30).¹³³⁸ In other words, Sokol gymnastics expressed the true Yugoslav and Slav national spirit. Additionally, it was argued that Sokol gymnastics played a crucial role in the physical and moral

¹³³⁸ [“u sustavu naših općih jugoslavenskih i slavenskih nastojanja”, “proizlazi iz naše narodne kulture i njenog života”, “u vezi s našom tradicijom”].

strengthening of the Yugoslav nation. Allegedly, the sacrifices made during the First World War, the loose morals of the post-war period (abundant use of alcohol and nicotine, contagious diseases et cetera) and the increasing materialism had led to the moral and physical exhaustion of the war and post-war generations, endangering the existence of the Yugoslav nation itself and the human race in its entirety. In order to bring an end to the decay of the Yugoslav race and to safeguard the existence and progress of the nation and state, physical education according to the Sokol system was an absolute necessity (ibid: 18-24).

In essence, the Sokol gymnastics system included familiar gymnastic exercises which were subdivided in four categories. First, simple exercises (*proste vežbe*) were carried out individually, without the help of others and without apparatuses. These exercises consisted of simple calisthenics, as well as marching and running. A specific part of these simple exercises were group dances. Typically, these simple exercises were carried out in group, following special choreographies which were written out by Sokol trainers, often for the occasion of national or all-Slavonic jamborees. A second category of gymnastic exercises carried out by the Sokols were exercises with apparatuses, such as javelins, discuses, flags, poles, parallel bars, horses or climbing racks. A third category of exercises consisted of group performances of exercises with aid of apparatuses, such as poles, rings or flags, or other gymnasts, especially in the form of human pyramids, which were very often the spectacular highlight of Sokol performances. A fourth category of exercises were fighting sports such as wrestling, boxing and fencing with swords and sticks (Bogunović 1931: 29-35).

Group performances of callisthenic choreographies by the Sokols were presented to the public on the occasion of Sokol happenings in special stadiums or, in the case of smaller jamborees, special terrains with tribunes. Also, Sokol clubs annually organised a number of so-called academies, fundraising evenings on which Sokol gymnastic performances were presented to the public and which were usually followed by music or theatre performances and dances. The performances were typically accompanied by music, either songs the Sokols sang themselves, or live music performed by orchestras or singing groups. The choreographies were expected to have a Yugoslav national character, by performing important events from national history or popular folk songs, or by incorporating motives from popular folk dances (Mrvoš 1932: 130-2). At the All-Slavonic Sokol jamboree in Prague in 1920, for example, the Yugoslav Sokols performed a choreography which depicted the Yugoslav liberation and unification in five acts.¹³³⁹ In the first act the Sokols performed the Austro-Hungarian war declaration to Serbia and

¹³³⁹ This choreography was extremely popular in the immediate post-war year and was frequently performed at regional and local Sokol jamborees in the early 1920s.

the people's decisive opposition against it. The second act depicted the mobilisation and the initial Serbian successes in 1914. In the third act the Sokols performed the renewed attacks on Serbia in 1915 and the heroic withdrawal of the Serbian army through Albania. The fourth act depicted the atrocities committed by the oppressors in Serbia, as well as the reorganisation of the Serbian army in exile. Finally, the fifth act symbolised the glorious victories of the allies and the Serbian army in 1918 and the liberation of Yugoslavia.¹³⁴⁰ Depending on the scope of the jamboree these group performances were carried out by a larger number of Sokols. On a performance organised by the Sokol district of Tuzla on 12 June 1920 72 Sokols performed the simple exercises of liberation and unification.¹³⁴¹ At the all-Slavonic jamboree in Ljubljana in 1922 these exercises were performed by 2964 Sokols.¹³⁴² Often jamborees included specific Sokol competitions, in which different Sokol clubs performed one specific simple exercise for a jury.

Clearly, callisthenic choreographies formed a crucial element in the aesthetics of the Sokol movement. In this respect, the Sokol movement fitted in perfectly with a general fascination in interwar Europe with mass performances of bodily aesthetics (Rossol 2010: 624-31). These mass performances presented the ideal national body, completely one in its multitude, with a perfect balance between mind and body. As commented on the occasion of the 1930 jamboree in Belgrade, group exercises

were completely identical and were performed according to one system. They showed the same motions, movements, discipline, absolutely the same strength. It was like a song of the exceptionally harmonious cooperation of muscles, will and consciousness, a poem of beauty, body and power of mind. All respired with the same breathe, thousands of body parts flowed in one movement.¹³⁴³

Many contemporaries noticed that it was precisely the fact that the exercises were carried out by a large number of Sokols which impressed the public, not so much the exercises themselves. The leaders of the Sokol districts of Novi Sad, Tuzla and Zagreb for example suggested that performances by smaller or beginning groups should be avoided at public happenings because these failed to impress the public and as such were harmful for the success of jamborees.¹³⁴⁴

¹³⁴⁰ 'Vedžba ujedinjenja i oslobođenja'. *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/11-12: 457-73.

¹³⁴¹ See the report in *Sokolski glasnik* 2 (1920)/8-9: 382.

¹³⁴² *Spomenica o prvem jugoslovenskem vsesokolskem zletu v Ljubljani 1922*: 267.

¹³⁴³ *Sveslavensko sokolstvo: svesokolski slet 1930, jubilarno izd*: 308. ["su bile gotovo potpuno ujednačene, po jednom sistemu dosledno sprovedene i izvedene, vežbe gotovo istovetnog zamaha, pokreta, odmerenosti, apsolutno iste snage. To je bila pesma jednog izvanredno harmoničnog rada mišića, volje i svesti, jedna poema lepote i tela i snage duha. Sve je disalo jednim dahom, hiljade udova slilo se u jedan pokret"]

¹³⁴⁴ 'Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva'. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 12, 15, 17.

Another important component of the Sokol performances were competitions in athletics (running events, long jump) and gymnastics (parallel bars, the horse, rings, the high bar). On the occasion of all-Slavonic jamborees these competitions took the form of international competitions, with participants from other national Sokol organisations. Competitions between Sokol clubs were also organised at the national and regional level. From 1925 the Yugoslav Sokol organised annual Sokol competitions for all its clubs, except in years when an important national or international jamboree was held. On these occasions the winning Sokol club could take home a special challenge trophy, the so-called sword of King Aleksandar.¹³⁴⁵ The Yugoslav Sokol also represented Yugoslavia at international gymnastics competitions, such as the World Artistic Gymnastics Championships and the Olympic Games. In 1922 the World Artistic Gymnastics Championships were organised in Ljubljana, within the framework of the all-Slavonic jamboree. Yugoslav Sokols were quite successful in these competitions, with Olympic medal winners Leon Štukelj, Josip Primožič and Stane Derganc.

A second important part of Sokol happenings were parades through the city or town centre. First, it was important that these parades occupied public space with great symbolic capital, be it at a local, regional or national level.¹³⁴⁶ During the international jamborees in Ljubljana and Belgrade parades went through the city centre, thus occupying places with great symbolic meaning. In Ljubljana the parade passed the town hall, crossed the central bridge (the predecessor of *Tromostovje* or Three Bridges) and ended at the Congress Square.¹³⁴⁷ In Belgrade the parade started at Slavija, proceeded to Kalemegdan and stopped in front of the recently built parliament.¹³⁴⁸ Small-scale Sokol happenings too consisted of parades which stopped in front of important monuments or state buildings in the village or town, from where important local politicians and authorities addressed the Sokols.

Second, Sokol parades presented a cross-section of the Yugoslav nation. Depending on the scope of the jamboree representatives of Sokol clubs from the district, the entire country and even representatives of other national Sokol organisations participated in the parades. These sections marched separately and were easily recognisable by means of their special flags and banners. Typically, each district also had some Sokols which were dressed in the traditional costume of their home region. Apart from Sokols themselves, a prominent place in Sokol parades was always occupied by students and soldiers. Students and soldiers also typically presented a specific exercise – either a

¹³⁴⁵ 'Mač kralja Aleksandra I'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/7: 69–71.

¹³⁴⁶ I have taken the phrase "occupying public space" from Rossol's study of mass performances in interwar Germany (2010: 618–24).

¹³⁴⁷ *Spomenica o prvem jugoslovenskem vsesokolskem zletu v Ljubljani 1922*: 249–78.

¹³⁴⁸ *Sveslavensko sokolstvo: svesokolski slet 1930, jubilarno izd*: 302–10.

Sokol exercise or a military “show” – during the public performances. That way, Sokol happenings presented the audience with an ideal image of the Yugoslav nation, as a synthesis of its regional traditions and its three most representative and certainly visible members: Sokol, soldier and student. As commented on the occasion of the 1930 jamboree in Belgrade: “The whole nation, the whole country was passing in one single parade”.¹³⁴⁹ Again, the all-national character of Sokol performances was most obvious in large national or international happenings. However, at a local or regional level too, jamborees were attended by neighbouring Sokol clubs, local students and soldiers who were stationed in the neighbourhood.

That way, Sokol happenings formed one of the rare occasions on which villagers came in contact with people from outside of their direct surroundings. This, of course, implied that Sokol happenings gave the Sokols the occasion to visit different regions of the country and thus get to know their country personally. It is interesting to add here that Sokols enjoyed 50% discount on rail travel on the occasion of Sokol happenings.¹³⁵⁰ Larger Sokol jamborees were organised in different regions of Yugoslavia and were always used as an occasion to present the region in question to the nation. A good example was the regional jamboree which was organised in Skopje in 1928.¹³⁵¹ The event consisted of the typical public performances, banquets, speeches and parades. Also, the Yugoslav Sokol organised a special excursion to the field of Kosovo, the setting of the battle of Kosovo, in the presence of a large number of international Sokol representatives, high army officials and Minister of Education Milan Grol. The peak of the happening at Kosovo was the simulation of the battle of Kosovo by 4000 soldiers of the Kosovo division of the Yugoslav army. The jamboree was used as a perfect occasion to popularise the Sokol movement in Macedonia. In this respect not only the jamboree itself was important, but also the visits made by representatives of well-developed Sokol clubs to the smaller and younger Sokol clubs in Macedonia in the days following the jamboree (Bogunović 1928b). The jamboree was also used to familiarise the Yugoslav audience with “Southern Serbia”. In the months preceding the festivities numerous articles on the region were published in Sokol journals, which were expected to be read

¹³⁴⁹ *Sveslavensko sokolstvo: svesokolski slet 1930, jubilarno izd.*: 304. [“Cela nacija, cela zemlja je prolazila u jednoj jedinstvenoj povorci”].

¹³⁵⁰ Already during the 1920s participants in happenings organised by the Yugoslav Sokol typically enjoyed a 50% discount. After the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia this practice was legalised for all Sokol happenings. ‘Pravilnik o povlasticama na državnim železnicama i brodovima u državnoj eksploataciji za Soko Kraljevine Jugoslavije’. *Sokolski glasnik* 1/32 (21.12.1930): 3-4.

¹³⁵¹ Initially the jamboree would be organised on *Vidovdan* 1928, but it was later postponed to September 1928, when the tenth anniversary of the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front was commemorated. ‘Odgodjen pokrajinski slet u Skoplju’. *Sokolski glasnik* 10/13 (01.07.1928): 81.

out to Sokol members during trainings. Also, Sokol clubs organised so-called “Southern evenings”, with all sorts of public lectures on the region (Bogunović 1928a).

7.2.2 Spiritual education

The goal of the Sokol movement was not only the physical but also the so-called spiritual education of the nation. In this light at least in theory every Sokol club was expected to have a specific educational-cultural department, which was responsible for the coordination and organisation of spiritual education within the Sokol club. The first initiatives in this direction were taken in 1924, when rulebooks were adopted for such departments at the level of the union, the districts and the clubs.¹³⁵² Although in the course of the 1920s the educational activities of the Sokols gradually expanded, in practice they remained an underdeveloped facet of the clubs’ activities. Most clubs simply had one so-called educator (*prosvetar*) who held short lectures before and after training sessions and occasionally organised an educational activity.¹³⁵³ With the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the work of educational-cultural departments within the Sokol was systematised and intensified. In April 1930 new rulebooks for educational departments at the level of the union, the districts and clubs were formulated.¹³⁵⁴ A specific journal for Sokol education was published, *Sokolska prosveta* (‘Sokol education’), and the educational work of Sokol clubs was closely followed at the level of the union.¹³⁵⁵ In 1932 the central educational department of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia formulated an ambitious four-year plan to intensify and harmonise the educational activities organised by Sokol clubs (Belajčić 1932b).

The most well-spread form of spiritual education in Sokol clubs were lectures, which were intended to reach members and the wider public.¹³⁵⁶ Before or after Sokol gymnastics trainings short lectures of 5-10 minutes were held on important themes from the Sokol ideology, such as the Sokol gymnastics system, hygiene, social equality,

¹³⁵² *Sokolski glasnik* 6(1924)/12-13: 161-6.

¹³⁵³ See the conclusions made on a conference of the leaders of the district educational departments in October 1929. ‘Sokolska prosveta, zaključci zbora župskih prosvetara u Brodu na Savi 26. i 27. oktobra 1929’. *Sokolski glasnik* 11/23 (01.12.1929): 8-9.

¹³⁵⁴ *Sokolski glasnik* 1/8 (19.04.1930): 4-5.

¹³⁵⁵ Between 1932 and 1934 the central department for education published detailed, although incomplete, annual reports on educational activities in Sokol districts and clubs (Belajčić 1932a, 1933, 1933). These reports form the basis of my overview of the Sokol’s activities in the field of spiritual education. However, it should be taken into account that not all Sokol clubs were equally active in all components I enumerate below.

¹³⁵⁶ ‘Poslovník društvenoga prosvetnoga odbora’. *Sokolski glasnik* 6 (1924)/12-13: 163-4; ‘Pravilnik prosvetnog odbora društava’. *Sokolski glasnik* 1/8 (19.04.1930): 5.

democracy, Yugoslav national history and territory, or actual economic and social questions (Mejak 1930: 2).¹³⁵⁷ In 1933 on average 23 of such short lectures were held per Sokol club (Belajčić 1934: 32-3).¹³⁵⁸ Additionally, Sokol clubs frequently organised public lectures or debate evenings, especially on important themes from the Sokol ideology, Sokol gymnastics and national history (Mejak 1930: 2-3). In 1933 Sokol clubs on average organised 11 public lectures (Belajčić 1934: 32). The themes covered in these public lectures varied strongly. For the winter of 1925-26 for example the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol prescribed that Sokol clubs should organise public lectures on the following subjects: Tyrš's Sokol ideology; the aesthetics of gymnastics; the Slavonic Sokol organisation; Petar Petrović Njegoš; Czechoslovakia; the strong bonds between the Slavonic nations; Yugoslav literary prophets; Sokol discipline; body hygiene; first aid.¹³⁵⁹ Of course, the subjects which were treated in public lectures organised by Sokol clubs also depended on local preferences. In the first months of 1931, for example, the Sokol club of Guštanj (now Ravne na Koroškem, in Slovenian Carinthia), organised public lectures on Sokol ideology, Simon Gregorčič, Yugoslav economy, St. Sava, health care, skiing and radio-reception.¹³⁶⁰

National history was a crucial element in the Sokol's educational program. Sokol clubs typically organised popular lectures or more elaborate programs for the commemoration of certain historical figures or events, with performances of gymnastic exercises, lectures and entertainment (music, dance, theatre). In most cases these historical commemorations were regionally confined. In 1928, for example, the Sokol district in Cetinje participated in the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the battle of Grahovo, where the Montenegrin army won a crucial victory over the Ottoman army, and the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Bar and Ulcinj.¹³⁶¹ In October and November 1930 all Sokol clubs in the Celje district commemorated the tenth anniversary of the Carinthian Plebiscite and the 1920 Treaty of Rapallo.¹³⁶² In 1935 a number of Sokol clubs, such as the Sokol club of Varaždin, commemorated the centenary of the Illyrian movement.¹³⁶³ In Croatia-Slavonia it was customary for Sokol

¹³⁵⁷ See also the instructions from the central educational department in 'Prosvetno delo v sokolskih društvih'. *Sokolski glasnik* 5 (1923)/2: 62-4.

¹³⁵⁸ These statistical figures have to be treated with caution because they are only based on data from almost 80% of the Sokol clubs and 54% of the *četas* (Belajčić 1934: 2).

¹³⁵⁹ 'Minimalni program za sokolski prosvetni rad'. *Sokolski glasnik* 7 (1925)/19-20: 162.

¹³⁶⁰ *Sokolski glasnik* 2/21 (22.05.1931): 4.

¹³⁶¹ *Sokolski glasnik* 11 (1929)/13: 11.

¹³⁶² *Sokolski glasnik* 1/7 (11.04.1930): 6.

¹³⁶³ *Sokolski glasnik* 6/46 (06.12.1935): 4. Still, the Sokol's commemoration could not compete with the well organised and prominent commemorations of the centenary of the Croatian hymn and the Illyrian movement by Croatian cultural-educational associations. Few Sokol clubs organised special commemorations, and apart

clubs to celebrate the days of Petar Zrinski and Krsto Frankopan (30 April) and Josip Juraj Strossmayer (4 February). Some Sokol clubs, although far less numerous, also celebrated St. Sava's Day, in some cases the celebration of the holiday of St. Sava and Strossmayer was combined, as for example in Slunj in western Croatia in 1934, or in Crikvenica at the Croatian coast and in Jelenje in western Croatia in 1935.¹³⁶⁴ Other important holidays for Sokol clubs were 1 December, the birthdays of King Aleksandar and Heir to the Throne Prince Petar, *Vidovdan* – which as an official holiday was used by many Sokol clubs to organise a public performance – and *Đurđevdan*, on the occasion of which many Sokol clubs held a traditional early rising, with a picnic in the outdoors.

The Sokol also made use of different media to spread its ideology. Sokol publications were very numerous, consisting of books, booklets and journals. In 1933 the Yugoslav Sokol published 18 books on a variety of Sokol themes (Belajčić 1934: 35-6). Also, the union published a number of specific journals (*Sokolski glasnik*, *Sokolska prosveta*, *Soko* – for the Sokol leadership, *Sokolić* – for Sokol youth, *Naša radost* – for Sokol children) which included numerous articles on important facets of the Sokol ideology as well as reports on activities organised by Sokol clubs and districts. The Sokol also often published commemorative volumes on important jamborees. Additionally, many Sokol districts or clubs also published their own journal or commemorative volumes. Finally, the Yugoslav Sokols had columns in important newspapers with reports about its activities. In order to spread its publications among its members as effectively as possible numerous Sokol clubs had reading rooms in which Sokol journals and books could be consulted (Mejak 1930: 3). Ideally, these reading rooms also purchased other important books and journals, so that they became cultural centres where Sokols could be informed about important facets of the Sokol ideology, as well as current events in the region and the state (Stanojević M. 1922b: 389). In practice, however, only Sokol clubs in the district centres had such a library. In 1933 219 of the 1347 clubs which had submitted data owned a reading room (Belajčić 1934: 46).

From the early 1930s the Sokol increasingly made use of new media to popularise its activities and ideology. The Sokols intensively made use of the radio to bring lectures on the Sokol ideology to its members and the wider audience. From April 1931 the Belgrade radio station broadcasted cycles of weekly Sokol lectures. This example was followed in Zagreb and Ljubljana, although on a less frequent basis. It was expected that in time every Sokol club would purchase a radio installation so that members and sympathisers

of some references to the commemoration during 1 December celebrations (*Sokolski glasnik* 6/46 (06.12.1935): 3-4) and a few articles in *Sokolski glasnik* and *Sokolska prosveta*, it was largely forgotten. This concurs with the general failure of the state authorities and state loyal cultural associations to incorporate this Croatian historical commemoration within a Yugoslav national narrative (cf. 4.4.5.2).

¹³⁶⁴ *Sokolski glasnik* 5/9 (23.02.1934): 4, *Sokolski glasnik* 6/9 (22.02.1935): 5, 6).

could come to the Sokol hall to listen to Sokol lectures which were broadcasted on the radio.¹³⁶⁵ However, in 1932 only 125 of the 1014 clubs which had submitted statistical information had a radio at their disposal (Belajčić 1933: 94). Further, the Sokol increasingly made use of movies or slides, especially for documenting important Sokol events such as excursions or jamborees. This form of Sokol education and propaganda was obviously still in its infancy, but the Yugoslav Sokol was fully aware of its potential. In 1933 the union made movies of a Sokol excursion to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the regional jamboree in Ljubljana, a jamboree organised by the district of Novi Sad and the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Sokol club of Petrovaradin. According to the four-year plan of 1932 by 1936 all districts should have purchased their own projector. However, in 1933 this was only the case in the district Maribor. During the year 1933 12 movies had been shown in several clubs in that district, with a total of 14.000 viewers. Some other districts or clubs had rented projectors to show films, but in general the practice was still not well-spread (Belajčić 1934: 28-9).

Another form of spiritual education were excursions to important historical or natural sites in the region.¹³⁶⁶ In the summer of 1925 for example the Sokol district of Herzegovina organised an excursion for its members to Montenegro in the light of the Njegoš festivities in 1925 and in order to stimulate the nascent Sokol movement in Montenegro. During their trip the Sokols visited the village where Njegoš was born, as well as the new mausoleum on Mount Lovćen. Also, the Sokols visited Montenegrin towns like Cetinje, Nikšić and Danilovgrad, where they organised parades through the town centres, public performances and festive academies.¹³⁶⁷ Also popular were summer camps, which were mostly organised along the Adriatic Coast.¹³⁶⁸

Finally, Sokols organised numerous cultural activities with a more entertaining character.¹³⁶⁹ Many Sokol clubs had choral societies, theatre groups, brass bands, *tamburica* groups or puppet theatre groups within their ranks, which typically performed at Sokol happenings, giving these a more entertaining and attractive character.¹³⁷⁰ In the 1930s contests between orchestra's, brass bands, *tamburica* groups of

¹³⁶⁵ 'Raspis 10 – Radio u službi sokolske prosvete', *Sokolska prosveta* 1/5: 115.

¹³⁶⁶ 'Poslovnik društvenoga prosvetnoga odbora'. *Sokolski glasnik* 6 (1924)/12-13: 163-4.

¹³⁶⁷ See the report in *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/15-16: 157-60; 8 (1926)/17: 175-6.

¹³⁶⁸ See for example the report on a summer camp organised by the Sokol club of Zemun in Makarska during the summer of 1929. *Sokolski glasnik* 11 (1929)/17: 4.

¹³⁶⁹ During the 1920s these entertaining activities were organised by the educational department. 'Poslovnik društvenoga prosvetnoga odbora'. *Sokolski glasnik* 6 (1924)/12-13: 163-4. After the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia special departments for entertainment were established, see below

¹³⁷⁰ 'Pravilnik glazbenog odseka Sokolskog društva'. *Sokolski glasnik* 1/10 (11.05.1930): 4; 'Pravilnik pozorišnog odseka Sokolskog društva', *Sokolski glasnik* 2/43 (22.10.1931): 2.

different Sokol clubs were held at larger jamborees.¹³⁷¹ Additionally, clubs frequently organised special concerts, theatre performances, balls, parties and outdoor parties. Some more strict Sokol leaders even complained that for many Sokol members the Sokol movement was not “a great, important national organisation” but some form of “entertainment and fun”. In many Sokol clubs, they added, the educational work only consisted of the organisation of parties and dances, instead of serious educational activities.¹³⁷²

7.2.3 Social engagement

As part of its activities in the field of spiritual education, the Sokol also intended to play a broader role in the modernisation of Yugoslav society, especially in the country's more backward regions. Frequently, the Sokol organised humanitarian collections and actions in aid of Yugoslav regions which had been struck by natural disasters, as on the occasion of the great floods in the northwest of Yugoslavia in the winter of 1926-27 and the fall of 1933,¹³⁷³ the famine which hit Herzegovina and Montenegro in the winter of 1927-28,¹³⁷⁴ or the drought and consequent famine in the “passive regions” in the fall of 1931.¹³⁷⁵ From the mid 1920s the educational department of the Yugoslav Sokol promoted the organisation of lessons against illiteracy by Sokol clubs.¹³⁷⁶ However, in the 1930s, after the state authorities had banned the organisation of lessons against illiteracy by non-governmental organisations, this aspect of the Sokol's work faded away.

More important was the fight against alcohol, in the first place within the Sokol clubs themselves. Apparently, there was considerable alcohol consumption during Sokol activities, especially the evening programs, once again illustrating the broad social and entertaining character of Sokol happenings. When the Ministry of Education on 7 April 1931 allowed Sokols to use school buildings for their exercises, as well as (implicitly) their academies and other festivities, the leadership of the Sokol warned that Sokol

¹³⁷¹ As for example on the occasion of the jamboree in Sarajevo on *Vidovdan* 1934 and in Zagreb in August 1934, ‘Veliki sokolski muzički festival’, *Sokolski glasnik* 5/28 (06.07.1934): 2; ‘Takmičenja pevačkih sokolskih zborova’, *Sokolski glasnik* 5/33-34 (14.08.1934): 4.

¹³⁷² Paraphrased and quoted from a report of the leader of the Sokol district in Split, ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 14. [“jednu veliku i važnu nacionalnu organizaciju”, “neku zabavu i razonodu.”]

¹³⁷³ ‘Sokolstvo u radu za narod’. *Sokolski glasnik* 9 (1927)/5-6: 87-9; ‘Sokolsko bratstvo na rad’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/43 (27.10.1933): 2.

¹³⁷⁴ *Sokolski glasnik* 10/7 (01.04.1928): 45; 10/10 (15.05.1928): 65.

¹³⁷⁵ ‘Sokolsko bratstvo na rad’. *Sokolski glasnik* 2/39 (24.09.1931): 1.

¹³⁷⁶ ‘Iz prosvetnog odbora JSS’. *Sokolski glasnik* 8(1926)/1: 7.

clubs should stop serving alcohol “abundantly”, as was apparently customary on these occasions, because this was not in line with the Sokol ideology and the school rules.¹³⁷⁷ In a report on the celebration of 1 December 1931 by the Sokol club in Torža (German: Torschau, now Savino Selo) in Bačka a local Sokol complained that some of the members of the local Sokol leadership were drinking alcoholic beverages and playing cards during the official celebration.¹³⁷⁸ In March 1926 the central leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol adopted a rulebook to restrict the use of alcohol by Sokol members. First, Sokol children and youth were not allowed to drink alcohol or to smoke. Second, no alcohol could be served during public performances and all evening programs which included gymnastic exercises should be finished by midnight. Finally, those Sokol members who behaved unsuitably because of drunkenness should be punished by the Sokol club.¹³⁷⁹ In March 1930 the leadership of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia formulated a rulebook for sobriety departments, which had to be established within Sokol clubs. In fact, this were groups of Sokol members who made the promise not to drink alcohol for a period of three, six or twelve months. Also, it was repeated that members of the Sokol children’s or youth groups could not drink any alcohol.¹³⁸⁰ Sobriety sections had the additional task to inform Sokol members and the local population about the harmful effects of alcohol consumption and to popularise non-alcoholic drinks (Popović V. 1931: 299-301). From 1933 the Sokol also organised a week of sobriety, which was completely devoted to the battle against alcohol.¹³⁸¹

In the late 1920s the Sokol district of Herzegovina established small departments of Sokol clubs in smaller countryside villages in Herzegovina and the Sandžak, so-called *četas* (Serbo-Croatian: četa, čete; literally meaning: (military) company). These *četas* were envisaged as social and cultural centres with the goal to “enlighten” the backward Herzegovinian countryside.¹³⁸² In the early 1930s the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol adopted this model for the dissemination of the Sokol movement among the Yugoslav peasantry, as well as the cultural and economic modernisation of the Yugoslav countryside. Ideologically, it was stressed that the *četas* should narrow the gap between city and village, between the intelligentsia and the peasants and thus contribute to the rebirth of the Yugoslav nation (Milić 1935: 16-9; Šantić 1931: 11-5). A considerable role in the establishment of such *četas* was to be played by teachers, who had the duty to gradually introduce the local youth to the Sokol ideology and to enthuse them about the

¹³⁷⁷ *Sokolski glasnik* 2/24 (11.06.1931): 2.

¹³⁷⁸ *Sokolski glasnik* 2/52 (11.12.1931): 7.

¹³⁷⁹ ‘Protualkoholni pokret u Jugoslavenskom Sokolstvu’. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/17: 161-2.

¹³⁸⁰ ‘Pravilnik odseka trezvenosti’. *Sokolski glasnik* 1/7 (11.04.1930): 4.

¹³⁸¹ ‘Sokolska nedelja trezvenosti’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/15 (07.04.1933): 3.

¹³⁸² *Sokolski glasnik* 10 (1928)/3: 16.

establishment of their own Sokol club. However, it was stressed, as leaders of Sokol *četas* “authentic” villagers should be chosen, because these had a higher esteem among the locals (Brozović 1934: 261-2). Soon the number of *četas* in many districts largely surpassed the number of clubs. The most active districts in this regard were Cetinje (34 clubs and 119 *četas*), Mostar (31/150), Niš (36/206), Osijek (56/83), Skopje (40/79), Tuzla (27/78) and Zagreb (59/174) (Pavlin 2000: 130-1, numbers for 1934).

The activities of *četas* went much further than only physical education. In theory, all *četas* had departments or “agents” for sobriety, which spearheaded the battle against alcohol; a department for saving, which popularised the ideal of saving among the members; a health department, which had the task to improve the hygienic circumstances in the villages; a department for education, which spread books in the village and taught its members to read and write; a department for agriculture, which introduced new crops, new cultivation methods, new tools and stimulated the formation of cooperatives; a department for social issues, with the task to help people in need, to convince local school children to attend agricultural schools or other specialist schools after elementary schools, to help unemployed members to get a job; and finally a department for national defence, which had to alert the peasants of their duties as citizens of the state, to convey respect for state authority and to familiarise them with the value of Yugoslav national culture (Brozović 1934: 265-6; Dokić 1935: 42-53). On top of all this the *četas* had the task to develop social life in the village by annually organising some public events in which they presented their work to their village. Examples of such events were demonstrations of new agricultural methods, public Sokol exercises, entertainment (theatre, music performances, lectures) and gymnastics and athletic competitions between *četas* (Brozović 1934: 269-70). Of course, it should be taken into consideration that in practice not all *četas* were organised as foreseen in the rulebooks and writings of the Sokol leadership. In a report on the work in the Sokol district Cetinje in 1932, for example, the leader of the district clarified that a large number of *četas* in the district had been established by teachers, who had been urged to do so by the Ministry of Education or the provincial authorities, but that most of these *četas* only formally existed and were not active at all.¹³⁸³

7.2.4 Representing the nation-state: the Sokols and the authorities

The prominent position of the Yugoslav Sokol in Yugoslav society also relied on the approval and cooperation of the authorities. In this respect it is illustrative that the 1919

¹³⁸³ ‘Kakove su prilike i potrebe našega Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/48 (01.12.1932): 7.

meeting in Novi Sad, on the occasion of which the Yugoslav Sokol was formed, was attended by high representatives of the King and the government (Brozović 1930: 93). The King and the Royal Family also personally attended the international jamborees in Ljubljana and Belgrade. On these occasions, Sokol parades and performances typically ended with a greet to the King, who, allegedly, watched the Sokols with great satisfaction. On the last day of the jamboree in Ljubljana King Aleksandar congratulated the Sokols with the successful organisation of the event in a handwritten letter in the Latin alphabet. He called on the Sokols to continue their activities as models of the spiritual unity of the nation.¹³⁸⁴ At the end of the 1930 jamboree in Belgrade the King donated the Yugoslav Sokol a new flag and stressed that the Sokol should be “the healthy educator of the youth, a warrior for brotherhood and love, a champion of the great Yugoslav idea and a carrier of the combative and national spirit”. Also, he commissioned the Sokols to serve Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav idea “from the cradle to the grave”.¹³⁸⁵ The flag itself symbolised the close bond between state authorities and Sokol. On top of the flagpole there was a golden falcon. The flag itself had the colours of the state flag, with a falcon in the middle. The other side was red, with the Yugoslav coat of arms. One side had “From King Aleksandar to the Yugoslav Sokol” written on it, the other “To the fatherland – Zdravo”.¹³⁸⁶ Another link between state and Sokol was Prince Petar, who would typically appeared in public in his Sokol uniform as the leader of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Also at a more local or regional level state support to the Sokol was materialised. First, the King or other members of the Royal Family frequently visited Sokol clubs during their trips throughout the country. In June 1920 Prince Regent Aleksandar honoured the Zagreb Sokol club with a visit to their club hall, on the occasion of which the Sokols performed some complicated group exercises (V.H. 1920: 344-6). In June 1927 the King personally attended the festive opening of a new Sokol hall and the consecration of a new Sokol flag for the Sokol club in Niš.¹³⁸⁷ In June 1933 Queen Marija and the Princes Petar and Tomislav attended a jamboree organised by the Sokols in Sušak.¹³⁸⁸ When King Aleksandar visited the Plitvice Lakes and the Lika region in July 1933, not coincidentally shortly after the somewhat exaggeratedly called Lika Uprising of September 1932, he attended a jamboree organised by the Sokol club of Gospić on 23

¹³⁸⁴ *Spomenica o prvem jugoslovenskem vsesokolskem zletu v Ljubljani 1922*: 6.

¹³⁸⁵ [“zdravi vaspitač omladine, pobornik bratstva i ljubavi, zatočnik velike jugoslavenske misli, nosilac viteškog i nacionalnog duha”.] [“od kolevke do groba”] *Sveslavensko sokolstvo: svesokolski slet 1930, jubilarno izd.*: 304-6, quotations on page 306.

¹³⁸⁶ *Sveslavensko sokolstvo: svesokolski slet 1930, jubilarno izd.*: 304-6. The informal “zdravo” was the official greet used by Sokols, regardless of the rank of the addressee.

¹³⁸⁷ *Sokolski glasnik* 9 (1927)/12-17: 283-4.

¹³⁸⁸ ‘Sokolsko slavlje u Sušaku’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/24 (09.06.1933): 3.

July 1933 and received a delegation of representatives of the Zagreb Sokol club, which had organised a relay from Zagreb to the Plitvice Lakes to send King Aleksandar a welcome message.¹³⁸⁹ Second, the bond between the King and the Sokol was materialised through the donation and protection (“*kumovanje*”) of numerous club banners and flags, often giving occasion to festivities for the official unveiling of the club flag. Finally, local or regional Sokol happenings were always attended by representatives of the authorities, both military officials and representatives of the local or regional civil authorities (mayor, district chief and governor); who typically addressed the Sokol with a patriotic statement of support.

Vice versa, Sokols were always very prominently present at official commemorations or state holidays, the unveiling of monuments and visits of ministers or other state officials. Not only were Sokols physically present and well recognisable in their uniforms as part of the official cadre, the official part of the celebration also typically included a speech by a local or regional Sokol leader.¹³⁹⁰ Frequently, the initiative for such celebrations of state authority came from local Sokol clubs. In Valpovo, a town in Baranja, the local Sokol club organised a festive evening program in the local Croatian reading room on 29 October 1921, to commemorate the liberation of Croatia-Slavonia by the Serbian army. The program consisted of speeches, the declamation of a poem by Šenoa and the performance of a play by Milan Ogrizović. The highlight of the evening was a *tableau vivant* which depicted the liberation with Sokols, a falcon, a *vila* (nymph), soldiers and peasants. The evening ended with a party.¹³⁹¹

It was no coincidence that the Sokol's holiday 1 December concurred with the most important state holiday, the anniversary of the official formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. In 1924 the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union established 1 December as the Sokol holiday, on 4 April 1930 this decision was re-enforced by the leadership of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The holiday was widely celebrated by Sokol clubs. In 1933, for example, 1 December was celebrated by 1263 of the 1347 clubs or *četas* for which data were available (Belajčić 1934: 51). 1 December celebrations consisted of festive meetings and academies, on the occasion of which new Sokols made their oath to the Sokol. Further, the program included performances of Sokol gymnastic exercises, lectures on the importance of the date for

¹³⁸⁹ ‘Nj. Vel. Kralj među Sokolima’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/30 (28.07.1933): 1.

¹³⁹⁰ See for example ‘Sjajna manifestacija Sokolske Misli u selima Hercegovine’. *Sokolski glasnik* 10 (1928)/20: 125-6 on the participation of the Sokols in the official unveiling of a monument of Petar I in Nevesinje in eastern Herzegovina in August 1928; the report on the official unveiling of the Petar Kočić monument in Banja Luka on 6 November 1932 in *Sokolski glasnik* 3/47 (24.11.1932): 3, or ‘Jugoslovensko Sokolstvo je najsvečanije proslavilo 550-godišnjicu Kosovske bitke’, *Sokolski glasnik* 10/26 (30.07.1939): 1-2, on the Sokol's participation in the commemoration of the 550th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1939.

¹³⁹¹ *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/12: 434-5.

the state and the Yugoslav Sokol and entertainment (music, singing, theatre, declamations, *tableaux vivants*... with a strong focus on patriotic themes).¹³⁹² Typically, Sokols also participated in other parts of the public celebration during the daytime. In most cases Sokols started the day by forming a parade and jointly going to church. In villages with different religions it was made sure that representatives of the Sokol attended masses in different churches.¹³⁹³ After the mass the Sokols typically marched through the town or village, with flags and music. Frequently the Sokols lay a wreath on a local monument symbolising state unity or greeted the local authorities. In any case, Sokols and their activities became a constituent and intrinsic part of the official celebrations of 1 December. In a rather extreme illustration, in 1928 the Yugoslav Sokol club in Zagreb was one of the only non-governmental organisations which celebrated 1 December, which was obviously an act of resistance and rivalry against the dominant option, supported and promoted by the Peasant Democratic Coalition, to boycott the state celebration.¹³⁹⁴ Especially in smaller towns and villages, where the celebration of 1 December passed by almost unnoticed, Sokol celebrations became an inerasable element in the visualisation of state and nation on the occasion of official state holidays. In a report on the celebration of 1 December 1927 by the Sokol club of Daruvar in central Croatia, for example, it was described that previously 1 December had been celebrated very poorly: some flags were hung out at official state buildings and masses were held in the local churches. All shops were closed and the streets were completely empty. In this dead city the academy and parade organised by the Sokol club were the only festive happenings which signalled the celebration of a state holiday.¹³⁹⁵

Another important holiday for the Sokols was King Aleksandar's birthday, on 17 December. The program for this day was very similar to that of 1 December. After the death of King Aleksandar the Yugoslav Sokols also played a visible role in the official mourning process. In the weeks after Aleksandar's death nearly all Sokol clubs organised a commemorative evening with lectures, songs and oaths to continue the King's work. Many Sokol clubs also paid their final respect to the King, either during the transfer of Aleksandar's dead body from Split to Oplenac or by making a visit to the mausoleum in Oplenac.¹³⁹⁶ In 1934 1 December was celebrated humbly: Sokol clubs held an assembly on which some speeches were given (typically referring to Aleksandar's

¹³⁹² 'Svim bratskim župama i društvima'. *Sokolski glasnik* 6 (1924)/19: 269-70. 'Proslava 1. Decembra'. *Sokolski glasnik* 1/27 (01.11.1930): 1.

¹³⁹³ In Bosanski Šamac in north-eastern Bosnia for example Sokol representatives attended the masses in the Orthodox and Catholic Church and in the local Mosque and Synagoge. *Sokolski glasnik* 11 (1929)/1: 7.

¹³⁹⁴ *Sokolski glasnik* 11 (1929)/1: 4-5.

¹³⁹⁵ 'Proslava 1. decembra u Daruvaru'. *Sokolski glasnik* 10 (1928)/1: 5.

¹³⁹⁶ 'Iz naših župa, društava i četa'. *Sokolski glasnik* 5/43-44 (26.10.1934): 6-8.

death), some commemorative poems were recited and all Sokol members made their oath to King Petar II.¹³⁹⁷ 17 December 1934 was a day of fasting in mourning of King Aleksandar. The money which was saved in this way had to be sent to the Sokol clubs. These could keep 50% of the income, the other half would go to a Social Funds with the name of King Aleksandar, which would be established by the Sokol.¹³⁹⁸ Although Sokols continued to remember King Aleksandar in many commemorations, articles, movies or monuments, from 1936 the Sokols shifted their attention to the new King, Petar II and the future. The birthday of King Petar II was introduced as an obligatory Sokol holiday.¹³⁹⁹ Also, the Yugoslav Sokol formulated an ambitious so-called “Petar’s five-year plan” (‘Petrova petoletka’) to intensify the Sokol’s work so that by the time King Petar II would come of age on 6 September 1941 the Sokol would be a true national institution. The goal was to intensify the Sokol’s work both quantitatively and qualitatively. In the first place, the Yugoslav Sokol strove to reverse the downward spiral in membership numbers by spreading the movement to the countryside. Additionally, the Sokol movement intended to intensify different aspects of its activities discussed in this chapter, i.e. not only gymnastics, but also spiritual and social aspects of its work.¹⁴⁰⁰ However, as we have seen above, by this time the Sokols had lost both the support of the central authorities as well as of a large part of the population, and the five-year plan remained without effect.

7.2.5 Conclusions

The Yugoslav Sokol consciously performed an ideal Yugoslav national body. In their mass gymnastic performances and parades Sokols presented an ideal of national unity, strength and balance. Additionally, they presented a cross-section of the Yugoslav nation, with its constituent regional parts and its most representative members: Sokols, students and soldiers. Further, Sokol members were made familiar with important themes from national history through lectures and commemorations and they got to know the Yugoslav landscape through excursions and happenings. A third way in which

¹³⁹⁷ ‘Svim bratskim Sokolskim župama, društvima i četama’. *Sokolski glasnik* 5/43-44 (26.10.1934): 2. See also the reports in *Sokolski glasnik* 5/50 (07.12.1934): 3-6.

¹³⁹⁸ ‘Sedamnaesti decembar – dan sokolskog posta’. *Sokolski glasnik* 5/47 (16.11.1934): 1.

¹³⁹⁹ ‘Proslava rođendana Nj. Vel. Kralja Petra II’. *Sokolski glasnik* 7/34 (28.08.1936): 1.

¹⁴⁰⁰ ‘Kako će se izvesti sokolski petgodišnji plan’. *Sokolski glasnik* 7/37 (18.09.1936): 1; ‘Sokolski petogodišnji plan rada’. *Sokolski glasnik* 8/12 (24.04.1937): 1. For example, new rulebooks were formulated for the organisation of courses against illiteracy by Sokol clubs. ‘Sokolska akcija za suzbijanje nepismenosti’. *Sokolski glasnik* 9/2 (15.01.1938): 6.

the Sokol produced Yugoslav nationhood was through its link with Yugoslav state authority. Representatives of state authority were invariably present at Sokol happenings, and vice versa too Sokols were frequently included in important manifestations of the Yugoslav nation-state. That way, Sokols became an intrinsic element in the visualisation of the Yugoslav nation-state.

Sokol activities were not restricted to gymnastics and conscious national acts alone, but also included public activities with a purely entertaining character, in which the national ideology of the Sokol movement was not directly manifested. Especially in smaller Yugoslav towns or villages, where cultural life was generally not well developed, Sokols were multifaceted and very visible social actors. The Sokol movement was the only cultural institution which was present in all districts of Yugoslavia and in all Yugoslav regions the Sokol movement was the dominant cultural institution, both with regard to membership numbers and activities.¹⁴⁰¹ It can thus be fairly assumed that the Sokol played a prominent role in social life throughout Yugoslavia, not only for members but also for bystanders. In that way the Sokol's prominent Yugoslav character was also indirectly and banally passed on to participants in the association's entertaining activities, who were indifferent to the Sokol's patriotic and national message and were instead attracted by the social and entertaining character of its activities.

¹⁴⁰¹ See the reports submitted per banovina to the Ministry of Education, in response to a decree of 3 June 1933, in which the Ministry of Education commissioned local authorities to make reports about cultural-educational institutions on their territory. AJ 66-262-507, AJ 66-263-507 and AJ 66-264-507.

7.3 The Yugoslav Sokol and the boundaries of Yugoslav nationhood

In her study of the Czech Sokol movement Claire Nolte has situated the movement within Miroslav Hroch's phase C, as an association which played a crucial role in the nationalisation of the masses (Nolte 2002: 2).¹⁴⁰² As the previous sub-chapter has shown, the Yugoslav Sokol imagined its own position within the nationalisation of the Yugoslav masses in a similar spirit. However, the Sokol's conscious affirmative performances of Yugoslav nationhood were only a part of the role the association played in the production and reproduction of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. Especially in the former Austro-Hungarian regions of the Yugoslav Kingdom, where the movement had the longest tradition and stood strongest, conflicts between the Yugoslav Sokol and other competing gymnastics organisations, namely the Croatian Sokol movement and the Catholic Orel movement, became a frequent feature of societal life from the early 1920s. These competitions took different forms, but a distinguishing characteristic of many of these cases was their highly visible and public character, hence I speak of acts of rivalry. Indeed, conflicts between different gymnastics associations were not restricted to discussions at closed meetings or in expert journals. Rather, confrontations took place in public and can be understood as performances of broader political, ideological and probably also purely personal cleavages at different levels of interwar Yugoslav society. Under the Royal Dictatorship alternative gymnastics movements were banned by the authorities and acts of rivalry surrounding the Sokol became less outspoken. At this time the Catholic Church set itself up as the main opponent of the Yugoslav Sokol movement. Additionally, as the authorities expected every child and every teacher to be part of the Yugoslav Sokol, it became or was made into a visible act of resistance not to do so. Throughout the interwar period the controversies around the Sokol movement carried national meanings with them. Within this framework the Yugoslav Sokol movement became a marker of the boundaries of Yugoslav nationhood in the context of practice.

¹⁴⁰² Hroch devised a schematic model of national awakening in three stages. Phase A is the period of scholarly interest in language, folklore, history and culture of an ethnic group, phase B is the period of patriotic agitation by a group of political agitators in the name of the nation, phase C is the period of the mass national movement (Hroch 2000: 13-4).

7.3.1 Yugoslav vs. Croatian Sokols

7.3.1.1 The re-establishment of the Croatian Sokol Union

The most salient of the conflicts in which the Yugoslav Sokols were involved, at least from a national point of view, were those with the Croatian Sokols. Already in the first half of 1919 a number of Croatian Sokol clubs argued against the immediate unification of the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian Sokol. On its meeting of 23 February 1919 the leadership of the Sokol district 'Fonova', with seat in Zagreb, argued that the 'tribal' Sokol Unions should remain active within an overarching Yugoslav Sokol Union, of which the tasks would remain restricted to the representation of the South Slav Sokols at international happenings and the coordination of mutual assistance and cooperation.¹⁴⁰³ On 9 March 1919 the Croatian Sokol Union held a tumultuous meeting in Zagreb, during which it was finally decided that the Croatian Sokol Union in principle agreed with the formation of a Yugoslav Sokol Union, but the precise organisation of this Sokol Union was left open for further negotiations, which the leadership of the Croatian Sokol Union would carry out after hearing the opinions of Sokol clubs and districts (Brozović 1934: 226-7).¹⁴⁰⁴

On 11 May 1919 the Croatian Sokol Union held a special meeting to discuss its merging in the Sokol Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. At this meeting two proposals for the merging were presented. The first proposal, made by Lazar Car, corresponded to the decision taken at the meeting of South Slav Sokols in Zagreb on 26 January 1919 (cf. 7.1.1). To guarantee the equal distribution of competences in the new Sokol Union, it was suggested that the seat of the union would be in Belgrade, that its publication centre would be Zagreb, that a school for Sokol trainers would be established in Ljubljana and that, finally, in Sarajevo a special institution would be formed for the education of peasants in the fields of hygiene, health and sobriety.¹⁴⁰⁵ A second proposal was made by the districts 'Fonova' (Zagreb), 'Strossmayer' (Osijek) and 'Starčević' (Gospić). In this proposal the Yugoslav Sokol Union would consist of autonomous Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian Sokol Unions. Only when the time was ripe the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokols could step into one unified Yugoslav Sokol movement. Until then, the Yugoslav Union would represent the Yugoslav Sokols at international meetings and its seat would be alternately in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade. In the end,

¹⁴⁰³ 'Glavna skupština Hrv. Sokol. Župe Fonove'. *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/2: 54-6.

¹⁴⁰⁴ 'Zapisnik XI. Redovite glavne skupštine Hrvatskog Sokolskog Saveza'. *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/3: 94-8.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Before the war the so-called 'Brotherhood' association (*Pobratimstvo*) had been active in the promotion of sobriety throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The movement had closely cooperated with the Serbian Sokols in Bosnia (Brozović 1934: 104-11).

the leadership of the Croatian Sokol Union unanimously agreed on a compromise. It was decided that the Croatian Sokol would enter the Yugoslav Sokol Union, but that the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian Sokol Union should remain active until the unification could be practically realised. For the time being, the tasks of the Yugoslav Sokol Union would remain restricted to the representation of the Yugoslav Sokols in the Federation of Slavonic Sokols, the determination of a uniform Yugoslav Sokol terminology, the design of one Yugoslav Sokol uniform, decision-making over common Yugoslav Sokol performances at international happenings, the organisation of Sokol specialist courses and the publication of specialist books and journals. The seat of the Yugoslav Sokol Union would alternate between Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade. Finally, it was decided that the Croatian Sokol clubs would delete the term 'Croatian' from their names and that the Union would stimulate the merging of parallel Serbian and Croatian Sokol clubs in Croatia (Brozović 1934: 91-4).¹⁴⁰⁶

Against the background of growing political tensions the decision of the leadership of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokol Unions at the meeting of 28-30 June 1919 in Novi Sad to establish the Sokol Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and to immediately disband Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokol Unions led to increasingly sharp conflicts in Croatia.¹⁴⁰⁷ A central reason behind the intensity of conflicts in the Croatian regions was that here Serbian and Croatian Sokol clubs often coexisted and were required to unite not only at the distant state-wide level, but also concretely had to merge into one Yugoslav Sokol club. One place where the unification of Croatian and Serbian Sokol clubs turned out to be especially problematic was Zagreb. In the course of 1919 both the Serbian and Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb had deleted the 'tribal' designation in their names and agreed on the merging of both clubs. On 28 December 1919 both clubs officially merged, on the basis of an explicit Yugoslav national idea, as clarified in the opening speech by Milan Dečak, the later leader of the Croatian Sokol, and the declaration formulated on the occasion.¹⁴⁰⁸ Tensions however arose with regard to the leadership of the new Sokol club. After a heavily mediatised election campaign in which the former Croatian Sokol club had called on its members to vote for the Croatian

¹⁴⁰⁶ One of the most vocal Sokols at these meetings was Vladko Maček, the later leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, who favoured the proposal whereby the Croatian Sokol Union would remain active. At the meeting of 11 May Maček held a speech in which he gave an overview of the history of the Croatian nation and argued for the creation of a Croatian fatherland, which caused great tumult and the temporal adjournment of the meeting (Brozović 1934: 93).

¹⁴⁰⁷ See the report by Sokol leader Ivan Oražen at the second general assembly in Maribor on 30 August 1920. 'Zapisnik glavne skupščine Sokolskega Saveza SHS, dne 30 avgusta 1920 v Mariboru'. *Sokolski glasnik* 2 (1920)/8-9: 385.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Dečak, for example, called Zagreb the cultural centre of Yugoslavism and argued that it was the task of every true Yugoslav to become member of the Sokol (Brozović 1934: 96-7).

character of Zagreb and its Sokol, the candidate of the Croatian Sokol, Lav Mazzura, received 468 votes, against 453 votes for the Serbian candidate Laza Popović. In order to avoid a second ballot, which might jeopardise the merging of the Sokol clubs, Popović decided to withdraw his candidacy. That way, Lav Mazzura became the leader of the Zagreb Sokol club. The Serb Srđan Budisavljević and the Croat Milan Dečak were elected as vice-leaders, but after Dečak refused to accept this position out of disagreement with the formation of the Sokol Union of SCS, Franjo Bučar took the position (Brozović 1934: 96-101).¹⁴⁰⁹ In November 1920 new elections for the club leadership again led to tensions within the Zagreb Sokol club. One group of Sokols around Milan Dečak and Franjo Bučar strongly criticised the alleged anti-Croatian character of the Sokol, the interference of politics through certain Sokol members who supported Pribićević and his Democratic Party and the militarisation of the Sokol (Pavlin 2009: 224-5). The list around Dečak and Bučar won the elections with a small majority over what was called the Yugoslav Sokol (750 against 700 votes). In response the Yugoslav camp established a new, separate Sokol club in Zagreb, leading to bitter legal disputes between the two clubs over the use of certain Sokol halls and apparatuses. The battle between the two Zagreb Sokol clubs was transferred to the district level when both groups fought for the majority in the district leadership in the beginning of 1921. After losing this battle, the Sokols around Dečak and Bučar – called the Sokol Club of Wilson Square after the location of its seat – demanded the division of the Zagreb district in two districts, which was not approved by the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union, and boycotted the activities of the district.¹⁴¹⁰

On the second general assembly of the Yugoslav Sokol Union, held in Osijek on 30 June 1921, delegates of the Wilson Square Sokol demanded the reorganisation of the Yugoslav Sokol Union and the re-activation of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Sokol Unions. The proposal was rejected and the Yugoslav Sokol Union accepted a resolution in which it firmly repeated the centralist standpoint of the union and appropriated the Yugoslav national idea, at the same time denying all those who refused to become member of the Yugoslav Sokol Union the right to call themselves Yugoslav:

The Yugoslav Sokol took the flag of Yugoslavism and carries it forward. According to our Sokol ideology, real Yugoslavism is the integral unification and completely mechanical merging of all our existing ethical and moral elements toward the building of one homogeneous Yugoslav mass. The fundamentals of selection, regardless of tribe, religion or class, in the spirit of progress, democracy and social justice, have to establish a Yugoslav type of culture, as a means for the

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Sokolski glasnik* 2 (1920)/2: 127-34.

¹⁴¹⁰ See the report in *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/12: 424-6.

development of Slavonic culture on the road to humanity. (...) The Yugoslav Sokol, under the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union (...), does not recognise any compromise and insists on the standpoint: Who is a Sokol, is a Yugoslav (qtd. in Brozović 1934: 229-30).¹⁴¹¹

Consecutively, on 18 January 1922 the Wilson Square Sokol officially quit the Yugoslav Sokol Union and called on other Croatian Sokol clubs to do the same.¹⁴¹² The example of the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb was followed by quite a number of Sokol clubs in Croatia and Slavonia. In most cases it came to a split in local Sokol clubs between Sokols who remained loyal to the Yugoslav Sokol Union and those in favour of the re-establishment of the Croatian Sokol, and the consecutive parallel existence of a Croatian and a Yugoslav Sokol club.¹⁴¹³ In the course of the 1920s the Croatian Sokol movement greatly expanded, both numerically and territorially. The Croatian Sokol was best represented in the historical regions of Croatia and Slavonia, where it outstripped the Yugoslav Sokol in membership numbers. The organisation also gradually grew stronger in Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. By 1929 the membership numbers of the Croatian Sokol were as followed:

Table 8 Membership of the Croatian Sokol Union per district by 1929¹⁴¹⁴

District	Male members	Female members	Total membership ¹⁴¹⁵	Clubs
Fonova (Zagreb)	2.802	498	4.323	28

¹⁴¹¹ For reports of the Osijek assembly see 'Zapisnik glavne skupščine Jugoslovenskega Sokolskega Saveza v Osijeku dne 30 VI 1921', *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/9-10: 298-310; Pavlin 2009: 226. ['Jugoslavensko Sokolstvo uzelo je zastavu Jugoslavenstva i nosi je napred. Po našem sokolskom shvatanju, realno jugoslavenstvo je integralno ujedinjenje i potpuno mehaničko izmenjivanje svih postojećih etičkih i moralnih elemenata naših u pravcu gradjenja jedne homogene jugoslavenske mase. Načela odabiranja, bez obzira na pleme, veru i stalež, a u duhu napredka, demokratizma i socijalne pravednosti, imaju da stvore jugoslavenski tip kulture, kao sredstvo za razvoj slovenske kulture na putu u čovečanstvo. (...) Jugoslavensko sokolstvo, pod vodstvom Jugoslavenskog Sokolskog Saveza (...) ne poznaje ovde nikakvih kompromisa i stoji na stanovištu: ko je Soko, taj je Jugoslaven'.]

¹⁴¹² See the declaration in which the Sokol club announced its departure from the Yugoslav Sokol Union: 'Sokol na Wilsonovom trgu Jugoslovenskom Sokolskom Savezu'. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 1-4; 'Sokolski sporovi u Zagrebu'. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 4-8.

¹⁴¹³ See for example reports from Sokol clubs in Karlovac, Veliki Grđevac, Ogulin, Gospić, Varaždin. *Sokolski glasnik* 4 (1922)/5-6: 165-6, 175-6, 178-9; 4 (1922)/7: 229-30; 5 (1923)/7-8: 251-2.

¹⁴¹⁴ 'Iz tajničkog izvještaja saveznoj glavnoj skupštini', *Hrvatski Sokol* 11 (1929)/9: 384-93.

¹⁴¹⁵ Adult and youth members.

Ljudevit Posavski (Sisak)	1.297	188	1.854	16
Magdić (Varaždin)	818	88	1.122	11
Preradović (Daruvar)	2.314	352	3.566	34
Starčević (Lika)	358	94	783	5
Strossmayer (Osijek)	2.152	375	3.770	23
Hanuš (Western Slavonia) ¹⁴¹⁶	1.753	298	2.827	17
Zrinski (Karlovac)	858	208	1.361	9
Frankopan (Sušak) ¹⁴¹⁷	449	123	932	10
Tvrtko (Sarajevo) ¹⁴¹⁸	1.156	222	1.789	10
Outside district ¹⁴¹⁹	2.775	516	4.800	17
Total	16.732	2.892	27.127	180

7.3.1.2 Political boundaries, conflict and violence between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols

From the early 1920s rivalry between the Croatian and Yugoslav Sokol was situated within the context of political competition at a local and regional level. In this period Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols were not so much involved in isolated mutual competition, but were rather appropriated in political battles between the Yugoslav Democrats at the one and the Croatian federalist parties at the other side. From the start of the 1920s the Yugoslav Sokol was strongly associated with the Yugoslav Democrats and the central authorities. When the Croatian Sokols in Zagreb for instance declared that they broke with the Yugoslav Sokol Union they complained about the hegemony and interference of the Democratic Party in the Zagreb Sokol club.¹⁴²⁰ At the same time, the Croatian Sokol movement was closely linked to Croatian federalist parties. Leading figures from the Croatian Peasant Party, such as Vladimir Maček and especially Rudolf Horvat, professor of history at the University of Zagreb who was responsible for the Croatian Sokol's educational and cultural work, had already been prominent members of the Croatian Sokol before the World War and continued to play a leading role in the

¹⁴¹⁶ This district was formed in March 1929 as the result of a division of the Strossmayer district.

¹⁴¹⁷ This district was established in the course of 1926-27 as the result of a division of the Zrinski district.

¹⁴¹⁸ This district was established in October 1926.

¹⁴¹⁹ These were clubs in southern Dalmatia and Herzegovina which did not fall under one of the districts.

¹⁴²⁰ 'Sokol na Wilsonovom trgu Jugoslovenskom Sokolskom Savezu'. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 1-4; 'Sokolski sporovi u Zagrebu'. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 4-8.

Croatian Sokol after 1918. Especially in the years 1924 and 1925 the Croatian Sokol was closely associated with the Croatian Peasant Party. In August 1924, for example, Stjepan Radić and 14 other HSS members of parliament attended a happening organised by one of Zagreb's Croatian Sokol clubs.¹⁴²¹ On 21 September 1924 Radić attended a public performance by Croatian Sokols in Rečica in central Croatia, on the occasion of which he held a short speech praising the Croatian Sokols for their patriotic work.¹⁴²² Frequently, public performances by Croatian Sokols were also combined with political meetings of the Croatian Peasant Party.¹⁴²³ After October 1925, when the Croatian Peasant Party turned its attention to the newly established *Seljačka sloga*, direct cooperation between the Croatian Peasant Party and the Croatian Sokols significantly decreased, although the Croatian Sokol movement continued to support the Croatian federalist movement. After the death of Stjepan Radić the Croatian Sokol fully participated in the hero cult of this new Croatian martyr. Croatian Sokol clubs frequently carried pictures of Radić with them in parades and in December 1928 a new district was established in Daruvar (western Slavonia) carrying the name of Stjepan Radić, with the explicit support of the new leader of the Croatian Peasant Party Vladko Maček.¹⁴²⁴ Other leaders of the Croatian Sokol were associated with the Croatian Party of Right, the so-called Frankists, such as Mile Budak, who later become engaged in the Ustaša movement and occupied leading positions in the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War.

The politicisation of the Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol movement was also manifested in political interference with both movements. Put succinctly, Yugoslav Democrats supported the Yugoslav Sokol and thwarted the development of the Croatian Sokol movement, whereas the Croatian federalist parties supported the Croatian Sokol and hindered the work of the Yugoslav Sokol. Complicating the situation were the frequent changes in government and political alliances at the central level, which invariably led to shifts at the regional level and constantly changing positions toward Sokol clubs. Until the end of 1922 Yugoslav Democrats occupied the ruling positions in regional and local governments in the former Austro-Hungarian part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This was manifested in a clearly unfavourable position toward the re-establishment of Croatian Sokol clubs in these areas. On 14 June 1922 for example the regional government of Croatia-Slavonia banned the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb, because anti-state slogans had been shouted on the occasion of a parade the Croatian

¹⁴²¹ *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/10: 307-8.

¹⁴²² *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/11: 355-6

¹⁴²³ For instance in Rečica on 21 September 1924 and in Kutina on 26 October 1924, *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/11: 355-6; 6 (1924)/12: 372-3.

¹⁴²⁴ *Hrvatski Sokol* 11 (1929)/1: 39-40.

Sokol had organised through the city.¹⁴²⁵ In the same period numerous reports were made in *Hrvatski Sokol*, the journal of the Croatian Sokol, of Croatian Sokol clubs which were boycotted by local authorities. Local authorities frequently forbade nascent Croatian Sokol clubs to hold public activities,¹⁴²⁶ or interfered in conflicts between Yugoslav and Croatian wings in Sokol clubs by confiscating the Sokol club's possessions and allotting it to the Yugoslav branch, as for example in Bjelovar (central Croatia), Klanjec (north-western Croatia) and Gospić (Lika).¹⁴²⁷ In Ogulin in western Croatia local authorities spread a circular in which they clarified that the Croatian Sokol club which had been established was illegal as long as it had not been approved by the authorities.¹⁴²⁸ Two leaders of the local Sokol club were fined because they had organised a Croatian Sokol march through the town without asking permission of the local authorities.¹⁴²⁹ Illustrating the – at least perceived – strong link between Yugoslav Sokols and state authorities, in this period the journal of the Croatian Sokols consequently denoted the Yugoslav Sokols as “police-Sokols”.¹⁴³⁰

The formation of the homogeneous Radical government in December 1922 and the consecutive removal of Yugoslav Democrats from leading posts in regional governing bodies resulted in an obvious shift. The strong support for the Yugoslav Sokol was significantly reduced and the Croatian Sokol movement was allowed to develop into a parallel and truly competitive association. This is not to say that a complete turnaround took place and that the Croatian Sokol became the privileged gymnastics movement, but the authorities clearly adopted a more compromised position toward the Croatian Sokol. Already on 14 January 1923 the new regional government annulled the ban on the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb, on the condition that it would no longer participate in political life.¹⁴³¹ In Ogulin and Klanjec, where local authorities had blocked the establishment of Croatian Sokol clubs, the new district authorities allowed the stronger Croatian branches in the Sokol clubs to hold assemblies, which decided that the Sokol

¹⁴²⁵ The leadership of the Croatian Sokols complained that they had not had the chance to defend themselves and insinuated that the authorities had mobilised provocateurs in search for a reason to ban the Croatian Sokol club (Dečak 1922).

¹⁴²⁶ ‘Dalnja nasilja proti Hrvatskome Sokolstvu: nepodobštine u Sisačkom kotaru’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/8-9: 141.

¹⁴²⁷ ‘Nasilje protiv Hrvatskome Sokolstvu’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/4-5: 70-2; ‘Dalnja nasilja proti Hrvatskome Sokolstvu: nepodobštine u Klanjcu’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/8-9: 139-40.

¹⁴²⁸ ‘Uzimanje taoca u Ogulinu’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/6-7: 109-10. The Croatian Sokols commented that “such decisions show that the balkanisation in Croatia is going on at full force” [“takove odluke zaista dokazuje da je balkanizacija u Hrvatskoj u potpunom jeku.”] (quotation on 110).

¹⁴²⁹ ‘Kakovima se sve nasiljima ne služe proti hrvatskome sokolstvu’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/8-9: 136-41.

¹⁴³⁰ ‘Policaj-sokoli’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/10-11: 165-7.

¹⁴³¹ ‘Uspostava Hrvatskog Sokola u Zagrebu’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 33-42.

club, with all its possessions, would step out of the Yugoslav Sokol Union and re-enter the Union of Croatian Sokols.¹⁴³²

At the same time, numerous Yugoslav Sokol clubs from the region complained to central governmental bodies that they were discriminated against by local authorities. In Crikvenica at the Croatian littoral, for example, in August 1924 a group of Sokols unilaterally split off from the Yugoslav Sokol and formed a Croatian Sokol club. In a report to the Ministry of Education the Yugoslav Sokol club complained that it could not compete with the Croatian Sokol, because the Croatian Sokol had many members who supported it financially and because the town authorities gave a preferential treatment to the Croatian Sokol club. They had, for example, given the Croatian Sokol a terrain for the building of its own complex, ignoring earlier decisions to give the terrain to the Yugoslav Sokol.¹⁴³³ A similar complaint was sent to the Ministry of Education by the Yugoslav Sokol club in Karlovac in central Croatia. Accordingly, the local “separatist” authorities had denied the Yugoslav Sokol the right to carry out its activities in the local girls’ school. Instead, now the Croatian Sokol used the building. The Ministry of Interior interfered on 6 April 1924, prescribing that the Yugoslav Sokol could again use the school building. Also, the Ministry of Education supported the Yugoslav Sokol group with 2000 dinars, to compensate for the financial problems the group faced.¹⁴³⁴ In Nova Gradiška in southern Slavonia the pre-war Serbian and Croatian Sokol clubs had merged to form one Sokol club after the war. However, there remained constant frictions and in the beginning of 1923 a majority of the Sokol leadership decided to join the Union of Croatian Sokol clubs. The remaining part split off from the local Sokol and formed a Yugoslav Sokol club. However, the problem was that the Yugoslav Sokol did not have its own gymnastics equipment and that local authorities refused to support the Yugoslav Sokol.¹⁴³⁵ In this case, the Ministry of Education could not give the Sokol financial support, because it did not have sufficient budgetary means.¹⁴³⁶ In Križevci in northern Croatia a split occurred between Yugoslav and Croat-oriented Sokols in March 1922, leading to fierce battles over the right to use the Sokol club’s hall and equipment. The Yugoslav Sokols appealed to the regional government of Juraj Demetrović and to the Ministry of Education for support against the Croatian wing, in their words a group of

¹⁴³² *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/5: 136-7; 5 (1923)/6: 155.

¹⁴³³ Report from the Yugoslav Sokol club in Crikvenica to the Ministry of Education, 30 December 1924. AJ 66-473-746.

¹⁴³⁴ Letter from the Yugoslav Sokol club of Karlovac to the Ministry of Education, 11 June 1924. AJ 66-474-746.

¹⁴³⁵ Illustrative of the changing relations, before the war the Serbian and Croatian Sokol in the village had made use of the same equipment.

¹⁴³⁶ Report from the Sokol club of Nova Gradiška to the Ministry of Education, 8 December 1924; response by the Ministry of Education, 19 December 1924. AJ 66-474-746.

Frankists, Radićists and Clericals.¹⁴³⁷ In April 1923 the new regional and local authorities allowed the club to hold an assembly which decided in favour of the Croatian wing.¹⁴³⁸ Consecutively, the Yugoslav branch established its own Yugoslav Sokol and requested financial support from the Ministry of Education for the building of its own hall. The Ministry of Education complied and gave the Yugoslav Sokol club 2000 dinars.¹⁴³⁹ Similarly, the Ministry of Education donated 3000 dinars to the Yugoslav Sokol club in Slavenska Požega in western Slavonia to support it against the competing Croatian Sokol club and clerical youth movements.¹⁴⁴⁰

The formation of the Pašić-Pribićević government in March 1924 expectedly implied yet another, brief, policy shift toward the Sokol movement. The cases mentioned in the paragraph above indicate the strong financial support of the Ministry of Education to Yugoslav Sokol clubs. For the same period I have encountered frequent reports of public happenings organised by the Croatian which were suddenly banned, or which were closely checked by a great number of soldiers and policemen. In December 1924 local authorities confiscated the Croatian Sokol hall in Čakovec in northern Croatia.¹⁴⁴¹ In early 1925, the Croatian Sokol club of Podgorač in eastern Slavonia was simply banned by local authorities because it was connected to HRSS, and the property of the Croatian Sokol club in Voćin in western Slavonia was confiscated because the club's statutes had not been approved by the authorities.¹⁴⁴² Minister of Education Svetozar Pribićević's prescription of July 1924 that students and teachers could not be member of the Croatian Sokol again led to tensions at the local level, as for example in Otočac (Lika) and Pakrac (western Slavonia), where incidents occurred with school going children when they were forced to take off their Croatian Sokol insignias, in Bakar in the Croatian littoral, where the local Croatian Sokol club was no longer allowed to use the local school building for its training, or in Požega in Slavonia, where the Croatian Sokol club was left without youth branches because of the decision by the Ministry of Education.¹⁴⁴³ On 18 September 1924 the Ministry of Education explicitly proscribed

¹⁴³⁷ Letter from the Sokol club of Križevci to the Ministry of Education 12 August 1922. AJ 66-474-746.

¹⁴³⁸ *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/6: 155.

¹⁴³⁹ Letter from the Sokol club in Križevci to the Ministry of Education, 25 January 1925. AJ 66-474-746.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Letter from the Sokol club in Slavenska Požega to the Ministry of Education, 14 April 1924. AJ 66-474-746.

¹⁴⁴¹ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/1: 22-3.

¹⁴⁴² *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/2: 42.

¹⁴⁴³ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/5: 126-40. For other examples see the reports of the secretary of the Union of Croatian Sokol clubs presented at its annual assembly on 7 July 1925 ['Izvjestaj tajnika H.S.S. glavnoj skupštini H.S.S. 7 lipnja 1925'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/7: 187-9] and 20 July 1926 ['Tajnički izvještaj glavnoj skupštini Hrvatskog Sokolskog Saveza dne 20 lipnja 1926' *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/7: 248-9].

school children from the Crikvenica region to participate in activities of the recently established Croatian Sokol club, because that was a “separatist” organisation.¹⁴⁴⁴

In some extreme cases in the early 1920s rivalry between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols took quite spectacular, violent forms. When the Zagreb district of the Yugoslav Sokol, for example, organised its jamboree on 10 and 11 June 1922, it came to violent clashes and the arrest of eight Croatian Sokols.¹⁴⁴⁵ Journals affiliated to the Yugoslav Sokol reported that members of the Croatian Sokol club disturbed the happening and even fired gunshots during the parade and the party which was held at the end of the festivities.¹⁴⁴⁶ The Croatian Sokol press reported that the Croatian Sokols had organised an alternative happening on 11 June 1922, with a parade and festivities in Šestine in the northern part of Zagreb. In this account of the facts, shots were fired at the parade organised by the Croatian Sokols.¹⁴⁴⁷ On the occasion of a regional jamboree and annual assembly of the Yugoslav Sokol in Zagreb in August 1924 it again came to riots between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols, with both sides blaming each other for instigating the riots.¹⁴⁴⁸

These violent outbursts have to be situated within a broader context of escalating violence between aggressive nationalist organisations, which were especially salient in the former Austro-Hungarian part of the kingdom during the first half of the 1920s. Particularly prominent were the Organisation of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA, ‘*Organizacija jugoslovenskih nacionalista*’), the Croatian National Youth (HNAO, ‘*Hrvatska nacionalna omladina*’), and the Serbian National Youth (SRNAO, ‘*Srpska nacionalna omladina*’). In fact these were groups with similar ideological and methodological programs, albeit with a different national and political outlook. All of them were radically nationalist, anti-communist and anti-Semitic. With their glorification of violence, racial purity and rebirth, the adoption of a corporatist economic model and opposition against what they saw as the excessive freedom inherent in the democratic system in favour of a more authoritarian system of government, these groups also included typical proto-fascist elements in their ideologies (Bakić 2004b: 26-33; Bošković 2006: 94-131; Đorđević M. 2006: 210-13; Gligorijević 1963: 342-5; 1964: 14-5; Karaula 2008: 9-14). ORJUNA was originally formed in March 1921 in Split, a stronghold of Yugoslav nationalism and a hotbed of radical Yugoslav youth organisations of different political

¹⁴⁴⁴ Decision by the Ministry of Education, 18 September 1924. AJ 66 (pov)-59-154.

¹⁴⁴⁵ ‘Progoni hrvatskih sokolova’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/6-7: 112.

¹⁴⁴⁶ *Sokolski glasnik* 4 (1922)/7: 214-7.

¹⁴⁴⁷ ‘Hrvatsko sokolsko slavlje u Šestinama’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/6-7: 103-4.

¹⁴⁴⁸ For the Yugoslav version, see Brozović (1925: 37-99, 165-82, 219-26) and ‘Sokolski dnevi v Zagrebu’. *Sokolski glasnik* 6 (1924)/16-18: 252; for the Croatian version see ‘Komunikej Starješinstva Hrvatskih Sokolskih društava u Zagrebu’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/9: 254-6.

and ideological colours in the period preceding, during and following the First World War (Bošković 2006: 37-70; Jakir 1999: 72-106). In the early 1920s ORJUNA gradually spread toward other formerly Austro-Hungarian areas in the country. The group was closely affiliated to and supported by the Yugoslav Democratic Party and in the period between 1921 and 1923 it was unrestricted and often openly privileged by local and regional authorities from the Democratic Party in its violent and terrorist campaigns against different opponents, namely: Croatian “separatists”, communists and minorities (Bošković 2006: 77-111; Đorđević M. 2006: 187-98; Gligorijević 1963: 320-33, 357-64; Jakir 1999: 366-9; Perovšek 1996: 255-7; Zečević 1985: 186-9). In a reaction against the terrorist campaigns of ORJUNA both a Croatian counterpart HANAO, supported by the parties in the Croatian Bloc and active in Croatia-Slavonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a Serbian counterpart SRNAO, supported by the Radical Party and active in Vojvodina and Bosnia-Herzegovina, were formed in 1921-22. These groups especially gained power after the unitarist and centralist wing in the Democratic Party – the later Independent Democrats – were ousted from the central government in 1923 and a more compromised position toward the Croatian Bloc was adopted by both the Radical Party and the moderate wing of the Democratic Party (Đorđević M. 2006: 196-9; Gligorijević 1963: 346-351; 1964: 3-17; Karaula 2008: 1-7). During the first half of the 1920s these groups engaged in frequent acts of mutual harassment, vandalism and riots, sometimes with fatal outcomes (Đorđević M. 2006: 192-99; Gligorijević 1963: 322-6, 346-51, 362-4; 1964: 18-30; Karaula 2008: 7-8; Perovšek 1996: 257). All of these movements were banned in March 1929 (Pavlin 2002: 57).

In the aftermath of the riots in Zagreb in June 1922 Croatian Sokols accused Yugoslav Sokols of being simply a branch of ORJUNA. Although the Yugoslav Sokols categorically denied these accusations,¹⁴⁴⁹ I have encountered frequent examples of close connections between Sokols and the abovementioned radical groups. In the summer of 1922 a group of Croatian Sokols from Zagreb was harassed, robbed and physically attacked by a group of Yugoslav Sokols and members of ORJUNA during an excursion to the Plitvice Lakes.¹⁴⁵⁰ Later that summer one of the “Yugoslavs” who had been involved in the events by the Plitvice Lakes was killed during clashes with Croatian nationalists in Gospić (Gligorijević 1963: 325).¹⁴⁵¹ On 30 January 1923 a group of Croatian Sokols was attacked on a party in Zagreb because they were wearing their Croatian Sokol insignia. Later that night a group of 40 young men barged into a bar where the Croatian Sokols were sitting and

¹⁴⁴⁹ ‘Izjava’. *Sokolski glasnik* 5 (1923)/7-8: 224.

¹⁴⁵⁰ ‘Napadaj na Hrvatske Sokole na Plitvičkim Jezerima’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/6-7: 104-5.

¹⁴⁵¹ According to the Croatian Sokol press ORJUNA-member Milan Crevar had been killed by another member of ORJUNA who was trying to stab a Croatian Sokol. ‘Progoni hrvatskih sokolova’, *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/6-7: 113.

started shooting at them, causing some serious injuries.¹⁴⁵² When the Croatian Sokol club in Glina in central Croatia organised a jamboree in July 1924 they were joined by a group of HANAO members, who were there to protect the Croatian Sokols against ORJUNA. In their report the Croatian Sokols complained that the Croatian nationalists had been obliged to hand over their flags when entering the village and that they had not been able to participate in the Sokol march, whereas, according to the Croatian Sokols, ORJUNA members could freely participate in Sokol parades. Also, it was reported that the Croatian Sokols were attacked by Yugoslav Sokols and ORJUNA members when they passed Vrginmost, a village with a Serbian majority, on their way home.¹⁴⁵³ In his article on SRNAO Gligorijević states that Serbian nationalists had made attempts to form a separate Serbian Sokol, without much success, and that they harassed Yugoslav Sokols in Vojvodina (Gligorijević 1963: 10, 19). Although these reports should be treated with some caution, they do point at close interconnection, if not in reality than at least in perception, between the Croat-Yugoslav conflict in the Sokol movement and conflicts between violent proto-fascist nationalist groups.

7.3.1.3 Overlapping paths: competition and rivalry between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols

After Pribićević's Yugoslav Democrats had been ousted from power in July 1925 rivalry between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol clubs became less politicised and took less spectacular forms, although acts of violence between them did not disappear altogether. At the train station of Gospić in the Lika region for example it came to skirmishes between a local Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol club, when both clubs were returning from commemorations which had been held on the birthday of Prince Petar. A police investigation revealed that the Yugoslav club had been the main instigator of the clash, because they had provoked the Croatian Sokols by shouting offensive and aggressive slogans. The leader of the Yugoslavs, the teacher Marko Počuča, was fined with 300 dinars.¹⁴⁵⁴ When the Croatian Sokol club from Zagreb was holding a propaganda trip through Dalmatia in July 1926 it came to clashes with members of ORJUNA and some Yugoslav Sokols in Skradin and in the train on the way to Split and on the way back to Zagreb.¹⁴⁵⁵ Similar clashes between ORJUNA, SRNAO and Yugoslav Sokols at the one side, and Croatian Sokols at the other side occurred during a jamboree organised by Croatian

¹⁴⁵² 'Krvoproliće radi Hrvatskog Sokolskog znaka'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 54.

¹⁴⁵³ *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/8: 238-9.

¹⁴⁵⁴ They shouted: "Are you virtuous – yes, we are! Do we want blood – yes, we do! Will we shoot – yes, we will!" ["jeste li čedni – jesmo, hoćete li krvi – hoćemo, hoćemo li pucati – hoćemo."] *AJ* 66(pov)-15-39.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 304-10.

Sokols in Sremska Mitrovica in Srem in August 1926.¹⁴⁵⁶ In the summer of 1926 it came to riots between Croatian Sokols and members of ORJUNA at a public performance in Jesenice ob Savi, nearby Brežice on the border between Slovenia and Croatia, where the Croatian Sokols had established a Slovenian Sokol club in June 1926.¹⁴⁵⁷

By the second half of the 1920s both the Croatian and Yugoslav Sokol had established a well-organised network of clubs in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In these regions the coexistence of parallel Croatian and Yugoslav clubs with overlapping activities and programs resulted in more direct acts of competition and rivalry. The gymnastics training of Croatian Sokols was virtually identical to that of the Yugoslav Sokols, as were their programs for spiritual education (with theatre groups and choral societies, brass bands, lessons against illiteracy, public lectures). Croatian Sokols too organised public happenings consisting of gymnastic performances, competitions, parades through the city and evenings with a more entertaining character. Finally, support of local authorities played an equally important role in activities of Croatian Sokols. When the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb for instance organised a theatre evening on 13 May 1923 one of the guests was Ernest Čimić, the Radical Party's new royal deputy for the regional government in Croatia-Slavonia, who had replaced the Democrat Juraj Demetrović and embodied the more moderate course of the homogeneous Radical government in former Austro-Hungarian regions.¹⁴⁵⁸ When the Croatian Sokols in Varaždin paraded through the city on the occasion of the celebration of their 20th anniversary on Vidovdan 1923 they were greeted and praised by the mayor of Varaždin.¹⁴⁵⁹

The overlapping character of the movements' activities almost inescapably added a competitive element to their activities. In December 1924 the Croatian and Yugoslav Sokol club of Varaždin were in dispute over the use of the local gymnasium for the traditional celebration of New Year's Eve, which both clubs had planned to hold according to the Sokol tradition in the region. In this specific case the local authorities supported the Yugoslav Sokol, much to the anger of the Croatian Sokols.¹⁴⁶⁰ In the summer of 1925 the district authorities banned all further activities of the Croatian Sokol club in Crikvenica at the Croatian Littoral because the club had held a parade, shouting slogans in favour of the Croatian Sokol and the Croatian sea, at the time when the Yugoslav Sokol club from Crikvenica was returning from a district jamboree in

¹⁴⁵⁶ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/10: 409-12.

¹⁴⁵⁷ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/10: 385-6.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/6: 159.

¹⁴⁵⁹ 'Proslava 20-godišnjice osnutka Hrvatskoga Sokola u Varaždinu'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/7: 172-4.

¹⁴⁶⁰ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/1: 24-5

Senj.¹⁴⁶¹ A regional jamboree organised by the Croatian Sokol district of Osijek in the summer of 1927 was disturbed by a group of Yugoslavs Sokols who marched the streets shouting slogans in favour of the Yugoslav Sokol and against the Croatian Sokol.¹⁴⁶²

Other forms of competition revolved around the commemoration of certain historical figures or events which both groups considered theirs. An illustrative case in point was the annual commemoration of the holiday of Zrinski and Frankopan on 30 April, celebrated by both Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol clubs in very similar ways. Typically, Sokols first jointly marched to the local church where they attended a special mass in the honour of Zrinski and Frankopan. Consecutively, a parade of Sokols and sympathisers returned to the local Sokol hall for a commemorative program, consisting not only of speeches on the historical importance of Zrinski and Frankopan, but also of Sokol gymnastic performances, performances by choral societies, theatre plays and a party. In both cases, the commemoration was not only a matter of patriotism and Sokol gymnastics, but also a social event with a strong entertaining character. In a report on the celebration of Zrinski-Frankopan Day 1925 the Croatian Sokol club from Vlaška Street in Zagreb for example complained that the turnout had been shameful because those who were normally coming to Sokol events to eat, drink and dance had not shown up as a result of the bad weather.¹⁴⁶³

One notable difference between the two commemorations, and this remark can be made for other Sokol activities too, was that whereas the Croatian Sokols celebrated the holiday in a strictly Croatian framework, with Croatian flags, Croatian patriotic songs and performances and a Croatian interpretation of the two heroes as martyrs for the Croatian national case,¹⁴⁶⁴ Yugoslav Sokols typically made attempts to expand the meaning of the commemoration beyond the Croatian collective framework, not only visually and symbolically, but also in their historical interpretation of the events. In a 1924 article Ante Brozović, a prominent member of the Yugoslav Sokol club in Zagreb, argued that on the day of Zrinski and Frankopan Sokols did not only commemorate the suffering of the Croatian people under Austrian rule – which was the traditional Croatian interpretation put forward by the Croatian Sokol clubs – but also more abstractly the suffering of all Yugoslavs under foreign occupation. Also, the commemoration of these national heroes should keep alive the national duty of the Sokols to liberate those Yugoslavs who were still under foreign rule (Brozović 1924). Similar messages were also typically presented by speakers at commemorations held by Yugoslav Sokol clubs. In a commemoration held in 1931 in Osijek the speaker for

¹⁴⁶¹ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/9: 307-10.

¹⁴⁶² *Hrvatski Sokol* 9 (1927)/7: 311-2.

¹⁴⁶³ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/7: 212-3.

¹⁴⁶⁴ See the interpretation provided in 'Slava hrvatskim mučenicima'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/4: 120-2.

example first gave a typical historical overview of the two martyrs and then argued that Zrinski and Frankopan were not only celebrated by Croats but by all Yugoslavs, because the protectors of Croatia were also protectors and martyrs for Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁶⁵ Still, indicative of the limitations to the export of the celebration of Zrinski-Frankopan Day outside Croatia-Slavonia, and the regional variations in the concretisation of Yugoslav national identity by the Yugoslav Sokol, the celebration of Zrinski-Frankopan Day in Yugoslav Sokol clubs outside Croatia-Slavonia remained restricted to a public lecture and never obtained the same social status as in Croatia-Slavonia. In the district Belgrade for example only in 1933 the holiday of Zrinski-Frankopan was celebrated for the first time with a public lecture.¹⁴⁶⁶

In any case, the practice was that in places where Croatian and Yugoslav Sokol clubs coexisted, two alternative commemorations took place on Zrinski-Frankopan Day, with a strong competitive character. Both in 1925 and 1927, for instance, the Yugoslav Sokols in Đakovo in Slavonia had asked to participate in the festivities which were organised by other cultural organisations in the town on Zrinski-Frankopan Day. However, in both cases they were not allowed to by the Croatian Sokols and the Croatian choral society Preradović, on the basis of the argument that Zrinski-Frankopan Day was an exclusively “Croatian” affair. To this, the Yugoslav Sokols organised their own commemorative event with the local fire brigade.¹⁴⁶⁷

A similar competition took place with regard to the celebration of the millennial anniversary of the crowning of King Tomislav, which both the Yugoslav and the Croatian Sokol movement had seized as a crucial historical date. The peak of the festivities of that year was the all-Croatian Sokol jamboree which the Croatian Sokols organised between 14 and 16 August 1925 in Zagreb. The jamboree was very similar to the ones organised by the Yugoslav Sokols, consisting of a parade, a public performances and an entertainment program. The most notable difference was that the Croatian happening conveyed a strong Croatian symbolic narrative, with Croatian songs, Croatian flags, the presence of Sokols from different parts of Croatia, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, in traditional costumes.¹⁴⁶⁸ On the last day of the jamboree the Sokols inaugurated a special monument, the so-called ‘Grave’ (‘Mogila’) at Maksimir Park. In fact, this monument consisted of a grave mound on top of which a Sokol sculpture would be placed in the future. Within the mound the Sokols stored books, documents, sculptures, folk costumes and other objects related to Croatian history and

¹⁴⁶⁵ *Sokolski glasnik* 2/21 (22.05.1931): 5.

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Sokolski glasnik* 4/24 (09.06.1933): 4.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Hrvatski sokol* 7 (1925)/7: 208-9; *Sokolski glasnik* 9 (1927)/9: 211.

¹⁴⁶⁸ ‘II. Hrvatski svesokolski slet u Zagrebu prigodom 1000-godišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/12: 400-7.

the Sokol movement. On the day of the inauguration representatives of all regional Croatian Sokol clubs brought with them soil from their home region and from special Croatian historical sites, such as Petrova gora – the site where the last native Croatian medieval king Petar Svačić died in battle –, the field where Tomislav was crowned, or soil from Mark's Square in Zagreb, where the independence of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia with Rijeka, and the formation of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was proclaimed on 29 October 1918. This soil was then spread over the mound, so that the Sokol monument would literally rest on Croatian soil. Around the mound ten lime trees were planted, symbolising ten centuries of Croatian history since the crowning of Tomislav.¹⁴⁶⁹

An alternative commemoration was organised by the Yugoslav Sokols on 7 and 8 September 1925 in Zagreb, consisting of the typical academy, assembly and banquet.¹⁴⁷⁰ On this occasion speakers like the historian Viktor Novak and Engelbert Gangl glorified King Tomislav from a Yugoslav point of view, by establishing an explicit link between the medieval Croatian Kingdom and the Yugoslav national case, and by drawing parallels between Tomislav, Tsar Dušan and Samo, Tomislav's Serbian and Slovenian counterpart respectively.¹⁴⁷¹ However, against the background of the sharp political turnaround which had occurred with the formation of a government coalition of Radicals and Croatian Peasants in July 1925, it was the Croatian event which received the full support of the state authorities. Not only did the authorities put 500.000 dinars at the disposal of the Croatian Sokols for the organisation of the jamboree (Matijević 2004: 1133), the King himself attended the happening on 15 August, accompanied by a large number of Ministers from the Radical Party and the Croatian Peasant Party.¹⁴⁷² That way, the Yugoslav state authorities incorporated the narrow Croatian celebration of the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom by the Croatian Sokol within a broader Yugoslav collective narrative. The daughter of Stjepan Radić, for instance, greeted the King with a poem which linked Aleksandar to Tomislav and spoke of the harmony of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes.¹⁴⁷³ Similarly, the mayor of Zagreb Vjekoslav Heinzl expressed the joy of the Croats to finally be able to greet a king of their blood and

¹⁴⁶⁹ 'II. Hrvatski svesokolski slet u Zagrebu prigodom 1000-godišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/12: 411-2.

¹⁴⁷⁰ 'Proslava tisućgodišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva'. *Sokolski glasnik* 7 (1925)/12-16: 89.

¹⁴⁷¹ 'Proslava tisućgodišnjice Hrvatskoga kraljevstva u Zagrebu, dne 7. i 8. septembra 1925', *Sokolski glasnik* 7 (1927)/19-20: 146-9.

¹⁴⁷² 'II. Hrvatski svesokolski slet u Zagrebu prigodom 1000-godišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/12: 408.

¹⁴⁷³ See 'Mogila hiljadugodišnjice', *Politika* 17.08.1925: 2.

language, after ten centuries of suffering.¹⁴⁷⁴ Expectedly, it was difficult to accept for the Yugoslav Sokols that their happening was only attended by minor representatives of Zagreb's city council, district chief Treščec and royal representative General Uzun Mirković, whereas the King himself had attended the "separatist, tribal and purely political manifestation" of the Croatian Sokols.¹⁴⁷⁵

Another historical figure who was celebrated by both Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol clubs was Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Again this led to numerous disputes over the question which movement had the right to celebrate Strossmayer. On 7 November 1926 Ivan Meštrović's Strossmayer statue was officially unveiled in Zagreb. For this occasion the organising committee had only invited the Croatian Sokol to participate in the ceremony in order to avoid incidents.¹⁴⁷⁶ The ceremony itself consisted of a mass celebrated by Archbishop Bauer, a parade which was led by the Croatian Sokols, the official unveiling of the monument and a commemorative evening in the Croatian Sokol hall with speeches, music and declamations (Malović 1926). Of course, this led to strong protest from the part of the Yugoslav Sokols, who had been only allowed to send a small delegation of five representatives, which they refused to do as they considered it an act of disdain against the honour and reputation of the Yugoslav Sokol. In a letter to the organising committee the Yugoslav Sokols threatened that they could "mobilise all their forces" to pay honour to Strossmayer – in other words, that they were capable to seize the commemoration by force – but in the end they decided not to do so in order to avoid riots on a day which was intended to celebrate mutual tolerance and unity.¹⁴⁷⁷ In a manifesto of 30 October 1926 the Yugoslav Sokols clarified to the public that they did not participate in the ceremony because they were not invited. But, they argued, the spirit of Josip Juraj Strossmayer was on their side and strongly protested against this act of Croatian narrow-mindedness.¹⁴⁷⁸ As a response, the Yugoslav Sokol district of Osijek held an alternative commemoration by the grave of Josip Juraj Strossmayer in Đakovo.¹⁴⁷⁹

7.3.1.4 The Croatian Sokol under the Royal Dictatorship

After the establishment of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia acts of rivalry between the Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols became less outspoken. However, the conflict remained relevant in acts of resistance by fervent Croatian Sokols against the new Sokol

¹⁴⁷⁴ 'II. Hrvatski svesokolski slet u Zagrebu prigodom 1000-godišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/12: 408.

¹⁴⁷⁵ 'Naše stanovište'. *Sokolski glasnik* 7 (1925)/17-18: 137-40.

¹⁴⁷⁶ 'Narod i sokolstvo'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/20: 194.

¹⁴⁷⁷ 'Post festum'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/21-22: 211-2.

¹⁴⁷⁸ 'Narod i sokolstvo'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/20: 194-5.

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/23: 241.

movement. In September 1931 Prime Minister Petar Živković reported to the Ministry of Education that he been informed that representatives of former ‘tribal’ Sokol movements prevented people from joining the new Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁸⁰ To this, Minister of Education Maksimović decreed that members of former ‘tribal’ Sokol clubs could not hinder the development of the new Sokol movement.¹⁴⁸¹ The Ministry of Education started an investigation against the teacher Luka Milinković, who worked at an elementary school in Križ, 40 kilometres south-east of Zagreb, after it had been informed that Milinković had strongly opposed the entrance of the Croatian Sokol club in the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In a speech he held at a meeting of the Croatian Sokol club he referred to Eugen Kvaternik and Ante Starčević, political symbols of the Croatian state right. A few days later a certain August Petrović, a relative of Milinković and principal of the school, had organised a new meeting and pushed through the merging of the Croatian Sokol in the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, according to the authorities in order to protect Milinković. However, as reported by the police, Milinković continued his anti-Sokol work in school. He had for example taught his pupils an adapted version of the Yugoslav Sokol hymn, in which he had changed “from the top of Avala” to “from the top of our Sljeme”,¹⁴⁸² and “over Yugoslavia” to “over our dear Croatia”. The Ministry of Education transferred Milinković to Mače, to the north of Zagreb, close to the border with Slovenia.¹⁴⁸³ In September 1932 the local authorities of the district Zlatar informed that illegal anti-state flyers had been found on the occasion of searches in the houses of two close friends of Luka Milinković in Mače. It was reported that the driving force behind the small group of anti-state activists in Mače was Luka Milinković himself. Milinković was transferred again, this time far away, to a village in Morava banovina.¹⁴⁸⁴

In a similar case, the local authorities from Ogulin in western Croatia reported about the teacher at rest Juraj Marković, who as the leader of the local Croatian Sokol club had refused to join the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and continued to hinder the work of the Sokol. Marković had already been forced to retire in 1919 but still occupied a very prominent place in Ogulin as secretary of the local cooperative. During the parliamentary “regime”, it was reported, Marković had been a supporter of the federalist parties and had maintained close contact with the later Ustaša leader Ante

¹⁴⁸⁰ Report from Prime Minister Živković to Minister of Education Maksimović, 11 September 1931. AJ 66(pov)-74-202.

¹⁴⁸¹ Decision by Minister of Education Maksimović, 17 September 1931. AJ 66(pov)-74-202.

¹⁴⁸² Avala is hill nearby Belgrade, Sljeme is a hill nearby Zagreb.

¹⁴⁸³ Report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Education, 10 June 1930; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 6 October 1930. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Report from the district authorities of Zlatar, September 1932; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 20 October 1932. AJ 66(pov)-13-34.

Pavelić. The local authorities demanded that Marković would be reactivated as a teacher, so that he could be transferred to a place far away. The Ministry of Education complied, so that the necessary legal procedure could be followed.¹⁴⁸⁵

7.3.1.5 The national meaning of the rivalry between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols

Acts of rivalry between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokol clubs remained a constant feature in the Sokol movement's activities in the former Austro-Hungarian parts of the state and occupied a visible position in societal life in those regions. In the first half of the 1920s conflicts and rivalries between both Sokol movements were highly politicised, and expressed and visualised the increasing political polarisation between centralist and federalist parties. From the second half of the 1920s the political component became less dominant and competition between the two movements increasingly revolved around the overlap of their activities and ideological programs.

The competition between Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols also carried national meaning with it and illustrate the happening of nationhood at the context of practice in interwar Yugoslavia. Activities organised by Croatian Sokol clubs were primarily and predominantly embedded in a strong Croatian collective framework. Obligatory components in the activities they organised were Croatian flags, Croatian patriotic poems, the Croatian national hymn and other Croatian patriotic songs. Some typical names of choreographies performed by Croatian Sokols were "Lijepa naša", referring to the Croatian anthem, "The arrival of the Croats", on the arrival of the Croatian ancestors at the Adriatic Sea, "Croatian kolo", or "Još Hrvatska ni propala" ["Croatia has not yet fallen"], based on Ljudevit Gaj and Ferdo Livadić's patriotic song of the same name. The Croatian Sokol was also surrounded by references to Croatian national history and territory. The names of the Croatian Sokol districts, for instance, referred to Croatian national symbols Ljudevit Posavski, King Tvrtko, Petar Zrinski, Krsto Frankopan, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, Ante Starčević and Stjepan Radić. The expansion of the Croatian Sokol movement to Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina marked the boundaries of Croatian national territory. When the Croatian Sokol club of Zagreb organised a roundtrip through Dalmatia for propagating the Croatian Sokol movement in July 1926 the central element in the speeches, parades and manifestations was not so much Sokol gymnastics, but the "revitalisation" of the Croatian national spirit in Dalmatia.¹⁴⁸⁶ Between 28 and 30 June 1929 the Sokol district "Tvrtko" organised a regional jamboree in Sarajevo, which gave Croatian Sokols the occasion to visit Sarajevo

¹⁴⁸⁵ Report from the district authorities of Ogulin to the Department for Public Security of Sava banovina, 9 May 1931; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 16 June 1931. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁴⁸⁶ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 304-10.

and thus seize it as part of their national territory.¹⁴⁸⁷ By naming the Croatian Sokol district in Bosnia 'Tvrtko' the Croatian Sokol also territorially and historically appropriated Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian medieval kingdom within a Croatian collective framework. In some cases the Croatian nationalism of the Croatian Sokols took radical, aggressive forms, as for example in Donji Miholjac in Baranja, where a group of Croatian Sokols spread a pamphlet in which they called on the "dejected and repressed Croatian nation" to join the Croatian Sokol and to protect their nation and their homeland against the terror of the "fake Democratic-Yugoslav dream" of the Yugoslav Democratic Party.¹⁴⁸⁸ On 8 and 9 September 1928 the Croatian Sokol club in Dubrovnik organised a public happening for the festive inauguration of its Sokol flag, on the occasion of which a Yugoslav Sokol had allegedly attempted to attack a Croatian Sokol with a gun. In a reaction to this attack the local Sokol leader stressed that the Croatian pacifism should not be confused with weakness: Croats were not afraid of blood and if necessary blood would flow.¹⁴⁸⁹

If the Croatian side of the equation was quite prominent, the national division on which the conflict between Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols rested was much less obvious. A significant factor in the division was Croat-Serb antagonism. In the initial conflict between the Sokols in Zagreb the opposing camps consisted largely of members of the city's former Croatian Sokol club at the one and members of the former Serbian Sokol club in Zagreb at the other side. The Croatian Sokols in Zagreb complained about the dominance of Serbian national symbols, especially ekavian and the Cyrillic alphabet, in the Sokol journal, the complete negligence of the Croatian Sokol ideology and the rejection of the Croatian name, flag and hymn during Sokol performances.¹⁴⁹⁰ In other mixed Croat-Serb regions too, it were Serbs who generally formed a majority and took the lead in Yugoslav Sokol clubs, whereas Croatian Sokol clubs were a Croatian affair. In a report on a jamboree organised by the Croatian Sokol club in Glina in the Banija region, for example, it was stated that the Serbian population of the village behaved "calm and decent", but obviously did not participate in the events. When the Croatian Sokols started singing the Croatian hymn, the entire population sang along and took off

¹⁴⁸⁷ *Hrvatski Sokol* 11 (1929)/8: 372-8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ 'Proglas Hrvatskog Sokola u Donjem Miholjcu'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4(1922)/12: 180-1. ["potišteni i poniženi hrvatski narod", "lažnim demokratskim-jugoslavenskim snom."]

¹⁴⁸⁹ *Hrvatski Sokol* 10 (1928)/10: 461.

¹⁴⁹⁰ 'Sokolski sporovi u Zagrebu'. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 7; 'Uspostava Hrvatskog Sokola u Zagrebu'. *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 33-4. For a similar argument see the speech held by Nikola Hoffer, one of the leaders of the Croatian Sokols in Zagreb on the occasion of the first assembly of the Croatian Sokols in Zagreb on 5 March 1922, 'Glavna skupština Hrvatskog Sokola u Zagrebu', *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/3: 40-1.

their hats, except for Serbs, 'Jugoslovinci',¹⁴⁹¹ soldiers and policemen.¹⁴⁹² The abovementioned riots in Dalmatia and Sremska Mitrovica between Croatian Sokols and members of ORJUNA and SRNAO on the occasion of public performances by Croatian Sokols in the summer of 1926 were fuelled by Serb-Croat antagonism in these areas, or at least represented as such by Croatian Sokols.¹⁴⁹³

However, it should be pointed out that some Croats continued to support the Yugoslav Sokol and in mixed areas divisions within the Sokol did not necessarily neatly concur with Croat-Serb boundaries. Thus, it would be too simplistic to reduce the conflict entirely to clear-cut Croat-Serb antagonism. Croatian Sokol clubs in Daruvar and Dalje in Srem, for example, reported that a number of Serbian villagers attended public performances they had held in the summer of 1925.¹⁴⁹⁴ When a new Croatian Sokol club was established in Nova Kapela Batrina in southern Slavonia in the summer of 1925 seven Serbian villagers joined the club.¹⁴⁹⁵ A jamboree the Croatian Sokol district of Fonova (Zagreb) held in Pakrac in the summer of 1926 was attended by a number of Serbian villagers, and the Croatian Sokols carried Serbian flags in their parade.¹⁴⁹⁶ An interesting illustration of both the real and imagined character of the Croat-Serb division are the reports from Croatian Sokols in Daruvar and Vinkovci (in Srem). In Daruvar, it was reported, a majority of Sokols had voted for joining the Croatian Sokol Union in May 1922. Some 20 Sokols voted against, of whom "of course mostly Serbs" but also some Croatian state servants, "poor people who had been hitched to a shabby Serbian cart".¹⁴⁹⁷ In Vinkovci too, it was reported, the Yugoslav wing in the Sokol consisted of members of ORJUNA and Serbian students of the local forestry school, policemen and soldiers, but also Croatian "hirelings", such as railway servants and students, whereas all "true" Croats supported the Croatian Sokol.¹⁴⁹⁸

Which place did the Yugoslav idea occupy in the division between Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols? As we have seen, the Yugoslav idea formed one of the crucial aspects in the ideological program of the Yugoslav Sokols. The relation toward the Yugoslav idea among Croatian Sokols, on the other hand, was too complex for the division to be reduced along the lines of a Yugoslav/non-Yugoslav cleavage. To be sure, there was a

¹⁴⁹¹ *Jugoslovinac* has a pejorative connotation and denotes those Croats who declared themselves Yugoslavs out of opportunistic motives.

¹⁴⁹² *Hrvatski Sokol* 6 (1924)/8: 239.

¹⁴⁹³ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 304-10, 8 (1926)/10: 409-12.

¹⁴⁹⁴ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/9: 296-7; 7 (1925)/10: 346.

¹⁴⁹⁵ *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/9: 307.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 310-2.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 81. ["naravno većinom Srbi", "ovi kukavni ljudi dali se upregnuti u otrcana srpska kola"]

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 82.

wing within the Croatian Sokol which rejected any form of Yugoslav national unity, although statements in that direction only came to the fore in the second half of the 1920s. In February 1925 the Croatian Sokol journal published an article in which it interpreted the medieval Croatian Kingdom within an exclusively Croatian national narrative. According to the anonymous writer, the rule of King Tomislav illustrated that “the Croatian nation was a historical nation with its own national name (...) and not some foundling-nation with some three-named tribe”.¹⁴⁹⁹ Still, the author of this article recognised some form of Yugoslav supra-national solidarity and cooperation, as had been manifested in the protection Tomislav had offered the Serbs when they were attacked by the Bulgarian Emperor Simeon and also later when Croats had helped the Serbs after they had been defeated by the Ottomans.¹⁵⁰⁰ In a radical Croatian nationalist speech on the protection of the Croatian nation and the Croatian homeland, which was held during a regional jamboree organised in Karlovac in the summer of 1927, district leader Mate Pavelić spoke of Yugoslavism as a phantasmagoria.¹⁵⁰¹ On the occasion of a regional happening held in Sušak in May 1928 one of the speakers, Lacko Križ – who would later join the leadership of the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – argued that as a national idea Yugoslavism meant nothing, it only made sense as a state idea.¹⁵⁰²

However, such rejections of Yugoslavism as a national idea were not representative for the entire Croatian Sokol movement. In the first place, the re-establishment of the Croatian Sokol Union was not based on a rejection of the Yugoslav idea. In the initial conflict between Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols in Zagreb the Croatian Sokols stressed that they did not oppose the Yugoslav idea as such, but rather the appropriation of the Yugoslav idea from the part of the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union and the complete rejection of alternative roads toward Yugoslav unity in which “the national sentiments and Sokol characteristics of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian people” would be completely equal.¹⁵⁰³ In the point of view of the ‘Croats’ Yugoslav unity could be realised on the basis of ‘tribal’ associations, so that “every Sokol could in the first place be a conscious Serb, Slovene or Croat, and thereby also a conscious Yugoslav”,¹⁵⁰⁴ or in

¹⁴⁹⁹ ‘925-1925’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/2: 28. [“da je hrvatski narod (...) historički narod sa svojim narodnim imenom, a nije nikakav nahod-narod sa nekakvim troimenim plemenom.”]

¹⁵⁰⁰ ‘925-1925’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/2: 28.

¹⁵⁰¹ *Hrvatski Sokol* 9 (1927)/10: 429-31.

¹⁵⁰² *Hrvatski Sokol* 10 (1928)/7: 320.

¹⁵⁰³ ‘Sokolski sporovi u Zagrebu’. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 4-8, quotation on 8. [“nacionalnih osjećaja i narodnih sokolskih osobina svijju triju naroda Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.”]

¹⁵⁰⁴ ‘Sokol na Wilsonovom trgu Jugoslovenskom Sokolskom Savezu’. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 3-4. [“će svaki Sokol biti u prvome redu svjestan Srbin, svjestan Slovenac i svjestan Hrvat, a time onda i svjestan Jugoslaven.”]

other words: “Croats could also be a good Yugoslavs and Yugoslavs good Croats”.¹⁵⁰⁵ Contemporary reports from local Croatian Sokol clubs which supported the maintenance of the Croatian Sokol Union clarify that this did not stand in the way of cooperation between South Slav Sokols or a sense of South Slav national unity. Many districts and clubs of the Croatian Sokol Union, for example, favoured the removal of ‘Croatian’ from their names and the merging of Serbian and Croatian Sokol clubs even before decisions in this direction had been taken after the Yugoslav Sokol Union was formed.¹⁵⁰⁶ Many Croatian Sokol clubs also saw no problem in joining the new Sokol Union of SCS after the Vidovdan assembly in 1919, and it came to the concrete merging of Croatian and Serbian Sokol clubs, joint public performances and the formation of new districts.¹⁵⁰⁷

Although Croatian Sokols typically referred to Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as three nations, this did not necessarily imply the rejection of a form of Yugoslav collective unity. Lav Mazzura, the leader of the Croatian Sokol district ‘Fonova’ and one of the proponents of the maintenance of the Croatian Sokol Union, sent a greeting telegram to the assembly of South Slav Sokol leaders on Vidovdan 1919 in Novi Sad in which he called the Yugoslav Sokol the phalanx of “our three-named nation”, arguing that the Yugoslav Sokol should “put behind all prejudices and bring an end to all bad traditions” and should “only be led by the thought of a strong and joyful future for Yugoslavism”.¹⁵⁰⁸ Even in an early rejection of Yugoslavism by the Croatian Sokol club in Grubišno Polje in central Croatia it was argued that “the so-called national unity of SCS until now does *not yet exist*”.¹⁵⁰⁹ In an expectedly negative evaluation of the jamboree organised by the Yugoslav Sokol Union in Ljubljana in 1922 the Croatian Sokol expressed the hope that eventually a truly Yugoslav Sokol would be established, because only that way the Yugoslav idea could be realised.¹⁵¹⁰ On 4 February 1923 the Croatian Sokol club in Karlovac celebrated the holiday of Josip Juraj Strossmayer, praising him as one of the geniuses of true Yugoslavism, which in their opinion meant the full brotherly equality

¹⁵⁰⁵ ‘Sokolski sporovi u Zagrebu’. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 8. [“i Hrvati mogli biti dobri Jugoslaveni a Jugoslaveni dobri Hrvati.”]

¹⁵⁰⁶ See for example decisions taken by the Croatian Sokol in Karlovac, the ‘Strossmayer’ district of the Croatian Sokol in Osijek, the Croatian Sokol clubs in Sarajevo and Mostar. *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/6-7: 260-7, 271-8.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Croatian and Serbian Sokol clubs for example merged in Teslić, Pakrac, Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Gospić. *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/6-7: 266-7; 1 (1919)/8-9-10: 427-8, 435, 437-41; 1 (1919)/11-12: 536-7; 2 (1920)/3: 180-1. By the time the second annual meeting of the Sokol Union was held in Maribor in August 1920 19 of the foreseen 33 districts had been officially formed, comprising 265 clubs (Brozović 1930: 94).

¹⁵⁰⁸ Qtd. in *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/8-9-10: 318. [“obračunati sa svim predrasudama i prekinuti sa svim lošim tradicijama”, “voditi jedino misao na veliku i srećnu budućnost Jugoslavenstva.”]

¹⁵⁰⁹ [“tobožnje narodno jedinstvo S.H.S. do sada jošte ne postoji.”] *Sokolski glasnik* 1 (1919)/6-7: 276-7. My stress.

¹⁵¹⁰ ‘Refleksije na Sokolski slet u Ljubljani’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 4 (1922)/8-9: 131-4.

of all South Slavs.¹⁵¹¹ In an article in *Hrvatski Sokol* in 1925 Vladimir Petz, the leader of the Croatian Sokols in Bjelovar in northern Croatia, pointed out that it was the goal of the Croatian Sokol to develop Croatian nationhood “under the framework of the powerful, invincible Yugoslavism” and to serve as the “correct interpreter of the Croatian conception of Yugoslavism” (Petz 1925, quotations on page 10, 12).¹⁵¹² In a speech at a regional Sokol happening in Vinkovci in the summer of 1926 one of the leaders of the Croatian Sokol Union Mile Miškulin called Yugoslav national unity a postulate for the future, which could only be realised if Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian traditions were respected.¹⁵¹³

Clearly, the problem was not so much the Yugoslav idea *per se*, it was the interpretation of Yugoslavism and especially its relation with Croatian collective identity. Ivan Ulčnik, the Secretary of the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb, explained that the Croatian Sokols had split off from the Yugoslav Sokols because:

In our unfortunate state under the mask of Yugoslavism and national unity Greater-Serbianism is pushed through and imposed on us. (...) In the present Sokol everything is based on force and terror, and not at all on democracy. Slovenes remained Slovenes, Serbs remained Serbs, but we Croats have to become assimilated into some sort of Yugoslavs and thus disappear or if possible become Greater Serbs.¹⁵¹⁴

In typical speeches held in the summer of 1926 in Split and Pakrac one of the leaders of the Croatian Sokol Union, Milan Dečak, argued that the only correct interpretation of the Yugoslav idea, as the Croats had initially conceived it during the 19th century, recognised that Croats could only be good Yugoslavs if they first were good Croats. The same also applied for Serbs and Slovenes. However, and this was the problem, at present the Serbs had formulated a *false Yugoslavism* which implied that Croats would deny their Croatdom.¹⁵¹⁵ When justifying the fact that Yugoslav Sokols had not been invited to attend the unveiling of Strossmayer's statue in Zagreb, Croatian Sokols argued that “those who consider [Strossmayer] the father of the present false Yugoslavism” had

¹⁵¹¹ See report: ‘Otvorenje Hrvatskog Sokola u Karlovcu’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 5 (1923)/2: 43-5.

¹⁵¹² [“pod okriljem moćnog, nepobjedivog jugoslavenstva”, “ispravni tumač jugoslavenstva u smislu hrvatske koncepcije.”].

¹⁵¹³ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/9: 343.

¹⁵¹⁴ Quoted from a letter of Ulčnik to local Sokol leaders in ‘Prilog karakteristikici Nejugoslovesnkog Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4 (1922)/4: 112. [“U našoj nesretnoj državi pod krinkom Jugoslavenstva i narodnog jedinstva hoće da protura i narine Veliko Srbstvo. (...) Slovenci su ostali Slovenci. Srbi su ostali Srbi a samo mi Hrvati moramo se pretopiti u neke „Jugoslavene“ da tako nas nestane a po mogućnosti da postanemo velikosrbi.”]

¹⁵¹⁵ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 308-9, 311.

bribed, violated and defiled Strossmayer's Yugoslavism (Malović 1926: 466).¹⁵¹⁶ To be sure, Croatian Sokols did not deny Strossmayer's Yugoslavism, but in their view Strossmayer's Yugoslavism did not reject Croatdom or Croatian cultural and political traditions, and therefore Strossmayer was one of the greatest Croats and Yugoslavs at the same time.¹⁵¹⁷ Interestingly, these arguments were taken over by those Croatian Sokols who took a less favourable standpoint toward the Yugoslav idea. During speeches in Otočac and Virovitica in northern Slavonia in the summer of 1926 Mile Budak denoted the Yugoslav idea as meaningless and empty, but he also used the argument that Serbs misused the Yugoslav idea to force Croats to abandon their national name and identity.¹⁵¹⁸

Vice versa, the Yugoslav Sokols too argued that they alone were the true representatives of the Yugoslav nation and the Yugoslav national idea. In the manifesto which the Yugoslav Sokols spread in Zagreb on the occasion of the unveiling of Strossmayer's statue in November 1926 they explained that they alone fully understood Strossmayer's Yugoslavism. In an argument remarkably similar to the one used by the Croatian Sokol, they stressed that Strossmayer was not only a Croat, but also a Yugoslav and a Slav, obviously referring to the in their eyes exclusively Croat celebration held by the Croatian Sokols.¹⁵¹⁹ Indeed, in order to discredit the Croatian Sokols the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol typically represented the Croatian Sokol movement as an anti-Yugoslav movement and thus excluded them from the Yugoslav nation. In a first reaction to the decision of the Croatian Sokol Club in Zagreb to step out of the Yugoslav Sokol Union the leadership of the Yugoslav Sokol Union argued that this meant that the Croatian Sokol club in Zagreb abandoned the ideals of the unity of nation and state.¹⁵²⁰ In another article it was argued that Croatian Sokol clubs were re-established in places where 'tribal' mentalities had only been replaced by Yugoslavism for the sake of appearance. True Yugoslav Sokols were instructed to go to battle against these "non-Yugoslavs" who laid claim to what they considered the rightful possessions of the Yugoslav Sokol (Sokol halls, apparatuses).¹⁵²¹ In a more abstract article Laza Popović criticised those who had overnight declared themselves Yugoslavs but quickly thereafter changed their mind again, obviously referring to the Croatian Sokols. In his view the only correct Yugoslavism required the denial of all traditionalism and the complete integral and mechanical unification of the Yugoslav nation on the basis of

¹⁵¹⁶ ["Oni, koji ga smatraju ocem današnjeg lažnog jugoslavenstva"].

¹⁵¹⁷ 'Josip Juraj Strossmayer'. *Hrvatski sokol* 7 (1925)/4: 76-7.

¹⁵¹⁸ *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 315, 8/10: 403.

¹⁵¹⁹ 'Narod i sokolstvo'. *Sokolski glasnik* 8 (1926)/20: 195.

¹⁵²⁰ 'Jugoslovenskom Sokolstvu'. *Sokolski glasnik* 4 (1922)/3: 65-71.

¹⁵²¹ 'U borbu'. *Sokolski glasnik* 4 (1922)/3: 71-5.

natural selection between the three “tribal nuclei” (Popović L. 1922b). In the Yugoslav Sokol’s interpretation of the conflicts, the Croatian character of the Croatian Sokol was simply incompatible with the true Yugoslavism of the Yugoslav Sokols.

Importantly, this interpretative framework was taken over by the state authorities. In the ban on gymnastics associations with a “separatist, tribal or religious tendency against the unity of state and nation” of July 1924 the Ministry of Education had clearly indicated that ‘tribal’ associations like the Croatian Sokol worked against Yugoslav national unity, or in other words that Croatian ‘tribal’ identity was incompatible with Yugoslav nationhood.¹⁵²² In May 1929 the district chief of Karlovac demanded the transfer of the teacher Ivan Pejaković for a lecture he had held on the celebration of Zrinski-Frankopan Day by the Croatian Sokol. In this lecture Pejaković had only spoken about these national heroes from a Croatian point of view and had not referred to their contributions to the Yugoslav national case.¹⁵²³ Maks Milošević, secondary school teacher in Bihać, was transferred because he had incited all Muslims to join the Croatian ‘tribe’ by urging them to become member of Croatian associations like the Croatian Sokol.¹⁵²⁴ Another secondary school teacher, Mirko Sušić, was transferred from Senj in western Croatia to Cetinje because he had actively participated in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the local Croatian Sokol club. At these festivities Sušić had held a “separatist” speech and the participants had sang Croatian nationalist songs.¹⁵²⁵

The authorities’ position toward the Croatian bias in the activities of Croatian Sokol clubs thus clearly departed from the incompatibility of Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity, although in practice such a Croatian bias did not necessarily express an act of opposition against Yugoslav collective identity. In December 1926 the principal of the gymnasium of Vukovar commissioned both the Croatian and the Yugoslav Sokol to remove exclusive ‘tribal’ slogans from the walls of the training hall in the school. This prescription was primarily directed against Croatian slogans which were used by the Croatian Sokol club, like: “Every good Croat has to be a Sokol”, “I am born, I am, I am raised and I will remain a Croat”.¹⁵²⁶ By January 1927 those slogans had been removed. However, the Croatian Sokols explicitly stated that these slogans “could not disturb our Serbian brothers of the same blood” and that nobody should interpret Croatdom as

¹⁵²² P.br. 7397, 23 July 1924. AJ 66-258-500. [“koje imaju separatističku, plemensku ili versku tendenciju suprot narodnom i državnom jedinstvu.”]

¹⁵²³ Report from the district chief in Karlovac to the Ministry of Education, 5 May 1929. AJ 66(pov)-59-150.

¹⁵²⁴ Report from the Ministry of Internal affairs, 1 May 1929; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 11 May 1929. AJ 66(pov)-59-150.

¹⁵²⁵ Report from the district chief of Karlovac to the Ministry of Education, 15 July 1929; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 16 August 1929. AJ 66(pov)-59-150.

¹⁵²⁶ [“Savki dobar Hrvat treba da je Sokol”, “Hrvat rođen, jesam, odgojen, ostajem.”]

separatism.¹⁵²⁷ In this case the authorities' policy toward the Sokol movement was instrumental in installing a clear-cut boundary between Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity.

To conclude, the Croatian Sokol's split from the Yugoslav Sokol Union revolved around political, material and more banal divisions. The strong Croatian bias in the activities of the Croatian Sokol did not imply an outright rejection of Yugoslav nationhood. Rather, the Croatian Sokol stressed the coexistence of Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity. Within the framework of the strong politicisation of the Sokol movement the Yugoslav Sokol and the state authorities – especially those close to the (Independent) Democrats – denounced the Croatian Sokol as a “separatist” and anti-Yugoslav movement and reduced the competition between the Croatian and Yugoslav Sokol to a Croat-Yugoslav competition. As commented ironically by the leadership of the Sokol club in Zagreb: “Those who lead the Sokol have the patent and the monopoly to realise the ideas, and therefore they can command and we have the right to listen, because they are Yugoslavs and we are Croats”.¹⁵²⁸ Such a policy was instrumental in rejecting the coexistence of Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity and instead strengthening the contextual relevance of a clear-cut distinction between both levels of collective identity as a powerful category of practice. In that way the Yugoslavism of the Yugoslav Sokol movement was increasingly characterised by exclusivity, as it was relying on a clear-cut boundary between the Yugoslav national body of the Yugoslav Sokol and expressions of “exclusive” Croat nationhood of the Croatian Sokol.

Acts of rivalry between Croatian and Yugoslav Sokols thus came to express and visualise the availability and relevance of an exclusive boundary between Croatian and Yugoslav national identity in the happening of Yugoslav nationhood. In an illustrative case the district chief of Osijek reported that the elementary school in Grubišno Polje had hung out the Croatian flag on the occasion of a training session of the Croatian Sokol club in the school. This led to strong reactions from the Yugoslav Sokol club, which saw this as a provocation. One representative of the Radical Party in the district council even brought an action against the teacher who had hung out the Croatian flag. At this stage the district chief suggested to ignore the complaint in order “not to let this delicate question stir up smouldering passions”.¹⁵²⁹ New tensions occurred after the Serbian flag had been hung out in a elementary school in Jasenovac, which was owned

¹⁵²⁷ Report from the principal of the Vukovar gymnasium to the Ministry of Education, January 1927. AJ 66(pov)-59-150. [“što bi jednokrvnu našu braću Srbe moglo smetati.”] (my emphasis).

¹⁵²⁸ ‘Sokol na Wilsonovom trgu Jugoslovenskom Sokolskom Savezu’. *Sokolski vjesnik* 4 (1922)/1: 2. [“Oni koji danas vode Sokolstvo imaju i patent i monopol za provedbu ideje, zato oni neka zapovijedaju a mi imamo pravo da slušamo jer oni su Jugoslaveni a mi smo Hrvati.”]

¹⁵²⁹ [“da to delikatno pitanje ne uzburka tinjajuće strasti”].

by the Serbian Orthodox Church, on 6 September, the birthday of Prince Petar. In order to settle the issue the district chief now sent a circular to all schools in the district, clarifying that only state flags could be hung out in schools and only on state holidays. However, fearing that the situation would repeat itself on the next holiday, 1 December, the district chief demanded that the central authorities would determine their standpoint in this case, taking into consideration “the centuries old national pride of the Croatian and Serbian part of the nation (...), especially in those areas and places where they live in an inseparable ethnographical unity”.¹⁵³⁰ To this the Ministry of Education responded that only state flags could be hung out in schools, no matter who owned the buildings.¹⁵³¹ In April 1927, on the name day of one of its leaders, the Croatian Sokol club of Šibenik in central Dalmatia hung out the Croatian flag over the entry to the building where its training room was located. However, the same evening the local orchestra was given a concert in the theatre, which was located in the same building as the Croatian Sokol hall, and the director of the orchestra complained to the local authorities about the Croatian flag. Consecutively, local authorities forced the concierge to take away the flag, causing a small revolt among Croatian Sokols and the arrest of a number of them.¹⁵³²

7.3.2 The Yugoslav Sokol vs. the Catholic Church

A second major rival of the Sokol movement was the Catholic Church, which not only opposed the Sokol movement at an abstract, ideological level, but also in practice, by establishing a parallel network of gymnastics clubs. Even under the dictatorship, when all gymnastics organisations apart from the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were banned, the Catholic Church managed to maintain a parallel youth movement, albeit with a strictly religious character. At this time the Catholic Church became the most vocal opponent of the Sokol movement. Although acts of rivalry between the Catholic Church and affiliated youth movements and the Sokol movement were centred around ideological issues, they increasingly carried with them a national meaning.

¹⁵³⁰ [“obzirom na stoljetni nacionalni ponos i osjećaj hrvatskog i srpskog dijela naroda (...), naročito u onim krajevima i mjestima gdje oni žive u nedjeljivoj etnografskoj cjelini.”] Report from the district authorities in Osijek, 25 October 1926. AJ 66-258-500.

¹⁵³¹ Response from the Ministry of Education to the district authorities of Osijek, 25 November 1926. AJ 66-258-500.

¹⁵³² *Hrvatski sokol* 9 (1927)/6: 269-70.

7.3.2.1 Ideological competition through gymnastics: Sokols and Orels

Tensions between the Sokol movement and the Catholic Church go back to the last decade of the 19th century. As Claire Nolte has shown, although Tyrš from the outset maintained that religion was a private matter and could not affect club membership, initially there were no problems between Sokol and Church in the Czech lands. To the contrary, clubs included church services in their ceremonies and some priests actively supported Sokol clubs. It was only by the end of the 19th century, when the Catholic Church was becoming increasingly politicised and, in the Czech case, took a firm position against the Hussite tradition which played a crucial role in the Sokol Czech national ideology, that hostilities between Church and Sokol grew. In 1896 the Sokol officially forbade church services and other religious events in club ceremonies. In 1902 the Orel movement, literally meaning 'Eagle', was found as the Catholic counterpart to the Sokol. By 1914 there were 240 Czech Orel clubs, with 12.000 members (Nolte 2002: 154-5). In the Slovenian lands too there had initially not been objections from the part of the Catholic Church against the Sokol movement. What is more, in 1896 Janez Evangelist Krek, priest and one of the leaders of the Slovenian Catholic movement, took the initiative to establish a Sokol club in Selce (Dolenc 1996: 311). However, on the occasion of the formation of the Slovenian Sokol Union in 1905 the Slovenian Sokols adopted a strong Liberal political orientation, under the influence of some prominent Liberal politicians in the Sokol leadership, such as Ivan Tavčar and Ivan Hribar (ibid: 265). As a reaction to this, in the mid 1900s the first gymnastics sections were established within the framework of the Slovenian Christian Social Union (*Slovenska krščansko socialna zveza*), a Catholic movement with a broad social function primarily active among workers in the Slovenian lands, led by Janez Evangelist Krek. Soon these gymnastics sections called themselves Orels and in 1909 this name was officially accepted. By 1911 the Slovenian Orel movement had 150 clubs with 4000 members. In 1913 the Orels organised their first All-Slavonic Orel jamboree in Ljubljana and by that time the number of Orel clubs had grown to 165, with 5228 members, which meant that the movement numerically had almost caught up with its Sokol counterpart (ibid: 311-5).

In that way gymnastics became an important field of ideological competition among Slavs in Austria-Hungary. As Dolenc has stressed, in the Slovenian lands already "before the First World War Orel and Sokol became the most important carriers of the *Kulturkampf*" (Dolenc 1996: 314).¹⁵³³ In the interwar period rivalry between both movements and the ideological camps they represented continued, but new meanings

¹⁵³³ ["Tako sta Orel in Sokol pred prvo svetovno vojno postala najpomembnejša nosilca kulturnega boja."]

would be added to these acts of rivalry within the new circumstances of the Yugoslav state. In the summer of 1920 the Orel held its first post-war meeting in Maribor. It was attended by 5000 representatives from Croatia, where Orel clubs had been established from 1919. In October 1921 Slovenian and Croatian Orels decided to form an overarching Yugoslav Orel Union (Slovenian: *Jugoslovanska orlovska zveza*, Serbo-Croatian: *Jugoslavenska orlovska sveza*). In 1925 a female branch of the Croatian Orel movement was formed (Dolenc 1996: 316; Krišto 2004: 133-48; Prlenda 2004: 85-7). However, the Croatian Catholic Movement was divided between the politically and more “worldly” orientated wing around the Croatian Popular Party, the Seniors – from the second half of the 1920s officially called and in 1928 legally approved as ‘Domagoj’ – and its students associations the Yugoslav Catholic Student League (*Jugoslavenska katolička đakačka liga*); and the more apolitical wing of the Orels, which was supported by the Archbishop of Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) Ivan Šarić (Krišto 2004: 141-8, 153-78). Additionally, within the Orel movement it came to a split between the Yugoslav Orel Union in Ljubljana, which acted independently of the church hierarchy, and the Croatian Orel Union (*Hrvatski orlovski savez*), with seat in Zagreb, which was formed in November 1923 and adopted a more strictly religious program under the leadership of the church authorities (Dimić 1997, 2: 379-80; Krišto 2004: 141-8). Membership numbers of the Orel movement gradually increased during the 1920s. In 1923 the Slovenian Orel consisted of 220 clubs for men, with 8000 members and 4000 pupils, and 89 clubs for women, with 3500 members and 3000 pupils. At that time, the Croatian Orel had a membership of 4000 men (Dolenc 1996: 316-7). In 1928 the Slovenian Orel had a total of 15.335 members, of which 8262 men and 7073 women (ibid: 318). In 1926 the Croatian Orel had 160 clubs and 9694 members (Krišto 2004: 161).

Ideologically, the Orel must be situated within the framework of Catholic Action, which was introduced by the new Pope Pius XI in 1922. In brief, Catholic Action invited the laity to participate in the rechristianisation of society, transcending party politics and strictly subjected to the leadership of the bishops (Conway 1997: 40-4).¹⁵³⁴ This program was enthusiastically accepted by the Orel movement, which aimed to build a new Christian generation which would assure the final victory of Catholicism. In the words of Ivo Merz, one of the leaders and main ideologues of the Orel movement in Croatia, the Orels were the “storm troops” which would bring the Church to indifferent or opposing national masses. In that sense, Merz compared Orels to modern knights or crusaders (Merz 1928: 130-2). According to Sandra Prledna, the Catholic radicalism in the Orel ideology consisted of four elements. First, it was equated with the division of

¹⁵³⁴ For the introduction, reception and contested character of the concept of Catholic Action among Catholic intellectuals in Yugoslavia see Dimić (1997, 2: 368-78) and Krišto (2004: 138-41, 153-78).

spirits as defined by the influential Bishop of Krk Anton Mahnič, since the public character of the Orel's activities visualised a clear-cut ideological division in local communities.¹⁵³⁵ Second, religion was restored to public life by the Orel's public confession of faith. Third, the clergy could reassume the leading role in public life through participation in the Orel movement. And fourth, the Orel meant a drastic radicalisation of religious life, primarily manifested in the frequent taking of communion (Prlenda 2004: 88). The ideology of the Orel movement was well summarised in its slogan: 'Sacrifice, Eucharist, Apostolate', referring to the Orels' preparedness to make sacrifices, their frequent communion and their apostolic mission (Beluhan 1928).

This ideological program clearly conflicted with the liberal ideological program put forward by the Sokol movement, leading to frequent clashes between both movements. Journals affiliated to the Catholic Church and Orel opposed against what they interpreted as the Sokols atheist or anti-religious worldview, whereas the Sokols reproached the Orel for being religiously intolerant.¹⁵³⁶ Frequently, the competition was transferred to the highest state echelons, taking an important place in the broader ideological and political battle concerning the position of the Catholic Church in the new state, with the leadership of the Yugoslav Catholic Church and its political supporters (especially the Slovenian and Croatian Clerical parties, which formed the Yugoslav Club in 1919) at the one side, and the liberal political parties, primarily the Democratic Party, at the other side (Dolenc 2010: 136-53). Especially the decisions made by Democratic ministers of education to strengthen the bond between the Sokol movement and school provoked a lot of dismay and criticism from the part of the Catholic Church leadership. In October 1920 Bishop of Ljubljana Anton Bonaventura Jeglič had a personal meeting with Minister Pribičević on the occasion of which he protested against the Ministry's decision to forbid the participation of school going children in gymnastics movements other than the Yugoslav Sokol (Dolenc 1996: 139). In April 1922 the Catholic Bishops of Yugoslavia sent a memorandum to King Aleksandar in which they complained about the injustice that was done to the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, amongst other through the promotion of the Sokol movement, which accordingly was one of the main reasons of dissatisfaction among Croats and Slovenes

¹⁵³⁵ Anton Mahnič (1850-1920) was first active in Slovenia before he was appointed Bishop of Krk in 1896. In brief, Mahnič's division of spirits came down to a clear-cut and radical battle between religious and non-religious elements in society in which everybody had to take side and in which no compromise was possible (Dolenc 1996: 99-100; Krišto 2004: 33-8).

¹⁵³⁶ See for example the reaction of the Sokols against the intervention of some Catholic bishops at the Ministry of Education against its decision to prohibit pupils and students from becoming members of the Orel: 'Signal za opreznost'. *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/3: 71-2, or a reaction against anti-Sokol writings in Clerical journals: 'Klerikalni bijes na Sokolstvo'. *Sokolski glasnik* 3 (1921)/12: 440-1.

(Krišto 2004: 139). Especially in Slovenia the rivalry between Sokol and Orel was strongly politicised. Indeed, some of the Slovenian Sokol leaders were prominent members of the Yugoslav Democratic Party, such as Pavel Pestotnik, Vladimir Ravnihar and Engelbert Gangl (Dolenc 1996: 272). In this regard it was no coincidence that decisions by the Ministry of Education in favour of the Sokol movement were annulled every time the Radical Party needed the support of the Slovenian Clericals in the central government.

These top level discussions concerning Sokol and Orel were transferred to the local level. In the early 1920s many Sokol clubs complained that they were hindered by local clergy and their supporters, especially in the Slovenian districts, but also in Sarajevo, Subotica, Sinj, Imotski and Šibenik.¹⁵³⁷ Indeed, in a pastoral letter of May 1921 the Yugoslav Catholic Bishops had warned Catholic parents not to send their children to the anti-Catholic, atheist Sokol movement (Dimić 1997, 2: 429-30). In Sinj in central Dalmatia it came to riots between Yugoslav Sokols and Orels on the occasion of an Orel outing in 1922 (Prlenda 2004: 97-8). In Beltinci, a village in Slovenian Prekmurje, the local Sokol club complained that “coincidentally” the local Catholic youth movement had organised a happening on the same day as the Yugoslav Sokol had held a fundraising activity.¹⁵³⁸ Illustrating the predominance of the religious over other possible factors of tension, most notably the national, were the frequent acts of rivalry between Croatian Sokols and Orels. To be sure, the Orel movement had an explicit Croatian or Slovenian nationalist orientation,¹⁵³⁹ but this was clearly subordinated to the religious element in its program. On 20 June 1926 for example the leadership of the Croatian Sokols spread a resolution in which it called on the Croatian Sokols to avoid all conflicts with Orels, because these were harmful for national unity, but also to deny all false accusation against the Sokols for being anti-religious.¹⁵⁴⁰ Often, the actual reasons for the conflicts were much more banal than the ideological battles they were depicted as by the leaderships of Sokols and Orels might lead to us to conclude. On 3 February 1927, for example, it came to riots between Croatian Sokols and Orels in the village Čitluk, in central Bosnia. The riots took place after the Croatian Sokols, who had been drinking and eating since noon, marched the streets of the village and shouted slogans in favour of the Croatian Sokol and Stjepan Radić. They were consequently attacked with stones and guns by local Orels, who were supporters of the Croatian Popular Party, which

¹⁵³⁷ See the minutes of the fourth annual meeting of the Sokol leadership, held in March 1923 in Belgrade. *Sokolski glasnik* 5 (1923)/5-6: 167-70.

¹⁵³⁸ *Sokolski glasnik* 11 (1929)/12: 4.

¹⁵³⁹ See for instance the strong Croatian nationalist call on Orels to participate in the jamboree organised in Šibenik in eastern Croatia, to celebrate the millenary anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom, quoted in Prlenda (2004: 98-9).

¹⁵⁴⁰ ‘Rezolucija o Orlovskoj organizaciji’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 8 (1926)/8: 290-1.

indicates the politicisation of the conflict in Croatia too. One of the Croatian Sokols later died of his wounds.¹⁵⁴¹ Frequently, the work of Croatian Sokol clubs was also thwarted by local priests. On Zrinski-Frankopan Day 1925 for example, the Croatian Sokol club of Garešnica in central Croatia reported that the local priest, “although a Croat”, had refused to celebrate the mass for the Sokols for free. In response, the Sokols went to the neighbouring village of Tomašica, where the priest, “a good patriot”, celebrated the mass for free.¹⁵⁴² All these examples illustrate that acts of rivalry between representatives of the Catholic Church – priests and Orels – and both Yugoslav and Croatian Sokols were a frequent feature in the Catholic part of Yugoslavia and did not concur with national divisions.

7.3.2.2 The Catholic Church and the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Under the Royal Dictatorship the competition between the Catholic Church and the Sokol movement only gained intensity. Indeed, in the peak years of the Dictatorship the Catholic Church was one of the only institutions which openly criticised the Sokol movement. A prominent and very active opponent of the Sokol movement was the Bishop of Krk Josip Srebrnič. In his sermon for the Feast on the Presentation of the Lord (2 February) in 1931 Srebrnič argued that no good Catholic could accept the ideology of Tyrš, because it denied the faith in God. According to Srebrnič national education in the Sokol was nothing more than a cover for the dissemination of Darwinist ideas, which inevitably led to religious nihilism and atheism.¹⁵⁴³ Srebrnič repeated this claim in a number of brochures published during the summer of 1931 (Pavlin 2000: 154-7; Žutić 1991: 87). After one of these booklets had been censored, Srebrnič requested that the King would reapprove his book and instead ban the publication of the Sokol’s ideological program ‘Putevi i ciljevi’.¹⁵⁴⁴ He also criticised the “immoral” placates the Sokol had spread to promote the regional jamboree which would be held in Split in the summer of 1931 (Pavlin 2000: 157). In the fall of 1931 Srebrnič intervened at the communal authorities in Rab and governor Ivo Perović of Sava banovina against the planned opening of a Sokol hall in Rab which would be named after Tyrš. In his letters Srebrnič not only argued that Tyrš was an atheist and as such unacceptable for the deeply Catholic population of Krk, but he added that there were enough other men from “our national Yugoslav history” who were much more meritorious for the fatherland

¹⁵⁴¹ ‘Organizirani napadaj orlova na hrvatske Sokole u Čitluku’. *Hrvatski Sokol* 9 (1927)/4: 184-6.

¹⁵⁴² *Hrvatski Sokol* 7 (1925)/7: 209-10.

¹⁵⁴³ Reported in an internal document within the Ministry of Education, dated 18 March 1931, on the basis of an extract from a journal published in Sušak. AJ 66(pov)-16-41.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Letter from Bishop Josip Srebrnič to King Aleksandar, 26 August 1931. AJ 74-16-28.

than the “stranger” Tyrš, hereby clearly conforming his argumentation to the Yugoslav ideology of the dictatorship.¹⁵⁴⁵ Not receiving any answer, Srebrnič sent a complaint to King Aleksandar and pointed to the local Catholic population’s dissatisfaction with the fact that the King was sending a representative to the official opening of the Sokol hall.¹⁵⁴⁶ According to Žutić Srebrnič was sentenced to ten days of imprisonment for anti-Sokol activities, but this sentence was never actually implemented (Žutić 1991: 94).

The culmination of the Catholic Church’s opposition against the Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia came on 8 January 1933, when in almost all Catholic parishes in Yugoslavia local priests read aloud a pastoral letter which had been formulated by the bishops of the Yugoslav Catholic Church, in which they repeated the accusation that the Sokol movement was an antireligious movement. The bishops gave examples of cases in which Sokol leaders had prevented their pupils from going to church and reported that the Sokol’s activities came down to drinking and dancing until the break of dawn. The pastoral letter ended with the clear advice to Catholic parents not to let their children join the Sokol movement, which, as was added, not only rejected the Catholic faith, but also denied “our honourable Croat/Slovene name” (Nielsen 2002: 418-20). Immediately, a storm of protest broke out against the pastoral letter: Sokol clubs held protest meetings against the pastoral letter and Sokol journals published numerous articles in which they rejected the accusations made in the pastoral letter. Typically, the Sokol denied the accusation that it was an anti-religious movement, arguing instead that it respected every religious belief.¹⁵⁴⁷ Further, the Sokol also accused the Catholic Bishops of pursuing a clericalist and a-national political agenda directed against the integrity of the Yugoslav state, especially through its link with Rome and Italy.¹⁵⁴⁸ Finally, the Sokols searched for allies in what they called the patriotic branch within the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁴⁹ The personification of this patriotic branch became Bishop of Kotor Fran Učelini, a member of the Yugoslav Sokol who had refused to sign the pastoral letter and did not let the priests in his bishopric read it aloud, a fact which obviously received a lot of attention in the pro-Sokol camp.¹⁵⁵⁰ The Sokols also co-opted Josip Juraj Strossmayer as a symbol of the Yugoslav and religiously tolerant essence of the Yugoslav Catholic

¹⁵⁴⁵ Letter from Srebrnič to the communal authorities of Rab, dated 28 August 1931, and to governor Ivo Perović, dated 27 August 1931. AJ 74-16-28.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Letter from Bishop Josip Srebrnič to King Aleksandar, 2 September 1931. AJ 74-16-28.

¹⁵⁴⁷ ‘Izjava Saveza Sokola kraljevine Jugoslavije na pastirski list katoličkog episkopata protiv Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/4 (20.01.1933): 1.

¹⁵⁴⁸ ‘Pastirski list katoličkog episkopata protiv Sokolstva’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/3 (13.01.1933): 1-2. ‘Politička strana biskupske poslanice’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/6 (03.02.1933): 1.

¹⁵⁴⁹ ‘Katoličko narodno svećenstvo uz svoje Sokolstvo’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/5 (27.01.1933): 1.

¹⁵⁵⁰ ‘Kotorski biskup g. Učelini odriče se poslanice katoličkog episkopata’. *Sokolski glasnik* 4/5 (27.01.1933): 1; ‘Izjave Kotorskog biskupa presvetlog dra. Frana Učelinia-Tice.’ *Sokolski glasnik* 4/6 (27.01.1933): 1.

Church. In this spirit a remarkably large number of Sokol clubs celebrated Strossmayer Day in 1933, using it as an occasion to once more decisively protest against the pastoral letter.

Against the background of the political instability which had been caused by the 'Zagreb points' and likeminded political manifestos of the winter of 1932-33 the commotion around the pastoral letter surpassed the boundaries of the Sokol movement and caused an enormous hailstorm in Yugoslav society at large. For months, the issue was a hotly debated topic in Yugoslav journals and newspapers (Dimić 1997, 2: 440-6; Nielsen 2002: 415-27). It was even discussed in the Yugoslav Parliament and Senate. In March 1933 Prime Minister Milan Srškić himself took a moderate standpoint, clarifying that the state could not allow its citizens to be physically educated on a strictly religious basis, but adding that the government would do everything it could so that religious feelings would be respected in the Sokol movement (Žutić 1991: 97). Archbishop Bauer was forced to publically address some of the criticism the Catholic Church had received, stating that the pastoral letter had no connection with the 'Zagreb points', that it had no political meaning whatsoever and that it had been formulated and spread without the knowledge of the Pope or fascist Italy (Dimić 1997, 2: 450). In any case, the whole discussion shows the great impact of the conflict between the Sokol movement and the Catholic Church in Yugoslav society under the Dictatorship.

Importantly, the conflict was not restricted to the higher levels of the Yugoslav state authorities, the Catholic Church and the Sokol movement, it was also present in local village life. On 17 June 1930 the Ministry of Defence informed the Ministry of Education that in Slovenia many Catholic priests hindered the work of Sokol clubs.¹⁵⁵¹ In August 1932 Archbishop of Zagreb Anton Bauer forbade all priests to bless Sokol flags, on the concrete occasion of a request made by the Sokol district of Varaždin (Dimić 1997, 2: 432).¹⁵⁵² In Sinj the local priest and religious teacher Metod Dragaš was dismissed after he had called the Sokol movement an atheist organisation in his sermon and had praised Bishop Srebrnič as a brave man, because he had dared to oppose the Sokol.¹⁵⁵³ Frequently, the Ministry of Education also received complaints about teachers who did not support the Sokol out of religious motives. In reports from local authorities in Drava banovina about the work of teachers in the Sokol movement sympathy for the Slovenian Clerical Party was frequently given as a reason for which teachers did not participate in the Sokol movement. In these cases local authorities demanded the

¹⁵⁵¹ Letter from the Ministry of Defence to the Ministry of Education, 17 June 1930. AJ 66(pov)-74-202.

¹⁵⁵² 'Sokolske zastave i nadbiskup zagrebački'. *Sokolski glasnik* 3/49 (09.12.1932): 1.

¹⁵⁵³ Report from the district authorities of Sinj; 8 June 1932; Decision by the Ministry of Education, 29 June 1932. AJ 66 (pov)-16-41.

transfer of the teacher in question.¹⁵⁵⁴ The local authorities of Sanski Most in north-western Bosnia and the educational department of Vrbas banovina demanded the transfer of Serafima Iveković, a teacher in the local elementary school, because she never attended Sokol activities and was not active in the local village library. The district authorities argued that the reason for this might be that she was a Catholic who worked in a predominantly Serbian Orthodox environment. Additionally, many visits to her apartment had led to questions among the local population concerning her moral behaviour.¹⁵⁵⁵ The authorities of Sava banovina demanded the transfer of the teacher Ante Zelić because he had refused to join the Sokol movement. Investigations clarified that Zelić had actually joined the Sokol, because he rightfully thought this was his duty as a teacher, but that he had soon regretted his decision, as it was not in line with his religious feelings, and promptly left the Sokol club.¹⁵⁵⁶

The actual relevance of the division between the Catholic Church and the Sokol movement at the local level is also illustrated by the usage of this division for more banal and mundane reasons, as in the case of Štefanija Radović, a teacher who was transferred from Fužine at the Croatian littoral to Plitvički Ljeskovac in the Lika area in the spring of 1933. Radović had been denounced by the leaders of the local Sokol club as a Frankist and a Clerical, who had only entered the Sokol as a cover for her political orientation. According to her brother, Dragutin Radović, who challenged the transfer in a letter to the Ministry of Education, Radović was falsely accused by the local Sokol club because of the fact that she was befriended with the local Catholic priest, Hinko Košak. Dragutin Radović added that his sister had always been evaluated positively for her teaching and that she had been active in the local Sokol. Additionally, he stated that both Štefanija Radović and Hinko Košak were convinced Yugoslavs.¹⁵⁵⁷ A further investigation revealed that Štefanija Radović was a nationally correct and progressive force in the region and an active member of the local Sokol. Apparently, the denunciation came solely from the leader of the local Sokol club, a certain Pemper, who had problems with the friendly relations between Radović and the priest Košak. The investigation had clarified that this friendship – Radović played the organ in the local church and rented a room from the priest – did not express a Clerical anti-Sokol position, but rather went back to a longstanding friendship between Košak and

¹⁵⁵⁴ Reports from local authorities sent by the authorities of Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education on 16 August 1932. AJ 66-2288-2153.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Report from the district authorities of Sanski Most to the authorities of Vrbas banovina; with accompanying letter from the educational department of Vrbas banovina to the Ministry of Education, 8 August 1934. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Report from the authorities of Sava banovina to the Ministry of Education, 9 December 1934. AJ 66 (pov)-16-41.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Letter from Dragutin Radović to the Ministry of Education, dated 4 April 1933. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

Radović's father.¹⁵⁵⁸ On 4 May 1933 the educational authorities of Sava banovina suggested that Radović would be transferred to a more pleasant village, namely Kukuljanovo by the Adriatic Sea.¹⁵⁵⁹

Additionally, many Sokol clubs complained that the Catholic Church continued to compete with the Sokol movement by establishing parallel youth associations within the parishes. Such Catholic youth associations formed part of an increasingly dense infrastructure of Catholic societal associations which constituted a very influential Catholic alternative milieu (Jakir 1999: 114-6). The Orel movement was the only gymnastics organisation which categorically refused to join the new Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in December 1929 (Pavlin 2002: 70-1). Almost immediately after the Orel had been banned some of its former leaders, the most important of whom was Ivo Protulipac, decided to form a new Catholic youth movement in the Croatian regions, under the name of the Great Crusader Brotherhood and Sorority (*Veliko križarsko bratstvo / sestrinstvo*). Already on 13 January 1930 the new organisation was approved by Archbishop Bauer. Although the activities and program of the Crusader movement were restricted to the religious domain,¹⁵⁶⁰ it clearly continued the tradition of the Orel, which was unacceptable for the authorities. On 27 January 1930 the police arrested Protulipac and the Ministry of Interior banned the new movement. The issue was even discussed at a session of the Council of Ministers on 7 February 1930. All ministers, except Mate Drinković and Anton Korošec, who maintained that the Crusaders were a purely religious organisation, agreed that the Crusaders had broader political intentions and supported the ban (Dimić, Žutić & Isailović 2002: 142-5). It was only after Archbishop Bauer had adapted the Crusader program that the Ministry approved the movement, on the condition that its activities would retain a strictly religious character. In April 1930 the Crusaders held their constitutive assembly (Krišto 2004: 191-3; Prlenda 2004: 90-1). By the end of 1931 the movement had 3600 members (Krišto 2004: 197).

As Sandra Prlenda clarified, in the first half of the 1930s the Crusader movement was not allowed to act outside church premises, so in fact the activities of the movement were largely restricted to lectures and gatherings within the sacristy, led by the parish priest. Frequently lectures were also held by visiting experts from the Crusader leadership. Topics discussed at these gatherings included liturgy and faith, social problems and Croatian history. Anti-liberalism and anti-communism were other major concerns in the ideological program of the Crusaders.¹⁵⁶¹ The goal of the weekly lectures and discussion was not only to educate the children as good Catholics, but also to train

¹⁵⁵⁸ Report from the local authorities of Fužine, 1 May 1933. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Decision of the educational department of Sava banovina, 4 May 1933. AJ 66 (pov)-12-32.

¹⁵⁶⁰ See the Crusader program quoted in Prlenda (2004: 99-100).

¹⁵⁶¹ See 'Naša deklaracija'. *Križ* 1 (1930)/2: 25-7.

them to publically defend Catholicism in front of their friends and co-villagers. However, Crusader clubs also organised activities with a more entertaining character, such as theatre plays, playing the *tamburica* and choral activities, and they participated in public religious celebrations.¹⁵⁶² After the dictatorship loosened its grip in 1935 Crusaders occupied a more visible position in public life by organising public activities, such as Sunday parades, collective communions, Eucharistic congresses, annual celebrations of Christ the King (Prlenda 2004: 91-3). It was also in this period that the movement's membership numbers rapidly increased, reaching a membership number of 26.689 men and around 15.000 women by 1938 (Krišto 2004: 197). However, against the background of growing political emancipation from Belgrade in the second half of the 1930s, internal division within the Croatian Catholic movement grew. In 1938 the new Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac dismissed Protulipac as leader of the Crusaders, under pressure of Protulipac's opponents in the Seniors. Promptly Protulipac established a new youth organisation, called 'Croatian Hero' (*Hrvatski junak*) (Prlenda 2004: 95).

In Slovenia too the Catholic Church continued to educate 'its' children by means of religious educational gatherings for children organised by the parish priest in the sacristy. Already in the early 20th century educational clubs had been organised within the framework of an Educational Union (*Prosvetna zveza*), established within the Slovenian Christian Social Union, with seats in the bishoprics of Ljubljana and Maribor. Throughout the 1920s the number of local clubs of the Educational Union strongly increased. In 1928 there were 224 local clubs with 15.336 members in the Ljubljana bishopric.¹⁵⁶³ Under the dictatorship the Educational Union continued to operate as a purely religious movement and after the dissolution of the Orel movement the Union's network of youth sections was significantly strengthened in order to keep some control over the education of younger generations (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 51). In October 1931 135 of such youth sections had been established, by October 1932 the number had increased to 150 (ibid: 63). In fact, Catholic educational clubs (*Katoliško prosvetno društvo*) were the only cultural associations which could rival with the Sokol movement in terms of membership numbers, numbers of clubs and the organisation of activities in Slovenia. In Bled, for instance, the Sokol club had 180 members and had organised 8 lectures, 12 parties and 6 performances in 1932. The Catholic educational club had 140 members, had organised 24 lectures, 5 parties and 10 performances. In Bohinjska Bistrica the Sokol club and the Catholic educational club were the only two cultural institutions in the village. The former had 115 members, the latter 50. In Kamna Gorica the Sokol had 25

¹⁵⁶² See the reports from Crusader clubs in the Crusader's journal *Križ*.

¹⁵⁶³ *Spominski zbornik Slovenije. Ob dvajsetletnice Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 198.

members, the Catholic club 72, in Mošnje the Sokol had 70 members, the Catholic club 97.¹⁵⁶⁴

The activities of these Catholic educational clubs consisted primarily of purely religious activities, such as lectures and celebrations of religious holidays. For the dissemination of its ideological program the Union had a network of libraries under its disposal. It also had a special department for films and Radio Ljubljana had been established by the Union in 1928. Local clubs also held activities with a more worldly character, such as skiing, swimming or ball games (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 63). Additionally, choral societies and music groups operated within the framework of local clubs.¹⁵⁶⁵ Many clubs also continued the gymnastics tradition of the Orel movement. In September 1932 Catholic educational clubs for example organised a relay race from Jesenice to the grave of Anton Slomšek in Maribor (ibid: 63-4). On 13 April 1931 the Sokol club of Središče ob Dravi complained to the Ministry of Education about the difficult situation it found itself in, not only because of financial difficulties, but also because of the continuing opposition of the local Orel. Although the Orel had officially been disbanded, the Sokols argued, the organisation in fact continued its work under a different name.¹⁵⁶⁶ Finally, on 17 February 1933 the Catholic educational groups were banned by the provincial authorities, because of “political” activities. Surely, the ban was closely related to the pastoral letter of the Yugoslav Catholic Church against the Sokol movement (Stiplovšek 2006: 159; Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 39).

Immediately thereafter the leadership of the Catholic Action in the Slovenian lands started with the establishment of youth clubs with a strictly religious character (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 67-72). However, it was only after the Slovenian Clerical Party joined the Stojadinović government in the summer of 1935 that the Catholic Church and intellectuals close to it reoccupied their position as a dominant factor in the education of children. Soon after his appointment as Minister of Interior, on 15 July 1935, Anton Korošec re-approved the Educational Unions in Ljubljana and Maribor (ibid: 81). By 1938 the Union had 256 local clubs and 23.500 members in the Ljubljana bishopric, and 222 clubs and 16.900 members in the Maribor bishopric. Quickly, the Union occupied a leading position in society. In 1938 161 choral societies, 63 women’s clubs, 141 theatre clubs, 38 music groups and 204 local libraries were active in the Educational Union of

¹⁵⁶⁴ From reports from the local authorities in Drava banovina to the Ministry of Education in response to the Ministry’s demand of 3 June 1933 for information on the activities of cultural-educational associations. AJ 66-604-507.

¹⁵⁶⁵ *Spominski zbornik Slovenije. Ob dvajsetletnice Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 198-9.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Report from the Sokol club from Središče ob Dravi to the Ministry of Education, 13 April 1931. AJ 66-474-746

the Ljubljana bishopric.¹⁵⁶⁷ In August 1936 the youth sections within these Educational Unions formed an overarching, autonomous Slovenian Boys Union (*Slovenska fantovska zveza*), under the leadership of former leading members of the Orel movement in Slovenia, such as Stanko Žitko, Karel Capuder, Ivan Kermavner or France Pernišek (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 86-7). Girls groups (*Dekliški krožek*) remained active within the framework of the Educational Union (ibid: 118-21). By 1938 there were 185 boys sections and 147 girls sections in the Ljubljana bishopric, and 215 boys sections and 140 girls sections in the Maribor district. The Boys Union had 11.372 members, the girls clubs had a total of 12.128 members.¹⁵⁶⁸ Both movements fully continued the tradition of the Orel movement, with a program not only consisting of spiritual, but also physical education. Further, they also reoccupied a visible position in Slovenian society, by organising and participating in international gymnastics and sports competitions, holding public happenings and wearing uniforms (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 101-3).

As had been the case with the Orel movement in Slovenia in the 1920s, the Slovenian Boys Union was strongly linked to the Slovenian Clerical Party. The movement received financial support of the authorities and prominent speakers at public happenings organised by the Boys Union or the Girls groups were Anton Korošec and Miha Krek, Slovenian ministers in the Stojadinović government, and governor Marko Natlačen. In 1938 the Boys Union built a large sports stadium in Zagreb with the financial support of the authorities (Žutić 1991: 214-5). Occasionally it also came to politically based riots between members of the Slovenian Boys Union and Yugoslav Sokols. In early June 1937, for example, Rudolf Dolinar, a member of the Slovenian Boys Union and supporter of JRZ was killed during riots between supporters of JRZ and Yugoslav Sokols on the occasion of a political manifestation of JRZ supporters in Maribor (Žutić 1991: 221-3).

7.3.2.3 The national meaning of the dispute

All the above mentioned examples clarify that competition between the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav Sokols played a prominent role throughout the interwar period. The competition was not only manifest in abstract discussions at the top levels of Yugoslav society, but also in village life in the Catholic part of the Kingdom. Both camps had local branches which represented them at the local level and visualised the division and competition between them. First and foremost, acts of rivalry between the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav Sokol were manifestations of a broader ideological competition between liberalism and Catholicism. In all cases I have discussed above the central point of dispute concerned the religious question, i.e. the Sokol's alleged anti-

¹⁵⁶⁷ *Spominski zbornik Slovenije. Ob dvajsetletnice Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 198-9.

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Spominski zbornik Slovenije. Ob dvajsetletnice Kraljevine Jugoslavije*: 198-9, 218.

religious standpoint and the Catholic Church's "religious fanaticism and intolerance". Second, competition between the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav Sokol obviously had a political dimension. Whereas in the parliamentary period the conflict was situated in a broader political conflict between Clerical and Liberal political parties, under the dictatorship the Catholic Church's opposition against the Sokol was conceived as a political act of opposition against the dictatorial regime itself.

To what extent, then, was the national dimension present in these acts of rivalry? As Sandra Prlenda has pointed out, Croatian nationalism occupied an increasingly important role in the program of the Crusader movement. Crusaders learned about Croatian history, sang the Croatian hymn at every meeting and imagined the Croatian homeland in its greater version, including Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bačka. Further, Yugoslavia was hardly mentioned in their program and it was clearly differentiated from the Croatian 'homeland'. That way, "the nation was gaining equal importance with God" (Prlenda 2004: 94-5, quotation on 95). Similarly Slovenian nationhood occupied a central position in the program of the Slovenian Boys Union. In the 1937 program of the movement it was stressed that every member had to be nationally conscious, that Catholicism and Slovenian nationhood were intrinsically bound and that the highest national plight of every Slovene was the protection of the Slovenian language (Vidovič-Miklavčič 1994: 98-9).

Such a Croatian/Slovenian national dimension was by no means a novelty for the 1930s in the activities of Catholic youth movements. In the 1920s too the Catholic youth movements made use of a Croatian/Slovenian national framework. The dissociation between the Croat/Slovene national program of the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav ideology of the Sokol movement and the state authorities, on the other hand, was a development which should be understood within the framework of the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood during the dictatorship. Illustrative in this respect was the last sentence of the pastoral letter of the Yugoslav bishops against the Sokol movement of January 1933, which stressed that the Sokol was not only reprehensible because of its anti-religious character, but also because it rejected the Croat/Slovene name. Vice versa, the Yugoslav state authorities interpreted Catholic opposition against the state's educational policy as an anti-Yugoslav act of opposition.

The case against priest and religion teacher Radovan Jerković perfectly illustrates how national boundaries were used to make sense of the essentially political-ideological conflict between the Catholic Church and the dictatorship's educational policy at the local level. Two teachers from the elementary school of Metković in southern Dalmatia reported to the local authorities about a sermon Jerković had held on 29 January 1933. In this sermon Jerković had spoken about the pastoral letter of the Catholic bishops against the Sokol movement, had claimed that the authorities had started a campaign against Catholic bishops and had called Tyrš an atheist and an apostate. Further, he told that he had been attacked on a meeting of the local Sokol club, which he called a

“Serbian party”,¹⁵⁶⁹ because he had opposed a decision taken by the Ministry of Education to organise school excursions on Sundays. Finally, Jerković had told the churchgoers that on the commemoration of St. Sava’s Day somebody had attacked the Catholic Pope.¹⁵⁷⁰ When interrogated by the school principal Jerković had refused to cooperate. In his report the school principal explained that Jerković was nationally incorrect: “In his religious fanaticism toward Rome he is intolerant toward everything in which the idea of religious tolerance toward our brothers of the Serbian Orthodox Church is manifested and consequently also toward Yugoslavism”.¹⁵⁷¹ The school principal continued that on St. Sava’s Day Jerković had complained to him that the children of the school, who were mostly Catholics, were singing the Hymn to St. Sava, arguing that this was a purely religious act, which “stood out as the apotheosis of Serbdom”.¹⁵⁷² The principal replied that only Serbian Orthodox children had been singing the hymn and that only Christian children had attended the lectures that were held that day. Using a perfect integral Yugoslav discourse, the principal continued:

It is the duty of all children and teachers to bring honour to the great people who gave their lives for humanity, education and the rapprochement of the churches in their nation, and devoted themselves to integral national unity, such as St. Sava and Bishop Strossmayer.¹⁵⁷³

Finally, the principal brought in that most of Jerković’s friends were not nationally orientated and that he himself was not active in any of the national associations in the area. As such, he was “a clerical of the Roman church in the true sense of the word and as such more orientated toward separatism than toward national unity”.¹⁵⁷⁴ Local authorities confirmed these accusations, adding that Jerković himself had been a sympathiser of the Croatian Popular Party before 1929 and that after 1929 he had supported Anton Korošec. After Korošec had left the government Jerković had started openly attacking the regime. Further, it was clarified that the Sokol meeting Jerković

¹⁵⁶⁹ [“Srpska zabava”].

¹⁵⁷⁰ Report and instruction from the local authorities of Metković to the school principal of the elementary school in Metković, 2 February 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁵⁷¹ [“U svom vjerskom fanatizmu naklonjenom Rimu, nesusretljiv je prema svemu onome u čemu se manifestira ideja zbliženja vjerske tolerancije prema bratstvu srpsko-pravoslavnome crkve kao dosljedno i prema Jugoslavenstvu.”]

¹⁵⁷² [“otskače samo kao apoteoza srpstva.”]

¹⁵⁷³ [“te je dužnost djece i nastavnika da odadu poštovanje Velikanima koji su cijeli svoj život i življenje posvetili humanitarnosti, prosvjeti i zbliženju crkava u svom narodu, a napose zalagali se za integralno narodno jedinstvo, a takovi, eto, bijahu i Sv. Sava i biskup Strossmayer.”]

¹⁵⁷⁴ [“u pravom smisli svećenik rimske crkve i kao takav više naklonjen separatizmu nego li ideji narodnog jedinstva.”] Report from the school principal to the local authorities, 11 February 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

had called a Serbian party was a commemorative meeting the Sokol club had held on St. Sava's Day.¹⁵⁷⁵ During the commemoration the Sokol leader had referred to the pastoral letter of the Catholic bishops and argued that the Catholic clergy simply followed Rome and was opposed to national unity, contrary to the wishes of great historical figures like St. Sava and Bishop Strossmayer, which Jerković had interpreted as an attack against the Catholic Church. Finally, the authorities explained that Jerković had been a strong opponent of a new Sokol club which had been established in Kula Norinska, Jerković's home village.¹⁵⁷⁶ On the basis of these reports the Minister of Education demanded that Archbishop Bauer would suggest a new religious teacher for Metković, of whom it could be guaranteed that he would not work against religious tolerance and state unity.¹⁵⁷⁷

Acts of rivalry between representatives of the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav Sokol thus not only relied on strictly religious matters, but also carried national division with them between the Yugoslav nationhood of the Sokol and the non-Yugoslav opposition of the Catholic church. That way, the rivalry between the Sokols and the Catholic church enforced the exclusive character of Yugoslav nationhood in the activities of the Sokol movement in the former Austro-Hungarian regions of the Kingdom. Again, the Yugoslav Sokols not only performed who belonged to the Yugoslav nation, but also who did not belong to it.

¹⁵⁷⁵ The authorities added that this commemoration was not only attended by true patriots and nationalists, but also by people who did not support the regime but only attended the commemoration for the sake of appearance.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Report of the local authorities to the authorities of Littoral banovina, 9 May 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Letter from the Ministry of Education to Archbishop Bauer, 12 August 1933. AJ 66(pov)-12-32.

7.4 Conclusions and remarks

The Sokol movement clearly played a multifaceted role in the happening of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia. In planned orchestrations of Yugoslav nationhood the Yugoslav Sokols performed an ideal national body, visualised the nation-state and familiarised the population with important elements of Yugoslav national identity. As a result of its prominent position in social life, the Yugoslav Sokol movement served as one of the primary agents of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, not only in planned orchestrations of national unity, but also indirectly, through entertaining activities which did not directly concern national identity.

Beside such affirmative performances of nationhood, Yugoslav Sokols also visualised the boundaries of Yugoslav nationhood. Especially salient in this respect were the acts of rivalry in which Yugoslav Sokol clubs were involved in the Austro-Hungarian part of the Kingdom during the 1920s, both with Croatian Sokols and representatives of the Catholic Church. Paradoxically, although rivalling gymnastics movements were banned by the Royal Dictatorship, the compulsory character of the new Sokol and its strong link with the dictatorial regime only strengthened the Yugoslav Sokol's exclusive character. As the authorities expected every good patriot to be member of the Sokol, every failure to fulfil patriotic duties in the Sokol movement could be interpreted as an act of resistance against Yugoslav state and nation. Essentially, controversies surrounding the Sokol movement revolved around a multitude of motives: political struggles, personal feuds, Croat-Serb antagonism, ideological battles, indifference, financial considerations. However, the close link between the Sokol movement and Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia's nation-building program made each of these acts of 'opposition' a potential act of resistance against Yugoslav nationhood, no matter how innocent, banal and indifferent to Yugoslav nationhood these cases might have been.

Throughout the interwar period the exclusionary potential of the Sokol movement's performances of Yugoslav nationhood remained primarily salient in the former Austro-Hungarian part of the country. A distinct feature of the continuous conflicts surrounding the Sokol movement in these areas was that they relied on boundaries between Yugoslav and Croat nationhood, and between Yugoslav nationhood and Catholicism. Within this context Croatian and to a lesser extent Slovenian, and Catholic sub-national dissociation from Yugoslav nationhood increasingly merged together. Thus the background of the institutionalisation of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, especially under the Royal Dictatorship, substantiates the contextual relevance of the distinction between the Yugoslav and the Croat/Slovene-Catholic level of collective identity. In other regions of the state the boundaries of Yugoslav nationhood were much less relevant to make sense of the contested character of the Sokol movement.

Chapter 8 Conclusions: Possibilities and limitations to Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia

National identities hold together in spite of potential divisions and fissures which are available in all forms of collective identity. In this dissertation I have examined to what extent the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia provided incentives for identification with a form of Yugoslav collective identity despite such potential internal divisions. I have focused on mediations between Yugoslav nationhood and other levels of collective identity related to national categories in the cultural and symbolic domain, on the basis of a study of the state's nation-building program in education. The institutionalisation of the Yugoslav national idea in interwar Yugoslav education was not a straightforward process of success or failure. Rather, the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood should be understood as a multifaceted and flexible framework of strategies and meanings which were available to make sense of society. The institutionalisation of nationhood by the state authorities played a decisive role in the determination of the contextual relevance of specific strategies and meanings (not only supportive and complementary, but also alternative and oppositional) from this framework. The practice of interwar Yugoslav education illustrates that the balance between successful circumventions of potential internal boundaries (possibilities) and the appropriations of these internal boundaries to make sense of certain events in society (limitations) was very volatile, which was certainly one of the major weaknesses of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia.

8.1 Possibilities

Regardless of the integral Yugoslav discourse in top-level outlines of interwar Yugoslavia's national ideology and educational policy, prescriptive constructions of Yugoslav national identity in curricula established a synthetic and inclusive approach toward recognised sub-national entities within the putative Yugoslav nation. These recognised sub-national entities were in the first place the 'tribes': Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; and the three dominant religions: Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam. Instead of denying their relevance and availability, prescriptive constructions of Yugoslav national identity made use of these sub-national identities and provided incentives to overcome potential internal boundaries by pointing to parallelism and overlap, rather than complete internal homogeneity and unity. In other words, constructions of Yugoslav national identity in education appropriated codified Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national identities in the fields of language, literature, history and geography to make sense of Yugoslav nationhood. With regard to Yugoslavia's religions constructions of Yugoslav nationhood stressed the common national character of Yugoslav Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam and interpreted these three religions as parallel manifestations of Yugoslav national religiosity. Along the lines of what Andrew Wachtel has termed the multicultural model, and in the case of the Slovenian language and territoriality Wachtel's model of cultural cooperation, these sub-national entities were integrated within an overarching level of Yugoslav identity. Thus, the prescriptive framework toward national identity in Yugoslav education allowed for two levels of collective identity: first, the levels of the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian 'tribe' and that of the Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim faith (which as ideal typical categories did not coincide, but often intertwined in concrete happenings of nationhood), and second, the level of the Yugoslav nation. The level of Yugoslav nationhood was manifested through the sub-national level: in parallelism, common interests and overlap between 'tribal' identities and the Yugoslav religions.

Such a synthetic boundary mechanism toward Yugoslav national identity was sufficiently open and empty to allow for various sub-national lenses on Yugoslav national identity. A crucial and illustrative medium for articulations of such mediations between the level of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian 'tribe' and the Yugoslav nation in the domain of education were textbooks. Slovenian textbooks left intact a clearly delineated Slovenian national entity as part of an overarching Yugoslav supra-national unity, along the lines of Andrew Wachtel's model of cultural cooperation. In that way, these textbooks indicate the distinct place of the Slovenian collectivity in the institutionalisation of nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia, which was especially obvious in the allowance for a clearly delineated Slovenian national language and Slovenian

national territory. Throughout the period under scrutiny this approach remained relatively uncontested and stable, even as an exception in the integral Yugoslav program of the dictatorship. The most significant contestations and disputes revolved not so much around the concrete incentives provided for mediation between Slovenian and Yugoslav collective identity in education, but rather around integral Yugoslav elements in top-level discourse on education and nationhood which were not implemented in the educational policy, especially concerning the uniformity of the Yugoslav language.

In Serbian and Croatian textbooks boundaries between 'tribal' identities, and between the Yugoslav and the 'tribal' level of collective identity were more fluid. In these cases the mediations between the Yugoslav and the sub-national level of collective identity were more interactive than in the Slovenian case. Not only were Serbian and Croatian collective identity lenses which made sense of Yugoslav nationhood, vice versa the Yugoslav level also served as a lens which determined definitions of Serbian and Croatian collective identity. In Serbian textbooks the increasing interaction between the Yugoslav and Serbian level of collective identity led to a more open, variable and dynamic approach toward national identity. The boundary mechanisms behind delineated and homogeneous definitions of Serbianness in pre-First World War codified constructions of Serbian national identity, which continued to dominate Serbian textbooks of the early 1920s, were challenged by common denominators which mediated between Serbian and Yugoslav nationhood by allowing for fluidity, zones of overlap and variability within national identity. The result was a much more open boundary mechanism behind definitions of national identity, which provided room for varying sub-national meanings of nationhood.

Croatian textbooks, on the other hand, were characterised by a contrary interactive development in definitions of nationhood. The Croatian textbooks of the 1920s had provided a viable balance between the Yugoslav and the Croatian level of national identity and highlighted parallelism, zones of overlap and fluidity between sub-national entities in the Yugoslav nation, indicating the contextual relevance of mediations between Croatian and Yugoslav collective identity in the period. The 1937 readers, on the other hand, reduced the degree of overlap and fluidity in definitions of national identity and stressed clear-cut boundaries of Croatian national identity within an overarching Yugoslav level of collective identity, resulting in a more closed and restricted definition of national identity. Such a contrary evolution in boundary mechanisms which informed definitions of national identity in Serbian and Croatian textbooks clearly indicates different interactions with the Yugoslav level of collective identity, but it has to be taken into consideration that the educational policy of interwar Yugoslavia provided room for such varying sub-national views on Yugoslav nationhood.

Symbolic resources taken from codified Serbian collective narratives, which in many cases were closely intertwined with Orthodox religious traditions, occupied a core

position in the definitions of Yugoslav national identity provided by the Yugoslav state and in many of the state- and nation-wide happenings of nationhood in education, most notably in festivities and commemorations on St. Sava's Day, *Vidovdan* and important dates from the First World War, revealing the strong reliance of the state's nation-building program on Serbian/Orthodox collective narratives. The uncontested coexistence of the level of Yugoslav and the level of Serbian and Orthodox collective identity among Serbian and Orthodox intellectuals, cultural-educational actors and local representatives of the state authorities throughout most part of the interwar period indicates the viability of incentives offered by the state for symbolic mediations between both levels of collective identity. The continuing paucity of specific Serbian and/or Orthodox engagements with nationhood outside the links with nationhood offered by the nation-state, as for example in associational life or non-governmental commemorations of certain symbolic resources, indicates the contextual irrelevance of such additional alternative mediations between the Serbian and/or Orthodox and the Yugoslav level of collective identity. It was only within the context of the growing dissociation between Croatian and Yugoslav nationhood in the late 1930s that such alternative mediations became relevant.

The situation was different in the former Austro-Hungarian part of the Kingdom, where a multitude of cultural-educational associations provided alternative channels for mediations between everyday life and collective identity. The most prominent of these cultural-educational associations were Catholic educational associations, the Sokol movement, *Jadranska straža*, *Gajret*, *Prosv(j)eta*, *Napredak* and *Seljačka sloga*. Beside the fact that associational life had simply been more developed in the Austro-Hungarian regions than in pre-war Serbia and Montenegro, the continuing engagement of these associations with nationhood indicates the contextual relevance of such alternative mediations with nationhood outside the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in the state's cultural-educational program. Indeed, symbolic resources related to sub-national identities other than the Serbian/Orthodox collective identity were included in curricula and textbooks, but were rarely elevated to the top-level of the state- and nationwide Yugoslav national narrative, revealing the shortcomings of the state to provide incentives for mediations between non-Serbian sub-national identities and Yugoslav nationhood. Put briefly, there was room for such mediations, but the state itself did not provide concrete incentives. The festivities surrounding the commemoration of the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom in 1925, historical commemorations in Slovenia and the activities of *Jadranska straža*, *Gajret* and *Prosv(j)eta* show that such non-governmental engagements with nationhood could fill this vacuum and serve as complementary mediators between the regional/sub-national and Yugoslav nationhood, in line with the state's Yugoslav nation-building program.

8.2 Limitations

If we accept that the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia allowed for and even relied on recognised sub-national identities, it has to be taken into consideration that internal boundaries between ‘tribes’ and religions remained potentially available within the framework of Yugoslav nationhood. My examination of the position of teachers in interwar Yugoslavia, the controversies surrounding the Sokol movement and the engagements with nationhood by Croatian cultural-educational associations like *Seljačka sloga* and *Napredak* has clarified the increasing contextual relevance of a clear-cut boundary between Yugoslav and Croatian nationhood in the happening of nationhood, which also informed the delineation of Croatian national identity within the Yugoslav whole in the Croatian reading books of 1937. In other words, although there were media in which a successful mediation between the Croatian and Yugoslav level of nationhood was reached, most notably the earlier Croatian textbooks and the festivities surrounding the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom in 1925, an exclusionary boundary between both levels of national identity remained available and actually gained increasing relevance in happenings of nationhood during the 1930s. The authorities’ application of a national division Croat-Yugoslav to make sense of the distinction between those people who were considered loyal to the regime and those not, regardless of the varying motives behind this ‘disloyalty’, which ranged from political and ideological cleavages to banal events but were in many cases characterised by indifference toward Yugoslav nationhood, was certainly instrumental in increasing the contextual relevance of the exclusionary boundary between Croatian and Yugoslav nationhood.

By the second half of the 1930s prominent Croatian cultural-educational associations like *Seljačka sloga* and *Napredak* established a parallel Croatian associational life in which there was no more place for Yugoslav nationhood. Illustratively, in the 1935-36 commemorations of the centenary of the Croatian national rebirth and national hymn, which were organised by Croatian cultural associations, the Yugoslav nation-state was completely absent. This development indicates the failure of the state not only to provide viable state-sponsored and state-controlled incentives for mediations between Croatian and Yugoslav nationhood but even to co-opt such potential mediations. At its annual congress of July 1937 representatives of *Napredak* denounced the state’s educational policy as “not only one-sided but also *explicitly anti-Croatian*”.¹⁵⁷⁸ Beside claims about the financial and material discrimination of Croatian educational

¹⁵⁷⁸ [“ne samo jednostrano, nego izričito protuhrvatski.”] My emphasis.

institutions, the resolution also brought forward criticisms about the institutionalisation of nationhood in Yugoslav education:

- Curricula for elementary, expert and secondary schools do not pay enough attention to the cultural, religious and national sentiments of the Croatian people.
- The Croatian national history is tendentiously distorted, the Croatian language and literature are negated, the ekavian variant is favoured even in regions like Bosnia-Herzegovina where it has no roots at all and where it is alien to the people and state-organised courses against illiteracy favour the Cyrillic alphabet.
- The majority of the textbooks is tendentiously written, not objectively and by non-Croats, all to the detriment of Croats and Catholics.
- Croatian teachers in elementary and secondary schools, are systematically chased away and are withheld from higher position in education.
- In “purely” Croatian and Catholic regions there are schools with no Croatian teachers at all, or a relatively small number of Croatian teachers.¹⁵⁷⁹

Napredak’s evaluation of the state’s educational policy as one-sided is confirmed by my findings on the close reliance on and core position of Serbian symbolic resources in prescriptions of Yugoslav national identity in curricula, school commemorations and standard-typical textbooks of the 1930s. The claim about the anti-Croatian character of the state’s educational policy, on the other hand, reflects the salience of the division Croat-Yugoslav in the concrete happening of nationhood in the domain of education by the end of the 1930s and the rejection of the room provided in prescriptions of nationhood in the state’s educational program for mediations between Croatian and Yugoslav national identity as compatible categories with different contextual relevance.

A second important limitation to the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood revolved around the mediation with internal religious divisions. The institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia’s education system appropriated Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam as parallel national religions. Such an approach established a strong link between religious tolerance and Yugoslav nationhood and focused on the national element in the different religious traditions. It was not accepted by religious authorities and thinkers for two reasons. First, they argued against the subordinate and restricted position of religion in the state’s constructions of Yugoslav nationhood. Additionally, Catholic and Muslim religious thinkers criticised the inclusion of Orthodox symbolic resources in national education, arguing that the religious character of certain symbolic resources could not be abstracted in constructions of national identity and thus that any inclusion of religious symbolic resources in constructions of Yugoslav national identity provoked the religious sentiments of the

¹⁵⁷⁹ *Napredak* 12/8: 99-100.

other religious communities. The controversies surrounding the relation between religion and nation competition were expressed in disputes surrounding St. Sava's Day celebrations, the inclusion of religious symbolic resources in textbooks and religious education, and visualised at the local level in conflicts between the Yugoslav Sokol and religious youth associations and the controversial position of religious teachers in the Yugoslav school system. Crucially, these controversies complicated mediations between religious sub-national identity and Yugoslav nationhood. Religious opposition against the state's educational system was interpreted along national lines and religious thinkers increasingly turned away from Yugoslav nationhood as institutionalised in state education and instead espoused a one-to-one concurrence of religion and nationhood. This limitation to the happening of Yugoslav nationhood was most manifestly relevant and salient in the competition between the Catholic Church and the Yugoslav state, which increasingly relied on an exclusionary Croat/Slovene-Yugoslav national boundary. In the Croatian areas the national boundary which was invoked to make sense of the Catholic Church's *Croatian* opposition against the *Yugoslav* secularism of the state concurred with the Croat-Yugoslav division in activities of cultural-educational associations and the Croatian Peasant Party and thus increased the contextual relevance of this national division.

Whereas interwar Yugoslavia's nation-building program allowed for Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian sub-national approaches toward Yugoslav nationhood, there was much less room for other potential sub-national lenses. The banovina system in principle could allow for sub-national elaborations of Yugoslav nationhood outside the structure of the three 'tribes', but in practice no incentives in that direction were created. This facet of the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood considerably narrowed the potential scope of Yugoslav nationhood, as indicated with regard to Macedonian and to a lesser extent Montenegrin views on Yugoslav nationhood. In both cases in the 1930s nascent intellectual movements took initiatives toward sub-national Macedonian or Montenegrin articulations of Yugoslav nationhood, but these were quickly blocked in the state's cultural politics and excluded from the Yugoslav nation. The framework for the institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood allowed for variation within the level of the three 'tribes', in the form of, for instance, a Montenegrin and "South Serbian" regional entity within the Serbian 'tribe', but did not allow for articulations of such sub-national identities outside the framework of the Serbian 'tribe'. This approach did imply that the Yugoslav level of national identity was not the primary symbolic target of opposition for Montenegrin and Macedonian symbolic and cultural opposition, unlike in the Croatian case. Much more relevant for dissociation in these cases was the Serbian level of collective identity.

The case of South Slav Muslims was different as they were recognised as a sub-national religious entity within the Yugoslav nation. In that sense, South Slav Muslim articulations of Yugoslav nationhood were allowed within the framework for the

institutionalisation of Yugoslav nationhood in education. Although Islam clearly remained an underrepresented sub-national category within the construction of Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslav education, there was an increasing awareness of the necessity to provide symbolic incentives for South Slav Muslims to identify with the Yugoslav nation through a specific Muslim sub-national lens, as illustrated in curricula and textbooks of the 1930s. On the other hand, the structure of the three 'tribes' determined and limited such nascent mediations between South Slav Muslim collective identity and Yugoslav nationhood. South Slav Muslims were readily co-opted in Serbian and Croatian constructions of Yugoslav nationhood as parts of their 'tribe' and at the same time South Slav Muslim articulations of Yugoslav nationhood were expected to make use of 'tribal' categories, as exemplified in textbooks and the activities of *Gajret*. The rejection of continuing Serbian and Croatian claims on South Slav Muslims coincided with criticisms against the peripheral position of Islam in the Serbian and Croatian Christian views on Yugoslav nationhood provided in the state's educational program. In that way the institutionalisation of nationhood by the state substantiated the growing contextual relevance of conceptions of religious *and* national togetherness of South Slav/Bosnian Muslims.

A final limitation to Yugoslav nationhood in interwar Yugoslavia revolved around the state's monopolisation of Yugoslav nationhood, especially under the Royal Dictatorship. In the first place, all cultural-educational actors involved in happenings of Yugoslav nationhood were subjected to the authority of the state, or banned and denied access to Yugoslav nationhood. That way, the state authorities reduced the variability of potential alternative meanings of Yugoslav nationhood. Second, the state authorities made use of categories of Yugoslav nationhood in marking a clear distinction between those who were loyal to the regime *and* the nation, and those who were not, although motives behind disloyalty in many cases were characterised by indifference toward Yugoslav nationhood. Put briefly, the potentially inclusive meanings of Yugoslav nationhood were greatly reduced by the close link between regime and Yugoslav nationhood. At the same time exclusionary Yugoslav national boundaries and opposition against the regime on the basis of other available national ideas obtained great societal capital and contextual relevance and became a dominant feature in the concrete happening of Yugoslav nationhood during the Royal Dictatorship. This exclusive aspect of Yugoslav nationhood under the dictatorship in fact framed the context within with the above-mentioned limitations to Yugoslav nationhood gained relevance.

Appendix 1 – Curricula for popular, secondary, civil and teacher-training schools

This paragraph presents an overview of the curricula that were adopted in interwar Yugoslavia with references. All tables give the subjects included in the curriculum and the hours per week devoted to each subject for all school years.

Elementary schools

Teaching plan for the I, II, III and IV year and curriculum for the I and II year of all elementary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 27 June 1925. [‘Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razr. i nastavni program za I i II razr. sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. P.br. 7.823. AJ 66-254-495.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion and morals	2	2	2	2	8
Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian	8	8	7	7	30
Basic real education ¹⁵⁸⁰	2	4	-	-	6
Geography	-	-	2	2	4
History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	-	-	2	3	5

¹⁵⁸⁰ Basic real education [početna stvarna obuka] taught the pupils fundamental notions of geography and history on the basis of an observation of their own direct surroundings.

Arithmetic and Geometry	4	4	4	4	16
Nature study	-	-	3	3	6
Drawing	1	1	1	1	4
Calligraphy	1	1	1	1	4
Handiwork for boys/girls	2	2	2	2	8
Singing	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	4
Gymnastics	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	4
Total	22	24	26	27	99

Teaching plan for the I, II, III and IV year of all elementary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 9 August 1926. ['Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razred sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 8.120. AJ 66-1281-1527.]

Curriculum for the I, II, III and IV year of all elementary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 23 August 1926. ['Nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred sviju osnovnih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 11.959. AJ 66-1281-1527.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion and morals	2	2	2	2	8
Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian ¹⁵⁸¹	7	7	7	7	28
Basic real education	3	4	-	-	7
Geography	-	-	2	2	4
History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	-	-	2	3	5
Arithmetic and Geometry	4	4	4	4	16
Nature study	-	-	3	3	6
Drawing	1	1	1	1	4
Calligraphy	1	1	1	1	4
Handiwork for boys/girls	2	2	2	2	8
Singing	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	4
Gymnastics	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	4
Total	22	23	26	27	98

Temporary curriculum for the I, II, III and IV year of elementary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 3 October 1927. ['Privremeni nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred osnovne škole u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 45.131. AJ 66-1281-1527.]

Teaching plan and curriculum for elementary schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 17 July 1933. ['Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. O.n. 48.491. In: Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 54-69.]

¹⁵⁸¹ For schools in Slovenia the language classes took seven hours per week for the first two years. In the third year pupils had six hours of Slovenian and one hour of Serbo-Croatian, for the fourth year the program prescribed 6 hours Slovenian and two hours Serbo-Croatian.

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion and morals	1	1	2	2	6
National language (Serbo-Croato-Slovenian) ¹⁵⁸²	10	9	6	5	30
Geography	-	-	2	3	5
History	-	-	1	3	4
Nature study and hygiene	-	-	3	3	6
Arithmetic with geometry	5	5	4	4	18
Drawing	-	1	1	1	3
Housekeeping and hand work	-	-	3	3	6
Singing	2/2	2/2	1	1	4
Sokol-gymnastics	4/2	4/2	2	1	7
Calligraphy	-	1	1	1	3
Total	19	20	26	27	92

Higher popular schools

Temporary teaching plan and curriculum for higher popular schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 15 August 1932. [‘Privremeni nastavni plan i program za višu narodnu školu u Kraljevini Jugoslavije’. O.n. br. 65.764. In Aranicki & Karadžić 1935: 70-108.]

For boys schools:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
National language ¹⁵⁸³	3	3	3	4	13
History	3	3	3	-	9
Geography	2	2	2	2	8
Arithmetic with geometry	3	3	3	3	12
Nature study	2	2	3	4	11
Economy	3	3	3	3	12
Hygiene	2	2	2	2	8
Hand work	2	2	2	2	8

¹⁵⁸² In Drava banovina pupils learned Serbo-Croatian one hour per week from the third year, two hours in the third year.

¹⁵⁸³ In Slovenian schools pupils had two additional hours of Serbo-Croatian per week.

Drawing	2	2	2	2	8
Calligraphy	1	1	-	-	2
Singing	1	1	1	1	4
Sokol-Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	8
Total	28	28	28	28	104

For girls schools:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
National language	4	4	4	4	16
History	3	3	3	-	9
Geography	2	2	2	2	8
Arithmetic with geometry	3	3	3	3	12
Nature study	2	2	3	4	11
Hygiene	2	2	2	2	8
Housekeeping	2	2	2	2	8
Handiwork	2	2	2	2	8
Drawing	2	2	2	2	8
Calligraphy	1	1	-	-	2
Singing	1	1	1	1	4
Sokol-Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	8
Total	28	28	28	28	104

Shortened program for boys schools:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	1	1	1	1	4
National language	3	3	3	3	12
History	2	2	2	2	8
Geography	1	1	1	1	4
Arithmetic with geometry	2	2	3	3	10
Nature study	2	2	2	2	8
Economy	1	1	3	3	8
Hygiene	1	1	1	1	4
Hand work	1	1	1	1	4
Drawing	1	1	1	1	4
Calligraphy	1	1	-	-	2
Singing	1	1	1	1	4
Sokol-Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	4
Total	18	18	20	20	76

Shortened program for girls schools

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	1	1	1	1	4
National language	3	3	3	3	12
History	2	2	2	2	8
Geography	1	1	1	1	4
Arithmetic with geometry	2	2	3	3	10
Nature study	2	2	2	2	8
Housekeeping	1	1	3	3	8
Hygiene	1	1	1	1	4
Hand work	1	1	1	1	4
Drawing	1	1	1	1	4
Calligraphy	1	1	-	-	2
Singing	1	1	1	1	4
Sokol-Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	4
Total	18	18	20	20	76

School stations, ambulant schools, domestic science schools

Temporary teaching plan and curriculum for school stations in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 30 December 1933. ['Privremeni nastavni plan i program za školske stanice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. O.n. br. 47.085. AJ 66-262-504.]

Subject	I	II	Total
Religion and morals	½	½	1
National language	6	4	10
Arithmetic and geometry	2	3	5
Drawing	-	½	½
Calligraphy	-	½	1
Singing	½	½	1
Sokol-Gymnastics	1	1	2
Total	10	10	20

Temporary teaching plan and curriculum for ambulant schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 30 December 1933. ['Privremeni nastavni plan i program za ambulantne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji'. O.n. br. 47.084. AJ 66-262-504.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion and morals	1	1	2	2	6

National language	10	9	6	5	30
History	-	-	1	3	4
Geography	-	-	2	3	5
Calculation with geometry	5	5	4	4	18
Nature study	-	-	3	3	6
Economy	-	-	3	3	6
Drawing	-	1	1	1	3
Calligraphy	-	1	1	1	3
Singing	2/2	2/2	1	1	4
Gymnastics following the Sokol system	4/2	4/2	2	1	7
Total	19	20	26	27	92

Teaching plan and curriculum for schools, permanent and mobile courses for housekeepers, of the urban and rural type. [‘Nastavni plan i program za škole, stalne i pokretne tečajeve za domaćice, gradskog i selskog tipa’. *Prosvetni glasnik* 55 (1939): 1243.]

Subject	Schools for housekeepers		Permanent lesson for housekeepers		Mobile lessons for housekeeper	
	City	Village	City	Village	City	Village
Serb.Cr.Slov. language	2	2	2	2	2	2
National history/ geography	2	2	2	2	2	2
Calculus	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physics / Chemistry	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hygiene	2	2	2	2	2	2
Domestic farming	4	3	4	3	4	4
Agriculture	2	4	2	4	2	4
Hand work	5	4	5	4	4	4
Family and social education	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	-	-	-	-
Singing	1	1	-	-	-	-
Drawing	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total	23	23	20	20	19	21
Cooking	20	20	21	21	20	18
Total	43	43	41	41	39	39

Secondary schools

Teaching plan for the I and II year of secondary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 14 November 1924. ['Nastavni plan za I i II razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. S.n. br. 27.761. In: Tešić 1980: 104.]

Curriculum for the I and II year of secondary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 25 November 1924. ['Nastavni program za I i II razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. S.n. br. 28.688. AJ 66-653A.]

Teaching plan for the III and IV year of secondary schools and curriculum for the II year of secondary schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 27 June 1925. ['Nastavni plan za III i IV razred srednjih škola i nastavni program za III razred srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. P. Br. 7.824. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42 (1926): 40-51.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
National language	5	5	4	4	18
French	4	4	4	4	16
Geography	3	3	3	3	12
History	-	-	3	3	6
Physics	-	-	4	-	4
Chemistry	-	-	-	4	4
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	16
Nature study	3	3	-	-	6
Drawing	3	3	2	2	10
Singing	2	2	2	2	8
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	8
Total	28	28	28	28	104

Temporary curriculum for higher years of secondary schools in the Kingdom of SCs, 26 June 1926. ['Privremeni nastavni program za niže razrede srednjih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. S.n. br. 74.217. AJ 66/653A.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
Serbo-Croatian ¹⁵⁸⁴	5	5	4	4	18

¹⁵⁸⁴ In Slovenian schools Slovenian was taught four hours a week in every year. Serbo-Croatian was taught two hours per week, following the brief program which was proposed by Educational department of the oblast

French	-	4	4	4	12
National history	-	-	3	3	6
Geography	3	3	3	3	12
Nature study	3	3	-	-	6
Physics	-	-	4	-	4
Chemistry	-	-	-	4	4
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	16
Hygiene	-	-	-	2	2
Drawing	2	2	2	2	8
Writing	2	2	-	-	4
Singing	2	2	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	8
Housekeeping ¹⁵⁸⁵	2	2	2	2	8
Total	25	29	28	30	113

New curriculum for realkas, real gymnasia and classical gymnasia, 3 May 1927. ['Novi nastavni plan u realkama, realnim gimnazijama i klasičnim gimnazijama'. S.n. br. 11.982. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 153-4.]

For realkas:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	14
National language ¹⁵⁸⁶	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	4	30
French	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	27
Second modern language	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
History	-	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	20
Geography	3	2	2	2	2	2	-	1	14
Nature study	3	3	-	-	2	3	3	-	14
Chemistry	-	-	-	3	3	3	-	-	9
Physics	-	-	3	2	-	-	4	5	14
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	33
Geometrical drawing	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	4
Descriptive geometry	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	2	11
Introduction to philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Hygiene	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

Ljubljana and accepted by the ministry on 28 January 1925. To compensate for these extra hours, geography was taught only two per week in the second year, instead of three in Serbo-Croatian schools.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Only for girls.

¹⁵⁸⁶ In Slovenian schools Slovenian was taught five hours in the first year, four in the second and third and three from the fourth year. Serbo-Croatian was taught two hours in the lower grades, one hour in the higher grades.

Drawing	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	18
Writing	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	12
Total	29	30	30	32	32	33	31	31	248

Real gymnasia:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VIIa ¹⁵⁸⁷	VIIb	VIIIa	VIIIb	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	14
National language	5+1 ¹⁵⁸⁸	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	35
French	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	27
German	-	-	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	20
Latin	-	-	-	-	5	4	6	2	6	3	17,5
History	-	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	20
Geography	3	2	2	3	2	2	-	-	1	1	15
Nature study	3	3	-	-	2	3	3	3	-	-	14
Chemistry	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	2	5
Other Slavonic language	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-	6
Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	3	3	3	10
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	4	3	4	28,5
Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	4
Hygiene	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Descriptive geometry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Model drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	12
Writing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	12
Music	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	30	30	30	32	31	31	33	32	32	31	248

Classical gymnasia:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	14
Latin	-	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	38
Greek	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	6	24
Serbo-Croatian ¹⁵⁸⁹	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	31

¹⁵⁸⁷ VIIa refers to the first semester of the seventh year, VIIb to the second semester.

¹⁵⁸⁸ The extra hour was reserved for the teaching of national history on the basis of literary texts.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Slovenian students had five hours Slovenian in the first year, four hours in the second and the eighth year, and three in years 3-7. They had two hours of Serbo-Croatian per week in the lower years, and one hour per week in the higher years.

French or German	5	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	28
History	-	2	4	4	3	3	3	3	22
Geography	3	2	2	2	2	2	-	1	14
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	20
Nature study	3	2	-	-	2	3	2	-	12
Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	3	10
Chemistry	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Hygiene	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Introduction to philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Art	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	12
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	25	29	29	31	31	31	30	31	237

Temporary teaching plan and curriculum for higher years of real gymnasia in the Kingdom of SCS, 12 August 1927. [‘Privremeni nastavni plan i program za više razrede realnih gimnazija u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca’. S.n. br. 23.921. *Prosvetni glasnik* 43 (1927): 425-82.]

Subject	V	VI	VIIa	VIIb	VIIIa	VIIIb	Total
Religion	2	2	1	1	1	1	6
National language ¹⁵⁹⁰	4	4	4	4	4	4	16
French	3	3	3	3	3	3	12
German	4	4	4	4	4	4	16
Latin	5	4	5	2	5	3	16,5
Russian, Polish or Czech	-	-	3	-	3	-	3
History	3	3	3	3	3	3	12
Geography	2	2	-	-	1	1	5
Nature study	3	3	2	2	-	-	8
Chemistry	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Physics	-	-	3	3	3	3	6
Mathematics	3	3	2	4	3	4	12,5
Geometry	-	-	-	2	-	2	2
Philosophy	-	-	2	2	2	2	4
Drawing	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Total	32	32	32	32	32	32	128

¹⁵⁹⁰ In Slovenia Slovenian was taught three hours per week, whereas one hour was reserved for Serbian or Croatian. This decision was heavily criticised, because one hour was not enough to familiarise Slovenian pupils with Serbo-Croatian (Zgrablić 1928). In a circular dated 31 March 1928, the ministry commissioned that Serbo-Croatian would be taught two hours per week instead of one. ‘Srpsko-hrvatski jezik u višim razredima slovenačkih srednjih škola ima se predavati po dva časa nedeljno’. S.n. br. 10.446. *Prosvetni glasnik* 44: 434.

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Real gymnasia

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian ¹⁵⁹²	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	34
French	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	24
German	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Latin	-	-	-	-	4	4	3	3	14
History	-	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	20
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Nature study	3	3	-	-	-	2	3	2	13
Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	3	10
Chemistry	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	5
Hygiene	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	4
Mathematics	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	29
Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	11
Writing	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	-	12
Hand work	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	29	30	30	30	30	30	31	31	181

Classical gymnasia:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	33
French/German	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	24
Latin	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	36
Greek	-	-	4	4	4	4	4	4	24
History	-	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	20
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	15
Nature study	2	3	-	-	2	2	2	-	11

¹⁵⁹¹ With modifications S.n. br. 7.627 (1931), S.n. br. 23.897 (1931) and S.n. br. 27.100 (1933).

¹⁵⁹² In the three types of secondary schools in Slovenia Serbo-Croatian was taught for two hours in the lower years. It was not included in the curriculum for the higher years.

Physics	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	3	9
Chemistry	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	4
Hygiene	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	4
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	21
Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Drawing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Writing	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	11
Art	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total	30	30	30	30	30	30	31	31	182

Realkas:

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian	5	5	4	4	3	3	3	3	30
French	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	24
German	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
History	-	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	18
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	15
Nature study	3	3	-	-	2	3	3	-	14
Physics	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	4	12
Chemistry	-	-	-	3	3	2	2	-	10
Hygiene	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	4
Mathematics	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	5	32
Geometry	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	4
Art	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	14
Writing	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	11
Hand work	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total	29	30	30	30	30	30	31	31	181

Civil schools

Teaching plan and curriculum for the I and II year of civil schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 27 June 1925. ['Nastavni plan i program za I i II razred građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. P. br. 7824. *Osnovna nastava* 1/22: 761-22.]

Subject	I	II
Religion	1	1
Serbian or Croatian ¹⁵⁹³	4	4
German	3	3
Geography	3	3
History	2	2
Nature study	3	3
Mathematics and accounting	3	3
Geometry	2	2
Drawing	4	4
Singing	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1
Handiwork for boys	2	2
Handiwork for girls	2	2
Total	31	31

Teaching plan for the I, II, III and IV year of all civil schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 9 August 1926. ['Nastavni plan za I, II, III i IV razred sviju građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 8.122. *Prosvetni glasnik* 42: 266.]

Curriculum for the I, II, III and IV year of all civil schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 4 September 1926. ['Nastavni program za I, II, III i IV razred sviju građanskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 14.872. *AJ* 66-2092.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian ¹⁵⁹⁴	5	5	5	4	19
Foreign language	3	3	3	3	12
Geography	3	3	2	2	10
History	2	2	2	2	8
Botany and zoology	3	3	-	-	6

¹⁵⁹³ In Slovenian schools the students had four hours of Slovenian and two hours of Serbo-Croatian every week.

¹⁵⁹⁴ In Slovenian schools the students had four hours of Slovenian and two hours of Serbo-Croatian every week. In the fourth year this was reduced to three hours of Slovenian and two of Serbo-Croatian.

Physics	-	-	2	2	4
Chemistry	-	-	2	2	4
Hygiene	1	1	1	1	4
Mathematics and accounting	3	3	4	4	14
Geometry	2	2	2	3	8
Drawing	3	3	3	3	12
Singing	1	1	1	1	4
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	4
Handiwork	2	2	2	2	8
Civil rights and duties	-	-	-	2	2
Housekeeping ¹⁵⁹⁵	1	1	1	1	4
Total	32	32	33	35	132

Teaching plan and curriculum for the I, II, III and IV year of civil schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 11 May 1936. [‘Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred građanskih škola u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji’. S.n.br. 16814, AJ 66-653A.¹⁵⁹⁶]

Subject	Industry				Trade				Agriculture			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Religion and morals	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Serbo-Croatian/Slovenian ¹⁵⁹⁷	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3
French/German	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
National history	-	2	2	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	2	2
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arithmetic	3	3	3	3	3	3	3/2	3/2	3	3	3	3
Geometry	2	2	3	3/2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1
Accountancy	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	2
Physics	-	2	2	2	-	2	2	2	-	2	2	2
Chemistry	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2
Botany	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-
Hygiene	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Introduction to economy	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	4/2
Civil rights and duties	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Drawing	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	2	-	-
Calligraphy	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Stenography	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
Domestic farming	-	-	-/2	-/1	-	-	-/1	-/1	-	-	-/2	-/2
Music	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Gymnastics	2	2	2/1	1	2	2	2/1	2/1	2	2	2/1	1

¹⁵⁹⁵ Only for girls.

¹⁵⁹⁶ The numbers given behind slashes apply to civil schools for girls.

¹⁵⁹⁷ In schools in Drava banovina two extra hours per week were devoted to Serbo-Croatian.

Handiwork	2	2	2/1	1	2	2	-/1	-/1	2	2	2/1	1
Total	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30

Teacher-training schools

Teaching plan for teacher-training schools, curriculum for the I and II year of teacher-training schools, 27 June 1925. [‘Nastavni plan učiteljskih škola, nastavni program za I i II razred učiteljskih škola’. P. br. 7.825. *Osnovna nastava* 1/22: 773-84.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Psychology	-	4	-	-	4
Logics	-	-	2	-	2
Pedagogy	-	-	5	-	6
Methodology	-	-	-	4	4
School work	-	-	-	10	10
History of Pedagogy	-	-	-	2	2
Serbo-Croato-Slovenian with literature	5	3	3	3	14
General history	2	2	3	-	7
National history	-	-	2	3	5
Geography	3	2	-	-	7
Nature study	4	-	-	-	4
Physics	-	2	-	-	2
Chemistry	-	3	-	-	3
Mathematics	3	3	2	2	10
German or French	3	3	3	3	12
Religion	2	2	2	-	8
Civil rights and duties	-	-	-	2	2
School administration	-	-	-	2	2
Drawing	2	2	2	-	6
Singing and playing music	3	3	3	-	8
Handiwork for boys	2	2	-	-	4
Handiwork for girls	2	2	2	-	6
Hygiene	-	-	3	-	3
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	8
Total	34	35	36	34	139

Teaching plan and curriculum for the I, II, III and IV year of teacher-training schools in the Kingdom of SCS, 1 October 1926. ['Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred učiteljskih škola u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca'. O.n. br. 21.874. AJ 66-2182-2978.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	Total
Psychology	-	4	-	-	4
Pedagogy	-	-	6	-	6
Methodology	-	-	-	4	4
School work	-	-	2	8	10
Mother tongue (Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian) ¹⁵⁹⁸	4	4	3	3	14
General history	2	2	3	-	7
National history	-	-	2	3	5
Geography	2	2	3	-	7
Nature study	5	2	-	-	7
Physics	-	3	2	-	5
Chemistry	3	-	-	-	4
Mathematics	4	3	3	2	12
Modern languages	4	4	2	2	12
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
Civil rights and duties	-	-	-	2	2
School administration	-	-	-	1	1
Drawing and writing	3	3	2	2	10
Singing and playing music	2	2	2	2	8
Handiwork	2	2	-	-	4
Gymnastics	2	2	2	-	6
Hygiene	-	-	-	3	3
Agriculture	-	-	2	2	4
Total	35	35	36	36	142

Temporary teaching plan and curriculum for teacher-training schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 12 September 1939. ['Privremeni nastavni plan i program za učiteljske škole Kraljevine Jugoslavije'. S.n br. 28.313. *Prosvetni glasnik* 46: 1052-68.]

Subject	IV	V
Psychology	2	2
General pedagogy	2	2
History of pedagogy	-	2
Methodology	2	2
School work	4	4

¹⁵⁹⁸ In Slovenia the future teachers also studied Serbo-Croatian for two more hours per week.

Philosophy	-	3
School organisation and administration	-	2
National economy and sociology	-	2
Serbo-Croato-Slovenian	3	2
Foreign language	3	3
History	2	1
Geography	-	1
Nature study	2	2
Mathematics	2	2
Hygiene	2	1
Agriculture	2	-
Drawing	2	-
Singing	2	-
Music playing	1	-
Handiwork	1	-
Gymnastics	1	-
Total	33	31

Temporary teaching plan for teacher-training schools, 27 August 1931. ['Privremeni nastavni plan za učiteljske škole'. S.n. br. 28375. *Prosvetni glasnik* 47: 710-1.]

Subject	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Psychology	-	-	4	-	-	4
General pedagogy	-	-	-	4	-	4
History of pedagogy	-	-	-	-	2	2
Methodology	-	-	-	2	2	4
School work	-	-	-	4	6	10
School organisation and administration	-	-	-	-	1	1
National economy and sociology	-	-	-	-	2	2
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	10
National language ¹⁵⁹⁹	4	4	3	3	3	17
French/German	3	3	3	3	2	14
History	2	2	2	3	2	13
Geography	2	2	2	-	1	7
Nature study	3	2	2	2	-	9
Chemistry	2	2	-	-	-	4
Physics	-	2	2	2	-	6
Mathematics	3	3	-	2	-	8
Hygiene	-	-	-	-	2	2
Agriculture	2	1	1	-	-	4
Drawing	2	2	2	-	-	6

¹⁵⁹⁹ In Drava banovina students had two extra hours of Serbo-Croatian

Singing	1	1	1	1	1	5
Music playing	2	2	1	1	-	6
Handiwork	2	2	2	-	-	6
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	10
Total	32	32	32	31	30	157

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