

North American Society for Serbian Studies



Officers

Honorary President: Alex Dragnich, *Vanderbilt University, Emeritus*
President: Thomas Emmert, *Gustaph Adolphus College*
Vice President-President Elect: Radmila Gorup, *Columbia University*
Treasurer: Nikoleta Ilić, *Voice of America, Washington, D.C.*
Secretary: Miroslava Jovanović, *Washington, D.C.*

Governing Board

Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, *Dumbarton Oaks*
Slobodan Ćurčić, *Princeton University*
Obrad Kesich, *IREX*
Ljubica Popovich, *Vanderbilt University*
Ružica Popovich-Krekić, *Mount St. Mary's College, Los Angeles*
Željko Šuster, *University of New Haven*

Past Presidents

Alex N. Dragnich, <i>Vanderbilt University</i>	1978–1980
Vasa Mihailovich, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>	1980–1982
George Vid Tomaševich, <i>New York State University, Buffalo</i>	1982–1984
Biljana Šljivić-Šimšić, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i>	1984–1986
Dimitrije Djordjevich, <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i>	1986–1988
Sofija Škorich, <i>Toronto University, Toronto</i>	1988–1990
Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, <i>Dumbarton Oaks</i>	1990–1992
Ljubica D. Popovich, <i>Vanderbilt University</i>	1992–1995

SERBIAN STUDIES

JOURNAL OF THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SERBIAN STUDIES

Vol. 9

1995

No. 1–2

Editors

Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, *Dumbarton Oaks*
Vasa Mihajlovich, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*,
Book Review Editor
Ružica Popovich-Krekić, *St. Mary's College, Los Angeles*,
Newsletter Editor

Editorial Board

Dimitrije Djordjevich, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Radmila Jovanovich-Gorup, *Columbia University*
Dragan Kujundžić, *University of Tennessee, Memphis*
Tomislav Longinovich, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
John Jovan Markovich, *Andrews University, Berrien Springs*
Vasa Mihailovich, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Ljubica D. Popovich, *Vanderbilt University*
Željko Šuster, *University of New Haven*

Membership in the NASSS and Subscription to *Serbian Studies*

The North American Society was founded in 1978 and has published *Serbian Studies* since 1980. It publishes scholarly articles in all aspects of the Serbian cultural heritage, archival documents and source material related to the Serbian immigration to North America.

Serbian Studies is published twice a year and is sent to all members of the Society. Members also receive the *NASSS Newsletter*. Membership, including the subscription to *Serbian Studies* is US \$25.00 per year for regular members and US \$5.00 for students. Subscription without membership is US \$20.00 per year, postage included. Checks should be made payable to NASSS.

Manuscripts for consideration should be submitted on diskettes (IBM compatible, WordPerfect 5.1) with two hard copies included. Notes should be placed at the end of the articles. In general, articles should not exceed 20 double spaced pages, including endnotes and quoted passages. *The Chicago Manual of Style* and Library of Congress transliteration are to be followed. All manuscripts must be in English, properly edited.

Articles submitted, and all correspondence concerning editorial matters should be sent to: Jelisaveta S. Allen, Editor of *Serbian Studies*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1703 32nd Street, NW, Washington D. C. 20007.

Book reviews should be sent to the Book Review Editor, Vasa Mihailovich, 821 Emory Drive, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

All communications regarding membership, subscriptions, back issues and advertising should be addressed to the Treasurer, Nikoleta Ilić, 5301 Westbard Circle, Apt. 416, Bethesda, MD 20816.

The opinions expressed in the articles and book reviews published in *Serbian Studies* are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or of the NASSS.

Serbian Studies accepts advertising that is of interest to the membership of the NASSS. Advertising information and rates are available from the Treasurer of the NASSS, Nikoleta Ilić.

Copyright © 1995 by *Serbian Studies*.

Permission is granted to reprint any article in this issue, provided appropriate credit is given and two copies of the reprinted material are sent to *Serbian Studies*.

SERBIAN STUDIES

JOURNAL OF THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SERBIAN STUDIES

Vol 9

1995

Numbers 1-2

ARTICLES

- Civil Wars and Foreign Policy: The Yugoslav Case*
Alex N. Dragnich 1
- Serbian Democratic Initiatives in the Years Before
the Destruction of Former Yugoslavia*
Predrag Palavestra 19
- Nationalism and Communism: The Yugoslav Case*
Dušan T. Bataković 25
- Portraits of Knjeginja Milica Part II: In Visual Arts*
Ljubica D. Popovich 42
- The Byzantine Architectural Tradition in The Serbian State
Between 1355 and 1459*
Svetlana Popović 59
- History of the Musical Art Among the Serbs*
Miloš Velimirović 80
- Nineteenth-Century Serbian Popular Religion:
The Millet System and Syncretism*
Peter T. Alter 88
- Rastko Petrović, Diplomat and Writer, in the U.S.A.*
Vasa D. Mihailovich 104

<i>The Poetics of Epiphany: The Literary Oeuvre of Milorad Pavić</i> Jelena Milojković-Djurić	110
<i>Recent Yugoslav History in the Works of Contemporary Yugoslav Writers: Vuk Drašković, Slavenka Drakulić and Slobodan Blagojević</i> Dragan Milivojević	122
<i>Bosnia and the Works of Meša Selimović</i> Angela Richter	141
<i>Serbian Place Names Around the World</i> Marinel Mandres	151

BOOK REVIEWS

Veljko P. Bojić <i>Mat u raju. Drama u četiri čina.</i> Los Angeles, 162 pages. Veljko P. Bojić, <i>Drame.</i> Los Angeles, 1995, 384 pages. (Vasa D. Mihailovich)	160
Dimitrije Djordjević, <i>Ožiljci i opomene. Knjiga prva.</i> Bigz: Belgrade, 1994, 327 pages. (Kosta Nikolić)	162
Edward Dennis Goy, <i>The Sabre and the Song—Njegoš: The Mountain Wreath.</i> Belgrade: Serbian P.E.N. Publications, 1995, 115 pages. (Vasa D. Mihailovich)	165
Brian Hall, <i>The Impossible Country: A Journey Through the Last Days of Yugoslavia.</i> Penguin Books, 1994, 334 pages. (Dragan Milivojević)	167
Sava Janković, <i>Na prelomu.</i> Belgrade: Prosveta 1994, 355 pages. (Ružica Popovich-Krekić)	170

Jelena Milojković-Djurić, <i>Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830–1880: Images of the Self and Others.</i> East European Monographs: Boulder, 1994. (Thomas A. Emmert)	171
---	-----

Aleksandar Petrov, <i>Manje poznati Dučić.</i> Signature: Belgrade; Valjevac: Valjevo; American Srbobran: Pittsburgh, 1994, 89 pages. (Robert P. Gakovich)	175
--	-----

Susan L. Woodward, <i>Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War.</i> Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1995, 536 pages. (Alex N. Dragnich)	177
---	-----

REVIEWS IN BRIEF (Željko Šuster)

Miloš Jeftić, <i>Četiri života Dimitrija Djordjevića.</i> Valjevac: Valjevo, 1995	182
Konstantin Fotić, <i>Rat koji smo izgubili: Tragedija Jugoslavije i pogreška zapada. Memoari, Žika Lazić, Mihajlo Gruščić.</i> Vajat: Beograd, 1995	182
Alex N. Dragnich, <i>Yugoslavia's Disintegration.</i> East European Monographs: Boulder, 1995	182
Tomas Flajner, Slobodan Samardžić (eds), <i>Federalizam i problem manjina u Višetničkim zajednicama.</i> Institut za evropske studije: Beograd, 1995	183
Kosta Nikolić, <i>Boljševizacija KPJ 1919–1929: Istorijske posledice.</i> Institut za savremenu istoriju. Beograd, 1994	183
Radovan Samardžić, <i>Pisci srpske istorije, četvrta knjiga, Prosveta.</i> Tersit: Beograd: 1994	183
Vladimir Dvorniković, <i>Borba ideja.</i> Tersit: Beograd: 1995	184
Svetozar Stojanović, <i>Propast komunizma i razbijanje Jugoslavije.</i> Filip Višnjić: Beograd, 1995	184

CIVIL WARS AND FOREIGN POLICY:
THE YUGOSLAV CASE*

Alex N. Dragnich
Vanderbilt University

First off, let me say that I cannot fault you if you conclude that my generation has made a mess of things. I should like to think that in some ways we did better than the generation that came before us, but I must admit that in many instances we stumbled unbelievably. I should like to focus on just one foreign policy problem—the civil war in Yugoslavia.

It has been said that those who ignore history are condemned to repeat it. And I say to you, those who do not admit their mistakes are condemned to try to justify them.

Let me also say that I lived through the tragedy of the war in Vietnam. And I must admit that I supported President Johnson, but after a while I came to realize that the longer we traveled down that road, the more difficult it would be to turn back. And that has been precisely our fate in seeking to deal with the Yugoslav conflict.

Let us for a few moments concentrate on the essence of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and then we can talk about foreign policy, i.e. about the West's wrong-headed efforts to deal with it.

Yugoslavia was created at the end of the World War I, when two countries that had fought on the side of the Allies—Serbia and Montenegro—were joined by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian areas that had been part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, to form a new state. That state, which I have called the First Yugoslavia, was destroyed by Germany and Italy in the Second World War. It was re-created at the end of the war by the Yugoslav Communist party, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, which won the civil war that it had instigated in the course of the war. I have called it the Second Yugoslavia.

You should keep in mind that except for the Albanian and Hungarian minorities, the peoples that made up Yugoslavia had a lot in common ethnically and linguistically. This was also true of the Muslims

* Convocation address, Monmouth College (Monmouth, Illinois), September 26, 1995.

of Bosnia-Herzegovina, most of whom were Serbs or Croats, mainly the former, before they converted to Islam during the centuries of Turkish Ottoman rule.

You should also keep in mind that the Serbs are Orthodox Christians, while the Croats and Slovenes are Roman Catholic Christians.

In both the First and Second Yugoslavias, there were ethnic disagreements and some latent hatreds, but ethnic armed conflict was absent until 1990, just before the breakup of the country. There was more peace and certainly less violence than in Northern Ireland, a part of the Kingdom of Great Britain. There was this difference, however, with respect to the Second Yugoslavia, in that it was governed by a communist dictatorship, which had divided the country into so-called republics and provinces, and declared the nationality problem solved. Those who disagreed risked prison or worse.

In fairness to the communists, it should be noted that they had to face a most serious aggravation of ethnic problems as the result of the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Serbs during the World War in the fascist satellite state of Croatia. Aside from the communists' commitment to a dictatorship as a matter of principle, they were fearful of Serb retaliations unless prevented by force.

In any case, Yugoslavia began to fall apart as a result of economic and political crises in the communist system, even before Tito's death in 1980. In the years that followed, the crises got worse, culminating in 1990 in expressions by two of the republics—Slovenia and Croatia—of intentions to secede.

In June 1991, they declared their secessions. These, plus the Slovenes' use of force to seize custom and immigration posts on Yugoslavia's borders with Italy and Austria, were the first overt acts in the destruction of the country. When the Yugoslav government ordered those posts retaken, the Slovenes fired the first shots in the civil war when they downed a Yugoslav Army helicopter. In the words of former American ambassador, Warren Zimmermann, and no friend of the Serbs, the Slovenes "in their drive to separate from Yugoslavia . . . bear considerable responsibility for the bloodshed that followed their secession."¹

Although the Slovenes and Croats insisted that they had a legal right to secede, both in fact violated the Yugoslav Constitution when they did so. Although the preamble declares the right of self-determi-

nation, including the right of secession, it says nothing about how this could be done. More important, Article 5 states that the frontiers of Yugoslavia cannot be altered without the consent of all republics and autonomous provinces, and stipulates that boundaries between republics can be altered only by mutual consent. And Article 240 says that the Yugoslav armed forces are to protect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Moreover, Slovenia and Croatia—as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina—also violated the Helsinki Accords,² signed by 30-odd countries, including the United States and Canada, which declared against the use of force or threat of force to change the boundaries of internationally recognized states, of which Yugoslavia was one.

By recognizing the secessionist republics as independent states, the West aided and abetted them in the violation of the Helsinki Accords.

The critical problem was that Tito's carving up the country into republics left some 600,000 to 800,000 Serbs in Croatia and about 1.5 million in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All those Serbs had lived in one state—Yugoslavia—since 1918. And they wanted to stay in that state, and least of all did they want to be in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbian Concerns and Claims

Why did the Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina not want to live as minorities in those states? Their fears stemmed from what happened to their ancestors during the Second World War. When Germany and Italy destroyed Yugoslavia in April 1941, Croat extremists known as *Ustashi* created a Nazi satellite Croatian state, which included most of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The supporters of that state massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs who found themselves in that state. Estimates vary, but most historians dealing with the subject agree that some 700,000 Serbs, along with tens of thousands of Jews and Gypsies were killed, and some of the killers were Bosnian Muslims.³

It is interesting, for example, that several family members of the military commander of the Bosnian Serbs, General Ratko Mladić, were massacred by the supporters of the *Ustashi* regime.

As if memories of those times were not enough, Croatia's regime, under Tito's onetime general, Franjo Tudjman, engaged in several anti-Serb acts before the present civil war began. Not only were

Croatian Serbs discriminated against in areas of employment and civil rights, but their properties were vandalized and shots fired at their homes in the night. In addition, the Tudjman government adopted some of the symbols and trappings (flag, coat of arms, etc.) of the hated pro-Nazi wartime regime. Last year (1994), it introduced the monetary unit, the *kuna*, that was used by that regime. In addition, while Croatia's pre-independence constitution viewed Croats and Serbs as equals, the new one reduced the Serbs to minority status. And in 1991, even before the outbreak of the civil war, the Croats began a large-scale "ethnic cleansing" of Serbs from the Slavonia region.

In August 1995, the Croats confirmed the Serbs' worst fears, when they executed the largest and most brutal ethnic cleansing of the whole Yugoslav civil war. And the worst part, from the point of view of the Serbs, is that Croatia had the tacit support of the United States along with American military advice.

In Bosnia, the Serbs were the largest ethnic group until Communist dictator Tito created "Muslim" as an ethnic category in the late 1960s, but only for the Bosnia-Herzegovinian republic. Muslims in the other Yugoslav republics could not so declare themselves. And I don't know anywhere else in the world where Muslim constitutes an ethnic category. A noted writer in France has written that this is the essence of the problem in Bosnia.⁴ He asked his fellow Frenchmen to imagine what would happen if the four or five million Muslims in France were given a similar right and they then demanded a state of their own.

I mentioned the participation of Bosnian Muslims in the massacre of Serbs in the pro-Axis Croat state during World War II, and those fears have remained very much alive. Adding to the Serbs' alarms was a book, *The Islamic Declaration*, authored in 1970 and reissued in 1990 by the Muslim leader, Alija Izetbegović. In it, he states the Muslim movement should seize power once it is "morally and numerically" strong enough.

In addition, the book states that "there can be neither peace nor co-existence between the Islamic religion and non-Islamic social and political institutions." The Declaration further states: "the upbringing of the people, and particularly means of mass influence—the press, radio, television and film—should be in the hands of people whose Islamic moral and intellectual authority is indisputable. The media should not be

allowed—as so often happens—to fall into the hands of perverted and degenerate people who then transmit the aimlessness and emptiness of their lives to others."⁵

As you can see, these statements by the Muslim leader in Sarajevo give the lie to Muslim propaganda assertions that they want to live in harmony with Serbs, Croats, Jews, and other inhabitants of Bosnia. No support for pluralism in that book!

What has surprised and puzzled all Serbs—those in Bosnia and Croatia as well as those in Serbia and Montenegro—was the attitude of Western leaders that Serbs had no legitimate interests in Bosnia and Croatia. They seemed not to know that Serbs have lived in those areas for centuries, or that in 1875 there was a rebellion in Bosnia whose aim was to have Bosnia annexed to Serbia, or that in the First World War Serbian forces fought to liberate Bosnia, or that in November 1918 nearly all districts in Bosnia voted to join Serbia, and that on December 1, 1918, political representatives from Zagreb—Croat, Serb, and Slovene—freely joined the Serbs in Belgrade to establish the Yugoslav state.⁶

In addition, the question of Serbia's legal claims to some of these lands seems to have been totally ignored. There are at least two international treaties that cannot be bypassed. First is the Treaty of London of 1915, in which Britain, France, and Russia promised to Italy significant South Slav areas in the northern Adriatic as a way of getting Italy to switch from the Triple Alliance to the Allied camp. As a way of placating their ally Serbia, which had declared as its major war aim—next to victory—the liberation and unification of all Croat, Slovene, and Serb lands, the signatories of that Treaty offered an alternative to Serbia, i.e. an enlarged Serbian state. To that end, they promised Serbia all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a large part of Dalmatia, and a significant portion of present-day Croatia.

In other words, the Serbs were offered a Great Serbia on the proverbial silver platter, but the Serbian leadership refused, feeling morally obliged to remain loyal to their announced goal of liberating and uniting all Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Even so, the promises of the Allied Powers constitute an important recognition of Serbian rights.

That same Treaty promised to Montenegro, another ally, parts of the Dalmatian coast, including the city of Dubrovnik. With the creation of the Yugoslav state, these and other areas became parts of that

state.

In addition, please note that following World War I, the Versailles treaties of Trianon and St. Germain treated the new Yugoslav state as the successor state of Serbia. All international agreements to which Serbia was a party were transferred to Yugoslavia. The present Yugoslav state—the Third Yugoslavia—which the Western powers pretend does not exist, will one day be recognized in some form or other. At that time its leaders may have some embarrassing questions involving international law and the actions of the Western powers.

The West's Response

Now let us take a look at the history of the attempts of the Western powers to deal with the Yugoslav crisis.⁷ That history is complex and complicated, but of necessity I must try to simplify. Most of the early efforts to deal with the crisis were those of the European Community (EC), but I should add that prior to the secessions, U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker III, met with the different Yugoslav leaders in Belgrade. Among other things, he warned the Slovene and Croat leaders that unilateral secessions would lead to civil war.

When the secessions took place, the policies of the European Community leaders toward recognition of the new states were ambivalent and contradictory. Three days after the June 25, 1991 Slovene and Croat declarations, the EC issued a statement that "neither unilateral acts, nor threats or the use of force" could be the basis for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. And on August 27th, the EC established a conference on Yugoslavia, naming Lord Carrington as its mediator. His mandate carried two conditions: (1) none of the republics could be recognized unless there was an overall settlement acceptable to all six republics; and (2) no changes in boundaries could be made except by peaceful means.

Yet by the end of the year, EC gave in to Germany's pressure and recognized Slovenia and Croatia. U.S. Secretary of State Baker had made it known earlier that in the event of secessions, the United States would take up the question of recognition only after political settlements had been reached. But a few months later, he too gave into pressure (Saudi Arabian, Western European, and Congressional), and notified EC that the U.S. would recognize Slovenia and Croatia if Bosnia-Herzegovina would also be recognized. That was done on April 6, 1992,

actually changed to take effect on the early morning of April 7th, after someone pointed out that April 6th was the anniversary of Germany's bombardment of Belgrade in 1941.

Earlier I mentioned that the secessions were in violation of the Yugoslav Constitution and the Helsinki Accords, which declared against altering internationally recognized boundaries by force. The Accords clearly applied to Yugoslavia, a founding member of the League of Nations and the United Nations. By recognizing the secessionist states, the Western nations, as I said before, in effect aided and abetted those states in violation of the Accords.

Actually, the latest research shows that Western actions, notably those of Germany and Austria, gave aid and comfort to Slovenia and Croatia prior to the secessions in the determination of those republics to undermine Yugoslavia. And Slovene and Croat officials conspired with officials in Bonn and Vienna to destroy the Yugoslav state. Moreover, both Slovene and Croat officials illegally purchased sophisticated weapons and the Slovenes even formed a network of pro-Slovene officers and conscripts in the Yugoslav army. Such actions are usually defined as treason. You can find the facts in Dr. Susan Woodward's monumental work, *Balkan Tragedy*, recently published.⁸

That book, incidentally, is a devastating indictment of the role of Western European states, most especially Germany, in the destruction of Yugoslavia. But she does not let the U.S. off easy either.⁹

I should also like to point out that the recognitions were contrary to the conditions for the recognition of new states, spelled out in the Montevideo Convention of 1932. These conditions were: (1) a permanent population, (2) defined territory, (3) a government, and (4) a capacity to enter into relations with other states. While Slovenia met these to a minimal extent, Croatia did not, and Bosnia-Herzegovina even less so.

Some international law experts have asked that even if the secessions were illegal within the terms of the Yugoslav Constitution, were they nevertheless legal from the standpoint of international law. Two of these experts,¹⁰ both Americans with no ethnic Yugoslav background, concluded that there is "no charter, treaty or convention" that confers on "a majority of the population within a well defined province or republic . . . a right to secede from an existing state." Specifically, they concluded that "the recognition of Bosnia's independence itself constituted an illegal intervention in Yugoslavia's internal

affairs," and went on to say that "the contrary view may only be asserted on the debased view that international law is whatever the United States and the Security Council says it is."

Ironically, in 1970 the Secretary General of the UN (U Thant) said that the "United Nations has never accepted and I do not believe it will ever accept the principle of secession of a part of its Member State."¹¹

Lack of Evenhandedness in the West's Approach

By respecting the wishes of the Yugoslav republics that wanted to secede but not those that wanted Yugoslavia to remain intact, the Western powers practically guaranteed civil war. By transforming Yugoslavia's internal boundaries into international ones by the stroke of a diplomatic pen, they ignored the interests of the largest ethnic group—the Serbs—who had been the strongest supporters of the common state, thus excluding a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

More than that, the West was no longer an honest broker, especially after the imposition of severe United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia (i.e. Serbia and Montenegro) in late May 1992. The sanctions were prompted by the killing in Sarajevo of some 15 persons waiting in line in front of a bakery to buy bread. The Bosnian Serbs were blamed, but to this day there has been no proof. On the contrary, a London newspaper, *The Independent*, in August 1992 concluded that the Muslims had been responsible.¹² Others, including the first UNPROFOR commander in Sarajevo, General Lewis MacKenzie, have expressed doubts about Serb complicity,¹³ but Western powers remained unmoved.

The same thing can be said of the explosion in Sarajevo's Markale market in February 1994, killing some 60 persons, which resulted in the UN forcing the Serbs to move their heavy weapons some 20 kilometers away from the city. Again, no proof of Serb complicity, and even greater indications that the Muslims were responsible.¹⁴ But anti-Serb positions remained intact.

The Western powers proceeded on the dictum of the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland*: "Sentence first—verdict afterwards."

And less than a month ago, a shell exploded in Sarajevo, killing 38 persons. At first, UN sources said that it was impossible to determine responsibility, because there were Serb and Muslim forces in the area from which the shell was fired, but within 24 hours they said that the

Serbs fired the shell.

David Binder, a known *New York Times* correspondent, has an important and devastating article in the current issue of *Nation*¹⁵ magazine (Oct. 2, 1995). After consulting with several persons, among them four specialists—one Russian, one Canadian, and two Americans, he concludes that the hasty UN report blaming the Serbs is without serious foundation, that there is no way that the supposed mortar shell could have come from Serbian held areas. And yet that was the pretext for bombing the Serbs!

Binder points out that once the bombing began, the commander of the Bosnian Muslim forces picked the targets and sent them to NATO, via the Pentagon, which led one U.S. officer to say, "We have become the Muslim Air Force." More revelations will be forthcoming in the near future.

Because the Bosnian Serbs have been blamed for so much, let us look at some other charges against them.

One is that they have been guilty of aggression. Aggression against whom? Croatia? When the war broke out, the international community judged Croatia to be a constituent part of Yugoslavia, so that in neither legal nor diplomatic terms could the conflict be considered aggression against a sovereign country. Following one of my lectures, a young lady expressed the view that Croatia's secession was like the revolution of the American colonies against Britain. Well, it was not, for one simple reason. You may recall that the big complaint of the colonists was taxation without representation. In the case of Croatia, it was not only a constituent part of Yugoslavia with full representation in parliament, but in addition, at the time of the secession, the prime minister of Yugoslavia was a Croat, Ante Marković.

Aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina? Aggression against a so-called state, an administrative area of Communist Yugoslavia, an area that the West created as a state with the stroke of the diplomatic pen, an area that never existed as a state, a would-be state that could not meet the basic requirements for the recognition of new states, as spelled out in the Montevideo Convention of 1932. Not before or after recognition did the would-be government control more than 30 percent of the territory. As former U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, has reminded us: "There has never been a Bosnian nation; there exists no identifiable Bosnian culture or language." And that the recognition of

Bosnia-Herzegovina was a "most irresponsible mistake."¹⁶

And now we have General Colin Powell telling us that the "biggest mistake was recognizing all these little countries," adding that the "Serbs had very good reason to be worried about being in a Muslim-dominated country. It wasn't just paranoia." For "three years," he says, "we've been giving mixed signals . . ." ¹⁷ This is a polite way of saying that our leaders have been lying to us.

It is to the credit of former Secretary of State James Baker, and former French President Francois Mitterrand, that they now admit that the recognitions were a mistake.

Moreover, I ask you: how can Bosnian Serbs be aggressors in a land where Serbs have lived for hundreds of years? Serbs lived there before there were any Muslims in the area.

As we know, a civil war occurs when a portion of one country decides to break away from the rest of it. Remember our Civil War when the Southern states decided to break away from the Union? That is precisely what Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia did. When the Serbs in the latter two resisted, wanting to remain in a Yugoslav state, the battle was joined.

Those Serbs were like the residents of Virginia who wanted to remain part of the Union, and hence formed the state of West Virginia. Those Serbs formed their rump Serbian states. So how can you accuse them of aggression when they have lived in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina for hundreds of years?! And to accuse the Serbs of Serbia of aggression because they helped their compatriots is like accusing Lincoln and the Union of aggression. Of course, you may remember that newspapers in the Confederacy did call the Civil War the "War of Northern Aggression."

It should be obvious to any informed person that the Yugoslav conflict started not as a war of aggression but as a desperate act by the local Serbs to claim for themselves the same right to freedom and self-determination that the great powers offered to the non-Serbs.

Another charge against the Bosnian Serbs is that they engaged in ethnic cleansing or even genocide, as if the other parties in the conflict were innocent bystanders. Red Cross and other objective observers have concluded that the appropriate term is ethnic cleansing and not genocide, and that all ethnic groups were guilty. Until the August 1995 massive ethnic cleansing of Serbs from the Krajina region

of Croatia, the Serbs were said to have done more of it, but the Croats now have that dubious distinction.

And the Muslims have been guilty of ethnic cleansing of both Serbs and Croats. United Nations commander, General Michael Rose, reported in a BBC broadcast in January 1995 that the Muslims had torched and plundered Serbian homes in Goražde to banish the Serbs from the town. Ironically, he said, the U.S. had shown satellite photos of those destroyed homes, but attributed the deeds to the Serbs. And, he added, he was pressured to keep quiet about the matter.

Still another charge against the Bosnian Serbs is that they have been guilty of rapes and other atrocities. As far as I can find out, all three (Croats, Serbs, and Muslims) have been guilty, but you would not know that from our media. All three have left mass graves, and according to Canadian and British reporters some of the most barbaric atrocities have been by the Muslims against the Serbs.¹⁸

In addition, some TV pictures have been misleading, such as the one showing a terribly emaciated person as a Muslim, while in fact he was a Serb. And U.S. magazines (*Newsweek*, January 4, 1993) have displayed photos of "Serb" atrocities, which were later identified as bodies of Serbs. And there is the unverified report of an allegedly raped Muslim woman who was flown to Switzerland to have the child, but the child turned out to be black. And there has not been even a beginning to assess the atrocities in last month's Croat campaign against the Serbs.

In addition, the Serbs have been accused of shelling the so-called safe havens (Bihać, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Žepa, and Goražde). Some of us thought that the safe havens were the modern equivalent of the "open city," signifying that it would not be militarily defended and hence could escape destruction. Paris, France was such a city in World War II. Despite assurances to the Serbs that the safe havens would be demilitarized, the United Nations were never able to do that.

In any case, the Muslims used them, especially Sarajevo, Goražde, Srebrenica, and Bihać as staging areas from which they attacked the Serbs. When the Muslim attacks were successful in driving the Serbs back, they were cheered, especially by the American media, but when the Serbs fought back, they were vilified, and NATO bombed them. The first UN commander in Sarajevo, General MacKenzie, more recently put the blame on the United Nations Security Council, because its resolution on safe havens, "condemned its Bosnian peacekeeping

operation to failure," because it destroyed the perception of impartiality.¹⁹

Serbia, and especially its president, Slobodan Milošević, have been accused of seeking to establish a Great Serbia, but I have not been able to find anything in his speeches or in his writings in support of such an aim.

The Role of the Media

Lacking evenhandedness even more than the political leaders, the American media have been in the forefront of "Serb-bashing," and have openly and brazenly demonstrated a determination to dictate foreign policy. Except for an occasional person, journalists and commentators have behaved pretty much like a flock of geese. Some informed experts have expressed confusion about the behavior of the media, wondering what has happened to the American newsmen who used to take great pride in their independence and critical inquiry.

The media has echoed the charges against the Serbs that I have just discussed. In addition they have added such loaded and inaccurate phrases as "Serb-dominated Yugoslavia," that the "Serbs captured 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina," and similar phrases, and proceeded to repeat them ad nauseam, even after their mistakes had been pointed out to them. I challenge anyone to show that Yugoslavia, under Tito or after him, was Serb-dominated. And I ask you, how could the Serbs have captured 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina when before any fighting began they inhabited over 60 percent of it?

I should also like to call your attention to the media's anti-Serb proclivities when Croat and Muslim misdeeds were reported. For example, *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* reporters filed stories the same day (March 9, 1994) from Mostar that "the scope of the devastation" inflicted by the Croats was an "apocalypse beyond imagining for people in other long-besieged cities like Sarajevo" (NYT); that Croatian shells and sniper fire "turned the city into a bloodier killing ground than Sarajevo" (WSJ). Yet there was no outrage in the media.

And the destruction of the historic bridge in Mostar by the Croats was scarcely noticed, while lesser misdeeds by Serbs received repetitive and vituperative references.

Moreover, in May and August 1995 troops from Croatia overran the supposedly UN protected areas of Western Slavonia, and Krajina, and in a most brutal fashion ethnically cleansed over 200,000 Serbs from

areas in which Serbs have lived for hundreds of years. And almost daily international agencies are discovering piles of Serbian bodies. Moreover, the Croats did not even get a "slap on the wrist" from the UN or from the United States. And the media found little to be concerned about.

The perfidy of United States policy is now crystal clear. After months of maintaining that a military solution is excluded and that the only way out is a negotiated peace, President Clinton launched massive air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, even using Cruise Missiles, and hence we became Croatia's and the Muslim's air force. Even before the explosion in Sarajevo on August 28th and the massive bombing, Dr. Susan Woodward, the known Yugoslav expert, asserted in the *Brookings Review*: ". . . the American policy has programmed full-scale war. NATO will unleash massive air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs . . ." ²⁰

The Peace Proposals

There have been several internationally sponsored proposals for the resolution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first of these was by the European Community in March 1992, before the fighting began, which would have divided it into cantons, ala Switzerland. It was signed by the Croat, Serb, and Muslim leaders, but after a visit to the Muslim leader in Sarajevo by American Ambassador Zimmermann, the Muslim leader reneged, and the fighting began.

The second proposal was the so-called Vance-Owen plan of early 1993, which was vetoed by President Clinton, and not acceptable to the Bosnian Serbs either.

The third proposal was the Owen-Stoltenberg plan of August 1993, which was acceptable to the Bosnian Croats and Serbs, but not the Bosnian Muslims, especially after President Clinton declared that it was not good enough for them. In January 1994, the Western European leaders practically begged Clinton to get behind the plan, but he refused. So for the second time the United States torpedoed a European-backed peace plan.

The fourth proposal was the so-called Contact Group plan, which was really an American plan, although even Russia had been brought in to give its blessing. The plan was cruelly inimical to the Bosnian Serbs, particularly since it was handed to them on a "take it or leave it" basis. In anticipation of the Contact Group plan, the United States pushed the Bosnian Croats and Muslims to form a federation,

even though in 1993 they fought bloody battles against each other. The move was prompted by a desire to solidify them against the Serbs.

I find the conclusions of retired Air Force General Charles G. Boyd, who was deputy commander of the U.S. European Command from November 1992 to July 1995, highly disturbing. He says that American actions in the Balkans have been at sharp variance with stated American policy. He writes: "The United States says that its objective is to end the war through a negotiated settlement, but in reality what it wants is to influence the outcome in favor of the Muslims."²¹

Moreover, the United States has said that what it wants is to have the Bosnian Serbs come to the negotiating table. That is so dishonest. The Serbs have been at the negotiating table all along. What we have really meant is that we want the Serbs to surrender, to capitulate, without any assurance that their legitimate rights would be addressed. This is not negotiation, but dictation. And the barbaric massive air bombardment has made that amply clear.

I am not defending any particular actions of the Serbs, but I am criticizing Western European governments, as well as the United States, for their abominable punishment of a people who were our friends and allies in two world wars, for doing nothing more than fighting for the same rights that these governments recognized for the others in that conflict.

Why the Lack of Evenhandedness?

I have puzzled over the question, why the lack of evenhandedness, and frankly I do not have an answer, particularly since the anti-Serb policies began before the Serbs had done anything against anybody. I alluded to pressure on the United States from the Muslim regimes in the Middle East to help the Bosnian Muslims. And the Clinton Administration has said that it wanted to avoid having the United States again being called the "Great Satan" by countries in the Arab world. But, was it necessary to sacrifice the Serbs on the altar of our Middle East policy and Clinton's reelection campaign, and in such a brutal fashion?

One thing you should keep in mind is that for four decades Yugoslavia had a strategic role in the Western Alliance. With the downfall of the Soviet Union, it lost that role, and the Western powers no longer needed to worry about Yugoslavia's stability.

A second thing you should note is that Serbian enemies working through public relations firms, succeeded in portraying the Serbs as defenders of communism, despite the fact that this flew in the face of two critical political facts: (1) the Serbs are the only ones among the Yugoslavs with a democratic tradition, and (2) in the communist regime the most powerful leaders were Slovenes and Croats. After the destruction of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević, as leader of the Serbian party, inherited what was left of Yugoslavia. And the anti-Serb actions of the West enabled him to pose as the only defender of Serbian interests.

In the end, we will have to leave most of these questions to you budding historians.

In the meantime, I should like to pose a few questions. One of these is: Why did not Serbia's allies in two world wars go to the Serbs and seek their cooperation in finding a solution when Yugoslavia began to disintegrate? Or at least to assure the Serbs that, while the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia seemed justified, in any final settlement Serbian grievances would also be addressed?

If the West had done that instead of condemning the Serbs for wanting precisely what the secessionist forces wanted, it is fair to ask, would there have been atrocities and the need to frame rules of war for an ongoing civil war?

Moreover, we may ask of United States leaders, what have we gained by taking sides in the war? We might recall that in our Civil War one of Lincoln's great worries was Britain's contemplated recognition of the Confederacy. If it had come, he was prepared for war with the British. In view of the circumstances in Bosnia, was the Serb attitude all that unexpected?

Again, reflecting on our Civil War, we know that the warship *Alabama* was built in England and permitted to sail to join the Confederate navy. And two ironclad ships were being constructed for the Confederacy, but the project was stopped at the last moment. Had the British been determined—alas there was not a powerful media to push them—and if the technology for delivering food to the Confederates had been available, might the Civil War have lasted another four years?

Moreover, what kind of perverse logic holds that the winning side in a civil war should capitulate? It boggles the mind, but we seemingly expected the Serbs to cooperate in policies inimical to their national interests.

Also what kind of perverted logic holds that it is okay for Slovene and Croat officials, while still part of Yugoslavia's governing system, to conspire with German and Austrian officials to destroy Yugoslavia, but it is not okay for the Serbs to try to salvage what they could once the Slovenes and Croats had destroyed the state for which the Serbs had sacrificed so much?

Some Lessons from the Yugoslav Tragedy

While history will pass the ultimate judgment, I should like to offer a few concluding observations. Please keep in mind a few basic principles: (1) foreign policy issues are rarely simple; (2) foreign policy problems rarely involve one party being totally right and the other (or others) totally wrong, especially in civil wars, and (3) I believe that you would agree that all wars are tragic and that civil wars are the most tragic of all.

In view of those principles, it seems to me that the greatest lesson from the Yugoslav tragedy is that great power leaders should guard against "great power arrogance," particularly where the issues are little known. They should avoid getting involved in the careless destruction of an existing internationally recognized state, and should not easily discard international treaties to which they are a party (e.g. Helsinki Accords and the Montevideo Convention).

Second, great powers should clearly define the issues of their national interest, and encourage other powers to do likewise. In the Yugoslav conflict, the United States has perhaps demonstrated more confusion than any other involved power. President Clinton has sometimes referred to the conflict as a war of aggression, while at other times calling it a civil war in which we would not take sides, even as we were doing just that. Somehow the words of Humpty Dumpty, in *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, sound familiar: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

We in the United States have a clear warning to be on guard against Congress trying to make foreign policy. Whenever it has done so, it has usually made matters worse. In the Yugoslav case, we have the idiotic and costly competition between certain Congressional forces (Senator Dole and his Republican and Democratic supporters) and the President as to who could gain the most political capital from the Bosnian tragedy. This has led Clinton on a costly campaign, in money

and reputation, to make sure that Congress would not override his veto of the Dole bill to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims. It would have been more honest to risk passage of the bill rather than to fight the Muslims' battles for them. And, Dole and his friends knew that they were dishonest. They knew that the Muslims and the Croats had evaded the embargo, and that the evasions had been tacitly assisted by the Clinton administration.

A third lesson we should learn is that would-be peacekeepers need to adopt the practice of evenhandedness, and above all not to ignore the interests of the major player in the conflict, as was done with the Serbs. The international community, particularly the Contact Group powers, behaved as if the Serbs did not matter. And yet even when it became painfully evident that the Serbs did matter, the leaders of the Contact Group nations continued to behave as if the Serbs did not matter, and persisted in presenting them with ultimatums, on the assumption that only force would influence them. These leaders apparently preferred to ignore an important characteristic of Serbian behavior: when convinced that they are right, the Serbs do not ask, "what are the odds." After all, they said "no" to Hitler in 1941 at the height of his power.

Fourth, great power leaders need to be aware of the media's growing propensity to try to make foreign policy. The British journalist, Misha Glenny, observed in mid-1995 that there is a looming disaster, "the result of a disgraceful, macho policy, egged on by Western opinion makers from across the ideological spectrum, all of whom assume that punitive intervention in the Balkans can be just and effective. But it is not."²²

Finally, as some of you future historians analyze the fall of Yugoslavia, you might ponder the words of a former American ambassador to Yugoslavia, who recently said to me: "Never have so many supposedly intelligent persons applied so much ignorance to a serious international problem." And as I said at the outset, those who refuse to admit their mistakes are condemned to try to justify them.

Good luck in all your worthy endeavors, and God speed.

¹ "The Last Ambassador: A memoir of the Collapse of Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April, 1995, 7.

² For a text of the agreement, see Charles E. Timberlake, *Detente: A*

Documentary Record. (New York: Praeger, 1978), 154–81.

³ For example, see Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919–1953*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 125–27.

⁴ Louis Dalmas, "Bosnie: ce qu'on dit pas," *Dialogue*, (Paris) September, 1994, 16.

⁵ *The Islamic Declaration: A Programme for the Islamization of Muslims and the Muslim Peoples* (Sarajevo, 1990), 42–43. This work was secretly distributed beginning in 1970. It was first published in the United States in 1984.

⁶ See my, *The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Political System*. (Stanford, CA.: Hoover Institution Press, 1983), Chapter 1.

⁷ Alex N. Dragnich, "The West's Mismanagement of the Yugoslav Crisis," *World Affairs* 156 (Fall 1993), 63–71.

⁸ *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995).

⁹ *Ibid.* See especially Chapter 6.

¹⁰ Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "America and Bosnia," *The National Interest*, Fall 1993, 14–27.

¹¹ Quoted in John Dugar, *Recognition and the United Nations*. (Grotius Publications, Ltd. 1987), 21.

¹² August 22, 1992.

¹³ Lewis MacKenzie, *Peacekeeper; The Road to Sarajevo*. (Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993), 194.

¹⁴ David Binder, *Foreign Policy*, 97 (Winter 1994–95), 70–78.

¹⁵ David Binder, "Bosnia's Bombers," *The Nation*, October 2, 1995, 336–37.

¹⁶ *Washington Post*, June 11, 1995, and May 16, 1993.

¹⁷ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Powell and the Black Elite," *The New Yorker*, September 16, 1995, 73.

¹⁸ For example, see Joan Phillips, "Victims and Villains in Bosnia's War," *The South Slave Journal*, 15 (Spring–Summer, 1992), 90–96.

¹⁹ *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), June 6, 1995.

²⁰ "Mopping Up: A Foreboding Victory in the Balkans," *Brookings Review* (Summer, 1995), 30.

²¹ "Making Peace with the Guilty: The Truth about Bosnia," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1995, 33.

²² *The Times* (London), May 30, 1995.

SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES IN THE YEARS BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA*

Predrag Palavestra
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

In many discussions on responsibility for the current war in the territory of former Yugoslavia, the largest part of the guilt is ascribed to intellectuals. Struggling against the communist heritage, intellectuals were the first ones to raise the banners of nationalism thus releasing the spirit of evil and intolerance from the bottle. Although in undermining of the Yugoslav state the crucial role was played by numerous nationalist champions from circles of Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian intellectuals and writers, the manipulated media succeeded in transferring the guilt for the war mostly upon the shoulders of Serbian intellectuals. An unofficial, unfinished, and incomplete document of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts of 1986 was claimed in the world as a war cry of Serbian nationalism, thus erasing and disregarding all other criminal responsibilities for the war.

Regarding the responsibility of the Serbian intelligentsia for the present war, it is relative. A part of the responsibility undoubtedly rests with that intelligentsia which, everywhere, creates programs and ideologies. However, war machinery is moved neither by poets nor by academicians. It is moved by politicians and generals. The responsibility for the war in former Yugoslavia rests primarily with those who held the power and who brought Yugoslavia to disintegration and defeat. While it is true that intellectuals have been adding firewood to the fire in all midsts, the responsibility cannot be attributed to Serbian intelligentsia alone. It happened in Croatia and Slovenia too, as well as in Macedonia, among Albanian and Moslem intellectuals. This also happened in Russia, Bohemia, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Azerbaidjan—everywhere where communist power had collapsed. Nationalism is the disease of the

* Paper read on October 26, 1995 at the 27th Annual Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, held in Washington, D.C.

disintegration of the communist empire, where Bolshevik totalitarianism is being replaced by national totalitarianism. In the Balkans, that disease appears in the strongest forms and brings about the greatest loss of life.

The simplified and wrong division into bad and good guys has done blatant injustice to Serbian democratic alternative, which has since the 1960s—not counting the civic resistance to communist dictatorship in 1945 and Milovan Djilas's rebellion against Tito in 1954—been a constant and predominant form of opposition of intellectuals against communist omnipotence in all aspects of public and social life. It is about this democratic movement, which no real political force in the West and in Europe has ever truly supported, that I have been invited to speak about and present several basic facts at this AAASS Convention.

It all started with an open critical struggle of the Serbian intelligentsia for freedom of expression and thought which began in the late 1960s, especially in the year 1968, when almost all authors and intellectual public opinion sided with Belgrade students in their confrontation with the ruling communist party bureaucracy. The ideological supporters of the big and long-lasting student demonstrations were their professors, a group of liberal Marxist philosophers and authors gathered around the *Praxis* magazine. They demanded the right of spirit to free and open intellectual criticism of the political system, calling for deep and true democratization in all fields of social, economic, and cultural life.

On the other hand, in resistance to the dogmatic theory of Social Realism, Serbian and Yugoslav writers much earlier chose the way of opposing Bolshevik ideology and Stalinism. They laid the ground for specific "critical fiction," meaning a moral and aesthetic demystification of ideological lies, pluralization of styles and defiant rejection of monism and ideological uniforms. That same process existed in almost all literatures of the Slavic world which were exposed to the radiation of the communist ideology.

In the late 1960s Serbian literature generated a new literary style, literature which is recognized as a new concept of aesthetic cognition, as a criticism of mystifications of the ruling ideology. That "critical fiction," or "critical literature," denotes a spiritual, aesthetic, and stylistic form of resistance to totalitarian practice and builds an oppositional culture as an alternative beyond uniform ideologies.

Serbian critical fiction is a creative alternative to every outside

normative ordering of the character and task of literature, especially of the ideology and practice of Socialistic Realism as a closed system of thinking, based on dogmatic communist concepts of art. Without any illusions about its own faculty to put things right, literature was forced to search for its own identity. Willingly or reluctantly, literature was in a position to develop some sort of new ethics and philosophy. In a way, especially in monistic systems and communist societies of the time, this literary philosophy was extorted. It was part of the critical disposition of intelligentsia, oppressed by ideological monism and violence by perfidious manipulations of the ruling system and by ever shrinking room for appearance and development of an alternative.

Literature strives to restore the balance of its aesthetic and ethical meanings, to expand the knowledge of the condition of man and, in its own way, through its own means, to help change public conscience. In other words, literature was creating new spiritual presumptions for further liberation and transformation of the human mind. By cognizing themselves, by contemplating themselves in the contradictions of contemporary history, Serbian writers were discovering, with horror and hope, that modern literature itself must be a form of anti-ideology. This literature was the voice of the man who, through his practical and creative self-realization in freedom, overcomes the historical alienation of his fate, the critical spirit of skepticism, and the aesthetic energy of catharsis constituting the main driving force of critical fiction in Serbian literature which in the 1960s and 1970s creatively overcame and negated any ideological lie.

After Tito's death in 1980, which marked the true end of an era, the trends aimed at a democratic alternative gained momentum. The process of social restoration, earlier rather reduced in public, was kept in practice by the national and local party oligarchies which became the major generators of Yugoslav state disunity. Infected with the struggle for power among themselves, those ruling groups in former Yugoslavia shared the fervor in repressing critical initiatives of creative intelligentsia.

The arrest of a Serbian poet, who was tried in 1983 for the "offense of the majesty," united overnight almost all Serbian authors and intellectuals into a homogeneous front against violence, threat, censorship, and persecution. During the entire poet's stay in prison, in front of the permanently growing audience, Serbian writers held numerous

protest literary readings. Within the Association of Serbian Writers the first public Committee for Protection of Creative Freedoms was established, with several members of the Serbian branch of the P.E.N. and members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts among its founders. Since then, the protest gatherings of the writers and intellectuals at Francuska Street No. 7 (the seat of the Association) have become the symbol of the struggle of Serbian authors for freedom of thought and expression of alternative critical ideas.

At the end of 1984, a group of highly distinguished Serbian intellectuals, mostly members of the Academy, university professors, writers, painters, scientists, and lawyers, founded the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Thought and Expression. The initial idea was to establish a Yugoslav committee which, other than the Serbs, would also include intellectuals from Slovenia and Croatia. This idea was never realized. Parochial consciousness won over the democratic initiative launched from Belgrade and Serbia. Further development and collapse of Yugoslavia have shown why different national democratic initiatives in former Yugoslavia opposed each other instead of uniting them.

In the course of almost five years of its existence, the Committee issued more than a hundred statements addressing the public and the highest state organizations. The statements warned of inadmissible examples of lawlessness, violation of fundamental human rights, suppression of civil and intellectual freedom, and of political manipulation by the highest authorities, violating the Constitution and the law of the legal state. Frequently blatantly attacked in the official press and in the statements of the highest party and state bodies, the Committee put forward several proposals which received a great response from the Yugoslav and world public, and which in fact constituted the basis for possible democratic restoration of the Yugoslav state.

These statements are: the proposal for the establishment of the rule of law; the proposal for the establishment of genuine equality of Yugoslav nations; and the proposal for a critical and objective reevaluation of the historic role of president Josip Broz Tito; the proposal for the abolishment of regulations regarding the verbal delict in Article 133 in the criminal code, etc.

The Committee raised its voice against abuse of psychiatry for political purposes, against the policy of arbitrariness, for the defense of human rights of the non-Albanian population in Kosovo, in protection

of persecuted Slovenian and Macedonian youth, of some Moslem, Albanian, Hungarian, and Serbian intellectuals, of Catholic, Orthodox, and Moslem priests, of ex-convicts and citizens denied their rights, against the ban on books, newspapers, etc.

Kosta Čavoški, professor of law at the Belgrade University, delivering his paper at the Conference on Responsibility of Contemporary Science and Intelligentsia, organized in 1990 by the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, explained the meaning and significance of the Committee: "The work of the Committee was based on a silent agreement that its members would always defend other people exposed to persecution. They did so believing that freedom of thought, as the fundamental human right, constitutes one of the essential preconditions for all other freedoms and rights, an expression of human dignity reflected also in congruity of thought and the public word, and human action. They also bound themselves to render support to all citizens exposed to persecution for expressing their thoughts, and to demand setting free people imprisoned for their beliefs. Also, they declared that they would defend no one who advocated violence, hatred, and resistance to the basic human and civil rights provided by the Constitution of Yugoslavia and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Acting in this spirit, the Committee spread its activity over the entire territory of Yugoslavia, without any national, religious or ideological prejudice, and went public at every demand of the citizens threatened by violence from the authorities or persecution due to free word and free thinking."

Although it is out of place and redundant to express unreasonable conjectures and judgment of current events, while the present is still troubled and the past is still vivid in our midst, one can surmise that the tragic developments and the bloody religious and civil war in former Yugoslavia could have been prevented if the civil democratic initiative in the country had been given support in time. Instead, secessionism and religious intolerance were revived and promoted. At the crucial moment, the West and its civilization did not give an adequate response to the collapse and downfall of the communist world, so that the fragile and explosive national and religious situation in the Balkans was, on one side, left in the hands of second-rate European diplomats and clerks without any political wisdom, and on the other, surrendered to the local

warlords and the political oligarchy that had replaced the communist god with the banners of nationalism. Under new circumstances, the Serbian democratic initiative has lost much of its former force, authority, and vigor. However, while its power of action has receded, it is still not completely extinguished.

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM:
THE YUGOSLAV CASE*

Dušan T. Bataković
Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade

Nationalism: From Nation-State Model to Integral Yugoslavism

National integration in Southeastern Europe has been effected under the strong influence of several factors. They have varied depending on the local conditions, from historicism to religion, thus shaping particular types of national movements. In the regions where the Ottomans had ruled for centuries, ethnic particularity was expressed in the tradition of the millet-system. It represented the unity of the ethnicity with the Christian Church which was legally ingrained in the administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the struggle for national rights was resolved by a consecutive series of uprisings and wars. They had a decisive influence on the profiles of the future national movements.¹

However, in the further development of the new, mostly secularized national states (Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro), these traditions were not an obstacle to their liberal and democratic transformation. For the Orthodox nations in the Balkans the model of the millet-system has proved itself to be a solid base for transition to the standard European type of national integration—the nation-state model, based on Rousseau's ideas and the experience of the French Revolution.

Contrary to this, a basically European model, the Central-European model of national integration arose gradually within the frontiers of another multinational empire, the Habsburg Monarchy. It was a predominantly clerical nationalism, combined with feudal traditions and nation-state claims based on feudal or "historical rights." This model of nationalism was especially apparent in the regions where the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches coexisted, like Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia and it was colored by an excessive religious intolerance. The fact that in these parts of the Habsburg Empire nation and state

* Paper submitted to 18th International Congress of Historical Sciences, September 1, Montreal, Canada.

remained unseparated until the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918, contrary to secularized states like France and Germany—reduced the national integration of the Croats and Slovenes to a predominantly clerical model of nationalism. That model developed also in Herzegovina and Bosnia, the Ottoman provinces occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878, where the Christians, both Orthodox and Roman Catholic, lived together with the islamized Slavs—the Bosnian Muslims.²

The third, supra-national, and essentially cultural model, founded on the ideas of the Enlightenment blended afterwards with the experiences of the Romantic era—ideas shared by the influential ideologies of modern nationalism from J. Fichte to G. Herder and J. Kollar to L. Stur. Its basic criterion for national identity was a common language encompassing the common culture as the emanation of national spirit. The Yugoslav idea as a viable political solution for the south Slav national question grew from this linguistic model of modern nationalism which also included the common cultural heritage, customs and folk traditions. Adopted primarily by the liberal intelligentsia among the Croats and the Serbs, the Yugoslav idea could not be implemented in the undeveloped, predominantly agrarian society, impregnated by various feudal traditions, religious intolerance and often a xenophobic mentality. It was the example of "imagined communities,"³ professed throughout the 19th century mainly by the liberal Croats. It was only after 1903 that it was embraced by the Serbian intelligentsia as a model for future unification.

The Croats and the Serbs used linguistic nationalism expressed in a Yugoslav idea as an auxiliary device with respect to their own national integrations. Within the framework of their different political and socio-economic backgrounds, the Serbs and Croats had fundamentally different interpretations of its political meaning. For the national elite of the Serbs, the common Yugoslav state was not only a viable framework for their national unification, but also the first step towards merging of the three-tribe nation (consisting of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovene "tribe") into a new national entity—a single Yugoslav nation.⁴ For the elites of the Croats and the Slovenes the common state was considered only as a suitable protection for their national rights and as a starting point towards their future national integration. Only a small portion of "integral Yugoslavs" was ready to accept the Serbian stands, predominantly the Croats in Dalmatia, where the idea of a "three-tribe

nation" under the influence of Italian *risorgimento* mixed with popular neoslavism of Czech politician Thomas Masaryk emerged.⁵

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established in 1918 in the name of national self-determination. Conceived as a bridge over the millennium-wide abyss that had separated kindred nations for centuries, the Yugoslav state, due to different levels of national integration soon became the scene of major disputes. The new state was neither ethnically nor socially homogeneous: it was also religiously diversified and characterized by different political and cultural heritages. Serbia gave the new state its dynasty, its military and administrative apparatus, a centralist manner in organizing administration, as well as developed and well-established institutions of a parliamentary monarchy. Considering their national question to be permanently resolved, the Serbs, following the French nation-state model, strived for centralized statehood and for democratic competition between various political parties. Contrary to this, the main Croatian (*The Croatian Peasant Party*) and Slovene (*Slovenian Popular Party*) political parties, fearing "hegemonism" or "Serbisation," resembled national movements more than classical political parties. Their goal was not to develop democratic institutions, but rather to further strengthen their respective national communities and the political rights resulting not from individual but from the collective national rights.⁶

The identity of the Bosnian Muslims oscillated between religious affiliation, Ottoman tradition (identification with the Ottomans), local 'Bosnian' identity, and their Slavic, Serbo-Croatian origins. Torn between the Croats and the Serbs after the unification they gradually turned to the evolvment of local-religious identity.

A decade of political misunderstandings and severe inter-ethnic clashes erupted in scandalous assassination of three Croat deputies in the Parliament, including the Croat leader Stjepan Radić in 1928. The political crisis menacing state unity was resolved by a coup d'état by King Alexander I. On January 6th, 1929, the King sacrificed democracy for preserving the state unity and imposed his personal rule: he abolished the Constitution, dismissed the Parliament, banned all the parties with national affiliations and, soon afterwards, proclaimed a single Yugoslav nation in a centralized Yugoslav state. On October 3rd 1919, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. King Alexander considered the French-type centralism,

imbued with the idea of integral Yugoslavism, to be the best cure for growing national particularism.⁷

The collapse of this unitarian concept of Yugoslavism was heralded by the King's assassination, sponsored by Mussolini and organized by the *Ustashes*, the Croatian pro-fascist terrorists partly assisted by pro-Bulgarian VMRO nationalists in Marseille in 1934. The new Croat leader, head of the *Croatian Peasant Party*, Vladko Maček in the late thirties openly proclaimed the will of his nation: "If the Serbs turn to the left, we will have to turn to the right. If they go right we will go left. If a war breaks out, we will be left with no other choice but to join the opposite side to the one Belgrade chooses to support."⁸ The internal, basically trialist federal reorganization of the country (consisting of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian federal unities), started after the creation of the Banovina Hrvatska as *corpus separatum* in August 1939, as a concession to external threat, was prevented by German invasion in April 1941.⁹

The religious model of Croatian national movement, reached its peak during the civil war (1941–1945), when a significant part of Catholic clergy closely collaborated with Croatian fascists, *Ustashes* of Ante Pavelić. It was under the patronage of Berlin and Rome that the latter took over in the puppet state created in April 1941—the Independent State of Croatia (ISC). In the name of religious and national purity, in ISC (1941–1945), which included the territories of Croatia, Dalmatia, Krajina, Slavonia, and Bosnia–Herzegovina, between 300,000 and 700,000 Serbs, according to German and Italian sources, were slaughtered, 240,000 were forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism, and over 180,000 were deported to Serbia occupied by the Third Reich.¹⁰

Communism: From International Proletarianism to National-Communism

The victory of the Communists in the civil war, gained with the decisive support of the Red Army in 1944, resulted in a Leninist-type federation, based upon 'brotherhood and unity' of all Yugoslav peoples, in conformity with the new social and totalitarian vision.

Yugoslavia's post-war internal reorganization was based on the national policy of the Communist Party. As a section of the Communist International (the Comintern) since 1919, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) was financially and organizationally linked to the

instructions concerning the resolution of the national question in Yugoslavia.

As early as 1920, the Comintern considered Yugoslavia to be an "expanded Serbia," and for the Comintern's Yugoslav section Yugoslavia was "an agent of French imperialism." At the Fifth Congress in 1924, the Comintern abandoned the principle of federal reorganization of Yugoslavia which "the western imperialists" used together with other Balkans countries as a "*cordon sanitaire*" on the south-eastern borders of the USSR.¹¹

In order to break this *cordon sanitaire*, a new, radical political stand was defined in Moscow according to which "the subjugated nations" in the states of the enemy camp were acknowledged the right of secession. The enemy camp also included Yugoslavia. Family ties with the Romanovs and settlement of numerous troops of tsarist generals in Yugoslavia, labeled King Alexander as one of the most ardent opponents to the Soviet rule. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow explicitly granted Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia the right to secession and of creating independent states. It was also emphasized that assistance should be offered to "the liberation of the ethnic Albanians" in Kosovo.¹²

For the Yugoslav communists, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a "prison for the nations" in which the Serbian political class oppressed the other nations and minorities. The stand regarding "Great Serbian hegemony" and "the Great Serbian bourgeoisie" as its bearer, derived from the theses of the former Austro-Hungarian political elite. They considered the "Great Serbian danger" to be the main obstacle to the establishment of Habsburg domination in the Balkans. In the name of international proletarianism, CPY constantly kept expressing support to "the defense of its rightless brothers in bloody and military-fascist Yugoslavia," also stimulating the Croatian opposition's resistance "caused by the repeated loathsome betrayal of the Croatian nation's interests."¹³

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held in Dresden in 1928, a political platform was adopted pointing at the absolute necessity of disintegrating the common South Slav state and stressed the recognition of "the right to self-determination up to the secession of all oppressed nations—Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins etc."¹⁴

Immediately after the establishment of King Alexander's personal rule in 1929, the secretary of the CPY, Milan Gorkić, suggested that in the event of an uprising in Croatia, a "temporary agreement with foreign imperialism" should be concluded; that is, the fascist Italy and Hungary should be given territories only in order that the "Great Serbian hegemony" could be crushed.¹⁵

The stand regarding the resolution of the national question acquired an even sharper tone at the Fourth Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held in Ljubljana in 1934: it was stressed that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was essentially "an occupation of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbian troops." For this reason, the party's priority task was considered to be "to drive Serbian chetnicks out of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Vojvodina, Bosnia, Montenegro and Kosovo."¹⁶

Although according to the inter-war ethnic composition the Serbs constituted either an absolute or a relative majority in Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina, the CPY considered that the possibility should be left open for each of these regions to become independent units within the future federal and communist Yugoslavia. An important and only strategic turnabout took place in 1935 when the Comintern's policy took the course of joining forces into a "National Front" against "the growing danger of Nazism and fascism in Europe."¹⁷

J.B. Tito, a Croatian communist trained by Comintern in Moscow, after participation in the purges, was appointed as the provisional secretary general of the CPY in 1937 (not to be officially confirmed by Moscow till autumn 1940).¹⁸ The Comintern's new instructions concerning the change in the balance of forces in Europe led to a certain evolution in the stands concerning the national question. The CPY, following the "National Front" policy, decided to preserve the state unity at its Fifth Conference held in Zagreb in 1940, when the war was already raging in Europe.¹⁹

The foundations of the country's post-war organization were laid at the communist assembly held in Jajce (Bosnia) on November 29th, 1943, which proclaimed itself the representative of all the Yugoslav nations, calling itself the "Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia" (AVNOJ). J.B. Tito, communist guerilla leader was proclaimed the marshal of Yugoslavia, and the assembly's decisions were

forwarded to the allied forces. The assembly at which the will of all the Yugoslav nations was allegedly expressed, was formed ad hoc from the communist guerilla leaders who were present (including a few pre-war politicians). The audience of AVNOJ mostly consisted of their fighting units. Tito declared that the new, communist Yugoslavia would be based on the federal principle with "all the nations being free and equal" and with other ethnic groups being "guaranteed all the minority rights."²⁰ The restoration of Yugoslavia in its pre-war borders was the *conditio sine qua non* of Tito's policy. He promised not only a social reorganization in the new, Bolshevik state, but also "brotherhood and unity" as the principle that would put an end to all the injustice done by the pre-war regime.

National Question: The Titolist Solution

J.B. Tito followed Lenin's old motto: where there is no developed working class (Yugoslavia was mostly an agrarian country), power can be best consolidated by manipulating the national frustrations. His main goal was to crush the "Great Serbian hegemony," because communist Yugoslavia was conceived as a negation of the Kingdom's regime.

The establishment of the internal borders in Yugoslavia perhaps best illustrated the national policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Through internal decisions, the inner communist leadership created six federal republics, of which Serbia was additionally federalized in order for the rights of minorities (as branches of nations from neighboring communist states—Albania and Hungary) to be guaranteed. Internal delimitation was not based on the ethnic composition or on the existing political heritage, but was a mixture of historical (or colonial) boundaries and the regional organization of party committees in the inter-war period.

At the founding Congress of the Communist party of Serbia in May 1945, Tito explained the reason for its creation: "Various elements, former clerks, scribes, say that Tito and the communists have torn Serbia up. Serbia is in Yugoslavia, and we do not think that within Yugoslavia we are creating states that will wage war against each other. If Bosnia and Herzegovina is equal, if it has its own federal unit, then we have not torn up Serbia—we have made the Serbs in Bosnia, as well as the Croats and Muslims, happy. This is only an administrative division."²¹

The communist dictator kept saying that the internal borders of the Republics were just lines drawn on granite uniting nations and minorities. Famous Yugoslav dissident, Milovan Djilas, however, admitted as early as 1971 in his interview to *Le Monde*, that the dividing of Serbs into five or six republics was aimed at weakening "centralism and hegemonism of the Serbs" as the most serious obstacle to communism.²²

Famous jurist Slobodan Jovanović, the Prime Minister of the Royal Yugoslav government in exile (London 1942–1943) also pointed at the danger of Serbia being divided up and to the fact that Austro-Hungarian stands were undoubtedly being applied in the communist resolution of the Serbian question: "The most persistently preserved part of the old Austrian propaganda against Serbia is belief that Serbia has nothing to ask for beyond the borders it acquired in 1878 at the Berlin Congress. There were even Yugoslavs (advocates of a unified Yugoslav nation) who described our requests that went beyond the borders from 1878, as a sign of Serbian chauvinism—and even our protests against Tito's outlining of the Serbian federal unit were ascribed to that chauvinism. According to these and similar views it seems as if the Serbs in Yugoslavia would have to be satisfied with the borders that Austria would have left them if the Yugoslav unification had been carried out under the Habsburg dynasty."²³

Tito's views owed a lot to the Austro-Hungarian projection of the Serbian question. Having matured in the Austro-Hungarian period and having been its soldier on the front towards Serbia in 1914, Tito, following the similar stands of the Comintern regarding the Serbian question which only had a different ideological option, according to the way in which he resolved the national question in the Balkans, really did deserve to be called "the last Habsburg" as British historian A.J.P. Taylor farsightedly described him in 1948, only to repeat the same assessment after Tito's death in 1980.²⁴

An analysis of Tito's speeches and other "Collected Works" shows that the expression "the hegemony of the Greater Serbian Bourgeoisie," which was frequently used in the first phase of the struggle for power, started increasingly being replaced, in the post-war period, by the expression "Greater Serbian hegemony" which laid responsibility on the entire nation. He always called the kingdom of Yugoslavia "a

Versailles creation" denying it autochthony: "The Versailles Yugoslavia, born on Corfu, in London and Paris was a country that represented the most typical example of national oppression in Europe, in which "the Croats, Slovenes and Montenegrins were subjugated, and the Macedonians, Albanians and others were enslaved and rightless." Tito considered the authorities of the Kingdom to be "a handful of greater Serbian hegemonists led by the King, who ruled Yugoslavia for 22 years in their greediness for wealth, and who established a regime of police repression and prisons, a regime of social and national slavery."²⁵

The rupture with the Soviet Union in July 1948, which directly endangered his authority, was something Tito, as a pragmatic and very adaptable statesman, turned into his greatest success. The famous schism intimated that Yugoslavia would take its own road, setting aside the experiences of the Moscow regime. Thus, during the Cold War, Tito won the undivided sympathy of the West which was backed up by considerable military and financial support. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia changed its name into the Yugoslav League of Communists (1952), and the system of self-management (1950) was inaugurated as new doctrine of the internal order presenting an ideological challenge to the Soviet-type real-socialism. Although it was an impossible mixture of empty tirades that created an enormous bureaucratic apparatus and blocked economic development, it was for decades that self-management kept thrilling left-wing western intellectuals as an important innovation in socialism.²⁶

From Centralism to Federalism

Yugoslavism which, over the first two decades of communist rule, was cherished as the highest expression of state unity, was experienced by the non-Serbian nations as crypto-unitarianism. Corroboration for such assessments was found in the all-mightiness of the secret police led by Tito's closest associate Aleksandar Ranković who, being a Serb, was considered a promoter of integral Yugoslavism.²⁷

"The withering away of the state" which was, in 1950, proclaimed the goal of self-management, due to certain constitutional solutions, threatened to turn into the "withering away of the republics." The Constitutional Law of 1953 considerably changed the 1946 Constitution which was in its turn a copy of the 1936 Soviet Constitution. The constitutional law of 1953 left out the paragraph on the right

to secession that was present in article one of the 1946 Constitution.

The effort to create a common Yugoslav culture that would, apart from the common communist party, be the basis for merging the Yugoslav nations into a new entity, was stimulated, as early as 1960, by Tito himself: "In Yugoslavia it is no longer emphasized whether someone is a Serb, a Croat or of some other nationality. Today in our country there is no more friction between the republics, but there exists, in certain republics and districts, purely local friction which is positive because it pushes forward."²⁸

At the Eighth Congress of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, held in December 1964, Tito suddenly abandoned the idea of creating a single Yugoslav nation. He stressed that the policy of Yugoslavism was an excuse for "assimilation and bureaucratic centralism, unitarism and Great Serbian hegemony."²⁹

These newly adopted views were based on theoretical concepts, established by the influential Slovene ideologist Edvard Kardelj. His pre-war book, *The Development of the Slovenian National Question*, supplemented by new chapters (1958), became the theoretical basis for the creation of national-communist state units that would, as some kind of self-managing but, in fact, confederal alliance of states, be formally united in Yugoslavia.

According to Kardelj, Yugoslavia was a conditional alliance which the Slovenes had entered because it fully protected their interests and made their unhindered development possible. The never uttered, but implied possibility to leave such a conditional alliance when it is no longer needed was obvious. In his criticism of bureaucratic centralism, which was to become the official state ideology after dismissal of Ranković in 1966, Kardelj condemned the attempts at creating a "Yugoslav nation" and warned that this was only a trap of "the remnants of the Great Serbian nationalism."³⁰

Kardelj was the main theoretician of Yugoslav self-management, the author of all its constitutions, including the world's longest (406 clauses) and, from the legal point of view, the most confusing one—the 1974 Constitution. A teacher with some modest experience (short inter-war training in Moscow), Kardelj understood the model of self-management and that of Yugoslavia's confederalization according to his own visions of a nation-state as a rounded off community which produced everything it needed by itself. This was a narrow vision of a

self-sufficient Alpine village in Slovenia, a vision that would have a far-reaching effect on the future of Yugoslavia.

In all of Tito's political showdowns with potential opponents, from Milovan Djilas (1954) to Aleksandar Ranković (1966), Croatia's "mass-movement" nationalistic leadership (1971) and the reform-oriented Serbian "anarcho-liberals" (1972), it was Kardelj who from the shadows prepared their liquidation and provided appropriate ideological explanations. After every crisis, he came out with a new program—after Djilas's fall he drew up a new party program, after the showdown with Ranković (the Fourth Plenum on the Brioni Islands in 1966) Kardelj designed the party reform. After the student unrest in 1968 he worked out the "Guidelines" that seemingly met the students' demands. After the "Croatian mass-movement" and "Serbian anarcho-liberalism" he came out with the 1974 Constitution. Calm, cold-blooded and seemingly moderate, he was the main ideological lever in Tito's immediate circle. While pragmatic Tito reacted to crises instinctively and intuitively, relying mostly on information from the military intelligence service (KOS), Kardelj gave every crisis an ideological content and adequate political weight.³¹

Towards National-Communism

By stimulating national tensions in which he was the supreme arbitrator, Tito did not only permanently halt the efforts for reforming the economic and political relations, but he also seriously endangered the unity of the state. Instead of economic and political reforms, he took the Kardelj's model of national-communism as a new principle of his personal rule. This turnabout announced the disintegration of the common state and the establishment of a pseudo-federation which essentially changed the character of the state and the type of its internal order.

The amendments to the 1963 Constitution that were adopted from 1968 to 1971 and included into the 1974 constitution, confirmed the decomposition of the common state on several constitutional bases: the bearers of sovereignty became, except federalized Serbia, the republics and autonomous provinces; the republics were defined as states based on the sovereignty of the people but, the bearers of sovereignty were in fact national-communist nomenclatures.

National-communism initiated relative (in Croatia and Bosnia--

Herzegovina) or absolute discrimination (in Kosovo) of nations turned into minorities within republics and autonomous provinces borders. One-nation domination, feared and fiercely rejected on the federal level as "crypto-unitarism" and "Serbian hegemonism," by the 1974 Constitution became the major political ideal within the borders of federal and even provincial units.

The autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were granted the status of constituent elements of the federation and were, thus, practically removed from the jurisdiction of inner Serbia. The provinces obtained the right to *veto* on decisions concerning the entire republic of Serbia, while inner Serbia had no jurisdiction over the provinces.

With the 1971 Constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution itself, the achievement of the aspirations for having homogeneous nation-states was made possible for all nations (including ethnic Albanians in Kosovo formally a minority) except the Serbs who lived dispersed in five or six republics and in both provinces: "the trend towards identifying republics with ethnic groups increased the *malaise* of the Serbs. Of all the nationalities they had the highest proportion living outside their own republic. The territorial division of Yugoslavia was acceptable to them as administrative structure; it was not acceptable as framework for mini nation-states."³²

As regards the status of Bosnia-Herzegovina, an ethnically mixed republic (Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims), efforts went in the direction of turning it into the nation-state of the Muslims. After long debates on the Muslims becoming a separate nation at the end of the sixties (the Muslims officially declared themselves as a separate nation at the 1971 population census), there soon appeared theories about a separate Bosnian nation, whose bearers would be the Bosnian Muslims, who during the 1950s became relative majority.³³

After the dismissal of the reformists in Serbia and the nationalists in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina was ideologically the most orthodox communist fort of Titoism in which a narrow circle of Muslim and Croatian *apparatchiks* (Bijedić, Pozderac and Mikulic families), who excelled in ideological orthodoxy, became "famous" for their persecution of the "enemies." Attacks at those who tried to have a free and critical opinion regularly appeared in the regime's newspaper "*Oslobodjenje*," thus turning Bosnia-Herzegovina into "a world of perpetual darkness"

(*tamni vilajet*), resembling the period of the Ottoman occupation when one could lose one's head because of a wrong word. The atmosphere of persecution in Bosnia in the 70s and 80s, was best described by Sarajevian philosopher Esad Ćimić in his book *Politics as a Destiny*.³⁴

The only ones to stand up against national-communism established by the 1974 Constitution were a small group of intellectuals in Belgrade. It was because of its cosmopolitan traditions, that Tito always considered Belgrade to be the most dangerous "enemy hotbed." In their criticism of the 1971 constitutional amendments and the 1974 Constitution itself, those intellectuals stressed that Serbia would be in a subordinated position and that the Constitution with its almost feudal concept would be the source of growing national conflicts and even state unity. They were all condemned and laid off, some were forced into year-long isolation. The ideologies of the conservative national-communist Titoism, mostly Croatian and Slovenian communists (from Stane Dolanc to Stipe Šušvar), carefully watched for any sign of ideological straying in the capital's culture and science, constantly warning about the danger coming from the disobedient Belgrade intellectuals.³⁵

The lack of citizens' responsibility of the respect of human rights and the absence of democratic institutions in conditions of superficial, symbolic modernization, was fertile soil for the restoration of the old ethnic strife now institutionalized by national-communism. The separate national interests of the republics and provinces (especially in Kosovo), ardently advocated by the local nomenclatures, indicated that, with Tito's physical disappearance, nationalism would bury not only communism in Yugoslavia but also the common state itself. In his later years, Tito was already totally turned to the foreign policy. In the decade that preceded his death, the aging dictator directly became the personification of conservatism and stagnation—he turned into a communist Mogul, into the Yugoslav version of the Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev. On the internal plan the explosive symbiosis of communism and nationalism nurtured the establishment of exclusive nationalism as a collectivist ideology, giving legitimacy to the persecution of minorities within the borders of federal units.³⁶

Epilogue

The structural causes of the Yugoslav crisis from national

conflicts to economic backwardness did not disappear during the forty-five years of communist rule, but they even intensified. The main intention of the communists has never been to really resolve the basic contradictions in Yugoslavia, but rather to secure their own power. The aging dictator was a master in conducting such a utilitarian, cynical and even hedonistic policy.

The Yugoslav road to socialism and the defense of economic and state independence represented the basis for the propaganda directed towards the world. In a bipolar world, that propaganda was successful and it ensured considerable financial support from the West. On the internal level, the propaganda of the Zhdanov type was at first accompanied by brutal police coercion. In the 60s, when the state apparatus's coercion became a burden in negotiating with foreign creditors, the communists, seemingly liberal, took the national-communism as the basis for their own ideology.

Turning into the defenders of the national interests of their republics, the communists used foreign credits to finance not only the experiment of workers' self-management but also the creation of eight self-sufficient national economies. The price of social and political peace was the state's enormous indebtedness and the sowing of the seed of national conflicts through the institutionalization of eight educational, financial and cultural systems. The process of the state's internal decomposition was towered over by the deliberately overemphasized picture of the *grandeur* of its lifetime president, which became practically the only basis of the common state.

Thus, the foundations of the Yugoslav crisis were laid way before it began. The moment the crisis was to burst out no longer depend on internal factors but on the geopolitical situation. Yugoslavia's (con)federalization was completed by 1989 (when national-communism was finally established in Serbia) and it was only the threat of the Soviet Union that compelled its integral parts to remain within the common state. After the dismemberment of the Soviet bloc the last cohesive factor disappeared.

The way in which Yugoslavia would disintegrate no longer depended on internal factors. Blinded by particularistic interests, the ex-communist *apparatchiks* turned into nationalist leaders in Yugoslav republics were totally incapable of overcoming the scenario of a 19th century *vaudeville* which turned into a tragedy with catastrophic

consequences.

Opting for what seemed the simplest solution—at first for the survival of the Yugoslav federation and then, under Germany's pressure, for its dismemberment along the existing republican borders—the international community, and primarily the European Community, only completed the communist project of Yugoslavia based on *national-communism* which meant final implementation of an exclusive and often militant nationalism.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia is, thus, the victory of nationalism, imbued by inherited communist intolerance and collectivist 19th century ideals, as opposed to all the principles contemporary Europe is based on—primarily the economic and democratic ones.

¹ See, P. Sugar and I. Lederer, *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, Washington, 1970, 32–35, 396–420.

² D. Djordjević, "Yugoslavism: Some Aspects and Comments," in *South East Europe*, No. 1, 1972, 192–193.

³ M. Gross, "Zur frage der jugoslavischen Ideologie bei den Croaten," in A. Wandruska, R. Plaschka, A. Drabek (ed.), *Die Donaumonarchie und die Südslavische Frage*. (Wien, 1978), 32–36; M.S. Spalatin, "The Croatian Nationalism of Ante Starcevic (1845–1871)," *The Journal of Croatian Studies*, vol. 16 (1975), 111–112.

⁴ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 1983), chapter V. Cf. also E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. (Cambridge University Press, 1990) chapter II.

⁵ D. Djordjević, "The idea of Yugoslav Unity in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Creation of Yugoslavia 1914–1918*. (Santa Barbara – Oxford: Clio Books, 1980), 7–10. See also R. Lovrenčić, *Geneza politike "novog kursa" u Hrvatskoj*. (Zagreb: Sveuciliste u Zagrebu–Institut za hrvatsku povijest 1972.

⁶ More details in A.N. Dragnich, *The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Solution*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983).

⁷ D. T. Bataković, *Yugoslavie: Nations, religions, idéologies*. (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1993), 144–172.

⁸ "News Chronicle," London, August 16th, 193, interview by Vladko Maček.

⁹ D.T. Bataković, op. cit., 176–180.

¹⁰ From 1941 to 1945 129 Roman Catholic priests were decorated by Ustashi government, including ten bishops and one archbishop. On massacres see, D.T. Bataković, "Le genocide dans l'état indépendant croate 1941-1945," in *Herodote*, No. 67, 1992, 70-80.

¹¹ See G. Vlajčić, *Jugoslavenska revolucija i nacionalno pitanje 1919-1927*. (Zagreb: Globus, 1987) 119-140; also D. Pešić, *Jugoslovenski komunisti i nacionalno pitanje (1919-1935)*. (Beograd: Rad, 1978) 49-73; B. Gligorijević, *Komintern, jugoslovensko is srpsko pitanje*. (Beograd: Institute za savremenu istoriju, 1992), 106-183.

¹² Quoted from *Istorijski arhiv KPJ, Kongresi i zemaljske konferencije KPJ 1919-1937*. (Beograd: *Istorijsko odeljenje*, CK KPJ 1949), vol. II, 421. Serbo-Croat translation of Comintern congressional documents is available in *Komunistička Internacionala. Stenogrami i dokumenti kongresa*, vol. I-VII, Gornji Milanovac: *Institut za radnički pokret* 1981-1982. Declarations of the Fifth Congress of Comintern in Vol. VI, 597-599; vol. VII, 907-921. There is also an English translation: *5th Congress of the Communist International: Abridged Report of Meetings Held at Moscow, June 17th to July 18th*. (London: Communist Party of Great Britain, no date).

¹³ *Istorijski arhiv KPJ, Kongresi i zemaljske konferencije KPJ 1919-1937*, 422-423.

¹⁴ It was stressed in Dresden that Montenegro "had been deprived of its autonomy as a state and annexed to the Serbian state," and that same happened to "Croatia and Slovenia thanks to French and English imperialism." (*Istorijski arhiv KPJ, Kongresi i zemaljske konferencije KPJ 1919-1937*), vol. II, 153-154.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Quoted in B. Petranović-M. Zečević, *Agonija dve Jugoslavije*. (Beograd: *Zaslon*, 1991), 191.

¹⁷ *Istorijski arhiv KPJ, Kongresi i zemaljske konferencije KPJ 1919-1937*, vol. II, 399-400.

¹⁸ S.K. Pavlowitch, *Tito. Yugoslavia's Great Dictator. A reassessment*. (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1992) 23-25. There are eight different versions of Tito himself on his appointment as a secretary general of CPY (P. Simić, *Kad, kako i zašto je Tito postavljen za sekretara CK KPJ*, (Beograd: *Akvarijus*, 1989), 149-206.

¹⁹ J.B. Tito, *Sabrana djela*. (Beograd, 1979), vol. V, 50-65.

²⁰ D.T. Bataković, *Yugoslavie*, 233-234.

²¹ Quoted in A. Djilas (ed.), *Srpsko pitanje*, (Beograd: *Politika*, 1991), 114.

²² M. Djilas, "Les communistes et la question nationale," *Le Monde*, Paris, December 30, 1971, 4.

²³ S. Jovanović, *Jedan prilog za provčavanje srpskog nacionalnog karaktera*. (Windsor: Canada, 1964), 31.

²⁴ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1808-1918. A history of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*. (London, 1948) (Epilogue).

²⁵ J.B. Tito, *Nacionalno pitanje u svetlosti NOB*. (Zagreb, 1945), 5.

²⁶ See C. Bobrowski, *La Yougoslavie socialiste*. (Paris: A. Colin, 1956); G. Hoffman-F. Neal, *Yugoslavia and the New Communism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

²⁷ P. Shoup, *Communism and the National Question in Yugoslavia*. (London and New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 209-21, 224.

²⁸ Tito's speech of August 31, 1960; J.B. Tito, *Sabrana djela*, vol. xiii, 321.

²⁹ *Osmi kongres Saveza Komunisti Jugoslavije*. (Beograd: *Komunist*, 1965), 9.

³⁰ E. Kardelj (Sperans), *Razvoj slovenačkog nacionalnog pitanja*. (Beograd: *Komunist*, 1973) xxx-xxxviii.

³¹ See S. Djukić, *Slom srpskih liberala. Tehnologija političkih obračuna Josipa Broza*. (Beograd: Filip Visnjić, 1990), 51 passim; D.T. Bataković, *Yugoslavie*, 251-263.

³² Quoted from S.K. Pavlowitch, *The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and its Problems 1918-1988*. (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1988), 76.

³³ See A. Popović, *Les musulmans yougoslaves 1945-1989*. (Lausanne: *L'Age d'Homme*, 1990) 35-40.

³⁴ E. Ćimić, *Politika kao sudbina*. (Beograd: *Mladost*, 1985).

³⁵ M. Djurić, "Smišljene smutnje," in *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, vol. 3. (Belgrade, 1971), 230-233.

³⁶ N. Bellof, *Tito's Flawed Legacy. Yugoslavia & the West since 1939*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), 201 passim.

PORTRAITS OF KNJEGINJA MILICA
PART II: IN VISUAL ARTS*

Ljubica D. Popovich
Vanderbilt University

Knjeginja Milica was not only a regent of Serbia, a writer, and one of the subjects in the epic cycle of Kosovo, she was also a generous donor to various churches, as well as a *ktitor* of a monastic establishment, Ljubostinja (Figure 1).¹ Of the many Medieval religious foundations in Serbia, very few were sponsored by women. One of the best known female donors was the thirteenth-century queen, Helen of Anjou, who as a foreign princess married the Serbian king Stefan Uroš I (1242–1276). This queen's most famous foundation and her burial place is the church of the Annunciation at the Monastery Gradac, while the other religious structures that she sponsored are located along the coastal areas of the Adriatic Sea.² All other identified female *ktitors* in Serbia lived during the fourteenth century. Not counting those churches which were finished by a widow and her children after her husband's death,³ or those which are not positively proven attributions to a female *ktitor*,⁴ the list of female donors is a very short one. One can cite here a little-known lady named Danica, the builder of the church of St. Nikola at the Monastery Ljuboten in 1337,⁵ and Knjeginja Milica.

Because of the lack of documentary evidence, it is not possible to establish the precise date for the building of Milica's church. Due to a reference to it as an already functioning religious community in 1393, one can assume that the church and all subsidiary monastic buildings were completed by that date. Furthermore, the existence of two layers of frescoes within the church implies, as has been pointed out by S. Djurić, that the work on the church decoration was interrupted, most certainly by the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.⁶ Thus, the first, older layer of frescoes must have been completed before that date, and consequently the church building itself must predate it. The church at Ljubostinja was

probably started after the completion of Knez Lazar's foundation, the Monastery Ravanica (ca. 1375–1381), thus its building campaign ought to fall within the eighties of the fourteenth century. Since the architecture, sculpture and fresco decoration of Knjeginja Milica's foundation were thoroughly explored in the above-mentioned monograph by S. Djurić, it is sufficient for the purpose of this work to stress only certain points pertaining to its donatrix.

To begin with, in establishing her own foundation, Knjeginja Milica seems to continue the Nemanjić tradition of *ktitorship*. To the best of this author's knowledge, Milica is the only female descendant of that line to do so. Secondly, the dedication of her church is carefully chosen, which becomes apparent when it is compared with the dedication of other churches erected during the rule of her husband, Knez Lazar. This prince's first building, Lazarica, dated after 1371, served as a palace church within the citadel of Kruševac. Lazarica was dedicated to St. Stefan, the namesake of the Serbian kings of the Nemanjić dynasty.⁷ The church at the Monastery Ravanica was built to serve as Lazar's mausoleum. It is a five-domed structure (a *pentatrurion*) whose function is confirmed by its size and architectural iconography.⁸ In keeping with its function, the church at Ravanica is dedicated to the Ascension of Christ. Ljubostinja was originally planned to be used as a nunnery and the dedication of its church to the Dormition of the Virgin was likewise appropriately selected for a female convent.

Thirdly, Knjeginja Milica's church is much smaller than that of Knez Lazar,⁹ in spite of her being of Nemanjić lineage and thus hierarchically placed higher than he. Most likely, the size difference is not due to the lack of material means. A question asking if the size difference between Ravanica and Ljubostinja was caused by gender differentiation might sound too contemporary, and therefore out of the context of Milica's own period. Can one attribute the smaller size of Ljubostinja to Milica's diffidence to her ruling husband's *ktitorship*? In actuality, there is no basis for judging whether she possessed the virtue of modesty in addition to many others attributed to her, by her near contemporaries through their writing.¹⁰

Most likely, the answer can be found in the hierarchy of ranks, a foundation of a ruler versus a foundation of the ruler's wife,¹¹ and in practicality. When Knez Lazar built Ravanica, he did it as a ruler of a region of Serbia. His church was given the size and attributes appropriate

* This is Part II of my article: "Portraits of Knjeginja Milica, Part I: In Literature and Epic Poetry," *Serbian Studies*, Vol. 8, 1994, Nos. 1–2, 87–104.

for a ruler's mausoleum. The smaller size of Milica's church at Ljubostinja was sufficient for its original function: to serve as a nunnery and as a place for the commemorative services for the salvation of her soul. The function as Milica's burial location was assumed after the death of Knez Lazar, his interment in Ravanica, and the rise of his cult as a Serbian martyred ruler. There was no implied expectation in the size of her church that the location of her burial would ever become a cult site, as was the case with the burial places of Stefan Nemanja or his sons,¹² which had to accommodate numerous pilgrims. In spite of its compact size, Knjeginja Milica's church, signed on the doorstep to the naos by protomaster Borović Rad, had certain qualities of its own. On the exterior, the carved decoration of Milica's church seems almost dainty, and the rough building blocks were plastered over and disguised by painted designs emulating cloisonné work comprised of ashlar stones and bricks. The rich ocher tone of these patterns on the creamy plaster background gave the exterior of this church a more refined appearance. At the same time the polychromatic effect of the wall surfaces is reminiscent of the folkloric-type weaving. The interior of the naos makes another impression. Its compact spaces seem to be pushed upward, soaring into a tall drum and its dome. Although this treatment of space is a recognized evolutionary stage of the architecture of the Morava style,¹³ nevertheless, such an upward surge of space seems to reflect contemporary religious fervor,¹⁴ and maybe the spiritual strength of this church's *ktitor* as well.

Following a well-established tradition of donors' portraits, it must be assumed that all the Hrebeljanović foundations had representations of the *ktitor* and his or her family included in the painted iconographic program. The earliest of Knez Lazar's church, Lazarica, lost its original fresco decoration.¹⁵ In two other surviving churches, Ravanica and Ljubostinja, two remaining family portraits, with much damaged figures, include Milica. In Ljubostinja, however, another representation, of Knjeginja Milica alone, now lost, was still visible in the nineteenth century when it was described.¹⁶ The two surviving groups of Knez Lazar's family share only certain formal solutions. In actuality they are as different as the meanings which they convey. Similarities are found in the strict frontality of the figures and in painstakingly elaborate depiction of the garments.¹⁷ It is, however, the differences which will be addressed here.

The older of the two group portraits is preserved in the church of the Ravanica Monastery (Figure 2).¹⁸ It belongs to the third and last painting campaign in fresco decoration of this church, and it is attributed to the painter Constantine. Since the dates on the preserved copies of the Ravanica charter vary, the date assigned to this fresco group is based on the relative age of the princes represented there. Since the elder of the two, Stefan, was born in 1377, and seems to be about ten years old in the fresco, the date of the fresco ought to be about 1387.¹⁹ The family is depicted on the north side of the west wall of the nave. Only one more figure shares with them that side of the wall, St. Paul of Thebes, dressed in a long, horsehair shirt. On the opposite, south side of the west wall, four ascetics and hermits keep company with the ruling family: St. Theodore the Studite, St. Theodosios, St. Steven the Younger, and St. Anthony.²⁰ Such iconographic selection of hermits and ascetics corresponds to the historically well-known fact that a good relationship existed between Knez Lazar and the monks living within his domain, some of whom pursued that type of living.²¹

In the *ktitor's* depiction in Ravanica, Christ is represented within a segment of light and in bust, blessing Knez Lazar and Knjeginja Milica with both hands. The standing couple is painted as a mirror image of each other, and the two figures are of the same size and height making them not only hierarchically but functionally equal.²² The differences in the representation of this couple are found in small details: Lazar's crown is trilobed; Milica's is single-arched, and she wears a veil. They hold between them the model of the church, beneath which stand the two young princes. The inscriptions which once accompanied the figures are heavily damaged. Nothing remains above Milica's head; only the letter **N** survives above the head of Stefan, the full name of Vuk, and a complete line above the head of Knez Lazar, while the text next to his shoulder is also gone. This is then a typical donors' composition, which occupies a place in the nave similar to many representations of the Nemanjić *ktitors*.²³ Two features are unusual in this donors' composition in Ravanica. First, the two *ktitors*, a male and a female, hold the church model between them. To the best of this author's knowledge, such a scheme is seldom used with the Nemanjićes' portraits. As an exception, one can cite here the representation, repainted in the 16th century, of King Stefan Dečanski and his son Dušan in the south choir chapel of the church of St. Nikola in Banja near Priboj.²⁴ It is here, however, that two

male figures are represented, a king and his son. It is probable that in retouching, the 16th-century painters followed the original compositional pattern of this fresco group.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, in the churches founded either by members of the higher clergy or the nobility, the representation of two donors holding the model of the church was occasionally used. One of the oldest variations found by the author on this theme in Serbian painting depicts a processional movement, not frontal and stationary figures. This well-known image also involves not two donors, but the *ktitor* archbishop Danilo II and his namesake, the prophet Daniel. The two of them offer the model of the church to the Virgin on the west wall of the naos of the Virgin Hodegetria at Peć, painted before 1337.²⁵ In the churches of Psača (before 1371),²⁶ and Donja Kamenica (early fifteenth century),²⁷ two frontally standing donors also hold the models of their respective religious foundations. In the first case it is the two male figures which share carrying the representation of their church, and in the second, a nobleman and his wife hold the model between them (Figure 3) similar to the depiction in Ravanica.

The second unusual feature of the donors' image in Ravanica is not the fact that both figures wear a *sakkos* covered with the double-headed eagles in medallions (*kolasta azdija*), but that all the other elements of their costumes are identical, with the exception of the crown, as already mentioned. The *sakkos* with double-headed eagles can be followed through many representations of the members of the Nemanjić family, in both men and their wives, from the twelfth century onward.²⁸ As the preserved visual evidence indicates, at least from the first half of the fourteenth century, male and female members of the various ranks of the nobility wore garments covered with medallions containing double-headed eagles.²⁹ In the case of the Ravanica representation, the royal type of garments is used to indicate the ruling role of Lazar and perhaps even Milica, while the shared holding of the model seems to indicate joined *ktitorship*.

In her own church in the Monastery Ljubostinja, Knjeginja Milica was represented twice; she was portrayed once alone in the nave, holding the model of the church in her hands. As already mentioned, that image was still visible in the nineteenth century, but has since been lost.³⁰ This was her portrait as the *ktitor*. Her second depiction is the part of the family group portrait, which chronologically belongs to the second

phase in the decoration of that church, executed by the zoograph Makarios in 1403 (Figure 4).³¹ Again, as in the earlier image in Ravanica, the four members of Knez Lazar's family are represented on the west wall, but in this case, of the narthex, and not of the naos. On the south side is Vuk, whose image was left without an identifying inscription. This is an example of the Serbian style of "condemnation of the memory" (*damnatio memoriae*), since Vuk and his brother Stefan had quarrelled at that time. Next to Vuk stands Stefan, in the full regalia of a ruler, his *sakkos* now decorated with double-headed eagles, while flying angels invest him with a crown and a sword. This image and the title of Despot, the latter included in the long inscription on his side, make reference to his new title of Despot, which was bestowed upon him by the Byzantine emperor John VII Palaeologos in 1402.³²

On the north side of the west wall, under the blessing hands of Christ, stand Knez Lazar and Knjeginja Milica. They are crowned and they wear *sakkoi* and *loroi*, but they are not shown here as rulers. As has been pointed out by S. Djurić and others, they appear as the founders of the new ruling family.³³ This idea is confirmed by a certain iconographic feature and by ideological parallels. When this fresco representation was painted, Knez Lazar had been dead for fourteen years, and when he died on the Kosovo field, he was already an older man. In Ljubostinja, however, he is endowed with dark curly hair and a dark beard, suggesting then, not an aging but a vigorous, powerful, middle-aged man, befitting the progenitor of the new ruling dynasty. In this narthex, in spite of damage to her face, Knjeginja Milica also seems to have been depicted as a much younger woman than her actual chronological age. At the time that this fresco was executed, she would have been about fifty years old and a nun, thus not wearing secular-type garments. As ideological precursors for the location of the portraits, one can cite the fact that the genealogical procession of the Nemanjićs³⁴ and the genealogical tree of the same dynasty³⁵ are frequently depicted in the nartheces of their foundations.

Finally, one may ask if the two surviving representations of Knjeginja Milica preserved her true likeness for posterity. In both cases, the fresco surfaces have sustained considerable damage. Judging from the depiction of all the figures, seen as volumeless cut-outs projected against a green ground and a blue background, one sees that there was a greater amount of conventionalization of bodies rather than actual

realization of their physical presence. The same principle might be applied when considering the individual features of Milica and the other members of her family included in these groups.

Of the two images of Milica, her face in Ravanica seems to be individualized to a certain degree. The characteristic features that stand out on that face are a very long nose, a small mouth, and a narrow chin (Figure 2). The representation of her face in the narthex at Ljubostinja appears to follow a convention typical of that period as well (Figure 4). Its characteristic feature, a perfect oval, is used in many other depictions of the noble ladies.³⁶ S. Djurić, the author of the monograph on Ljubostinja, describes Knjeginja Milica's face in the following words: ". . . Knjeginja Milica is represented as a woman about forty-five years old, with blond hair and blue eyes, with a round face, with soft, youthful features, although when one comes close to her face, one notices lines on it . . ." ³⁷ However, S. Djurić does not explicitly state his opinion as to the portrait value of the Ljubostinja image of Knjeginja Milica. Her ancestors, the Nemanjićs, are often depicted with light eyes and fair hair, either blond or red.³⁸ Whether or not these characteristics were inherited by Milica or they are a result of the painter's imagination is not possible to establish, since the preserved written sources do not provide us with a specific description of her facial features or of her coloration.

Whatever Milica's actual features were like, the painters in Ravanica and Ljubostinja obviously conventionalized them in accordance with the stylistic trends of the time and within the limitation of their own artistic abilities. The damages to the painted surfaces of her two representations, especially on the faces, further contribute to the loss of her features. In spite of Byzantine formal conventions, the portrait qualities are visible in the representation of donors, as is well documented by the case of King Milutin, whose likeness can be followed from being a smooth-faced young prince to that of an aged ruler.³⁹ In Knjeginja Milica's case one does not have numerous depictions covering her entire life. Nevertheless, one is right to assume that in spite of obvious conventionalization, the painters rendered an idealized representation of a princess, a *ktitoress*, a ruler, the mother of a ruler, a co-founder of a new dynasty, and finally, the carrier of the old dynastic blood and consequently the tradition of the Nemanjićs. Therefore, her portraits most likely are not of her face and body as they actually were, but as they should have been. They are, therefore, idealized representa-

tions, her spiritual images, in one word, icons of her. On the basis of that idea, the images transcend her temporal reality of appearance, and become in a Neo-Platonic sense her true portraits.⁴⁰

Among the prominent female personalities from the medieval period in Serbia, Helen of Anjou (d. 1314), a foreign bride of the king Stefan Uroš I (1242-1276) and mother of kings Dragutin (1276-1282) and Milutin (1282-1321), might have the most recognizable name. This is due to her biography, *Život kraljice Jelene* (The Life of Queen Helen) by archbishop Danilo II, and to her building and sponsorship activities, which provided the scholars exploring this subject with rich sources of primary information.⁴¹ It is important to underline that in contrast to Knjeginja Milica, the subject of this article who lived during a period of unprecedented upheaval in medieval Serbia, Queen Helen lived during a period of economic prosperity and political ascendancy of that country, and that she never had to assume rule of the Serbian nation.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the image of Knjeginja Milica in Serbian history is overshadowed by that of her husband, Knez Lazar, the martyr of Kosovo, and by contemporary events. It is only indirectly, through Knez Lazar, historical events, texts, and representations that one can glean information and also perceive to a certain degree strength of character possessed by this Serbian woman. It is in the texts which are dedicated to the cult of Knez Lazar that one can find Knjeginja Milica, not only as a grieving widow, but as a person who cared deeply for the fate of others. Her life, as well as that of her husband, is described relatively briefly, and only in the context of the life of their son, Despot Stefan. The words of Constantine the Philosopher convey clearly and without exaggeration the difficult political situation in Serbia during Knjeginja Milica's short regency (1389-1393).⁴² Although she could not change the course of history such as the eventual conquest of her land and her people by the Ottoman Turks, her actions demonstrated that she made, with the help of her council, politically expedient decisions. These amply testify to her personal strength in spite of what her maternal feelings might have been when such decisions were enacted.⁴³

How independent her rule actually was is not possible to ascertain, but it seems certain that the prestige of her ancestral lineage provided the adhesive necessary to hold the state together at the time when, after defeats, the centrifugal forces were scattering the last holdings of the former Serbian empire. The fact that Despot Stefan asked

his mother for diplomatic and military help after he assumed his reign,⁴⁴ indicates his respect for Milica's abilities, and testifies, although indirectly, that during the regency, she must have actively participated in decision making. That is not a small feat in the male-oriented society in Serbia and elsewhere within the Byzantine world at that time.

The learned circle around Stefan Lazarević created an impetus for the beginning of the Kosovo epic cycle. Again, it is because of Knez Lazar that Milica also has a role in it. Once included in those verses, she was cast in powerful and versatile roles.⁴⁵ However, folkloric imagination, so prone to hyperbole when dealing with male heroes, in the case of Knjeginja Milica stayed pretty much within the perimeter of reality, with some symbolic overlays. Historical events cast Milica into the role of a person who had to carry on with the burdens of state duties and life. The same ideas are expressed in epic poetry, only through metaphors, as has already been discussed in the first part of this study.

Milica's intellect and sensibility can be felt through the few surviving lines of her writing. Her poem, *Who Is This One*, is a deeply felt and personalized expression⁴⁶ which permits the reader an insight into her weary psyche. While some of her acts demonstrate Milica's courage, her other deeds document her munificence. With her donations to the monasteries, as a Nemanjić descendent, she continued her ancestral traditions. The same is true in the case of her *ktitorship* of the Monastery Ljubostinja.

Two surviving representations of Knjeginja Milica add a touch of material reality to this conceptualization of a medieval Serbian princess and her character. The damaged images of her face in Ravanica and Ljubostinja must have once been even more conventionalized than customary at that period, due to the mediocre skills of the painters who executed them. Searching beyond the faces and beyond the question of true likenesses, one finds that the two preserved images of Milica represent, in their own way, true portraits—icons—of this woman. In Ravanica, she is depicted as equal to her husband in every way, from stature to garment, from insignia to *co-ktitorship* of the church. Her second surviving representation, from her church at Ljubostinja, is very different in spirit from the first. It is a part of the family portrait of the new dynasty, lead by Despot Stefan, who wears the royal garments and insignia, while Milica, as the ruler's mother, provides a direct link to the past and to the Nemanjić dynasty.

No single source, written or otherwise, would have been sufficient for the reconstruction of the historical persona of Knjeginja Milica. But when combined, they provide us with evidence strong enough to conclude that she must have been one of the most, if not the most, remarkable Serbian women during the Middle Ages. Another study, much larger in scope, would be necessary to evaluate Knjeginja Milica in regard to the other historically prominent women who lived within Byzantine cultural domain during the same period. Even with such comparisons, Knjeginja Milica will stand out as one of the most remarkable women of her time.

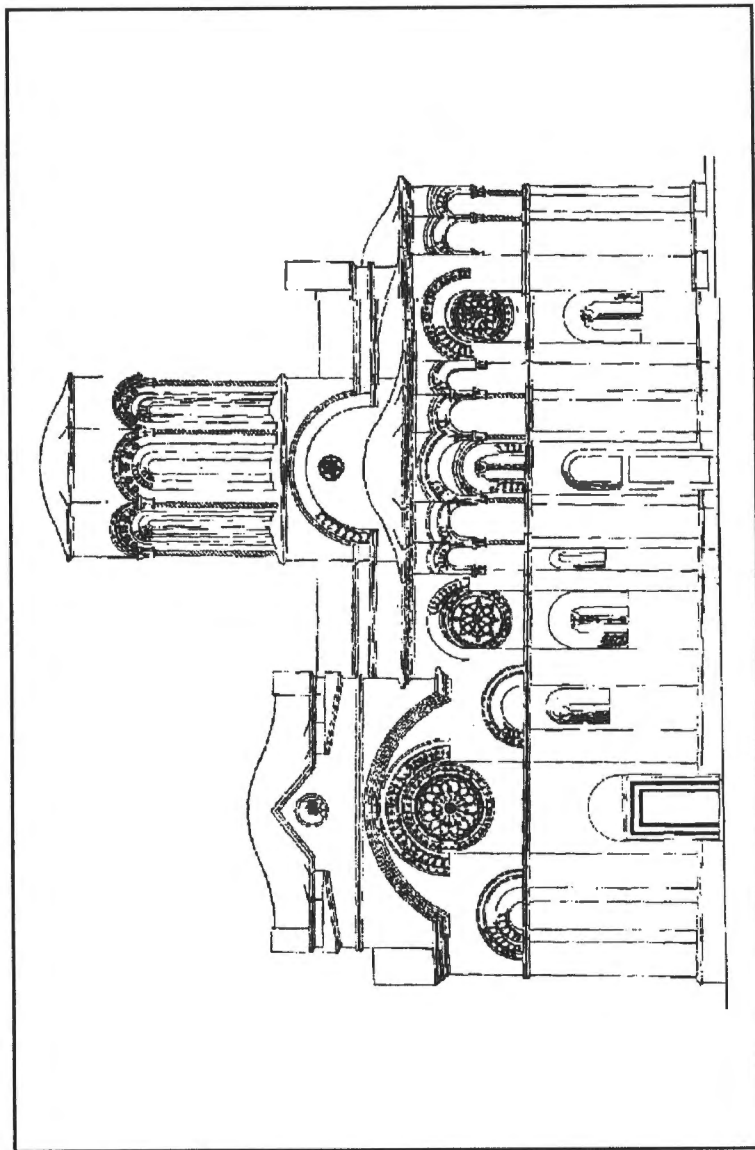


Figure 1. Ljubostinja: Drawing of south facade elevation.
(Reproduced by permission of Dr. Srdjan Djurić.)



Figure 2. Ravanica: Drawing of *ktitors*,
Knez Lazar and Knjeginja Milica with their sons.
(Reproduced by permission of Mr. Branislav Živković.)

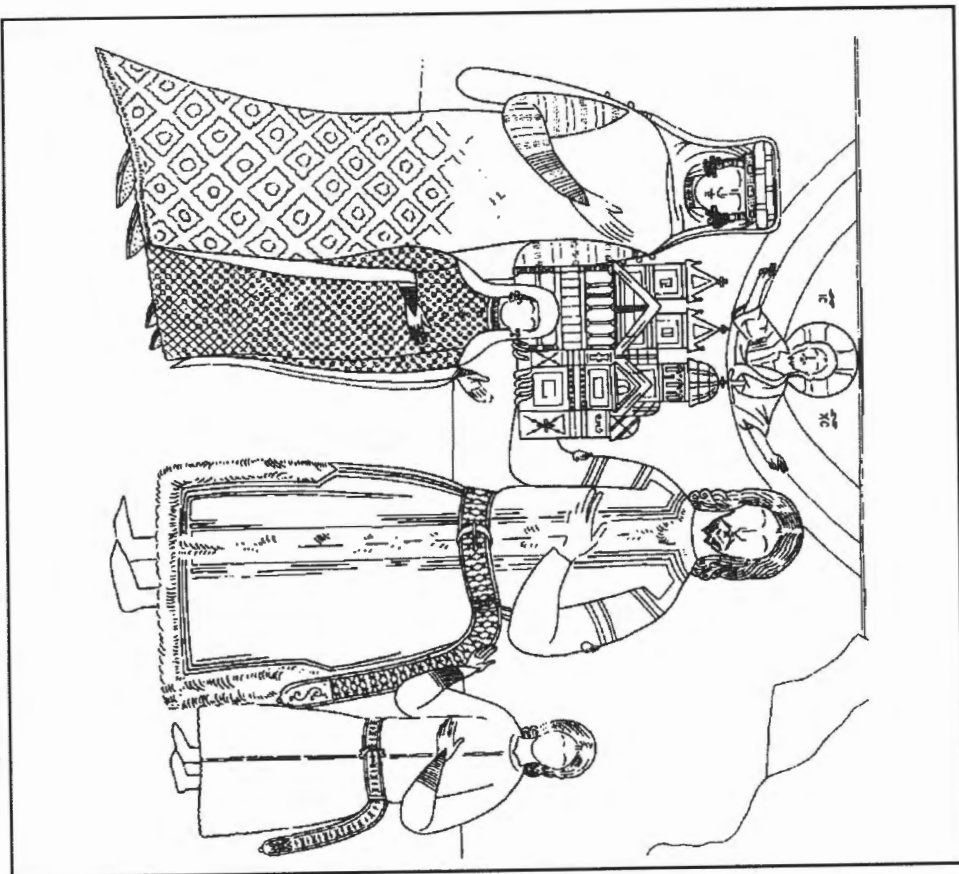


Figure 3. Donja Kamenica: Drawing of *ktitors'* portraits.
(Reproduced by permission of Mr. Branislav Živković.)

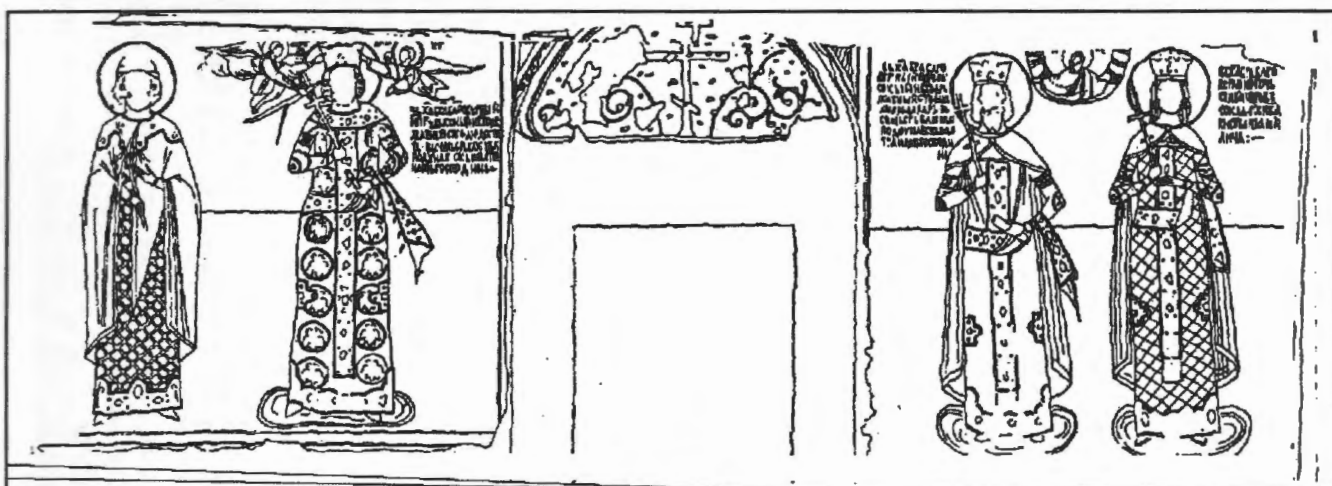


Figure 4. Ljubostinja: Drawing of Knez Lazar, Kneginja Milica,
and their sons, Stefan and Vuk.
(Reproduced by permission of Dr. Srdjan Djurić.)

¹ Srdjan Djurić, *Ljubostinja: Crkva Uspenja Bogorodičinog, Studije i Monografije 4* (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1985), passim and Mateja Matejić and Dragan Milivojević, *An Anthology of Medieval Serbian Literature in English* (Columbus: Oh, 1978), 109.

² Vojislav J. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1974, 41–43 and note 42 with older bibliography (Gradac); Djurdje Bošković and Slobodan Nenadović, *Gradac* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1951), 1–11. For other buildings of Helen of Anjou see: Vojislav Korać, *Graditeljska škola Pomorja*, Beograd, 1965, 117; S. N. Smirnov, "Monastir Sv. Sergija i Vakha na riekie Boianie bliz goroda Skadra v Albanii," *Sbornik ruskago arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* (Beograd) I (1927), 119–147; Mirjana Tatić Djurić, "Ikona apostola Petra i Pavla u Vatikanu," *Zograf 2* (1967), 11–16; Gojko Subotić, "Kraljica Jelena Anžijska—kitor crkvenih spomenika u Primorju," *Istoriski Glasnik*, 102 (1958), 131–147.

³ Vladimir R. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povescnicu srpskog naroda*, Beograd, 1950, 184: Church of the Virgin in the Monastery Mateić was completed by Tsaritsa Jelena and her son Uroš, after the death of Tsar Dušan.

⁴ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja . . .* (1985), on page 33 attributes the building of Nova Pavlica to the sister of Knez Lazar, Dragana.

⁵ V. R. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika . . .* (1950), 178.

⁶ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja . . .* (1985), 76 and 82.

⁷ V. R. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika . . .* (1950), 157; Aleksandar Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd, 1953, 233–234.

⁸ Slobodan Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture*, University Park and London, 1979, 128–134.

⁹ Detailed measurements of Ravanica and Ljubostinja as well as a calculation of their volumes in cubic feet are not available to this writer at this time. However, one can get a general impression about the size relationship of these two churches by comparing the exterior length of the Ravanica naos which is 16.50m to that of Ljubostinja which is 12m.

¹⁰ Ljubica D. Popovich, "Portraits of Knjeginja Milica, Part I: In Literature and Epic Poetry," *Serbian Studies*, Vol. 8, 1994, Nos. 1–2, 87–104, especially pages 91–94, and notes 16–31.

¹¹ A. Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura . . .* (1953), 82–84, and Figures 139 (Sopoćani) and 141 (Gradac). The latter church is more than a meter shorter than the first.

¹² *Ibid.*, 70–75 (Studenica), and 81–82 (Mileševa).

¹³ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja . . .* (1985), 34–36.

¹⁴ This spirit is best reflected in the writing of that time: M. Matejić and D. Milivojević, *An Anthology . . .* (1978), 112–120; Dimitrije Bogdanović and Djordje Trifunović, *Srbijak II* (Beograd, 1970), 130–199.

¹⁵ See above, note 7.

¹⁶ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja . . .* (1985), 20.

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of the garments worn by Knez Lazar, Knjeginja Milica, and their sons, Stefan and Vuk, see: Jovan Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja balkanskih Slovena. Studija iz istorije srednjovekovne kulture Balkana. Srpska Akademija Nauka, Posebna izdanja, knj. CCXV, Istoriski institut, knjiga 4* (Beograd, 1953), 62–63; 65–67.

¹⁸ This damaged group is best comprehended through a graphic rendering. See: Branislav Živković, *Ravanica: crteži fresaka*, (Beograd, 1990), 37 and 51.

¹⁹ V. J. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske . . .* (1974), 92–95 and note 124.

²⁰ Vladimir R. Petković, *Manastir Ravanica*, Beograd, 1922, 43.

²¹ Milica calls Knez Lazar in her poem *Who is This One?* "the savior of the monks," see: M. Matejić and D. Milivojević, *An Anthology . . .* (1978), 111; also, Konstantin Filozof, *Život Despota Stefana* (1936), 57–58; Jovanka Kalić, ed., *Istorija srpskog naroda II* (1982), 8–20.

²² For the representations of Serbian medieval rulers see: Svetozar Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku, Muzej Južne Srbije u Skoplju, knjiga I, Posebna izdanja* (Skoplje, 1934), Figures 3–5; 9; 11; 14; 16; 20; 22–23; 25; 28; 30 and 35. For the depictions of the nobility, see: J. Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja . . .* (1953), Plates XVIII–XXa; XXV; XXIX; XXXIII; XXXVII–XLI; XLIV; XLVII; and LII.

²³ Svetozar Radojčić, *Mileševa*, Beograd, 1963, 78. For a monographic study of the portraits of Serbian rulers, see: S. Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara . . .* (1934), passim.

²⁴ Vladimir R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge II*, Beograd, 1934, Plate CXXX.

²⁵ V. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske . . .* (1974), fig. 55.

²⁶ Vladimir R. Petković and Pera J. Popović, *Staro Nagoričino, Psača, Kalenić*, Beograd, 1933, Plates III and IV.

²⁷ Branislav Živković, *Donja Kamenica, crteži fresaka*, Beograd, 1987, Drawing VIII.

²⁸ Jovan Kovačević, *Srednjovekovna nošnja . . .* (1953), Figures 1 and 3–5; Plates XIII, XIV, and XXVIII.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Figures 20, 24, 25, and 29; Plates XXVI, XXV, XXXIII, XL, and XLI.

³⁰ See above, note 16.

³¹ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja* . . . (1985), 101 and 108–110 (on the zoograph Makarios).

³² Konstantin Filosof, *Život despota Stefana* . . . (1936), 76; J. Kalić, ed., *Istorija srpskog naroda II* (1982), 65.

³³ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja* . . . (1985), 90, and S. Radojčić, *Portreti* . . . (1934), 66–68.

³⁴ S. Radojčić, *Mileševa* (1963), 20 and 83 (Figure 16); Vojislav J. Djurić, *Sopočani* (Beograd, 1963), 77 and 132; Draga Panić and Gordana Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Beograd, 1975), 58–62, Plates I and II.

³⁵ V. J. Djurić, *Vizantiske freske* . . . (1974), Figures 57 (Dečani) and 58 (Peć).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Figure 60 (Bela Crkva Karanska, 1340–42), and Figure 74 (Psača, 1365–71).

³⁷ S. Djurić, *Ljubostinja* . . . (1985), 90.

³⁸ For example, in *Mileševa*, see: S. Radojčić, *Mileševa* (1963), Plate I (King Vladislav), Plate II (St. Sava), Plate IV (St. Simeon Nemanja); or in the church of the Virgin Ljeviška, see: D. Panić and G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (1975), Plate IV (St. Sava).

³⁹ S. Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara* . . . (1934), Figures 7, 9, 11, 14, and 16.

⁴⁰ After the National Liberation and during the Romantic movement of the 19th century, the representations of Knjeginja Milica together with those of Knez Lazar were revived in paintings and prints. They belong to the category of pseudo-historical portraits and scenes, typical of the period, and in no way contribute to our knowledge of Knjeginja Milica's actual appearance. See: Dejan Medaković, *Kosovski boj u likovnim umetnostima* (Beograd: S.K.Z., 1990), Figure 24 and Plates XIV, XLI, and XLVII.

⁴¹ See above, note 2 and Arhiepiskop Danilo, "Život kraljice Jelene," in *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, XXXVIII, 257, Lazar Mirković, trans. (Beograd: S.K.Z., 1935), 43–76.

⁴² Konstantin Filosof, *Život despota Stefana* . . . (1936), 60–62.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 65 and 80.

⁴⁵ L. D. Popovich, "Portraits of Knjeginja Milica," (*Serbian Studies*, Vol. 8, 1994), 96–102.

⁴⁶ M. Matejić and D. Milivojević, *An Anthology* . . . (1978), 110–111.

THE BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION IN THE SERBIAN STATE BETWEEN 1355 AND 1459

Svetlana Popović

Institute for Protection of Monuments, Belgrade
Princeton University

The presence of the Byzantine architectural tradition in the late Middle Ages in Serbia is neither accidental nor unexpected. It is primarily the result of the spiritual climate of that period and the decision made already at the beginning of the thirteenth century of the independent Serbian Church to become part of the great Orthodox community of the Christian East.¹ The area in which the first Serbian archbishop Sava established this independent church, with its archiepiscopal seat at Žiča, also maintained Latin Rite ecclesiastical centers both in the central areas of the Balkans and the coast lands of the Adriatic. This bi-confessional nature of the area in which the Nemanjić state developed remained as an enduring characteristic in the coastal regions.

From the beginning the architecture in the region of the medieval Serbian state presented a synthesis of western European and eastern Byzantine planning skills and craftsmanship. Church buildings, especially the great foundations of the ruling Nemanjić dynasty and its heirs, bear witness to this synthesis. Studenica, the burial church of the founder of the dynasty Stefan Nemanja, was built in the last third of the twelfth century. Together with many churches of the thirteenth century, it presents a blend of a Byzantine plan, such as a central dome and elements of exterior articulation, with non-structural details and ornaments taken from contemporary Romanesque architecture. The penetration of Byzantine architectural methods was strengthened by assimilation of several Byzantine regions, coupled with the movement of the Serbian court towards the Byzantine milieu, especially in the time of King Milutin and Tsar Dušan during the first half of the fourteenth century.² This also led to a stronger and more evident byzantinization, not only in the realm of architecture and other art forms, but also in the secular life of the state. As a paradigm of this variety of influential currents, which is clearly expressed in the architecture of the Serbs, we could mention the churches of Studenica (fig. 1) and Gračanica (fig. 2),³ while an example of the unified linking of varied architectural currents

is seen in the church of the monastery of Resava, built in the late Middle Ages (1407–1418).⁴

The period from the second half of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century represents the last hundred years of the Serbian medieval state, which came to an end with the Turkish conquest of Smederevo Fortress in 1459. The attrition of the empire after Tsar Dušan's death in 1355 continued until the death of Tsar Uroš in 1371, when the land was divided among regional overlords. Of these, Lazar Hrebeljanović was the most powerful in the central and northern regions. His heir, Stefan Lazarević, was head of the Serbian despotate that came to an end in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁵ Although it seems paradoxical, these last hundred years before the final fall of the state were marked by important architectural and artistic projects of high quality together with economic developments which made this cultural and spiritual inspiration possible.⁶ All this happened in the aftermath of the disintegration of the former Byzantine Empire, the last days of which coincided with those of the Medieval Serbia regions.

In terms of architecture, this final century of the Serbian state was characterized more by the Byzantine tradition than by its influence, primarily because such influences imply the existence of powerful cultural and creative centers from which they are disseminated beyond their own state frontiers. The Byzantine Empire no longer had this sort of power. However, Byzantine spiritual and architectural conceptions had already been adopted in these areas, recognizable in the sacred and secular architecture which had become firmly rooted there. The Byzantine tradition allowed the state a firm basis for the preservation of its individual identity, as well as a more broadly defined identity in the context of the Orthodox Christian East. This, of course, does not mean that we are referring to a literal repetition of previously established forms; on the contrary, new combinations of elements fundamental to the existing tradition are in question. The elements are, in this case, found in the East as well as in the West.

The architecture of the late Middle Ages in Serbia embraces several different categories: churches and monasteries, cities and castles, rural settlements and villages. Each of these groups has specific characteristics which emerge from their various spatial and architectural types. In order to gain a complete picture of the architecture in question, one must consider the entirety which, on the level of different architec-

tural achievements, can offer data on reciprocal influences, whether local or emanating from a much wider context. Difficulties in analysis of the above-mentioned categories have produced uneven results in the investigation of individual categories. Churches and monasteries have been most thoroughly examined, while research on towns and fortresses is in its early stages. Rural settlements unfortunately fall into a category in which studies have yet to be undertaken. Bearing all this in mind, the analysis that follows must be taken only as a first attempt to create a whole picture of the architecture in the late Medieval Serbia.

In the second half of the fourteenth century and fifteenth century, ecclesiastical buildings acquired a number of common specifics which have been classified in scholarship as the "Morava School" or architecture. The term "Morava" is applied because the majority of foundations are concentrated in the central and northern parts of the country, in the Morava River basin.⁷ It is primarily the choice of spatial and architectural forms which define it as a particular group. We refer here specifically to buildings of the triconch plan. In terms of application of decorative elements, these monuments represent an entity different from the architecture of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century in these areas and beyond them in the sphere of Byzantine influence.⁸ The particular architectural and stylistic features of these buildings are evident. However, these elements cannot be found together on any specific building.

Among other things, the spiritual moment made an important contribution to the adoption of a specific architectural type. We consider two spheres of influence which can be identified: The first adopted the triconch plan for church building. The second, which was considerably more complex, favored the creation of an architectural form over a given ground-plan. The most widely used source of inspiration for a large number of foundations in northern Serbia in the 1370s was the Serbian monastery of Chilandar (1198) on Mount Athos (fig. 3).⁹ It is believed that the Katholika of the Holy Mountain, beginning with the oldest, the Great Lavra (963), underwent changes in their original appearance, and in liturgical function soon after their foundation.¹⁰ Lateral northern and southern conches were introduced within the framework of the central part of the church. On this occasion we will not enter into the question of what influenced and ordered this change in church planning on Mount Athos, as this came about before the epoch we are studying. It is

important to mention, however, that the Katholikon of the Serbian monastery Chilandar was restored and established as a triconch plan.¹¹ This monastic church was crucial as the chosen architectural model for later buildings in Serbia.

It has recently been proven that the *ktitors* of Chilandar could only have been the legitimate heirs of the Serbian throne, and lists of the ruling *ktitors* have survived as inscribed in "Danilče's Typicon" and "Roman's Typicon."¹² After 1371 in Serbia there were no more emperors. Regional overlords, such as Lazar Hrebeljanović, struggled for the acquisition of secular and spiritual legitimization on the Serbian throne. It is well-known that Lazar had great success in this, especially in his intervention on behalf of the anathematized Serbian patriarchate. The latter was created in the time of Tsar Dušan (1346) and was to be accepted under the protection of the Byzantine church.¹³ The famous Council at Peć in 1375 was due to Prince Lazar, as was the final recognition of the Serbian patriarchate of Tsars Dušan and Uroš and the Serbian Patriarchs Joannicius and Sava. From the charter given to the citizens of Dubrovnik in 1387 it can be established that Lazar saw himself as the legitimate heir of Tsar Dušan, although he took the title of neither king nor emperor.¹⁴ On the basis of written documents, it is also known that certain responsibilities, formerly held by Tsar Dušan were, at the request of the monks, taken over by Prince Lazar. This act shows that they regarded him as the legitimate heir of Dušan.¹⁵ The footnote on the date of Lazar's death in the text of "Romano's Typicon," where a list of the last *ktitors* of Chilandar is cited, confirms the belief that Prince Lazar had acquired the right to be included in the line of the legitimate rulers of Serbia and consequently a legitimate *ktitor* of Chilandar.¹⁶ This relationship with Chilandar, a royal foundation, as has already been pointed out, explains the choice of its triconch plan as the model for Lazar's burial foundation, the monastery church of Ravanica (fig. 4). By making this choice he also reconfirmed the legitimacy of his claim to the one-time imperial throne. His purpose is further seen in his choice of the five-domed church type for Ravanica which was modeled on the imperial foundation, Dušan's monastery of the Holy Archangels.¹⁷ Ravanica's church, built in 1376, was the first sacred building of that type in Prince Lazar's state.¹⁸ Its type was followed by foundations of the nobles, also of the triconch plan but with a single dome. Lazar's son, Despot Stefan Lazarević, built for himself a five-domed church at

Resava following his father's example and thereby confirming his own claim to the Serbian throne.¹⁹

The creation of architectural forms based on an adopted ground-plan demanded many elements present in older architectural practices whose origins were both Byzantine and of the Western coastal milieu of the Nemanjić state. When attempting to trace the paths of these influences, one must first define the total architectural concept of the sacred buildings to which reference is being made. The basic characteristic of a large group of churches, as already stated, is the triconch ground-plan which manifests itself in two ways: it either takes the form of a developed triconch, in which the pillars supporting the central dome are separate from the lateral north and south walls, or a compact triconch, in which the dome rests on strong engaged piers along the north and south walls (fig. 5). A particular characteristic is added in a great number of cases, namely a narthex at the western side which is contemporary with the church naos. In terms of massing, the central dome is emphasized, placed on an exceptionally pronounced, sometimes even multi-stepped cubical base (fig. 6). The lateral conches rose to the height of the nave. The spacious narthexes also have a raised central section articulated by a blind dome or a sizable tower resembling a bell-tower (fig. 7). The main body of the church is characterized by a three-part division which comprises the eastern bay with its sanctuary, the central section with the dome, and the western bay. The internal divisions of this space determined the external divisions whereby the main part of the church is broken down into three bays, the narthex making a fourth. The verticality of the building is emphasized by the steps of the pedestal of the central dome.

Alongside this spatial disposition certain elements of the exterior are characterized by pronounced horizontal divisions (fig. 8). The external walls are usually divided into two or three zones by continuous horizontal stone string-courses. The exterior is divided horizontally into two or three parts.

The placing and type of windows have particular characteristics. These are generally of the bifora type and are placed in the second or third zone, where three zones exist, and in the lower zone where there are only two (fig. 9). In the highest zone, the second or third depending on the building, are found circular openings with openwork stone rosettes (fig. 11 and 12.) These are sometimes placed, though not pierced,

as decoration in large cubic pediments. A common characteristic in all these buildings is the division of the apses into different planes by colonnettes, whose capitals often end in corbel tables. The remaining external surfaces are typified by shallow, sometimes stepped pilaster strips crowned by arches in the upper zone. The upper part of the complex cubical pedestal, as in the eastern and western tympanum walls, are in the form of arches.

Some of these churches were built of horizontal rows of brick and stone: Three courses of brick, with mortar joints of the same thickness as the bricks, alternate with a row of cut stones (fig. 6). In certain buildings, such as Ravanica, bricks were also inserted vertically between the stones. However, some churches were built only of half-dressed stone without bricks. Their exteriors were plastered over, then painted in an imitation of alternate rows of brick and stone. Surfaces under the arches in the upper zone are decorated with the motif of a painted checkerboard, or are built in stone and tiles following the same pattern (fig. 6). These are a particular characteristic of this style, as are window frames, arches and friezes of arcading richly decorated in shallow relief (fig. 12). Very often there is also painted ornamentation on the exterior in horizontal bands beneath the string-courses dividing the zones, also with decorative double bands of interlaced and floral motifs. Seen as a whole, the adopted type reveals Byzantine influence, transformed throughout the local region. This influence is recognizable also in the first half of the fourteenth century, when narthexes were built following examples from Constantinople, with tall central bays. The Holy Archangels near Prizren and St. Nicholas at Dabar are two examples of this phenomenon.²⁰ In late Paleologan architecture, contemporary with the period under consideration, the articulation of external surfaces by rows of stepped pilaster strips is seen as a general characteristic of the Byzantine cultural milieu of that era. This is found in some old Constantinopolitan churches which were restored at that time, and in the regions of Mesembria, Bithynia and Thrace.²¹ Also, polychrome decoration, especially that worked in checkerboard patterns, is an older Byzantine inheritance. Such decoration is found in the upper zones below blind arches in the church of St. Mary Pammakaristos (the Fetijeh mosque in Constantinople), in certain elements of the exterior decoration of the Tekfur Saray, and also on the churches of the Pantokrator and St. John Aleiturgetos in Mesembria.²²

In Serbian lands south of the area in which the triconch model was usually found, the same decoration is common throughout the fourteenth century, as for example in the churches of the Ljuboten monastery, the Holy Archangels at Lesnovo, Mateič, the Mother of God in Kučevište and Saints Nicholas and Andrew on the Treska river.²³ On the other hand, certain architectural and decorative elements, found in the architecture of the late Middle Ages visible in Serbia demonstrate western influence. The stone frames of windows and portals, richly worked in low relief, as well as openwork sculptured stone rosettes are characteristic of earlier and contemporary western architectural practice. Pronounced horizontal stone string-courses and an emphasized horizontal division within the verticality of the facades are also typical of a western, Gothic climate. The presence of trifoliate bifora windows with pointed, Gothic arches in certain church buildings in Serbia give clear witness to the presence of western influence (fig. 10). Openwork or decoratively worked roundels are not unknown in Byzantine practice, but those used on Serbian churches of the late Middle Ages belong to a western architectural milieu.²⁴ Looked at as a whole, the architectural type characteristic of the later Middle Ages in Serbia grows out of the adoption of the triconch plan from the Byzantine context of Athos. The building technique and the use of polychrome, as well as the introduction of unbroken rows of arches on the external planes divided by stepped pilaster strips are also typical of contemporary Byzantine practice. By contrast, the pronounced horizontal division by means of string courses and the shape of certain decorative motifs on windows and rosettes reveal the presence of a western sphere of influence in these areas.

It is, therefore, possible to postulate that a combination of these elements led to the establishment of a specific architectural model at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its plan originated in Byzantine tradition and was combined with elements from western architectural context which, to a greater or lesser extent, had always been present in these regions.

The Byzantine tradition was not only strong in the ecclesiastical architecture of the late Middle Ages in Serbia, but also influenced the architecture of fortified towns and fortresses. In these categories, however, there were clear and unavoidable influences from western European tradition. At the end of the thirteenth century, and especially

at the beginning of the fourteen century, the process of urbanization, unknown in the preceding two centuries, began in Serbia.²⁵ The earlier period is marked by the building of small fortresses at strategic points, usually on inaccessible peaks, similar to Byzantine hill forts of the Komnenian period.²⁶ In this area there were no real urban entities such as existed in Byzantium. The courts of the Serbian rulers and nobles were not built in towns or fortresses, and apparently had no particular system of defense, as was the case with Serbian monastic settlements.²⁷

Urbanization in the fourteenth century primarily meant the building of numerous urban fortifications, which encircled the civilian population. These contained an inner fortress, built separately and following numerous western European examples.²⁸ The geographical positions of these new Serbian towns, in accordance with their new function, were naturally in strategic places. They were not on higher elevations but rather on lower positions with wider control of the surrounding areas. They were, as a rule, placed on gentle slopes near river valleys. Some Serbian towns of this time were economic centers of secular and military rule, but it was not until the end of the fourteenth and fifteenth century that the capital of the Serbian ruler was placed within a large urban fortification such as Kruševac, Belgrade and Smederevo. The sites of these towns were usually of irregular elliptical shape (fig. 13), though some, such as the triangular fortress at Smederevo, follow a regular geometric shape (fig. 14). In this case the ground-plan was dictated by the lay of the land, as the town is placed on a triangular plateau between two rivers. The organization of defenses was based on continuous walls strengthened by towers, which were placed at such a distance from each other as to provide efficient protection. As a rule, the towers on the outer walls opened on their interior sides towards the town. Some city-fortresses had churches within the civilian settlement. In the fifteenth century some metropolitan seats moved within city walls for safety. Notable examples include the Metropolitan churches of Belgrade and Smederevo.²⁹

As far as building technique and the organization of defense was concerned, the towns of the late Middle Ages generally followed earlier Byzantine practice, though with certain adaptations of older forms and the introduction of new elements. This combination of borrowing experimentation resulted in the creation of a local variant. Its system of defense displayed double outer walls, the first line of defense consisting

of ramparts lower than the second line and equipped with outward sloping escarps. Such a double line of defense was well-known in the early Byzantine world (*proteihizmos*). In Serbia the older Byzantine model was adopted and modified, resulting in a local architectural variant. As in Byzantium, the walls of the outer ramparts were thicker in many fortresses and towns. The addition of certain defensive elements to existing parts of the fortress is characteristic of that period. We refer here to steep escarpments, which were added to older installations and also built into the fortresses of new towns.

This epoch was also marked by the fortification of certain monasteries, an action not commonly taken during the preceding period.³⁰ It was at this time, for example, that Ravanica's fortifications were erected, while the monastery of Resava was newly constructed as a fortress with double defensive walls and steep escarpments, ditches and counter-scarps. The Patriarchate of Peć was restored at this time. The fortifications of the monastery were strengthened and, in places, built from the foundations.³¹ The system of defense of monastic fortifications was similar to that of secular ones. These echoed certain Byzantine examples, such as the fortress around the monastery of Kosmosoteira, also characterized by projecting square towers.³² The introduction of founders' inscriptions on ramparts and towers, as at Ravanica and Smederevo, follows in the Byzantine tradition.³³ It is absolutely certain that the fortresses of Serbia in this period were based on earlier Byzantine military architecture, for there simply was no new building in economically and politically exhausted Byzantium. Instead, the old walls of fortresses were strengthened and existing ramparts, dating from before the Turkish invasion, were repaired and rebuilt.

Some Serbian fortifications were equipped with a series of machicolations.³⁴ They are also found in some later fortresses in the northern regions of Byzantium, as well as in certain western fortifications. Here reference is made to recurrent influences that were probably brought to these areas by western builders. In the internal arrangement of the fortified cities of this period, as has been stated, smaller internal fortresses were built which could be independently defended. Examples are manifold in the West in the form of donjon keeps or interior citadels. Thus the concept of a Serbian fortified city approaches western norms.

Seen as a whole, the military architecture of Serbia in the late Middle Ages remained within the framework of earlier Byzantine

defensive architecture, though adapted in certain details with newly created local variants and influences coming from the West.

Seen as a whole, the military architecture of Serbia in the late Middle Ages remained within the framework of earlier Byzantine defensive architecture though adapted in certain details with newly created local variants and influences coming from the West.

The secular architecture of towns and rural settlements unfortunately has not yet been investigated. Individual buildings excavated in various fortified towns and fortresses present a meager picture of this architecture. Larger buildings, probably palaces, have been identified at Smederevo, Golubac and Stalac.³⁵ Certain details of this architecture reveal the interweaving of Byzantine and western architectural traditions. In some cases these buildings show Byzantine influence, with alternating layers of brick and stone. On the other hand, individual elements, such as windows and their stone frames, are worked in a Gothic spirit. Elements of western construction did not infiltrate from coastal regions alone, but frequently also from the north, especially from the Hungarian lands. The Metropolitan's residence in the city of Belgrade, built in the time of Despot Stefan Lazarević, bears witness to this trend. Its windows and doors display direct parallels with the architecture of the capital cities in Hungary.³⁶

The Byzantine tradition is, to a limited extent, present in the domestic architecture of Serbian monasteries of this time. It is most clearly seen in the shape of the monastic refectory, which was still being constructed following earlier models in the form of long, single-aisled buildings with an apse at one end and with frescoes decorating the interior walls.³⁷ Western influence is again seen in individual monastic buildings, primarily in the shape of windows which derive from Hungarian areas.³⁸ In the monastic architecture of this period, elements of Islamic architecture are introduced via Byzantium. The windows of the fifteenth century residence at Pavlovac are of this type and remind one of certain forms found in the fourteenth century additions to the Chora monastery in Constantinople.³⁹

The second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century represent a period in which the architecture in Serbia turns away, to a certain degree, from earlier patterns. Of course, the Byzantine tradition was present and most evident in ecclesiastical architecture, although new churches showed a strong creativity in

blending new ideas with traditional ones. Emphasis must be placed on the fact that the architecture in question is monumental, bearing witness to an economically solid and wealthy state, in spite of its vassalage to the Ottoman Turks. The construction of new monasteries and fortresses bear witness to this.

The creative initiative of this period was characterized by a more resolute tendency to blend elements of eastern and western architectural practice. The inevitable presence of the Byzantine tradition was especially pronounced in the articulation of sacred space due to the unchangeable liturgical needs. This had broad implications for maintaining national and spiritual identity during what was essentially a period of decline for Christian civilization in this part of the world.



Fig. 1 Monastery of Studenica, church, C12th (S. Ćurčić)



Fig. 2 Gračanica Monastery, church, C14th (S. Ćurčić)



Fig. 3 Chilandar Monastery, church, C12th-14th (S. Nenadović)

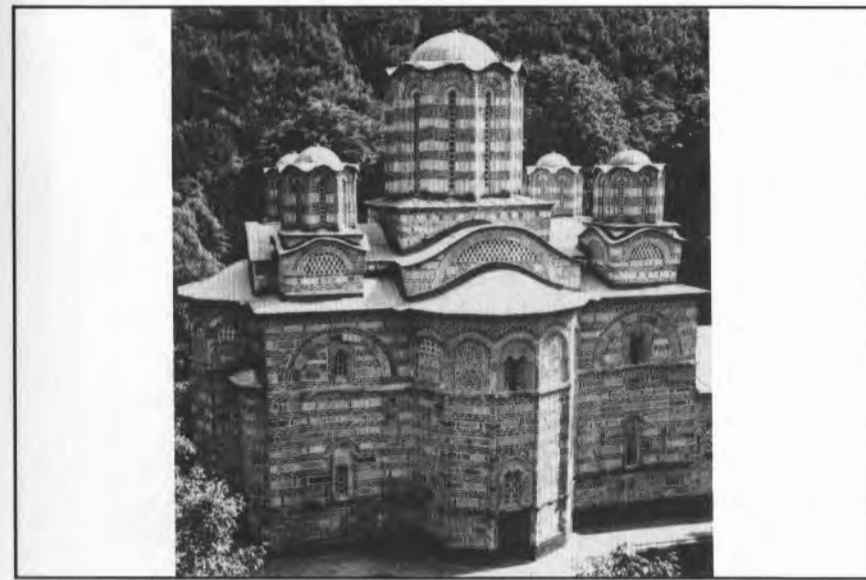


Fig. 4 Ravanica Monastery, church, C14th (M. Kovačević)

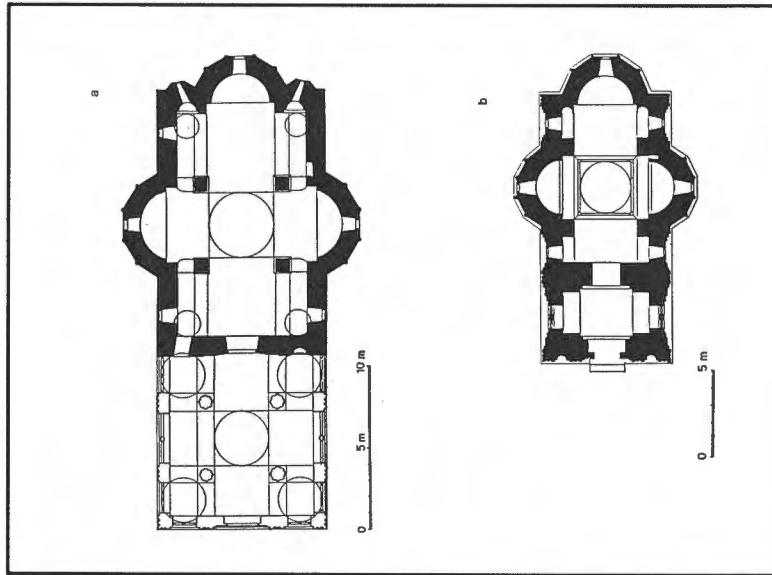


Fig. 5 a) Ravanića, developed triconch plan;
b) Lazarića, compact triconch plan
(S. Popović)

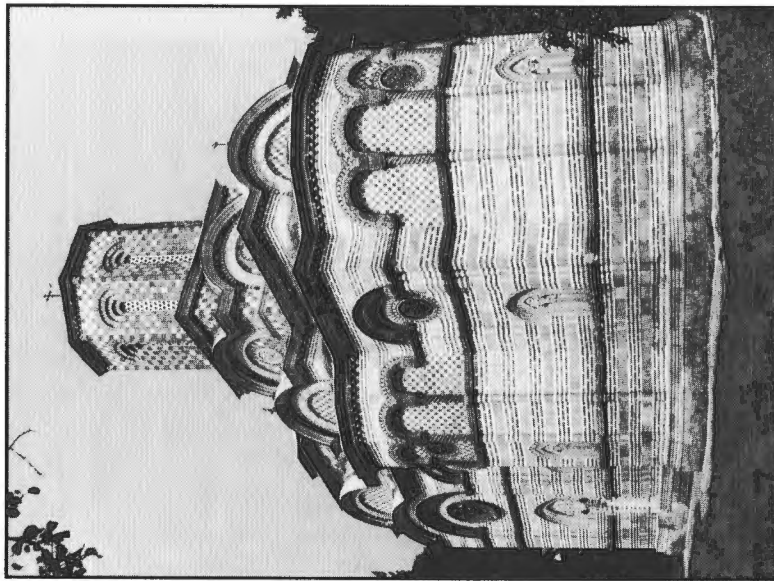


Fig. 6 Kalemić Monastery, church, C14th
(S. Čurčić)



Fig. 7 Ljubostinja Monastery, church, C14th (S. Čurčić)



Fig. 8 Lazarića, church, C14th (S. Čurčić)

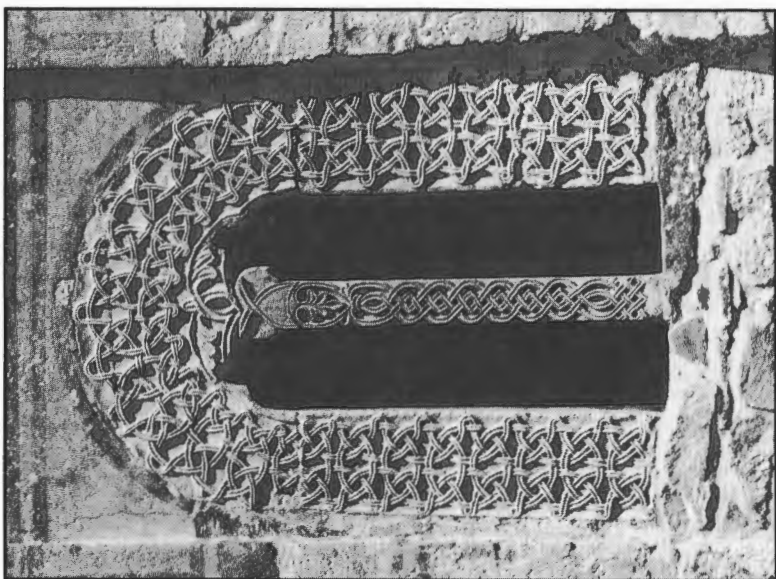


Fig. 9 Ljubosinja bifora C14th (S. Čurčić)

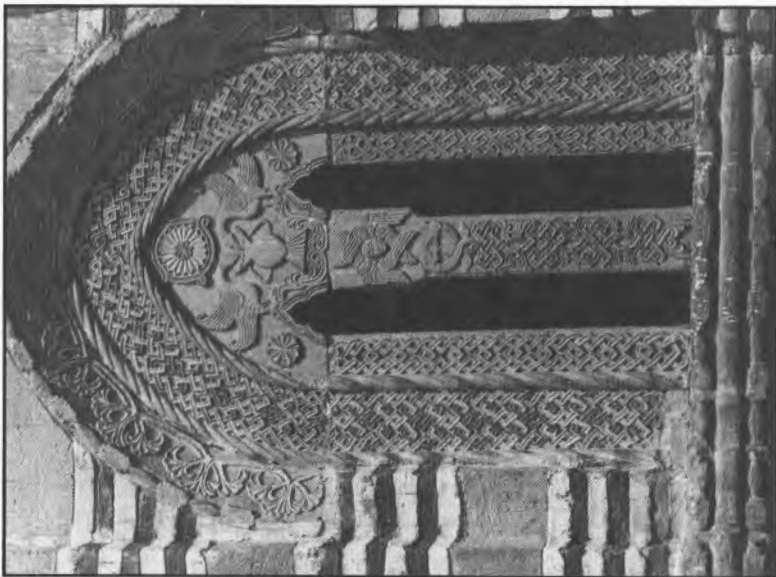


Fig. 10 Kalemić Monastery, church, trifoliate bifora (S. Čurčić)



Fig. 11 Naupara Monastery, church, stone rosette C14th (R. Živković)

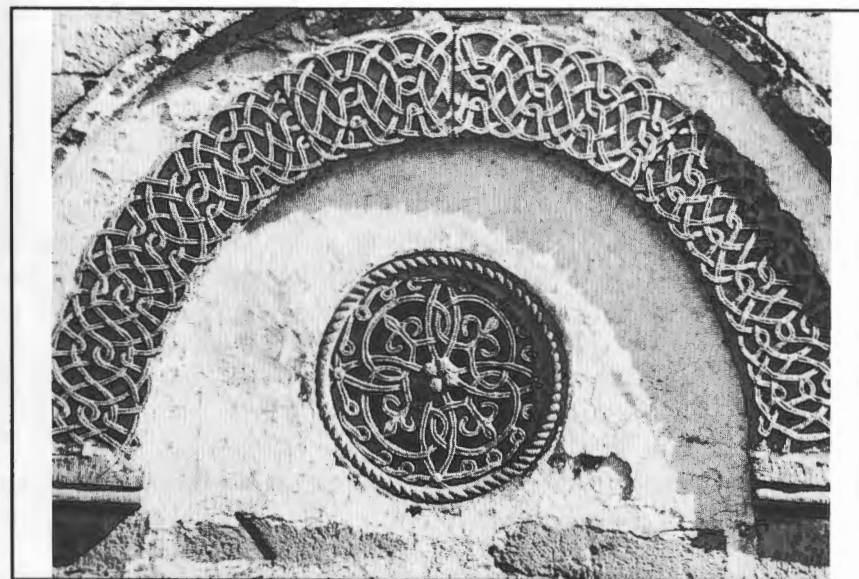


Fig. 12 Naupara Monastery, church decoration, C14th (R. Živković)

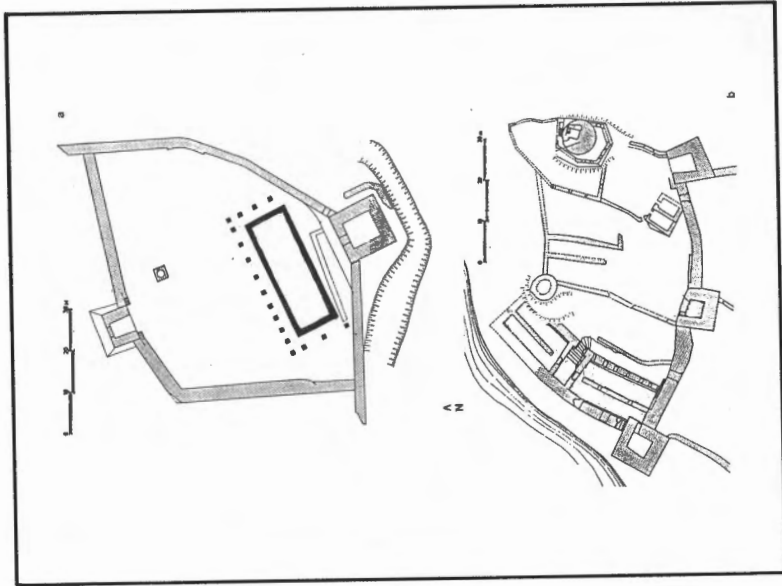


Fig. 13 a) Fortress of Stalac, C14th (S. Djordjević)
b) Fortress of Golubac, C14th (G. Simić)

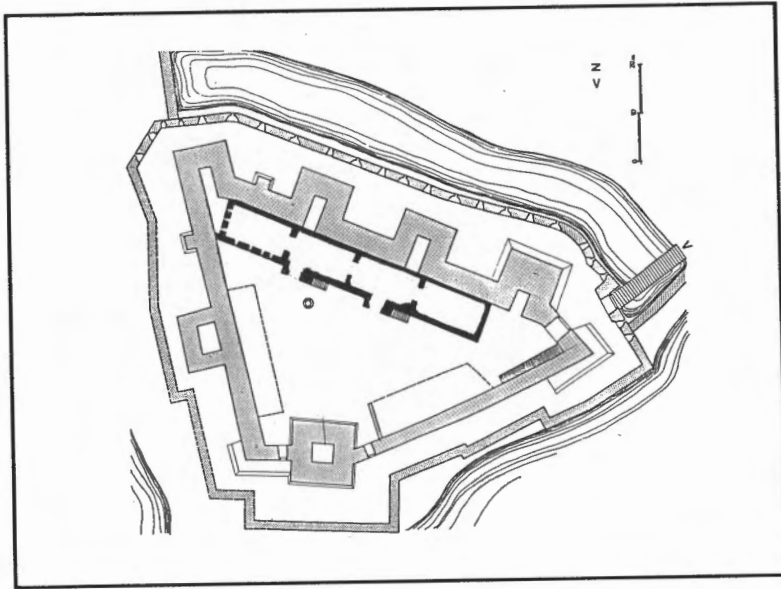


Fig. 14 Fortress of Smederevac, C15th,
(M. Popović)

¹ St. Stanojević, "Sveti Sava i nezavisnost srpske crkve," *Glas SKA* 161 (1934), 199–251; B. Ferjančić, "Avtokefalnost srpske crkve i Ohridska arhiepiskopija," *Sava Nemanjić–Sveti Sava* (Beograd, 1979), 65–72.

² S. Popović (Mojsilović), *Krst u krugu* (Beograd, 1994), 29–32.

³ M. Kašanin, M. Čanak-Medić, J. Maksimović, B. Todić, M. Šakota, *Studenica* (Beograd, 1986), passim. S. Čurčić, *Gračanica: Istorija i arhitektura* (Beograd–Pristina, 1988), passim.

⁴ St. Stanojević, L. Mirković, Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Manasija* (Beograd, 1928), passim.

⁵ J. Kalić, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku* (Beograd, 1994), 55 ff.

⁶ G. Babić–Djordjević, V. J. Djurić, "Polet umetnosti," *Istorija srpskog naroda II* (Beograd, 1982), 144–191.

⁷ The term "Morava School" was introduced by the French scholar G. Millet for Serbian architectural development. The definition should be reconsidered. Cf. S. Čurčić, "The Significance and Sources of Morava School Architecture," *XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Summaries of Communications I* (Moscow, 1991) 258.

⁸ Cf. Dj. Stričević, "Dva varijeteta plana crkava moravske arhitektonske škole," *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta 3* (1955), 213–220. Ibid. "Églises triconques médiévales en Serbie et en Macédoine et la tradition de l'architecture paléobyzantine," *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantine, 1* (Belgrade, 1963), 224–240. Ibid., "Hronologija ranih spomenika moravske škole," *Starinar 5–6* (1956), 115–128. Ibid., "Uloga starca Isaije u prenošenju svetogorskih tradicija u moravsku arhitektonsku školu," *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta 3* (1955), 221–232. V. J. Djurić, "Nastanak graditeljskog stila moravske škole. Fasade, sistem dekoracije, plastika," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 1* (Novi Sad, 1965), 35–65. B. Vulović, *Ravanica* (Beograd, 1966). *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Beograd, 1972), passim.

⁹ B. Vulović, "Učešće Hilandara i srpske tradicije u formiranju moravskog stila," *Moravska škola i njeno doba* (Beograd, 1972), 169–80. V. Korać, "O tradiciji u svetogorskoj arhitekturi," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 21* (1985), 163–175.

¹⁰ P.M. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *Cahiers archéologiques* 32 (1984), 89–112.

¹¹ D. Bogdanović, V. J. Djurić, D. Medaković, *Chilandar* (Belgrade, 1978), passim. S. Nenadović "Arhitektura Hilandara Crkve i paraklisi," *Hilandarski zbornik 3* (1974), 85–208, esp. 85–152. P.M. Mylonas, "Remarques architecturales sur le catholicon de Chilandar," *Hilandarski Zbornik 6* (1986),

7-45. Dj. Bošković, *Hilandar — katolikon* (Beograd, 1992), passim.

¹² M. Blagojević, "Knez Lazar ktitor Hilandara," *Sveti Knez Lazar* (Beograd, 1989), 47-61.

¹³ M. Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije srpske crkve u srednjem veku* (Beograd, 1985), 200-203.

¹⁴ S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka* (Beograd, 1912) 200-203.

¹⁵ M. Blagojević, "Knez Lazar ktitor Hilandara," *Sveti Knez Lazar* (Beograd, 1989) 57.

¹⁶ Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi III* (Beograd, 1905), 70.

¹⁷ S. Nenadović, *Dušanova zadužbina manastir Svetih Arhandjela kod Prizrena na Kosovu* (Beograd, 1967), passim.

¹⁸ Cf. B. Vulović, *Ravanica* (Beograd, 1966), passim. Ibid., "Arhitektura Ravanice," *Manastir Ravanica. Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici* (Beograd, 1981), 19-32.

¹⁹ St. Stanojević, L. Mirković, Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Manasija* (Beograd, 1928), passim. S. Nenadović, "Konzarvatorska dokumentacija o arhitekturi manastira Resave," *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 12 (1961) 51-82.

²⁰ S. Nenadović (see note 10 above). M. Šakota, "Prilozi poznavanju manastira Banje kod Priboja," *Saopštenja* 9 (1970) 19-46. Ibid., "Prilozi poznavanju manastira Banje kod Priboja. Nepublikovani izveštaj o stanju manastira Banje iz 1857 godine," *Saopštenja* 10 (1974) 11-36. S. Čurčić, "Architecture in the Byzantine Sphere of Influence Around the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," *Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Belgrade, 1989) 55-58.

²¹ A. Rashenov, *Églises de Mésembria* (Sofia, 1931). Dj. Bošković, "Note sur les analogies entre l'architecture serbe et l'architecture bulgare au Moyen-Âge," *Izvestija na bulgarskii arheologičeski institut*, Sofia 10 (1936) 57-74. S. Bojadziev, "L'ancienne église métropole de Nesebar," *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 1 (1962) 321-346. R. Osterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia and Regional Developments in Later Paleologan Architecture," *Twilight of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1991) 75-91.

²² See above, note 21.

²³ A. Deroko, *Momumentalna i dekorativna arhitektura u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Beograd, 1962), passim. Dj. Bošković, "L'architecture médiévale en Serbie et en Macédoine," *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 10 (1963), 13-49. S. Čurčić, op. cit. (as in note 13) 56-62.

²⁴ J. Maksimović, "Moravska skulptura," *Moravska škola i njeno doba* (Beograd, 1972), 181-190.

²⁵ J. Maksimović, "Unfulfilled Autonomy. Urban Society in Serbia and Bosnia," *Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times* (Berkeley: Los Angeles, London, 1987) 158-184.

²⁶ M. Popović, "Defensive Systems in the Eastern Part of Yugoslavia in the Middle Ages," *Balcanoslavica* 11-12 (1984) 11-32.

²⁷ S. Ćirković, "Vladarski dvori oko jezera na Kosovu," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 20 (1984), 67-83.

²⁸ M. Popović, "Utvrdjenja Moravske Srbije," *Sveti Knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici kosovskog boja 1389-1989* (Beograd, 1989), 71-87.

²⁹ M. Janković, *Episkopije i mitropolije srpske crkve u srednjem veku* (Beograd, 1985), 79-100.

³⁰ S. Mojsilović (Popović), "Elements of fortification of the Monasteries in Medieval Serbia," *Balcanoslavica* 7 (1978), 169-195.

³¹ S. Popović (Mojsilović), *Krst u krugu. Arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1994).

³² A. K. Orlandos, "Ta Byzantina mnemeia tes Biras," *Trakika* 4 (1933), 3-34.

³³ B. Vulović, *Ravanica*, 25 and fig. 3. P. Popović, *Spomenica petstogodišnjice smederevskoga grada despota Djurdja Brankovića* (Beograd, 1931), passim.

³⁴ Machicolations were introduced in the fortifications of Belgrade, Ravanica, Resava, etc.

³⁵ M. Popović, "La résidence du despote Djuradj Brankovic dans le châtelet de la forteresse de Smederevo," *Balcanoslavica* 7 (1979), 101-112. G. Simić, "Palata Golubačkog grada," *Saopštenja* 22-23 (1991) 77-101.

³⁶ M. Popović, "Istraživanja u Donjem gradu Beogradske tvrđave," *XIII kongres arheoloških društava Jugoslavije* (Beograd, 1988).

³⁷ S. Mojsilović-Popović, "Secular Buildings in Medieval Serbian Monasteries. About the Medieval standard of living," *Zograf* 16 (1985) 19-25. S. Popović (Mojsilović), *Krst u krugu. Arhitektura manastira u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1994).

³⁸ S. Mojsilović (Popović), "Srednjovekovni manastir u Pavlovcima na Kosmaju," *Saopštenja* 13 (1981) 127-146, esp. fig. 15.

³⁹ S. Mojsilović (Popović, Ibid., 132 and fig. 7. R. Osterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987) fig. 127, 133.

HISTORY OF THE MUSICAL ART AMONG THE SERBS (AN INTRODUCTION)*

by Miloš Velimirović
University of Virginia

The cultivation of the various aspects of the art of music is documented for just about all of the ethnic groups in the world. It has been customary to differentiate between the so-called "traditional" music (also referred to as "folk" music) for which the characteristic pattern of transmission is a living oral tradition with no known "author" and, in contrast to that, a body of musical works for which the authorship, time and place of their "creation" can be documented and therefore designated as "art music." The use of this terminology does not mean that "traditional" music cannot have artistic qualities and there are many instances of works which, though composed by a known composer, acquired such popularity that a non-specialist may view them as "traditional" and conceive of them as having been "folk creations." This essay will try to outline what is known of "artistic" musical works by Serbian musicians through the centuries.

The beginnings of literacy as well as of aspects of the cultivation of music among the Southern Slavs are related to the activities of the pupils of Saints Cyril and Methodius and the conversion of Slavs to Christianity. The new religion had a rather elaborate ritual in which the main body of chants was sung originally in Greek. With the translation of church books into the Old Church Slavonic language, transmitted texts were henceforth rendered in the language understandable to the assembled congregations.

The period of the medieval Serbian state, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, left comparatively few specific references to the practice of music. Nevertheless, preserved documents, lives of rulers and high clergy, frescoes and miniature paintings in manuscripts, particularly with representations of musical instruments and circumstances requiring musical sounds, as in scenes with dancers, show fairly reliably that the musical art was well-known to our ancestors. Concerning the instruments, one needs only to be reminded of the representation of the fresco in the monastery Lesnovo with dancers dancing what looks like a modern-day "kolo" while David plays on a string instrument and Virgin

Mary is beating the drum. Some iconographic types, like the scenes of "Derision of Christ" invariably present musicians and actors/dancers, with overly long sleeves, with prominent long trumpets (horns?) in the background. The realistic depiction of these instruments is especially clear in examples dating from the fifteenth century when the previously straight trumpets acquired the S-shape which in the contemporary Western paintings represents one of the early stages of what ultimately was to become the trombone!

Besides these "musical utensils," literary documents contain hymns for the daily religious ritual. Many of these songs of various types were undoubtedly adapted from Greek models and/or recreated by Slavic monks. If Byzantine customs were emulated by Serbs, as they undoubtedly were, the author of the text usually was also the composer of the melody to which the text was sung. We should also recall that, just as in the paintings, the artists as a rule did NOT sign their names, and many of the musical works are preserved anonymously. Very few of the names of the Byzantine poets/musicians are known for the period prior to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In the case of unquestionably Serbian artists the earliest positive documentation dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. This is the period in which the names of Kyr Stefan the Serb, Nikola the Serb, Isaiah the Monk and Joakeim of the Harsianites monastery who also carried the title of "domestikos of Serbia" appear. Each one seems to have been well-known to his contemporaries as several of their works were copied for more than a century in musical manuscripts and not only in Serbian lands alone.

Whereas the Turkish conquest of the Balkans established new political realities, the maintenance of the Serbian religious traditions continued in monasteries where manuscripts continued to be copied and hymnody continued to flourish. Serbian national life became permeated with Serbian Orthodox Christian rituals and traditions, creating an extremely strong bond by which Serbs were able to identify themselves in contrast to any of the surrounding ethnic groups. Thus, as late as the eighteenth century, musical manuscripts contained hymns to medieval Serbian saints, reminding the congregation that the foreign domination was but a temporary state of affairs. Examples of hymns of Serbian origin may be found in Russia as well as in England.

The centuries of Turkish rule over the Balkans also caused

significant ethnic migrations of which the most important one was that of 1690 when, to avoid Turkish rule, more than 100,000 Serbs migrated from Kosovo and surrounding areas into Austrian domains, settling within Hungary all the way to the north of the present-day Budapest. In contrast to such calamities, there were periods of relative calm interrupted, as it appears, every seventh year, by the imposition of the special "tax in blood" (*danak u krvi*) which meant captivity for Serbian male offspring who were taken to Constantinople (now Istanbul) to be raised as janissaries, thus becoming members of the "shock units" in the Turkish army.

The Serbs shared this fate with Greeks who endured similar hardships in the same period. Yet the religious institutions and especially the monasteries of both Serbs and Greeks managed to survive. The religious ritual was enriched by recreations of hymns as well as new arrangements of a well-established traditional repertory of chants for the annual cycles of holy days and commemorations of saints. We shall probably never know the full extent of all artistic creations and yet, by accident, some documents are preserved revealing unusual aspects of links and customs that are otherwise unknown. One such document is the "Yale Fragment" containing Slavic text written in the Greek alphabet. It contains hymns for vespers service preceded by a detailed inscription, indicating that the music was set in the "Slavonic dialect" by the then leading Greek musician, Peter of Peloponnesus, at the request of Metropolitan Serafim of Bosnia. Since the dates of both the composer and the metropolitan are known this document may be dated within a single decade, namely between 1766 and 1777 as the latter date was the year of the composer's death.

If one keeps in mind that due to migrations and vagaries of history, Serbs were spread over large areas by ca. 1800 A.D., it should come as no surprise that the contacts with new ethnic and cultural surroundings from the eighteenth century onward, contributed to differentiations and evolution of orally transmitted chants. Besides the traditional melodies cultivated in Serbia proper, usually referred to as "*Beogradsko pojanje*," in the "Vojvodina" emerged the "*Karlovačko pojanje*," i.e. chants associated with traditions of Sremski Karlovci, then the Serbian ecclesiastic center in the Austrian Empire. Still another "Austrian dominated" area of Krajina had its own "*Zadarsko pojanje*," found in the area around the city of Zadar on the Adriatic Sea. These

traditions are still in need of scholarly investigation and refinement of the specificities peculiar to individual "schools" of chants.

The beginning of the nineteenth century brought in 1804 the First Serbian Uprising, suppressed by the Turks in 1813, and the Second Uprising in 1815. It was during the rule of Miloš Obrenović that new and modern forms of musicianship came to Serbia. The first piano is said to have been brought to Belgrade in 1823. In the home of Miloš's brother, Jevrem, in the town of Šabac it appears that music was cultivated and it was to Šabac that came the first professional musician in Serbia. Josif Šlezinger (Sombor, 1794—Beograd, 1870) was invited, in 1829, to be a teacher of music to Jevrem's children after having started his musical career in Novi Sad as a band leader. From 1831 Šlezinger was for ten years heading the Knjaževsko-srpska band, first in Kragujevac and then in Belgrade. This "orchestra" appeared in theaters as well, while Šlezinger composed music as was needed for theater.

Šlezinger was followed by Nikola Djurković (Trieste, 1812—Osijek, 1875) who conducted for a while the Church choir in Pančevo, and Milan Milovuk (Budim, 1825—Beograd, 1883) who was the first conductor of the Belgrade Choral Society (*Beogradsko pevačko društvo*) founded in 1853. This was by no means the first such society among Serbs. In fact, the role of the choral societies in Serbia parallels a rather similar role of singing societies in Germany and especially among the Czechs. The first choral society, which participated in ecclesiastical services and had a concert life of its own among the Serbs, was the Pančevo Serbian church choir founded in 1838, followed in 1839 by the founding of a choral society in Kotor. After the 1853 founding of the First Belgrade Choral Society, in the course of the 1860s a great number of singing groups was founded in Vojvodina, where nearly every sizable town had a singing group of its own. Additional societies were formed in Serbia. It was only in the 1880s that similar endeavors took place in Bosnia, where the oldest choral group was founded in Tuzla in 1886, to be followed in 1888 by societies in Sarajevo, Prijedor and Mostar in Herzegovina. The proliferation of such choral groups testifies to the growing desire for cultivation of the musical art, and for a concert life emulating practices of the Northern and Western neighbors. The presence of choruses raised the quality of church-singing during the services and provided resources to be used for arousal of patriotic feelings at manifestations by singing newly composed works often composed by

their own music-masters. To give but one example, Nikola Djurković is the author of the well-known song that has been sung for more than a century: "*Rado ide Srbin u vojnike*" (Gladly goes a Serb into the army). It is a pity that Djurković had ceased his musical activities on the eve of 1848. There were, however, quite a few other young amateurs especially in Vojvodina who launched many a song for the Youth Movement of the 1860s, which fostered a small cultural Renaissance among Serbs especially in Vojvodina, and spilled into Serbia proper as well.

To the mid-century belong the activities of Alois Kalauz, apparently an Austrian whose dates are unknown, who settled in Serbia in 1847, and was the first to collect systematically the melodies of folk songs. He wrote the piano accompaniment for these and published them in two volumes in Vienna (1850 and 1855). His preface in Serbian, French and German shows a serious view of songs which he divided into: "town and village songs." This was a considerable advance compared to the melodies published by Vuk Karadžić, that were written down by a Polish musician Mirecki.

At just about the same time begin the activities of the founder of Serbian musical romanticism and first Serb trained as musician, Kornelije Stanković (Budim, 1831—Budim, 1865). Thanks to the help from a wealthy sponsor, a friend of Kornelije's deceased father, the young man was sent to Vienna in 1850 to study music with the renowned teacher Simon Sechter (1788—1867), who had taught Schubert and was to teach Bruckner later on. In 1855 Kornelije went to Sremski Karlovci where he wrote down the "*Karlovačko pojanje*" and presented it in two successful concerts in Vienna (1855 and 1861). With the financial help from the Serbian government he traveled between 1861 and 1863 through Serbia collecting folk songs, and appearing as a pianist and accompanist of the well-known painter and singer Steva Todorović. In 1863 he became the conductor of the Belgrade Choral Society but due to illness had to resign in 1864 and went to Budim where he died the next year. Although his output was rather small he did publish in Vienna (1862—1864) three fascicles of Chants from Sremski Karlovci and he published, also in Vienna, 1859, 1862 and 1863, three fascicles of Serbian folk melodies. His activity gave the impetus for others to follow in his footsteps and that is why Kornelije is viewed as THE founder of Serbian artistic musical creativity as well as ethnomusicological interest and work.

Next in line is a Slovene Davorin Jenko (Dvorje kod Kranja, 1835—Ljubljana, 1914), who was essentially a self-taught musician. As a student in Vienna he conducted a Slovenian choral society and in 1860 composed what was to become the Slovenian national anthem: "*Naprej zastava slave*." By 1862/3 he became conductor of the Pančevo Serbian Singing Society and in 1865 moved to Belgrade where, with some interruptions, he led the Belgrade Choral Society until 1877. From 1871 to 1902, for over thirty years he was the orchestra conductor in the National Theater in Belgrade. In that capacity he composed music for a great number of "plays with music." Among his many works one may single out, for example, "*Vračara*" (The Fortuneteller) (1882) as the first Serbian operetta, an adaptation of a French play. His most successful work "*Pribislav i Božana*" (1894), based on the romantic drama by Dragutin Ilić, is said to approach the "singspiel" style of the German composer Carl Maria von Weber. Most popular and most enduring, however, was Jenko's music for the play "*Djido*" on text by Janko Veselinović and Dragomir Brzak. Another of Jenko's songs, "*Bože pravde*," from a play entitled "*Markova Sablja*" by J. Djordjević, became the Serbian national anthem. He also composed a great number of solo-songs which are occasionally mistaken as "folk songs" due to their popularity.

The last great romantic and composer of a great number of artistic solo songs as well as choral works was Josif Marinković (Vranjevo, Banat, 1851—Beograd, 1931). After studies in Sombor, Prague and Vienna, he conducted the Belgrade Choral Society from 1881—1886, then the choral society "Obilić" from 1889—1900, as well as a number of other choirs. Marinković taught in the Divinity School and from 1891 to 1924 in the Second Boys' Gymnasium in Belgrade. While he did write a few works for instruments, his "Sonatina" for piano, for four hands, is the first such work by a Serbian composer, and some works for the violin, his main interest was in writing vocal music both for solo voice and for choral groups including songs for children. Probably his best known song was: "*Hej trubaču*" (first version of 1876 and a better second version of 1902). Considerable renown had his "Kola" for choirs, often including folk melodies besides his own, especially the three based on fragments of poems by the great Serbian poet Branko Radičević.

The most significant Serbian composer of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (Negotin, 1856—Skoplje, 1914). With a stipend from the Belgrade Choral Society Mokranjac studied first in Munich with J. Rheinberger (1879–1883), then in Rome with A. Parisotti (1884–1885), and at the Leipzig Conservatory with S. Jadassohn and K. Reinecke (1885–1887). From 1887 to the end of his life he conducted the Belgrade Choral Society for which he wrote most of his choral works. Under his guidance the artistic level of the Society's performances was raised to the highest standards, and with the chorus he toured Austro-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria and Russia, as well as the nearby Montenegro. In 1899, together with Cvetko Manojlović (1869–1939) and Stanislav Binički (1872–1942), Mokranjac was the founder of the first Music School in Belgrade and its lifelong director. He was also the founder of the first String Quartet in Serbia in 1889. In addition to composing he also collected folk melodies from all over the Serbian lands including Bosnia and Dalmatia. His main achievement are the 15 "Rukoveti" (literally 'wreaths' of songs) for mixed choirs (only the First Rukovet is for male choir) and a number of works for church services and other works. He collected and edited two volumes of Serbian chants which were published posthumously "*Osmoglasnik*," 1922; and "*Opšte pojanje*" 1935. The artistic skill and significance of Mokranjac surpass all of his predecessors and his sensitivity for the intonations of Serbian melodies and their harmonies have served as models to this day as generations of Serbian musicians view him as a beacon that guides them in ascertaining the idioms of Serbian musical style.

After these four "founders" of artistic music among the Serbs, there was a group of three composers who consolidated the attainments and made the next steps as organizers of ensembles and a much more active musical life staging first performances of standard works of international significance (oratorios, operas etc.) They created works on a larger scale than the choral musical relatively short works that dominated the output of the "Four." This "Belgrade school" (term of Ms. S. Djurić-Klajn) consisted of the already mentioned Binički, Petar Krstić (1877–1957) and Božidar Joksimović (1868–1955). Binički is also the author of the first performed opera by a Serbian composer, "*Na uranku*" (1903), on text by Branislav Nušić, as well as of the extremely popular "*Mars na Drinu*."

Contemporary to these musicians are: Petar Stojanović (1877–1957) who came to Belgrade in 1925 after studies in Budapest and life in Vienna, where he became well known as the first Serbian composer with an international reputation and as a violinist and one of the great teachers of violin. The other "Vojvodjanin" Isidor Bajić (1878–1915), although a classmate of Bartok and Kodaly during his studies in Budapest, Bajić stayed within the traditionalist artistic orientation. Author of many compositions, he wrote the next Serbian opera "*Knez Ivo od Semberije*," on text by Branislav Nušić, performed in Belgrade in 1911.

The next generation of musicians born in the 1880s was to make the break with the past and move into modern idioms of the early years of the twentieth century. They were: Petar Konjović (1883–1970), Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), Stevan Hristić (1885–1955), Milenko Paunović (1889–1924) and Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949). All of them were reaching their full maturity at the time of World War I which changed drastically the map of Europe and the circumstances of Serbian life by establishing a new state as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1929 as Yugoslavia. While the Serbian "moderns" did start their artistic activities before the war years, their main output came to fruition in the post-war years and will be discussed in another installment of this introductory survey.

* This essay is based on available literature, primarily on the writings of my former teacher Stana Djurić-Klajn and of my colleague Dimitrije Stefanović. As a compilation it does not pretend to be comprehensive. The interested reader will find much additional information in specialized articles in the *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962), section on Serbia, 531–707, as well as in the second edition of *Muzička Enciklopedija*, in three volumes (Zagreb, 1971–1977), and in the excellent two volumes of *Leksikon Jugoslavenske muzike* (Zagreb, 1984). The latter two were published by the Lexicographic Institute and represent a collaborative product of the best scholars in the country. There is also a special 'catalog' of some 75 composers with their brief biographies and description of a few of their most important compositions in Vlastimir Peričić's (in collaboration with Dušan Kostić and Dušan Skovran) *Muzički stvaraoци u Srbiji* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1969). The few non-Serbs listed in this volume have lived and worked in Serbia and thus contributed to the growth of artistic music in Serbia.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SERBIAN POPULAR RELIGION:
THE *MILLET* SYSTEM AND SYNCRETISM

Peter T. Alter
University of Arizona, Tuscon

Over the past two decades, some historians of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans have started to question the traditional interpretation of the *millet* system. In brief, the advocates of the older interpretation assert that from 1454 until the Empire's demise in the 1920s the Ottoman *reaya*^{*} (flock) lived within strictly circumscribed religious communities, organized according to religious faith. The main confessions within this model are Muslim, Jewish, Christian, and Gregorian Armenian. Orthodox Church historians echo this interpretation when examining the national Orthodox Churches (Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgariann) under Ottoman rule. We do know the word *millet* comes from Persian, meaning "nation," and the Muslim prophet Mohammed first employed the *millet* system for "People of the Book," Christians and Jews, in seventh-century Medina. The Koran, historian Benjamin Braude asserts, "also refers to a pre-Islamic community *millat-Ibrahim*, 'the people of Abraham.'" The Ottoman *millet* system equated religion with nationality, thereby placing all Orthodox peoples under the same rubric of Christianity. This system, which was part of Ottoman secular law (*kanun*), dictated certain disabilities on non-Muslims, such as prohibiting inter-marriage between Muslims and non-Muslims and requiring non-Muslims to pay special taxes. However, non-Muslims, according to the *millet* system, stood independent of direct Muslim control and free from fears of religious conversion.¹

Many historians, however, chose only to look at the *millets* from the top down and then only through the upper crusts of a multi-layered system. Nineteenth-century peasant religion among Serbian peasants living in Serbia contradicts this short sighted interpretation. When we peel back successive layers of Ottoman, Balkan, Yugoslav, Serbian, and Orthodox histories and historiography, we reveal an inner core of dynamic religious interaction between Serbian Orthodoxy and Islam.

^{*}*Reaya*—all non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire (Ed.).

Balkan historian Peter Sugar has challenged the "standard evaluation of the *millet* system," claiming that Balkan peasants developed loyalties beyond the large religious groups dictated by the *millets*. Peasants' other allegiances, according to Sugar, included "linguistic, ecclesiastic, and even proto-national differences." Benjamin Braude also questions the usefulness of the *millet* system as a category of analysis. He asserts that no one uniform religious "communal system" existed, and the actual *millet* system was "largely local, with considerable variation over time and place." Therefore, one must carefully examine the functioning of the *millet* system in the various regions of the Ottoman Empire during different time periods.² When examining Serbian Orthodoxy in nineteenth-century Serbia, the importance of popular religion quickly becomes apparent. The give-and-take relationship among Islam, Serbian Orthodoxy, and polytheistic beliefs destroys the monolithic image of the *millet* system. Through examining anthropological, sociological, and historical evidence from nineteenth-century Serbia, one sees a myriad of syncretic religious formations. This syncretism pierces the formerly solid walls which historians built between Ottoman religious and ethnic groups. In this manner, the *millet* system becomes merely a bureaucratic dictate which did not come to fruition in Ottoman Serbia.

I. Ottoman, Balkan, and Serbian Religious Historiography

One must first understand the Ottoman, Balkan, and Serbian historiography of the *millet* system before one can fully comprehend its interpretative restrictions as well as any modifications of it. Ottoman historian Stanford J. Shaw coined the standard definition of the *millet* system, stating that it was a "division of society into [religious] communities."³ In this interpretation, the word "division" stands as the key, implying a separation of religious groups, strictly along confessional lines. According to this explanation, each *millet* had its own administrative jurisdiction, providing schools, hospitals, and legal administration for the members of its group. The urban *mahalles*, or quarters, supposedly prominently displayed these religious divisions, for in towns like Belgrade, Slavic and Turkish Muslims and Orthodox Serbs lived strictly separated, thereby precluding religious syncretism.

Ottoman historian Kemal Karpat follows Shaw's definition claiming that "each religious community had its own system of cultural values and loyalties which were often alien to each other..." The

Ottoman Porte, through the *millet* system, not only separated religious groups, but also "avoided" dealing with the *reaya*, communicating only through the *millet* leaders.⁴ Ottoman historian Roderic H. Davison adds his voice to this chorus, supporting Shaw and Karpat. Davison constructs the *millet* system as the "conceptual scheme" for the Ottoman *reaya*.⁵ The Ottoman *millet* system functioned as an efficient hierarchy starting with the Sultan and descending through the *millet-i bāsi* (patriarch) to the Orthodox *millet* subdivisions—Serbian, Bulgarian and Romanian. Each level maintained internal integrity with the *reaya* dependent upon the *millet* system for self-definition and understanding their own daily lives.

These historians, however, admit this system was not a completely static one. During the Ottoman Empire's Tanzimat Reform period (1839–1876), the Porte attempted to reform the *millets*. Ottoman reformers hoped to stem the tide of nationalism represented by the Serbian uprising of 1804 (*Prvi Ustanak*) and replace local loyalties with an allegiance to the *vatan* (Ottoman fatherland). However, the reforms supposedly only further isolated the Turkish Muslim population from the non-Turkish peoples, creating a purely Turkish nationalism but no broader loyalty. Therefore, these reforms simply divided the *reaya* along national and ethnic lines replacing the older religious divisions.⁶ For example, Serbs, Davison claims, only wanted an independent Serbia, free of all connections to the Ottoman Empire and non-Serbian groups.⁷ These ethnic and national divisions, this traditional interpretation implies, blocked all opportunities for religious syncretism and inter-group connections.

When compared to the preceding examination of Ottoman historiography, a brief survey of the historiography of the Balkans, Yugoslavia, and Serbia yields similar results concerning the *millet* system. Balkan historian Barbara Jelavich asserts "in his personal, daily life the Balkan peasant was surrounded by Christian symbols, by crosses and ikons, and not by reminders of Ottoman domination." Furthermore, through the *millet* system, prohibitions of inter-marriage and conversion further isolated the Balkan Christians from Balkan Muslims. Orthodox Church hierarchs and local priests, subsumed by the Porte from the pre-Ottoman conquest era, formed a chain of command which enforced these laws and "maintain[ed] the religious status quo."⁸ Thus, the strict divisions of the four main *millets*—Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and

Gregorian Armenian—strictly divided the religious groups one from another. Georges Castellat continues on the same theme claiming Balkan Christians were "confined" to the *Rum millet* ("Roman" *millet* or Christian *millet*), seemingly isolated from Muslims by religion and non-Orthodox Christians by "geographical and historical factors."⁹ In this manner, historiographical homogeneity exists between Ottoman and Balkan history concerning the *millet* system.

This homogeneity also extends to the narrower histories of the former Yugoslavia and Serbia. One standard history of Yugoslavia claims "two separate societies" existed in the Serbian countryside during the nineteenth century. Muslims lived as town dwellers (*varošani*) and Serbs as peasants with no contact between the two. Rural Serbian churches reinforced these distinctions and made rural Serbs "into a whole acting as their representatives, and promoting the idea of their unity."¹⁰ In this interpretation, the historians heavily emphasize Serbian autonomy and self-determination. This "separate" existence allowed the Serbian peasants to resist the Ottoman Empire and Islam at every turn. The Serbian parish priests, by promoting reverence for Serbian saints such as Sveti Sava and Sveti Simeon, also reinforced the rigid distinctions dictated by the *millet* system.¹¹

Michael B. Petrovich takes up this same argument in his history of nineteenth-century Serbia, placing the Serbian Church as the "legally confirmed organization of the Serbian *millet*." Although a separate "Serbian *millet*" did not actually exist, this fact does not erase his assertion that the Serbian Church stood at the center of Serbian Orthodoxy. The Serbs and "Turks," according to Petrovich, lived in "two mutually alien and hostile worlds" separated by urban-rural differences and the invisible yet persistent walls of the *millet* system. In fact, "Serbian peasant[s]... lived self-contained live[s]" meeting with Muslims only when the Serbs paid the non-Muslim capitation tax (*cizye*).¹²

II. Orthodox Historiography

A number of historians of the Orthodox Church have also studied the state of Orthodoxy under the Ottomans. They too construct the *millets* as a monolithic system which divided religious groups and preserved Orthodoxy during Ottoman domination. Through studying the *berats* (diplomas or privileges) issued by the Ottoman sultan to the Orthodox Patriarchate, these church historians trace the origins of the

millet system to the year after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. In 1454, Mehmed the Conqueror issued a *berat* detailing the formation of the Orthodox *millet* and appointing its first Greek patriarch.¹³ Balkan secular leaders, these historians maintain, either fled to neighboring lands or were killed by the Ottomans, thereby leaving the Church hierarchs as the only organized group of leaders in the Balkans. Therefore, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople became the "protector" of all Orthodox Christians within the Empire, taking all Balkan national churches under his jurisdiction. According to these *berats*, the Orthodox Patriarchate became an integral part of the Ottoman bureaucracy. The *Rum millet* functioned as an unbroken hierarchy from the local village priest to the Patriarch in Constantinople. Furthermore, the Greek Patriarch united all Orthodox peoples under his banner of Hellenism against the so called "Turkish yoke" and Islam.¹⁴

Serbian Orthodox historiography takes a somewhat different approach than these pan-Orthodox historians, but both groups of historians arrive at the same conclusions. Historians of Serbian Orthodoxy focus less on the *millet* system and more on the dual "Greek and Turkish yoke" of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth- centuries. Indeed, in his two volume history of the Serbian Church, Djoko Slijepčević does not specifically discuss the *millet* system, but rather concentrates on Greek oppression and the Serbs' "constant struggle against the Turks." Slijepčević also constructs Serbian Orthodoxy and Islam as two strictly divided religions, stating "The [Serbian] struggle was led with the slogan 'for the holy cross and freedom from the Turk's cap' and was unusually difficult." In his one volume history of the Serbian Church, Serbian-Canadian Paul Pavlovich essentially repeats Slijepčević's interpretation.¹⁵ According to their formulation, the Serbs and Muslims were locked in an inexorable struggle forever divided—never to breach their hatred. Thus, this interpretation closely parallels the Balkan and pan-Orthodox historians' views of the *millet* system.

Dušan Kašić develops a similar definition of Serbian resistance and domination by the "Turks." Kašić uses the "Great Migration" (*Velika Seoba*) of 1690 led by the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Arsenius III to contextualize the Serbian "struggle" (*borba*) against the Ottomans. Arsenius led 37,000 followers from the Serbian Patriarchate of Peć, Kosovo, to the Austrian Empire when the Austrians invited these Serbs

to settle in Vojvodina and Croatia. The Austrians extended this invitation to oppose their military foes—the Ottomans.¹⁶ After Arsenius left Kosovo, the Serbs who remained there, Kašić argues, lived "naked barren lives," cut off from all contact with the Serbian Church and isolated amongst their Muslim enemies. Thus, Kašić, like Slijepčević, constructs Serbs and Muslims as two interminably opposed groups who never breached religious divisions. Kašić also finds the historical roots for this conflict as far back as the 1690s which, he claims, persisted throughout Ottoman control of Serbia.¹⁷ While not discussing the *millet* system per se, these Serbian Orthodox historians create a separation between Muslims and Serbs that mirrors the supposed separation dictated by the *millet* system. Therefore, both Kašić and Slijepčević maintain historiographical continuity with the pan-Orthodox and Balkan historians.

Slijepčević, Kašić, and others extend this formulation of the Serbian "struggle" to the period of Greek control of the Serbian Church. After a period of dormancy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman grand vizier Mehmed Sokollu (Sokolović) restored the Serbian Patriarchate at Peć in 1557. Sokollu, who was originally a Bosnian Serb and was taken in the *devşirme*, appointed his brother Marcarius patriarch, which ensured Serbian church independence for over two centuries. However, by the 1750s, the Greek patriarch in Istanbul worked to curtail Serbian autonomy and Hellenize the Serbian Church.¹⁸

In 1766, Sultan Mustafa III issued a *berat* permanently ending Serbian Church autonomy and placing Peć directly under the Greek patriarch, Samuel I. Greek merchants (Phanariots) moved into Serbia and purchased positions within the Serbian Church hierarchy, beginning the "Domination of the Phanariots" in Serbia. Church historian Peter Kawerau asserts these Greeks worked "hand in hand" with the Ottomans against the Church. This Ottoman-Greek collaboration, Kawerau argues, "opened an abyss of hatred and distrust" between the Greeks and Serbs. Slijepčević points out that the Serbian monks and parish priests resisted the hellenization of the Serbian liturgy unlike their Slavic brethren in Bulgaria who succumbed. Thus, the Serbs' "struggle" against the Greeks and hellenization mirrored their fight against the Porte and Islamization. Furthermore, this historiographical strain into which Slijepčević, Kawerau, and others tap has a long tradition. Ivan Ivanić, publishing in

1902, presents an early virulent anti-Greek stance in modern historical literature. According to Ivanić, a triumvirate of Greeks, Ottomans, and Bulgarians harshly oppressed the Serbian Church in its "struggle" to be free.¹⁹ Church historian Šabačko-Valjevski Bishop Jovan sees a continuation of the dual "struggle" against the Greeks and Ottomans in the Serbs' "First Uprising" (*Prvi Ustanak*) against the Ottomans in 1804. During this and later uprisings, Serbian patriots Karadjordje and Miloš fought to release the Church from this Greek and Ottoman "slavery." This eventually took place under Miloš when Sultan Mahmud II issued a *hatti-şerif* (decree) in 1830, giving the Serbian church autonomy.²⁰

Bishop Jovan, Kawerau, Slijepčević, Pavlovich, Ivanić, and Kašić assume the institutional history of the Serbian Patriarchate mirrors nineteenth-century Serbian peasants' attitudes toward Serbian Orthodoxy, Muslims, and Greeks. Kawerau best exemplifies this strain of Serbian Orthodox historiography, positing that throughout "...the entire history of the Serbian church, one sees how *church and state* were always linked and how the Church through the mouths of its priests prophesied for centuries the return to better days and revenge..."²¹ To be sure, the Serbian patriarchate experienced a turbulent period between the 1750s and the 1830s, fighting hellenization and lobbying for autonomy from the Greek patriarch in Constantinople. Karadjordje and Miloš helped worked towards these goals, and Miloš successfully cemented the link between Serbian church and state. Yet, this is not the entire picture. From these histories, one has no notion of the Serbian peasants' worship habits, relations with Slavic, Turkish, and Albanian Muslims and Islam, and what role religion played on a day-to-day basis. A zealous anti-Turkish sentiment also runs throughout this historiography, obscuring any contact which Serbian peasants may have had with Muslims. The history of church independence and institutional resistance to the Phanariots and Ottomans does not equal the history of Serbian peasants who lived far from the centers of power in Belgrade, Sremski Karlovići, Istanbul, and Peć.

III. Popular Religion

Numerous Orthodox and Balkan historians notice the chasm which existed between the nineteenth-century Serbian Orthodox establishment and Serbian peasants. First, the clergy who served the Serbian countryside were often uneducated, unfamiliar with Serbian

Orthodoxy, and concerned only with personal gain rather than the peasants' spiritual needs. Second, many educated Church clergy by the mid-nineteenth century looked to western Europe for answers to philosophical and theological questions, thereby rejecting their Orthodox training and traditions. Third, fewer monks from the Serbian monastery on Mt. Athos, Hilandar, roamed the Serbian countryside than in the previous centuries, because Hilandar, during the nineteenth century, lost its Serbian character with mainly Bulgarian, Greek, and Russian monks running the monastery. Under foreign control, Hilandar also no longer represented a place of learning where Serbian priests could go.²² Fourth, and most importantly, the Serbian peasants' religion frequently did not follow the forms proscribed by the Serbian hierarchy, as they blended pre-Christian and Islamic traditions with Serbian Orthodoxy. But the same historians who recognize the first three issues do not acknowledge the fourth point. They maintain that Serbs and Muslims lived forever isolated from one another.

Even a cursory examination of nineteenth-century Serbian popular religion clearly disproves the theory that Serbs and Muslims stood strictly segregated either because of the *millet* system or out of fear and hatred of each other. One cannot deny that Serbs, by law and custom, paid deference to Muslims throughout the period of the Ottoman control of Serbia. Indeed, historian Dimitrije Djordjević cites the well-known Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić's recounting of Serb and Muslim interaction: "If a Turkish master passes, the *Rayah* [sic] must stand up and provide passage, even wade in the mud up to his knees..." The Ottomans adapted this and other "disabilities" on non-Muslims from the seventh century regulation of Christians and Jews in Muslim controlled Jerusalem.²³ But such legal proscriptions did not mean that Serbs and Muslims strictly avoided one another.

Sociologist Anthony Giddens offers an analytical framework within which one can place Serb and Muslim interaction and the religious syncretism which developed from this interplay. Giddens posits that in a social system involving unequally distributed power, the controlling "structure is both enabling and constraining." In fact, a "dialectic of control" exists in such situations in which the "weak" exercise "autonomy" and shape and use the structures which control them.²⁴ Nineteenth-century Serbian peasants used popular religion as part of this "dialectic of control." They shaped and re-shaped their religious

practices using Islamic and pre-Christian forms with their own, thereby exercising autonomy and using religion to fit their daily needs. Furthermore, this framework applies for the various layers of control under which the Serbian peasants lived, such as the Ottomans, the Serbian state after independence from the Empire, and the Serbian Church. Through religious syncretism, Serbian peasants changed their own religious world, but also altered the Muslims' world. Moreover, they forced the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy to acknowledge the gulf existing between Serbian proscribed religion and popular religion when nineteenth-century Church leaders outlawed pre-Christian religious practices. These church hierarchs reissued fourteenth-century prohibitions against "pagan" practices first promulgated by the Serbian emperor Dušan in his *Zakonik*.²⁵

The celebration of the Serbian Orthodox *slava*—a family's feast and reverence for its patron saint—typifies Serbian peasant religious syncretism in the nineteenth century. The *slava* also highlights the decentralized nature of Serbian Orthodoxy, for this celebration required no church building or participation of the clergy. Indeed, the clergy, usually traveling on horseback, only visited villages three times per year, with little preaching taking place during these visits.²⁶ Therefore, rural Serbs stood free from any specific Church dictates on the *slava*, and developed their own forms, incumbent upon regional needs. These "private celebrations" took place in Serbs' homes, combining pre-Christian elements of ancestor worship with Orthodox liturgical forms, such as the saint's icon and prayers. They also invited the whole village, both Serb and Muslim, to attend the *slava*. Muslims in Serbia attended the celebration of Marko Kraljević in large numbers. He was a semi-mythical character who performed amazing feats of physical prowess, and served as a protector of Serbs. Muslims in Serbia also celebrated their own *slavas* of Serbian Orthodox saints, frequently viewing the Serbian saints as guardians of their homes and children.²⁷

Other Serbian celebrations contained religious syncretism, including pilgrimage and daily prayers. Orthodox Serbs who made the trek to Jerusalem and on more local pilgrimages to the grave sites of Serbian saints often added the prefix *Hadži* to their surnames. This prefix, taken from the Turkish lone word *hadji*, denotes either a trip to Mecca or Jerusalem symbolizing the pilgrim's devotion to God. In this manner, Serbian pilgrims merged Islamic and Orthodox forms to create a permanent sign of religious syncretism in their transformed surnames.

Concerning prayer, Vuk Karadžić wrote that Serbs prayed three times daily, twice at meal time. Village males washed their hands before the evening meal and prayer, as Vuk pointed out, similar to Turkish Muslim custom. Serbian praying habits also paralleled Muslim ritual regarding separation of the genders. When a Serb family prayed, the man stood in front while the women and children remained behind him.²⁸ Although the *slava*, pilgrimage, and prayer evidence is scant, clearly a pattern emerges of religious syncretism. These religious formations indicate a real intermingling of Serbs and Muslims despite both the *millet* system and the "hatred" which they supposedly felt for each other.

In healing rituals, Serb and Muslim peasants also employed syncretic religious forms in their medicine and curative actions. Milenko S. Filipović found numerous examples of "baptized Muslims" in nineteenth-century Serbia. Muslim parents baptized their children in Serbian churches, hoping to cure them or improve their chances for a good life. Frequently, these Muslim parents had already experienced infant deaths and wanted Serbian Orthodox baptism "for its magic protection." After baptism, Muslims would often give their children a Christian name, such as Stojan or Živko which was used in conjunction with their Muslim names. Stojan is related to the Serbo-Croatian verb *stajati* meaning to stand while Živko takes its meaning from the verb *živeti*, to live. Some Muslims would also practice the Serbian tradition of *kumstvo*, a form of godfatherhood sanctified by Serbian Orthodox Church ritual. Performing *kum* gave the child a new godfather and thus guardian to keep him/her from harm. Therefore, the baptism served as a curative as well as a transformative process, giving the Muslim child a Serbian Orthodox identity while retaining his/her Muslim one. In the same manner, Serbian parents, whose infants had died, gave their surviving children Muslim names acting upon a similar belief in "magic action."²⁹

Muslims and Serbs practiced other forms of curative actions based upon syncretic religious forms. For example, Serbian women chanted a healing song to cure men of minor ailments while Muslim women followed the same ritual reciting Koranic verses. Muslims also visited Serbian Orthodox "sacred places" and priests, hoping to cure their ailments. In the same vein, barren Serbian women went to *tekkes* (*derviş* meeting places), seeking fertility. These Muslim mystics had close ties with their *tekkes* as holy places, thereby making these buildings

important sites of "magical" curative powers. Serbs also believed the Muslim spirits or *djinn* caused some ailments and sought the help of Muslim healers for exorcism when *djinn* played a role in illness.³⁰

In a final syncretic healing form, some Serbian married couples also practiced the custom of "vicarious paternity." When their husbands were infertile, Serbian wives could have sex with another man, only for the sake of procreation. Indeed, this tradition contained a religious significance as families struggled to have a son so that he could carry on the family *slava*. This practice has a striking parallel to Muslim polygamy merely altered to informal polyandry.³¹ In all of these healing practices, Serbian peasants from their "weaker" position below the Ottoman and Serbian states and Serbian Orthodox institutions shaped and re-shaped a facet of their social system—religion. Visiting *tekkes*, taking Muslim names, and practicing informal polyandry allowed the Serbian peasants to deal with the situations in which they found themselves without totally changing their identities. Furthermore, they forced Muslims through baptism, *kum*, and name taking to acknowledge their place within Serbian society as well as the influence of their version of Serbian Orthodoxy.

IV. Conclusions

Historians frequently cite similar examples of religious syncretism in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the Muslim population was much larger than that of Serbia. However, few historians and students of Serbia have seen any such religious inter-mingling in Serbia proper. The *millet* system, "hatred," and Serbian independence supposedly permanently divided Serbs and Muslims into "two mutually alien and hostile worlds." While Serbs revolted twice in the early nineteenth century and became a vassal state in 1829 paying tribute to the Porte, Serbia remained within the Ottoman Empire until the 1870s. Therefore, in theory, the *millet* system existed in Serbia until the late nineteenth century, and its effects persisted far beyond that. However, when examining popular religion among Serbian Orthodox peasants, a prominent pattern of religious syncretism emerges. Muslims and Orthodox Serbs did not live in "hostile worlds," but rather in spheres that frequently came in contact with each other. Serbian peasants, despite their lack of formal power, structured and re-structured their religious worlds affecting both the Muslims and the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy.

To further examine the *millet* system and Orthodox-Islam syncretism, this study must be extended more deeply into nineteenth century Serbia as well as other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

¹ Steven Runciman, *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular State* (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1971), 28–29 and Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1 *The Central Lands*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 69–70.

² Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe Under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 231–32; Braude, 75.

³ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1 *Empire of the Gazis, The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1208–1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 151. While this citation comes from the volume which ends in 1808, Shaw constructs the *millet* system as eternal and monolithic changing neither over time nor space.

⁴ Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 31 and 39.

⁵ Roderic H. Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," in *Essay in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774–1923*, ed. Roderic H. Davison (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 112. Originally published in *American Historical Review* 59 (July 1954): 844–864. For similar formulations of the *millet* system, also see B.R. Özoran, "Turks and the Greek Orthodox Church," *Cultura Turcica* 2 (1965): 28–41 and Kemal S. Abu Jaber, "The *Millet* System in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," *Muslim World* 57 (1967): 212–23.

⁶ Karpat, 88. Through these Tanzimat reforms, the Ottoman Turkish word *millet* took on the meaning of "nation" similar to the German word *Volk* or Serbo-Croatian *narod*.

⁷ Karpat, 91; Davison, 119; Stanford J. Shaw and Exel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2 *Reform Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 123–28.

⁸ Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol.1 *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 49–53.

⁹ Georges Castellan, *Balkan History: Mohammed the Conqueror to Stalin*, trans. Nicholas Bradley (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Monographs, 1993), 138. See also L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans, 1815-1914* (New York: Holt, Rhinhart & Winston, 1963).

¹⁰ Vladimir Dedijer, Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirkorvić, and Milorad Ekmečić, *History of Yugoslavia*, trans. Kordija Kveder (New York: McGraw Hill, 1974), 185 and 223. One must also note the Marxist historical interpretation employed by this group of historians. The Ottomans and Greeks appear as the bourgeoisie while the Serbs are the oppressed rural proletariat.

¹¹ These two saints are the two most revered saints in the panoply of fifty-eight Serbian saints whom members of the Serbian Orthodox Church revere. Sava gained autonomy for the Serbian Church in the early thirteenth century from the beleaguered Byzantine empire while his father Nemanja (Sveti Simeon) founded the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mt. Athos.

¹² Michael Boro Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804-1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1976), 10-12.

¹³ Benjamin Braude disputes the actual means by which the first patriarch of the Greek *millet* was appointed. Numerous religious historians claim that Mehmed the Conqueror personally appointed Genadios as the first patriarch in 1454 in the typical Byzantine ceremony. Braude, however, labels this interpretation a "myth" and claims the process was far less formal than the religious historians imply. See Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System."

¹⁴ Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 96-7; Theodore H. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People Under Turkish Domination* (Brussels: Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris, 1952; New York: AMS Press, 1973), 8-12 and 22-3; Steven Runciman *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople From the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 167 and 181; Runciman, *The Orthodox Churches and the Secular State*, 30-43; Alexander Schmemmann, *The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy*, trans. Lydia W. Kesich (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1963), 273-78; Karpat, 35.

¹⁵ Djoko Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve* vol. 1 *Od Pokršćavanja Srba do kraja XVII Veka* (Dusseldorf: Ostrog, 1978), 345. "Borba se vodila sa geslom <<za krst časni i slobodu zlatnu>> i bila je neobično teška." Paul Pavlovich, *The History of the Serbian Orthodox Church* (Toronto: Serbian Heritage Books, 1989), 88-102 and 184-199.

¹⁶ Peter Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte: Das Christentum in Südost-und Osteuropa* (Lovanii: Aedibus E. Peeters, 1984), 186.

¹⁷ Dušan Kašić, "Srpska Crkva pod Turcima," in *Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva, 1219-1969* (Beograd: n.p., 1969), 155-57.

¹⁸ George A. Maloney, *The History of Orthodox Theology Since 1453* (Bellmont, MA: Nordland, 1976), 251; Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 379-80, and Kašić, 160.

¹⁹ Kawerau, 186-88; Michael Boro Petrovich, 13 and 133-34; Samuel Carnegie Calian, *Theology Without Boundaries: Encounters of Eastern Orthodoxy and Western Tradition*. (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 68; John Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church: Its Past and Its Role in the World Today*, trans. John Chapin (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981), 89-90, Nicolas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (London: Shenval Press, 1961), 171; Slijepčević, vol. 1, 482-83; R. M. French, *Serbian Church Life* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942), 2, and Ivan Ivanić, *Iz crkvene istorije Srba u Turskoj u XVIII. i XIX Veku* (Beograd: Rada, 1902).

²⁰ Šabačko-Valjevski Bishop Jovan, "Srpska Crkva u Srbiji od 1804 do 1918 Godine," in *Srpska Pravoslavna Crkva, 1219-1969*, 291-95; Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 59.

²¹ "...man die Geschichte der serbischen Kirche im ganzen, so sieht man, wie Kirche und Nation immer solidarisch gewesen sind, wie die Kirche durch den Mund ihrer Priester jahrhundertlang die Rückkehr besserer Tage und die Ravanche..." Kawerau, 190. For another quintessential example, see Michael Boro Petrovich, 13.

²² Zernov, 188; Schmemmann, 290; Maloney, 257; Miodrag B. Petrovich, "A Retreat From Power: The Serbian Orthodox Church and Its Opponents, 1868-1889," *Serbian Studies* 1 (Spring 1981): 3-14, Slavko P. Todorovich, *The Chilandarians: Serbian Monks on the Green Mountain* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Monographs, 1989), 101, and Ivanić, 23-31. This split between Serbian church and society also took place in the Church in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. See Kosta Milutinović, *Vojvodina i Dalmacija, 1769-1914* (Novi Sad: Prosveta, 1973), 47-50.

²³ Dimitrije Djordjević, "An Attempt at the Impossible: Stages of Modernization of the Balkan Peasantry in the 19th Century," *Balkanica* 8 (1977): 322; Ivo Andrić, *The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia Under The Influence of Turkish Rule*, trans. Želimir B. Juričić and John F. Loud (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 23-4.

²⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 37–39 and Ewa Morawska, *For Bread With Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3–13. Morawska develops similar power relations for Serbian and other eastern European immigrants in the context of the industrial United States.

²⁵ P. Kemp, *Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935), 166.

²⁶ Joel M. Halpern, *A Serbian Village: Social and Cultural Change in a Yugoslav Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 15 and French, 35.

²⁷ French, 52; Kemp, 179–81; Vuk Karadžić, *Sabrana Dela Vuka Karadžića* vol. 17, *Etnografski Spisi* eds., Golub Dobrašanović, et. al. (Beograd: Prosveta, 1964), 320–21 and W. Denton, *Servia and Servians* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), 71.

²⁸ French, 22; Karadžić, 357–58 and Pavlovich, 186.

²⁹ Milenko S. Filipović, "Baptized Moslems," *Collected Works of the Ethnographic Institute of the Serbian Academy of Science* (Belgrade: n.p., 1951), 1–12; B. Kerewsky-Halpern and J.M. Halpern, "Vuk's Anthropological Descriptions and Contemporary Serbian Village Life," *Serbian Studies* 6 (1992): 23–30, and Kemp, 83.

³⁰ Kemp, 121; Milenko S. Filipović, "Folk Religion Among the Orthodox Population of Eastern Yugoslavia: Some Remarks and Considerations," in *Harvard Slavic Studies* vol. 2, ed., Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 373–74; Milan Filipović, "Vicarious Paternity Among Serbs and Croats," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 14 (1958): 156–67; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "djinn" and "darwish." H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen describe Orthodox and Muslim syncretism involving holy sights in eighteenth century Anatolia and the Balkans. Gibb and Bowen assert "The veneration of saints and a belief in the magical efficacy of sites and objects connected with them was perhaps the most marked feature both of Orthodox Christianity and this heterodox Muhammadanism in their more popular forms. It came to pass, consequently, that throughout the Balkans and Asia Minor many saints and shrines were venerated and visited in common by both religions." See H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, vol. 1, pt. 2 *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 192.

³¹ Milan Filipović, 160–67. Certainly, religious syncretism between Balkan Christians and Muslims was not strictly confined to Serbian Orthodox peasants.

Fernand Braudel, for example, recounts the veiling and sequestering of Roman Catholic women in sixteenth century Ragusa (Dubrovnik). In this manner, Balkan Roman Catholics used Muslim custom as their own. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 2: 777–80.

RASTKO PETROVIĆ,
DIPLOMAT AND WRITER, IN THE USA

Vasa D. Mihailovich
University of North Carolina

Rastko Petrović, a leading Serbian writer of the twentieth century, was a poet by avocation and a diplomat by profession. He served in the diplomatic service in Belgrade (December 10, 1923–November 10, 1926), and September 25, 1930–October 25, 1935), in Italy (January 1, 1926–August 25, 1930), and from the end of 1935 to the beginning of 1945 in the United States.¹ His nine years in the United States are by far the most important period of his diplomatic career.

Before entering the diplomatic service, Rastko was a writer. It was only natural that he would continue to write upon arriving as a vice-consul in Chicago on November 14, 1935. His most important literary work in America was the completion of his novel *Dan šesti*. He was also the first Serbian writer to write a novel set in America. The second part of this novel takes place in Washington and in New England. The tenuous connection with the first part, which deals with the heroic and traumatic retreat of the Serbian army through the Albanian mountains in 1915, is maintained only through three characters: the protagonist of both parts, Stevan Papa-Katić; a woman he met during his trek through Albania; and a young woman at whose birth he assisted on the same trek twenty three-years ago. It is beside the point here how believable all this is; the possible though unlikely reunion on this side of the Atlantic serves Petrović to complete his main character's quest for harmony, which he finds, pointedly enough, in America. It is not coincidental that one of the novel's most likable characters, a young American, Bill, expresses the yearning of a new generation for unity with nature and with his country's past that also points to the future.

The novel also allows the author to make observations about America, its history, its people, and its way of life. A professor of paleontology, Papa-Katić had to go through the familiar ritual of an immigrant—polishing floors, painting walls, and cleaning horse stalls during the day and going to school at night. Interestingly, he does not develop emotional ties with his new homeland, although he shows

appreciation for what it has done for him. He finds Americans friendly and hospitable, ready to sing and to cry at the movies yet thinking that everything has a monetary value and measuring success by wealth. Rastko also offers snapshots of American life: the nightclubs and bars of Washington; fishing at an Indian reservation; a view of the Civil War as frightening in its beauty and educational in its senselessness; unavoidable parties and receptions; the political situation in America in the thirties; and a typical Anglo-Saxon immigrant family. The seemingly inseparable part of American life—violent death, be it of a hobo in the hills of New Hampshire or the accidental death of the main character during a hunt in the same hills—completes the picture.

It is interesting that Papa-Katić, a prominent scholar and a Nobel-Prize winner, is the happiest when associating with his compatriots, including the young girl at whose birth he had assisted and whom he finally marries, as if to say that true transplantation can succeed only through several generations. How much all this expresses the author's own views and sentiments is impossible to say, and it is immaterial. More important is the fact that this is the first attempt in Serbian literature to place an entire novel in America.

Petrović's other work from America, a play called *The Sibirian Women (Sibinjanke)*,² was written in English and perhaps for that reason has fewer ties with the author's homeland. Unfortunately, it tells us even less about America, unless we consider a plot about a murder, so prevalent on TV screens nowadays, as being typically American. Even so, the plot is weak, showing only how a privileged few live a seemingly useless life and die an even more senseless death.

One of the most passionate travelers in modern Serbian literature, Rastko left behind letters full of impressions about America. In a 1936 letter to the wife of the poet Milan Rakić, under whom Rastko served in Rome, he says:

America is a pastoral country, the greatest pastoral country in the world.... In the midst of cities with millions of people, hundred-story buildings and six-lane highways people have retained their pastoral looks, childlike serenity and hospitality.... I have entered hundreds of families, dined in their home, sometimes spent the night. Here people immediately adopt you, yet

they are interested in you only if you let them.... They adore you while you are with them and, like children, forget you as soon as the door closes behind you. Nowhere is it so pleasant, simple, and free of ceremony as in a company here.³

Rastko does not overlook things that are not so flattering: barbaric food full of sickeningly sweet creams and dressings; insane driving habits which make one's heart stop in horror; evaluating everything in numbers; and love which begins with an introduction in the evening and stops before dawn. Yet, he is firmly convinced that it is impossible not to fall in love with America.

Rastko took advantage of his stay in America to make extensive journeys in U.S.A., Canada, Cuba, and Mexico. He used his trips primarily to study the life of Indians and Mexicans, the same urge that earlier took him to countries in Africa and elsewhere. One of his duties, which he executed with delight, was to keep contact with the Yugoslav, primarily Serbian, immigrants, although he did not participate directly in the work of Serbian organizations. He was well received in both official and private circles and made friends easily.

The American segment of Rastko's diplomatic career is interesting in several ways. On the one hand, it cannot be said that it resulted in earth-shaking achievements; after all, he was only a vice-consul, seldom in a position to decide about historic matters. On the other hand, he was always conscientious on the job, putting in a diligent and honest amount of work, as illustrated by a traffic accident in Washington in which, through no fault of his own, he was badly hurt, yet he refused to lie in bed but continued to work. He always created good will and useful contacts with American diplomats and Yugoslav immigrants, and represented his country in the best light possible and with dignity. He worked primarily in the embassy in Washington, but also in the consulates in Chicago and New York. Time and again, his superiors praised his endeavors. The consul in Chicago called him "a diplomatic official of impeccable conduct, diligent and totally trustworthy, who carries out his duties, general and confidential, with understanding and devotion."⁴ Whenever the ambassador, Konstantin Fotić, was looking for a reliable and worthy person—to substitute for him, for example, when he was on extended vacations—he summoned Rastko

from Chicago, even though he was not of the highest rank among the available personnel.

There are seventy-four official reports by Rastko from Chicago and Washington, published recently in Belgrade.⁵ Most of them contain material about the activities among American Serbs and among fellow diplomats, as well as discerning analyses of the events and topics of concern to Yugoslavia. In addition to being astute and to the point, these reports also reveal Rastko's innate literary ability to add a human touch, thus making the reports anything but cut and dry.

Because of his excellent work record, Fotić recommended him for a promotion to a minister at the embassy during World War II, but his recommendation was turned down, for any of several reasons. One possible reason was that Rastko had acquired, rightly or wrongly, the reputation of a Serbian nationalist, which was frowned upon by the then all-Yugoslav government in London (a set of circumstances that forced Jovan Dučić to resign from his diplomatic service). Even some Serbs, for example Milan Grol, considered Rastko to be a chauvinist, as he writes in his *Dnevnik* on August 2, 1942: ". . . Rastko—as he has always been—without a clear character. And a chauvinist! Bizarre ideas in the arts, flirting with Marxism, a spiritual revolutionary, and 'Velikosrbini' in harmony with Dučić. Here is an example of a man who discusses and collects ideas, as in a museum, but does not experience them, does not work for them, and, when all is put together, values everything more than his moral personality. A spiritual sport in a sterile soul and plenty of bluff."⁶ Similar accusations were leveled at Rastko by his personal friend and a colleague, Marko Ristić, who even refused to answer Rastko's inquiry about a possible return to Yugoslavia after World War II.

Rastko complained bitterly against such accusations, rejecting them vehemently. In a letter to a friend, Professor Réne Etienne in Chicago, he tried to explain such attacks: ". . . I believe that I have always sincerely tried to remain free and honest, and I have always admired those who have gone through life unscathed: I did not know that to retain connections with the homeland (which, in fact, is a very small country) means to be an imperialist. I am afraid that, if mankind has not suffered so much, we would have been pulled out by our roots. I don't believe that being a Serb is more important than being a Chinese or Indian, but I believe that the reactions of one's spirit to a national

belonging is natural. I don't allow myself to be called a chauvinist, because I have never been that. . ."⁷ Most likely, such animosity against Rastko stemmed from ideological disagreements or envy, or both.

Rastko collected the material for a book, *Borba jednog naroda za opstanak*, a collection of clippings from the American press about the coup of the 27th of March and Yugoslavia's entrance into the war, which Fotić published at the beginning of 1944. Rastko contributed three pieces to an anthology of European writers, *The Heart of Europe*, selecting the poems of Milan Dedinac, an excerpt from a novel by Dragiša Vasić, and excerpts from the manuscript of Slobodan Jovanović. He also wrote a long letter to the publisher of the same anthology, in which he expressed his opinions about the inter-war Yugoslav literature as being one literature—this at the time of a fierce battle between the Serbs and Croats in the homeland and in the government in London.

When in July 1944 Konstantin Fotić left his ambassadorial post in Washington because of his disagreement with the government policy in London, Rastko was ordered to the legation in Lisbon, but he never went there. On January 13, 1945 he was relieved of diplomatic duty, and three months later he was threatened by the communist government in Yugoslavia with stoppage of salary if he did not return to Yugoslavia by the first transport. Rastko refused, which brought his long diplomatic career to a close.

He remained in Washington four more years, without a job and without pay. He worked on his novel and on plays in English. He tried to keep in touch with his old friends in Yugoslavia, thinking about the possibility of his return, especially with Marko Ristić, but there were no answers. Rastko died suddenly of a sunstroke on August 15, 1949, and was buried in the Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington. For a long time his grave was hardly visited, except by a few close friends. Finally, in June 1986 the authorities in Belgrade allowed for his remains to be returned to Belgrade, where he was interred in the family tomb in the presence of many old and new admirers.

Detailed and official opinions of Konstantin Fotić about Rastko are to be found in Fotić's papers, which are deposited in the Hoover Institute at Stanford. There must be records in the State Department concerning Rastko's activities, meetings, and conversations with American officials. These are matters for the future research. As far as this effort is concerned, let me conclude by saying that Rastko Petrović's

service to his country in the United States was exemplary and of a quality similar to his literary achievements, which, as we all know, is very high. He did his country, his distinguished family, and himself proud. That is why it is poetic justice that, after decades of mistrust and misunderstanding, his remains were returned to his beloved country, thus creating an invisible link with it and the country in which he spent nine fruitful years for the benefit of both nations.

¹ Most of the biographical material has been taken from Radovan Popović, *Izabrani čovek ili život Rastka Petrovića* (Belgrade, 1986), and Miladin Milošević, *Rastko Petrović: Diplomatski spisi* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1994).

² Rastko Petrović, *Sbinjanke* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1974).

³ Radovan Popović, "Daleko u noći ili dolazak Rastka Petrovića u Ameriku." *Književna reč* (10 June 1986), 13. Translation is mine.

⁴ Milošević, 29.

⁵ Edited by Miladin Milošević (1994).

⁶ Milan Grol, *Londonski dnevnik*, Belgrade, 1990, 163.

⁷ Milošević, 33.

THE POETICS OF EPIPHANY:
THE LITERARY OEUVRE OF MILORAD PAVIĆ

Jelena Milojković-Djurić
University of Texas, Austin

The novels of Milorad Pavić could be compared to a temporal palimpsest safeguarding historical, cultural and political testimonies of the past in counterpoint with the present events. The protagonists of his novels, the archetypal, historic as well as fictional characters, are not limited to a remote historic time but are linked to the concept of a contemporary world. Pavić's narratives point to the existence of a more or less constant human nature as recorded from the earliest to the present time: Radaca alias Leander and Hero, the two protagonists of the novel *Unutrašnja strana vetra* (The Inner Side of the Wind),¹ live in different times separated by more than 200 years. Yet their life stories reflect similar traits cast long before their own times. In Radaca's words: "The contact is still possible." Pavić managed to transcend any particular time frame pointing to the consistency of human quests throughout a historical vertical.

Pavić taught comparative literature at the Universities of Novi Sad and Belgrade. He wrote scholarly papers and books discussing the literature of the Baroque, Classic and early Romantic periods.² Moreover, Pavić conducted copious research in the archives and libraries in Paris, Rome, Venice, Dubrovnik, Saint-Andrea, Saint Petersburg, Zagreb and Belgrade, among other places. He served also as a co-editor, with Radovan Samardžić, preparing for publication the collected ethnographic works of Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić. Pavić acknowledged the beneficial influence of Karadžić's works broadening his knowledge of native folklore and ethnography.³

Over the years, the reading of archival sources expanded his knowledge of the past and of the public and private lives of remarkable men and women as well as the population at large. He researched various deliberations, adjudications, and rulings.⁴ In addition, he examined the everyday life as reflected in some literary and subliterate genres, theatrical productions, puppet shows, circus plays, ancient card games, fortune telling. He studied the customs pertaining to various festivities celebrating the seasons and the bounty of the earth. He often

wrote about the sharing of food as an important aspect of the feast, bringing people together in a communality.

Pavić's narratives reflect his wide interest in all things human that touch the lives and dreams of men and women. Hence his interest in primary genres of communications such as monologues, dialogues and polemics with the present or absent interlocutors. Language is important since it becomes the locus of interaction between the characters in a novel bringing to life social, territorial, and professional affiliations, including archaic and vulgate elements. His literary oeuvre points to his immersion in the differentiated unity of discourses of an epoch.⁵

Moreover, Pavić's narratives encompass bold flights of imagination and fantastic elements, while preserving a sense of uncertainty and provisionality. His novels show a new way of juxtaposing historical reference with a phantasmagoric metanarrative. The woof of Pavić's narratives is enriched with the inclusion of different genres: parable, allegory, tale, proverbs, myth, hagiography, parody.⁶ All these insertions punctuate and diffuse the progression of action in a novel enabling, in turn, a new way of reading. The reader should be carried forward not merely by a desire to arrive at the final solution, but by the attractions of the journey itself changing at will.

Pavić aimed to introduce a new way of reading, instead of one that moves like life from beginning to end, from birth to death. The reader may decide to use Pavić's books in a number of ways: some will look up parts that interest them, others may read them in their entirety so to gain a complete picture of the people, issues, and events connected with it. He considered that any new way of reading against the matrix of time is a futile but honest effort to resist the inexorability of one's fate, in literature at least, if not in reality.

By obscuring the temporal divisions, Pavić attempted to lay open his world as a cross-section of pure simultaneity and coexistence. There are frequent attempts to obscure the chronology of events: from this point of view, all essentials can exist simultaneously.

Pavić strove for exemplariness in order to discern the basic, elemental situations that characterize humankind as a whole rather than individual pursuits.⁷ These well chosen circumstantial situations go well beyond the transcription of everyday realities. The action in his novels advances bit by bit by agglutination of newly written and/or previously written narratives presenting independently a plurality of versions of the

surface of a plot. In arranging the succession of the stories he continually displayed their darkly pitted as well as redemptive sides.

Pavić's novels often include his earlier written stories.⁸ Such an unfolding of the narrative could be compared with the progression of an epic work where the single episodes maintain internal coherence when taken out of the given context.⁹ Alfred Döblin described such a structure as an epic apposition. Each element in an epic work remains autonomous, instead of being subordinated to a single culminating point as it happens in the drama. Döblin compared the epic and dramatic narratives and suggested that the epic works are governed by an inherent unity similar to a musical composition. He declared the dramatic structure as static and similar to a sculpture. By contrast, the structure of an epic work is flexible and malleable since each element remains autonomous, instead of being subordinated to a single culminating point as it happens in the drama. Döblin praised the intransitivity of the separate parts of epic works and their autonomy. He considered the works of Homer, Dante, Cervantes, including some folk tales as foremost examples of epic literature.

In the end, the world of Pavić's novel's is that of a humanist transmitting a plurality of voices from the past repositories in order to facilitate the understanding of the present. Such is his appreciation of the legacy of the ancient Byzantine commonwealth. Pavić considers himself to be an heir of this legacy embedded in the cultural consciousness of his own time.¹⁰

Who better to illustrate this influence than the hero of the novel *The Inner Side of the Wind*: Radaca's social and ethical make up reflected some essential values, shaped by the Byzantine culture. By and large, the Byzantine subjects identified with their religion more than with their ethnic or national denominations. This attitude persisted when the Turkish invasion flooded the Balkans.¹¹ Radaca himself learned early in his childhood to partake in the liturgical services memorizing the ancient Serbian Chant transmitted orally from one generation to another. He was not an exception: all his forebears from Herzegovina learned to sing in church the liturgical stichera in their childhood before reaching school age.¹²

The Serbian Chant was based on the Byzantine *Octoechos*, a musical system incorporating modal melodic inflections. The theoretical music book, *papadika*, reflected the religious teaching about the duality

of human nature recognizing the body and the soul. Therefore, the musical intervals were divided in two groups called bodies—*somata* and souls—*pneumata*. In musical terms, the *somata* were represented with intervals of a second occurring in a gradual melodic development. The soul, considered as superior and free from material and bodily weight, encompassed larger interval progressions enabling leaps of melodic imagination.¹³ Moreover, the monasteries and churches where the Orthodox Christians gathered, were built in accordance with the Byzantine architectural style. The frescoes and icons decorating the walls from inside were conceived and executed in concordance with the Byzantine pictorial conventions. Many of these monasteries served also as schools, scriptoria and centers for the diffusion of Byzantine-Slavic writing during the Middle Ages.¹⁴

As a young man, Radaca and his friend Diomedie had opportunities to cross several times, on camel back, the territory of the once Byzantine commonwealth. They traveled on the ancient trading route to Constantinople visiting on their way Hellepont among other renown places.¹⁵ Radaca's and Diomedie's journeys between two empires and three religions resembled to the odyssey of young Telemachus and his friend—also named Diomedie. Hence, this episode among many others provided another frame of reference with the epic past.

Later on, when Radaca decided to continue in the footsteps of his ancestors from Herzegovina, as a builder and stone mason, he erected several edifices throughout the Serbian land perpetuating the Byzantine style of building. He always placed the scaffolding from the inside of the construction so as to conceal the erection of a new edifice and prevent its untimely destruction. At times, Turkish authorities did not allow the building of new Christian edifices.¹⁶

Radaca remained largely indifferent to the political life of the faraway ruling and administrative entities, be it Turkish or Austrian. Instead he tried to avoid the immediate and petty threats of the local chieftains. His father recognized his passivity towards larger issues pertaining to the governing imperial power and successions of ruling entities. He declared Radaca and his generation as being meek and lenient subjects without representation or any involvement in the rulings of governmental bodies. Such a passive attitude of the population at

large, dubbed as *raja*^{*}, remained to be a reality due to the discrepancy arising from inequality between the powerful and the powerless.

Radaca was aware of the two mighty Empires poised and ready to partition his ancestral lands. Yet, in the midst of newly erupting destruction, he decided to continue building new churches even if he knew that these buildings would also end up in flame. Diomedie objected to the idea of building in the time of war pointing to the futility of such efforts. Yet, Radaca persuaded Diomedie to help him in his search for suitable sites for the erection of new churches in spite of Diomedie's objections.

On the contrary, Diomedie, we should go on building, even now. We are all builders. An unusual marble is given to us for building: the hours, days and years, and the dreams and vine are the glue . . . The time has come, Diomedie, to build something out of this marble, the time has come to return to the building art. And that is what we are going to do. From now on we will build. We will flee and build. If you want, join me, and if you do not wish, leave me with the two gold pieces in your beard, let them be your traveling allowance . . . Observe the tree growing behind the window. It does not wait for peace in order to grow. The one who builds should not choose the place or time of year, good or stormy weather, this decision is left to the lord of the edifice. But our lot is to build. Who promised you peace and happiness, a bounty of wheat and a better life in boot to follow you like a tail the mule?¹⁷

It is noteworthy that Pavić described the migration of Serbs in a poem published earlier in his collection of poems under the characteristic title *Palimpsesti (Palimpsests)*. As a poet he evoked his own vision of these historic events:

Sunday, we buried the icons

^{*}*Raja*—all non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire (Ed.).

Sunday we walled in the books
 We took with us the Despot's bell
 We received what we prayed for and we regretted our move.
 Because every bird that flew over the river
 was a bridge for our thoughts
 and every multicolored butterfly a letter for our eyes
 And here we dwell deprived from our fatherland
 And we are not finding a bridge back to ourselves.¹⁸

Pavić examined repeatedly the Great Migration of 1690 and the subsequent dislocation and suffering of the Serbian population. He recounted this event in the novel placing the young monk Irinej, alias Radaca, in the midst of the destruction as if testing his judgment of the difficult situation.

Obviously Pavić liked his hero giving him several special names, Radaca—the joyous one, Miljko—the dear one, Irinej Zahumski, Leander indicative of the multiplicity of human nature and also as a composite portrayal of several known and unknown individuals. Pavić acknowledged a stone mason by the name of Miljko who built a monastery dedicated to Theotokos, known locally as *Miljkov manastir*. Moreover, during his brief stay in Ohrid, Radaca decided to enter a monastery in an effort to advance his literacy and spiritual enlightenment. He soon became a monk and received the name Irinej. Later on, while attending the Latin School in Belgrade conducted by a Russian teacher, Radaca learned the epos of *Leander and Hero* by heart. He showed a symbolic affinity to the mythical archetype Leander. In deference to other opinions, Radaca posited that Leander did not swim across the Hellespont to join Hero; his crossing of the blue waters was a metaphor for his attempt to cross into another time. In offering this interpretation, Radaca remembered his own efforts to bring into a harmonious temporal accord his relationship with Despina, a girl and santir player he loved. Radaca also knew about the existing spatial and spiritual differences between the two continents: Europe and Asia were divided not only by the water but were also divided by the perception of time. Pavić presented the differences in a metaphoric manner stating that these continents were swept by winds of different velocity.

During his arduous life odyssey, Radaca conducted himself by a vision much larger than his own immediate needs and interests. In the

midst of destruction, he continued to build churches as quickly as he possibly could spending all of his earthly possessions and endangering his own livelihood.

All these efforts presented his homage to Theotokos, the mother of Jesus, and a supreme metaphor for motherhood and sustenance of life. Theotokos was the protectress of Constantinople, of the Ohrid monastery Bogorodice Zahumske, and also of the Serbian monastery Chilandar at Mount Athos. By all these selfless efforts Radaca rejoined the ones that preceded him and those that will follow him on the path defending, respecting and nurturing life. He did so by providing real and figurative shelters safeguarding the body and soul of men and women perpetuating the religious, ethical and moral codes.

Pavić obviously viewed Radaca's conduct as exemplary and his deeds were perceived as an ethical activity of the highest order. It could be inferred that Radaca epitomized the Serbian people at large, as builders, trying to sustain their existence by rebuilding their shattered settlements and their own disrupted lives. Intuitively they knew how to overcome the destruction and the aggression of foreign powers. Although left without a leader of noble origin to provide guidance, the people themselves were visionaries with a noble mind performing noble deeds. They were steadfast in their aspirations to sustain their existence and historic presence.

It is noteworthy that the historian Radovan Samardžić, in one of his last published works, wrote about the renewal and growth of the Serbian people under adverse conditions and in spite of century long subjugation. His study entitled: "The Aristocratic Vertical in Serbian History," pointed to the sustaining presence and perseverance of codified lawful practices and higher ethical goals among the Serbs, generating repeatedly a new leadership from the bottom to the top. The aristocratic vertical was represented by the chosen few but supported, in a democratic fashion, by the entire Serbian population.¹⁹

The monastery Chilandar as a repository of Byzantine-Slavic culture became the focal point of Pavić's narrative *Mali noćni roman* (*The Little Night Novel*).²⁰ The main character, Atanasije Svilar set out to find his father and also to establish his own identity confronting a chain of events. Pavić structured this novel in two complementing parts. He combined the main narrative describing the peripetiae of Svilar's search juxtaposed with an explanation of Christian epistemology

referring to the origin of two monastic orders in Chilandar: the solitaries—idiorythmics and the solidarities—cenobites.

The novel starts with the description of first Christians dispersed through Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt hiding in graves, pyramids and ruins of former strongholds. They spoke Coptic, Jewish, Greek, Latin, Georgian and Syrian or, as Pavić suggested "they kept their silence in one of these languages."

Once they arrived to Sinai they understood that the heart of a taciturn man could not be similar to the heart of a man full of silence. Thus, the two monastic orders were established pointing to the inherent predisposition of human nature. The solitaries—idiorythmics chose as their emblem the sign of a fish, while the solidarities—cenobites chose, in turn, the sign of the lamb as their emblem.

At first, these orders existed in the monasteries in the deserts of Sinai long before becoming known and incorporated into the monastic life on Mount Athos. These ancient monastic parties complemented each other's efforts and aspirations. In addition, this practice enabled the division of occupational activities and sharing of labor according to the inherent talents and inclinations. The solitaries were the teachers and icon painters. They nurtured the warm and compassionate word as a shadow of the human thought and concern. The solidarities were builders and healers. When needed, they were defenders of the monastery protecting from aggression and plunder. Pavić discerned traits of the same duality of human nature, as an universally shared phenomenon, among the men around the world casting a long shadow through space and time.

Thus, the narrative *Mali noćni roman* (*The Little Night Novel*) pointed to the predisposition of some individuals to identify themselves either as idiorythmics or as cenobites. Pavić explained *The Little Night Novel* as his interpretation of generational conflict between fathers and sons and his comprehension of human nature in general. Later on, this narrative served also as a preamble for the novel *Predeo slikan čajem* (*The Landscape painted with Tea*). This time, Pavić wanted to describe the fate of his own generation.²¹

The hero of both novels Atanasije Svilar, alias Razin, provides an added link between these two novels. Atanasije and his peers remembered their hungry childhood growing up in Belgrade during the Second World War and the difficult post war years. He viewed himself

and his generation as the offspring of strong fathers who were thrust into the war theater. Some of them never returned to their sons and families. Such was the fate of Kosta Svilar who disappeared in the beginning of the war; his wife and son learned later that he was seen crossing the Greek border while trying to reach the monastery Chilandar and escape the German onslaught.

Kosta Svilar and his generation were compared to solidarities—cenobites who traveled in groups. They epitomized born warriors easily forming bonds of camaraderie and trust among fellow fighters. Their sons were not as strong as their fathers, they were loners setting on their life journeys individually. Pavić compared them to the monks belonging to the ranks of the solitaires—idiorhythmics. Pavić was aware that the life of any individual evolves in counterpoint with the lives of the others. He compared this relationship to the intricate web of a fisherman's net. The knots tying the strings together provided resistance to the pressures of water or, in a metaphoric manner, to the tensions brought on by life's currents. Nobody is really free to act notwithstanding the actions of the others.²² Observed on a larger scale man's life corresponds, by and large, to the ideological make-up of his generation as well as that of the epoch that he in turn helps to shape.

Pavić continued to build his novels referring to this basic duality of human nature in his latest novel: *Poslednja ljubav u Carigradu*, (*The Last Romance in Constantinople*).²³

Moreover, Pavić's narratives contain often enough didactic messages. Pavić cares about his readers and the fate of humankind. He points out that it is important to learn from history in order not to repeat the less fortuitous experiences that life may bring on. He warns against the erection of a new Iron Curtain dividing anew humankind. Only a peaceful settlement and negotiation present a winning option since war has never brought appeasement among the warring parties.²⁴

In addition to the fireworks of imagination extolling the sensuous pleasures of living, encouraging the appreciation of beauty and perfection in all things human, he weaves into his narratives didactic messages. Obviously the lessons of ethical conduct contained in the sermons of Gavril Stefanović Venclović have influenced Pavić's own concerns for fellow human beings and the notion of moral improvements. Pavić brought to light the almost forgotten work of Venclović whom he praised as his "illustrious collocutor from St. Andrea." Venclović's

spirited messages must have inspired the tenor of innumerable parables, pointing to the virtues of tolerance, hard work, and appreciation of the gift of life, enmeshed in Pavić's narratives. Pavić saw Venclović as a living link between the Byzantine literary tradition and the emerging new views on literature and language. Venclović was a precursor of enlightenment aiming, most of all, to educate with his writings the "simple people." With this mission in mind, Venclović proposed a reform of the old Serbian orthography in pursuit of clarity and simplicity.²⁵

Venclović, a poet, orator and painter was born in 1680 in Saint-Andre, a Serbian enclave in Hungary, where he lived and died in 1749. Pavić expressed his admiration for Venclović's contribution in a poem celebrating the permanence of Venclović's image in the Serbian poetic realm:

From one of the four belfries in Saint-Andre
I foresee the time that comes
In the blackened mirror of the future
I see a gentleman, Gavril Venclović as he writes.²⁶

Pavić's novels recognize a constant counterpoint between present events and the past deeds and actions of the fictitious as well as historic characters who performed them. The narrative surface of his novels constitutes often the continuation of events begun much earlier. The ongoing and unfinalized dialogues of the protagonists are often a rejoinder bordering on someone else's thoughts pronounced before. Thus, in order to comprehend the surface plot of the novel, the submerged texts, like the one inscribed on a *palimpsest*, must be taken into the account.

The awareness of the past permeated the first collection of Pavić's poems published in 1967. This collection entitled *Palimpsests*, presented his tribute to the earlier *ars poetica* and literary thought of his predecessors.²⁷ His subsequent novels paid homage to the repositories of human experiences, passions and aspirations defining the man and his universe. In order to comprehend Pavić's literary oeuvre one must strive to reexamine the past; this knowledge will also help to foretell the future as his new novel, *Poslednja Ljubav u Carigradu* (*The Last Romance in Constantinople*), aspires to suggest. Thus, Pavić aimed most of all to demonstrate the open-ended nature of his generous and delightful literary universe.

¹ Milorad Pavić, *Unutrašnja strana vetra* (*The Inner Side of the Wind*), (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1993, 9th edition), 27.

² *Istorija srpske književnosti klasicizma i predromantizma*, (Belgrade, 1979); *Radjanje nove srpske književnosti*, (Belgrade, 1983); *Istorija stalez i stil*, (Novi Sad, 1985); *Istorija srpske književnosti, Barok, Klasicizam, Predromantizam*, vol. 1–3, (Belgrade, 1991).

³ Pavić talked about his study of archival and ethnographic sources in a conversation with the author of these lines. Conversation with Pavić, Belgrade, July 31, 1995.

⁴ Thus, the collection *Gvozdena zavesa* (Belgrade: Bata, 1993) contains several stories referring to the rulings of the city council in Dubrovnik, during the Middle Ages.

⁵ Tzvetsan Todorov, *Literature and its Theorists*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 34. Tzvetsan Todorov pointed out the importance of maintaining the multiplicity of styles and levels of language in a literary work. Todorov even believed that the language alone could help to produce the text in the author's place.

⁶ Jasmina Mihailović, "Elements of Milorad Pavić's Postmodern Poetics," (*Serbian Studies* vol. 7, No. 1, 1993) 33–36.

⁷ Todorov pointed out that it was Alfred Döblin who recognized the importance of exemplary situations and characters. Döblin did not believe in the uniqueness of the individual since sociality is a basic element of human nature. *Literature and its Theorists*, 34.

⁸ The story "Zapis u znaku Device" (*The Note in the Sign of Virgo*) was first published in the collection *Gvozdena zavesa* (*The Iron Curtain*). (Novi Sad, 1973). The story presents an earlier version of the first chapter of the novel *Unutrašnja strana vetra*. Another collection of stories, *Ruski hrt* (*The Russian Hound*) (Belgrade: Slovo Ljubve, 1979), contains the story "Obed na poljski način." A variant of this story was used again in the novel *Unutrašnja strana vetra*. The collection *Nove beogradske priče* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1981), includes the story about Deda Aga Ocuz. This story was also incorporated in the novel *Unutrašnja strana vetra*.

⁹ Alfred Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, Schriftstelerie und Dichtung. (Oftun und Freiburg in Br., Walter-Verlag, 1963), 94–96.

¹⁰ Conversation with Pavić, July 21, 1995.

¹¹ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko polusotrovo i južnoslovenske zemlje* (Beograd, 1922), 118.

¹² Milorad Pavić, *Unutrašnja strana vetra* (*The Inner Side of the Wind*), 10. Translation into English, Jelena Milojković-Djurić.

¹³ Jelena Milojković-Djurić, "A Papadike from Skoplje," *Studies in Eastern Chant*, ed. E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 50–56.

¹⁴ Thomas Butler, *Monumenta Serbocroatica* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1980), xviii.

¹⁵ It is noteworthy that Telemachus's best friend was also named Diomedie; a parallel could be drawn between their quests for establishing their respective identities.

¹⁶ Conversations with Pavić, July 31, 1995.

¹⁷ Milorad Pavić, *Unutrašnja strana vetra*, 41.

¹⁸ *Palimpsests*, (Belgrade: Nolit, 1967). *Palimpsest* is a Greek word describing a parchment whose text was erased in order to be used again. Translation of the poem by J. Milojković-Djurić.

¹⁹ Radovan Samardžić, "The Aristocratic Vertical in Serbian History," *Serbs in European Civilization* (Belgrade: Nova, 1993) 9–19.

²⁰ This narrative, in form of a longer story, was first published in the collection *Nove beogradske priče* (*The New Belgrade Stories*) (Belgrade: Nolit, 1981). *Mali noćni roman* consists of six chapters. Each chapter is preceded by a prologue discussing early Christianity. This novel foreshadowed Pavić's major novel *Hazarški rečnik*, published in 1984.

²¹ *Predeo slikan čajem* (Belgrade, 1988). Conversation with Pavić, August 1, 1955.

²² *Unutrašnja strana vetra*, 57.

²³ *Poslednja ljubav u Carigradu* (*The Last Romance in Constantinople*) (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1995).

²⁴ Conversation with Pavić, July 31, 1995.

²⁵ *Gavril Stefanović Venclović* (Belgrade, 1972), 61.

²⁶ *Palimpsests*, 49. Translation of the poem by J. Milojković-Djurić.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

RECENT YUGOSLAV HISTORY IN THE WORKS
OF CONTEMPORARY YUGOSLAV WRITERS:
VUK DRAŠKOVIĆ, SLAVENKA DRAKULIĆ
AND SLOBODAN BLAGOJEVIĆ

Dragan Milivojević
University of Oklahoma

Drašković's novels offer insight into the forces that are now tearing apart the former Yugoslavia.

A deep national and religious fault line lies astride the middle of former Yugoslavia. Its center is in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Another smaller fault line runs through the south of Yugoslavia between Muslim Albanians and Christian Serbs. The Bosnian fault line is of ancient origin and goes back to the division of the Roman Empire into the western and eastern parts. It gained strength from the division of the Christian Church into the Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodox. The Turkish occupation of the Balkan peninsula in the Middle Ages coincided geographically with the original borders of the Roman Empire division and, in addition, produced Slav converts to Islam, who now constitute the majority of Bosnia's population. In the twentieth century, with the decline of the Turkish empire, Austro-Hungary annexed Bosnia, and the region that was to become Yugoslavia (in 1918) was again divided.

It is the comparatively recent history, from 1941 to the present, that has seen the widening and deepening of the national and religious fault lines between two Christian faiths, Croatian Catholic and Serbian Orthodox, and between Christianity and Islam. How one prays—whether one crosses with three cupped fingers, with the outstretched fingers of one's palm, or kneels five times a day in the direction of Mecca—has identified a person as a Serb, a Croat, or a Muslim. Along the fault lines of different religious practices and traditions, fissures of intolerance and hatred have arisen, which were facilitated and promoted by big European powers. The Nazi invasion and conquest of Yugoslavia in 1941 resulted in the formation of the so-called Independent State of Croatia, run by Nazi-controlled fascists called Ustashi, which included areas with Serbian and Muslim populations. Many Croats and Muslims, probably the majority, welcomed the formation of a new state, where they could play a prominent role. (Some Croats felt that between 1918 and 1941,

Serbs had an upper hand in the Yugoslavian government, while some Muslims longed for the lost status and privileges they had enjoyed during Austro-Hungarian and Turkish rule.)

The Nazis' destruction of Yugoslavia in 1941 resembled an earthquake that unleashed scalding torrents of hatred. The Serbian minority in the "Independent" State of Croatia was given a choice of conversion to Catholicism, exile to Serbia, or death. It is estimated that the Ustashi caused up to five hundred thousand deaths. Most of the victims were Serbs, but others were Jews, communists, Gypsies and defiant Croats. The victims naturally fought back in an ensuing civil war which involved an innocent civilian population. It was a civil war of everybody against everybody else, and communist partisans joined the fray by fighting both Croatian/Muslim and Serbian nationalists.

It is in just such a setting on Christmas Day 1942, in a Bosnian village in the Croatian state that Drašković's novel *Nož* (Knife) takes place. The extended Jugović family has gathered to celebrate the Serbian Orthodox Christmas on January 7, 1942, in their village in Nazi-occupied Bosnia. It is cold and snowing outside, but inside in the Jugović house it is warm and cozy, and the smell of freshly baked food for the Christmas dinner excites the children. The family is fortunate, all over Bosnia, their Serbian compatriots are being killed and tortured while they are spared. They believe that the reason for their survival may lie in the friendly relationship that they have had through the years with their Muslim neighbors, the Osmanovičs. So when the doorbell rings and the Osmanovič men appear at the door their first thought is that the Osmanovičs have come to wish them Merry Christmas and to celebrate it together. Their fear and apprehension rise when they realize that the Osmanovičs are armed with knives and guns. What follows is the butchery, rape, and murder of the entire Jugović family, except a baby boy whom the Osmanovičs keep. There is a discussion of what to do with him and a suggestion to kill him by throwing him against the cement wall of a mosque. A Muslim *hoja* whom they ask for advice tells them to save the baby and bring him up as a good Muslim, a defender of the Muslim faith and an enemy of Serbs and their Eastern Christian Orthodoxy. His counsel prevails, and the boy is brought up in the Osmanovič family by the Osmanovič women. The boy, unaware of his origin, grows into a rabid Muslim, contemptuous and distrustful of Serbs.

In postwar Yugoslavia, national passions were stilled, swept under the rug, and the slogan of brotherhood and fraternity was promulgated by the government. The responsibility for the crimes of the civil war had not been disclosed, and any attempt to discuss international and intrareligious issues was forbidden. But past grievances and desires for revenge were not forgotten. In this period of government-enforced national and religious tolerance, Alija Osmanović, formerly Ilija Jugović, meets a Serbian girl and falls in love with her. This is his first close encounter with the other nationality and brings a hint of realization of their humanity. Milica, his girlfriend, is now, however, the catalyst that will radically change Alija/Ilija's consciousness and his intolerance of Serbs. The credit for this belongs to Sikter Efendija, a Muslim who, in this sea of hatred, manages to be open-minded and tolerant. During the Ustashi knife-kissing ceremony, when Croat and Muslim Ustashi pledge their allegiance to the knife as an instrument of death for the Serbs, Sikter Efendija is the lone dissenter, endangering his life by this act of courage. He is privy to the secret of Alija/Ilija's origin, and he proceeds to disclose it to him tactfully and gradually, lest the shock of discovery be too abrupt and traumatic for the young man. Sikter Efendija has documentation and knows witnesses who give irrefutable proof that Alija Osmanović is really Ilija Jugović, the sole survivor of the Jugović family. No matter how hard Osmanović struggles to disbelieve Sikter Efendija, he must finally face the truth.

Who Am I?—The Jugović/Osmanović Dilemma

That geographical fault line separating Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia now runs right through Alija/Ilija's body and consciousness. Who is he, and what should he do in light of this revelation? He contemplates killing all the Osmanovićs, thereby avenging the murder of his parents, but, on the other hand, he cannot forget the kindness and care that his foster-mother gave him. Rabija, his Muslim foster-mother, may have known about his parents' murder, but her motherly nature overcame the instinct to slaughter others. For this, she deserves his respect and love. Alija and Ilija, the Muslim and the Serb, are fighting with each other for his soul, but neither one has an advantage. The result is a debilitating and dangerous paralysis of will and thought. Somehow Alija/Ilija must find a way to overcome this deadlock and rise to a higher truth, to combine and reconcile the opposites and bring a new way of relating to

himself and others. Sikter Efendija again comes to his rescue by telling him to think of himself as a bridge linking Ilija and Alija, his two identities. "You are what you are, there is no regret, no retreat and no forgetting.¹ This bridge across the fault line of hatred and intolerance is based on acceptance, if not love, and on tolerance. Having solved his personal problem and having forged his new identity, Ilija Jugović/Alija Osmanović is always alert to the lurking demons of hatred within him, of the precarious balance of the two selves, the Muslim and the Christian.

The question of why and how pursues him constantly. Why the hatred and intolerance between the two religions and two nationalities, and how can people live in harmony with each other regardless of their differences? Sikter Efendija explains the reason by pointing out that human beings have strayed from the natural order of things, where everything is connected and there is a balance.

Every animal, every plant and blade of grass, has an inborn feeling of measure of death and birth . . . Only a human being does not know when there is enough death, enough tears, enough humility, enough pride and when enough hatred and love. Yes, yes, he exaggerates everything, even love. He binds himself as if blind for one woman, one man, one religion, one idea and one flag. This is the way and the reason for him to butcher and be butchered by another human being, with the one who loves the same woman, with the one who does not like the same religion, with the one who professes his allegiance or hatred . . . to the same idea or flag.²

This human tendency toward exclusiveness, the inability to broaden one's horizons beyond the narrow scope and tight parameters of one's daily existence, is responsible for hatred and intolerance. In Sikter Efendija's words:

It is easy for us to separate and hard for us to be brothers. Our mind is shallow and our horizons narrow . . . We are good at making fences and at remembering evil and our defects, and we are firm and constant in

our separation . . . We waste our strength and our mind in destroying everything which connects us and in erecting everything which separates us.³

Just as important as the reason for this separation is the way in which a giant bridge could be built across that deep and wide fault line separating nations and religions. Religions are not able to do it, as their universal gospel of love is drowned and muted in the dark whirlpool of nationalistic and religious passions. Their exclusiveness and their traditionalism, to a large extent, are responsible for the present situation. The novel cites examples of a *hoja* blessing a knife and passages in the Koran that justify a militant attitude toward other religions. If unity of different nationalities and religions based on some religious principle of universal love cannot be realized because of intransigence, then the consciousness of a genetic and linguistic unity can be invoked to build a bridge connecting all. This is Sikter Efendija's togetherness principle, and it is based on the unity of language and history. Catholic Croats, Muslims, and Orthodox Serbs are all Slavs who speak the same language, with few dialectical differences. The fault line separating them, regardless of its depth and width, is an artificial creation of the accidents of religion and historical gravitational pulls. Croats as Catholics gravitated toward Rome, Muslims toward Mecca, and Serbs toward Constantinople and later to Greek Orthodoxy.

Tolerance can be justified and implemented on the basis of the past, when these political and religious differences were not as pronounced as they are now. Sikter Efendija's ancestors were Orthodox Christians who converted to Islam; historical documents relate mass conversions of Serbs to Islam. Sikter Efendija mentions that in just one day in 1463 ten thousand Serbian nobles converted to Islam before Sultan Mehmed the Second in the town of Jajce. Many Muslims in Bosnia had Serbian ancestors, and even some of the most prominent officials in the Ottoman Empire were Serbs who had converted to Islam. This consciousness of past national unity, according to Sikter Efendija, should bring about understanding and mitigate hostility.

Drašković in the Yugoslav Media

The internecine civil war, especially the Ustashi massacre of the Serbian population and the responsibility for it, has been a taboo subject in contemporary Yugoslav literature. It was thought that raising this subject and assigning the responsibility for the misdeeds would undermine the government-proclaimed slogan of "brotherhood and unity." When Drašković's novel appeared in 1982, a storm of protest appeared in the official government press charging the author with the "crime" of Serbian nationalism. Letters to the author protested his alleged Serbian chauvinism. These collectively written letters were undoubtedly government inspired and orchestrated. Their main argument was that Drašković writes more about Muslim slaughter of Serbs than the other way around. According to the unwritten conventions of symmetry, a mention of a particular misdeed committed by one nationality should always be accompanied by a similar mention of a misdeed in reverse. By this logic, Drašković should have allotted half of the space in his novel to Muslim crimes against Serbs and half to Serbian crimes against Muslims. It goes without saying that a novel written in this way would be more a political tract than a work of fiction. In his collection of letters and rejoinders entitled *Odgovori*⁴ (Answers) dealing with the furor that followed the publication of *Nož*, Drašković points out the necessity of lifting the taboo of writing on the subject of the civil war. His argument is that silence on this subject is not fair to the victims. A full disclosure of the crimes committed in the period 1941-45 in literature and in the media would be a moral lesson to the young generation and may prevent such carnage from happening again.

A second objection to Drašković's novel was based, curiously enough, on the logic that he should be held personally responsible for the ideas and behavior of his own characters. According to this style of literary and political criticism, what Drašković's characters say and how they act are direct reflections of the author's thoughts and his political convictions. A soliloquy of a Serbian nationalist commander in *Nož* is interpreted as expressing the author's innermost chauvinistic Serbian thoughts. Drašković defends himself from this accusation by pointing out that his literary characters assume complete autonomy once they are portrayed in his book, having nothing else to do with the author and his views and opinions.

The Issue of Impartiality

While modern literary criticism agrees with Drašković's position that a novel should be considered as an autonomous entity independent of the author's political and social views, the special circumstances of the sensitive political theme chosen and the time of the novel's appearance limit, and to a certain extent invalidate, this position. At the time of the novel's appearance in 1982, virulent nationalistic undercurrents were already brewing that would result in the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In such a supercharged political scene, the appearance of Drašković's novel was considered a powerful argument for Serbian nationalism. With the exception of Siker Efendija, a Muslim of Serbian ancestry, and the two Muslim herdsmen, all other Muslims in the novel are portrayed as bloodthirsty extremists or as neutral actors and observers of the civil war. It is true that Drašković refers to Serbian cruelties, but he does so without the vividness and detail with which he describes Muslim atrocities. These objections could have been rendered less offensive had the author been able to present a grand design of general reconciliation in the future, either on a suprarreligious or humanistic platform. Instead of that, his vision of blissful unity in the past is more a nostalgic dream than an impetus for genuine reconciliation and peace in the future.

Unlike religious and cultural differences among Croats, Muslims, and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the divisions between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo are of a linguistic, religious, and class nature. Albanians speak a language that belongs to a separate branch of the Indo-European group and is therefore only distantly related to Slavic languages. There is no mutual intelligibility between Serbian and Albanian. The majority of Albanians are Muslims and, compared to other regions of former Yugoslavia, the Albanian-inhabited Kosovo is the poorest region in that state. Kosovo and Metohija, located in the southern part of Yugoslavia adjoining the Albanian border, had the special status of an autonomous region. The riots that started in the early 1980s and continued sporadically until the present pitted the Albanian desire for republic status within the federation against the Serbian minority's wish to have their rights safeguarded within the Yugoslav federation. Kosovo, where the Serbs were defeated by the Turks in 1389, has a special place in Serbian mythology. This defeat is symbolic of Serbian suffering and slavery during the centuries of Turkish occupation.

The field of Kosovo is revered as a sacred part of the medieval Serbian state.

The Kosovo Dispute

Drašković's novel *Ruski konzul* (Russian Consul) takes place in Kosovo and Metohija, with Ilija Jugović appearing again and reverting to his original Serbian identity, this time as a medical doctor. Siker Efendija returns in his role of an observer and philosopher. Ljubo Božović, Ilija's friend from his student days, returns as the husband of Ilija's former girlfriend Milica and assumes the additional role of Jastrebov, the Russian consul in the Ottoman Empire who was a defender of Serbs and the Christian faith against Turks and Albanians. A bruised and beaten patient is brought by two Albanian policemen to Jugović's medical attention at a local clinic. It turns out that the Albanian policemen took the law in their hands and beat up the Serb for his alleged Serbian chauvinism. Dr. Jugović questions the legality of the policemen's use of force, as well as their request for the patient to be handed over to them after being revived, only to receive a further beating. In the course of Dr. Jugović's inquiry, the whole infrastructure of legality in Kosovo is revealed as discriminatory and biased against the vastly outnumbered Serbian minority.

Not only does Dr. Jugović get nowhere with his complaints, but he is also accused by his Albanian colleagues of being a Serbian chauvinist just for raising the question of Albanian violations of law. He first brings up the incident to the Albanian director of the clinic, who, instead of dealing with the matter forthrightly, digresses into the social and historical aspects of the Albanian-Serbian relationship. Dr. Murići recounts his own life story. A poor Albanian who could not receive any education in his own native language because there were no Albanian universities, he had to attend a medical school in Belgrade and be instructed in Serbian, because, as he puts it, "Albanian is a language of servants . . . Albanians are only capable of cutting wood, of being hired help, of cleaning dust and garbage from city streets . . . we are barge haulers and servants, day laborers, demimonde, beasts of burden."⁵ Dr. Murići reminds Dr. Jugović of the atrocities of the Serbian army against the Albanian population in 1912 and 1918, their forced repatriation to Albania, and the Serbs' attempt to send Albanians to Turkey. Dr. Jugović suddenly feels apologetic and remembers his first contact with Albanians

during his high-school days. The two Albanians whom he met in his small provincial town were hired help who cut wood, unloaded coal, and delivered sacks of flour to people's homes. Nobody invited them inside. They were paid outside and at a distance, as if they were lepers. This feeling of guilt that Dr. Jugović had for the way Albanians were treated by his Serbian compatriots was reinforced by what he learned in school about Serbian chauvinistic practices between the two world wars, from 1918 to 1941. Communist-indoctrinated teachers insisted on portraying Serbs as a privileged and ruling nation in prewar Yugoslavia, and Jugović remembers his student days, when "all of us, the whole postwar generation of students, was frightened very much by Serbian chauvinism and Serbian nationalist hegemony."⁶

But Jugović's further experiences in Albanian-dominated Kosovo show that his feeling of guilt is misplaced and that the official Yugoslav doctrine of Serbian chauvinism is cynically used by Albanian authorities as a justification for expelling and terrorizing the Serbian minority in Kosovo and Metohija. Jugović finds out that the judiciary, the police, and the Communist Party organs are all in the hands of Albanians and that any dispute in court between a Serb and an Albanian is decided in favor of the latter. His patient, who turns out to be his old school friend Ljubo Božović, is released from the clinic and set free, only to be killed later by Albanians. Božović's children, who attended a mixed Albanian-Serbian school, are taunted and beaten up by their Albanian schoolmates. Anonymous callers offer to buy their house at a bargain price, although their house has not been put up for sale. The expectation is that, because of constant harassment, they will have to move out of Kosovo to Serbia. The children urge their parents to move there, but Božović answers that he is not moving to Serbia because Kosovo *is* Serbia.

Many other Serbs are unable to withstand the pressure and move out of the area. In rural areas, Serbian orchards are cut down, cattle killed, and graveyards desecrated. One of the Albanian leaders writes in a letter of confession forced by Božović "that the holy task of our faith and nation is to kill and expel all Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija, to destroy all their churches and graves. Kosovo and Metohija must become a part of Albania."⁷ In the words of Božović, who is used as a spokesman for the Serbian minority in Kosovo since 1944, 400,000 Serbs left Kosovo, 28 churches were destroyed, 46 monks and nuns were beaten

up, and 3,743 Serbian women were raped, 719 of them younger than 14.⁸

An Eye for an Eye

The author's characters, particularly Božović, sometimes describe the Albanian-Serbian conflict in Kosovo in biological terms. Albanians are said to have a higher birthrate compared to Serbs; one of them was on television having given birth to her seventeenth child. The reference to Albanian women bearing children uses the derogatory word *okoti*, which does not have an English equivalent and means "to bear young" referring to an animal.

The Albanians' rape of Serbian women and their high rate of procreation are seen in the novel as a demographic threat to the Serbian population in the region. Božović describes Islamic instructions for women to help their husbands find younger and fertile women when they become old and infertile. In an imaginary dialogue between the late Russian consul Jastrebov, his alter ego, and a Turkish pasha, the latter talks about the Albanian secret weapon against the Serbs. According to him, it is the Albanian male sexual organ that is responsible for the demographic imbalance in Kosovo, resulting in the expulsion of Serbs from that area. The demographic factor in favor of the Albanians is so crucial, according to that Turkish pasha, that it completely neutralizes Serbian administrative control of this region. In the future the pasha foresees that Albanian women with their hordes of children will overwhelm the already outnumbered Serbs, and Kosovo will be solidly Albanian.

Unlike Sikter Efendija, who saw a bridge across the fault line of opposing creeds in Bosnia-Herzegovina to unite Serbs and Muslim Slavs, Jugović does not believe that a bridge can be erected in Kosovo, as nothing exists on which it may be founded. Many statements of the characters in the novel, especially those of Božović, dehumanize Albanians, as they are categorized as evildoers almost without exception. The novel discusses two options open to Serbs: the New Testament attitude of nonresistance to evil, or the Old Testament ethic of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Father Pajsije, a wise old man like Sikter Efendija, advocates the first approach in the belief that love will overcome hatred. But Boško, Božović's son, wants the verse:

To commit evil while defending oneself from
evil/there is no crime in that at all

carved into his father's tombstone. After he is killed, Božović appears as a ghost to Jugović, and he invokes God: "God gave us Kosovo . . . God is a transformation of hatred to love but also of love to hatred . . . of patience to sword, of the church to military barracks, if there is no way for the truth to triumph."⁹

Can We All Live in Peace?

The culmination of the struggle between the two opposing views, resisting or not resisting evil, occurs on Christmas Eve. In front of the congregation of Father Pajsije, a Montenegrin woman appears with her son whose arms have been cut off by Albanians. She curses the members of the congregation for their passivity in resisting Albanian atrocities. Her appeal is made in the Eastern Orthodox church against the Albanian Muslims, and it evokes the historical struggle between Christianity and Islam. At that moment, everyone in the congregation has to decide for himself and herself how to deal with this situation. Father Pajsije abandons his attitude of forgiveness and love, pleading to God to destroy the evildoers, and Jugović has a vision of Božović's ghost placing a gun in Pajsije's hands and guns in the hands of the congregation. In spite of Pajsije's later retraction and halfhearted reversal to the attitude of love and forgiveness, the congregation is armed and ready. This is the final uncompromising message of the novel. To underscore his rite of passage to the cause of his ancestors Jugović sheds his second Muslim identity of Alija Osmanović—he severs any religious connection with Muslims and reverts to his original Serbian name.

Drašković's novel is characterized by a strident polemical tone. Despite his disclaimer that the characters in the novel may not represent the author's opinions and that he should not be responsible for what they say or do, he has a tendency to present a one-dimensional picture by concentrating exclusively on Serbian characters, their thought processes, and their point of view. This does not mean that Drašković's description of the conditions in Kosovo in the postwar years is not true. Many of the events described in the novel have been corroborated by eye-witnesses and the press. But the incident of the Montenegrin woman and her crippled son appears staged, melodramatic, and artistically unconvincing,

calculated to swing the congregation toward revenge, especially because this call for revenge and holy war against Albanians come on Christmas Eve, when peace and harmony between people should prevail. If the author had any idea of reconciling the two opposing creeds and nationalities, this would be the time and the place to present it, on Christmas Eve in a church full of believers. The author, however, leaves us with the sad prospect of an endless cycle of revenge and violence on behalf of preserving the ancestral, medieval Serbian lands against the alleged Albanian newcomers, instead of rising to a higher level from which he could realize the senselessness of it all. With the exception of Dr. Murići, Albanian characters are presented from the outside. There is no attempt to enter into their vision of the truth, regardless of how justified or unjustified it may be. In *Nož*, Drašković was able to present a convincing description of the Muslim way of life, describing their thinking and their version of the truth. As a result, *Nož* is on a higher artistic level than *Russian Consul*.

Vilified by the official press in the '80s for his alleged nationalist Serbian views, Drašković is now the leader of an opposition party in the Serbian parliament. His party, *Srpski Pokret Obnove* (SPO), translated as Serbian Movement of Renewal, is pro-monarchy, and Drašković himself played a prominent role in the antigovernment demonstrations in Belgrade in March 1992. Having been born in Bosnia-Herzegovina and having spent much of his early life there, he has an intimate knowledge of the people and the region—something evident in his writings. With the war raging between the Croats and Muslims against the Serbs in the region, Drašković the political leader, is facing the same dilemmas that his characters face in his novels. If called to make crucial decisions concerning the future relationship between different nationalities and creeds in the region, will he be able and willing to build a bridge across the fault lines separating them, or will he be like a charismatic leader from the Serbian Middle Ages, leading his people into battle? Will he identify with his Serbian character Ilija Jugović or with the Muslim Alija Osmanović? Or should he identify with both as a sign of tolerance and acceptance? Time will tell.

Balkan Express, Slavenka Drakulić: Only a little more than three years ago Yugoslavia was a united country. Foreign tourists were flocking to the sunny Adriatic coast in summer and to the skiing slopes

of Bosnia in the winter. Yugoslavia was considered in the West as the most liberal and free country in Eastern Europe although anxious questions were raised about what would happen after Tito dies or retires from power. Yugoslav citizens were allowed to travel abroad, unlike the citizens from other communist countries, and all economic indices showed growth and prosperity. And yet there was a hidden monster gnawing inside the minds of the people—the vicious monster of intolerant nationalism, and this monster emerged from their minds and became real, tangible and hateful. It was manifested in the acts of the civil war violence which pitted religions and nationalities against each other—Serbs against Croats and Muslims against both. Old Yugoslavia does not exist any longer and is now divided into sovereign states of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and the new Yugoslavia consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. Ms. Drakulić traces this process of obsessional nationalistic consciousness as it takes shape in her skillfully written vignettes, short stories and concise essays. She is eminently qualified to do so by virtue of her literary talent, her background and possibly her best quality—her humanism and tolerance. She is a Croat by birth and also by historical necessity. Until the emergence of the civil war in 1991 she was a Yugoslav because she was taught at school and elsewhere that we should all be Yugoslavs, but when the war broke out she had to choose sides. There was no choice, one was either Serb or a Croat, Yugoslavs ceased to exist, and she became a Croat.

To understand the present one should look into the past. Henry Ford was allegedly quoted to say that "history was junk" and this view may be shared by many Americans who are more present- and future-oriented, optimistic with a belief in quick fixes and remedies. It is, however, impossible to understand fully the disintegration of Yugoslavia without considering its past. Unlike most Americans who believe in a better and brighter future, the historical consciousness of the Balkan nationalists is rooted in the past, and what a past it was! It was chock full of defeats and humiliations, foreign occupations, civil wars and national liberation wars. Fifty years ago Croats and Muslims were battling Serbs, with Serbs being the main victims. Many of the participants in the civil war today had relatives, fathers and grandfathers who fought fifty years ago and who taught their children and grandchildren about past injustice, humiliations and sacrifice. The past tends to spill

into the present and all the past events become alive tinged with emotions of sorrow and revenge as if they had happened yesterday and had become fuel for retribution and reprisal. Ms. Drakulić reports on a lunch she had at the Harvard University Club when she was asked by one of the dignitaries the question 'why'—why did the civil war break out in Yugoslavia when the country seemed on the way to more complete democracy and prosperity? To answer this question fully one cannot resort to graphics and drawings on a piece of paper as she tried to do on a napkin at the coffee table. One must consider the burden of the past: ". . . symbols, fears, national heroes, mythologies, folk songs, gestures and looks, everything that makes up the irrational and, buried deep in our subconscious, threatens to erupt any day now—simply cannot be explained."¹⁰

In the documentary story "An Actress Who Lost Her Homeland", the author describes through the experience of her actress friend, the national polarization between Serbs and Croats which took place at the beginning of the civil war. The actress in the story believes in art which transcends national borders and cultural religious barriers, so when Croatia becomes a separate state with Zagreb as its capital, she continues to perform in Belgrade although the war between Serbia and Croatia is in full swing. The actress, a Croatian whose name is not mentioned in the story, is branded as a traitor and a renegade in the Croatian press. Her old friends shun her or join in denouncing her publicly. She receives death threats in numerous abusive phone calls. This is the painful experience of a woman artist who fervently believes that art should unite human beings and not divide them and who, because of her belief, lost her homeland Croatia and moved west. The war has become a pivotal point in everybody's life and it determines everything—the way one thinks and the way one behaves and ultimately it demands unquestioning conformity. The actress writes in her farewell letter:

I will not accept such a crippling of myself and my own life. I played those last performances in Belgrade for those anguished people who were not 'Serbs' but human beings like me, human beings who recoil before this horrible . . . farce of bloodshed and murder. It is to those people, both here and there that I am addressing this now. Perhaps someone will hear me.¹¹

To be human is to be both Serb and Croat. The 'crippling' to which the actress refers in her letter is the subordination of humanism, tolerance and compassion to the altar of nationalistic hatred extending not only to the living but to the dead as well. Desecration of graveyards, Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim, by the belligerents became a common occurrence in the civil war. It is an attempt to wipe out not only the present occupants of the territory but also the past occupants who are no longer living but whose memory lingers on inscribed on graveyard stones. In the reminiscence "My Mother Sits in the Kitchen Smoking Nervously" the author writes about her mother's fear for her husband's grave. She is afraid that it may be desecrated because the gravestone has a red star on it. Her husband was a communist and for this reason the stone is adorned with a star instead of a cross. Rabid nationalists have taken over the Croatian state and the ruthless ideological levelling is bent on destroying all visual vestiges of the previous communist system including red stars wherever they may be.

Her essay "Overcome by Nationhood" appears as the theoretical summary of the two preceding stories. Ms. Drakulić rebels against the nationalistic straightjacket imposed on her and her compatriots because of national homogenization within Croatia itself. If she were writing from Belgrade instead of Zagreb she could have reported the same occurrence. Democracy has been shelved for the sake of national unity. Individuals are reduced to one common denominator—their nationality. In the words of Ms. Drakulić, "The trouble with this nationhood, however, is that whereas before, I was defined by my education, my job, my ideas, my character—and, yes, my nationality too—now I feel stripped of all that, I am nobody because I am not a person any more. I am one of 4.5 million Croats."¹² This extreme form of national unity does not allow any loyalty competitors such as conciliation or humanism or tolerance for the perceived and alleged enemy. Such feelings are considered to be treacherous and disloyal. Only one voice is allowed to be heard, that of strident and intolerant nationalism. The Croatian 'new democracy' hasn't brought anything but promises to believe in. The cost is high: renunciation of the whole past and sacrifice of the present.

We all bear guilt. The story "Paris-Vukovar" describes some gruesome scenes of the war as they appear in French newspapers where the author is on a visit: smashed skulls, gaping mouths and mangled bodies. Ms. Drakulić's reaction is neither rage nor revenge nor the

question of who the victims and the criminals are. Her only feeling is an unspeakable revulsion towards humankind and the evidence that we are all potential criminals ". . . from now on, if we survive at all, we shall have to live in mortal fear of each other, forever and ever."¹³ Vukovar was the city on the banks of the Danube river which was the scene of fierce fighting between Serbs and Croats and which was completely obliterated by the federal Serbian forces.

"A Letter to my Daughter" is a confessional story where the author narrates her own life. She mentions her intra-ethnic marriage to a Serb when she was eighteen and her husband was nineteen. Their daughter is, therefore, of mixed Croatian/Serb marriage and a true Yugoslav, an unenviable distinction at a time when Yugoslavia no longer exists. She belongs to 1.5 million people who declared themselves Yugoslavs in the 1980 census. This people are in limbo and have to declare either Croatian or Serbian nationality which in turn means that they will have to be dissociated and alienated from one part of their family. The choice is often dictated by economic reasons. If one's property and assets are in Croatia one becomes a Croat, if in Serbia one becomes a Serb. Ms. Drakulić relates that she married a Serb and that she was aware of his nationality but the fact did not mean anything to her. In Ms. Drakulić's marriage their different nationalities were never discussed or even mentioned, "not because it was forbidden, but because it was unimportant to the majority of our generation."¹⁴ This marriage took place in old Yugoslavia before its dismemberment when the Yugoslav nationality was favored and encouraged. There is a certain nostalgia expressed in her reminiscence of ethnic tolerance and acceptance and one can only wonder whether Ms. Drakulić and her husband still ignore the discussion of their different nationalities. As far as their daughter is concerned it is doubtful that she will follow her mother's example in marrying a Serb. Her friends and the public opinion will probably denounce her as a traitor to the Croatian national cause.

Ms. Drakulić's *The Balkan Express* is an objective, perceptive and literary assessment of the civil war in Yugoslavia to which she brings common sense, humanism and compassion. Although she is a Croat and writes from Zagreb about the Croatian side of the war she is not a Croatian nationalist. In fact she abhors the wartime consequences of blind, fanatical nationalism and she pleads for a higher allegiance to humanity in which all nationalities will be equal in their rights and

I, however, of Croatianist Croatiandom am
 Croat, from Croatian Croaita.
 And we are Croatinalists, Croatoids,
 Croatopedes,
 Croatocentric Turobcroats from Croatosphere,
 Croats, Croatarchists, Archcroats . . .¹⁶

It used to be that the term "exile Yugoslav literature" referred to anti-communist literature. There is a new phenomenon emerging—Yugoslav literature in exile which is not anti-communist but free-thinking and critical of nationalistic constraints placed on writing creativity. Parallel with it is the literature of the individual states in the former Yugoslavia [which either avoids the controversial contemporary theme of nationalism or toes the nationalist line as did Drašković in his novel *Ruski Konzul*.] It is to be hoped that the two literatures, the exile and the home, in the individual states of the former Yugoslavia will in the future coalesce given the development of real democracy in that region.

¹ Vuk Drašković, *Nož*. (Beograd: *Nova Knjiga*, 1987), 352.

² *Nož*, 318.

³ *Nož*, 338.

⁴ Vuk Drašković, *Odgovori*. (Beograd: *Nova Knjiga*, 1989).

⁵ Vuk Drašković, *Ruski Konzul*. (Beograd: *Nova Knjiga*, 1989 (?), 90.

⁶ *Ruski Konzul*, 37.

⁷ *Ruski Konzul*, 174.

⁸ *Ruski Konzul*, 206.

⁹ *Ruski Konzul*, 318.

¹⁰ Slavenka Drakulić, *The Balkan Express*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 7.

¹¹ *The Balkan Express*, 83.

¹² *The Balkan Express*, 51.

¹³ *The Balkan Express*, 47.

¹⁴ *The Balkan Express*, 129.

¹⁵ Joanna Labon, *Balkan Blues: Out of Yugoslavia*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1995) 193.

¹⁶ *Balkan Blues*, 195.

BOSNIA AND THE WORKS OF MEŠA SELIMOVIĆ

Angela Richter

Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

Meša Selimović's *Derviš i smrt* (*The Dervish and Death*): An Attempted Approach

The interest evinced in the literary output of Meša Selimović (1910–1982) can surely be interpreted in a variety of ways. When, for example, literary developments in the so-called second Yugoslavia are first considered as a complex entity, it will soon be discovered that the novel *Derviš i smrt* (1966) is one of those which have been widely read and discussed in Yugoslavia itself.¹ The novel finally brought the author the recognition he so richly deserved.² As Slavonic scholars we now regard the novel as one of the best in the storehouse of contemporary Slavonic literature. It is part of south Slavonic culture, or in a more narrow sense, of the literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina. So I use the geographical and cultural roots as my point of reference because classification disputes of every sort and the debate on whether one or more literatures are involved have turned out to be pointless in the end.³ The question which I believe we have to address in connection with Meša Selimović concerns the specific features which may be viewed as the paradigm of Bosnian cultural identity and its function in the literary texts. As I see it, the author's own professed identity is of secondary importance. As scholars we should not forget that South East Europe was one of those regions "where interference and ambiguity arose in ethnic, linguistic and cultural areas to such an extent that crude attempts to see matters in strictly mononational terms are wide off the mark."⁴

It is no secret that ongoing extraliterary developments give rise to new interpretations, prompting the readership to view an author and his works with new feelings of sympathy or antipathy. Occasionally, even experts may arrive at assessments which I believe are unacceptable if the line of reasoning is as follows: "The novels and short stories of the Yugoslav Nobel Prize winner, Ivo Andrić, who drew his motives mostly from Bosnia, do not always reflect historical reality. The Bosnian-Muslim milieu is depicted far more faithfully in the works of another novelist, Meša Selimović, especially in his masterpiece *Derviš i smrt*."⁵

The recent translation of the novel *Derviš i smrt* into American

English is a most welcome and commendable imitative initiative because only in this way can Selimović find an audience outside Europe, in a different cultural context. It will be very fascinating to see what patterns of interpretation emerge as dominant in America under the given conditions.

At this point I would like to touch briefly on contemporary reception in the German-speaking world, and specifically in the former GDR.

Translated by Werner Creutziger from the GDR, *Derviš i smrt* was first published in Salzburg, Austria, in 1972. The East Berlin publishers Volk und Welt followed suit in 1973. By 1980 the book had gone through three editions there. It is interesting to note here what was going on behind the scenes at the time. In the late sixties the prestigious East Berlin publishing house Aufbau-Verlag was planning to bring out the novel.⁶ But a number of circumstances (an interview with Selimović in which he described the book as anti-Stalinist) caused the people in charge of the Aufbau-Verlag to "get cold feet." The Volk und Welt publishers took advantage of this opportunity, but they had to comply with the requirement of cultural officials that the book should be published with a postscript.⁷ This was written by Barbara Antkowiak, reader for Volk und Welt and a noted translator of literature from South East Europe. As a result, the reception of the book in a specific sense was inevitable. The few reviews and comments which appeared afterwards were relatively lopsided in focusing on the classification as a historical novel even through other interpretative options were hinted at occasionally.⁸

The following will be a cautious approach to the novel designed to stimulate reflection. No attempt will be made to exhaust the sense potential objectively inherent in it. It should also be borne in mind that images from an internal perspective need not tally with those formed from outside.

Contemporary criticism in Yugoslavia immediately placed the work *Derviš i smrt* in the Ivo Andrić tradition. This seems legitimate considering the ties which linked both authors to the same cultural and linguistic sphere, their preoccupation with the history of Bosnia and the use of literary characters representing this geographical and cultural

area. But there are striking differences in the approach of the two authors.

Andrić, especially in his novels *Na Drini ćuprija* (*The Bridge on the Drina River*) and *Travnička hronika* (*The Chronicle of Travnik*), unveils the course of Bosnian history from outside, as it were, making it possible to establish a systematic correlation with historical facts without any difficulty. Selimović's work is a kind of intimate chronicle depicting the metamorphosis of Ahmed Nurudin, a clergyman and intellectual molded by Islam who emerges from a state of relative tranquility into a world for which he is not prepared but which eventually forces him to act. But is this really a historical novel? A historical novel claims to portray and reflect on history. Either the plot is based on historical figures and events, or some historical tradition is used as the backdrop to a fictitious plot. The circumstances at a given point in time may be crucial for such a decision. At best, the text provides an indirect clue to the time, which acquires a global sense through the ubiquitous nature of the Ottoman Empire, whose westernmost part is made up of Bosnia, including the town of Sarajevo and the *tekieh* on its periphery, a fact that is also mirrored in the way of thinking and rules of behavior of the characters. Indirect references to the relationship between Bosnia and Dubrovnik and to the contemporary situation in Dubrovnik may suggest that the time is the eighteenth century, but is this really of crucial importance?

As early as 1974 Thomas Butler mentioned four different ways of interpreting the novel. "*The Dervish* is a multi-level vision of reality ... On the second level *The Dervish* is a story of class conflict and of the inability of a man to rise above the limits imposed upon him by class origins ... On the third level *The Dervish* is a story of any man of forty who suddenly becomes aware what he used to do or might have done when he was thirty ... On the fourth level *The Dervish* is an allegory about the conflict between ideology and life, between morality and emotion."⁹

The Depiction of the Dervish's Metamorphoses

Ahmed Nurudin is the sheikh of an order of dervishes in a *tekieh* on the outskirts of Sarajevo. Wounded in body (war) and mind (unrequited love) in his youth, he has withdrawn to this secluded place. In one moment of his life he suddenly finds himself confronted with the

threat which despotism poses to the individual and with political murder (of his brother, Harun). These events throw him off track.

In the opening passage, Ahmed Nurudin reflects on his life, putting it radically in question like someone who, by today's standards, is in the throes of a midlife crisis:

"Četrdeset mi je godina, ružno doba: čovjek je još mlad da bi imao želja a već star da ih ostvaruje." (10)¹⁰

An interesting allusion to this can be found in Thiergen's analysis of the opening chapter of *Derviš i smrt*, which also deals with the issue of texts that may have served as a source of inspiration. Apart from texts on existential philosophy, he specifically mentions Goethe's *Faust*. And indeed, there are striking similarities in the situation which prompts the protagonist to undergo a painful self-analysis in the midst of his life. Ahmed's sententious self-characterization may well be compared to that in Goethe's *Faust*:

"Too old am I to be content with play,
Too young to live untroubled by desire."¹¹

But Nurudin's introspection, presented as a filigree-like morphology of the dervish's mental states, is rooted in a far more profound personal drama. He wishes to explore the circumstances which caused him to become "i sudija, i svedok i tuženi." (9)

Selimović employs a whole system of metaphors, parallels and poetic similes, which make for a symbiosis of the physical and the spiritual, in order to illustrate the changing moods of the dervish. Leaving aside for a moment the oft-cited quotation from the Koran, which serves as a connecting thread, it is possible to find further evidence of Selimović's basically polemical approach.

"Sve je bilo moguće, a ništa se nije ostvarilo." (280)

This is the motto and point of departure for the conception of the character of Ahmed Nurudin, a man who in his self-portrayal creates the impression of a triple ego hidden within himself. Such a perception on the part of the reader directly correlates with the dervish's patterns of

existence and behavior. Here, too, three stages can be identified:

1. **Peace of mind** through seclusion or demarcation, the *tekieh* being seen as a place affording protection from the outside world:

"naviknut da ne vidim ono što me se ne tiče, tako sam bliže sebi." (16)

2. **Resignation**, pain and silent despair which, through the assimilation of outside experience, convey a vague idea of real life or at least give way to a sense of disquiet and a feeling of solidarity with rebels or victims:

"Čuo sam i mnogo šta o životu i ljudima što dotad nisam znao. Ponešto sa zaprepaštenjem, i tako sam sticao iskustvo, gubeći naivnost, na ne prestajući da žalim." (269)

3. **Action**, brought about by his awareness of his own power as a *cadi* and by feelings of hatred and vengeance towards the Muslim whom he had once implored in vain to help his arrested brother, Harun:

"Kad sam se ujutru probudio, mržnja je čekala budna, dignute glave, kao zmija sklupčana u vijugama moga mozga ... Mirno i otvoreno sam gledao u oči svemu, ničega se ne bojeći. Išao sam svuda gdje sam mislio da ću videti muselima ..." (332)

Incidentally, in the second part of the novel this transformation of the protagonist enforced by external circumstances is attended by a change in the narrative pattern. There is no time left for Nurudin to engage in profound religious meditation and make extensive records. Once again, Selimović puts the arguments in Nurudin's mouth:

"Vrijeme je dosad bilo more što se polako giba medju velikim obalama trajanja. Sad je ličilo na brzi tok rijeke koja nepovratno odnosi trenutke. Nijedan ne smijem

izgubiti, za svaki je vezana jedna mogućnost. Uplašio bih se da sam ranije mislio tako, izbezumio bi me taj siloviti huk i nezaustavno kretanje, a sad sam prisiljen da ga sustižem, pripremljen u sebi, jer mi se žuri." (397)

Ahmed fails. Planning a cynical intrigue out of a desire for vengeance, he suffers the verdict of those who are above him. In the end, Nurudin perishes because of the contradictions involved in his own exercise of power. The concrete terms remain a matter of speculation for the reader.

The Function of the Religious World of Experience for the Conception of the Character of Ahmed Nurudin

A comparison between the beginning and conclusion of the novel reveals, on closer inspection, that the closing quotation from the Koran, in marked contrast to the opening, does not include the so-called *basmala* (in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful),¹² which precedes every *sura*. Is this *only* an instance of the free handling of the Koran as claimed by Selimović himself?¹³ And given such an interpretation, is it a matter of secondary importance that the "quotation"¹⁴ which comes closest to *Sura* 103 dispenses with the closing passage that reaffirms the Koran's message of salvation: "Except for those who have faith and do good works, who exhort each other to justice and to fortitude."¹⁵

Locher has demonstrated persuasively that, after all, the dervish Ahmed Nurudin's "view of the world and the people who inhabit it bears the imprint of Islam."¹⁶

However, if we follow the sequence of the dervish's reverions and introspective episodes on the basis of striking examples, the changing dynamics of the proceedings suggest the following conclusions which tend to qualify the foregoing statement: Allah or the reference to God is present throughout the text, but as his doubts and his despair increase, Nurudin places less faith in Him (the often recurring standard expressions must, of course, be left out of consideration).

Examples:

"Nikoga ne tužim, Bože koji sve znaš i budi milostiv i meni, i njima i svim griješnim ljudima." (40)

(Acceptance of God as the highest authority)

"Zaista mislim da je božja volja vrhovni zakon, da je vječnost mjera našeg djelovanja i da je vjera važnija od čovjeka." (148)

(Unconditional reference to the supreme law following a dispute with the free-thinking Hasan and his demand that something *human* should be done to save Ahmed's brother, Harun)

"A za sve što činim, odgovaraću pred Bogom i pred svojom savješću ..." (178)

"Neka mi ruke sasuš, neka mi usta onijeme, neka mi duša ostane pusta, ako ne učinim što čovjek mora da čini. A Bog neka odluči." (178)

(Clear evidence that the dervish has already become conscious of his own responsibility as a human being, God being only the second authority in his thinking)

When Hasan, in the course of the dispute, replies to his friend:

"A vidiš, i oni koji ne vjeruju u Boga, takodje su sigurni. A bilo bi možda dobro da nisu tako sigurni." (354), Ahmed does not object.

However, Ahmed is frightened by the possible implications. The final chapter furnishes the clearest evidence that God's omnipotence diminishes in the dervish's thinking. Aware of the approaching end, the dervish hopes that Hafiz-Muhamad (translated as "the one who knows the entire Koran by heart")¹⁷ from the *tekieh* will offer him spiritual assistance as a human being rather than as a guardian of the faith.

"Da mu kažem: Sam sam, hafiz-Muhamede, sam i tužan, pruž mi ruku i samo za čas budi mi prijatelj, otac, sin, drag čovjek čija me blizina raduje ..." (495)

This fragmentary summary shows the following: To the Koran's

message of salvation Selimović counterposes a demystified image of God. This may be seen as the reason why Ahmed Nurudin prefers to rely on *ink, pen and paper* so that at least something of him will endure.

As the references to religious constants become less frequent, the statements of universal validity, which are anyhow present throughout the text, mount in intensity, frequently to the point of a poetic metaphor. For brevity's sake I will confine myself to three extracts which attest to this universalism:

"Upravljanje poslovima je vladanje, vlast je sila, sila je nepravda zbog pravde ..." (258)

"Kasaba se pretvorila u veliko uho i oko koje lovi svačiji dah i korak." (311)

"Volio bih kad bih smio reći zar su vezir i ova zemlja isto? Ali u razgovoru s moćnicima čovjek mora da proguta sve pametne razloge, i da prihvati njihov način mišljenja, a to znači da je unaprijed pobjedjen." (461)

In Place of a Résumé

As Umberto Eco has pointed out, "interpreting a text critically means reading it with the intention of discovering something about its nature while responding to it. By contrast, using a text means beginning with a stimulus directed towards more far-reaching goals and, in so doing, accepting the risk of understanding the text differently from a semantic point of view."¹⁸

The critiques and studies put forward so far in respect of the novel *Derviš i smrt* provide evidence of both approaches. I believe that anyone who in the face of present-day realities chooses the Bosnian entity as a stimulus for reading the novel will risk making too much of the author's undoubted roots in the eastern, i.e., Oriental or Islamic, cultural tradition. The ethnic aspect or element is not the only one that is relevant here. However, there is no denying the fact that Oriental mysticism and exoticism (starting with the term "dervish" in the title) can have a stimulating effect, not least on readers in a different cultural context.

But it is inadmissible—as, hopefully, my few examples have

demonstrated—to classify the novel exclusively as historical. Therefore, I incline towards the expression "historicist projection" used by the Slovene literary scholar Rotar.¹⁹ It sums up the features which account for the abiding topicality of such a novel: the debate on the perennial conflict between the individual and institutionalized power placed in an historical setting. In the case of Selimović this takes the form of reflections on the relationship between power and morality in the individual and of references to the latent dangers inherent in the exercise of power. The text will reveal its "nature" even if the reader is unaware of the autobiographical clue provided by Selimović himself.²⁰ Seen in these terms, the impression of abstract history and of a highly idiosyncratic assimilation of a specific milieu for a given purpose is only logical.²¹

¹ Bibliography in the "*Sabrana dela Meša Selimovića*" (*Jubilarno izdanje*). (Belgrade: Sarajevo, 1990), passim.

² The novel earned its author the NIN Prize, the Njegoš Prize, the Goran Prize, the AVNCU Prize and an honorary doctorate from Sarajevo University.

³ The records of the "Books are Bridges" Symposium held at Bonn in early 1995 provide different perspectives. In *Neue Literatur (Neue Folge)*, (Bucharest, January, 1995), 75–104.

⁴ R. Lauer, *Phantom Jugoslavistik (Sprache in der Slavia und auf dem Balkan: Slavistische und balkanologische Aufsätze*, (eds. U. Hinrichs, H. Jachnow, R. Lauer, G. Schubert. (Wiesbaden, 1993), 148–149.

⁵ S. Balić, *Das unbekannte Bosnien: Europas Brücke zur islamischen Welt*. (Cologne: Weimar, Vienna, 1992) 140.

⁶ This explains why P. Kersche, G. Kersche: *Bibliographie der Literaturen Jugoslawiens in deutscher Übersetzung 1775 bis 1977*. (Munich, 1978), 59, wrongly state that the work was first published in 1969 by Aufbau-Verlag.

⁷ The author in conversation with Ms. Antkowiak on September 4, 1995.

⁸ M. Jähnichen, *Mehmed Selimović: Der Derwisch und der Tod*. (Weimar Beiträge, 3/1975), 125–128, passim.

⁹ J.E. Butler, *Literary Style and Poetic Function in Meša Selimović's The Dervish and the Death*. (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, 52, 1974), 533–547.

¹⁰ These and all further quotations are based on M. Selimović, *Derviš i smrt*. (Belgrade: Sarajevo, 1990).

¹¹ The issue explored further by P. Thiergen, *Zum Eingangskapital von M. Selimovičs "Derviš i smrt."* (*Studia Phraseologica et alia: Festschrift für Josip Matešić zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Eismann and J. Petermann. (Munich, 1992), 497–510.

¹² In Arabic: *Bismi' llāhi r - rahmāni' - rahūm*. I have used the following edition: *Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen*, von M. Hennig. (Suttgart, 1995), 16.

¹³ R. Popović, *Život Meše Selimovića*. (Belgrade, 1988), 59.

¹⁴ N. Milošević, *Zidnica na pesku: Derviš i smrt Meše Selimovića*. In: M. Egerić, *Derviš i smrt Meše Selimovića*. (Belgrade, 1982) 71.

¹⁵ The Koran (London, 1995), 432.

¹⁶ J.P. Locher, *Zur philosophischen Anthropologie in Selimovičs Roman "Derviš i smrt."* (*Zeitschrift für slavische philologie*, 47, 1987) 331.

¹⁷ A Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. (Sarajevo, 1972), 297.

¹⁸ U. Eco, *Streit der Interpretationen*. (Constance, 1987), 43.

¹⁹ For a more detailed account of the problems involved in such classification see J. Rotar, *Historistička projekcija u savremenom jugoslavenskom romanu*. (*Književna reč*, February 25, 1984), 1, 8 (I), March 10, 1984, 16 (II), March 25, 1984, 18 (III).

²⁰ M. Selimović, *Sjećanja*. (Belgrade: Sarajevo, 1990), especially 170–177.

²¹ For an assessment in terms of literary history see also A. Richter, *Serbische Prosa nach 1945; Entwicklungstendenzen und Romanstrukturen*. (Munich, 1991) especially 75–78.

SERBIAN PLACE NAMES AROUND THE WORLD

Marinel Mandres

Wilford Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada

Examine an atlas closely and you will discover that Serbia and its people are reflected in the names of various cities, streets, and geographic features throughout the world. Some places have been named in honor of Serbia and Montenegro, others after prominent people, and many more after the presence of immigrant pioneers. A North American map reveals the following communities:

Balkan, Alberta.
 Balkan, Kentucky.
 Balkan Township, Minnesota.
 Banat, Michigan.
 Belgrade, Colorado.
 Belgrade, Maine.
 Belgrade, Minnesota.
 Belgrade, Missouri.
 Belgrade, Montana.
 Belgrade, Nebraska.
 Belgrade, North Carolina.
 Belgrade, Texas.
 Belgrade Cave Lake, Minnesota.
 Belgrade Lakes, Maine.
 Belgrade Mills, Maine.
 Belgrade Township, Maine.
 Belgrade Township, Minnesota.
 Beljica Peak, Washington.
 North Belgrade, Maine.
 Serb Creek, British Columbia.
 Serbin, Texas.
 Servia Indiana.
 Servia, Washington.
 Servia, West Virginia.
 Slavia, Florida.
 Tesla, California.

Tesla, West Virginia.

Belgrade, Montana was named in 1889 by a Serb from Belgrade who was among those on the special train that took the president of the North Pacific Railway to Gold Creek, Montana for the ceremony of driving the last spike. Belgrade, Nebraska was named such by James Main because it resembles the site of Belgrade, Yugoslavia which is located at the confluence of two rivers. Incorporated in 1796, Belgrade, Maine was also named after the Serbian capital as was Belgrade, Minnesota. There is a Serbia Airport in Serbia Indiana and a La Playa Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia Beach) in Matanzas, Cuba. A community named Balkan Well is situated in Western Australia.

At the neighborhood scale one finds:

Adria Drive, New Smyrna Beach, Florida.
 Adriatic Boulevard, Stoney Creek, Ontario.
 Adriatic Drive, Tampa, Florida.
 Balkan Court, Fort Myers, Florida.
 Balkan Place, Toledo, Ohio.
 Balkan Street, Apopka, Florida.
 Balkan Street, Vancouver, British Columbia.
 Banat Road, Cambridge, Ontario.
 Belgrade Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.
 Belgrade Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
 Belgrade Avenue, Mankato, Minnesota.
 Belgrade Avenue, Orlando, Florida.
 Belgrade Avenue, Rosindale, Massachusetts.
 Belgrade Drive, Huntsville, Alabama.
 Belgrade Drive, Houston, Texas.
 Belgrade Drive, Panama City, Florida.
 Belgrade Road, Belgrade, North Carolina.
 Belgrade Road, Belgrade Township, Maine.
 Belgrade Road, Miami, Florida.
 Belgrade Street, Manchester, New Hampshire.
 Belgrade Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
 Belgrade Terrace, Englewood, Florida.
 Belgrade Way, Sacramento, California.

Bosna Court, Hamilton, Ontario.
 Lilija Road, Houston, Texas.
 Princip Street, Hamilton, Ontario.
 Sava Crescent, Mississauga Ontario.
 Serbian Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
 Serbian Drive, St. Louis, Missouri.
 Serbian Place, San Diego, California.
 Servia Landing, Servia, Indiana.
 Tesla Road, Alameda County, California.
 West Belgrade Drive, Dunnellon, Florida.
 Zorana Place, San Pedro, California.

Nikola Tesla Corner, dedicated in 1994, can be found at the intersection of 6th Avenue and 40th Street in New York City. There is a Belgrade Loop in Kingston, Jamaica. The Grande and Juarez districts of Mexico City each have a street named after Belgrade while Monterray, Mexico has a Yugoslavos Street.

Serbian immigrants from Montenegro, Dalmatia, and Bosnia established themselves in South America at the turn of this century. Two communities named Montenegro exist; one in Brazil and the other in Colombia. Punta Arenas, Chile has a neighborhood named Yugoslavia. The following streets turn up in Brazil and Chile:

Bosnia, Santiago, Chile.
 Drina, Santiago, Chile.
 Jugoslavija, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
 Montenegro, Rio de Janerio, Brazil.
 Montenegro, Santiago, Chile.
 Sarajevo, Santiago, Chile.
 Yadrán (Jadrán), Santiago, Chile.
 Yugoslavia, Antofagosta, Chile.
 Yugoslavia, Punta Arenas, Chile.
 Yugoslavia, Vina del Mar, Chile.
 Yugooslavo, Valparaiso Chile.
 Yugooslavo, Vina del Mar, Chile.

Historic in nature, European names are associated with the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. Toponyms, some corrupted,

provide an eloquent testimony to the early spatial movement of the Serbian people. A significant number of place names can only be explained by the former presence of this nation in large numbers throughout Europe. Serbs transferred to Asia Minor in 649 by Emperor Constantine founded the city of Gordoservon.

Four features of Constantinople (Istanbul) are named after Belgrade: one the city's main quarters (*Belgratkapi*) which itself is named after the Gate of Belgrade located along the walls of Theodosius, a boulevard running through it (*Belgratkapi Yolu*), and a forest (*Belgrat Ormani*). The forest takes its name after the historic village of Belgrade which was peopled by unwilling Serbs brought there after their capital was captured by the Ottomans under Süleyman in August 1521. Eventually the name Belgrade was applied to the whole forest. The village is now no more than a few ruins. Positioned in the Thracian Peninsula, Sirpsindigi (Scene of Serb Defeat) is where the Ottoman Turks prevailed in the Battle of Marica in 1371. It is also the center of an administrative division within the Edirne (Adrianopolis) *vilayet*.

A forest in Jerusalem, Israel, is named in honor of King Peter I. Berat, Albania was known as Beligrad or Belgrad between 1345 and 1450. Srpsko Selo and Srpski Samokov were situated near Samokov, Bulgaria during the 1700s. The Kosovo River flows in both Bulgaria and Russia. There used to be a Nikšić located near Odessa during the early 1700s when the Russians established a Montenegrin Serb settlement known as Nova Serbiya. Another colony, Slavynoserbske, survives in name and is found east of Kiev. Balkany, a settlement in the Chelyabinsk oblast of Russia was known as Balkansky Priisk before 1929.

The influence of Serbian is also evident in the numerous place names, some hybrid, throughout Romania's Banat region. Although these names have been enumerated elsewhere, it should be noted that Sf. Petru Mare (Veliki Sv. Petar), Sf. Nicola Mare (Veliki Sv. Nikola), Cenadul Mare (Veliki Canda), and Pojejena were respectively known as Srpski Sv. Petar (until 1557), Srpski Sv. Nikola, Srpska Canda (until 1717), and Srpska Požežena (i.e. Požega). Srpski Sv. Petar was settled by Herzegovinian Serbs in 1333. Established in 1199, Srpska Canda became a predominantly Serbian town by 1647. Brought into existence in 1421, Bosna was renamed Bosnjak in 1717 and then Moldava Noua sometime before 1378. Banatska Crna Gora is the indigenous term referring to the

area between Arad and Timisoara (Temišvar) while area around the latter is locally called Sirbova (Srbova).

The following place names occur in Europe:

Balkan, Russia.
 Balkan Kameni, Russia.
 Balkan Mountain Range, Turkmenistan.
 Balkan Oblast, Turkmenistan.
 Balkany, Russia.
 Bar, Ukraine.
 Belgrade, Belgium.
 Belgrat, Turkey.
 Belogradka (Beograd), Russia.
 Belohrad (Beograd), Czech Republic.
 Bosanci, Romania.
 Bosna, Turkey.
 Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi), Italy.
 Chernogorka, Ukraine.
 Chernogorka Mountain Range, Ukraine.
 Chernogorska, Russia.
 Chernogorskaya, Russia (2 communities).
 Crusovat (Kruševac), Romania.
 Hersek (Herzegovina), Turkey.
 Hersek Gölü (Lake Herzegovina), Turkey.
 Kosovë (Kosovo), Albania.
 Kosovë e Madhe, Albania.
 Kosovë e Vogël, Albania.
 Kosovo, Bulgaria.
 Kosovo, Russia.
 Kossovo, Belorussia.
 Kotorr, Albania.
 Montenegro, Spain.
 Morava, Albania.
 Polsko Kosovo (Kosovo Polje), Bulgaria.
 Sarbia, Poland.
 Sarbice, Poland.
 Sarbicko, Poland.

Sarbiewo, Poland.
 Sarbinowo, Poland.
 Sarbka, Poland.
 Serba, Germany.
 Serbenovka, Ukraine.
 Serbiya, Russia.
 Serbinovka, Russia.
 Serbinovtsy, Ukraine.
 Serbitz, Germany.
 Serbka Ukraine.
 Serbo-slobodka, Ukraine.
 Servia, Greece.
 Sîrbeni, Romania (town and county).
 Sîrbenii de Jos, Romania.
 Sîrbesti, Romania (town and county).
 Sîrbi, Romania (town and county).
 Sîrbii Magura (Mountain), Romania (town and county).
 Sîrbi Sfintesti, Romania.
 Sîrbeni, Romania.
 Sirpsindigi, Turkey (town and administrative division).
 Sf. Martinu Sirbesc (Srpski Sv. Marton), Romania (town and county).
 Slavyno-Serbka, Moldova.
 Slavynoserbske, Ukraine.
 Srbce, Czech Republic.
 Srbec, Czech Republic.
 Srbice, Czech Republic.
 Srbín, Czech Republic.
 Srbino, Czech Republic (region).
 Srbská, Czech Republic.
 Srbská Kamenice, Czech Republic.
 Srbsko, Czech Republic.
 Srby, Czech Republic.
 Topola, Romania.

Maps of European cities indicate the presence of these thoroughfares:

Avenue Pierre Ier de Serbie, Paris, France.
 Bacska (Bačka) Utca, Szeged, Hungary.
 Balkanen Straße, Dortmund, Germany.
 Balkanen Strücken, Hamburg, Germany.
 Banat Straße, Dortmund, Germany.
 Banat Straße, Ludwigshafen, Germany.
 Banat Straße, Munich, Germany.
 Banat Straße, Nürnberg, Germany.
 Banat Straße, Salzburg, Austria.
 Banat Straße, Stuttgart, Germany.
 Banat Utca Budapest, Hungary.
 Batschka (Bačka) Straße, Ludwigshafen, Germany.
 Belehradská Street, Prague, Czech Republic.
 Belgradplatz, Vienna, Austria.
 Belgrad Rakpart, Budapest, Hungary.
 Belgrad Straße, Munich, Germany.
 Belgrade Crescent, Sunderland, United Kingdom.
 Belgrade Street, Belfast, United Kingdom.
 Belgrade Road, London (Stoke Newington), United Kingdom.
 Belgrade Road, London (Twickenham), United Kingdom.
 Belgrade Road, Wolverhampton, United Kingdom.
 Belgrade Square, Sunderland, United Kingdom.
 Belgrader Straße, Bremen, Germany.
 Belgrader Straße, Hamburg, Germany.
 Belgrader Straße, Nürnberg, Germany.
 Belgrader Weg, Ludwigshafen, Germany.
 Belgradskaya (Belgrade) Street, St. Petersburg, Russia.
 Calle Montenegro, Palma de Mallorca, Spain.
 Calle Servia, Madrid, Spain.
 Jugoslávská Street, Prague, Czech Republic.
 Jugoslávských Partyzánů Street, Czech Republic.
 Jugosłowanski Square, Warsaw, Poland.
 Karageorgi Servias Street, Athens, Greece.
 Nikoly Tesly Street, Prague, Czech Republic.
 Panscovai (Pančevo) Utca, Szeged, Hungary.
 Piazza Belgrado, Cagliari, Italy.
 Piazza Castelnuovo, Palermo, Italy.

Place de Serbie, Liège, Belgium.
 Passage Montenegro, Paris, France.
 Rue de Belgrade, Brussels, Belgium.
 Rue de Belgrade, Paris, France.
 Rue de Belgrade, Toulouse, France.
 Rue de Montenegro, Brussels, Belgium.
 Rue de Montenegro, Liège, Belgium.
 Rue de Serbie, Brussels, Belgium.
 Rue de Serbie, Cannes, France.
 Rue de Serbie, Liège, Belgium.
 Rue de Serbie, Lyon, France.
 Rue de Serbie, Paris, France.
 Servia Gardens, Leeds, United Kingdom.
 Servia Hill, Leeds, United Kingdom.
 Servia Road, Leeds, United Kingdom.
 Servia Street, Belfast, United Kingdom.
 Servion Street, Athens, Greece.
 Srbská Street, Prague, Czech Republic.
 Strada Belgrad, Bucharest, Romania.
 Strada Sirbeasca, Caransebes, Romania.
 Szerb (Serbian) Utca, Budapest, Hungary.
 Ujvidek (Novi Sad) Setany, Budapest, Hungary.
 Ujvidek Ter., Budapest, Hungary.
 Ujvidek Utca, Budapest, Hungary.
 Versec (Vršac) Sor, Budapest, Hungary.
 Via Belgrado, Cagliari, Italy.
 Via Belgrado, Rome, Italy.
 Via Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi), Palermo, Italy.
 Via Castelnuovo, Turin, Italy.
 Via Castelnuovo, Verona, Italy.
 Via Cattaro (Kotor), Bari, Italy.
 Via Cattaro, Milan, Italy.
 Via Cattaro, Padova, Italy.
 Via Cattaro, Rome, Italy.
 Via Jugoslavia, Rome, Italy.
 Via Montenegro, Bari, Italy.
 Via Montenegro, Cagliari, Italy.
 Via Montenegro, Rome, Italy.

Via Njegos, Rome, Italy.

Vicolo Castelnuovo, Palermo, Italy.

The cities of Marrakech, Morocco and Tunis, Tunisia both have a Rue de Yougoslavie. The former was previously known as Rue d'Alexandre 1er de Yougoslavie.

All of the aforementioned place and street names have added variety to the global toponymic fabric. With the world's attention focused upon the Balkans once again, it remains to be seen whether 'political correctness' will result in the elimination and replacement of some Serbian place names.

BOOK REVIEWS

Veljko P. Bojić, *Mat u raju. Drama u četiri čina*. Los Angeles, 1994, 162 pages.

Veljko P. Bojić, *Drame*. Los Angeles, 1995, 384 pages.

Veljko P. Bojić is a prolific writer in the Serbian diaspora. In addition to a collection of poems, *Izgnanik*, and a poem, he has published three novels: a two-volume opus *Orlovska gnijezda*, *Dama u belim rukavicama* and *Crveni klobuk*. He has now ventured into yet another genre, drama. The books under review contain five of his plays, written at different times.

Mat u raju is a tragic-comedy, in fact an allegory on happenings and life in Yugoslavia after World War II. It is a tragedy because of the pervasive destructive effect the communist rule has had on the Serbian people in the last fifty years, and it is a comedy because of the ironic and sarcastic treatment with which the author has chosen to present the characters and events. The list of the characters includes almost everyone who had played a role in bringing about the changes in Yugoslavia during and after the war: the Nazis, the reds, the chetniks, King Peter, general Draža Mihailović, Churchill, Stalin, royal officers, partisans, Djilas, Jovanka Broz, and many more. It is not easy to unravel all the allegories and references; the audience in Yugoslavia would probably have an easier time with recognition because they have been involved more directly with events and people represented. To make matters more difficult, the actions and characters changed during the writing of the play as the situation in Yugoslavia progressed in the last few years. The play is somewhat too long and the action bogs down now and then in prolonged conversations. It is more of a play for reading (*Lesedrama*) than for staging; after all, the author was more interested in promulgating his own ideas about the recent past. In the hands of a good producer, however, all those problems can be easily resolved. It would be fascinating to see the reaction on the part of the audience seeing the play on the stage. Moreover, *Mat u raju* is in line with modern drama practiced now all over the world.

The second book is more ambitious, not only because it contains four plays rather than one, but also because of the variety of the subject

matter. The first play, *Oliver*, resembles *Mat u raju* in that it again deals in an allegorical fashion with the communist rule in Yugoslavia after World War II. But while in the former play the emphasis is on the political aspect and on the devious speculations enabling the communists to come to and stay in power, in *Oliver* the emphasis is on the corrosion of the moral fiber as an inevitable result of the communist rule. Instead of politicians, the main characters belong to "the new class," to use Djilas's term, the intellectuals, and, most importantly, the betrayed workers, who are just as badly off as they were before the revolution. It is not surprising that the most frequent prop in the play is a number of coffins, as the stench of death permeates the scene.

This stench of decay is even more pronounced in the second play, *Ne gasi mi svetiljku*. Cleverly using the famous act of Diogenes carrying the light with him everywhere looking, symbolically, for man, Bojić points out the basic problem underlying the new society—a lack of honesty and upright citizenry. In the darkness the new Diogenes is trying to pierce "the new class" lives well, and the representatives of the old are forced to live underground, literally (an uncanny, and certainly unintentional, similarity to a novel by Dušan Kovačević, *Bila jednom jedna zemlja*, made into a movie by Emir Kusturica that has just won the first prize in Cannes). The author's warning is contained in Jesus's words according to Luke, "See to it, then, that the light within you is not darkness." The metaphor of a light also reveals Bojić's main concern, which is finding in man the seemingly forgotten and lost honesty as the only foundation on which any society can be successfully built.

Olimpija is more down to earth, taking place in the sixties in a small town on the Montenegrin coast. In a colorful setting, Bojić depicts a family of a nationalist officer killed by the communists, struggling to survive, economically but also emotionally, amid the oppressive regime that relegates them to nothing. In the end, though, they triumph by finding decency among people, even among those who support the regime. Thus, what it boils down to in all of Bojić's plays is honesty and valor; with it, everything is possible; without it, life is bleak indeed.

The only play not placed in our time and milieu is *Kolašinovići*. Yet, even though it deals with a historical event in sixteenth century Montenegro, it still concerns the same quest for honesty and valor. The Kolashinoviches were a Montenegrin tribe that disappeared from the face of the earth in their struggle with the Turks. The age-old question

whether to fight oppression to the bitter end, if needs be, or to accommodate and save what can be saved is replayed here in a fashion worthy of the best of patriotic plays in Serbian dramaturgy. The Kolashinoviches choose to fight and perish, but their glory survives. It is left to individual viewers to make that choice. With some revisions, *Kolašinići* could be made into a classic.

With these plays Bojić has rounded off his literary profile, although he is not through yet. Even with what he has produced so far, he has taken a prominent place in Serbian literature of the diaspora. His place in Serbian literature overall is yet to be established, as is the case with all of the writers who have chosen to write away from the *matice*.

Vasa D. Mihailovich
University of North Carolina

Dimitrije Djordjević, *Ožiljci i opomene. Knjiga Prva (Scars and Reminders)* Vol. I. Bigz: Belgrade, 1994, 327 pages.

The year which is celebrating five decades since the end of WW II has seen many changes in the arena of the history of the world at large and of Yugoslavia in particular. It is as if the victors have changed places with the vanquished. The Russian nation has lost all its hard-earned achievements. It has lost the cold war. Its very state has ceased to exist, and its ideological system, which had not yet managed to constitute itself historically and shape itself existentially, has collapsed. Germany, by contrast, is again unified and has become the leading power in Europe politically and, particularly, economically.

The case of the Serbian people is similar. On the one hand, it had endured greater sufferings in WW II and had invested more than any other people in the victory over fascism. And it had shared its victory with other peoples of Yugoslavia, even with those who had been on the opposing side, in order to preserve the communality of their joint existence. Fifty years later, however, the Serbian people lost Yugoslavia and finds itself in isolation, cast out from the international community. In our view, these are concrete results of the communist anti-fascist movement in Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, by far the greatest part of the Serbian historiography has never acknowledged the existence of the anti-fascist struggle of the Serbian people in WW II embodied in the Ravna Gora Movement and in General Dragoljub Mihailović. In the name of fraternity and unity a lasting ideological embargo was placed on that movement—an embargo which remains in force to this day. Treason and collaboration with the enemy are qualifiers which do not change and represent the line which the majority of Serbian historians have never crossed. The Ravna Gora Movement was interpreted superficially, in extreme generalities, on the level of isolated incidents and ephemeral manifestations. It has never been viewed as an integral part of Serbian society (the ideological embargo was not allowed to embrace a nation in its entirety). It was viewed rather as a combination of war circumstances and "counterrevolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie with Greater Serbia aspirations."

For this reason, many events and phenomena, as well as personalities—from leaders to common foot soldiers—have remained beyond the pale of historiography. For the most part they were all put in the "traitors' gallery," and nothing is known about many of them. That which is forgotten might never have existed at all.

This large *lacuna* in the Serbian historiography is yet to be filled. A big step towards this end was made by Dimitrije Djordjević in his book *Ožiljci i opomene (Scars and Reminders)*. The book is a deeply moving war testimony about a generation of national patriots, their ideals and delusions, hopes and aspirations, conflicts and the tragic schism. It is also a personal confession of the author himself, who chose in his early youth not to stand on the sidelines and who, because of this choice, served three terms in hard labor camps.

Dimitrije Djordjević has given a strong and impressive testimony of harsh times, when the Nazi boot tramped all over Europe and when a whole generation opted for resistance following the established nationalist and libertarian tradition of the Serbian people.

The author finds himself playing a dual role: the role of participant in the events and the role of the chronicler of these events. This duality represents a considerable difficulty which the author must overcome. As a result of his endeavors we have before us a unique story, revealing many hitherto unknown facts, many forgotten individuals who had followed their feelings and become sucked into a bloody

fratricidal war. This is why Djordjević's reminiscences carry many scars and yet are not imbued with hatred for anyone. The author tells us of the destinies of many individuals, from well-known Serbian intellectuals and junior members of the Serbian Cultural Club to simple youths who had joined the Ravna Gora Movement. He also writes of those who were forced into emigration by a cruel stroke of fate or vicissitudes of history.

His personal outpourings about the times in the death camps of Banjica and Mauthausen are not limited to himself alone. They are a veritable painter's palette depicting the fates of convicts in the system of Nazi crimes. The author exerted himself to the utmost not to forget anybody.

Dimitrije Djordjević also writes about his wartime activities as a member of JRAO Headquarters 501/1 and gives a historiographic evaluation of the Ravna Gora Movement and its leaders, particularly General Draža Mihailović and Dragiša Vasić. He reveals many new facts which can be corroborated by archival research, thus giving the book an imprint of solid scholarship. Many judgments about the character of the movement and conditionalities and limitations imposed on it by history are valuable signposts for future researchers. This primarily refers to those parts of the book which deal with the work of the Central Committee, the youth organization, the nature of revelations between Mihailović and Vasić, the ideology of the movement itself, the essential differences between the movement and the opposing side, the abandonment of it by the allies and the causes of its collapse.

Djordjević's style is calm and measured, his assessments fair and precise, his value judgments well-grounded and responsible, always based on factual knowledge rather than on ideological and political slogans. Although the book is an account of a "personal experience" of the historian, although it deals with a contemporary and a participant, it is free of intolerance and exclusiveness and ideological bias which are characteristic of many writers of the "opposing side." This is particularly true of the pages devoted to the civil war which is perceived and interpreted by Dimitrije Djordjević as a tragic schism within the Serbian nation and not as a "revolutionary purgatory" or the settling of accounts between "the progressive and the reactionary, the positive and the negative."

The book *Scars and Reminders* is an epitaph for a generation which wanted to change the world in accordance with its convictions,

which was defeated and paid for this defeat the high price exacted by those for whom victory was the primary point of departure of their desire to change the world. However, as the author points out: "The price was nevertheless lower than the price that our consciences would have exacted from us had we remained outside the conflict. Success or failure are not of the essence. Of the essence are the motives which lead a generation to divide against itself, to collide with itself and to sacrifice itself. Victory or defeat is a secondary consideration."

The generation to which Dimitrije Djordjević belongs still awaits its historiographic evaluation—an evaluation which in any case will never be able to erase the scars this generation bears.

Kosta Nikolić
Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade

Edward Dennis Goy, *The Sabre and the Song—Njegoš: The Mountain Wreath*. Belgrade: Serbian P.E.N. Publications, 1995, 115 pages.

It takes courage to write a book about Petar Petrović Njegoš, just as it does to write about Shakespeare, Goethe, or Cervantes—there is so much written about them that one wonders whether there is anything else left to say. Edward Dennis Goy, a prominent English Slavist who has written a lot about and translated from Yugoslav literatures, has ventured to do exactly that. This study of eight essays, interspersed with copious verse translations, is mostly about Njegoš's *The Mountain Wreath*, although there is a chapter about *The Ray of Microcosm* and observations about Njegoš in general. The titles of the chapters reveal what preoccupies the author: "The Ethic and the Game," "The Genre and Scene Structure of *The Mountain Wreath*," "The Tableau in *The Mountain Wreath*," "The Role of the Ring Dance in *The Mountain Wreath*," "Some Characteristics of the Poetry of *The Mountain Wreath*," and "Existence in *The Mountain Wreath*." As can be seen, Goy approaches Njegoš's magnum opus from all angles—the philosophical and ethical issues, the significance of individual characteristics of the work, and its formalistic aspects. In analyzing the philosophical aspects of *The Mountain Wreath*, Goy echoes some well-known opinions but also postulates some of his own. He is especially innovative in dealing with the formalistic features, which seem to attract him just as much as

the deeper problems of existence and morality, for which Njegoš is well-known. An attractive aspect of this study is Goy's erudition, which he does not hesitate to invoke comparing Njegoš to other illustrious names of world literature. It is here that we find Goy's perhaps most provocative observation that Njegoš's is "a relatively new voice in European poetry and a poet who can appeal to our modern awareness." To say this in our day, almost a hundred fifty years after his death, takes courage indeed, but it also underscores the need to look at Njegoš as an important figure in world literature, not only as a giant among the alleged Lilliputians in the Balkans. It is much more convincing when this new look comes from connoisseurs abroad, rather than from Njegoš's naturally biased compatriots.

In this connection, it is also useful to quote Goy's concluding words: "To write about Njegoš at the present time is, of course, slightly hazardous. The facetious Balkan tragedy that is being played out with the aid of the powers of Western Europe and America has led to nationalistic feelings that have been seen to act adversely on the acceptance of the national culture of all parties. Thus there have been attacks on the works of Ivo Andrić and also on Njegoš. I am informed that some Nitwit wrote an article suggesting that Njegoš wrote in favour of a genocide! People always have been, I fear, will always be thus, but perhaps one might quote the words of George Sampson regarding Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "A poem does not become unreadable when its ideology is no longer accepted." This reminds this reviewer of the good-natured comments of a leading Serbian critic and anthologist when hearing about my translation of *The Mountain Wreath*, "Why waste time on translating a poet from another century when there are so many excellent modern poets waiting to be translated." Goy's clear message in this book is that gold never loses its luster.

The study concludes with a brief but useful bibliography. Along with Milovan Djilas's book, *Njegoš: Poet, Prince, Bishop* (1966), *The Sabre and the song* offers a rare but badly needed study of Njegoš in English.

Vasa D. Mihailovich
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Brian Hall, *The Impossible Country: A Journey Through the Last Days of Yugoslavia*. Penguin Books, 1994, 334 pages.

Writers on the collapse of Yugoslavia and the events following come in two kinds: native Yugoslavs—Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims—who are very close to the subject and therefore emotional and opinionated, and outsiders, non-Yugoslavs, who if not caught by the arguments of one or the other side, are, or should be, more objective. One way of assuring emotional distance and objectivity is to withdraw value judgements on the events and let the facts speak for themselves.

The author in this book solved this dilemma of objectivity by recording what different nationalities in the former Yugoslavia had to say about each other and about the most important issues of the day and by avoiding or minimizing his own personal opinions on the subject:

"Wars require a dehumanization of the enemy. The Serbs, Croats and Muslims of Yugoslavia had done this before and were doing it again. They did it efficiently. The best opposition to this process I could envision was to concentrate, wherever I want . . . on the individuals I met—how they behaved in what was left of their normal lives, what they thought about themselves and their history, what they thought about other ethnic groups and their histories" (p. x). Chapters in this book entitled "Zagreb," "Sarajevo," "In Bosnia-Herzegovina," and "Toward Kosovo" indicate where the author conducted his interviews from May to mid-September 1991.

The author, a young man and a recent graduate of Harvard, approaches his subject with apparent wide-eyed innocence, and the contrast between this novice in Yugoslav politics and the devious ways of wily Yugoslav natives produces absurd situations. It is as if a Martian lands in Yugoslavia and is both amused and perplexed about the strange ways of the natives. This is, of course, one of the devices which the author assumes to accentuate the contradictions and absurdities of Yugoslav politics. During his stay in Zagreb, he sees crowds of people applauding their nationalist leader Tudjman and is reminded that Tudjman was Tito's youngest general. He hears also in Zagreb that Croats are not Slavs but descended from an Iranian tribe dating back to 200 BC. This ancient origin of the Croats according to the author's interlocutor makes them superior both to Serbs and Americans.

The author is now in Belgrade talking to people in the street. They feel betrayed by the former World War II ally, America, but are very sure of their cause and if the world is against the Serbs then the world is wrong. The author visits Niš where he sees a monument dedicated to the 800th anniversary of the meeting between the Emperor Frederick I, known as Barbarossa, and Stevan Nemanja. He is puzzled by three deep parallel indentations at the top of the monument which happen to represent a fork. It turns out that, according to a chronicle, Barbarossa had never seen a fork before he ate with Stevan Nemanja. The implication is the cultural and material superiority of the medieval Serbian state versus the West and by extension a claim of national pride. (Where were you, Americans, then?).

In Sarajevo the author gets a lesson in American history. A Bosnian Muslim asks him who discovered America. After several unsuccessful tries his interlocutor supplies the correct answer: it was not Columbus but a Muslim navigator. "The Muslims always knew America was there. They just did not care about it" (p. 223). To a detached foreign observer and to readers in the West to whom this book is addressed these anecdotes are funny, amusing and absurd but native readers understand them as defense mechanisms against the claims of the materially superior Western civilization.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina the author visits Medjugorje and a cave in the village of Prebilovci, where Ustashi atrocities were committed during the Second World War. For his own protection he learns how to ask: "How do you say in your own Language?" instead of "How do you say in Croatian or Serbian?" He is also quick to respond to the greeting "*Hvaljen Isus i Marija!*" (Praised be Jesus and Mary!) with "*Uvijek hvaljen!*" (Praised for Ever!)

In this area he is assumed to be either a chetnik because of his beard, or when proved not to be one, a CIA agent. When both possibilities are eliminated, he is treated like a naive American who has to be instructed in the ways of Yugoslav politics.

In Kosovo, the author with his beard appeared to the Albanians as a Serbian chetnik. They heard him speak Serbian and they assumed that he had come to poison their fountains. Another revisionist lesson in history takes place, this time an Albanian version of the battle of Kosovo: Two Albanian princes were a part of the Christian coalition and

the crimson color of the Kosovo peonies stands for the spilled blood of the Albanian warriors.

In his postscript, written after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the author traces the fates of the persons he interviewed previously and he finds that many of them have left the country and those who stayed eke out a precarious livelihood. The most poignant stories are those of mixed marriages, like a Serb/Slovene one in which a Serbian husband is not allowed to work in Slovenia and the wife cannot leave her job in Ljubljana. The children do not fit anywhere as there is no place for true Yugoslavs in the newly formed national states.

Brian Hall does not try to prove a thesis or lay blame on any person or any nationality for the cascade of events following the collapse of Yugoslavia, with the exception of a general comment on human nature occasioned by his meeting with a rabid Croatian nationalist:

"He is one of the one-to-five percent, I thought. The one-to-five percent of any population, any nation, that I and Vlado on the train had agreed caused all the problems. The one-to-five percent that became Ustashi, or Chetnik or Partisan, not because they were afraid, or confused, or idealistic, or manipulated, but because they wanted to hurt people. They had always wanted to hurt people, and until the war came they had to content themselves with hurting animals. War was their dream come true. I did not identify with the one-to-five percent, as did all Yugoslavs, which was why the one-to-five percent was dragging all the rest down with it. In a Serb's eyes this man shrieking 'I am a Croat!' was nothing so simple as scum. He was 'Croat scum.' And from there it was a short and terribly easy conceptual step to 'Croat (scum)'" (p. 210).

The speech of a faceless communist official in Kosovo in April of 1987: "You must stay here. Your land is here. Here are your houses, your fields and gardens, your memories" (Slobodan Milošević), signaled the beginning of the end of Yugoslavia. Hall writes entertainingly, although the topic does not always lend itself to entertainment, and with

insight. He wonders how these likeable, spontaneous and hospitable people got into such a mess. So do we.

Dragan Milivojević
University of Oklahoma

Sava Janković, *Na prelomu*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1994, 355 pages.

Until the publication of the first part of his tetralogy, *Na prelomu (Turning Point)*, Sava Janković was one of the leading Serbian poets and portrait painters in the diaspora. Now, he is establishing himself as one of the foremost novelists, a writer of accessible and enjoyable narrative style of novels which are full of action, plots and subplots, excellent dialogues, vivid descriptions of nature, and strong characters, all described in a pure, clear, somewhat nostalgically "old fashioned" language. His is not a language of detailed descriptions only ("*Kamdžija je bila . . .*" p. 338). It is the language of sounds and smells: ". . . oko podne probudio ga je miris ječmene kafe . . ." (p. 17). Janković uses the language of the time of the novel's setting—the beginning of World War in Yugoslavia in his native region of Srem.

The novel is historical and semi-autobiographical. Even the contents and chapter titles of the first part of the tetralogy represent a form of a war chronology: "*Bolje rat nego pakt*," "*Opraštanje*," "*Dve obale*," "*Šta je bilo, bilo je*." Having lived through these tremendous upheavals, hours of long discussions with friends and soul-searching aided the author in his excellent introduction of many characters who had endured so much during a relatively short span of one year as described in the first part of the novel.

Janković's narrative, as his style of painting, is realistic. He has some memorable descriptions of winter in Dobrin, the native town of many characters including the protagonist; of the town's snowy and frozen streets; of cozy homes and hot steaming tea served by many old and lovable aunts, *kumas*, and neighbors; of innocent stolen glances

¹Refers to slogans heard during the anti-German demonstrations in Belgrade on March 27, 1941.

exchanged in classrooms; of school yard love and touching kisses, unfortunately most of them parting, for the war was as close to all the characters as the author so skillfully brings it to his readers. Descriptions of chaotic, trying times, in which Serbian youths, portrayed as somewhat confused, naive and inexperienced in world affairs and political movements, had to choose paths to adult life, are touching, making each character lovable, likable, or totally disagreeable.

All who have read the first part of Janković's tetralogy are now eagerly awaiting the publication of the next volume and the continuation of the story of the life of the main character, Slobodan Spasojević, and of all others whom he pulled along, engaging himself in their lives as they engaged in his, while at the same time all engaged in the destiny of their country. As seen from long political and sometimes philosophical conversations among many characters, the reader gets a feeling that all of them thought that their country's destiny might be free and safe, as the name of Slobodan Spasojević suggests: free and saved.

Ružica Popovich-Krekić
Mt. St. Mary's College

Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830-1880: Images of the Self and Others*. East European Monographs: Boulder, 1994.

Frustrated by the tragic consequence of ethnic discord in the former Yugoslavia today, Jelena Milojković-Djurić in this new study has turned to the nineteenth century for more encouraging examples of cooperation among the Slavs. While the title of the book suggests a study of Panslavism and its relationship to the development of national identities in Russia and in the Balkans in the nineteenth century, the actual content of the book is actually much more limited than that. Milojković-Djurić investigates three moments in history in the nineteenth century which she considers important in the development of Panslavism: the Slav Congress in Prague in June, 1848; the Slav Congress in Moscow in 1867 and its concurrent Ethnographic Exhibition; and the 1875-1878 crisis in the Balkans which included the uprising in Bosnia

and Herzegovina and the war of Russia and its Balkan allies against Turkey.

Just why these three somewhat disparate subjects were chosen to illustrate the theme of the book is not readily evident, but in the discussion of each of them Milojković-Djurić introduces her readers to many themes. As a backdrop to the first Slav Congress in Prague, she discusses the basic ideas of Ian Kollar concerning Slav nationalism and inter-Slavic cooperation; the contribution of the Slovak scholar Ludovít Štur to the national awakening among the South Slavs; and the early efforts among the Ukrainians to inspire a national consciousness. The congress itself is not described in much detail, but the author includes some interesting recollections and evaluations of the historic meeting by the Serbian delegate, Dr. Jovan Subotić, and by the indomitable Mikhail Bakunin which illuminate more clearly the central theme of this book. At the end of this first section devoted to the Prague Slav Congress the author turns to a consideration of some of the youth societies which formed among the South Slavs in the decades following the congress.

While the second part of the book discusses the Slav Congress in Moscow in 1867, again the author provides considerable introductory material which in fact overshadows her rather brief consideration of the congress itself. Offering some basic background on the ideological currents of the day in Russia, Milojković-Djurić discusses Mikhail Pogodin, Iurii Samarin, T.N. Granovski, Aleksei Khomiakov, the Aksakov brothers, Vissarion Belinskii, Anna Tiutcheva, Dostoevsky, Alexander Herzen, A.D. Gradovskii, K.D. Kavelin, and others. It is a discussion that is critical to the central theme of the book and helps the reader understand the basic concerns of Slavophiles, Pan-slavs, and Westerners among Russian intellectuals. Again, the actual description and discussion of the Moscow Slav Congress is rather brief, and the most interesting material is an addendum to the section which considers Alexander Herzen's and Mikhail Bakunin's evaluations of the historic meeting. Long before important voices in the Balkans argued for a federation or confederation as the best solution for a multi-ethnic region, Herzen warned against any one people dominating another. He envisioned instead a federation of states where each would preserve its own language, literature, and culture "and would not belong to any one." The author concludes this section with a discussion of Dostoevsky's evaluation of the Slavophiles and Westerners.

Milojković-Djurić's final discussion centers on the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wars in the wider Balkans from 1875 to 1878. Her interpretation of this critical time relies less on her analysis of the relationship between Pan-Slavism and the wars and more on her description of several contemporary accounts of matters related to the wars. She offers summaries of Gleb Uspenskii's reports from Serbia and his observations about Russian volunteers in Serbia's war, Dostoevsky's analysis of the war and the Eastern question, Arthur Evans' journey through Bosnia and Herzegovina during the uprising in 1875, and Gladstone's and Tennyson's responses to that uprising. There is in these contemporary reflections a great deal of concern with the future of the Balkans. The Eastern Question dominated the minds of Europe's great leaders and some of its intellectuals, and many voices pondered the political possibilities for that troubled region of Europe. Democracy, socialism, and the establishment of nation states and/or regional federations—all were discussed within the framework of big power politics. For the Russian observers the conflict in the Balkans offered one more opportunity to consider the relationship and responsibility of Russia to its fellow Slavs.

It is within the discussion of the Balkan crisis that Milojković-Djurić briefly considers the progressive and somewhat prophetic views of Svetozar Marković. As he pondered the future of Serbia, he concluded that the only solution to the fractured and multi-ethnic Balkans was the formation of a federation that might guarantee the peaceful coexistence of its disparate members. Of course, that was a perspective which believed that the development of socialism might unite people in a common effort and overcome the intolerant tendencies of nationalism.

In an epilogue to this study Milojković-Djurić considers the views of Vasa Pelagić, a Bosnian Serb, who published a book in 1879 about the 1875-1878 crisis in the Balkans. In his book Pelagić argued that the root causes of the uprising were economic and had little to do with Pan-Slavism or any great campaign for Slavic unity. He believed that understanding the injustices and hardships of Balkan peasants would do more to prevent similar tragedies in the future and to encourage reasonable political solutions to serious problems. In his view the crisis in the Balkans had little to do with Pan-Slavism, which he characterized as a futile dream of a few intellectuals and military men. The reality, according to Pelagić, was that few common people harbored any lofty

ideas about Slavic unity and brotherhood. Denouncing war, the weapons trade, and the inevitable bloodshed that accompanied the crisis in the Balkans, Pelagić was pilloried by Serbian politicians and his book was banned in Serbia.

Milojković-Djurić's work represents the 394th publication of East European Monographs, and again we thank this important series for its dedication to publishing important studies which illuminate the history and culture of Eastern Europe. As with many works in this series it is unfortunate, however, that its editors do not devote more energy to careful editing. Some simple restructuring; some additional consideration of the primary focus implied in the title; and some editing, particularly as regards the correct use of definite and indefinite articles, should have been important concerns of the editors. This critique is intended in no way to detract from Milojković-Djurić's work. Rather it is another reminder that the editors of a series that is so important to East European studies must continue to assist their authors in doing what editors are supposed to do.

In her preface to this book Milojković-Djurić clearly hoped to find some lessons from the past to illuminate the tragic present in the Balkans. Later in her study she observed that perhaps the most perceptive comment from the nineteenth century concerning the insoluble difficulties in the Balkans came from Dostoevsky. In 1876 thinking about political arrangements that would guarantee the rights of Christians and Muslims alike, Dostoevsky concluded that the task is "more difficult than [were we] to create all Europe anew, or to separate water from earth, or anything else you please; and yet people believe that they have settled the problem, and they feel calm and content." His observation and Milojković-Djurić's discussion should be poignant reminders to today's peace makers and power brokers.

Thomas A. Emmert
Gustavus Adolphus College

Aleksandar Petrov, *Manje poznati Dučić (A Less Known Dučić.)*
Signature: Belgrade; Valjevac: Valjevo; *American Srbobran*: Pittsburgh,
1994, 89 pages.

Jovan Dučić was one of the greatest Serbian poets. He also served as a diplomat in the pre-World War II Yugoslavia. In 1941, at the outbreak of the war, Dučić came to Gary, Indiana, where he lived at the home of his relative until his death in 1943. It is this "American" period of his life that remains inadequately known and studied. Because of Dučić's strong anti-communist and anti-Yugoslav stand which he voiced in the United States, he was regarded as a "reactionary" figure by Tito's regime. He was hardly mentioned in the literary histories or anthologies during that period in Yugoslavia. After Tito's death in 1980, Dučić resumed his proper place in Serbian literature. However, there are still a few aspects of his life and creativity that remain unknown and uncovered. This brief book is a valuable contribution for the study of that "less known" Dučić. A great feature of the book is that the entire text is presented in Serbian and English for the benefit of the English-speaking readers and scholars.

When Dučić came to the United States in August 1941, the Serbs in Yugoslavia, and particularly in the areas which were incorporated in the Independent State of Croatia, were subjected to the worst genocide in their entire history. Dučić, as a great Serbian patriot and Herzegovinian himself, was deeply affected by the tragic events in his beloved land, with the Serbs in some areas being on the verge of complete extermination. Instead of being solely a poet of human feelings and philosophical ideas, as he was known before the war, he became preoccupied with the happenings in Yugoslavia and the fate of the Serbs in general. He propagated and defended the idea that the creation of Yugoslavia was a tragic mistake for the Serbs and used his knowledge and influence to rally the Serbs in defense of Serbdom. He was one of the organizers of the Serb National Defense in America. Most American Serbs agreed with Dučić's political thinking and regarded him as their spokesman and their political and intellectual leader. The *American Srbobran* became his main forum and this newspaper also recorded faithfully and with honor and pride all of Dučić's activities in America until his death on April 7, 1943. The *American Srbobran* published on

April 22, 1943, a special issue devoted entirely to this great Serbian patriot.

Aleksandar Petrov discusses Dučić's political activities in the United States in his extensive introductory essay, which constitutes half of the book. In his well-written essay, Petrov discusses the poet's activities as a politician and as an artist, trying to explain Dučić's inner feelings in the most difficult period of Serbian history. As mentioned, during his short stay in the United States Dučić was involved in Serbian politics, writing essays and articles and giving speeches of a political character. During that period he managed to write only twelve poems, all of which were exclusively political or patriotic. Petrov included only seven of those poems in this collection which he felt had the greatest artistic merit. However, I think that one more poem should have also been included, the poem called "Hercegovina," which was published in the *American Srbobran* on March 10, 1942.

Petrov included in this collection the following poems: "Večnoj Srbiji" ("To Eternal Serbia"), "Na obalama Neretve" ("On the Shores of the Neretva"), "Vrbas" ("The Vrbas"), "Na carev Arandjelovdan" ("On the Tsar's Archangel Michael's Day,"), "Lički mučenici" ("The Martyrs of Lika"), "Bosna" ("Bosnia") and "Molitva" ("Prayer"). Translations into English were done by Vasa D. Mihailovich. Mihailovich, a prominent poet himself, rendered all translations with professional skill, successfully preserving the poetic flow of the original. There are just a few minor errors. The title "On the Shores of the Neretva" should read "On the Banks of the Neretva," because the word "shore" is used only in connection with lakes, seas, and oceans. (Incidentally, what must have been an unintentional error, the entire third stanza of that poem, which in the original starts with "I silazeći hučna sa crne planine . . .," is missing.) The poem entitled "Prayer" should read "A Prayer." All the poems were first published in the *American Srbobran*. The exact date of publication was indicated for only three poems. It would have been useful if dates were given for all of the poems. The *Index to the American Srbobran* provides that information readily.

In his introductory essay, Petrov writes that Dučić's relatives gave him ten letters of the poet, which had never been published before. He was told to "keep them and publish them when [he] deemed it appropriate." This time Petrov decided to publish only three of them. These were two letters to his sister, one from Madrid, dated March 5,

1921, and the other from Cairo, dated July 4, 1928. The third letter was presumably written in Cairo and addressed to his nephew Vladimir, dated June 3, 1931. These letters provide information about the poet's personal life, his relations with his close relatives, and his impressions and observations about the countries he visited and life in them as he saw it while serving as a Yugoslav diplomat. For instance, in the letter to his sister from Madrid, he confided to her the reason why he had not married yet: "I have not been able, dear sister, to have a family, as you and our good mother had hoped I would, because this vagrant kind of life and being away from homeland, have not allowed it to happen . . . Now, everything is already too late. A man gets married either when he is young, when he needs to share his happiness with someone, or when he is old, when he needs to share only his misery . . ." In the letter to his nephew Vladimir, Dučić wrote that he "would like very much to write a novel about [his] homeland . . . and [thus] open the gates of Trebinje." Apparently Dučić never managed to do that.

Krinka Vidaković translated Petrov's essay and Dučić's letters. Her translations are done well, with just a few minor errors.

Petrov's essay represents a valuable contribution to the study of Dučić's American period. This was certainly also true regarding the poems as well as the three personal letters, published here for the first time. Hopefully, other unknown aspects of Dučić's activities in the United States, buried mostly in the pages of the *American Srbobran*, and other unpublished letters will also be revealed to the public in not so distant future.

Robert P. Gakovich
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution After the Cold War*. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1995, 536 pages.

The author, formerly a professor of political science at Yale and now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, has written a monumental objective study of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. It is by all odds the most thorough and most lucid of all the books dealing with that subject. Before I read it, I was puzzled as to why the major U.S.

newspapers, notably the politically correct *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*, had given it the silent treatment, choosing not to review it. The short answer is that it knocks into a cocked hat their campaign of the past few years to blame the Serbs as the main destroyers of Yugoslavia.

In the early chapters, Woodward presents a detailed picture of the nature of the economic crises confronting the country, as well as the inability of the political system to find solutions. The political deadlock was brought on by the wealthier and more western regions (Slovenia and Croatia) which had political and economic privileges to protect. She points out that Slovenia and Croatia were "unalterably opposed to reforms that would make it possible to create a democratic system at the federal level." Instead, they proposed replacing Yugoslavia with a loose association of states.

Moreover, Slovenia "continued to veto any countrywide expression of preferences, from a proposed federal referendum on the constitutional amendments at the end of 1988 to a referendum on the fate of the country scheduled in 1990."

The author says that the first democratic elections in 1990 "were not the opening of choice for Yugoslavs but its closing." She establishes in great detail, citing chapter and verse, how Slovenia and Croatia, mainly in 1988 and 1989, laid the groundwork for the ultimate acts of secession in 1991.

Other Slovene acts: their parliament's declaration in September 1989 of the "complete and unalienable right" to "self-determination, including the right of secession;" the Slovene government's November 1989 assertion of full constitutional sovereignty over its borders; the refusal of Slovenia "to recognize the legitimacy of federal courts;" the opening in the Slovene capital in 1988 of Austrian bank affiliates; the secret printing in Vienna of a new Slovene currency in October 1989. There were important voices in Slovenia, at least as early as 1985, warning that a "free and united Slovenia . . . means a destruction of Yugoslavia," but these went unheeded.

Moreover, Slovene and Croat officials illegally purchased sophisticated weapons abroad, and armed their local militias, and rejected the federal government's request to disarm them. The Muslims also illegally purchased weapons, although they did not immediately arm their militias, but did so a little later. AT the time of the secessions, both

Slovenia and Croatia captured arms from Yugoslav Army barracks, and the Croats seized about thirty ships and all bases of the former Yugoslav navy.

In addition, the author asserts that Croatia did little to protect its Serbian citizens "from a vicious outburst of anti-Serb terror in some mixed communities in Dalmatia and in the interior in the summer months of 1989, when Croat zealots smashed storefronts, firebombed homes, and harassed or arrested potential Serb leaders." Also, the Croat government in various ways discriminated against the Serbs, including jobs and housing, as well as reducing them to minority status instead of co-nationals, as they were when Croatia was a part of Yugoslavia. These actions, she says, justified the worst Serbian fears, because of the large scale massacres of Serbs by Croats and Bosnian Muslims when they were together in the Nazi-satellite Croatian state during World War II.

Woodward presents a superb account of the role of the international community in the country's disintegration and the consequences. A large part of the book is a devastating commentary on the role of Western Europe, as well as the United States, in the destruction of the Yugoslav state. The author shows, on the one hand, how Western European actions, notably those of Germany and Austria, gave aid and comfort to Slovenia and Croatia prior to the secessions in the determination of those republics to undermine Yugoslavia, and on the other hand, how Slovene and Croat officials, while still part of Yugoslavia's governing system, conspired with officials in Bonn and Vienna to destroy the state.

She shows how the West's hasty recognitions of the secessionist republics aided and abetted them in the violation of the Helsinki Accords' proviso against the use of force in changing the boundaries of an internationally recognized state. Moreover, the United States (executive and Congress) in effect told the Yugoslav Army, six months prior to the secessions, that its constitutional prerogative to defend Yugoslavia's borders from internal threats would be considered illegitimate. Three months later (March 1991), Serbia's president, Slobodan Milošević, told a TV audience that the Serbs "would no longer recognize federal authority in the republic if the army was not permitted to protect the constitutional order." Yet he resisted for over a year (until May 1992) calls from the Serbian parliament and Serbian nationalists for the formation of a Serbian national army.

The author concludes that the United States bears "a heavy responsibility in the Yugoslav tragedy," pointing out that whenever "developments toward the Yugoslav conflict seemed to challenge the U.S. leadership in Europe, it stepped in." And when it did, it scuttled two European-sponsored peace plans, one accepted by all three parties and the other by both the Bosnian Serbs and Croats. The Muslims, she says, "had no incentive to negotiate any compromised, when the United States offered air strikes against the Serbs."

There is page after page of documentation of actions by the Western powers that insured war. The only excuse: failure to understand the nature of the conflict. It was not an ethnic one, but a struggle for national rights. The definition of the conflict as ethnic "was the major source of the quicksand into which intervention fell." The "Western powers were flying in the face of reality when they insisted that the republican borders were international borders."

For the United States, it is indeed a tragedy of major proportions that neither the Bush or Clinton administrations possessed a grasp of the Yugoslav problem, which led them to pressure the Europeans to go along with the assumption that a multi-ethnic Bosnian state could succeed whereas multi-ethnic Yugoslavia had not. American pressure "eliminated the last hope of a comprehensive settlement . . . that could prevent further war," says Woodward.

The author is also critical of the media for its biased reporting of Serb actions without mentioning acts that provoked them. "The Croatian government . . . placed sharpshooters on the walls of Dubrovnik to draw fire from the federal armed forces," and the Croatian and Bosnian governments "placed mortars and artillery batteries within the walls of hospitals . . . for the same purpose, drawing fire from Serb gunners to gain international reaction." But she finds no angels among the combatants, and many innocent victims on all sides. Also, she clearly portrays the attempts of the media to depict the Yugoslav wars as driven by ethnic conflicts and historical animosities as totally misleading.

Among the book's major failings: (1) it is too long, with much repetition and overlapping. It could have been better organized and more severely edited; (2) the most substantive failing is the absence of a discussion (only a mere mention in a footnote) of Alija Izetbegović's (Muslim president) book, *The Islamic Declaration*, particularly its

anti-pluralist rhetoric; (3) the treatment of the problem of the safe havens is inadequate, as well as Serbia's handicaps in trying to deal with the problem of Kosovo.

Unfortunately, in her brief discussion of Yugoslavia's history there are some errors and omissions. For example, the assertion that the country was a Versailles creation, and that its "liberal constitution [was] written at Versailles" are plainly wrong. Anyone with a smattering of history knows that the state was created before Versailles met, pursuant to the Corfu Declaration (not mentioned in the book), an agreement between the Yugoslav Committee and the Serbian government. And the constitution of the new state was written in Belgrade by the Constituent Assembly of freely elected deputies, although the Croatian ones boycotted its work. Also, her description of Milošević's visit to Kosovo in April 1987 is inaccurate.

While there is no bibliography, there are over 100 pages of notes, but I was disappointed that none of my works on Yugoslavia is cited. But then, I was prematurely anti-communist and a critic of the Yugoslav regime when that was not popular in academic circles.

These failings are, however, relatively minor in the light of the fact that the book is an excellent source for serious students interested in the causes of Yugoslavia's disintegration, as well as the miserable and misguided attempts of the international community to manage the Yugoslav crisis.

Alex N. Dragnich
Vanderbilt University

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

Željko Šuster
University of New Haven

Miloš Jević, *Četiri života Dimitrija Djordjevića*. Valjevac: Valjevo, 1995.

The newest book of Miloš Jević, one of Beograd's finest journalists, is devoted to the life story of Dimitrije Djordjević, Serbia's best contemporary historian. The book represents a unique concoction of interviews, correspondence, and exhibits that came from the personal archives of Dimitrije Djordjević. Together with *Ožiljci i opomene*, Djordjević's splendid two-volume autobiography, this book is the most erudite endeavor in the most recent publishing in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Konstantin Fotić, *Rat koji smo izgubili: Tragedija Jugoslavije i pogreška Zapada, Memoari, Žika Lazić, Mihajlo Grušić*. Vajat: Beograd, 1995.

The long-due Serbian translation of Constantin Fotitch's book, *The War We Lost*, originally published by the Viking Press, New York in 1948. In this book Fotić, a career diplomat and Yugoslavia's Ambassador to the United States until 1944, offers his view on the relationship between the Allies and the Yugoslav anti-fascist movements during World War II. The general evolution of the links between the Yugoslav government in exile and the United States is accompanied by a myriad of details pertaining to the internal struggle within the government in exile. While it deserves undivided attention, this endeavor would have benefited greatly by an appropriate introduction.

Alex N. Dragnich, *Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. East European Monographs: Boulder, 1995.

A collection of articles and editorials written in the last six years by Alex N. Dragnich, one of the most distinguished scholars on Serbia and Yugoslavia. This remarkably informative book offers a unique blend of a scholarly work (articles) and journalism (editorials). The book

openly challenges crude simplifications and malevolent misinterpretations on Yugoslavia's disintegration which are widespread both in academic circles and in the major media. The section on unpublished editorials adds a special touch to this project—it raises a question: why so many competent pieces went unpublished, especially given the immense ignorance that one could have found in numerous editorials of major U.S. newspapers?

Tomas Flajner, Slobodan Samardžić (eds), *Federalizam i problem manjina u višetničkim zajednicama*. Institut za evropske studije: Beograd, 1995.

The collection of six essays dealing with the comparative analysis of Swiss and Yugoslav Federalism. The book came as a result of the joint effort of researchers from the Institute for European Studies and Tomas Flajner from the University of Freiburg. Despite some questionable assertions, which mainly come from the obvious intention to equally apportion the responsibility for the destruction of Yugoslavia, the book is informative and deserves attention.

Kosta Nikolić, *Boljševizacija KPJ 1919-1929: Istorijske posledice*. Institut za savremenu istoriju: Beograd, 1994.

An intriguing account of the development of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the decade immediately following World War I. The author, a young Serbian historian, provides a comprehensive study of major internal changes in the party which led to its transformation to the typical organization of the Bolshevik type. The study, based on extensive archival work is characterized by enunciated objectivity and the author's unpretentious writing style.

Radovan Samardžić, *Pisci srpske istorije, četvrta knjiga, Prosveta*. Tersit: Beograd, 1994.

This book is the last in the series *Pisci srpske istorije* initiated by the late Radovan Samardžić. The previous three books were published in 1976, 1981, and 1986 consecutively. This book, published posthumously, offers Samardžić's excellent essays on Vuk Karadžić and

Slobodan Jovanović, and a number of shorter tracts on Ilija Garašanin, Valtazar Bogišić, Vladimir Ćorović, Joakim Vujić, Dimitrije Djordjević, Dimitrije Bogdanović, Mehmed Begović, and Branislav Nedeljković.

Vladimir Dvorniković, *Borba ideja*. Tersit: Beograd, 1995.

New and expanded edition of the work of the best known Yugoslav ethnopsychologist originally published in 1937. This book is a continuation of the effort to make available again Dvorniković's work neglected as "reactionary" in post-World War II Yugoslavia. Although Dvorniković's observations about character of particular ethnic groups can be easily misused in present times, his work undoubtedly provides additional information necessary for better understanding of civil and ethnic war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Svetozar Stojanović, *Propast komunizma i razbijanje Jugoslavije*. Filip Višnjić: Beograd, 1995.

An outstanding inquiry of the collapse of Titoism and the breakup of Yugoslavia. Theoretical analysis of Titoism as a special case of totalitarianism, is accompanied by an eloquent and captivating insider's account (Stojanović was the principal advisor of Dobrica Ćosić, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991-92).