# SERB, BOSNIAN, AND YUGOSLAV:

# THE BOSNIAN SERB INTELLECTUALS ON THE ROAD TOWARDS A MULTI-ETHNIC IDENTITY, 1878-1914

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by

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of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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The thesis by

**Jelica Zdero**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an intellectual history that examines the identity development of the Bosnian Serbs at the turn of the twentieth century. It argues that during Austria-Hungary's peacetime occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1878 to 1914, an increasing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals gradually developed a collectivist, multi-ethnic approach to group identity that was flexible enough to have produced a "Serb," a "Bosnian," and a "Yugoslav" consciousness. Born out of a concern for their ethnic community's social, cultural, and political survival as a newly incorporated group in the vast multi-national Empire of Austria-Hungary, these intellectuals believed that the optimal solution was to align themselves with those ethnic groups with whom they had the most in common. These included the South Slavs living in Bosnia and in the neighbouring lands of Serbia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Macedonia. The idea of multi-ethnic "groupness" as a conscious choice, as a constructed language and ideology, therefore, forms an important part of this thesis. Although the intellectuals drew from certain "raw materials" (e.g. language, culture, and history) which they molded into potentially-binding groupings, they were also influenced by their circumstances under foreign rule as well as the national and pan-national ideologies of the age. And while this study does not bestow absolute privilege on the "Serb," the "Bosnian," and the "Yugoslav" components of their multi-ethnic identity, it shows their broader influence and, therefore, sets this work apart from studies that have often stressed the impact of Serb national ideologies on the Bosnian Serbs to the exclusion of the others.



**KEYWORDS:** multi-ethnic identity, inter-ethnic identity, Bosnian Serb intellectuals, Serb, Bosnian, Yugoslav, nationalism.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The efforts of many people besides the author made this dissertation possible. I would like to single out my supervisors, Dr. Charles A. Ruud and Dr. Marta Dyczok, for their constant support, critical skill, and great patience with my numerous drafts. I am also indebted to Dr. John V.A. Fine, Jr. for his expertise and positive expressions of encouragement. To my examining committee, Dr. Martin Horak, Dr. Brock Millman, Dr. Pierre Claude Reynard, and Dr. Robert C. Austin, I would like to offer my appreciation for their helpful and insightful criticisms. I wish to thank our Graduate Secretary, Chris Speed, for her technical and administrative advice as well as the entire Department of History, including faculty and fellow students, for providing a supportive environment for my work. The staff of the various libraries and archives, including those at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario and those in Sarajevo, Bosnia who worked at The National and University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina, The Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina, The Historical Archive of Sarajevo, The Archive of Young Bosnia, The National Museum, and The Museum of Literature and Theatrical Arts of Bosnia-Herzegovina were also of great assistance. Dijana Šenk and Aco Ljiljak were especially helpful not only in locating relevant sources, but in extending their friendship to me.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LIST OF MAPS

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ABH | *Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine*<br>(Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina, located in Sarajevo) |
| AMB | *Arhiv Mlade Bosne*<br>(Archive of Young Bosnia, located in Sarajevo) |
| HAS | *Istorijski Arhiv Sarajevo*<br>(Historical Archive of Sarajevo, located in Sarajevo) |
| PGS | *Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo*<br>(Provincial Government of Sarajevo collections in the Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina, located in Sarajevo) |

# INTRODUCTION
## Serb, Bosnian, and Yugoslav:
## The Bosnian Serb Intellectuals between Tradition and Ideology

### Thesis

Scholars who have written about the ethnic identity of the Bosnian Serbs before the creation of Yugoslavia have generally argued that it was inspired by Serb national ideologies that promoted the unification of the Serbs in an enlarged Serbian state. The Serbs were then divided and scattered, living in independent Serbia (1878), Montenegro (1878), and in certain territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and, as of 1878, Bosnia-Herzegovina).[1] In the years leading up to World War I, a growing number of Serb irredentists became increasingly active in promoting the unification of the Serbs. Failing this, scholars tell us, Serb nationalists decided to support the unification of the national communities who are today known as the Yugoslavs—literally "South Slavs"—namely the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.[2] In their desire to reconstruct the dominant forces at work, however, few scholars have examined regional variations in the national ideologies of the Serbs, preferring instead to emphasize Serbia and its leading influence. They have, therefore, run the risk of imposing the same

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[1] A note on the uses of the terms "Bosnia" and "Herzegovina:" "Bosnia" and "Herzegovina" are the historic names of two geographic areas that are roughly divided east-west just north of the town of Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina. "Bosnia" is commonly used by scholars, politicians, and the inhabitants themselves to refer to the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This thesis will thus reflect this preference. It follows that "Bosnians" are individuals who live in the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition, the spelling of Herzegovina is here rendered with a "z" (i.e. Herzegovina) instead of a "c" (i.e. Hercegovina), though both are used in English translations.

[2] Although these were the three largest groups, there were others who formed a part of the new Yugoslav union of 1918, such as the Slav-speaking Macedonians—who were incorporated into Serbia during the Balkan Wars (1912-13)—and Muslim South Slavs. Although Bulgaria had previously been included in this scenario, its decision to wage war on its former allies Serbia and Montenegro following the first of the two Balkan Wars (1912-13) left Bulgaria out of any future plans to create a Yugoslav state. For more details on this subject see, for example, Michael Boro Petrovic, *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804-1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 231-232, 245; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans. Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 109; Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 253-254.

ideologies on the remaining Serbs. While there have been some excellent studies published on the Serbs from Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia, there has been no comparable analysis conducted on the Serbs from Bosnia.[3] As a result, few have documented the formation of parallel ideologies that may have gone further in explaining why Serb intellectuals from Bosnia variously supported Serb nationalism, Bosnian self-determination and later, the Yugoslav movement. Traditional Serb nationalism, while an important force, does not fully explain each phenomenon.

This thesis investigates the underlying philosophy that bound these aspirations together. It argues that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries an increasing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals gradually developed a collectivist, multi-ethnic approach to identity that was flexible enough to have embraced these differing nationalist movements. Born out of a concern for their ethnic community's social, cultural, and political survival as a newly incorporated group in the vast multi-national Empire of Austria-Hungary, the intellectuals believed that in order to preserve their ethnic identity and interests they would have to expand their influence and power. They came to understand that as a tiny ethnic group surrounded by a sea of nationalities, the optimal solution was to ally with the other ethnic communities. But not just any ethnic groups would do. Indeed, nation-building is often a process of determining who belongs to the nation and who does not. In the case of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals, they limited belonging to those ethnic nations with whom they had the closest ancestral, linguistic, cultural, historic, geographic, and political ties. These variously included the South Slavs

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[3] See for example Nicholas J. Miller, *Between Nation and State: Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997); Lujo Bakotić, *Srbi u Dalmaciji od pada Mletačke republike do ujedinjenja* (Novi Sad: Dobra vest, 1991); Ivo Banac, "The Confessional 'Rule' and the Dubrovnik Exception: The Origins of the 'Serb-Catholic' Circle in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia," *Slavic Review* 42, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983): 448-474.

living in Bosnia and in the neighbouring lands of Serbia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Macedonia,[4] whose Slav ancestors settled in the Balkans in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. By encouraging a broadly multi-ethnic form of group identity among these diverse, yet related ethnic nations, the intellectuals believed they could build strong inter-ethnic ties, both cultural and political, that could combat their collective weaknesses under foreign, imperialist rule. This did not mean that they desired to create a uniform (ethnic) national people out of these distinct ethnic nations for, indeed, most did not. Nor did it mean that they always agreed about who belonged within their community and who did not. What it did show was that during Austria-Hungary's peacetime occupation of Bosnia from 1878 to 1914 a small, but growing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to expand their circle of kinship to include the other South Slavs. The result was the gradual development of a multi-ethnic, triune identity (Serb, Bosnian, and Yugoslav) that greatly shaped their attitudes and actions during this time.

Studies exploring ethnically-mixed group identities (territorial, cultural, political or otherwise) during the pre-World War I era of modern nationalism are rare. Traditionally, scholars have focussed on the formation of nation-states in Central and Eastern Europe and have stressed the causes and course of national integration, especially as a reaction against foreign rule. Indeed, the rise and rapid spread of nationalist movements permeated all of Europe at the height of imperialism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this time, nationalism grew and increasingly affected the social, cultural, and political dynamics of the multi-national

[4] This does not include the area of Greek Macedonia, which Greece acquired from the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-13), but refers to the portion of Macedonia that Serbia acquired during the same conflict and which constitutes today's Republic of Macedonia.

Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman Empires. The imperialist authorities, in their turn, attempted either to repress or to accommodate their national minorities in order to maintain the integrity of their states.[5] Understandably, scholars have generally perceived this period as one of decline and disintegration and the European Empires, which collapsed following the First World War, as failures in multi-ethnic integration.[6]

In recent years, however, scholars have begun to unearth the less familiar dynamics of "groupness" that have gone beyond ethnicity. They have shown that ethnic groups living within multi-ethnic societies have not been limited by their ethnic identities, incapable of reformulation, manipulation or inter-ethnic cohesion within contexts of opportunity, defense or power. These scholars argue that ethnicity—usually defined by a common language, ancestry, culture, and history and commonly applied to ethnic groups and some nations—should be understood as one of several forms of "imagining" group identity. This scholarly turn can be attributed, in part, to an increasing acceptance among scholars that ethnicity is not so much perennial as it is evolutionary and, often, constructed.[7] As Rogers Brubaker has argued, ethnic groups are not so much "things-in-

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[5] Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 219-228; Charles Tilly, "How Empires End," in Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen, eds., *After Empire. Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997): 1-11; Mark von Hagen, "The Russian Empire," in Barkey and von Hagen, eds., *After Empire*: 58-72; Soloman Wank, "The Habsburg Empire," in Barkey and von Hagen, eds., *After Empire*: 45-57.

[6] See, for example, works by the Czech historian, Hans Kohn, who is credited especially with popularizing the civic vs. ethnic idea of nationalism in works like *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1944) and *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishers, 1982),which show the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century origins of nation-state formation. His contemporary, Miroslav Hroch, another Czech historian, also developed a popular model of ethnic national integration and state-formation in such works as *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), originally published thirty years earlier, and "National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective," in *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue canadiens des slavistes* 37, nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1995): 283-299; On Yugoslav state formation as an extension of mainly ethnic nationalist movements, see, for example, the collection of essays in Dejan Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003).

[7] Michael L. Gross, "Restructuring Ethnic Paradigms: From Premodern to Postmodern Perspectives," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 23, nos. 1-2 (1996): 51-65; Howard F. Stein, "The Internal and

the-world" as they are the "relational, processual, dynamic, eventful" result of deliberate group-making projects.[8] As the dominating narrative of nation-state formation begins to diminish, the themes of "non-ethnic" identities and of multi-ethnic integration in the age of modern nationalism deserves new attention.[9]

Understanding the historical context in which a multi-ethnic consciousness first arose in Bosnia is, therefore, critical to this study. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century, when Bosnia came under Austro-Hungarian rule that certain intellectuals began to consider the benefits of encouraging a collectivist, multi-ethnic identity. While Bosnia was still a part of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnians generally lacked a unified vision of what it meant to be "Bosnian" despite a common language (Serbo-Croatian) and shared Slavic descent. They were divided into three main religious groups (Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim) with as many social, cultural, and political sentiments. During the nineteenth century, Bosnians were fragmented still further as nationalist propagandists from Orthodox Serbia and Catholic Croatia persuaded Bosnia's mainly urban, educated populations to see themselves as Serbs (mainly the Orthodox) and Croats (mainly the

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Group Milieux of Ethnicity: Identifying Generic Group Psychodynamic Issues," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 17, nos. 1-2 (1990): 107-130; Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* (London: Hurst & Company, 2004), 16.

[8] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004), 11, 16.

[9] Besides those discussed in the historiographical section of this chapter, studies exploring shared identities within ethnically-mixed societies (territorial, cultural, and political) that were useful to this study, include, but are not limited to, the following: Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Place, Kinship and the Case for Non-Ethnic Nations," *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 1-2 (2004): 49-62; Anthony D. Smith, "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 72, no. 3, (Jul., 1996): 445-458; Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: New York, NY: B. Blackwell, 1986); David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Studies in social psychology have also contributed to this thesis, particularly theories about "community" and "society," including ones by S.B. Sarason, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974); D.W. McMillan and D.M. Chavis, "Sense of Community: A definition and Theory," *Journal of Community Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1986): 6-23; J.R. Gusfield, *The Community: A Critical Response* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1975).

Catholics) with a view to expanding into the region. The Muslims, as could be expected, remained strongly tied to the Islamic Ottoman Empire at this time.

All this began to change, however, under the influence of Austria-Hungary when a growing number of Bosnia's intellectuals began to consider alternatives to the country's divisive ethnic politics. This was partially because the decision of the European Great Powers (Germany, Britain, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary) gathered at the Congress of Berlin (1878) to place Bosnia under the administration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, exposed Bosnians to a vastly different social and political culture. Although German was the official language of the Empire and Catholicism the state religion, the imperial bureaucracy and military was becoming increasingly multi-national and multi-religious as Vienna sought to combat the growth of national separatism inside the Empire.[10] The formation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867 was itself the result of Hungarian dissatisfaction with Austrian rule, accelerated by the Hungarian Revolution (1848-9) and Austria's decline in power following the Austro-Sardinian (1859) and Austro-Prussian (1866) wars. After 1867, while Budapest focussed its efforts on establishing a unitary, national territory within the Hungarian half of the Monarchy, Vienna increasingly accommodated its nationalities in order to maintain the integrity of the state. To some extent, Hungary's policies of national integration and Austria's policies of accommodation were, after 1878, carried over into Bosnia where separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim politics were discouraged in favour of developing a common "Bosnian" identity and loyalty to the Monarchy. To that end, Vienna introduced modern, secular, and European-style institutions to Bosnia, including a multi-confessional school

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[10] See, for example, Peter F. Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-German Societies under Habsburg Rule," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 22, no. 1 (March 1963): 1-30; Hans Kohn, *The Habsburg Empire, 1804-1918* (New York: Van Nostrand and Reinhold Company, 1961); Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 51-54, 63-65.

system (1879), parliament (1910), and constitution (1910) with a view to encouraging the integration of the ethnic groups. In its own way, the conservative state of Austria-Hungary became an important point of access for the penetration of secular European philosophies and political structures into Bosnia.[11]

It was in this specific time and place, when Bosnia was undergoing considerable "modernization" and "Europeanization" that a collectivist, multi-ethnic identity was first developed. Its adherents were mainly urban, educated men who were culturally and politically active under Austro-Hungarian rule. They constituted the first generations of Serb intellectuals in Bosnia and were among the country's principal creators, users, and disseminators of the multi-ethnic model of belonging. Although some Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim intellectuals expressed similar ideas of a multi-ethnic consciousness, they were far fewer in number than their more secularized and modernized Bosnian Serb counterparts who left behind larger collections of writings that expressed their developing multi-ethnic identity prior to World War I.

As this thesis shows, however, the emergence of a collectivist philosophy among some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals was as much the result of their *exposure* to the social, cultural, and political ideals of modern Europe as it was their *resistance* to the very state that introduced them. This was partially because Vienna's sensitivity to the threat that nationalism posed to the integrity of the Empire made officials especially slow to respond to the demands of the newly-incorporated peoples of Bosnia. They were particularly wary of having added a large Serb population at a time when Serbian

[11] Although the Austro-Hungarian state was far from representing or encouraging the West European concepts of liberal democracy that first found resonance in England and France during the Enlightenment, many of the Empire's national minorities had demanded the democratization of society in all areas. Following the Revolutions of 1848 in particular, national leaders underscored the importance of constitutionalism, freedom of assembly and the press, and the expansion of the electoral franchise that would affect developments in Bosnia later on.

nationalism was gaining momentum in the Empire. Their failure to address some of the main social, cultural, and political concerns of the Bosnian Serbs created among the local political and intellectual elite a culture of resentment and resistance towards the state. Faced with the unfamiliar and unwelcome rule of Austria-Hungary, with no state of their own, therefore, a growing number of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals gradually came to the conclusion that their ethnic survival and desire for political power were greatly dependent on the strength of their psychological ties with the other South Slavs in and outside of Bosnia.

Although the scholarship on the history of Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian period is plentiful, this project is the first devoted exclusively to the intellectual foundations of a multi-ethnic identity among the Bosnian Serbs. While much-needed studies about the Bosnian Muslims and, to a lesser extent, the Bosnian Croats have been recently published, there has not been a comparable analysis of the Bosnian Serbs.[12] A study of this kind is thus important for a number of reasons. First, it reveals the manner in which national leaders, in this case those possessing the power to nurture self-perceptions, shaped and molded local identities. Second, it raises the question of the political motivations behind their support for a multi-ethnic model of belonging. While the Bosnian Serb intellectuals strove to define the common identity of these disparate

[12] For studies about Bosnian Croat history and identity see, for example, Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosanski hrvati: esej o agoniji jedne evropske-orijentalne mikrokulture* (Zagreb: Durieux, 2002); For studies concerning Bosnian Muslim history and identity see, for example, Robert J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (New York: East European Monographs; distributed by Colorado University Press, 1981), Francine Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial of a Nation* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), and Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Bošnjačka zajednica kulture Sarajeva, 1996); As to the Bosnian Serb intellectuals specifically, there has not yet been any general studies published on them and certainly no general histories on the Bosnian intellectuals collectively. Some studies have discussed specific intellectuals and associations, newspapers and magazines, as well as particular cultural and political groups. Srećko Džaja's study *Bosna i Hercegovina u austrougarskom razdoblju (1878-1918): Inteligencija između tradicije i ideologije* (Mostar-Zagreb: Ziral, 2002) comes the closest since the bulk of the monograph emphasizes the educational and ideological developments and history of Bosnia's urban, educated population.

national groups, their values, goals, and ideals, this study shows that their decisions to emphasize certain traits over others were influenced as much by the political exigencies of the moment as they were by their personal beliefs. Third, while it is important to integrate the Bosnian Serbs into the broader cultural and political history of Serbs elsewhere, it is also important to consider the Serbs of Bosnia separately. While still under Austro-Hungarian rule, the Bosnian Serbs were concerned primarily by the cultural and political conditions of Bosnia which they commonly viewed as their "homeland." As a result, this study alters conventional wisdom that often narrowly defines the Bosnian Serbs as the mere receptacles of the nationalist propaganda emanating from Belgrade. It specifically challenges the well-known and well-documented theories of Serb identity development among the urban, educated Bosnian Serb elite by arguing that the manifestation of a Serb national identity among them forms only one of a more complex, multi-ethnic, triune identity (Serb, Bosnian, and Yugoslav) that a growing number of intellectuals were expressing at the time. Although this study does not bestow absolute privilege on this triune identity, it does show its broader influence in the region, which sets this work apart from previous studies that have often stressed the cultural and political impact of Serb national ideologies to the exclusion of the others.

**Methodology**

Although there are many ways to approach the subject of identity this study will focus on the writings of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals. Writers, poets, teachers, journalists, and historians have traditionally been the principal articulators of national (and non-national) forms of group identity in modern Europe. They are "opinion makers" whose collective writings sometimes provide a nation with a body of thought, a kind of

secular scripture, that helps to shape a nation's attitudes and actions, especially in the modern era.[13] As scholars have argued, the "modernization" of Europe—generally from West to East and characterized by its transformation from an agrarian to an urban, industrial society—accelerated the evolution of a national consciousness through the development of such things as a modern printed culture, public schooling, and mass literacy among the great and small nations alike.[14] Among the more advanced of the small nations in the Balkans, which included Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia-Slavonia, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and Transylvania, the average levels of literacy in 1910 were relatively high—roughly 46%—and enough to sustain a literary culture that played an essential role in shaping national identities.[15] Although Bosnian literacy lagged far behind (12% in 1910), it was higher than it had been when it was the provincial backwater of the Ottoman state (roughly 3% in 1878).[16] With a growing readership in place (about 5% of Muslims, 10% of the Orthodox, and 23% of Catholics in 1908),[17] Bosnians were prepared to

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[13] The life and works of many of the intellectuals discussed in this project are still well known to current generations of South Slavs who studied them in the former Yugoslavia's schools and universities.

[14] "Modernist" approaches to the study of nationalism emerged strongly during the 1960's and 1970's and have had a lasting impact on contemporary scholarship. Although this study does not explicitly apply any particularly theories or models to the study of Bosnian Serb identity development, it does take into account the relationship between the "modernization" and "Europeanization" of Bosnia on the one hand, and the acceleration of modern identities (Serb, Bosnian, and Yugoslav) in the years leading up to World War I, on the other. Among the most noteworthy studies that have explored this link and that have informed this thesis are: Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press); Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); Maria Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities*.

[15] The specific national/regional levels of literacy in 1910 were as follows: Croatia-Slavonia (54%), Serbia (40%), and Slovenia (roughly 60-70%). Rough estimates for Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and Transylvania each were just under 40%. See John R. Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe: A Century of War and Transition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 26-27.

[16] Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom, 1878-1918* (Sarajevo: Narodno Štamparija, 1960), 409; Dejan Đuričković, *Bosanska vila: književnoistorijska studija* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 14-15.

[17] Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini (1818-1941)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1984), 15. Literacy was most widespread among the Catholics of the province, many of whom had arrived from the Monarchy as officials, civil servants, and military personnel (Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (Ann

participate for the first time in a small, but active literary culture that, in addition to books and pamphlets, included the circulation of 27 Bosnian Serb, 15 Bosnian Croat, and 15 Bosnian Muslim newspapers and magazines before World War I.[18] These and other printed sources were essential in creating a pool of ideas, some of which dominated discussions concerning group identity, and enabled writers to focus their attentions on what they believed were the dominant and politically important elements of their collective consciousness. That the Bosnian Serb intellectuals would have held to certain common ideas is thus understandable. The printed culture and historical context in which they circulated their works would have influenced, legitimized, and ultimately harmonized some of their perspectives.

Examining the writings of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals also provides a spectrum of opinion at any given time. The published sources officially approved by Vienna included mainly serial publications, such as newspapers and journals—the most popular mediums and, therefore, the mainspring of this study—as well as novels, textbooks, pamphlets, and monographs that have also been examined. Although some Bosnian Serb serials were lost, destroyed or misplaced during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990's, this study cites seventeen major and/or representative ones.[19] Access to these serials has

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Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 88). It is, therefore, difficult to know with any precision who among the 23% of literate Catholics were native Bosnians and who were not.

[18] These were the major newspapers and magazines of the period. For a specific list, see Džaja, 96-101.

[19] Of the twenty-seven major Bosnian Serb serials in circulation at the turn of the twentieth century, twenty-one were available and examined by this author. With the exception of a few lesser-known serials that were used in this thesis, the serial publications that were ultimately cited by the author constituted the most widely-read, longest-running and influential serials among the Bosnian Serbs and were the most relevant material to this project. Noteworthy among them were the literary-cultural journals *Bosanska vila* (*The Bosnian Nymph*) (1885-1914), *Istočnik* (*The Source*) (1887-1911) and *Zora* (*Dawn*) (1896-1901), the most popular Bosnian Serb journals of their day, as well as the four leading political newspapers *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) (1905-1914), *Narod* (*Nation*) (1907-1908, 1911-1914) and *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*) (1907-1908, 1911-1913) and *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) (1909-1914). The most well known and influential intellectuals/politicians established and/or wrote for these journals and newspapers. These serials also had the highest levels of circulation in the region, which for some constituted 2-3,000 subscriptions for

afforded the project a glimpse into the kinds of writers who existed, in this case mainly teachers, but also civil servants, priests, and students at high schools and universities. And while this study emphasizes the published works of popular writers, it also draws on the contributions of many anonymous authors (who chose to express their opinions in anonymity to avoid problems with the authorities) and of lesser-known writers (mainly teachers and teaching clerics living in rural Bosnia), as well as some of the more obscure writings that were then being passed around the smaller and/or underground intellectual circles. This included, for example, the illegal revolutionary student newspaper *Srpska svijest* (*The Serb Conscience*) (1896) and the journal *Srpkinja* (*The Serb Woman*) (1913), the latter of which contained the writings of a handful of women authors who have been largely neglected by scholars.[20] By including these and other writings, this project will reveal the degree to which the lesser known and less influential of the intellectuals would have accepted or rejected a collectivist, multi-ethnic identity.[21]

Although this project examines printed material it does not confer absolute authority on these sources as historical evidence. Less educated members of the ethnic community also circulated their own ideas that sometimes contradicted those of the intellectuals, the latter of whom were often far removed from the social, cultural and political circumstances of their rural countrymen and whose opinions were sometimes

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a single serial in one year. (See Džaja, 97-99). These numbers are comparable to their Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim counterparts whose most popular serial publications had similar levels of circulation. (See Džaja, 96-97, 100-101).

[20] The publication of the journal *Srpkinja* (*The Serbian Woman*) (1913) was interrupted by the international crises of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) followed by the outbreak of World War I. See Dušan Jelkić, *Jelica Belović: njezin život i rad* (Novi Sad: Štamparija učit. kom. društva "Natošević," 1929), 20-22.

[21] In the case of the few Serb women writers from Bosnia, for example, it turns out that they were far more traditional in their perspectives, continuing to nurture a more conservative and traditional (ethnic) ethos. The absence of the multi-ethnic idea among women was likely due to their political inexperience and acceptance of their secondary, social status in a deeply patriarchal society. They were less "state-minded" and more "family-minded," "socially-minded" and "confessionally-minded."

biased and distorted.[22] That said, the specific rhetoric of the intellectuals is itself a historic artifact worth examining. It is not a blueprint of how people actually behaved, but it does reveal some of the ideas that shaped the cultural and political activities of the intellectuals. And in the modern history of the region, it was the intellectual elite, and not the ill-educated, politically powerless populace, that had the greatest influence on politics, mass education and culture.

In short, the rhetoric of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals is used herein not as an end in itself, but as an interpretive tool that uncovers the origins and evolution of the multi-ethnic idea. Above all, it has revealed the nature of the intellectuals' multi-ethnicity (in this case, its Serb, Bosnian, and Yugoslav aspects); how and why it changed over the years; the impact of other national ideologies and movements; the influence of Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rule; the strategies used to propagandize among the populace as well as the level of success these had; and, finally, the degree to which the intellectuals believed that the "homogenization" (social, cultural, and political) of the ethnic groups under consideration was necessary for building harmonious inter-ethnic relationships. Indeed, the changing language of the intellectuals is itself an important means by which to examine the causes and course of the multi-ethnic idea.

## Historiography

Few studies have examined the development of the modern Bosnian Serb identity and its relationship to a multi-ethnic model of belonging. The following historiographical review highlights some of that research and shows how this dissertation contributes to the

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[22] See, for example, Pieter M. Judson's study *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), which challenges the often exaggerated importance that Central Europe's cultural and political elite have had on local identities.

subject. The historiography is divided into three sub-topics, each one corresponding to one aspect of the multi-ethnic, triune identity examined in this thesis, namely its "Yugoslav," "Bosnian," and "Serb" components.

### *The "Yugoslav" Component*

From the perspective of both history and scholarship, the Yugoslav identity is of very recent vintage. The South Slavs were for centuries divided into separate ethno-religious groups until their unification under the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918. It was the formation of this first Yugoslav state—which included the territories of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Macedonia—that encouraged local scholars to conduct more in-depth research into their historic ties. Many were especially eager to demonstrate the "naturalness" of the movement that led to the creation of the state.[23] During the interwar years, they emphasized their commonalities, gearing their research toward describing the political, as well as the social and cultural, integration of the South Slavs. It was even popular to speak of a supra-national "Yugoslav" identity or at least the potential for one.[24]

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[23] This was especially true because they were far too aware of how fractious the union really was. In the interwar period, Alexander I (regent, 1918-21 and king, 1921-34) and Peter II (under regent Paul, 1934-41) were hard-pressed to reconcile Yugoslavia's nationalities and decided to give the Serbian royal house a preponderant position within the state. The assassination of Alexander I by Croatian nationalists (1934) and the overthrow of Peter II (1941) served both to reflect and agitate national tensions.

[24] In an effort to glorify the Yugoslav state and its newly-installed Yugoslav (Serb) monarchy, for example, Belgrade attempted to replace pre-war textbooks that had followed an exclusively national (Serb, Croat and Slovene) reading of history with those that drew attention to the South Slavs' broader social, cultural and political commonalities that brought them into political union in 1918. The resulting criticism and furor over such attempts to "dilute" national histories, however, convinced officials to permit local schools to continue using pre-war texts. On official attempts to promote Yugoslav unity in textbooks, see John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 145-146; See also Charles Jelavich's studies on pre-war textbooks, including *South Slav Nationalisms—Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999) and "Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?" *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 601-619.

That said, there was little written about the history of the Yugoslav movement in Bosnia specifically until after World War II. Although the Austro-Hungarian administrators kept detailed records and censuses on the social, cultural, economic, legal, and political aspects of Bosnia prior to 1918, the first major archives from this period were opened to the public only after the Second World War.[25] The attempts to write broader histories during the interwar period were, therefore, mainly isolated efforts that inspired little discussion on the development of a Yugoslav ideology in Bosnia. Most were journalistic pieces and anecdotal reminiscences of the political movement's eyewitnesses and participants.[26] One notable exception was the work of the historian and Bosnian Serb scholar Vladimir Ćorović (1885-1941) who wrote about the Yugoslav movement in Bosnia in *Političke prilike u Bosni i Hercegovini* (*The Political Circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina*) (1939). In his study, Ćorović argued that the Bosnian Serbs' desire to unite Bosnia with Serbia in the nineteenth century was eventually broadened to include all the South Slavs based on their perceived political as well as their cultural commonalities.[27] Although Ćorović's work was foundational to the

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[25] These included The Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine) (1947), The Historical Archive of Sarajevo (Istorijski Arhiv Sarajevo) (1948) and The Young Bosnia Archive (Arhiv Mlade Bosne) (1953), all located in Sarajevo and consulted for this project. The archival and special collections at the National and University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Nacionalna i Univerzitetska Biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine) (1945) and The National Museum (Zemaljski Muzej) (1888) were also valuable to this thesis. See Božo Madžar, ed., *Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1947-1977* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977), 7; Robert J. Donia, "Archives and Cultural Memory under Fire: Destruction and the Post-war Nationalist Transformation," http://www.arhivsa.ba/ica2004/robert.htm (accessed July 2007); http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/MR333Miller.doc (accessed July 2007)).

[26] One of the most thorough bibliographic collection of journal and newspaper articles written about the events surrounding the Yugoslav movement and assassination in Sarajevo is Nikola Đ. Trišić, *Sarajevski atentat u svjetlu bibliografskih podataka* (Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1964); The few Western scholars who published histories on the Yugoslav movement focused mainly on developments in Serbia and Croatia. These early evaluations of the Yugoslav idea were the product of post-war idealism and of the optimism surrounding the idea of national self-determination. See, for example, Henry Baerlin, *The Birth of Yugoslavia*, 2 vols., (London: Leonard Parsons, 1922); Lord Edward Gleichen, ed., *Yugoslavia* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1923); Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans, 1800-1930* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931).

[27] Vladimir Ćorović, *Političke prilike u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Belgrade: Politika, 1939), 19, 25, 43-45.

study of Yugoslavism in Bosnia, it was also representative of contemporary scholarship about the other South Slavs that depicted the Yugoslav movement as a more or less "natural" phenomenon.[28] As this dissertation shows, however, the Yugoslav idea was less natural than it was a practical and logical outcome of the Bosnian Serbs' specific circumstances at the turn of the twentieth century. Although a Yugoslav consciousness was evident among a few of Bosnia's urban, educated elite as early as the mid-nineteenth century, it developed on a much broader scale among the Bosnian Serb intellectuals only on the eve of World War I. This was very late in the day when compared to either Croatia or Serbia, where Yugoslavism first arose among Croatian intellectuals during the 1830's and among Serbian ones at the turn of the twentieth century. By contextualizing the rise of the Yugoslav movement, this project will deepen our understanding of the nature and evolution of a Yugoslav identity among the Bosnian Serb intellectuals.

Following the Second World War and installation of the communist government in Yugoslavia in 1945, historians were expected to follow the lead of the communist party and of Marxist- and socialist-inspired interpretations that continued to characterize the Yugoslav movement as a more or less "natural" phenomenon.[29] Keeping in mind both communist ideology and the desire to strengthen the new Yugoslav union, which was comprised of the Republics of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and

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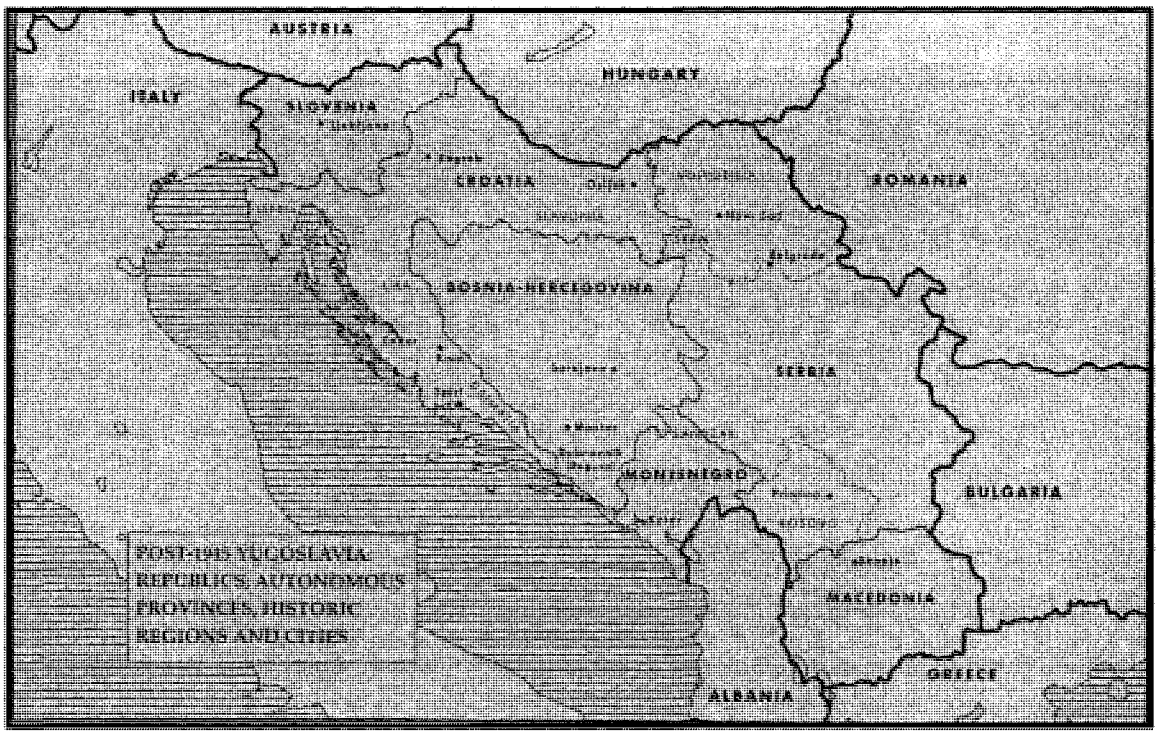
[28] Ibid., 43-45; See, for example, Vasilj Popović, *Istorija Jugoslavena* (Sarajevo: Komisionalne naklada kljizare J. Studnicke, 1920); Baerlin, *The Birth of Yugoslavia*; Gewehr, *The Rise of Nationalism in the Balkans*.

[29] Yugoslavia's leader Marshall Tito set the tone for historians at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Part of Yugoslavia in 1948, stating that "the unification of the South Slavs was needed and had to be accomplished. This was the idea of the most progressive people in the lands that were called South Slavic." See Ivo Banac, "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia," *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 4 (Oct., 1992): 1085.




Map 0.1 Communist Yugoslavia (post-1945)[30]

Bosnia, historians continued to emphasize the historic links and collective achievements of the South Slavs.[31] Among the main concerns of post-World War II historians included Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian social, economic, and political structures, the conditions of peasants and factory workers, industrialization, strikes, exploitation, and rebellion, each of which was interpreted in light of a Marxist reading of history, the communist movement, and the necessity of emphasizing the historic unity of the Yugoslavs.[32]

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[30] Map from Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* ( London: Macmillan Publishers, 1996), xiii.

[31] Yugoslav historians attempted not to emphasize one nation's achievements over any other in Yugoslavia. See, for example, Wayne S. Vucinich, "The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period: Postwar Marxist Interpretations of Indigenous and Ottoman Institutions," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1955): 287-305.

[32] See, for example, Todor Kruševac, "Seljački pokret-štrajk 1910," *Pregled*, III (1948): 536-553; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske Vladavine (1878-1918), in Vasa Čubrilović ed., *Jugoslovenski narodi pred prvi svetski rat* (Beograd: Naučno Delo, 1967): 315-339; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Ekonomska emigracija iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Sjevernu Ameriku početkom XX vijeka," *Glasnik: Arhiva i društva arhiviskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 7 (Sarajevo 1967): 191-220; Yugoslav scholars also embarked on major joint projects on the communist movement in Yugoslavia that included two official volumes of the *History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia* (1953, 1959), various

Western scholars of the post-World War II era initially followed the lead of their counterparts in Yugoslavia, focusing their efforts on explaining the historic and contemporary reasons behind Yugoslavia's "success." In the early years, experts like Robert J. Kerner characterized Yugoslavism as a more or less popular movement among the urban, educated populace that coincided with the national awakenings among the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the nineteenth century.[33] As the number of scholars studying the region increased, however, there was a subtle shift in Western scholarship that began to challenge traditional "populist" interpretations of Yugoslavism by showing that it was largely a movement of the intellectuals and political leaders who had varying, often contradictory, nationalist aims. The new generation of historians who greatly contributed to this expanding field, included Barbara Jelavich, Charles Jelavich, Peter F. Sugar, Ivo. J. Lederer, L.S. Stavrianos, and R.W. Seton-Watson.[34] These and other Western scholars furnished the field with much-needed material that showed the Yugoslav idea as a varied and sometimes fractious concept. Writers mainly examined the Yugoslav movement's success *in spite* of the South Slavs' religious, geographic, and historic differences, and stressed the role of communist political leaders in creating a politically viable state after World War II.[35]

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encyclopedic projects, notably the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia* (1955-1971 and 1980-1991), bibliographies, as well as the monumental treatise translated into English called the *History of Yugoslavia* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974) by four of Yugoslavia's leading historians of the post-World War II period, Ivan Božić, Sima Ćirković, Milorad Ekmečić, and Vladimir Dedijer.

[33] Robert J. Kerner, "The Yugoslav Movement" in Robert J. Kerner, ed., *Yugoslavia: History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949): 33-40.

[34] R.W. Seton-Watson was a well-established scholar who had already begun to write about nationalism and the Austro-Hungarian Empire before World War I.

[35] See, for example, the pioneering works by Barbara Jelavich and Charles Jelavich, *The Balkans* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965) and *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1930* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977); Robert J. Kerner, *Yugoslavia*; L.S. Stavrianos' studies, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Rinehart, 1958) and *The Balkans, 1815-1914* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); R.W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1911; reprint, New York: H. Fertig, 1969); Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer, eds., *Nationalism*

One of the main problems of these studies, however, was that there was little to no examination of the role that the Bosnian Serb intellectuals played in the development of a Yugoslav consciousness in Bosnia. Western and Balkan scholars alike continued to focus their attentions either on the development of Yugoslavism among Croatian intellectuals who first promoted the idea, or on the political roles played by the Serbian government and Yugoslav Committee during World War I.[36] The one notable exception to this was the enormous attention paid to "Young Bosnia," the name given to the loose grouping of radical teenagers and young intellectuals that included Gavrilo Princip, the teenaged assassin of the Austrian Archduke.[37] The emphasis on Young Bosnia as *the* symbol of Yugoslav feeling in Bosnia, however, ultimately limited our understanding of the range of intellectual opinion that existed at this time.[38] This dissertation fills in this gap in the literature by examining the nature of the Yugoslav idea in the printed works of a wider range of Bosnian Serb intellectuals and shows that their Yugoslavism was, in part, an extension of their developing multi-ethnic consciousness.

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*in Eastern Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969); For specific national studies and the Yugoslav movement see, for example, Charles Jelavich, "Serbian Nationalism and the Question of Union with Croatia in the Nineteenth Century," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962): 29-42; Carole Rogel, "The Slovenes and Political Yugoslavism on the Eve of WWI," *East European Quarterly* 4 (January 1971): 408-418; On the state of the union see Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968); Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *The Improbable Survivor: Yugoslavia and Its Problems, 1918-1988* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988); Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

[36] On Croatian intellectuals, two influential English language contributions include Elinor Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, East European Quarterly, 1975) and Mirjana Gross, "Croatian national-integrational ideologies from the end of Illyrism to the creation of Yugoslavia," *Austrian History Yearbook* 15-16 (1979-80): 3-33; On the roles of the Serbian government, army, and Yugoslav Committee see, for example, Dimitrije Djordjević, ed., *The Creation of Yugoslavia, 1914-1918* (Santa Barbara, CA, and Oxford: Clio Books, 1980).

[37] The name was thought to have derived from an article about the younger generation of young students and intellectuals written in the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Otadžbina* in 1907. See Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967), 477, n.1.

[38] Understanding the nature of the Yugoslav idea among these students and revolutionary youth was the subject of the edited collection of writings compiled by Predrag Palavestra in *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, 2 vols. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965); See also the classic studies by Veselin Masleša, called *Mlada Bosna* (Sarajevo: Državno izdavačko preduzeće Bosne, 1945) and Dedijer's *The Road to Sarajevo*.

***The "Bosnian" Component***

Unlike the studies that have examined the Yugoslav identity, those that have explored the Bosnian one have been more elusive and politically contentious. There are a couple of reasons for this. First, Bosnia was Yugoslavia's most nationally diverse region, with about 44% Muslims (now called "Bosniaks"), 31% Serb-Orthodox, and 17% Croat-Catholics according to the 1991 census, making the Bosnian identity difficult to define.[39] Some interpreted it in political terms, viewing Bosnians as merely the inhabitants of the Republic of Bosnia. Others defined it in ethnic terms. Serbia's and Croatia's historic claims to the territory and inhabitants of this region, which were based on nationalist arguments that the Bosnians were "originally" Serbs or Croats, greatly influenced the ethnic view of Bosnia.[40]

Second, the Bosnian identity was difficult to classify because many did not consider it to be on a par with either their ethnic national (Serb, Croat, Slovenian, Muslim, and Macedonian) identities or supra-national (Yugoslav) ones. Unlike Serbia and Croatia, where national identities were more clearly delineated in the modern era, Bosnia, whose own identity was largely undefined before the creation of the Yugoslav Kingdom in 1918, was under constant pressure to conform to the differing ethnic and political identities of the state. In Royalist Yugoslavia (1918-41), for example, state propaganda encouraged Bosnians to shift their loyalties from Sarajevo to the new state capital of Belgrade and to embrace a Yugoslav political identity. Later, during the Second World War, Bosnia became a part of the Nazi puppet state of the Independent State of Croatia (1941-45) where the regime attempted to impose an ethnic Croat identity, though mainly

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[39] Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 330.
[40] The delicate issue of the ethnic origins of Bosnia's groups will be discussed in greater detail in chapter one.

on the Muslims.[41] Following World War II, Bosnia then joined the reconstituted state of communist Yugoslavia—as the only Republic that was not ethnically-based—where the slogan "brotherhood and unity," together with communist ideological hegemony, were used as a way of binding the nationalities together with the hope of seeing ethnic nationalism gradually diminish as a force of political instability not only in Bosnia, but throughout the Yugoslav state.[42]

As the century progressed, Bosnia's identity became less apparent even to scholars studying the region. Most were persuaded to believe that the uniqueness of Bosnians lay mainly in their shared mentality (*mentalitet*) and common regional culture which was itself thought to have been heavily influenced in the modern era by Serbia and Croatia. Post-World War II historians Hamdija Kapidžić, Tomislav Kraljačić, Todor Kruševac, and Mitar Papić and literary scholars Muhsin Rizvić, Radovan Vučković, and Josip Lešić have each argued along these lines in their respective fields. They have suggested that Bosnia's common regional culture was nurtured mainly during the Austro-Hungarian period when the "modernization," "Europeanization," and even "Yugoslavization" of Bosnia's society drew the ethnic groups, especially the urban, educated populations, closer together.[43] The Bosnian Muslim scholar Muhsin Rizvić, for example, suggests that although Bosnians' religio-ethnic differences were reflected in their varying literary traditions, over time there was an increasing overlap in style and

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[41] Robert J. Donia and John V.A. Fine, Jr., *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 139-142; Malcolm, 174-175; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 208.
[42] Duško Sekulić, Randy Hodson, and Garth Massey, "Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review* 59, no. 1. (Feb., 1994): 83-97.
[43] See, for example, Hamdija Kapidžić, *Bosna i Hercegovina za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968); Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987); Papić, *Školstvo*; In *Bosanskohercegovačke listovi u XIX Veku* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978) historian Todor Kruševac placed his subject within a broader Yugoslav context by discussing the history of periodical publication in the Yugoslav region as a whole.

content, a product of their heightening cross-cultural and cross-ethnic awareness.[44] The Serb scholar Radovan Vučković goes further by arguing that when it came to literary styles and tastes there "really" was no distinctly "Bosnian" literature, strongly influenced as it was by the more developed literatures and cultures in the neighbouring South Slav lands.[45] The Bosnian Croat theatre historian Josip Lešić similarly argues that travelling theatrical troupes from Serbia, Croatia, and the Vojvodina region in Hungary[46] integrated Bosnians into the broader tastes of the neighbouring South Slavs by introducing them to modern trends in playwriting and theatre styles and methods found in their home countries.[47] In subtle contrast to these traditional arguments, this dissertation shows that the Bosnian Serb intellectuals were shaped mainly by their sense of "Serb-ness" and "Bosnian-ness" before they developed a broader Yugoslav consciousness, the latter of which was espoused largely by students and young intellectuals.

It was not until the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990's, when some Bosnian politicians and scholars became eager to strengthen the geographic integrity, unity, and sovereignty of the new Bosnian state, that scholars began to explore Bosnia's unique historic and modern identity.[48] While some of these studies have been polemical,

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[44] Muhsin Rizvić argues this in *Pregled književnosti naroda BiH* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1985).
[45] This is the premise to Radovan Vučković's article, "U matici neoromantizma (književnost u BiH devedesetih godina XIX veka)," *Baština* 1 (Sarajevo 1990): 25-56.
[46] This autonomous province of Serbia was home to a large concentration of urban, educated Serbs who had lived under Hungarian rule prior to World War I.
[47] Josip Lešić argues this in *Istorija pozorišta Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1985).
[48] Up to that point, the closest that scholars got to identifying a distinctly "Bosnian" identity was as it applied to the Bosnian Muslims who, after receiving official status as a distinct national community (they had until 1967 been identified only as a "religious" community), were eager to demonstrate that they were the descendents of the pre-Ottoman Bosnian political and military upper classes who were members of an alleged heretical Bogomil state church that converted en masse to Islam and, therefore, constituted the oldest cultural group in Bosnia. (See Carsten Wieland, "Thousands of Years of Nation-buidling? Ancient Arguments for Sovereignty in Bosnia and Isreal/Palestine," http://www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/ECE/vol6no3/wieland.pdf. (Accessed in fall 2005). Today, most scholars do not support this theory. One of the first to have rejected this and offered a new interpretation concerning the Bosnian Church was John V.A. Fine, Jr. in *The Bosnian Church. A New*

demagogic, and emotionally-driven, there have been a few sober works on the subject published by Balkan and Western scholars alike. *Bosnia the Good: Tolerance and Tradition* (2000) by the Bosnian Muslim scholar Rusmir Mahmutćehajić and *Bosnia: A Cultural History* (2001) by the Bosnian Croat intellectual Ivan Lovrenović, for example, represent a major indictment of Serbia's and Croatia's ethno-national projects to divide Bosnia.[49] Both Mahmutćehajić and Lovrenović argue that Bosnia's collective historic legacy flies in the face of such projects because of centuries of cross-confessional exchange and shared historic experiences that nurtured a common identity in Bosnia. Similar arguments have been made by Western scholars, including the historians Robert J. Donia and John V.A. Fine, Jr. in *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (1994) and Noel Malcolm in *Bosnia: A Short History* (1996), each of whom accept Bosnia as a viable political and historic community. None of these studies, however, has identified or defined what the Bosnian identity actually was or is.[50]

One notable exception to this is the recently-published monograph by Robert J. Donia called *Sarajevo: A Biography* (2006). In it, Donia argues that what increasingly bound Sarajevans together was not a common vision or identity, but a sense of "neighbourliness" that developed mainly in the modern era through increasing ethnic interaction in both the public and private spheres. Donia generally makes a good case. But when it comes to describing the history of the city during the Austro-Hungarian period, he shows that those who led the way in promoting "neighbourliness" were commonly

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*Interpretation: A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly; New York; distributed by Columbia University Press, 1975).

[49] Rusmir Mahmutćehajić, *Bosnia the Good: Tolerance and Tradition* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000); Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: A Cultural History* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

[50] The Dayton Peace Accords in 1995 divided Bosnia into two administrative entities, the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serbian Republic.

officials, experts, and administrators from the Empire and not so much the Bosnians themselves.[51] Indeed, whatever "neighbourliness" may have developed in Sarajevo was not typical of Bosnia as a whole. Although extremely informative and an important addition to Bosnian historiography, Donia's monograph does not say enough about what local political and cultural leaders were thinking and writing in their pursuits to nurture a common Bosnian consciousness at the turn of the twentieth century.

In contrast to the above studies that attempted to show Bosnians' commonalities, the works by the Croatian historian Srećko Džaja and the Bosnian Serb literary and cultural scholar Dragomir Gajević argue that Bosnians have never had a common vision or identity (ethnic, cultural or political). In *Bosna i Hercegovina u austrougarskom razdoblju (1878-1918)* (*Bosnia and Hercegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Era (1878-1918)*) (2002), Džaja argues that the goals of Bosnia's three main ethno-national communities became increasingly disparate as time went on, making a common Bosnian vision and identity increasingly illusive.[52] This, he argues, was because Vienna failed not only to modernize Bosnia along European lines, but it did not fully utilize the native-born intelligentsia who could have embraced their collective responsibility to reform the country. Džaja's position, while persuasive, does not hold true for all of Bosnia's urban, educated elite. As this dissertation demonstrates, an increasing number of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals adopted certain modern, and especially West European political ideals that promoted the "homogenization" of the ethnic groups by making them more socially, culturally, and politically alike.

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[51] See chapter three called "The Making of *Fin de Siecle* Sarajevo," in Donia, *Sarajevo*, 60-92.

[52] Srećko Džaja's book first appeared in 1994 in German and has since been translated into Serbo-Croatian as *Bosna i Hercegovina austrougarskom razdoblju (1878-1918): Inteligencija između tradicije i ideologije*. For an interesting discussion on the nature of Bosnia's disparate ethno-national visions, see the chapter "Inteligencija i povijesno-polotički identitet bosanskohercegovačkog stanovništva ("The Intelligentsia and the Historical-Political Identity of the Bosnian Population") (pp.189-236).

Like Srećko Džaja, Dragomir Gajević argues that there has never been one, unitary, and universally agreed upon interpretation of the Bosnian identity.[53] He addresses this in *Bosanska književna raskršća* (*Bosnian Literary Crossroads*) (2001), a collection of essays that considers the cross-section of ideologies that have co-existed in Bosnian literature and among Bosnian intellectuals from Austro-Hungarian times to the present. Gajević argues that over the years there have been a variety of perspectives on what it was to be Bosnian. Among others, these included Serbophile, Croatophile, and Turkophile ones (ethnic, cultural, and political) that have emerged from the writings of Bosnian Serb, Bosnian Croat, and Bosnian Muslim writers, respectively. But while Gajević posits that these are not wholly incompatible concepts, he does not offer a synthesis of them.[54] As this dissertation shows, some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals attempted to do just that by promoting an inclusive vision of Bosnia that rested on political principles such as patriotism and constitutionalism and drew on Bosnians' social and cultural commonalities. Although overly optimistic at times, these intellectuals believed that given the heterogeneity of the population a multi-ethnic identity was both a practical and politically expedient way of bridging the ethnic gap.

### *The "Serb" Component*

In order to understand the origins and evolution of the multi-ethnic idea in Bosnia, it is also important to consider its relationship to the development of a Serb identity among the Bosnian Orthodox. As noted earlier, the Serb identity had already taken root in

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[53] Gajević explores these themes in the study *Bosanske teme* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1989) and article "Prilog proučavanje književnog života u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine," *Baština* 1 (Sarajevo 1990): 91-99.
[54] Dragomir Gajević, "'Bosanska Vila' između srpstva, bosanstva i jugoslovenstva," in *Bosanska književna raskršća* (Sarajevo, 2001), 113-125.

Bosnia before World War I. During the nineteenth century, the mainly urban, educated Orthodox populations gradually adopted it and later promoted the political union of all the Serbs in a Greater Serbian state. Following the establishment of the Yugoslav Kingdom in 1918, however, the Greater Serb political project was suppressed for the sake of the new union and for years thereafter, Yugoslav scholars examinining the ethnic history and culture of the Bosnian Serbs did so in light of their South Slav kinship.[55]

All this began to change in the mid-1960's. At the time, Yugoslavia's leader Tito initiated a policy of de-centralization that gave more power to the Constituent Republics at the expense of Belgrade, the capital and center of federal communist power.[56] Out of this came a subtle re-emergence of ethnic nationalism, first among the Croat intellectuals in the 1960's, then among the Muslim and Serb intellectuals in the 1970's and 1980's, respectively.[57] Although the Yugoslav identity in the ethnic/national sense was never very strong among the general population, it had grown from 1.3% in 1971 to 5.4% in 1981 and was expected to increase.[58] The steady growth of ethnic nationalism, however, coupled with the economic and political rivalries among the Republics during the 1980's, marked the steady decline of the Yugoslav identity that, some argue, contributed to Yugoslavia's collapse.[59]

In this context of re-emerging nationalisms, an increasing number of Serb scholars began more seriously to study the nature of their ethno-national identity. Bosnian Serb

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[55] Serbia was, however, clearly the preponderant power and was greatly invested in Yugoslavia's survival. The Royal House of Serbia ruled Yugoslavia from 1918-1945 and Serbia's capital city was also the Yugoslav capital from 1918 until the wars of Yugoslav succession in 1991-1995.
[56] Sekulić, 87-88.
[57] Aleksandar Pavković, "The Serb National Idea: A Revival, 1986-92," *Slavonic and East European Review* 21, no. 3: 440-453.
[58] Sekulić, 85.
[59] This is the basic premise of Andrew Baruch Wachtel's study *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

experts such as Mitar Papić, Jovan Deretić, Predrag Palavestra, Dragomir Gajević, Mihailo Djordjević, and Dejan Đuričković have, among others, been pioneers in their respective fields. They have variously argued that in the Austro-Hungarian period the Bosnian Serb intellectuals embraced and disseminated cultural and political ideas that supported the view that the Bosnian Orthodox were an integral part of the Greater Serb nation. These scholars have stated in one form or another that the mainly urban, educated Bosnian Orthodox populations viewed themselves as ethnically Serb by way of their perceived historic, ancestral, religious, linguistic, political, and folk cultural ties to the Serbs living in Serbia and elsewhere. In *Istorija srpskih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* (*The History of Serb Schools in Bosnia-Herzegovina*) (1978), Mitar Papić argues that Bosnian Serb confessional schools under Austro-Hungarian rule were among the main repositories of this developing Serb identity. He shows how under the encouragement of Serb teachers, mostly from neighbouring Serbia and the Vojvodina, the Bosnian Orthodox learned to integrate their local history into the Greater Serb meta-narrative.[60] Similarly, literary historians Jovan Deretić and Predrag Palavestra argue that while certain Bosnian Serb writers of the period focused on local themes, their cultural ties with the Serbs outside of Bosnia greatly influenced not only their literary styles and tastes, but their self-

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[60] Papić, *Školstvo*, 156-157, 177, 179. Papić and other scholars, including theatre historian Josip Lešić and political and cultural historian Todor Kruševac, have variously reflected on the broader cultural and political work of these teachers along with their Bosnian Serb counterparts in co-founding local periodicals and choral and theatrical associations that contributed to the cultural and political integration of the Serbs in the region. See, for example, Josip Lešić's studies, *Istorija pozorišta Bosne i Hercegovine*, 70-71, 82f and "Pozorišno Sarajevo (1878-1918): I, Društveni i kulturni kontekst," *Pozorište časopis za pozorišnu umjetnost* 14, no. 4 (July-August 1972): 365-393; See also Todor Kruševac, "Srpska Realka—Gimnazija u Sarajevu," *Glasnik: Arhiva i društva arhivista Bosne i Hercegovine* 3 (Sarajevo 1963): 91-124; The most thorough treatment of the national integration of the Balkan Serbs came in the 1980's with the publication of the monumental collaborative treatise, Radovan Samardžić, ed., *The History of the Serbian People* (*Istorija srpskog naroda*) (Belgrade : Srpska književna zadruga, 1981). Nine scholars in the field examined the history of the Serbs from the earliest times until the First World War.

perceptions as well.[61] Dragomir Gajević, Mihailo Djordjevic, and Dejan Đuričković have shown how the literary and cultural activities of these Bosnian Serbs reflected a wider movement to preserve what local leaders perceived as their Serb cultural heritage in Bosnia.[62] Đuričković argues that the main purpose behind the founding of the longest-running literary-cultural journal of the Bosnian Serbs, the *Bosanska vila* (*The Bosnian Nymph*) (1885-1914), for example, was to provide an outlet for Serb national (and national*ist*) expression in Bosnia. This was because many of the mainly urban, educated Bosnian Serb elite believed in the "Greater Serb" theory of Bosnian origins that claimed the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims were originally Serbs as well.[63] These scholars' emphasis on the Serb identity of the Bosnian Orthodox as well as the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins has, however, left significant room to explore the wider variety of perceptions that the Bosnian Serb intellectuals held about the non-Serbs of Bosnia, which plays a key role in this thesis. To appreciate the influence of collectivist, multi-ethnic thinking among them, therefore, this study widens the focus to include the intellectuals' discussions of the role of ancestry, history, territoriality, language, religion, secularity, and culture in connecting the Bosnian Serbs to the non-Serbs around them that went beyond Greater Serb nationalism.

In addition to strengthening our knowledge of the nature of Serb/non-Serb ties in Bosnia, at least as the intellectuals saw them, this thesis outlines its political dimensions. Scholarly preoccupation with the cultural politics of the Bosnian Serbs has produced numerous studies outlining the origins and development of political movements and

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[61] Predrag Palavestra, "Književnost u Bosni i Hercegovini od okupacije do aneksije (1878-1908)," *Život* 13, no. 11-12 (Nov.-Dec. 1964): 31-62; Jovan Deretić, *Istorija srpske književnost* (Belgrade: Trebnik, 1996), 355-365.
[62] See, for example, Gajević, *Bosanske teme*, 12-13, 21; Mihailo Djordjević, "Mostar: A Serbian Cultural Center in the 1880s and 1890s," *Serbian Studies* 7, no.2 (Fall 1993): 72-85.
[63] Đuričković, 28.

parties that served to protect the interests of the Serbs. Many scholars have stressed the significance of the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement (1896-1905) in uniting the Serbs both in organization and ethos. The standard history of this is *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu* (*The Bosnian Serb Church-School Autonomy Movement*) (1982) in which the late historian Božo Madžar argues that although the goal of the movement was narrowly cultural, it contributed to the politicization of the Serbs of Bosnia.[64] Other scholars have pointed out that the movement provided the Bosnian Serbs with practical political experience that was parlayed into formal politics when the Bosnian parliament opened in 1910. Here, older and younger leaders continued to promote the social, cultural, and political interests of the Bosnian Serbs.[65] This focus on the integration of Serb interests in Bosnia has, however, created an incomplete portrait of the identity politics of Bosnian Serb leaders who were also strongly influenced by the presence of a diverse mix of ethnic groups and cultures.

In conclusion, although scholars have for years studied the historic links among the South Slavs, few have considered it specifically as a reflection of any one group's developing multi-ethnic identity. By characterizing the Austro-Hungarian era as

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[64] Božo Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982), 12-13.

[65] See, for example, Donia and Fine, 102; Uroš Krulj, "'Narodova' grupa. Njen rad i ideologija," *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 17, no. 11-12 (July-August 1937): 1016-1022; Vladislav Skarić, Osman Nuri Hadžić and Nikola Stojanović, *Bosna i Hercegovina pod austrougarskom upravom* (Belgrade: Geca Kon A.D., ca 1938), especially the chapter by Stojanović that covers the period 1903 to 1918; Ćorović, *Političke prilike*, 36-45; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave (1878-1918)* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Grada Sarajeva, 1969), especially from p. 82; Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,* 234-377; On the struggle for social justice for Bosnian Serb farmers in the political arena, see for example Hamdija Kapidžić, "Agrarno pitanje u bosni i hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine 1878-1918:" 315-339; On language politics in parliament see the studies by Dževad Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini pred prvi svjetski rat* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973) and *Nacionalno-politički odnosi u Bosanskohercegovačkom saboru i jezičko pitanje, 1910-1914* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999); On the contribution of specific intellectuals and intellectual circles in the political arena and in Greater Serb politics, see for example Đuričković, 35-42; Todor Kruševac, *Petar Kočič: Studija* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1951); Palavestra, "Književnost u bosni i hercegovini od okupacije do aneksije (1878-1908):"34, 40-61.

representing the "modernization" and "Europeanization" of Bosnia without also considering the ways in which leaders reconciled their traditional (ethnic) and modern (multi-ethnic) identities, scholars have missed the opportunity to demonstrate in what ways the Bosnian Serb experience was a reflection or rejection of a broader European one. As this dissertation demonstrates, collectivist thinking did not arise in a vacuum; rather it was the result of external and internal influences that inspired a growing number of intellectuals to adopt a multi-ethnic identity.

**Chapter Layout**

The opening chapter of this dissertation explores the first stage in the development of a Serb consciousness in the writings of the urban, educated Bosnian Serb intellectuals from 1878 to 1896. It shows that what writers believed was the existence of an authentically "Serb" identity in Bosnia was actually linked to the history of both the Serbians *and* the Bosnians. The awareness of this fluidity in their identity, coupled with the realities of ethnic co-existence, made future generations of Bosnian Serb intellectuals more receptive to alternative approaches to group identity among the ethnic groups.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 outline these subsequent approaches. Chapter 2 (1896-1905) discusses the rise of an ethnically "neutral" vision in which a few of the intellectuals began to argue that Bosnians already shared a common identity (or the potential for one) based not on ethno-national or specifically "Serb" traits, but on their common "kinship" and "territoriality." Persuaded of Bosnia's uniqueness in this regard, the next generation of intellectuals, as discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 began to encourage nation-building in Bosnia. Chapter 3 focuses on the social and cultural aspects of nation-building (1905-1910), while Chapter 4 discusses its specifically political

dimensions (1908-1910). Chapter 5 examines the intellectuals' attempts to apply these ideals in cooperation with the other ethnic groups during Bosnia's first parliament (1910-1914) and shows why these ultimately failed to nurture a common vision in the region. Chapter 6 (1908-1914) shifts the focus by stressing rival processes that were at work outside of parliament. It discusses the development of a Yugoslav identity among the mainly younger generation of intellectuals that in some respects represented the Bosnian multi-ethnic nation-building project writ-large. The concluding chapter summarizes the main points developed in the dissertation and provides the final assessment of this project.

# Chapter 1
# Foundations: The Bosnian Serb Collective Consciousness (1878-1896)

## Introduction

News of Austria-Hungary's impending occupation of Bosnia reached its inhabitants in early July 1878. After over four hundred years of rule under the Islamic Ottoman Empire, Bosnia was to come under the administrative jurisdiction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This had come about after an agrarian uprising of Bosnian Christian farmers (Serbs and Croats) against their Bosnian Muslim landlords in 1875-1878 generated widespread concern in Christian Europe. During the Congress of Berlin in July 1878, the Great Powers of Germany, Britain, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary decided that while Bosnia would remain under Ottoman suzerainty, it would be administered by neighbouring Austria-Hungary, whose policy-makers had long discussed the economic and geo-strategic benefits of expanding the Empire along the Adriatic coast.[1]

Occupying Bosnia, however, meant that Vienna had to contend with a larger South Slav population at a time when South Slav nationalism(s) threatened the integrity of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire. In recent years the Empire's South Slavs—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—had separately demanded more cultural and political autonomy. The Serbs, however, were the most politically dangerous. Many wished to separate from the Empire in order to unite with the expansionist state of Serbia that had also desired to annex Bosnia.

During the early years of the occupation, however, the Serbs living in Bosnia were less inclined to promote a union with Serbia than they were with pursuing the more practical objective of safe-guarding the Serb-Orthodox culture and identity against the

[1] Malcolm, 136-137; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 7-8.

perceived threat of cultural and political imperialism coming from the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire. For the literate minority of mainly teachers and priests, their pens and pencils were their main weapons of defense. Because political activity, including the formation of political parties, was initially banned in Bosnia, the cultural field and the print media in particular, became the intellectual elite's primary outlets for (ethnic) national expression, enabling them to lay down the ideological foundations of their national identity. Seeking to preserve what they saw as an "authentic" Serb identity against foreign influences, the intellectuals looked primarily to the past in order to define themselves in the present.

Determining the boundaries of their Serb identity, however, was not clear-cut. Some proposed that the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims were "really" part of the historic nation of Serbs. Their claims stemmed partly from their desire to apply modern national criteria to Bosnia (e.g. language, history, and territory) and partly from the influences of modern Serb nationalism that sometimes included the Croats and Muslims within the "Greater Serb" nation. This uncertainty concerning the parameters of the Serb identity in Bosnia makes the period from 1878 to 1896 a foundational stage in the attempt to define the nature of ethnic relationships that would later inspire a multi-ethnic identity in Bosnia. For now, however, most of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals were satisfied in thinking that Bosnians were "really" Serbs, whether the non-Serbs admitted it or not.

This chapter examines the nuances of the Bosnian Serb identity as expressed in the writings of this first generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals and is divided into three parts. The first discusses the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman legacies that contributed to the Bosnian Serbs' ethnic national understanding of identity. The second examines Austro-Hungarian influences and mainly the challenges that Vienna's policies offered to the

intellectuals concerning ethnic (Serb) approaches to identity. The third section examines the actual writings of the intellectuals published between 1878 and 1896 and discusses their definition(s) of the Bosnian Serb identity in light of these influences.

**The Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Backdrop for the Rise of a Serb Identity in Bosnia**

In order to understand the identity that the intellectuals wished to preserve, it is necessary to examine briefly the historic forces that helped to shape it. While recognizing the infinite variety of influences, there were, nevertheless, five major things of lasting importance on the modern identity of the Bosnian Serbs: the Orthodox religion, the spread of Islam, the Ottoman millet system, the European notion of nationhood, and the impact of modern Serb nationalism. These became especially significant during the nineteenth century when the Bosnian Serbs were making the transition from a mainly religious (Orthodox) community to a (Serb) national one. At this time, they began to grapple not only with who they were in relation to the other self-describing Serbs, but in relation to the non-Serbs of Bosnia as well.

Bosnia's Slavs migrated from the east into Southeastern Europe during the late sixth and early seventh centuries.[2] They were at that time part of a single Slavic group who settled in the area roughly covering the territories of the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and were divided into polytheistic, pagan tribes, who were largely Christianized, at least nominally, in the ninth and tenth centuries. The South Slavs who would eventually evolve into today's Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians were the most culturally and socially alike, speaking a common

[2] The prehistoric South Slavs had traveled from their homelands that covered the area between the Baltic Sea to the north and Black Sea to the south and Carpathian Mountains to the west and Don and Upper Volga rivers to the east.

language, the ancestor of modern Serbo-Croatian. They were then mainly agriculturalists, farmers, and cattle breeders who had organized themselves into tribes who came to rule over separate territories, and whose subsequent histories would gradually divide them into separate ethnic nuclei.[3]

The Serbs and the Croats formed the first important principalities in the region. The Serbs, who had first settled in the southern part of modern Serbia in the early seventh century, gradually extended their control over the areas roughly covering modern Montenegro and Herzegovina.[4] The Croats, who had settled in modern Croatia also in the early seventh century, expanded into northwest Bosnia.[5] The emerging frontiers of the principalities of Serbia and Croatia caused differing cultural and political developments that, after 1054, when the Eastern and Western Christian Churches split in two, divided these South Slavs still further between the Western Roman Catholic and the Eastern Byzantine Orthodox Empires. This religious-cum-political separation between the Croats (now Catholic) and the Serbs (now Orthodox) reinforced their other divisions (territorial, cultural, and political). The territorial overlap into parts of modern-day Bosnia-proper (Croatia) and Herzegovina (Serbia), however, would in varying degrees continue to link the groups together.[6] This early, and very tenuous, political and cultural connection to

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[3] Matjaž Klemenčić and Mitja Žagar, *Yugoslavia's Diverse Peoples: A Reference Sourcebook* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 2004), 4; Donia and Fine, 13-14, 17; Malcolm, 6, 8.
[4] Donia and Fine, 14; Malcolm, 8.
[5] Most scholars now believe that the invading Serbs and Croats, who were part of a second wave of migration into the Balkans, were probably either Iranians or Slavs whose ruling classes were Iranian. This is because linguists have shown that their names were of Iranian extraction. These Serbs and Croats, who were closely related to one another, were Slavicized either before their arrival in the Balkans or soon after, leaving only their Iranian names of "Serb" and "Croat." See John V.A. Fine Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbour: The University of Michigan Press, 1983), 56-59; Donia and Fine, 14; Malcolm, 7-9.
[6] During its zenith in the late fourteenth century, the Orthodox Kingdom of Serbia ruled over a diverse range of ethnic groups inhabiting parts of modern-day Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, southern Dalmatia, and Herzegovina (Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 16-18). Similarly, the fledgling Catholic Kingdom of Croatia had at one time included parts of modern-day Croatia, Istria, and Bosnia, but

parts of present-day Bosnia was significant because in modern times it has formed the basis of Serb and Croat claims to the entire region and its inhabitants. Nationalists on both sides desiring to assert their control over Bosnia have erroneously claimed that all Bosnians are "really" Serbs and Croats of different faiths.[7]

Historically, Bosnians have demonstrated their ambivalence toward such clear-cut identities. This was because the extremely mountainous terrain, poor communication, and geographic location of Bosnia encouraged a high degree of localism and independence from the surrounding Christian powers.[8] Lying between Serbia and Croatia and located on the jurisdictional line between the Western Roman Catholic and Eastern Byzantine Orthodox Churches, medieval Bosnia, which was named after the *Bosna* ("Bosnia") River,[9] did not have an official state religion.[10] During the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, parts of the region were variously ruled by Serbia, Croatia, (possibly) Bulgaria, and the Byzantine Empire, eventually coming under Hungarian suzerainty from the 1180's until the Ottoman conquests in the latter half of the 1400's.[11] Under Hungary,

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lost its independence in 1102 to the Catholic Kingdom of Hungary which was later absorbed into the Habsburg Empire (Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 14-16).

[7] The large-scale arrival of the Serbs into this region (and into the Habsburg Empire) occurred mainly after the Ottoman conquests. Some Serbs fled to Bosnia during the Ottoman invasions of Serbia, while others settled into the area once the Ottoman Empire conquered Bosnia in the fifteenth century. See, for example, Malcolm, 72.

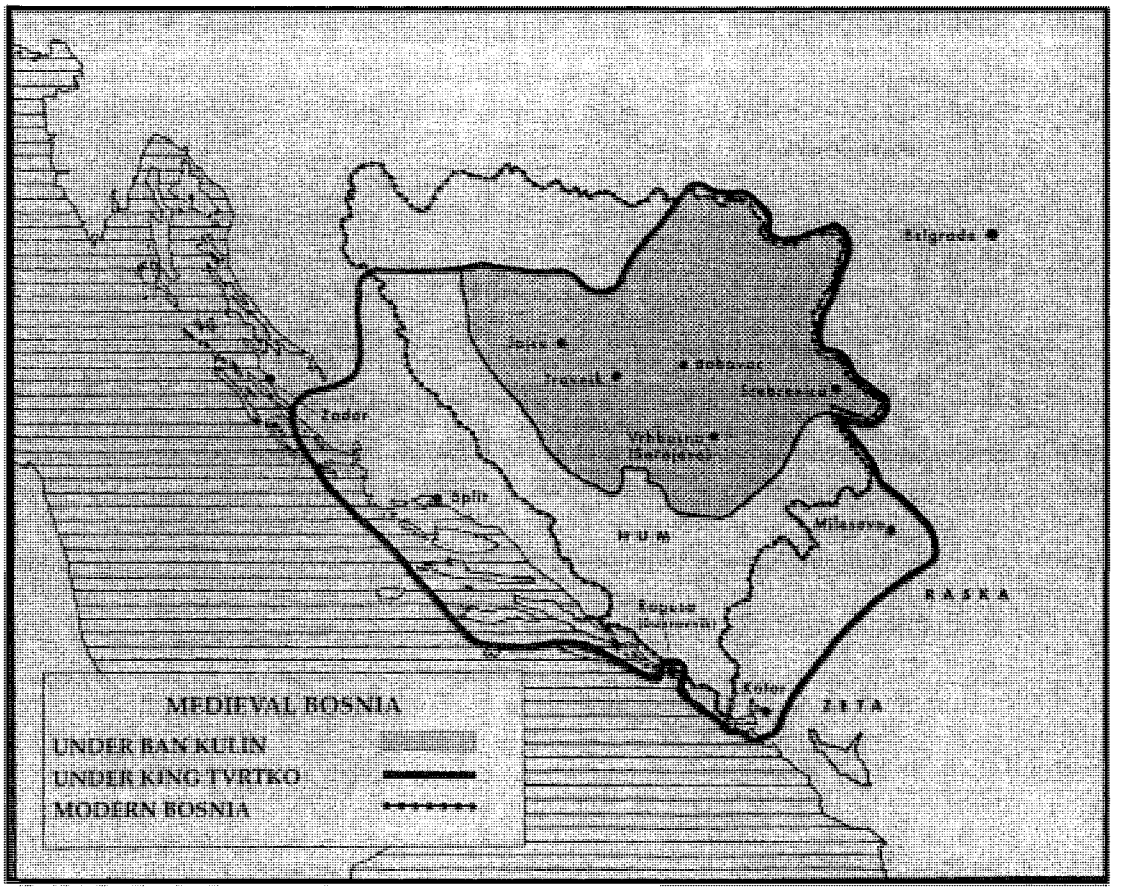
[8] Malcolm, 10-12.

[9] Klemenčić, 18; Lovrenović, *Bosnia*, 46; Donia and Fine, 13.

[10] Although Bosnians were probably nominally under the Roman Catholic Church, their subsequent history shows that they switched faiths more often than their Serb and Croat neighbours (Donia and Fine, 17); The smaller region of Herzegovina (then known as Hum), was under Serbian rule and under the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church from the twelfth to the early fourteenth century and was annexed by Bosnia in 1326 (Donia and Fine, 18-19).

[11] It is important to note that from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, the little that is known about the region shows that there were a succession of shifting alliances and political boundaries that makes it difficult to determine precisely which parts of Bosnia fell to the Serbs and to the Croats and which fell to neither. (Donia and Fine, 14-15; Malcolm, 8-9). The remaining South Slavs, namely the Slovenes, Macedonians and Bulgarians, constituted more distinct linguistic groups whose cultural and political histories were more distinct as well. See Malcolm, "Races, Myths and Origins: Bosnia to 1180," in *Bosnia: A Short History*, 1-12.

Bosnia emerged as a relatively independent region (1180-1463) first under "Ban" ("Governor") Kulin in 1180 and later in 1377 under King Tvrtko.[12] Unlike Orthodox




Map 1.1 Medieval Bosnia[13]

Serbs and Catholic Croats, however, Bosnians variously affiliated themselves with the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, depending on where they lived, and with the independent Bosnian Church, which had emerged in the thirteenth century when the local Catholic clergy refused to take direction from Rome.[14] And unlike their Serbian and Croatian counterparts, Bosnia's rulers were themselves variously Catholic or Orthodox,

[12] Donia and Fine, 15; Malcolm, 13.
[13] Map is from Malcolm, xiv.
[14] This was first argued persuasively by John V.A. Fine, Jr., in his study *The Bosnian Church*. His argument is summarized in Donia and Fine, 18-19, 22-25.

sometimes intermarrying in order to maintain good relations with their neighbours as well as their nobility.[15] Even as Bosnia's rulers conquered parts of Serbia (i.e. Herzegovina, which it annexed in 1326) and parts of Croatia (i.e. northwest Bosnia), its population did not migrate or mix very much, generally maintaining the established confessional distribution of the population until the Ottoman conquests.[16]

The Ottomans first appeared in the Balkans in the fourteenth century, conquering the areas of present-day Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and later Bosnia in the fifteenth century.[17] The Ottoman conquest of Bosnia brought with it significant social, cultural, and political change in which the Islamic religion eventually played a central role. Following the Ottoman entry into Bosnia, the members of the local Christian elite either fled or were killed, while some converted to the religion of their conquerors. Islamicization among everyday Bosnians was much more gradual. Although there are many gaps in the early history of Ottoman Bosnia, what is clear is that by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Muslims became the absolute majority.[18] This deep penetration of Islam into Bosnia, as compared to most other Balkan regions under Ottoman rule, had a variety of causes.[19] Compared to the

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[15] Malcolm, 14-24; Donia and Fine, 26

[16] Following the schism in the eleventh century between the Roman Catholic Western Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, the religious distribution in Bosnia was roughly as follows: The Orthodox Church dominated the east nearer Serbia and in most of Herzegovina. The Catholic Church dominated the west and north, while much of central Bosnia was little influenced by either of the churches.

[17] The Ottomans invaded and conquered Bosnia-proper in 1463. Their rule did not cover the entire region of Bosnia and Herzegovina until the last fortress fell in Herzegovina in 1481 and the last Hungarian garrison left in 1527. (See Donia and Fine, 34). Bosnia and Herzegovina were ruled separately until 1755, when the Ottomans merged the two into a single province (*viyalet*), jointly referred to as Bosnia.

[18] According to one census from 1604, there may have been upwards of 71% of Muslims in Bosnia. See Adem Handžić, *Population of Bosnia in the Ottoman Period: A Historical Overview* (Istanbul: Organization of the Islamic Conference Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 1994), 31; See also Malcolm, 53.

[19] With the exception of the Bosnians and Albanians, where Islam made major inroads, Christianity (Orthodoxy and Catholicism) remained the principal faith among most of the Balkan peoples throughout Ottoman rule.

well-organized and flourishing Churches in Orthodox Serbia and Catholic Croatia, Christianity had a much weaker hold in the remote regions of Bosnia.[20] With no deep attachments to Christianity, Bosnians were likely more receptive to conversion and more easily attracted to the privileged legal status of the Muslims in the Ottoman Empire for whom the highest political, military, and civil offices were usually reserved. These eventually included some of Bosnia's ruling families and landowning elite who had converted to Islam.[21] Over time, the Bosnian Muslim elite was increasingly separated from Bosnia's subject peoples who were comprised of mainly Christian peasant farmers (Orthodox and Catholic) and the remaining Muslims who formed the bulk of the free peasantry and urban population.[22] Because Bosnia was an overwhelmingly agrarian society—roughly 88% in the late Ottoman era—these divisions were strongly reinforced in the countryside where rural relationships placed Bosnian Muslim landowners, who constituted 0.7% of the total population, at the top and tenant farmers at the bottom, 95% of whom were Bosnian Christians.[23]

This religious, social, and political divide was also sustained by a uniquely Ottoman system of local administration. Unlike their European counterparts, the Ottomans not only tolerated religious minorities, but established a method of rule that

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[20] Located between Serbia and Croatia, Bosnia had received missionaries from both the Roman Catholic and Byzantium Orthodox Churches. Bosnia's remote location and extremely mountainous terrain not only shielded the region from intense missionary activity, but ensured that it would not be firmly integrated into either the Roman Catholic or Orthodox Church ecclesiology (See Friedman, 11, 13-14; Donia and Fine, 17).

[21] Friedman, 18; The few exceptions were the Patriarch (a millet authority) and the mainly Greek Phanariots. See Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," in L. Carl Brown, ed., *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 58.

[22] Friedman, 30; Donia and Fine, 76-79; Although there were also a small number of urbanized Orthodox and Catholic Bosnians, mainly involved in commerce and craft production, Bosnia remained an overwhelmingly agrarian society. The landowners as well as the remaining political and military employees of the state lived mainly in Bosnia's urban areas and administrative centres (Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Travnik and Bihać). See Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 13.

[23] See, for example, Donia and Fine, 75-79.

divided them into administrative units called "millets."[24] The millet was a self-governing confessional community based not on geography, but on religious affiliation. There were three groups in Bosnia who were granted millet status: the Muslims, the Orthodox, and the Jews. Because the Catholics were regarded as a potential fifth column and because there were so few of them to merit granting them millet status, they were given charters in areas where there was a sizeable Catholic community, as was the case in Bosnia.[25] Ottoman representatives collected taxes from millets and interfered little in local millet affairs. Religion, education, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and civil suits were all under the jurisdiction of the millet, whose leadership was comprised of various religious and lay officials.[26] Despite having a common ancestry, language, and a few tales from the medieval period, therefore, most of the inhabitants of Bosnia lacked a sense of unity under Ottoman rule, divided as they were into separate administrative entities whose socio-economic, civil, and political cultures were largely determined by their confessional ties.[27] Over time, these religious differences deepened the social, cultural, and political divide that by the latter half of the nineteenth century, had given way to the formation of distinct religio-ethnic groups. According to the Austro-Hungarian census from 1879,

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[24] Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804.* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 5-6; See also Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry Into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes, From Millets to Nations.* (Princeton University: Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilsom School of Public and International Affairs; Research monograph no. 39; July 1973), 31-32.

[25] Millets generally maintained order in local villages (Donia and Fine, 64-65); The only Catholic clergy in Bosnia were members of the Franciscan Order who had been sent by Rome in the 1340's to combat the influence of the schismatic Bosnian Church and had received a charter to operate in parts of Bosnia.

[26] Karpat, 31-39; Fine and Donia, 20-21, 64-69; Malcolm, 14, 55-56.

[27] Although the Ottomans began to implement a series of reforms in the mid-nineteenth century that, among others, were intended to impart an Ottoman identity on all of the inhabitants of the Empire, regardless of religion, it had virtually no effect in Bosnia, where such reforms were not vigorously pursued. See, for example, Malcolm, 122-123; Robin Okey, "Education and Modernisation in a Multi-Ethnic Society: Bosnia, 1850-1918," in Janusz Tomiak, ed., *Schooling, Educational Policy and Ethnic Identity* (Dartmouth, NY: New York University Press, 1991), 320.

Bosnians were comprised of 43% Orthodox, 38% Muslims, and 18% Catholics, who lived within distinct subcultures.[28]

During the nineteenth century, Bosnia's ethnic distinctions were further reinforced by the emergence of (ethnic) national ideologies in Europe. The declining authority of organized religion over the state had steadily encouraged the rise of the secular concept of the "nation" that based cultural and political belonging on largely ethnic criteria such as language, ancestry, history, territory, and sometimes religion. The new notion of nationhood, in turn, sharpened feelings of difference among the national groups especially where the ruling, imperialist nations and subject nationalities differed from one another. As the century progressed, and as the European Empires expanded across the globe, so did the number of nationalities and nationalist demands from within. Imperial officials responded either by accomodating or repressing the nationalist movements. In some cases, their policies actually widened the gap between state and society and encouraged the growth of nationalist separatism.[29] In Europe, the spread of nationalism and especially the success of the Italian (1861-71) and German (1871) unification movements, greatly inspired the subject nationalities of the Russian, Ottoman, Austrian (and after 1867, Austro-Hungarian) Empires to promote the idea of the "nation" as the most legitimate basis for statehood.[30] Among the first groups to have benefited from this were the Balkan nations who formed their own nation-states during the nineteenth century. These included Greece (1829), Romania (1878), Serbia (1878), Montenegro

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[28] Justin McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia, 1800-1878," in Mark Pinson, ed., *The Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 81; Donia and Fine, 82-83.
[29] Bayly, 206-220; von Hagen, 64-68; Wank, 49-50; Tilly, "How Empires End," 4-8.
[30] Many books have been written on the cultural and political aspects of the Yugoslav movements on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See, for example, Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation* and Despalatovic, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement.*

(1878), and an autonomous Bulgaria (1878), where the predominant national group in each political entity constituted 90% of the total population.[31]

Establishing who did and did not belong within the national community, however, was not always clear. Genealogies, cultures, and the historic and collective memories of one nation sometimes overlapped with another. This was especially true for the Serbo-Croatian-speaking South Slavs, whose complicated history made determining one nation from another extremely difficult. The nature of the relationships among the Serb-Orthodox, Croat-Catholic, and Bosnian (Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim) communities were frequently debated, especially among Serb and Croat nationalists who claimed that Bosnians "rightfully" belonged within their respective cultural and political traditions. During the nineteenth century, these "Greater Serb" and "Greater Croat" theories were brought to the masses by politically conscious intellectuals and national leaders, including schoolteachers and teaching clerics, many of whom had traveled to Bosnia to inform the local population of its "true" origins. Although few in Bosnia could read in the late Ottoman era (about 3%), literacy, in this case among Greater Serb and Greater Croat propagandists, was a key factor in the rise of modern nationalism among the Serbians and Croatians and was gradually transferred to Bosnia.[32] As the century progressed, an increasing number of urban, educated Bosnians came to see themselves as Croats (mainly the Catholics) or Serbs (mainly the Orthodox) and taught others to think so.[33] The one

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[31] Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 11-12.

[32] The link between literacy and nationalism reflected broader trends in the Balkans and across Europe at this time. See, for example, Philip Longworth, *The Making of Eastern Europe: From Prehistory to Postcommunism*, Second Edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 172-183.

[33] Banac, *The National Question*, 361; Donia and Fine, 65, 81; See Mitar Papić's detailed study on the development of Serb national ideas among the Bosnian Orthodox in *Istorija srpskih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1978); The secular Serb identity also had an appreciable impact on the Orthodox clergy of Bosnia. Because there were no institutions of higher education in Bosnia—the first Orthodox seminary was established only in 1869—priests and monks enrolled in educational

exception to the "nationalization" of Bosnia was the Bosnian Muslim community that continued to define itself in religious terms, partially because of its privileged social and political status in the Ottoman Empire.[34] By the late nineteenth century, therefore, most urban, educated Bosnians had evolved into distinct ethno-national groups calling themselves Serbs, Croats, and Muslims each of whom had alleged historic as well as linguistic, religious, and political ties with their respective national and/or religious counterparts in Serbia, Croatia, and the Ottoman Empire.

The fluid definition of what constituted a "nation," however, offered still other challenges to Serb and Croat conceptions at this time. During the late nineteenth century, an increasing number of Habsburg Slav intellectuals had proposed that the Serbs and the Croats (together with the Slovenes, Slav Macedonians, and possibly the Bulgarians) were so closely related that they, in fact, constituted a single "Yugoslav" (literally "South Slav") nation. The Yugoslav idea of nationhood first emerged among intellectuals in Croatia during the 1830's and 1840's—when it was known as "Illyrianism"[35]—and was developed further during the nineteenth century mainly as a way to combat Croatia's political and cultural weaknesses within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Croatian leaders resented the cultural and political imperialism of Hungary, which had ruled Croatia since 1102. The Habsburg Serbs, who lived in the Vojvodina region of Hungary, as well as the

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institutions elsewhere in Serbia and Russia, both of which imparted the latest ideas in secular national thought. For the broader Balkan context on the secularization and "nationalization" of the urban, educated elite, see, for example, Carole Rogel, "The Wandering Monk and the Balkan National Awakening," in *Nationalism in a Non-national State: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977): 88-95. The first national histories of the Serbs were written significantly by clerics and monks from Serbia, including Djordje Branković, Pavle Julina and Jovan Rajić (1726-1801). See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: a comparative perspective on the ideological origins of the Balkan political traditions," in *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-east Europe.* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1994), 58.

[34] Donia and Fine, 81.

[35] This name referred to the ancient Illyrians who were for a time believed to be the ancestors of the South Slavs.

Croatian-dominated regions of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, had for similar reasons also considered some form of Yugoslav cooperation. But as could be expected, Serb and Croat nationalism strongly rivaled the Yugoslav idea. While many of the Habsburg Serbs desired to join with Serbia in an enlarged Serbian state, prominent Croatian nationalists favoured the so-called "Trialist" program that envisaged the unification of the old territories of the Croatian medieval kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia) and, after 1878, Bosnia—whose inhabitants were thought to have Croat roots. They believed that once unified, this enlarged Croatia would force Vienna and Budapest to accept Zagreb as an equal political partner and expand the Dual Monarchy to a Triple Monarchy. Differing political objectives and national programs thus made a common Yugoslav program difficult to implement among the Habsburg South Slavs at this time.

In Serbia, Yugoslavism had no appreciable effect during the nineteenth century. This was partially because Belgrade was in a much stronger political and cultural position than Zagreb. Serbia had led a successful revolt against the Ottoman Empire earlier in the century, having gained autonomy in 1830 and independence at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The Serbs' belief in their uniqueness, reinforced by the memory of a longer-lived medieval statehood (as compared to the Croats) and a highly developed national culture nurtured by the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church (1219), made them less likely to support Yugoslavism and more likely to favour some form of Serb nationalism.[36] Indeed, as a tiny burgeoning state surrounded by the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the north and west, and the Ottoman Empire to the south and east, Serbia developed an expansionist foreign policy during the nineteenth century that envisaged extending its borders into

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[36] Miller, 25-28; On the establishment of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church see, for example, John V.A. Fine, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987, 38-40, 107-108.

territories where other Serbs lived, including parts of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. But as noted earlier, the question of who "really" was or was not a "Serb" was not always apparent. As a result, some Serbian policy-makers supported a more "tolerant" kind of Serbian nationalism that would have respected the nationhood of the conquered peoples, while others advocated a Greater Serbian nationalism that would seek to "Serbianize" the non-Serbs.[37] Belgrade's desire for an outlet to the Adriatic Sea made Bosnia, located just south of Serbia, a particularly valuable object for either of these forms of nationalism.[38]

The urban and educated Serbs of Bosnia, in their turn, increasingly viewed their ethnic counterparts in Serbia as their hope for liberation from Ottoman rule, believing that all the Serbs deserved to live in a unified state of their own. And yet the Bosnian Serb transition from a religious (Orthodox) community to a (Serb) national and political one was still in flux at the end of the nineteenth century. Although some of the Bosnian Serb agitators of the peasant revolt of 1875-1878—some of whom campaigned from Serbia itself—publicly expressed their desire to unite with Serbia, most Bosnian Orthodox peasants would not have identified themselves as "Serbs," living far from urban centers where the idea of Serb nationhood had the greatest influence.[39] The ideological shift had also been a relatively recent phenomenon that was subject to various challenges, practical and philosophical, including institutions like the Ottoman millet system that reinforced

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[37] Belgrade's policy originated first in the 1840's when the Minister of the Interior Ilija Garašanin (1812-1874) set out in his Memorandum the long-term goal of annexing Bosnia to Serbia. Garašanin and other policy-makers in Belgrade believed that Serbia had to establish its predominance in the Balkans if it was to escape partition by either Austria or Russia following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which had weakened significantly both politically and militarily since the eighteenth century. The annexation of Bosnia was a natural choice since Garašanin and his associates regarded Bosnia as a Serbian territory.
[38] So although the Yugoslav idea and Serb and Greater Serb nationalism may have shared many of the same territories, they reflected differing ideological concepts. This is discussed at length in chapter six.
[39] Malcolm, 132; Donia and Fine, 91.

religious identities over secular national ones on the one hand, and the Serb, Greater Serb, and Yugoslav concepts of nationhood, on the other. Their ties to an earlier era of independence (medieval Bosnia) as well as their historic remoteness from the centers of religious and political power also made them more susceptible—more so than for the inhabitants of Serbia—to alternative approaches to identity that later influenced their perceptions of the other ethnic groups in Bosnia. Nevertheless, it is generally true that in the late nineteenth century the majority of urban and educated Bosnian Serbs were predominantly influenced by the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins and actively promoted this in Bosnia.

By the time Austria-Hungary entered Bosnia in 1878, therefore, Bosnians were divided socially, culturally, and politically into three main ethno-national communities (Serb-Orthodox, Croat-Catholic, and Muslim) and lacked a common vision of what it meant to be "Bosnian." The rise of nineteenth-century nationalism and the resulting adoption of Serb and Croat identities reinforced these divisions and introduced competing political loyalties and aspirations, including the Greater Serb, Greater Croat and, to a much lesser extent, Yugoslav programs. The first of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals who began to define the Serb identity, therefore, did so mainly through ethnic national lenses, arguing that all Bosnians were "really" Serbs. It was not until well into Austro-Hungarian rule that some of the intellectuals would begin to find alternative approaches to unity that would later challenge and inspire some of them to develop a more ethnically "neutral" interpretation of what it meant to be Bosnian.

**Austria-Hungary and the Politics of Integrating Bosnia's Ethnic Groups**

Although the Congress of Berlin (1878) had granted Austria-Hungary only administrative control in Bosnia, Vienna wished to integrate Bosnia fully into the Empire. There were a couple of reasons for this. First, Vienna was greatly concerned about the overall stability of its Empire, the second largest in Europe after Russia, and one that encompassed twelve major national groups, some of whom were expressing a desire to form their own nation-states.[40] The formation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867 was itself the result of years of Hungarian dissatisfaction with Austrian rule, accelerated by the Hungarian Revolt (1848-49), and by Austria's decline in power following the Austro-Sardinian (1859) and Austro-Prussian (1866) wars. But even after the formation of Austria-Hungary in 1867, nationalist movements continued to be an on-going problem for both Vienna and Budapest who were becoming increasingly concerned about the Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats) who constituted 49% of the Empire's total population. Of the Slavs, the Serbs and Croats—who lived predominantly in the Austrian domains of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, along with the Vojvodina region of Hungary—comprised 11% or about 5.6 million.[41] Although a generalized Slav political unity was never a serious threat to the integrity of the state, Austro-Hungarian policy-makers were increasingly concerned about the

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[40] See, for example, Peter F. Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-Germanic Societies Under Habsburg Rule"; Stephen Fischer-Galati, "Nationalism and Kaisertreue," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 1 (Mar., 1963), 34; As Hans Kohn has argued, even some Austrian Germans eventually lost faith in the Empire. Following the 1867 Compromise and especially during the German unification movements Kohn notes that "many Austrian Germans looked to the Prussian German Reich as their real home and venerated Bismarck." See Hans Kohn, "The Viability of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 1 (Mar., 1963): 37-42.
[41] Sugar, "The Nature of the Non-German Societies under Habsburg Rule," 8.

growing number of Slav leaders who were then seeking greater cultural and political autonomy in the Empire.[42]

Second, Austria-Hungary's interest in Bosnia dated back to at least the 1850's when policy-makers began to consider expanding into the Balkans as a way of protecting the Empire's vulnerable southeastern hinterland. Austria was mainly concerned about the Russian and Ottoman Empires whose imperial borderlands overlapped in the Balkans, but also with the Balkan peoples themselves, whose nationalist leaders had increasingly staked their own claims to the surrounding territories based, in part, on ethnic national criteria.[43] Although Vienna was wary of adding a large Bosnian Serb population (about 500, 000) at a time when Serb nationalism was gaining momentum, it believed that it could better protect its imperial borderlands by absorbing Bosnia and thus removing it as a target of the expansionist state of Serbia. Indeed, it was Serbia and Montenegro's decision to wage war on the Ottoman Empire in 1876 and Russia's decision to join on the side of the Balkan states the following year that finally persuaded the Dual Monarchy to take Bosnia for itself.[44]

Given the steady progress of nationalism in the Empire and in the neighbouring Balkan lands, Austro-Hungarian policy-makers were determined to reverse its effects in Bosnia by maximizing their control over the region. First, they placed Bosnia under the administration of the Empire's Joint Ministry of Finance whose Minister now held the position of Governor of Bosnia.[45] The Governor ruled from Vienna and supervised

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[42] Ibid., 9-10.
[43] Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 11.
[44] See, for example, Malcolm, 137.
[45] The list of governors was as follows: Leopold Friedrich von Hoffman from 1879-1880, Joszef von Szlavy from 1880-1882, Benjamin von Kallay from 1882-1903, Istvan Freiherr Burian von Rajecz from 1903-1912, Leon Ritter von Bilinski from 1912-1915, three more after Bilinski, followed by Burian again from 1916-1918.


Map 1.2 Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule (1878-1918)[46]

subordinates in the Bosnian Bureau. Together, they oversaw the newly-established Provincial Government (*Landesregierung* or 'government of the land.') located in

[46] Map is from Donia and Fine, 98.

Sarajevo, the country's capital, where civil servants came mainly from the Empire.[47] Next, Vienna signed the Novi Pazar Convention with Istanbul in 1879 which confirmed Austria-Hungary's administrative powers, while acknowledging Istanbul's (nominal) sovereignty over Bosnia.[48] But Vienna also recognized the need to eliminate potential interference from Serbia and, to some extent, from Croatia which had also desired to absorb Bosnia. In 1881, therefore, it negotiated a trade treaty as well as a secret political treaty with Serbia's Prince Milan who agreed to stay out of Bosnia's political affairs.[49] Later, in 1883, Vienna appointed the conservative Hungarian official Count Karoly Khuen-Hedarvary to the position of Governor of Croatia (1883-1903), where for the next twenty years he diverted the attentions of Croatia's Serb and Croat nationalists from Bosnia through a deliberate policy of divide-and-rule.[50]

It was one thing to eliminate external influences, but quite another to gain the loyalty of Bosnians. Indeed, during the first five years following the Congress of Berlin, Bosnians (mainly the Serb-Orthodox and Muslims) publicly protested Catholic, Austro-Hungarian rule. Some of that activity included a military campaign against imperial forces (1878), an uprising protesting conscription (1882), demonstrations in several towns and villages, petitions and appeals sent to the Provincial and Imperial Governments, and

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[47] Initially, the head of the Provincial Government was the army general in command of Bosnia. As the Austrian presence solidified, however, his civilian counterpart, the Civil Adlus of Bosnia, replaced him as the principal administrator in Bosnia. The Civil Adlus was charged with overseeing the divisions within the Provincial Government, including the Political Administration as well as administrations of Finance, Justice and, later in 1890, Construction. See, for example, Džaja, 44; Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle*, 11-12; Of the over 2,000 officials working in the province in 1885, only 70 were from Bosnia. See Aydin Babuna, "Nationalism and the Bosnian Muslims," *East European Quarterly* 33 no. 2 (June 1999): 204.

[48] See, for example, Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 10-11.

[49] Although unofficial propaganda continued unabated over the next several years, the Serbian government withheld its official support until after 1903 when the nationalist King Petar Karadjordjević succeeded the thrown. See, for example, Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 83; L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Rinehart, 1958), 449-450.

[50] Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 18; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 67-8.

an open letter addressed to Britain's Prime Minister William Gladstone.[51] Concerned about the growing opposition in Bosnia, Vienna hoped that a strategy of rational bureaucracy and moderate reform would gradually integrate Bosnians into the Empire.

Chief among them was to place Bosnia's most influential personages—its religious leaders—under direct government control. Through a series of agreements with the Vatican and the Orthodox Patriarchate (located in Constantinople), the Emperor acquired the right to appoint and remove bishops and established the offices of the Orthodox Metropolitan (the head of the Bosnian Orthodox Church)[52] and Roman Catholic Archbishop (the head of the Bosnian Catholic Church), whose seats were located in Sarajevo.[53] Vienna also created the Muslim office of *Reis ul-ulema* or "head of the religious community" in 1882 that enabled the Bosnian Muslims to operate independently of Istanbul.[54] Vienna was also aware of the danger that went with privileging one religious community over another and made great efforts to be even-handed. To that end, it placed the existing leaders from each ethnic community in positions of power as judges and councilman, for example, which generally reflected the ethnic proportions of the population.[55]

But despite their best efforts, the standard of even-handedness was not always applied evenly. Indeed, the greatest on-going social injustice in Bosnia remained the condition of tenant farmers (about 5% Muslim, 21% Croat, and 74% Serb). These farmers

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[51] Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 29-31; Malcolm, 134-135; Charles Jelavich, "The Revolt in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1881-2," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 31, no. 77 (1953): 420-436.
[52] The Declaration of the (Orthodox) Patriarch of 1880 and Papal Bull of 1881 are discussed in Tomislav Kraljačić, "Vjerska Politika Kalajevog Režima," *Godišnjak društvo istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 34 (1983): 41-43.
[53] Ibid., 17-18.
[54] Ibid., 61-65. The independence of the Muslim community in Bosnia was initiated by a petition in 1878 signed by 58 leading Muslims in Sarajevo
[55] Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 16-17; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave*, 9, 29; Malcolm, 145.

laboured under an antiquated agrarian system abandoned in most of Europe by which the majority of the land was owned by the social and political elite. In Bosnia, the landowning elite was comprised of a small number of Bosnian Muslims who constituted only 0.7% of Bosnia's total population.[56] Given the rise of rural disturbances in recent years, including peasant uprisings in 1865-71 and 1875-1878, Vienna was hesitant to introduce any major land reforms, favouring instead a policy of gradualism with a view to stabilizing the countryside, gaining the loyalty of the Muslim elite, and promoting social order in Bosnia. Although Vienna implemented certain limited reforms, including the introduction of new farming techniques and the formation of a tax commission to prevent tax abuses, the lives of Bosnian peasants changed little under Austro-Hungarian rule.[57] Imperial officials continued to believe, however, that they could improve the lives of these and other Bosnians through large-scale industrialization projects—especially forestry, coal-mining, iron, steel, and textiles—and by improving Bosnia's communication and transport infrastructures that included the construction of canals, waterways, bridges, roads, and railways. In this way, they hoped to integrate Bosnia into the Monarchy's markets and economy, raise Bosnians' personal prosperity, and increase loyalty to the Monarchy.[58]

Vienna recognized, however, that while its efforts to modernize Bosnia's governance, society, and economy would eventually integrate Bosnia into the Empire, it would not necessarily win over the hearts and minds of its people. Officials hoped to resolve this problem by promoting the patriotic idea of Bosnianhood (*Bošnjaštvo*). The

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[56] Fine and Donia, 77. These statistics were taken from the 1910 census, which experts generally consider to be the most thorough of any conducted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities.
[57] Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1878-1918* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 1963, 33-36; 196-7; Malcolm, 138, 140-143.
[58] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 61-62; Malcolm, 141-142; Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 14-15; Babuna, 202.

concept encouraged Bosnians to view themselves as a single "Bosnian" nation comprised of various religious communities (Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim). As the Provincial Government affirmed in 1884, the "immense political significance of emancipating this province from Croat or Serb influence" was to be nurtured through a narrowly "Bosnian self-consciousness."[59] Behind this policy was Austria-Hungary's Finance Minister Benjamin von Kallay, who was also Governor of Bosnia from 1882 to 1903. Kallay was an expert on South Slav history, having published a book about the Serbs,[60] and having served as General Consul in Belgrade from 1868 to 1875.[61] Kallay believed that Bosnians would more easily integrate into the Empire if they adopted a Bosnian national identity or, at the very least, a common civic (political) consciousness.[62] He believed that the concept of Bosnianhood would not only reduce the appeal of nationalist separatism, but inculcate loyalty to the Monarchy.

The Governor adopted a number of strategies to promote the idea. The local language, for example, which had variously been called "Serbian," "Croatian," and sometimes "Serbo-Croatian," was now officially to be referred to as "The Language of

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[59] Okey, 328.

[60] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 62; During his governorship of Bosnia, his *History of the Serbs* (1877) was banned in Bosnia. One scholar has suggested that one reason the book was banned was that Kallay's Bosnianhood policies clashed with the views of his book that implied that the Orthodox Bosnians were Serbs. See Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,* 283.

[61] Kallay's Bosnianhood policy arose from his view that there were basic ideological divisions between Eastern and Western Europe. Kallay believed that the political divisions between East and West had nurtured profound ideological differences since ancient times. In the East, the rule of the Ottoman Empire had bred a spirit of nationalism. The West, however, continued to develop the political spirit introduced under the Roman Empire. Unlike Easterners, Kallay argued, Westerners were a political people whose lives were tied to the fortunes of the state, not their ethnic or national community. See Tomislav Kraljačić's detailed study on the Governor in *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, especially pages 61-68, where Kallay's political ideologies are examined.

[62] Ibid.

the Land" (*Zemaljski jezik*) or "Bosnian" (*Bosanski*).[63] Ethnic clubs and associations, moreover, were no longer permitted to apply names like "Serb" or "Croat" and were restricted to using "Orthodox" and "Catholic" instead. Facilitating the policy of Bosnianhood on a much broader scale, however, were state institutions, especially schools, which exposed Bosnians to a modern, secular, multi-ethnic school system. This lay in contrast to much of the educational developments under Ottoman rule, where the education of Bosnians was largely religious in character, centering on Orthodox and Catholic schools and monasteries as well as Muslim *mekteb*s (elementary schools) and *medressa*s (higher schools).[64] Austria-Hungary's secular school system also introduced textbooks and readers to elementary and high schools that promoted Bosnianhood.[65] The writers of these books stressed local patriotism and encouraged young readers to view themselves as a distinct Slavic group whose origins were connected neither to the Serbs nor the Croats.[66] In this way, administrators hoped to lessen Bosnians' social and cultural

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[63] Dževad Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi u Bosanskohercegovačkom saboru i jezičko pitanje, 1910-1914* ( Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999), 12, 17; Mita Živković, *Sarajevo* (Beograd, 1893), 100.

[64] It was not until the mid-1800's that Serb and Croat schools were established with a broader and more secularized curriculum and were taught by qualified teachers, most of whom came from or were trained in Croatia and Serbia, as well as the Vojvodina region of Hungary where a large number of educated, middle class Serbs lived. See, for example, Miloš Nemanjić, *Jedan vek srpske stvaralačke inteligencije, 1820-1920* (Belgrade: Idea, 2001); Milenko Karanovich, *The Development of Education in Serbia and Emergence of Its Intelligentsia (1838-1858)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); On the education of Serb women in particular, see Celia Hawkesworth, *Voices in the Shadows: Women and Verbal Art in Serbia and Bosnia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 89-90, 123, 126-127; By 1878, there were 56 Serb and 54 Croat schools educating approximately 4,400 boys and 1,400 girls, including one all-girls' school and one post-primary Serb *realka* in Sarajevo (Okey, 320-321); Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,* 393-395; Mitar Papić, "Staka Skenderova," *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva.* 2, no. 2 (1966): 119-136; The Bosnian Muslims, however, had not followed the same pattern as their Serb and Croat neighbours before Austro-Hungarian rule; their education remained largely religious before 1878. In 1877 there were 917 *mekteb*s (religious elementary schools) educating about 28,000 boys and 12,000 girls as well as 40 *medresse* (theological secondary schools). Okey, 321.

[65] In 1883 a committee of mixed faith was commissioned to begin the process of standardizing speech and writing for readers and math texts in schools. All books were published in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts. See Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom*, 397, 399-400.

[66] See, for example, *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine za osnovne škole* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska Štamparija, 1893). Writing about the migration of the South Slavs to the Balkans, this history text described how "our ancestors were given a beautiful country [...], but the Croats and the Serbs settled [elsewhere], the former

differences over time, while increasing their sense of "fellow-feeling," particularly in towns and cities where shared experiences could nurture common attitudes and loyalties, especially in relation to the Empire.[67]

Efforts to encourage the national concept of Bosnianhood, however, did not have an appreciable effect among most Bosnians whose urban, educated populations continued to see themselves as ethnic Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Although a small fraction of the Bosnian Muslim elite responded favourably to Bosnianhood, having established a state-sponsored newspaper called *Bošnjak* (*Bosniak*) in 1891, ethno-national identities were by then far too developed.[68] If anything, Kallay's policies further alienated some people from the state, partially because the idea had originated with the "occupiers," and partially because Bosnianhood stripped groups of their ethnic national self-esteem. Indeed, the political upheaval, economic, educational, and cultural changes brought in by Austria-Hungary encouraged ethno-national communities to cling more tightly to their faith-based, national identities by establishing still more confessional schools, cultural and literary associations, and by strengthening their ties with their ethnic national counterparts in Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Serbia.[69] It was at this time

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to the west and to the north and the latter to the east and south." The writer went on to argue that Bosnians only later became divided once the Ottoman conquerors introduced the millet system.

[67] Among those shared experiences were events that celebrated Bosnia's present and past that were organized by Austro-Hungarian administrators in cooperation with locals. These included charitable events (such as the fundraiser for the impoverished of Sarajevo held in 1893), archeological exhibitions (such as the Bosnian archeological exhibition held in Budapest in 1895) and the annual celebration of the Emperor's birthday. These events were faithfully reported in state-sponsored newspapers. (On the agricultural exhibition see, for example, Anonymous, "Naša domovina na izložbi," *Bošnjak, list*, Thursday August 20, 1896, 3. On a fundraiser held on behalf of the poor of Sarajevo see Anonymous, "Dobrotvorna lutrija za sarajevske siromahe," *Bošnjak, list*, Thursday July 20, 1893, 3. For a description of Sarajevo's public celebration of the Emperor's seventieth birthday see Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Bošnjak, list*, Thursday August 20, 1900, 1.)

[68] Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle*, 51. Contributors were mainly young men of the land-owning class and educated in Austria-Hungary. Over the years, however, *Bošnjak* increasingly reflected narrowly Muslim interests.

[69] Malcolm, 144-145; Donia and Fine, 64-65, 104-109.

that the Bosnian Serb intellectuals reacted against what they perceived as the state's attempts to "denationalize" them by publicly defending and defining their uniquely Serb national identity in Bosnia. The following details their main assumptions concerning that identity, first as it relates to the other self-describing Serbs and, second in relation to the non-Serbs of Bosnia.

**Defining the Serb Identity**

Defining a national identity often requires that there be a dedicated group of individuals who can speak on behalf of the members of the nation. In the Balkans, it was mainly the intelligentsia—comprised variously of the bourgeoisie, aristocracy, bureaucrats, and popular elements, such as the merchants and lower clergy—that led the way in determining the boundaries of the nation. In Bosnia, where the vast majority of Serbs were peasant farmers, and where literacy lagged far behind their Balkan counterparts, it was mainly the small number of schoolteachers and teaching clerics who could nurture national self-perceptions on a wider scale. Because they were educators in the broadest sense, their positions of influence and claims to expertise as the "articulate classes"[70] afforded them a special niche in Bosnian Serb society. Indeed, many intervened in the lives of ordinary people because they believed themselves to be the unofficial spokesmen of the majority of illiterate Serbs in Bosnia (about 97%), whose customs, traditions, and values, they feared, were being threatened by the culture of the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire.[71] The steady growth of foreign officials and settlers who

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[70] The term is inspired by Beth Holmgren's study *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland.* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 33, which referred to the local intelligentsia as the "articulate sons" of the nation.
[71] Đuričković, 14-15.

brought with them languages, cultures, and habits alien to most Bosnians was witnessed with great horror by the intellectual elite who believed that such changes had the potential to erode the culture and identity of the Bosnian Serbs. Because the pace of change was so dramatic, it inevitably produced a longing for what many believed was the eternal value of their local identities, customs, and traditions that resulted in a nostalgia for the past. These circumstances, coupled with Vienna's desire to turn back the clock on Serb national feeling, therefore, inspired the intellectuals to work to prevent the extinction of the Serb nation in Bosnia by defining and thus preserving what they believed was their "authentic" national identity.

As lovers of the printed word, many of the intellectuals propagandized their ideas through the periodical journal, and later newspaper, which was then Europe's most common form of print media. By identifying their basic national traits this way, intellectuals hoped that their writings might serve as a benchmark of what was and was not "authentically" Serb. But establishing a periodical in Bosnia was not an easy task at this time. Because Austro-Hungarian officials paid careful attention to molding and monitoring public opinion, they were especially wary of individuals who wished to produce their own serial publications. As a result, acquiring permission to start a periodical often required a lengthy wait of several months to a year.[72] And once a periodical was established, editors were obliged to submit each issue to the Provincial

[72] The Provincial Government kept track of literature coming into Bosnia. It tracked everything from periodicals to books to pamphlets and any printed material that criticized the government or forwarded nationalist ideas. An impressive network of informants of all faiths aided the Provincial Government. See, for example, Vojislav Bogičević, "Kalajev režim u Bosni prema književnicima i književnosti (1882-1903)," *Život* 2, no. 14 (Nov. 1953): 361; Risto Besarović, *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1968), 431.

Government for inspection before the final version could be printed for distribution.[73] As could be expected, only the most persistent of editors and writers were able to keep a periodical going for more than a year.

Two of the Bosnian Serbs' most popular periodicals in this period were the literary-cultural journal, *Bosanska vila* (*The Bosnian Nymph*) (1885-1914)[74] and the official organ of the Bosnian Orthodox Church, the *Istočnik* (*Source*) (1887-1911).[75] The first was the brain-child of four Serb teachers from Sarajevo, one of whom was Bosnian-born and who was its chief editor for 27 of its 29-year run, Nikola T. Kašiković (1861-1927).[76] Kašiković believed that the journal should serve as a popular source of entertainment, partially because of his own humble peasant upbringing, but also out of a sense of duty to educate and instruct the small, but growing reading public. The collaborators of the second-most popular periodical, *Istočnik*, had a much narrower audience in mind. Founded by the Bosnian Orthodox Metropolitan Đorđe Nikolajević

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[73] On the organization of the Provincial Government see Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina*, 225-226; The use of this type of "preventive censoring" remained in place until 1907 when a law was introduced that outlined more clearly the penalties that publishers and writers would suffer if they printed treasonous material, mainly through fines, but also imprisonment. The law was published in 1907 as *Zakon o štampi za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. (Odobren previsnjim riješenjem od 31. decembra 1906)* (Sarajevo: Štampa i naklada Danijela A. Kajona, 1907).

[74] The name likely drew its inspiration from popular folklore about nymphs that first arose in the pre-Christian era in the South Slav region. See Milne Holton and Vasa D. Mihailovich, *Songs of the Serbian People: From the Collections of Vuk Karadžić* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 15 and Svetozar Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 347-348; Before *Bosanska vila*, there was *Trebevic* (1881) and *Prosvjeta* (1885-1888). Both were founded by Bosnian Serb educators, but had little impact, particularly the latter which was sponsored by the Provincial Government and therefore found little resonance among local Serbs. See Jovan Kršić, "Književna uloga Sarajeva pre oslobođenja," *Život* 2. nos. 10-11 (July-August 1953): 48.

[75] *Istočnik* was originally called the *Dabro-bosanski istočnik*, which became the *Bosansko-hercegovački istočnik* in 1888 and *Istočnik* in 1898.

[76] Kašiković was born into a poor family of artisans in the town of Visoko. He received an elementary school education in a Serb confessional school in Sarajevo and later graduated from the state high school established in Sarajevo (1879). From 1884 to 1891 he worked as an elementary school teacher at a Serb confessional school in Sarajevo, where he met the three other founders of *Vila*. They were Božidar Nikašinović 1863-?) from the Vojvodina, Nikola Šumonja (1865-1927) from Croatia and Stevo Kaluđerčić (1864-1948) also from the Vojvodina. Of the three, only Stevo Kaluđerčić remained an active participant in the cultural scene of Sarajevo to the end of his life.

(1807-1896), this journal followed the activities of the Church and was intended to instruct, edify, and educate its mainly clerical readership. *Istočnik* had, nevertheless, many loyal readers of diverse social and professional backgrounds. As late as 1907, there were 460 subscribers which included individuals as well as the reading rooms of various cultural organizations. Compared to the 2,800 who subscribed to *Vila* at that time, this number appears small, but given the low rates of literacy in Bosnia as a whole (from 3% in 1878 to 12% in 1910), its influence among the reading public, along with that of *Vila*'s, was substantial.[77] Together, they became the mainsprings of the identity discourse among Bosnia's educated elite in these early years.[78]

***Religion, Alphabet, and "the Folk"***

In discussing their Serb identity in Bosnia, the contributing writers of these journals stressed three key criteria that, they believed, distinguished them from their non-Serb neighbours. These were religion, alphabet, and folk character. Of the three, most believed that the Orthodox religion was at the heart of their Serb national identity. This was partly because of the legacy left by Ottoman rule, the millet system in particular, which provided a basis for the development of cultural practices that encouraged a strong connection among religion, culture, and nationality. Linking religion with nationality was common elsewhere in Europe, particularly within religious and linguistic communities who, wishing to modernize, increasingly identified with the idea of the "nation."[79] Among the Serbo-Croatian-speaking South Slavs (Serb-Orthodox, Croat-Catholics, and

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[77] See Džaja's list of periodicals published in Bosnia spanning the entire period of Austro-Hungarian rule from 1878-1918 on pp.93-101.
[78] See Đuričković, 17-18; Kruševac, *Bosanske-hercegovački listovi*, 305-309; Palavestra, "Književnost u Bosni i Hercegovini od okupacije do aneksije (1878-1908)," 46.
[79] See, for example, Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 157-161, 210-211.

Muslims), religion became an obvious point of difference and one that some Bosnian Serb writers employed as a way of protecting their Serb identity from rival national ideologies, including Greater Croatianism. These writers argued that it was the Orthodox religion that made them Serbs, just as Catholicism made others Croats, and Islam defined the Muslims. Conversion to another religion was thus perceived to be not only a personal choice, but a decision to exchange one nationality for another. Writing for the *Istočnik* in 1888, the Orthodox priest and ethnographer Savo Pješćić maintained that among the Serbo-Croatian-speaking South Slavs "the Orthodox [*pravoslavna*] faith is a Serb faith."[80] Echoing Pješćić's sentiments was his contemporary, the Mostar-born priest and ethnographer Marko S. Popović, who stressed that "faith and nationality (*narodnost*)—especially among us Serbs, are unified, are indivisible."[81] Even visitors to Bosnia like Mita Živković, a teacher from Serbia, observed that the Bosnian Serbs "respect their faith as fanatically as the [Bosnian] Mohammedans [Muslims]."[82]

But in the early years of Austro-Hungarian rule, intellectuals were concerned less with the "nationalizing" influence of rival national ideologies and more with the policies and the perceived cultural threat of Austria-Hungary. Some stressed the need to preserve the Orthodox religion precisely because it had already proven its worth in preserving the nation under similar conditions of foreign domination. These writers argued that under centuries of Islamic rule, Orthodoxy had been an important force of social and cultural cohesion. They believed that during this "dark night" of the Orthodox soul, the mass of illiterate peasants who, severed from their rich medieval heritage and isolated from the

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[80] S[avo] Pješčić, "Sveštenik u narodu," *Istočnik*, no.7, July 1888, 102.
[81] Marko S. Popović, "Nadgrobna riječ. N pogrebu Srb-Ercegovca Vasilije Kocevica protojerea," *Istočnik*, nos. 21-22, November 1889, 350-351.
[82] Živković, 82. Živković taught in Sarajevo's high school during the 1880/1881 academic year.

rest of Christian Europe, relied on family, social networks, and the oral tradition in particular, to ensure the continuation of their Orthodox culture and identity.[83] Writers wishing to emphasize a direct link between Orthodoxy and the Serb nationality, therefore, often referred to Ottoman times as a way of rallying people in defense of their Serb-Orthodox heritage under Austro-Hungarian rule. In the poem "To My Faith," the Bosnian Orthodox priest and poet Lelo Uničić saw the Ottoman period as a struggle between good and evil, Serb and Turk. According to him, although the Ottomans were "cunning," they did not know that "the Serb does not give up his faith,/ Not even under the threat of the sword!"[84] With an eye on the current cultural and political climate in Bosnia and under the "denationalizing" threat of Bosnianhood, Uničić asserted, "holy Orthodox faith,/ God watches over you from above--,/ To the last drop of blood,/ We will never give you up!"[85]

Because some Bosnian Serb writers proposed that religion and nationality were one and the same, they believed that indulging in a Catholic-dominated imperial culture could have tragic consequences for their national survival in Bosnia. These writers were particularly wary of the potential there was for Bosnians to repeat the "mistakes" of their past when many local Christians converted to the faith of their Islamic Ottoman rulers.[86] The main challenge, as some of the intellectuals saw it, was to equip the youngest and most impressionable members of the national community to resist conversion to Catholicism and to foreign influences in general in order to preserve their Serb-Orthodox

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[83] See, for example, Milne and Mihailovich's study *Songs of the Serbian People* and Geoffrey N.W. Locke, *The Serbian Epic Ballads: An Anthology* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1997).
[84] The actual term used here is yatagan, which was a type of sword used by the Ottoman military.
[85] Lelo Uničić, Untitled poem, *Istočnik* no. 12, December 1896, 473-474.
[86] Their fears were realized (if greatly exaggerated) during the early years under Austro-Hungarian rule, when Catholic proselytizing became a major source of controversy first among the Serbs and later among the Muslims, even while actual conversions to Catholicism were low in absolute numbers, about sixteen by 1891. Although the Provincial Government eventually issued a decree in 1891 to help regulate conversions in the province, the fear of Catholic conversion, and through it, the weakening of the Serb nation, continued to loom large among local leaders. See, for example, Kraljačić, "Vjerska Politika," 37.

heritage. Some believed that the rapidly expanding public school system, which many viewed as the main repository of the imperial, Catholic culture in Bosnia, represented the greatest threat to their national survival. This was partially because the relative majority of students attending these schools during the 1880's and 1890's were Serbs.[87] The government had also converted some of Bosnia's confessional schools into public schools, targeting especially the more remote and poorly-funded Serb-Orthodox ones, so that Serbs living in the poorest areas of the province had little choice but to send their children there.[88] As early as 1886, 29 Serb schools had been co-opted by the state or were forced to compete with public schools that were erected next to them.[89] But even those Serb confessional schools that had continued to operate were not run entirely independently of the state. Besides being partially subsidized by the government, they were ultimately subject to the authority of officials who had the power to dismiss teachers, especially those suspected of Serb nationalist agitation.[90] Although there would eventually be an overall growth in the number of Serb confessional schools, from 56 in 1878 to 122 in 1913, this could not be predicted during the 1880's and 1890's when confessional schools were disappearing or competing with more modern state institutions.[91]

As could be expected, teachers and priests rallied around their confessional schools and encouraged the urban and educated among them to do the same. They argued that the Bosnian Serb community needed to support these institutions that they believed

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[87] Papić, *Školstvo*, 177-178; In 1883-1884, the Serbs constituted 55% of elementary school pupils, but dropped slightly to 48% in 1891-1892. See Okey, 327.
[88] Okey, 326-327.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Kruševac, "Srpska Realka—Gimnazija u Sarajevu," 115-118, 121-123; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 67.
[91] Džaja, 69; Papić, *Školstvo*, 132-133, 139.

had preserved their Orthodox identity in Bosnia. Writing in the first issue of *Istočnik*, one author argued that they had protected their Orthodox identity in Bosnia mainly through "the church and the school." Their historic significance, he argued, had been to "safeguard not only its survival but to provide it with the strength to develop and progress."[92] Another writer encouraged Bosnian Serb parents, in particular, who were sending their children to state schools to understand the long-term benefits that confessional schools offered to the national community. He argued that these Serb schools "nurture a people [...] in the spirit of their nationality [*narodnosti*]." And no institution in Bosnia held more importance in "preserving faith and nationality," he believed, than the "*schools in the national spirit*."[93] The former Bosnian Orthodox Metropolitan Savo Kosanović (1839-1903) also urged parents to continue sending their children to confessional schools and to fund the construction of new ones, concluding that they needed to "erect confessional schools in every township."[94] Kosanović had been especially active in this regard during the 1880's and 1890's, appealing to the Provincial Government to help fund the construction of more Serb confessional schools and educational facilities in Bosnia.[95]

With increasing numbers of young Serbs enrolled in state schools, some feared that the next generation would gradually discard certain other national traits that

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[92] Anonymous, "Prva riječ," *Istočnik* no. 1, July 1887, 1.
[93] D.V., "Srpske osnovne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Bosanska vila*, no. 11-12, June 15, 1890, 186-188.
[94] Savo Kosanović, "Srpsko-pravoslavna opštino!" *Istočnik*, no. 2, February 1888, 29; Kosanović was a leading advocate for establishing confessional schools for the Bosnian Serbs. As early as 1880, in a letter addressed to the Emperor, he argued that in Bosnia "one cannot find even three individuals," who had graduated "seminary or gimnasium because" as he explained, "we do not have such schools." In his letter, he went on to ask that Austria-Hungary establish more educational institutions, such as elementary and middle schools, seminaries, teacher's schools and gimnasiums. See Božo Madžar, *Prosvjeta. Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo, 1902-1949* (Banja Luka. Srpsko Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske; Monografije knjiga II; Odljeljenje društvenih nauka, knjiga V, 2001), 23.
[95] Madžar, *Prosvjeta.*, 22-23.

distinguished them from the national groups around them. One of the most distinctive of these was the Cyrillic alphabet (*ćirilica*). Cyrillic was developed in the ninth century by the Greek Orthodox missionary brothers Cyril and Methodios and was gradually adapted by other Orthodox communities who produced their own Serbian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Russian, and other Slav variants.[96] In modern times, Cyrillic was widely regarded by the Serbs as a cultural marker that set them apart from their non-Orthodox South Slav neighbours who variously used the Latin (mainly the Croats and Slovenes) and Arabic (mainly the Muslims) scripts. The Cyrillic alphabet was also significant because, in the era of modern nationalism, it enabled the Bosnian Serbs to view themselves as part of the greater nation of Serbs. But while Cyrillic was permitted to prosper under the Ottoman millet system, under Austria-Hungary, it had to compete for space with Latin, the official alphabet of the Empire and one which the vast majority of its Catholic citizens used. Although both Cyrillic and Latin were used in official publications in Bosnia and were taught in Bosnia's state schools, when given the choice officials favoured Latin.[97]

These circumstances contributed to the increasing fear among some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals that abandoning Cyrillic would dilute their national uniqueness and introduce a cultural heterogeneity that would make their people more vulnerable to the ideas, values, and customs of foreigners. Like the leaders of the other national minorities struggling to retain their cultural integrity against the more developed and powerful ruling nations in Europe, the Bosnian Serb intellectuals looked to the youngest members of the nation to defend the community and its culture against the cultural

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[96] Until the arrival of Cyril and Methodios, literacy among the Slavs—where it existed at all—was either in Latin or Greek.

[97] It was used in the majority of official correspondence as well as on buildings and on street signs, some of which were written in German. With regards to official correspondence, the Provincial Government agreed in 1895 that while Bosnian Serb functionaries were to receive correspondence in Cyrillic, all others would do so in Latin. See Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 18-19.

imperialism of Austria-Hungary. Because the national culture was perceived to have been preserved for centuries, having passed down from one generation to the next, there was an especially strong desire to retain the knowledge and practices of their national heritage, including the use of Cyrillic, as a way of differentiating themselves from the Catholic nations of the Empire. Bosnian Serb writers were thus often critical of those younger Serbs who they believed were acclimatizing far too easily to the Catholic culture of the Empire. "We rush headlong into foreign customs [*tudjinstinom*,]" lamented the priest and ethnographer Savo Pješčić, "and throw away Cyrillic, which is purely our own, and which must remain so, if we want to walk the path of Serb-Orthodoxy." Although Pješčić was not a reactionary, supporting the practical benefits of learning other languages, he lamented that those who did often abandoned reading Serb literature altogether: "While downtown, how many of us [...] acquire Serb books and periodicals? Very few," he concluded. "Let that Serb for whom Serb books are expensive, answer for the fact that he buys German and Latin [alphabet] newspapers [...] let that young Serb boy and Serb girl account for why their noses are pressed up against German and other novels."[98] Concerns over the survival of Cyrillic, and through it the Serb nationality, did not diminish with the passing of time, despite the continuing use of Cyrillic in confessional schools and within the Bosnian Serb community at large. Indeed, several years later, the editor of the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Narod* (*Nation*) (1907-1908, 1911-1914), Risto Radulović (1880-1916) continued to worry about the survival of Cyrillic, which he called a "national script, a product of the Serb culture and one of its distinguishing features." To eliminate its use in Bosnia, he feared, would "destroy the Serb nationality" there.[99]

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[98] Savo Pješčić, "Srpsko pismo—slovo," *Istočnik*, no. 10, October 1888, 146-147.
[99] Risto Radulović, *Izabrani radovi* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1988), 170-1.

In the face of a Latin-dominated, Catholic imperial culture, the Bosnian Serb elite also found itself rallying around their historic and collective memories as a way of preserving their Serb-Orthodox heritage. During the 1880's and 1890's there were more oral and local histories, travelogues, and memoirs produced than at any previous time.[100] The most popular and widely-read publications were those that focused on the lore and traditions of the peasantry or *narod* (literally, "people"). Since the first generations of notable nineteenth-century writers from Serbia and the Vojvodina region in Hungary wrote about the *narod*, the idea of the peasant as the symbol of the nation loomed large among the Serbs. Many exalted the image of the Serb peasant because they believed it represented the ideal Serb, unchanged since medieval times and untainted by the foreign customs found in urban areas. Like the German *volk* and the Russian *narod*, the Serb peasants were thought of as being "close to the land" and representing the "indigenous" character and spirit of the nation.[101] Following the examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European philosophers like J.G. Herder, Giambatti Vico, and Nikolai Gogol who had themselves believed that the "national spirit" could be found in the local folk culture, Serbian writers and ethnographers similarly popularized the idea through an oversentimalized ideal of the role played by the rural milieu in preserving an "authentically" Serb identity.[102]

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[100] The first to write on these subjects appeared in the early nineteenth century. See, for example, Vladimir Ćorović, *Mostar i njegovi književnici u prvoj polovini XIX stoljeća.*(Mostar: Štamparija "Naroda"—Dr. Krulj i Komp.—1907), 20-26.

[101] See Radovan Vučković's article, "U matici neoromantizma (Književnost u BiH devedesetih godina XIX veka)"; Vera Tolz, *Inventing the Nation: Russia* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), 85; Ernst S. Dick, "The Folk and their Culture: The Formative Concepts and the Beginnings of Folklore," in Robert J. Smith and Jerry Stannard, eds., *The Folk: Identity, Landscapes and Lores* (Lawrence, Kansas: The Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, 1989): 11-21.

[102] Studies concerning the folk in Serbian literature are numerous. See, for example, Milorad Najdanović *Seoska realistička pripovetka u najnovijoj srpskoj književnosti XIX veka* (Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika S.R. Srbije, 1968).

In Bosnia, the popularity of folk studies found resonance especially among writers who wished to preserve Serb traditions against the perceived cultural threat of Austria-Hungary. For them, investigating the customs and traditions found in rural society represented a major step toward systematically collecting and preserving an identifiably "Serb" identity in Bosnia. Ethnographers were particularly keen to learn as much as they could from older peasants who had retained the oldest traditions. It was from an "old man in his nineties from the village of 'Vojskova,'" for example, that the Orthodox priest Petar Ivančević (1864-1914)[103] procured historic details about the monastery in Mostanica.[104] And when investigating traditional Serb prayers, the schoolteacher Savo M. Babić looked no further than to certain village elders whose prayer habits the younger generation, he lamented, no longer observed.[105] As the cleric and teacher Marko S. Popović wrote, next to the Orthodox priest, "our elders" did the most to "respect their fine Serb traditions."[106] For this reason, ethnographers like Petar Ivančević hoped that such folk studies could be used to "enlighten" and influence urbanized Serbs to preserve their cultural inheritance, believing that "one can only hope that urban Serbs will spread the word about these treasured Serb customs."[107]

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[103] Beginning in the 1890's, Ivančević served as a parish priest in various towns across Bosnia, including Jajce, Ozren, Tavna and Moštanice. He was also an amateur ethnographer, who collected folklore and customs which he published in *Bosanska vila* and *Istočnik*.

[104] Petar St. Ivančević, "Narodno predanje o manastir u Mostanici. Pribiljezio: Petar S. Ivančević, jeromonah," *Istočnik*, no. 10, October 1894, 392.

[105] S.M. Babić, "Molitve našijih starih ljudi Srba bošnjaka," *Istočnik*, no. 7, June 1890, 250.

[106] Marko S. Popović, "Nadgrobna riječ. Na pogrebu Srb-Ercegovca Vasilije Kočevica protojerea." The influence of the local wise man sometimes continued posthumously as the schoolteacher Petar Mirković discovered in the village of Hrgar near Bišić. Following the death of the Bišić native Petar Pepić in 1859, Mirković noted that Pepic's sayings and stories continued to find resonance with the local inhabitants. Conversations were often accompanied by phrases like "as Mitar Pepić used to say," or "as Mitar Pepić says." Some of Mirković's notes about the local history of Bišić came from Pepic's stories still circulating among local villagers. See Petar Mirković, "Narodna filozofija," *Bosanska vila*, nos. 11-12, June 15, 1890, 175-177 and nos. 13-14, July 15, 1890, 207-209.

[107] Petar S. Ivančević, "Srpski narodni običaj na Božić u Bos. Krajini," *Istočnik*, no. 2, February 1892, 70.

Still others emphasized the particular value of traditional folk epic poetry in connecting the Bosnian Serbs to the larger body of Serb myths and stories that transcended geographic and political boundaries. The strong link among epic, ancestry, and nationality had first become popular in Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Intellectuals like J.G. Herder, for example, posited that the "soul of the nation" could be obtained from ancient myths and stories, especially among groups with limited written histories.[108] This was particularly true for the South Slavs whose glorification of heroes and events of the past became recognizable points of pride on which to construct their national identities. Among the Serbs, the most important were the hundreds of extant epic ballads sung about the Battle of Kosovo (1389) in which the medieval Serbian kingdom, already weakened by divisions among its princes, lost to the conquering Ottoman Army.[109] Although full conquest did not take place until decades later, the Serbs came to regard the Battle as a historic turning point when the political divisions within the kingdom were carried over into the nation as many local Serbs fled to the neighbouring South Slav lands in order to escape the invading army. And while little is known about the Battle, traveling bards and local wise men spun tales about it, drawing from it this great moral lesson: "only unity can save the Serbs."[110]

The Austrian-based Serbian linguist and folklorist Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) certainly believed this to be true, making the Battle of Kosovo epics the core of his published works on the national literature of the Serbs. These collections, which first appeared during the second Serbian uprising against Ottoman rule (1813-15), and which

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[108] See, for example, Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 417-428.
[109] See, for example, Milica Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory: The Case of Kosovo," in Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities*, 25-40.
[110] For a good summary of the Battle of Kosovo and the scholarly debate surrounding it see, for example, Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 408-414.

were later expanded into four volumes in 1841, 1845, 1846, and 1862, were foundational to the formation of modern Serb national mythologies in and outside of Bosnia.[111] According to the Herzegovinian-born Archimandrate of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, Nićifor Dučić (1832-1900), the influence of these folk ballads on the collective identity of the Serbs of Herzegovina was so pervasive that, "every household in Herzegovina, in which there was at least one who could read, had at least one of Karadžić's books."[112] Foreigners also noted the importance that these and other folk ballads of the Serbs had on the local culture, especially in linking the history of the Bosnian Orthodox communities to the Greater Serb meta-narrative. Traveling across Bosnia during the peasant uprisings in 1875, the British archeologist Sir Arthur Evans (1851-1941) observed how a local Bosnian Serb balladeer "without a book or any aid to memory...rolled out the ballad for hour after hour...perchance it told...the sad day of Kossovo...For in this land, without books, without history, it is these heroic lays...that keep alive from generation to generation the sacred traditions of the race." Such ballads, he believed, enabled "the Bosnian Serb...[to] see a brother in the Serb of the Black Mountain [Montenegro] or Old Serbia."[113] Writing in 1892, the Bosnian Orthodox priest Petar Ivančević also saw in the dramatic events of Kosovo the Bosnian Serbs' own story of loss and ultimate survival. On "that miserable day of St. Vitus 1389,"[114] he wrote, the

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[111] Bakić-Hayden, "National Memory as Narrative Memory: The Case of Kosovo," 29.
[112] Muhsin Rizvić, *Pregled književnosti naroda BiH* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1985), 66.
[113] Arthur J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection, August and September, 1875* (London, 1877), 138-139.
[114] The Battle of Kosovo took place on St. Vitus Day (*Vidovdan*) on June 28, which was also a religious holiday in the Serb Orthodox calendar.

Serbs were "scattered on all sides," and yet the Bosnian Serbs had remained steadfastly "faithful to their ancestral faith, Serb name and Serb pride."[115]

As could be expected, the nationalist overtones found in the study of folk culture made ethnographers an obvious target of suspicion among the authorities. One of the most closely-monitored was Nikola T. Kašiković, the editor of *Bosanska vila*, who had done more for folk studies in Bosnia than any of his contemporaries. For nearly three decades, he tirelessly collected and recorded all manner of folk traditions in and outside of Bosnia.[116] By the tenth year of the journal, Kašiković had published over 3,000 folk-related news items and stories.[117] At first blush, his contributions had the appearance of being a-political, but the authorities suspected him of being a Greater Serb nationalist whose cultural work masked his intentions of working for the political unification of Bosnia and Serbia.[118] As a result, officials closely monitored Kašiković's business trips to Serbia and Montenegro. As early as 1888, following his attendance at the one hundredth birthday celebrations of Vuk Karađzić in Belgrade, an Austrian report concluded that he was "politically unreliable."[119] Kašiković's editorial office, too, was described as a "den

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[115] Petar S. Ivančević, "Srpski narodni običaji na Božić u Bos[ansjoj]. Krajini," *Istočnik*, no. 2, February 1892, 65.

[116] A regular feature of the journal, for example, was the "Questions for the study of the folk" that appeared in 1887. Based on the methodology of the ethnographer Dr. Fiedrich Krauss, questions covered a broad range of folk life including material culture, lore, songs, riddles, epic poems, prayer, traditional toasts and even rural patterns of sleep. See Vid Vuletić-Vukasović, "Pitanja za proučavanje naroda," beginning with nos. 1 (January 1, 1887), 2 (January 16, 1887), and 3-6 (February 16, 1887; March 1, 1887; March 16, 1887; April 1, 1887); See also Kruševac, *Bosanske-hercegovački listovi*, 320.

[117] Kruševac, *Bosanske-hercegovački listovi*, 320.

[118] While there is no direct evidence of this in these early years, following the annexation of Bosnia to Austria-Hungary in 1908, Kašiković and his wife Stoja were judged to have conspired against the state and were tried and convicted in the last days of Austro-Hungarian rule. See the treasonous trial files of the Kašiković family: ABH, PGS, The Treasonous Trial and Processing of Nikola T. Kađiković; ABH, PGS, Treason Trial and Processing of Stoja and Predrag Kašiković.

[119] Jelena Milojković-Đurić, "Articulating Cultural Policies in an Occupied Territory: Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Aftermath of the Berlin Congress," *Serbian Studies* 13, no.2 (1999): 43.

of rebels."[120] As could be expected, Kašiković frequently encountered difficulties with the censors.[121] Eventually, he learned to give more delicate treatment to political issues which allowed him the freedom of publishing articles that commemorated the major historic and political events of the Serbs, including the five hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in 1889 and, in 1904, the one hundredth anniversary of Serbia's first uprising against the Ottomans.[122]

Kašiković and his staff were not the only intellectuals to have walked the razor's edge between culture and politics. Intellectuals, together with other cultural workers, established reading rooms, cultural events, and festivals throughout the province and provided a place where organizers, performers, and spectators could shape and be shaped by the national ideologies and political aspirations of the day. The growing popularity of the various national festivals of the Serbs was especially meaningful in this regard. At these gatherings—which were hosted or sponsored by the local Orthodox Church, advertised in Cyrillic, performed in the spirit of the folk replete with folk costumes, folk songs, and folk lore, and often decorated in the colours of Serbia's red, blue, and white tri-colour standard—local Serbs were at once linked to their perceived Serbian past, whilst imagining the possibilities of a strong and unified future. Among the most popular of these festivals were those organized by the cultural association "Sloga" ("Unity"). Unity was founded in 1889 in Sarajevo as both a choir and dramatic society that delivered performances across the province.[123] Its members included a wide variety of secular and

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[120] Ibid., 42.
[121] This is according to his own words as recorded by the authorities investigating Kašiković on charges of treason in the last days of Austro-Hungarian rule. See ABH, PGS, The Treasonous Processing of Nikola T. Kašiković, 141, 143-144.
[122] Đuričković, 14.
[123] Members included a variety of secular and religious leaders like the Bosnian Orthodox Metropolitan Nikola Mandić (1896-1907), Aleksa Šantić (honourary member) and two of the founders of *Bosanska vila*,

religious leaders, including the Bosnian Orthodox Metropolitan Nikola Mandić (1896-1907) and two of the founders of *Bosanska vila*, Stevo Kaluđerčić (1864-1948) and Nikola T. Kašiković, the latter of whom was also Unity's librarian (1895) and president (1899-1900). Unity's reading room, which was supplied with books and journals from Serbia like *Stražilovo* (*The Guardian*), *Ženski svet* (*Woman's World*), and *Srpski zanatlija* (*The Serbian Artisan*), provided members and supporters a forum to debate, discuss, and exchange cultural and political ideas that sometimes reinforced the participants' nationalist aspirations. But it was through Unity's public performances that cultural workers could get the message across to a much wider and socially-diverse audience. After one summer concert in 1892, for example, that included the performance of patriotic songs like "Only Unity Saves the Serbs," sung under Serbia's red, blue, and white tri-colour, the authorities threatened to dissolve the association. Later in February 1899, the Provincial Government decided to send officials to monitor Unity's meetings.[124] But the popularity of Unity, and other choral-theatrical associations like it, only increased over the years as local religious and cultural leaders formed similar groups in the towns of Mostar, Tuzla, Foča, Prijedor, Nevesinje, Visoko, Banja Luka, Brčko, Bosanska Krupa, Bijeljine, Varcar Vakuf, Sanski Most, and Višnjić. These associations were foundational to the education of the literate and illiterate alike, both of whom the intellectuals hoped would not only preserve the sanctity of their Serb national identity, but look forward to the day when all the Serbs would live together in a state of their own.[125]

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Stevo Kaluđerčić (1864-1948) and Nikola T. Kašiković, who was for a time Unity's librarian (1895) and president (1899-1900).

[124] Starting in February 1899, the Provincial Government began sending officials to monitor Unity's meetings.

[125] For a list of the names and starting dates of these societies and some of their activities, see, for example, Madžar *Prosvjeta*, 50-56.

Despite the official cultural mandate of Bosnian Serb associations and periodicals like *Vila* and *Istočnik*, therefore, the atmosphere surrounding them was fraught with nationalistic overtones. Using the Orthodox religion, Cyrillic alphabet, and folk character, the intellectuals wished not only to link their community to other self-describing Serbs culturally, but politically as well. While they could not explicity state this in the literature—nor at cultural events and festivals—they pushed the boundaries as far as they could. At the very least, they hoped to persuade as many people as they could to identify with the greater nation of Serbs around them.

***The Challenge of the Non-Serbs of Bosnia***

But as noted earlier, competing theories about the "nation" offered a far from obvious understanding of who was or was not a Serb. Complicating these definitions was the Greater Serb concept that was occasionally applied to Bosnia's other ethnic groups. Indeed, many Bosnian Serb intellectuals looked mainly to the Greater Serb idea as a theory of common origins in Bosnia and, ipso facto, as a basis for political unification with Serbia. Some saw in it the potential to cut through the complexity of Bosnia's ethnic relationships, while simultaneously supporting the general objectives of Serb nationalism. The Greater Serb idea thus represented one of the first attempts by the Bosnian Serbs to "homogenize" the Bosnian identity in terms that reflected the spirit of contemporary nationalism in Europe. Although European elites commonly viewed membership in the nation as involuntary and determined by birth, they sometimes believed that certain groups failed to recognize that they too belonged within the nation. This was especially true in ethnically-mixed regions, including those in the Balkans, such as Kosovo (comprised of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins) and Macedonia (comprised of Slav-

speaking Macedonians, Bulgarians, and Greeks), where the histories and the traditions of the local and neighbouring groups were intimately intertwined and which rival nationalist and imperialist powers sometimes exploited for their own political and/or territorial gain.[126]

In Bosnia, certain educated Serbs believed that the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims were Serbs of a sort, whether they realized it or not. They argued that the Croats and Muslims were "originally" Serbs who had long ago converted to Catholicism and Islam. These intellectuals posited that converts to Catholicism were gradually "Croaticized," while converts to Islam were "Turkified."[127] This perception was promoted especially by those Bosnian Serb intellectuals wishing to "prove" that there was an authentically "Serb" spirit to be found among the indigenous poplutions in Bosnia. In the preface to his textbook written for Bosnian Serb schoolchildren, Petar Ivančević believed this was the case, arguing that Bosnians were "Serbs of three faiths, that is: Serb Orthodox, Muslims and Serb Roman Catholics," although, he added, the "Serbs of the Orthodox faith are the most numerous."[128] After discussing the geography, landscape, climate, and village life of the region surrounding Zagorje in Bosnia, another author noted in *Vila* that of Bosnia's inhabitants there was a "minority of Muslims," but that nearly "all the rest are Serbs of the Orthodox faith."[129] The author took it for granted that the

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[126] Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 15-16; See also the collection of essays on individual as well as regional aspects of identity formation in the Balkans in Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities*.
[127] Petar Ivančević included in this text the epic poem "The Turks Divide Bosnia." According to the anonymous bard, following the Ottoman conquest "the Serbs were Turkified." Jeromanah Petar St. Ivančević, *Propast kraljevstva Bosanskog po priznatim srpskim i stranim piscima. Za milu srpsku mladež* (Zagreb: Štampano u srpskoj štampariji, 1894), 59.
[128] Ibid., 10.
[129] G.H. Avakumović, "Zagorje i okolina," *Bosanska vila*, no. 4, February 28, 1891, 56-57.

Bosnians were Serbs and encouraged his readers "to become familiar with our homeland—a Serb territory."[130]

Although the ideal circumstance would have been to "re-admit" the Muslims and Catholics into the Orthodox fold, most writers knew that actual conversions to Orthodoxy were highly unlikely. But by drawing the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats into their orbit, intellectuals believed it was possible both to "enlighten" the other groups, while simultaneously nurturing a collective Serb consciousness in Bosnia. In one of his published works of Bosnian Serb epic folk poems, the Herzegovinian ethnographer Luka Grđić-Bjelokosić (1857-1918) wrote in the preface that "this book" should be regarded as a "reflection of the ancestral and spiritual unity of the Serb peoples of this region." By including songs from a "variety of religious traditions," he wrote, he hoped to awaken their sense of belonging to a common (i.e. Serb) community in Bosnia. "May the love of song," he wrote "unite us in our common work!"[131] Still others argued that it was far better to encourage a form of Serb national unity than not. Accepting the theory that Bosnians were "really" Serbs, the Orthodox priest Savo Pješčić believed that it was far better to "let the Serbs be of different faiths," than to cease using Cyrillic.[132]

But for those wishing to use modern criteria to distinguish the nations, language was viewed as a more legitimate and "precise" tool by which to identify the Serbs. At a time when national leaders in Europe widely regarded language as the main way of distinguishing among different national groups, some nationalists hoped to "prove" the

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[130] Ibid., 56.
[131] Luka Grđić-Bjelokosić, *Iz naroda i o narodu. Knjiga III. Smilje i bosilje ubrao ga iz srpskog narodnog vrta* (Novi Sad: Štamparije Djordje Ivkovića, 1898), X; The author began collecting for his three-volume series in the early 1890s, publishing his first and second collections sometime in the mid-1890's and a third in 1898. Most of his poems came from Mostar and its environs, many of which he credited to his mother, while others were submitted by colleagues from across Bosnia.
[132] Savo Pješčić, "Srpsko pismo—slovo," *Istočnik*, no. 10. October 1888, 149.

Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins by using linguistic criteria. The Serbian linguist and ethnographer Vuk Karadžić was a forerunner in proposing that all those who spoke the dialect used in Serbia were, in fact, Serbs. He first outlined his theory in his now-infamous article on the subject called "Serbs All and Everywhere" (1836).[133] In it, he argued that those living in and around the Croatian capital of Zagreb, various parts of Croatia, and all of Bosnia were members of the Serb nation because they spoke the same (Serb) dialect. And yet he also concluded that because self-describing Serbs were the most numerous and scattered of the Serbo-Croatian-speaking South Slavs, it followed that the rest were probably originally Serbs as well. Some of his Croatian contemporaries and founders of the Yugoslav idea of nationhood, like the linguist Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872) and the Catholic Bishop Josip Strossmayer (1815-1905) also used the same criteria to determine national identities. Their conclusions, however, mainly pointed to their common South Slav origins which they believed had the potential to foster harmonious cultural and political relationships.[134] Although not all Serb intellectuals agreed that dialect was relevant to national identities, Karadžić's influence on Serb intellectuals, including some from Bosnia, was pervasive. His emphasis on language as the basis of determining national membership influenced, for example, the Bosnian Serb newspaperman Vaso Glušac (1879-1954) who later wrote in his book *Bosna i hercegovine srpske su zemlje po krvi i po jeziku* (*Bosnia and Herzegovina Are Serb Lands*

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[133] See his article in Mil. N. Filipović, ed., *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1965), vol. 17, *Etnografski spisi*, 31-48.
[134] Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*; Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 57, 60-62, 189; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 43-46, 58-59.

*By Blood and By Language*) (1908) that the "historical record shows that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there reside only one people and these are the Serbs."[135]

Despite their efforts over the years, Greater Serb nationalists never represented a serious cultural or political threat to most non-Serbs who generally saw themselves as ethnically Croat or Muslim.[136] Of the two, however, the Muslims were subject to more intensive efforts by Greater Serb as well as Greater Croat nationalists who wished to advance Serbian and Croatian claims to Bosnia (ethnic, political, and territorial). While the Croats of both Bosnia and Croatia had some success in drawing a number of Muslim intellectuals within the Croatian cultural community, some of whom declared themselves as "Croats" of the Muslim faith,[137] the Serbs had their own successes mainly among Muslim intellectuals from Mostar, some of whom actively collaborated with *Vila* and with Mostar's Serb cultural journal *Zora* (*Dawn*) (1896-1903).[138] For the majority of the Bosnian Muslim masses, including its peasants, craftsmen, and lower clergy, however, traditional confessional identities were more meaningful and practical in their daily lives.[139] Indeed, the challenges of Serb and Croat nationalism caused some Muslim intellectuals to defend with greater vigour the view that Muslims constituted a distinct ethno-national community that was different from either the Serbs or the Croats. One

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[135] Vaso Glušac, *Bosna i Hercegovina srpske su zemlje po krvi i po jeziku* (Mostar: Izdanje Štamparije "Naroda,''Dr. Krulj i dr., 1908), 81.
[136] Lovrenović, *Bosnia*, 151-152; Friedman, 64-65; Donia and Fine, 98-99, 112; Malcolm, 147-149.
[137] Malcolm, 152. These were mainly educated in Zagreb and in other Austro-Hungarian universities.
[138] These individuals attended higher education in Serbia and Montenegro and identified with Serb culture and literature. One Serb of the Muslim faith published a propagandist brochure in 1895 entitled *O stanju Bosne i Hercegovine* (*Concerning the Status of Bosnia and Herzegovina*) in which the author sharply criticized the Austro-Hungarian occupation and supported the unification of Bosnia and Serbia on the basis that Muslims and Croats were "really" Serbs. See Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga gajreta u društvenom životu muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine (1903-1941)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, n.d.), 69-76. According to Kemura, the brochure was probably published by the St. Sava association from Belgrade.
[139] Austria-Hungary encouraged Bosnia's traditional Muslim elite, mainly its landowners and some intellectuals, to nurture greater cultural and political unity within the Muslim community so that they might get more concessions from Vienna and thus make life under Catholic rule more tolerable. See Friedman, 64; Banac, *The National Question*, 366.

Muslim writer observed in the Bosnian Muslim newspaper, *Bošnjak* (*Bosniak*) (1891-1910), that "whereas the Croats argue that the Orthodox are our greatest enemies and that Serb-dom is the same as Orthodoxy, the Serbs wear themselves out calling our attention to some bogus history by which they have Serbianized the whole world."[140] As the Bosnian Muslim poet and historian Safvet beg-Bašagić (1870-1934) famously put it in 1891, "it was not long ago...When in our proud Bosnia/ and heroic land of Herzegovina/ From Trebinje to the gates of Brod/ There was never a Serb nor a Croat."[141] Although the poet, who had been a political activist in Zagreb, declared himself a Croat three years later,[142] his general sentiments found resonance among the vast majority of Bosnia's Muslims.

Despite the challenges posed by self-describing Muslims and Croats in Bosnia, the most widespread perception among the Bosnian Serb intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth century remained the Greater Serb view of Bosnia. Seen in the light of their historic and collective myths and memories and under the perceived threat of Austro-Hungarian cultural (and political) imperialism, many of the intellectuals felt compelled to preserve and promote what they believed constituted their Serb national identity. The additional challenges of non-Serb nationalism only encouraged them to emphasize with greater passion the need for unity if not with the non-Serbs, then among the self-describing Serbs of Bosnia.

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[140] Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnji politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. do 1914.* (Sarajevo, 1976), 93.
[141] Safvet beg Bašagić, "Bošnjaku," *Bošnjak, list*, no. 2, Thursday July 9, 1891, 2.
[142] Banac, *The National Question*, 362.

**Conclusion**

In these early years, the efforts of the intellectuals to identify and encourage the preservation of their rich national heritage helped lay the ideological foundations of the Bosnian Orthodox as a cultural and national people belonging to the nation of the Serbs. The legacy of pre-Ottoman and Ottoman history contributed to what the intellectuals believed were the distinguishing features of the nation (religion, alphabet, and folk character), but so too did the development of modern Serb nationalism which encouraged them to view themselves as ethnic Serbs. Their claims to expertise, however, meant that some of the intellectuals also felt comfortable with expanding the parameters of the Bosnian Serb identity as if it were an obtainable commodity, controlled and defined by them, and one to which Bosnia's other members of the Serbian national community (i.e. Muslims and Catholics) should also conform. This did not mean that the Orthodox religion lost its significance as the historical force of cohesion distinguishing the Serbs from among the non-Serbs in Bosnia. But for those intellectuals wishing to awaken "wayward" Serbs to their Serb ancestry, religion began to take a back seat to the greater need of nurturing a broader Bosnian (and Serb) consciousness that writers hoped would be durable enough to resist attempts to isolate and "de-nationalize" the Bosnian Serb community under Austro-Hungarian rule. Lacking a common identity, or at the very least an understanding of how to harness one, therefore, they turned to the culturally- and politically-appealing Greater Serb theory of national origins as a way of nurturing a collective consciousness in Bosnia.

And yet, even while intellectuals actively promoted the Greater Serb theory, they generally did not expect Muslims or Croats to "re-convert" to Orthodoxy. At first blush, this appeared to be an insignificant, and extremely patronizing, concession to make. But

the declining importance of religion in Bosnia, however slight, would soon inspire writers to seek out alternative approaches to identity. In this linguistically contiguous region where it was mainly religion that determined nationality, where Serbs were Orthodox, Croats were Catholic, and Muslims were Muslim, this subtle, yet significant change signaled an important shift that gradually permitted religious differences to exist within the collective personality of the Bosnian people. It revealed an underlying willingness to seek out new interpretations of the "Bosnian" identity that, as the following chapter shows, an increasing number of intellectuals would gradually begin to explore.

# Chapter 2
# If not Serb, then What?: Kinship, Territoriality, and the Rise of a Multi-ethnic Consciousness in Bosnia (1896-1905)

## Introduction

Historians have already chronicled the evolution of the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement from its beginnings in 1896 through to its conclusion with the promulgation of the Cultural Autonomy Statute in 1905 that gave local leaders direct control over the affairs of their churches and confessional schools.[1] Although it is well known that the movement, led by a task force of prominent merchants, inspired widespread feelings of unity among the Bosnian Serbs, little attention has been paid to another unifying ideal then being encouraged by a few of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals. These writers began to promote a specifically "Bosnian" consciousness that was ethnically "neutral" and one that could appeal to both the Serbs and non-Serbs of Bosnia. Unlike the Greater Serb concept that defined all Bosnians as Serbs, the new model of belonging saw each community as ethnically distinct, yet collectively rooted in Bosnia. Intellectuals believed that Bosnians possessed an innate, but uncultivated sense of "fellow-feeling" that could be found in two key traits, namely a common kinship and territorial identity. They believed that these features, normally applied to the modern (ethnic) nation, could also be applied to a multi-ethnic Bosnia. Writers began to see that without firmly establishing their connectedness both in a common homeland and in their shared myths of descent and fraternity, it would be difficult to envisage how they could preserve their local language, cultures, and identities from foreign, imperialist influences. Desiring to create a united front against the

[1] The standard study on the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement is Božo Madžar's *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine*.

cultural and political imperialism of Austria-Hungary, therefore, a few of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to seek out alternatives to the Greater Serb model of belonging.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first discusses the conditions under which a multi-ethnic spirit was nurtured in Bosnia. The second and third discuss the writings of the intellectuals who used the ideas of "kinship" and "territoriality" to promote a common Bosnian identity. Although these writers represent a fraction of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals, they mark the first significant attempts to seek out alternatives to a Greater Serb identity in Bosnia.

**State and Society: The Widening Gap**

Part of the reason that some intellectuals began to downplay the Greater Serb model was because of their growing desire to nurture a unified front against Austria-Hungary. Despite the many social, cultural, and educational benefits that went with being a part of one of the wealthiest and powerful states in Europe, some Bosnians were becoming increasingly alienated from the politics and policies of the state. This was evident in the persistence of local protest, including two major uprisings in 1878 and 1882, outbreaks of rural brigandage in the 1880's and 1890's, and movements for cultural autonomy that were sought by the Bosnian Serbs (1896-1905) as well as the Bosnian Muslims (1899-1909).[2] This widening gap between the state and society was not unique to Bosnia, but was part of a growing problem in the Empire as an increasing number of national leaders fought for their nation's cultural and political rights and, in some cases,

[2] On the local response to the Austro-Hungarian invasion in 1878 see Donia, *Sarajevo*, 46-57; On the protests against the military law see Jelavich, "The Revolt in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1881-2"; On the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement see Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine*; On the Bosnian Muslim cultural autonomy movement see Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*.

encouraged the formation of inter-ethnic alliances against what they perceived to be Austria's and Hungary's attempts to "Germanize" and "Magyarize" them.[3] Similarly in Bosnia, the leaders of the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim cultural autonomy movements, wishing to bolster their positions, began seriously to contemplate some form of joint political action. They finally realized their desires in 1902 in a joint Memorandum that outlined their common objectives in Bosnia. These included, among others, political autonomy for the province and a separate-but-equal status for the province's ethnic groups.[4] Whatever hopes that Governor Kallay had that rational bureaucracy and moderate reform would create a stable, a-political populace, were thus dashed by the evidence of an ever-widening gap between state and society.

In the midst of these changes and inspired by the cooperative turn-of-mind among Serb and Muslim leaders, a few of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals gradually shifted from supporting an exclusively (Serb) ethnic to an inclusively multi-ethnic view of Bosnia. At first glance, Bosnia's pre-existing social and cultural circumstances offered little of that "raw material" that could have nurtured a broadly "Bosnian" consciousness. Many of the intellectuals were raised in relatively homogeneous ethnic environments that revolved around the family home, local confessional school, and parish church, arguably three of the most important institutions in the socialization of the Bosnian Serbs. Under the guiding influence of these institutions, intellectuals developed a strong sense of their ethno-national self-esteem based on the history, culture, and traditions of the Serbian

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[3] See, for example, Peter F. Sugar, "Government and Minorities in Austria-Hungary—Different Policies with the same Result," in *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), article IV, 1-52; Tolz, 6-7, 195-196.

[4] Dževad Juzbašić, "Pokušaji stvaranja političkog saveza između vođstva srpskog i muslimanskog autonomnog pokreta u Bosni i Hercegovini," in *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosni i Hercegovine, 2002), 220-221, 237-240.

people, and on commonly-held assumptions that viewed the land and the inhabitants of Bosnia as an integral part of the Greater Serb nation. And yet, a small number of the intellectuals became some of the leading proponents of a, more or less, "multi-ethnic" perception of what it meant to be "Bosnian." Those who did were mainly reared in urban environments, where the inhabitants were exposed to a greater variety of traditions and cultures that made up the diverse ethnic landscape of Bosnia. Indeed, as the epi-centers of culture, trade, and commerce, Bosnia's towns and cities received a wider variety of goods and services, including European books and serials that carried differing concepts about what defined a "nation" that included the pan-national and pan-South Slav (or "Yugoslav") conceptions.[5]

Also contributing to this ideological shift was the increasing contact and interaction among Bosnia's urban ethnic groups under Austro-Hungarian rule. Multi-ethnic state schools, museums, businesses, hotels, day-spas, cafes, and theatres, as well as the Monarchy's colleges and universities, had for the first time offered a greater number of Bosnians from a broad spectrum of ethnic and social backgrounds the opportunity to interact more often than at any previous time.[6] As a result, the growing frequency of contact among Bosnia's professional and educated classes created a climate in which a

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[5] On the literature of the Bosnian peoples and the exposure they had to broader European literary trends and ideas, especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centures see, for example, Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*.

[6] Before Austro-Hungarian rule, there were a few Bosnian writers who supported the cultural and political integration of the South Slavs, but their efforts had no broadly intellectual appeal. Bosnian Croat Illyrian writers were, for example, among the contributors to the literary-cultural journal the *Srpsko-dalmatinksi magazin* (*The Serbo-Dalmatian Magazine*) (1836-1873) that was widely distributed in Bosnia, but especially popular in Herzegovina and its capital of Mostar. (See Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 66-67; Gajević, *Bosanske teme*, 77-82). Among the Bosnian Serbs, writers like the publicist Gavro Vučković-Krajišnik (1826-1876) encouraged a patriotic attitude toward Bosnia and its diverse inhabitants, calling the Muslims his "tribal brothers" ("jedno-plemenitom braćom") and also held pan-Slav views. (See Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 77-78); In his study *Sarajevo*, 79-82, Robert J. Donia shows how Austria-Hungary introduced a variety of private and public social practices that Bosnians gradually began to adopt. Refer also to the classic studies about Sarajevo under the Dual Monarchy Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave* and Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*.

certain amount of social and cultural assimilation had begun to take place.[7] Some took this increasing interaction and integration as evidence for a growing sense of "fellow-feeling" in Bosnia. They believed that although Bosnians identified with differing ethno-national traditions, they shared a common South Slavic bond that for writers like the Bosnian Croat poet Tugomir Alaupović (1870-1958), suggested Bosnia's "natural" bonds.[8] This idea, coupled with the private experiences of individual writers, made them increasingly aware of their peculiarly "Bosnian" commonalities.

It did not follow, however, that Bosnia's leaders and writers would have placed a high priority on promoting a shared Bosnian identity (cultural, political or otherwise). There were a couple of reasons against it. First, as South Slav historians have argued, there has never been one, unitary interpretation of the Bosnian identity. Each ethnic group had by then produced its own ethno-centric Serbophile, Croatophile, and Turkophile versions (ethnic, cultural, and political) of what it meant to be Bosnian.[9] With the exception of a period of independent rule from the 1180's until the Ottoman conquest of the fifteenth century, Bosnians had little opportunity to develop in the modern era anything resembling a shared vision on which to base a common identity. Second, at the turn of the twentieth century, Serb and Muslim leaders were mainly preoccupied with protecting the interests of their ethnic communities, devoting several years to their respective cultural autonomy movements. These developments nurtured a growing sense

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[7] Some Bosnian Muslims, for example, frequently contributed to South Slav journals and immersed themselves in the literary and cultural circles of the Bosnian Serbs and Croats. They began to write primarily in the local language (instead of Turkish, Persian or Arabic) and focused on local themes (instead of Ottoman high culture, traditions, and history). See, for example, Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 131-138; Malcolm, 101-103.

[8] Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 125-127; Gajević, *Bosanske teme*, 109-112..

[9] See, for example, Gajević, "'Bosanska Vila' između Srpstva, Bosanstva i Jugoslovenstva," 113-125. See also Gajević's studies *Bosanske teme* and "Prilog proučavanje književnog života u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine," 91-99.

of ethnic solidarity in Bosnia that was generally stronger than any feelings of a broadly "Bosnian" linguistic, cultural or political camaraderie.

The idea of building up Bosnia's uniqueness among the South Slavs, therefore, appealed to only a few, including those Bosnian Serb intellectuals who were attracted to alternative approaches to "group-ness" (Serb, Greater Serb, pan-Slav, and Yugoslav) that could combat their cultural and political weaknesses in relation to the state. Although some educated Croats and Muslims also recognized their historic and cultural similarities, their attitudes about them depended on their particular cultural and political circumstances in Bosnia. While the Croats had for the first time become the subjects of a Catholic state and felt an aura of cultural dominance and wished to form a political union with Croatia, the Muslims were far more preoccupied with preserving their cultural identity under Catholic rule and, for the elite, with maintaining their traditional landowning privileges. Those few Muslim intellectuals who did wish to develop a common identity tended to promote Kallay's national concept of "Bosnianhood" and only for a brief period.[10]

For the few Bosnian Serb intellectuals wishing to create a common Bosnian identity, therefore, they knew that there were enormous obstacles to overcome. And yet, they also recognized the potential there was to bridge the ethnic gap. Positioned against a backdrop of foreign rule, the logic of ethnic co-existence, and increasing interaction among the urban, educated elite, these intellectuals believed that they could promote an ethnically "neutral" vision in Bosnia that could be acceptable to Bosnians of all faith communities. To that end, they focused mainly on two key concepts that they believed

[10] As noted in the previous chapter, it did not gain widespread support partially because it stripped groups of their existing ethno-national identities, and partially because it promoted loyalty to Vienna.

had the broadest appeal. These were their ties of kinship and common territorial identity. In this way, they hoped to protect their ethnic culture and interests within a larger, multi-ethnic framework that could stand up against foreign, imperialist influences.

**Kinship**

When the intellectuals began writing about Bosnian kinship they did so in two main ways. First, they stressed that Bosnians shared a "natural" bond that was rooted in their shared South Slavic descent. Writers argued that if blood determined belonging, then surely the Bosnians, who were the descendants of a single South Slavic people, had important blood ties to one another. Second, intellectuals believed that their shared political circumstances had produced a certain amount of camaraderie especially among the Serbs and Muslims who were linked by virtue of their opposition to the expanding cultural and political hegemony of the state. Together, these two qualities of kinship—a historic ancestry and contemporary camaraderie—formed what these writers believed was the "raw material" on which they could nurture a common and ethnically-mixed identity in Bosnia.

When it came to encouraging kinship on the basis of descent, none did it better than the newest Bosnian Serb journal *Zora* (*Dawn*) (1896-1901). The journal was founded in Mostar by Aleksa Šantić (1868-1924), Svetozar Ćorović (1875-1919), and Jovan Dučić (1871-1943), three of the city's leading literary and cultural figures. Although deeply-committed to promoting the cultural heritage of the Serbs, Šantić and Ćorović, in particular, hoped also to encourage a broadly "Bosnian" consciousness.[11]

[11] They had almost single-handedly transformed this town—which was less important politically and culturally than Sarajevo—into another cultural center of the Serbs (alongside Belgrade and Novi Sad,

Indeed, while *Vila*'s editor Nikola T. Kašiković viewed *Zora* as a rival,[12] the editors of the latter knew that they had created a very different kind of journal from the typical, ethnically-oriented ones of the day. Above all, *Zora*'s literary content was broader than *Vila*'s. It emphasized original material, instead of the culture and lore of the folk, and featured the works of a greater number of South Slav writers, including men and women, Muslims and Croats, in and outside of Bosnia. This "Yugoslav" orientation reflected a growing trend among certain other South Slav publicists and writers who were increasingly influenced by pan-national philosophies and especially German synthetic ideologies, which stressed that traditional divisions (social, religious, and ethnic) could be overcome in the cultural field.[13]

As the readers of *Zora* immediately discovered, the Bosnian Serbs' newest journal represented a clear departure from the traditional confessional serials of the day. Starting with the first issue published in April 1896, the editors challenged Bosnians to re-think their exclusively Serbophile, Croatophile, and Turkophile identities in order to embrace a more inclusively "Bosnian" one. To drive home this point, they focused the first issue on the phenomenon of Muslim migration. After Austria-Hungary established itself in Bosnia in 1878, thousands of Bosnian Muslims of a diverse social and economic background began emigrating to the Ottoman Empire. Some did not want to live under infidel rule,

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located in the Vojvodina region of Hungary). See Mihailo Djordjevic, "Mostar: A Serbian Cultural Center in the 1880s and 1890s," *Serbian Studies: Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 72-85; The three founders of *Zora* had met in the early 1880's, in the immediate aftermath of the military defeat against Austria-Hungary in 1878 and following the uprising against conscription in 1882, both of which had left Mostar politically and culturally desolate as many of its leaders were either imprisoned or fled to neighbouring Montenegro.

[12] According to Svetozar Ćorović, Kašiković indirectly criticized *Zora* by publishing an unflattering article written by a third party. See the letter from Svetozar Ćorović to A.G. Matoš, February 21, 1897 in Muhsin Rizvić and Boris Ćorić, eds., *Svetozar Ćorović: Dokumentarna građa* (Sarajevo: Muzej književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1972), 84.

[13] Wachtel, 22-23, 38-39.

while others feared punishment for their abuses of Christian peasants before the uprisings of 1875-78. Still others, including many Muslim peasants, left for what they believed were greater economic opportunities in Turkey.[14] The total number of emigrants has since been variously estimated to be between 60,000 and 300,000.[15] Featured prominently and in bold letters on the front page of the first issue of *Zora* was a poem by Aleksa Šantić titled "Ostajte Ovđe!" ("Stay Here!") that lamented the loss of these migrating Muslims. In it, the poet urged their return, stressing their historic ties to both the land and to the inhabitants of Bosnia. Using terminology typically associated with the spirit of the modern (ethnic) nation, Šantić argued that despite their ethnic differences, Bosnians were collectively bound to Bosnia by their common descent:

> Stay, oh stay here! The sun of alien skies
> Will never warm you as our sun does,
> Bitter will be each bite of your bread there,
> Where you're alone and there is no brother[...]
>
> Here everyone grasps your hand like a brother—
> In foreign lands only wormwood blooms;
> Everything you are binds you to these rocks:
> Name and tongue, kinship, and sanctity of blood.[16]

Although few Bosnians were of a racially "pure" Slavic ancestry, like other European writers encouraging the cohesion of the nation or state, Šantić promoted Bosnians' solidarity in the present based on their perceived unity in the past.[17] But unlike these other writers, the poet drew on what had by then become the main criteria for describing the modern nation and applied them instead to Bosnia. What was traditionally thought to

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[14] Malcolm, 139.
[15] Ibid., 139-140.
[16] The original Serbo-Croatian reads as follows: "Ostajte ovdje! Sunce tuđeg neba/ Ne će vas grijat k'o što ovo grije,/ Grki su tamo zalogaji hljeba,/ Gdje svoga nema i gdje brata nije// [...] Ovdje vam svako bratski ruku steže,/ U tuđem sv'jetu za vas silno veže: Ime i jezik, bratstvo i krv sveta.." See Aleksa Šantić, *Izabrana djela*, vol. 1 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972), 125-6 and in the original publication of *Zora*, no. 1, April 30, 1896, 1.
[17] On the history of the Slav migrations into Bosnia see, for example, Malcolm, "Races, myths and origins: Bosnia to 1180," in *Bosnia*, 1-12.

have linked the *ethnic* nation together—a common name, language, and origin—Šantić used to describe a common identity within a *multi-ethnic* Bosnia. In a region where descent determined belonging, and where ethnic groups held contrasting cultural and political ambitions, the significance of Šantić's claims—that Bosnians of all three ethnic communities possessed a "natural" bond—was not lost on *Zora*'s readers.

Although Šantić was already recognized as one of Bosnia's most distinguished Serb poets and patriots, after the publication of "Stay Here!" he became an unofficial spokesman for the new multi-ethnic mood. Indeed, Šantić was the first major Serb cultural figure in and outside of Bosnia who attempted to reconcile the Serbs and the Muslims without using the Greater Serb model of belonging.[18] Šantić's upbringing greatly influenced his collectivist philosophy. He was raised in the town of Mostar, Herzegovina's cultural and political capital, where Muslims formed the majority.[19] Born into a successful middle-class family of merchants, Šantić took up the family business in his hometown where, with the exception of the two years he spent in Trieste and Ljubljana studying business from 1881 to 1883, he remained for the rest of his life. It was here, in this ethnically-and culturally-rich environment that the poet developed a deep admiration and fascination for the Muslim culture which he brought to life in his poetry.[20] For him, the Bosnian Muslims were not "Turkified" as others supposed, but "true"

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[18] Many studies have examined the works of Aleksa Šantić, though relatively little is known about his personal life. The most thorough study that includes all his published works along with scholarly analyses of his literary contributions is the five-volume set, *Izabrana djela* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1972). Shorter studies and articles that are useful include Miodrag Radusinović, *Izvori rodoljublja Alekse Šantića.* (Trebinje: Štamparsko preduzeće 'Kultura,' n.d.) and Nika Miličević, "Aleksa Šantić," *Baština* 1 (Sarajevo 1990): 57-68, both of which provide biographical details left out of other studies.

[19] Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 64-68; In the early nineteenth century Muslims represented 58% of the population of Mostar and were still the most numerous group during the poet's lifetime. The Serbs constituted 30%, while the Croats only 12%. See Vladimir Ćorović, *Mostar i njegovi književnici u prvoj polovini XIX stoljeća.* (Mostar: Štamparija "Naroda"—Dr. Krulj I Komp.—1907), 6.

[20] The poet was especially fond of Muslim love poetry (*sevdalinke*) and wrote several songs in the style. He often employed "Turkisms," which were then (as they are now) part of the vernacular of Bosnian Muslims, and used a vocabulary more typical of Herzegovina than Bosnia-proper.

Bosnians who shared with their Christian brothers and sisters a belief in one God and loyalty to one patrimony.

Šantić was, however, careful not to create a false sense of Bosnians' uniformity. He understood that any attempt to have "nationalized" them along ethnic lines would have created resentment and accusations of Serb national chauvinism. In contrast with certain pan-Slav ideologists who began to advocate the creation of a more uniform "Yugoslav" culture, Šantić suggested that this was not entirely necessary to building harmonious relationships in Bosnia.[21] Instead, he believed that the bonds of kinship would begin to mature when Bosnians accepted their ethnically-based differences. Šantić was concerned not so much with creating a homogeneous cultural or national people, therefore, but with nurturing a stronger sense of "fellow-feeling" in Bosnia. In his poem "We Forget" (1902), the poet reminded Bosnians that despite their confessional differences they were related by blood, saying "We forget the scenes of former days/ When we formed a single tribe." Criticizing those who would drive a wedge between them, he wrote,

> Why should our faiths drive us toward hate
> When our hearts beat passionately in unison?
> When our mothers watch over our children
> Do they not sing the same song?

But instead of suggesting a "blending" of Bosnia's ethnic communities in order to create a more harmonious and homogeneous collective, Šantić encouraged his readers to view their differences as part of the total character of Bosnia, a unique mixture of ethnic diversity and ancestral unity:

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[21] See, for example, "The Rise of the Yugoslav National Idea," in Andrew Baruch Wachtel's study, *Yugoslavism*, 19-66.

> We come from the same source, trunk, and branches,
> So we will not ask who has which faith;
> We will study our Gospel,
> And you may preserve your Koran.[22]

Šantić's conception thus lay in stark contrast to those of his Serb contemporaries who had long-promoted the "Serbianization" of the Bosnians by encouraging them to "acknowledge" their Serb roots.[23]

But while Šantić stressed the ties of blood and descent, others emphasized the need to break down the psychological barriers created by their ethnic differences. They believed that this depended on demystifying the very basic ethnic stereotypes that inhibited Bosnians of different ethnic backgrounds from recognizing their commonalities. One of the strongest of these stereotypes was left by the legacy of Ottoman rule that had sharply distinguished Muslims from Christians. For centuries, anonymous peasant bards and storytellers from Bosnia and across the Balkans produced stories of the tyranny of Ottoman rule, often portraying native Muslim rulers as cruel masters who had traded in their Christian heritage for the social and political privileges associated with Islam.[24] Myths and legends about local heroes struggling under the yoke of their Muslim overlords underpinned many of the epic poems, fairy tales, and local lore that solidified the sense of "otherness" between Christian and Muslim Slavs.[25] During the nineteenth century, Balkan Christian writers who were influenced by the spirit of nationalism and modern research into their local histories had themselves become the ablest promoters of Muslim stereotypes. The resulting images of the Muslims as robbers and killers,

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[22] This was first published in 1902 in *Brankovo kolo*, 8, no. 6: 162-163 and is reprinted in Aleksa Šantić, *Izabrana Djela*, vol 1, 82-83.
[23] See chapter one, from pp. 73 on.
[24] See for example the Serbian epic collections translated into English in Holton and Mihailovich, *Serbian Poetry from the Beginnings to the Present*.
[25] See, for example, Todorova, ed., *Balkan Identities*.

perpetuated by historians, ethnographers, and intellectuals alike, reinforced not only the value of resisting Islamic culture, but of Ottoman occupation as well.[26]

After Ottoman rule ended in Bosnia, and with it some of the hostility that Christians held toward the local Muslim elite, a few of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to reject the negative characterizations of the Muslims. These writers portrayed the Muslims in a more nuanced, even positive light, sometimes making them the protagonists in both prose and verse. Writer and playwright Svetozar Ćorović best represented this new attitude in prose. Of *Zora*'s founders, Ćorović was most responsible for introducing Muslim society and culture to a broader Serb audience in and outside of Bosnia.[27] Like Šantić, Ćorović was greatly influenced by a lifetime of interaction with the Muslims of Mostar, where he was raised in a predominantly Muslim section of town.[28] Ćorović was positively affected by these interactions, inspiring him to humanize the Muslims and to depict them as sympathetic, relatable, and often ordinary individuals whose experiences

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[26] In late nineteenth-century Bosnia, for example, Serb writers focused on recording oral histories that described Muslim-Orthodox clashes. Many of these revolved around the struggle to continue to operate local churches and monasteries that, according to local lore, the Muslims often pillaged, confiscated or destroyed. See, for example, the following articles: Mile Obradović, "Javnik i Čavnik, i još neka mjesta iz Bosanske Krajine," *Bosanska vila*, no. 18, September 30, 1890, 283-284; Marko S. Popović, "Put na Vukušu," *Bosanska vila*, no. 11-2, June 30, 1890, 171-172; Petar S. Ivančević, "Gradina," *Bosanska vila*, no. 19, October 15, 1891, 295-296; Mitar Popović, "Nekoliko Starina u Gračanićkom Kotaru," *Istočnik*, no. 1-2, January-February 1896, 36-39; Savo M. Babić, "Nekoliko riječi o današnjoj srpsko-pravoslavnoj crkvi i starim crkvenim ruševinama u Grahovu (Bosna, kotar Lijevno)," *Istočnik*, no. 7-8, July and August 1890, 294-295; Jevstatije Gaćinović, "Manastri Dobrićevo u Hercegovini," *Istočnik*, no. 13-14, July 1889, 223-225; In some cases, priests and monks were said to have lost their lives protecting these sacred sites. See, for example, Savo M. Babić, "Nekoliko riječi o današnjoj srpsko-pravoslavnoj crkvi i starim crkvenim ruševinama u Grahovu (Bosna, kotar Lijevno)," *Istočnik*, no. 7-8, July and August 1890: 294-295; Jevstatije Gaćinović, "Manastri Dobrićevo u Hercegovini," *Istočnik*, no. 13-14, July 1889: 223-225.

[27] The most thorough studies of Ćorović's published works can be found in the ten volume *Sabrana djela.* (Sarajevo: 'Svjetlost,' 1967) whose contents include scholarly articles on the writer's life and works. For a brief overview of Ćorović's plays that he wrote during the Austro-Hungarian period see Josip Lešić, "Dramsko stvaralaštvo Svetozara Ćorovića," *Pozorište:časopis za pozorišnu umjetnost* 9, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1969): 40-76. Both his and Šantić's literary works are examined in Vladan Nedić's edited collection, *Aleksa Šantić—Svetozar Ćorović: Izabrane stranice.* (Novi Sad. Belgrade: 'Budućnost,' Matica Srpska, Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1962).

[28] Jovan Radulović, "Prvo formiranje Al. Šantića i Sv. Ćorovića," *Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* 17, nos. 11-12 (July-August, 1937), 948; Nedić, 18; Djordjević, 76.

of love, desire, and disappointment made them universally appealing. Among his most popular plays included "On" ("He") (1903), "Adem-beg" (Adem the Beg[29]) (1905), and "Ptice u kafezu" ("Birds in a Cage") (1906)[30] through which Ćorović enlightened his Serb audiences about the very ordinary lives of Muslim men and women, or at least as he imagined them to be.[31]

Ćorović did not, however, desire to break down ethnic stereotypes for their own sake. He also wished to promote what he believed was a growing sense of camaraderie among the Serb and Muslim opposition. Besides the more prominent examples of cooperation, such as the Serb-Muslim Memorandum in 1902, there were also less outstanding acts of solidarity as demonstrated when, for example, leading Muslims occasionally attended Serb festivals and ceremonies that, while holding an exaggerated importance in the literature of the Bosnian Serbs, were, nevertheless, signs of an increasing openness to bridging the ethnic gap.[32]

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[29] A "beg" was a landowner with a large estate.

[30] For a more literary analysis of these three plays see for example Josip Lešić, "Dramsko stvaralaštvo Svetozara Ćorovića," 51-54.

[31] All three of these plays can be found in the third volume of Ćorović's collected works *Sabrana djela* vol. 3 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967); In Ćorović's day, Bosnian Muslim religious leaders held especially conservative attitudes towards Muslim girls and women who normally were not permited to expose their faces and were discouraged from attending public schools and seeking employment. It was partially for this reason that Ćorović's stories about Muslim women were truly "imagined." To be sure, Bosnian Serbs and Croats also held deeply patriarchal worldviews influenced by church doctrine, the millet legacy and *zadruga* (extended family cooperative), but not to the same extent. There are few studies on the social, cultural and educational aspects of Bosnian women at this time. See for example Anita Lekić, ""Gajret" and the Bosnian Muslim Intelligentsia," *Serbian Studies*, 10, no. 2 (1996): 188-197; HAS, Family and Individual Archival Collection, Belović Bernadzikowska, Jelica (1875-1909), Box 1, *Memoari Jelice Belović Bernadzikovske( Ljubice T. Daničića)*; Hawkesworth, 11-12, 89-91, 102; Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom*, 393-395; Džaja, 65-79.

[32] See, for example, Anonymous, *Bosanska vila*, no. 3., February 1, 1887, 47, about prominent Muslims attending the Serbian St. Sava festival in Sarajevo that year; Anonymous, "Svećanost 'Sloge'," *Bošnjak*, no. 28, July 13, 1893, 3, about the public performance of the Bosnian Serb choral group "Sloga" ("Unity") in which members of all faith groups, including prominent Muslims and Serbs, were in attendance; Juzbašić, "Pokušaji stvaranja političkog saveza između vođstva srpskog i muslimanskog autonomnog pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini," 189-190 about Sarajevan Muslims, including certain prominent ones, attending an official ceremony at the Old Orthodox Church in 1897.

These events encouraged Ćorović to "awaken" the Serbs to their commonalities with the Muslims, whilst raising anti-Austrian sentiments. In the story "Bećir-Agin Put," (Bećir the Aga's[33] Journey") (1905), for example, Ćorović's title character, a Muslim landowner, is said to "hate the Germans,"[34] and "all that belongs to them, including the train." At the time, the colossal scale of investment in railway construction in Bosnia, in which 190 kilometres of track was laid in just the first two years of Austro-Hungarian rule, made some Bosnians suspicious of Vienna's intentions which they (correctly) believed were to make its political and military control over the province permanent.[35] The train in Ćorović's story, here a symbol of the ever-expanding hegemony of the state, later catches on fire and (significantly) burns down one of the landowner's ancestral estates.[36] In another story called "Omer-Aga" ("Omer the Aga") (1901), Ćorović captures what he believed were the broader feelings of Muslim frustration and disillusion brought on by Austro-Hungarian rule. In it, readers are told that the central Muslim character, the aged landowner Omer, has made the difficult decision to "leave the homeland of his birth." His destination?: Turkey, which he believes is "a land flowing with milk and honey." It was not only for this reason, however, that he decides to go. "It frustrated him to see," Ćorović wrote, "how the infidels were expanding their dominance right under his nose."[37]

The troubles experienced by Omer, while tragic, were not nearly as pitiable as those depicted in one of Ćorović's most popular stories called "Ibrahim-begov ćošak"

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[33] "Aga" refers to the landowner of a small estate.
[34] The actual term used is "Švabe" ("the Swabians") which, while literally describing the inhabitants of the German region of Swabia, was commonly used as a pejorative term for all Germans.
[35] Malcolm, 141.
[36] "Bećir-Agin Put," ("Bećir the Aga's Journey") was first published in *Srpski književni glasnik* in 1905 and is reprinted in the author's collected works, *Sabrana djela* vol. 3, 128-137.
[37] "Omer-Aga" ("Omer the Aga") was first published in *Ljetopis matice srpske* in 1901 and is reprinted in the author's collected works, *Sabrana djela* vol. 3, 37-43.

("Ibrahim the Beg's Corner"), first published in the Vojvodina's *Letopis matice srpske* (*The Mainstream Serbian Chronicle*) in 1903. In it, Ćorović describes the struggles of a once-wealthy Bosnian Muslim beg, who having lost his fortune is forced to carve out a living as a street sweeper. One day an official informs Ibrahim that in the interests of civic improvement the authorities will have to demolish his one remaining possession—his house. Though powerless, Ibrahim protests, saying "The cottage is mine, sir, and the corner is mine and that is all that remains of my estate and I would rather you chop off my head, than do that....It isn't in anyone's way....Neither am I in anyone's way."[38]

In striving to depict Muslim alienation from the Austro-Hungarian state, however, Ćorović tended to exaggerate real Muslim attitudes. Despite an overall dissatisfaction with foreign rule, not all Muslims actively opposed the state. Among the government's leading supporters were, in fact, some of the members of the traditional Muslim elite who had retained their landowning privileges following Austria-Hungary's entry into Bosnia.[39] The state, in turn, rewarded their loyalty by appointing them as mayors in most Bosnian towns and cities, including Sarajevo where all five of its mayors during Austro-Hungarian rule were Muslim. State officials attempted to harness this loyalty in other ways as well, by encouraging loyal Muslims to establish pro-government periodicals, which were heavily subsidized by the state.[40] Although officials attempted to do the same among the very few Serb leaders who were also loyal to the state, these efforts had considerably less

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[38] Ćorović, *Sabrana djela* vol. 3, 48-49.
[39] Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle*, 189.
[40] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 73-74.

success among them.[41] Ćorović's desire to encourage opposition to the state, combined with his personal hostility towards it, partially explains his literary biases.[42]

Ćorović's sentiments, however, were also a reflection of what some Bosnians Serb writers began anxiously to refer to as the looming threat of Bosnia's "Germanization." The fear that Bosnians would lose their "authentic" language and culture to that of their Germanic occupiers was felt by many of the intellectuals early on in Austria-Hungary's rule. But besides the prevalence of the Latin alphabet noted in chapter one, the intellectuals were also worried about the expanding influence of the German language which became the official language of internal communication as early as 1881.[43] The problem of establishing an unencumbered communication network between Vienna and its German-speaking government and military personnel in Bosnia made this action both logical and necessary. In Sarajevo alone, the population had risen from 21,000 in 1879 to 52,000 in 1910 with much of the increase coming from German-speaking, and mainly Catholic, civil servants, including Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, and Croats.[44] Besides the strong presence of civilian and military personnel in Sarajevo and in urban Bosnia in general, there were also thousands of German colonists, including farmers, foresters, and large-scale industrialists, whom Vienna had encouraged to settle the region

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Svetozar Ćorović frequently encountered trouble with the censors over material that was perceived as politically sensitive. (The author writes about his problems with the government's censors in the 1890's in his correspondence. See, for example, Rizvić and Ćorić, *Svetozar Ćorović Dokumentarna građa*, 13, 34, 55). He also strongly opposed the occupation of Bosnia under Austro-Hungarian rule. Writing to a friend in Serbia in 1902, he explained that "our rulers consider us Austrian citizens, but we [Serbs] hold that to be incorrect as long as we live under [their] occupation." (Letter to Milan Savić, dated "16/10 1902" in the published collection of letters in Rizvić and Ćorić, *Svetozar Ćorović Dokumentarna građa*, 118). When Bosnians were finally permitted a parliament, the playwright became an active member of what politicians referred to as the Serb "opposition" (i.e. to the state).

[43] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 16.

[44] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 64; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 60-61; Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 21.

through monetary and other incentives during the 1880's and 1890's.[45] Settlement was just one more way that Vienna attempted to secure its hold on Bosnia.[46]

The psychological distress occasioned by this steady increase of foreigners had a profound impact on the way the intellectuals nurtured self-perceptions in Bosnia at this time. The rapidly expanding presence of foreign officials, dignitaries, soldiers, and settlers was a physical, cultural, and political reminder of their occupation. While most intellectuals responded by drawing closer to the Serbs, a few saw in Austria-Hungary's rule a negative, but crucial common element they also shared with the other ethnic groups. These intellectuals believed that they could use their shared circumstances under foreign rule as a way of not only strengthening their "natural" kinship to one another, but of nurturing their solidarity against Austro-Hungarian influences. Like the national discourses that have sometimes depended on the use of stereotyping, of contrasting between "us" and "them," therefore, the intellectuals began to make sharp distinctions between those who did and did not "belong" within the Bosnian community.[47]

Some did so by emphasizing their linguistic differences. The prolonged sense of injustice brought on by a system that favoured a foreign language in Bosnia had, in part, sensitized them to the need of producing or at least fortifying a certain level of internal cohesion against the Germanic threat. In one series of articles called "Germanization in Bosnia and Herzegovina," the writer, known only as "Č," feared that the linguistic hegemony of German in official communications would eventually influence the Bosnian-born populations by drawing them into the linguistic and cultural milieu of the

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[45] See, for example, Malcolm, 142-143.
[46] The first of the agricultural colonies, including "Windhorts," "Rudolfstal," and "Franzjosefsfeld," for example, were established during the first two decades of Austro-Hungarian rule (Malcolm, 143).
[47] See, for example, Bayly, "Nation, Empire, and Ethnicity, c. 1860-1900," in *The Birth of the Modern World,* 199-243 and Eriksen, "Place, Kinship and the Case for Non-Ethnic Nations," 55, 57-58.

Empire. Bosnia's public schools, in particular, which were the centers of state education across the province, were, he believed, the most vulnerable. This was because "in every state middle school, be it a gymnasium or *realka*, a vocational or business school," the author explained, "the official internal language of administration is none other than German."[48] Believing that a "language preserves the life of a people," namely its "past, present, and future," he asserted, with German as the main language of internal communication, it would not be long before the urban and educated Bosnians followed suit. This, in turn, would ultimately affect the broader Bosnian masses, who would be unable to resist their complete assimilation into the Empire. For this reason, he argued, "that foreign [German] language is a clear antipode to our language."[49] This linguistic "invasion" of Bosnia, he concluded, was yet another "attempt to implement a policy of *Drang* [*nach osten*] against which one must resist with the utmost strength."[50]

As could be expected, some of the intellectuals began also to emphasize the importance of showing their support for any local efforts that challenged what they saw as the state's efforts to "Germanize" them. It was not until 1905, however, after winning their own cultural autonomy that they began more seriously to promote their solidarity in this way. During the first year of the publication of the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) (1905-1914), for example, which had been founded by the autonomy movement's leaders, the editors declared that the "Serbs gathered around *The Serbian Word* wish to see [...] their Muslim brothers succeed in receiving their own cultural autonomy." They believed this was crucial so that, according to them, the

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[48] Č, "Germanizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini. III," *Srpska riječ*, no. 30, February 23, 1905, 1.
[49] Č, "Germanizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini. I," *Srpska riječ*, no. 26, February 16, 1905, 1.
[50] Č, "Germanizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini. III," *Srpska riječ*, no. 30, February 23, 1905, 1.

Muslims might "overcome every assault."[51] The same offer of support was also extended to the other ethnic groups. In the mission statement of *Srpska riječ*, the editors asserted that "'*The Serbian Word*' does not recognize nor will it recognize one faith [community] above another," and for this reason they would "fight for the autonomy of other faith [communities] from our homeland," so long as they "do not import foreign customs and do not expand principles that would ruin our collective work for the common good of the people."[52]

Desires to create a bi-polar opposition between the native inhabitants and the foreigners, and, through it, between society and the state, however, meant that writers sometimes contradicted themselves. Although the editors of *Srpska riječ* supported each ethnic group equally in theory, in practice they were "especially" concerned with strengthening "the ties between members of the Orthodox and Muslim faiths."[53] This was partially because some still viewed the Muslims as Islamicized Serbs, partially because the Muslims provided an effective counterweight to German and foreign group interests, and partially because next to the Serbs, the Muslims represented a significant force of opposition against the cultural and political hegemony of the state. To be sure, among some of the leading supporters of the government were the traditional landowning Muslim elite. But the drafting of the Serb-Muslim Memorandum (1902) and the on-going Muslim cultural autonomy movement gave the Serb intellectuals a reason to suppose that as long as a substantial number of Muslim leaders remained unreconciled to the state, and as long as most Bosnian Croats welcomed it, it was conceivable to form a united Serb-

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[51] Anonymous, "Muslimanski pokret," *Srpska riječ*, no. 27, February 18, 1905, 1; For some of their early coverage of the Bosnian Muslim cultural autonomy movement see, for example, Anonymous, "Sarajevo, 31. Januara," *Srpska riječ*, no. 17, February 1, 1905, 1; Anonymous, "Sarajevo, 4. febr." *Srpska riječ*, no. 20, February 6, 1905, 1; Anonymous, "Sarajevo, 11. februara," *Srpska riječ*, no. 24, February 13, 1905, 1.
[52] Ibid., 2.
[53] Ibid.

Muslim front against the expansion of foreign, cultural influences. Although some scholars have suggested that Serb attempts to court the Muslims were mainly the manifestation of a single political strategy intended to persuade the Muslims to declare themselves "Serbs," this only partially explains Serb attitudes at this time.[54] As writers like Šantić and Ćorović, and the contributing writers of *Srpska riječ* were now beginning to suggest, it was just as effective to nurture their solidarity in other ways as it was to encourage the "Serbianization" of the Bosnians.

But the Bosnian Serb intellectuals contradicted themselves in other ways, too. While focusing on developing a stronger relationship with the Muslims, they often neglected and sometimes downplayed their ties with the Croats. As noted earlier, this was partially because most Bosnian Croats supported the state and welcomed the opportunity for an eventual union with Croatia. As a result, some writers overstated the "natural" kinship of the Serbs and Muslims at the expense of the Croats. Writing about the rural Bosnian practice of *pobratimstvo*, ("blood-brotherhood"), for example, the folklorist, amateur historian, and Bosnian Orthodox monk, Petar Ivančević, wrote that the custom, which often solidified friendships and ended fueds, was common within Serb communities and between Serbs and Muslims, but hardly ever with the Croats. That Ivančević highlighted a practice common to the peasants who were thought to be the bearers of "authentic" traditions and values in Bosnia was especially significant. According to him,

> Muslims frequently become blood brothers with the Serb-Orthodox [...] after kissing and embracing one another, they later send one another gifts, visit one another, their families look out for one another, and the Muslim women do not hide [their faces] from their [Serb] blood brothers.

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[54] On this strategy see, for example, Malcolm, 152; Banac, *The National Question*, 366.

In contrast to the perceived bonds that Serbs and Muslims shared, the author added, "it is an extremely rare occurrence [...] to see a Catholic become a blood brother with the Orthodox Serb or Muslim."[55] Although Ivančević failed to explain this gap in rural relations, the general antipathy that the Bosnian Serbs felt towards the pro-Austrian Bosnian Croats, coupled with the author's own acceptance of the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins, strongly influenced his views.[56] The attempts of Ivančević, and certain other writers, to draw closer to the Muslims were, therefore, problematic not only because of the implicit rejection of the Croats, but because of the on-going acceptance of the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins.

Nevertheless, it was generally true that among some of the intellectuals the persistance of the Greater Serb theory and its traditional dominance in the literature was beginning to diminish at this time. As writers like Šantić and Ćorović were starting to suggest, "nationalizing" the Bosnians along Serbian lines was at this point far too quixotic, not to mention impractical. In contrast to those intellectuals who wished to create a uniform cultural and national (Serb) identity, these writers were more inclined to nurture a shared "Bosnian" consciousness than to strip the non-Serbs of their ethnic national identities. Inspired by the concept of kinship fostered by a shared ancestry and solidarity against the state, therefore, these intellectuals began promoting a collectivist spirit in Bosnia. Whereas in the late Ottoman era, the millet system had enabled Bosnia's leaders an opportunity to control social and cultural matters, under Austria-Hungary,

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[55] Petar St. Ivančević, "Srpsko pobratimstvo u narodnim ustima," *Istočnik*, no. 11, 1898, 415-417.
[56] See chapter one, pp. 74.

feelings of discontent and resentment against an overly officious state only widened the gap between society and the state.

**Territory**

Besides kinship, some writers believed that a multi-ethnic model of belonging could also be built on their common links to the territory of Bosnia. Unlike the kinship that had flowed from their common ancestry and which Bosnians also shared with the other South Slavs, their territorial identity was geographically fixed and uniquely Bosnian. The origin of this framework was as old as the term "Bosnia" itself, named after the *Bosna* ("Bosnia") River, which was first recorded in the tenth century.[57] From that time until the era of modern nationalism, foreigners, rulers, and the inhabitants alike used the term "Bosnia" to identify the region and "Bosnians" to describe its local population.[58] The particular importance of geography to one's identity had already been evident in the writings of the Bosnian Serbs in the 1880's and early 1890s, many of them local priests, monks, and teachers all eager to publish their findings, as one writer put it, "as a contribution to the history of Bosnia."[59] Until more recently, however, intellectuals focused on the larger body of stories and myths about the Serbs of Bosnia that one writer believed would help locals "become familiar with our homeland" which he characterized as "a Serb territory."[60]

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[57] Ante Čuvalo, *Historical Dictionary of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 73; Rizvić, *Pregled književnost*, 15.
[58] Bosnians, like their European counterparts elsewhere, used various regional labels in addition to religious and other markers of identity. The geographic boundaries of "Bosnia" also fluctuated before Ottoman rule. See, for example, Donia and Fine, 25.
[59] Simo Stojanović, "Postanak Prijedora," *Bosanska vila*, no. 15, August 15, 1891, 231.
[60] G.H. Avakumović, "Zagorje i okolina," *Bosanska vila*, no. 4, February 4, 1891, 56.

But within the span of a few short years, a few key members of the cultural elite shifted the focus from an exclusively Serbophile perspective on Bosnian territory to a more inclusive, multi-ethnic view. They did so by attempting to connect Bosnians closer to one another through their common territorial ties. Like the perceived bonds that linked them to a common ancestry, they believed that a territorially-based identity could also be viewed as something determined by birth. In this view, only those with genealogical roots in Bosnia could claim to be "Bosnian." Although many of their Balkan and wider European contemporaries had more commonly imbued geography with a specifically (ethnic) national character, Bosnian Serb writers promoting a territorially-based "Bosnian" identity infused it with a distinctly multi-ethnic and "non-national" spirit. And in contrast with many Serb writers who typically referred to the region as "srpska Bosna" ("Serbian Bosnia"), these intellectuals began to construct an image of Bosnia that was ethnically "neutral" and one that could incorporate the ethnic groups equally. They did so mainly by using a highly emotive and personalized language of attachment to the land that often had them personifying it, defending it, and claiming it in ways that not only bound the Bosnians closer together, but—and perhaps more crucially—distinguished them from their foreign occupiers. In this way, they hoped to draw the Bosnians together through their shared affection and connection to the land.

First, as noted above, certain intellectuals attempted to draw the Bosnians closer together by personifying the land. Using both feminine and masculine imagery, they employed terms like "majka domovina" ("motherland") and "otadžbina" ("fatherland") that contrasted with explicitly nationalistic, Greater Serb images. In comparing their attachments to the land in deeply emotive, familial terms, these writers suggested that

there was an innate sense of community among Bosnia's ethnic groups.[61] In its feminized sense, Bosnia was most often depicted as a beloved Mother to its inhabitants. Bosnians were, in turn, characterized as the "offspring" of "mother Bosnia," whose historic, genealogical, and ancestral ties were uniquely rooted in the region. As the poet Aleksa Šantić wrote to migrating Muslims in his poem "Stay Here!"

> Who can find one better than one's own mother?
> And to you this country is your own mother,
> Throw a glance at each field and barren rock,
> Everywhere are the graves of your forefathers.[62]

In much the same way that he treated Bosnian kinship, therefore, Šantić regarded the land of Bosnia as the common ground upon which Bosnians could bridge the ethnic gap. Believing that it constituted the historic and spatial point at which their separate ethnicities intersected, Šantić suggested that the land of Bosnia had imparted to its inhabitants a unique identity that set them apart from all other South Slavs. "Everything you are," he wrote, "binds you to these rocks."[63] Still others believed that this "rootedness" in Bosnia had produced a collective "personality" and will, thus rejecting the view that Bosnia belonged to any one ethnic group. Instead, all were shaped by their shared attachments to the land. As one anonymous poet put it, "Dearest mother! [...]/ All that you contemplate, I think about, too,--/ In unison our desires move us."[64]

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[61] To be sure, nationalists promoting the unification of "Serb" lands—including Bosnia—also used feminine and masculine images, but they did so within a distinctly Greater Serb nationalist framework. Bosnian Serb writers promoting the "softer," non-national approach personified the land with a view to creating images that could encourage a multi-ethnic understanding of belonging.
[62] Aleksa Šantić, "Ostajte ovđe...," *Zora*, no. 1, April 30, 1896, 1.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Borko, "Otadžbina," *Zora*, no. 3, March 31, 1898, 1.

While a few depicted Bosnia in maternal terms, most deployed masculine images. These were typically infused with militaristic symbols that underscored the need for Bosnians to defend their homeland against foreign subjugation. Since Ottoman times, heroic imagery had played an important part not only in Orthodox folklore in Bosnia, but in the literature of the other Balkan Christians living under the "Turkish yoke." The Balkan nations were especially eager to prove their worth through their own tales of heroism in defense of the nation against the more powerful, imperialist nations of Europe. Like the Trojan myth of origins in France and Arthurian legends in England, the Balkan tradition of epic story-telling often celebrated both fictional and historic figures who, despite their circumstances, were shown to have a certain crafty wisdom that at times enabled them to outwit their Ottoman masters. These characters were at once violent and honourable, caught between servitude and sedition, as they attempted to protect the land and the inhabitants therein. Later, during the age of nationalism, when Serbia received its autonomy in 1830 and later independence in 1878, many Serb poets, writers, and artists stressed the necessity of liberating the remaining "Serbian" lands in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. As one Turkish character mused in a ballad about the first Serbian uprising in 1804, "the time has come for our empires to change."[65]

The national myths and values found in the traditional oral epics continued to find resonance among the Bosnian Serbs after 1878. Following the tastes of their times, writers developed a literary spirit of resistance characterized by a call to protect the territory of Bosnia through force of arms. For those wishing to encourage the same values of collective resistance without its more nationalistic (Greater Serb) overtones, however, the themes of self-sacrifice and the duty to defend Bosnia became the universal ideals to

[65] Holton and Mihailovich, eds., *Songs of the Serbian People*, 302.

which all the ethnic groups could aspire. Greatly contributing to this militaristic spirit were the negative memories of the Austro-Hungarian invasion in 1878. The assault, which was accompanied by a short-lived military occupation in 1878-79, came at the expense of hundreds of Bosnians who were killed, executed, or imprisoned, and who had fled the region. Many Bosnians viewed Austria-Hungary's retribution, where even women and children were imprisoned, as especially cruel.[66] For the generation of 1878, therefore, the invasion represented a major watershed that came to symbolize the native/alien divide.

It was not until Governor Burian had replaced the more conservative Governor Kallay, who had died in 1903, however, that local writers became more openly critical of the violent manner in which Austria-Hungary entered Bosnia. The Bosnian Serb amateur historian and eyewitness to the events, Aleksa Popović-Sarajlija (1854-1916), published his account in 1905 called *Sarajevska revolucija 1878* (*The Sarajevo Revolution, 1878*). In it, he criticized the invading Austro-Hungarian army for being callous toward the suffering of Sarajevans, including women and children, who were, according to the author, victimized by troops pacifying the region.[67] Another account, published in 1903 by the former Metropolitian of the Bosnian Orthodox Church, Savo Kosanović, under the pseudonym "Pop Nedeljko" ("Priest Nedeljko"), similarly characterized the confrontation between Austria-Hungary and Sarajevo's civilian populace as a kind of slaughter of the innocents, where children were executed and where there was at least one gang rape.[68] And yet, despite these events, both authors stressed the point that many of the local men pulled together to defend Sarajevo. At the time of the invasion, Muslims and Serbs had

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[66] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 56.
[67] Aleksa Popović-Sarajlija, *Sarajevska revolucija 1878.* (Sarajevo, 1905), 33, 36.
[68] Pop Nedeljko [Savo Kosanović], *Iz memoara Protopop Nedeljka* (Sarajevo, 1903) 5-6, 24-25.

organized thousands of volunteers to fight off the Austro-Hungarian army. Although military units operated separately along confessional lines, those from Sarajevo had gathered together for a large, public sendoff before facing the invading army.[69] According to Popović-Sarajlija the Sarajevo contingents, comprised of leading Muslims and "a few hundred Serbs and Catholics [Croats]," met the "Germans" in order to "drive them out of our dearest homeland."[70] Although few Croats joined the resistance, the author's wish to depict Bosnians' solidarity in the past was, in part, a testament to his desires to encourage their unity in the present.

Defending Bosnia, however, meant far more than keeping foreign rulers at bay. One crucial factor that could be understood by everyone was that in protecting Bosnia they were preserving their collective and ancestral birthright. Indeed, when writers sentimentalized their "natural" attachment to the motherland/fatherland and exhorted individuals to defend it, they were also asserting their "natural rights" to the territory itself. As was sometimes the case among other national groups in Europe, spokesmen claimed "ownership" over certain territories, arguing this on the basis of their nation's long history in the region that often extended back several generations, even centuries. They believed that this demonstrated the "organic" nature of their geographic attachments to the historic lands of the nation. Thus, for example, when one writer criticized Bosnians for their "complacency" about the "infiltration" of Austro-Hungarian citizens who were buying up Bosnian lands and properties, he also implied this was somehow 'unnatural' to the normal order of things.[71]

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[69] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 49; Malcolm, 135.
[70] Pop Nedeljko [Savo Kosanović], 20.
[71] Č "Germanizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini. II," *Srpska riječ*, no. 27, February 18, 1905, 1.

This was felt especially among those living in Bosnia's urban centers where the steady influx of foreigners was becoming increasingly troubling to those who believed that the growing imperial presence would gradually limit Bosnians' access to what was perceived as their rightful inheritance.[72] In Sarajevo, the Serbs were particularly affected by these changes. During the early 1900's, as the number of government workers increased in the capital, so did the number of Serbs wishing to participate in the expanding economic sectors there. Although the Serb population increased rapidly in Sarajevo from 3,800 in 1879 to 8,400 in 1910, this only accounted for about 16% of Sarajevo's inhabitants in 1910.[73] Competing with the Serbs both for prime real estate as well as a leading place in the economy was a steady stream of new businessmen, including many Jews migrating from the Empire.[74] As one Serb writer asserted at the time, of the more "objectionable phenomenon" he had witnessed in Sarajevo was that of the Serbs "selling homes and properties to foreigners and Jews." This, he believed, would eventually contribute to the "extermination" and "de-nationalization" of "the Serbs in Bosnia."[75] Particularly disquieting was that this was happening in what he called "the very heart of Bosnia" and "center of our collective educational and economic work" where he believed one would have expected greater leadership and pride of place.[76]

The possibility of being over-run by non-Bosnians fed into certain other fears. Some believed that this on-going "invasion" of space of mainly Catholic settlers meant that they were one step closer to their "Croaticization," namely of seeing Bosnia joined to Croatia in a political union. Although only 18% of Bosnians actually identified

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[72] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 64.
[73] Ibid., 63-64.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Č, "Srbine, ne ispuštaj zemlje iz šaka!" *Srpska riječ*, no. 23, February 11, 1905, 1.
[76] Ibid.

themselves as Croats, nationalists from Croatia continued to put forth claims on the region, arguing that Croatia had close ancestral, cultural, and historic ties with the Bosnians whom they believed were "really" Croats of different faiths.[77] Bosnian Serb intellectuals responded to the Croat challenge as could be expected. Some appealed to what they believed were Bosnians' natural rights to protect their ancestral birthright. In 1901, in an open letter addressed to journalists from Croatia who had recently declared their support for a territorial union with Bosnia, 16 Bosnian Serb university students asserted that "4/5 of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely the Serb-Orthodox and Muslims" who comprised the "absolute majority" were "opposed to any annexation of their homeland."[78] Others disputed Croatian claims based on the perception that the Croatians were foreigners and, therefore, the "illegitimate" heirs to Bosnia. Drawing on their collective and historic memories as the inhabitants of a distinct region, they argued that because of Bosnia's long history as a separate political and territorial entity, Croatia had no historic, political or ethnic basis on which to claim Bosnia as its own. Reacting to a pro-Trialist resolution issued by Croatian members of the parliament in Croatia in 1905, one Bosnian Serb writer asked "Who gave these members of parliament from Croatia and Slavonia the authority to decide on the fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina?" Croatia, he argued, was a foreign land ruled by Hungary, while Bosnia and Herzegovina had "for 400 years been the composite parts of the Turkish Empire." For this reason, he argued, the Bosnians had no historic or 'natural' connection to their Croatian neighbours.[79] Although most Bosnian Serbs would not have desired to return to the Ottoman fold, their historic

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[77] McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia, 1800-1878," 81; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 66-69.
[78] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 35.
[79] Anonymous, "Recimo i mi svoju!" *Srpska riječ*, no. 147, October 25, 1905, 1.

links to Istanbul were occasionally employed as a means of fending off their complete absorption into the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[80]

Bosnian Serb intellectuals did not, however, consistently apply the above standards when it came to a possible union with Serbia. This was because although most wished to preserve Bosnia's geographic and political boundaries within the Monarchy, they did not object to a Serbian annexation of Bosnia should the opportunity arise. Many still nursed the idea of living in a state where Serbs constituted the absolute majority, while others privately held to a Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins. This meant that in defending their ancestral birthright, they were also protecting what they perceived to be a 'Serb' territory.[81] But few could have openly expressed their wish to unify with Serbia after 1878 when the fear of committing treason loomed large.[82] The Greater Serb nationalist's chief means of propagandizing the hope of a union with Serbia, therefore, was to do so illegally. Among the few Bosnian Serbs to have done so was a group of young students who had yet to complete their high school education.[83] In 1895, they formed a secret literary circle called "Srpska svijest" ("The Serb Conscience") and in May or June of 1896 produced their first and only issue of the periodical *Srpska svijest.*[84] Using poetry, short stories, and editorials, these young writers argued that the Bosnian

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[80] The same argument was used in the Serb-Muslim Memorandum (1902). The preamble can be found in Juzbašić's article, "Pokušaj stvaranja političkog saveza," 243-245.
[81] Džaja, 194-199.
[82] As noted in chapter one, all legal periodicals had official permission to be published and made special concessions, especially against making political statements. Wishing to control public opinion, the authorities also used "preventive censoring" by which every issue of each periodical legally published in Bosnia had to be submitted to official censors for approval before publication. See Milojković-Đurić, 38.
[83] Anonymous, "Prvi bratski sastanak sarajevskog srpskog pjevačkog društva 'Sloge', i mostarskog srpskog pjevačkog društva 'Gusle,' *Zora*, no. 1, April 30, 1896, 77.
[84] Vl[adimir] Lebedev, "Jedna Četrdesetogodisnjica 'Srpska Svijest'," *Politika*, Belgrade, no. 10163, September 8, 1936; See also Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,* 417; They made 70 hand-written copies of the issue and personally distributed by them to Bosnian Serb students in cities and towns across Bosnia, including Sarajevo, Mostar, Gacko and Prijedor. Members also delivered copies to students at Reljevo, the Orthodox seminary in the outskirts of the capital city. See Lebedev, "Jedna Četrdesetogodisnjica 'Srpska Svijest'."

Serbs were at a crossroads. They could either accept their gradual marginalization and eventual extinction or rid themselves of what these writers believed was the source of the problem—Austria-Hungary. For the members of The Serb Concience, the goal was clear. After describing the "miserable status of the Serb people of Bosnia and Herzegovina," one writer concluded that, "the time has come to remove Austria from our doorstep, and to let her know that she has knocked on the door of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the last time."[85] As is sometimes the case among young revolutionary patriots, they expressed this desire in violent terms. Although they were too young to have taken part in the Sarajevo Revolution of 1878 where one might have expected their participation to have acted as a galvanizing force, they did, nevertheless, look forward to the day when a new rebellion would end with the territorial unification of Bosnia and Serbia. Inspired by their Slovenian teacher Emilijan Lilek (1851-?) who had lectured on the French Revolution and Serbia's first insurrection against Ottoman rule (1804), they believed that the emancipation of Bosnia would also be preceded by war. Speaking on behalf of his generation, one young poet proclaimed that the time had come to liberate "every Serb corner," because "we love Serbhood" and "count it as nothing to die" for it.[86]

Given the persistence of Greater Serb nationalism, especially among the youngest generation of intellectuals, the desire of certain Bosnian Serb writers to unify the Bosnians on an equal footing appears naive and somewhat idealistic. Most Serbs, as well as the Croats and Muslims, while deeply patriotic Bosnians, also continued to be profoundly influenced by their attachments to their ethno-national counterparts outside of

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[85] AMB, From the Collection, "Publikacije 'Mlada Bosna'," Folder 13: Anonymous, "Deputacija srpskih opštiča u Beču," *Srpska Svijest* (1896), 21-22.
[86] AMB, From the Collection, "Publikacije 'Mlada Bosna'," Folder 13: Petar Sotrić [pseudonym 'Stanoje Glavas'], "Na rad braćo!" *Srpska Svijest*, (1896), 9.

Bosnia. And yet some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to see in their geographic identity a potential source of internal, multi-ethnic cohesion as well. This was partially because these writers, including Šantić, Kosanović, and Popović-Sarajlija, came to believe that the practical realities of their collective circumstances under foreign rule would never change unless they also looked for ways to draw closer to the non-Serbs. They recognized that Bosnians were far too fragmented and divided even to be granted political autonomy within the Empire. They, therefore, needed to nurture a sense of solidarity among all the ethnic groups. Even the Greater Serb political project that was espoused by the members of The Serb Conscience would, over time, be tempered among some of them by the the pragmatic realities of Bosnia's circumstances under foreign rule. Indeed, among its members were Bosnia's future intellectual and political leaders who would soon after returning from their post-secondary studies in Central and Western Europe, begin to re-evaluate their position and become the leading advocates of ethnic reconciliation in Bosnia.[87]

**Conclusion**

Although the frequency of ethnic interaction in Bosnia's urban areas and the knowledge of their common ancestry had begun to give some of the urban, educated Bosnian elite a certain amount of fellow-feeling as "Bosnians," it was not until the prolonged exposure to Austro-Hungarian rule that a few began to see a need for Bosnians to draw closer together. Fearing their either their "Germanization" or "Croaticization," these intellectuals began to draw on what they believed was a wider sense of alienation in order to bridge the ethnic gap. Whatever their internal differences, they believed that they

[87] This will be discussed in the following chapter.

could create a certain level of camaraderie and solidarity against the state by nurturing a common, multi-ethnic sense of belonging in Bosnia.

While the main unifying element continued to be the ethnic group, the appeal of a multi-ethnic model was thus beginning to find resonance among a few of the urban, educated elite at this time. Where religion and nationalism had originally divided Bosnians along ethnic lines, new ideas concerning the Bosnian identity (kinship and territoriality) had inspired certain Bosnian Serb writers to see that in drawing closer to the other groups they might have a better chance of protecting their ethnic interests in Bosnia. In so doing, the intellectuals were supporting a highly unorthodox position unfamiliar to most Bosnians and were generally cautious of pushing an overly idealistic and potentially controversial sense of cultural and national (especially a Greater Serb) uniformity. Establishing the common ground on which their commonalities were founded was, therefore, a crucial first step towards nation-building in Bosnia. The following chapter examines the first major efforts at nation-building among the next generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals.

# Chapter 3
# Nation-building, Part I:
# Social and Cultural Integration (1905-1910)

## Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century, nation-building across Europe was mainly influenced by the social and political ideals first articulated in the West.[1] Underlining this process was the concept of melding the elite and the masses into a common civic (political) community.[2] When scholars examine nation-building in the Balkans, however, they rarely consider Bosnia. After all, nation-building was easier when there was a dominant (ethnic) national group, and an educated, politicized elite to lead the way toward the establishment of a nation-state. Bosnia had none of these characteristics.[3] At the end of the nineteenth century, Bosnia's ethnically-mixed population, low level of literacy, absence of political parties, and its status as an occupied territory made it a less than ideal model for nation-building.

But beginning in the early twentieth century, a growing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals came to the conclusion that in the interests of their ethnic community, they would need to think and act collectively with the other ethnic groups. It was at this time

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[1] Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 329-330.

[2] The term "nation-building" (or "state-building") was popularized in the 1950's and 1960's mainly among political scientists. It was used to describe the process of national integration in pre-modern and modern states. Nation-building, according to the traditional argument, went through three main phases. The first was the process of economic and cultural integration among the elite. The second was the process of integration between the elite and masses through things such as compulsory school enrolment and army conscription. The third was the process of political integration by which the masses became involved in the state political system. See for example, Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975). Beginning in the mid-1970s, however, theories on nation-building began to probe the special problem posed by the existence of large (ethnic) national communities in the state. Unlike the multi-national state or empire, the nation-state, where there is a dominant national community, nation-building is, in theory, made easier. Walker Connor was largely responsible for shifting the focus to this particular problem. See, for example, his study *Ethnonationalism*. The "nation-building" paradigm, while useful when considering Bosnia in this period, will be used only as a general guide in this chapter.

[3] See for example Miroslav Hroch, "National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective."

that the idea of "collective progress" began to play a more prominent role among the intellectuals and took on two distinct, yet related forms. First, it addressed the need to close the social and cultural gap in Bosnia within the Serb community and between the ethnic groups. Unlike previous writers like Šantić and Ćorović, who highlighted Bosnians' existing *commonalities* (kinship and territoriality), these younger writers desired to acknowledge their *differences* with a view to diminishing their power to divide. Second, the intellectuals also promoted the idea of combining Bosnians' political interests in order to strengthen their internal solidarity with a view to gaining Bosnia's political autonomy within the Empire. They were inspired mainly by the West European civic (political) ideal that conceived a territorial association of citizens as the basis of belonging and not just the (ethnic) nation. Persuaded of Bosnia's uniqueness as a self-contained, territorial community of its own, these intellectuals began to encourage the social, cultural, and political integration of the Bosnians with a view to creating a more cohesive society that would be politically viable in the long run.[4]

This chapter focuses on the social and cultural aspects of nation-building, while the next chapter will discuss its political dimensions. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first examines the broader and mainly West European influences that shaped the ideas of the next generation of intellectuals. The second and third analyze some of the writings of those intellectuals who aspired to bridge the social and cultural gaps within the Serb community on the one hand, and among the ethnic groups on the other.

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[4] This did not mean that all of them had given up on the idea of joining Bosnia with Serbia. As subsequent chapters show, some intellectuals variously (and sometimes simultaneously) supported the Greater Serb idea, Bosnian political autonomy, and later the Yugoslav idea, with the hope of eventually gaining political power in Bosnia.

Together, these efforts comprised the Bosnian Serbs' first major steps towards nation-building in Bosnia.

**The Roots of Westernization**

Scholars who have used the term "Westernization" often describe a process by which Western Europe led many of the social, political, technological, and ideological advancements in the modern era that influenced patterns of development in Eastern Europe. To "Westernize" was to "modernize" one's tastes, values, and aspirations to match those of the most progressive countries of Western Europe. This dichotomous image of Europe was first formed as early as the age of the Enlightenment when certain Western thinkers began to say that Europe had been historically divided between a liberal, progressive West, as represented by England and France, and an autocratic, conservative East, as represented by Prussia, Austria, and Russia.[5] Over time, this perception solidified among a wide spectrum of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers, politicians, travelers, and journalists who elaborated on these differences, believing that parts of Eastern Europe, the Balkan region in particular, were especially backward and barbaric.[6] Later, during the twentieth century, writers reified these distinctions, arguing that the countries of Western Europe represented the "civic" (or political) ideal in that they were bound by a common allegiance to the liberal political values of democracy. In contrast, the ethnic nations of Eastern Europe were believed to have derived their unity primarily

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[5] See, for example, Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
[6] See, for example, Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Mark Mazower, "Introduction," in *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), xxv-xlii.

from pre-existing ethnic characteristics that made them inherently illiberal in their politics and intolerant towards ethnic minorities.[7] As critics have since pointed out, such distinctions are reductionist and stereotypical of both West and East. The so-called civic nations have also had a strong ethnic core, while the ethnic nations have variously advanced the civic agenda within their own political systems.[8]

Used in a certain sense, therefore, the term "Westernization" is value-laden and judgmental. But it need not be. In some cases, this accurately corresponded to the intention of some nineteenth-century East European thinkers and statesmen who wished to "modernize" and "Europeanize" along West European lines. This was true for a number of Balkan leaders, some of whom were well-traveled, educated in the West, and who embraced certain aspects of Western ideologies, aesthetics, and material culture. As a result, many intellectuals and political leaders of the new Balkan states (some of whom were granted independence at the Congress of Berlin in 1878), including Greece (1829), Serbia (1878), Montenegro (1878), and Romania (1878), alongside an autonomous Bulgaria (1878), attempted to model their countries after those in Western Europe.

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[7] Czech historian Hans Kohn is credited with having developed and popularized the civic vs. ethnic idea of nationalism in works like *The Idea of Nationalism* and *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. Among those to have refined Kohn's ideas are Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalsim*, 99-100; Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1993), 7-8; Will Kymlicka, "Misunderstanding Nationalism," in Edward Mortimer ed., *People, Nation and State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999): 131-140; Jeno Szucs, "The Three Historic Regions of Europe," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29, nos. 2-4 (1983): 131-184.

[8] Among those who have challenged the civic-ethnic dichotomy, variously arguing on the collaborative nature of the two theoretical types, are Walker Connor, "Nation-building or nation-destroying," *World Politics*, 24, no. 3: 319-355; Bernard Yack, "The Myth of the Civic Nation," in *People, Nation and State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, ed. Edward Mortimer (London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999), 103-118; Kai Nielsen, "Cultural Nationalism, Neither Ethnic nor Civic," in *People, Nation and State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, ed. Edward Mortimer (London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1999), 119-130; Taros Kuzio, "The Myth of the Civic State: A Critical Survey of Hans Kohn's Framework for Understanding Nationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 2002): 20-39.


Map 3.1 The Balkans ca. 1900 with Austro-Hungarian-occupied zones highlighted[9]

[9] Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox, *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe*, Revised and Updated (New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd., 2001), map 37.

They did so by establishing constitutions, parliaments, and Western-style democratic processes and by transforming their capitals to resemble major Western cities, constructing libraries, theatres, opera houses, and museums that distanced themselves from their Ottoman past.[10] Statesmen were especially eager to develop a strong urban, educated population that could not only rival those in Western Europe, but could participate in the governance and administration of their fledgling nation-states. All universities and institutions of higher learning were, for example, located in the Balkan capitals, and most books, newspapers, and magazines were published there.[11] To be sure, not all of the West's values and tastes were embraced. The perception that national identities and local pride could be diluted under Western influences prompted strong criticism among some national leaders.[12] In the main, however, intellectuals, politicians, the wealthy and influential, increasingly desired to integrate into modern Europe by acquiring its highest standards in urban and political life which, for many, meant modeling their institutions and achievements after Western Europe.

The politics and culture of Western Europe was also greatly admired by an increasing number of Bosnian leaders at this time. It was their experience as university students under Austro-Hungarian rule that gave them their first taste of wider European institutions and society. Until then, the handful of students wishing to receive a post-secondary education were primarily theological students going to Orthodox seminaries in Serbia or Russia, Catholic seminaries in Croatia and elsewhere, and Muslim theological

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[10] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 46.
[11] In Bulgaria, for example, half of its newspapers appeared in Sofia, while nearly all of Serbia's were based in Belgrade. See Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 48.
[12] See for, example, Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 27-28; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 48-50.

schools in the Ottoman Empire.[13] After 1878, however, attendance at these institutions decreased as students were encouraged to study in the Austro-Hungarian Empire through monetary incentives that included stipends and scholarships.[14] As a result, more students from Bosnia were now able to attend schools in cities like Vienna, Zagreb, Graz, Innsbruck, and Freiberg. The few fortunate enough to have other sources of funding, enrolled in schools outside the Empire in countries such as Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and England. As foreign-language students, Bosnians studied theology as well as the social sciences, humanities, medicine, law, pedagogy, fine arts, forestry, agriculture, and banking.[15] In 1899, Governor Kallay had even built a student dormitory that provided free food and lodging at the University of Vienna exclusively for students from Bosnia.[16]

Of the recipients of Austria-Hungary's educational grants, the Bosnian Serb students represented the majority.[17] This was partially because they were the largest confessional community, comprising 43% of the Bosnian population.[18] But this was not the only reason. Unlike the Muslim and Croat communities whose religious character remained relatively strong, the Bosnian Serbs had by this time become more receptive to secular perspectives on nationhood. As a result, many believed that a secular education

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[13] The one exception was the Bosnian Serb Orthodox seminary established in Banja Luka in 1869. For a detailed account of its origins and activities, see Risto Besarović's biography on the seminary's founder in *Vaso Pelagić: život i rad.* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960), 29-37.
[14] Džaja, 158-175.
[15] Ibid. A detailed study of Bosnians pursuing higher education during the Austro-Hungarian period has yet to be done, though Džaja's study provides a good overview.
[16] Ibid., 165-166.
[17] In the early stages of Bosnian education in the Empire, the Bosnian Croats represented the relative majority of pupils in state schools. Bosnian Serb numbers soon rose and permanently surpassed all other ethnic groups represented. The number of students living at the student residence in Vienna from about 1900 onward show a steady rise in the number of Serbs studying in Vienna. In its first year of operation, the residence housed 1 Bosnian Serb out of a total of four other Bosnian students. By the 1901/1902 academic year, Serb representation rose to 17, while there were 15 Bosnian Croats, 10 Bosnian Muslims. Serbs continued to represent the highest number each year thereafter, so that the total number of students that had studied in Vienna from 1899 to 1909 included 78 Bosnian Serbs, 55 Bosnian Croats and 48 Bosnian Muslims. See Džaja, 166; Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 34.
[18] From the 1910 census cited in Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle*, 1.

was useful in giving the ethnic community the necessary tools to survive as a cultural and political people in an ever-changing Bosnian society. Indeed, more Serbs than Muslims, for example, used their secular education to find gainful employment in the Empire as civil servants and in the expanding economic sectors across the province.[19] These circumstances, coupled with the impact of secular ideologies, meant that by the early 1900's, the Bosnian Serb intellectuals had begun to leave behind its purely religious and ecclesiastical character.[20]

It was at this time that Western social and political thought began to penetrate more deeply into the Bosnian Serb intellectual community. For the first time, Montesquieu, Mill, and Marx were as familiar to them as Njegoš, Karadžić, and Zmaj. As a result, concepts associated more closely with nation-building in the West, including "democracy," "constitutionalism," and "parliamentarianism," began strongly to influence those who wished to apply these ideals to Bosnia. Although many still desired to see Bosnia one day united with Serbia, for the moment the dream of a Greater Serbian state was still an unrealistic one. Bosnia was by the early 1900's becoming an integrated part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[21] The necessity of looking after the social, cultural, and political progress of the Serbs living in Bosnia, therefore, took priority over all else. But the Bosnian Serb leaders also realized that they faced some serious challenges to achieving this. Bosnians had neither a parliament nor any direct access to political power. Both the Emperor and Governor of Bosnia, moreover, were foreigners as were the

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[19] Babuna, 204; Donia, *Sarajevo*, 63-4.

[20] It was not until the eve of World War I that there was a substantially-larger number from the Western-educated, Western-influenced and secularized Croat and Muslim elite. Džaja, 158-175; Donia and Fine, 101-112; Babuna, 204.

[21] Its major administrative, economic, and cultural institutions all came into being under the direction and through the funding and personnel of Vienna. See, for example, Malcolm, 136-155; For a closer look at the changes made in the capital city see, for example, Kreševljaković, *Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave*, 9-39, 44-50, 62-71, 77-80.

political decision-makers of the Provincial Government, whose internal communication was still primarily in German.[22] Despite these obstacles, the younger generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals returned to Bosnia determined to close the gap between their Western-inspired ideals and Bosnian realities.

At the same time, Bosnia's political fortunes took a new direction. Following the death of the conservative Governor Kallay in 1903, Austria-Hungary's attitude towards the ethnic groups in Bosnia began to change. Kallay's replacement, Istvan von Burian (1851-1922), another Hungarian who would be Governor of Bosnia from 1903 to 1912, increasingly tolerated ethnic national expression. Prompting these changes, in part, was Burian's desire to distance himself from the extremely unpopular policy of Bosnianhood which had been introduced by the previous administration. Under Governor Burian, Bosnians could now establish separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim political organizations and were permitted to apply national names like "Serb" or "Croat" to them instead of "Orthodox" and "Catholic." Bosnian leaders took advantage of these new freedoms by establishing Bosnia's first major political organizations, which included the Muslim National Organization (1906), the Serb National Organization (1907), and the Croat National Union (1908), each of which gained a firm following in the population. The Governor also decided in 1907 to replace the official name of the language of Bosnia from the "Language of the Land" (*Zemaljski jezik*) to "Serbo-Croatian" (*Srpsko-hrvatski*), thus signaling an end to Bosnianhood.[23] In a few short years, therefore, the government

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[22] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 14-15.

[23] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 13; Dževad Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," in *Politika i Privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom.* (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka I Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Odjeljenje društvenih nauka. Knjiga 35, 2002), 388.

not only reversed a decades-old policy of discouraging separate national identities, but encouraged the growth of national political expression in Bosnia.

Feeling freer to voice their social, cultural, and political concerns, therefore, leaders from each of the ethnic groups began to write more openly about the long-term cultural and political interests of their respective communities. Facilitating these discussions by this time were 59 reading rooms, dozens of cultural journals, and a total of 22 political newspapers representing each ethnic community, including its political parties.[24] Complementing this political awakening was a moderate rise in literacy that had reached approximately 12% in 1910. Of those who could read, 57% lived in Sarajevo, the political and cultural hub of the province.[25] The rate of literacy varied within each of Sarajevo's ethnic communities, however, with 17% of Muslims, 63% of the Orthodox, and 86% of Catholics (including Austro-Hungarian personnel), which constituted the reading public there.[26] This corresponded to the overall Balkan pattern where urban literacy in the capital cities exceeded national averages. Bosnia as a whole, however, lagged far behind its Balkan counterparts whose average levels of literacy accounted for about 46% of the total population.[27]

This shift in the political and social climate in Bosnia had a profound impact on the attitudes of the next generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals. Despite seeing a certain amount of reform and liberality under the new administration, many had been disappointed in the older generation's unwillingness to take greater advantage of their

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[24] For a comprehensive listing of all newspapers and periodicals published in Bosnia under Austro-Hungarian rule, see Džaja, 92-101 and Đorđe Pejanović, *Bibliografije štampe Bosne i Hercegovine, 1580-1941* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1961); For a brief summary of the activities of each political party, see, for example, Donia and Fine, 101-109.
[25] This number included Austro-Hungarian administrators and officials.
[26] Đuričković, 14-15; Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom*, 409.
[27] Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 26.

improved circumstances. As an increasingly Westernized and secularized group, the younger generation was especially frustrated by the narrowly confessional scope of the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement (1896-1905). Although the Cultural Autonomy Statute (1905) granted the Bosnian Serbs direct control over the affairs of the Bosnian Orthodox Church and Serb confessional schools, members of the younger generation viewed this as a paltry gain for the general social, cultural and political progress of their ethnic community.[28] This conflict eventually led to a public rift between the younger generation and the leaders of the Bosnian Serb cultural autonomy movement. Vasilj Grdjić, a recent graduate of the University of Vienna and former member of "Srpska Svijest" ("The Serb Conscience"), addressed this growing divide in his book *A Word or Two Concerning our Dispute* (1906). Grdjić described how the tensions between the generations had existed earlier, during his university days, when he and other Bosnian Serb students had given their support to the autonomy leaders, even while disappointed in the narrowly religious scope of the movement.[29] In Grdjić's view, it was deeply discouraging to see that after their cultural autonomy was won, the leaders of the movement behaved as if their work was over. "It would be a shame, if all of our ideals were focused on church-school autonomy," he wrote.[30] Indeed, this generational divide had become increasingly evident in recent years as the number of secular associations

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[28] Vladimir Vječiti, "Crkveno-Školski Statut. II," *Dan* no. 4, December 1, 1905, 97-102; At the time, some argued that the statute was also elitist, lacking the most basic proviso for the democratic elections of church leaders. As one writer argued, "this is no longer about the love of the Serb people of Bosnia and Herzegovina," rather it was about the "vulgar selfishness of a few calculating, aging politicians." See Savo Miladinović, "Izborna borba," *Dan*, no. 4, December 1, 1905, 103; Even some of the older cultural elite could not help but be disappointed at the leaders of the autonomy movement. In a book published in 1905, historian Aleksa J. Popović-Sarajlija (1854-1916) declared his great disappointment, saying that the people had placed both their faith (and their money) in the hands of the secular leaders whom they trusted even more than their Church leaders, the latter of whom depended on the financial and political support of the Provincial Government. See Aleksa J. Popović-Sarajlija, *Posljedne grčke vladike u Bosni.* (Sarajevo: Zakonita prava pisac sebi zadržava, 1905), 14-16, 23.

[29] V.[asilj] Grdjić, *Riječ dvije o našem sporu.* (Novi Sad: Srpska štamparija Djordja Ivkovica, 1906), 6.

[30] Ibid., 16.

began to exceed the number of religious ones. Of the 710 Serb associations in Bosnia in 1910, for example, 396 were secular, while only 230 were church-based. This was a dramatic turnover from the previous century in which nearly all clubs and associations were either founded or sponsored by the Church.[31] As far as the younger and more secularized generation was concerned, Grdjić believed, the cultural autonomy statute was a stepping stone for the broader work ahead, namely of working towards the collective progress of all Bosnians. "In order to work for the good of the people in Bosnia," Grdjić wrote, "we need to lead a battle against the occupying government, lead a battle against a system" that favoured "foreigners over native inhabitants." Educated on the democratic social and political philosophies of the West, Grdjić believed it was possible to apply these modern ideals to Bosnia as well.[32]

Grdjić was not alone in his views. His was the voice of a new generation of intellectuals who desired to put into action what older writers like Šantić and Ćorović had only vaguely envisaged. They fully believed that as the first generation of post-secondary, European-educated Serbs they were in a unique position to steer the course of Bosnia's future. They were both literate and bilingual and well placed to transmit modern, and especially Western, ideas to their compatriots. Even some of the older and established members of the cultural elite like Jovan Dučić argued that it was the younger generation's duty to keep up with contemporary European thought, not for themselves, but in order to educate and contemporize the masses.[33] The next generation's sense of mission in Bosnia was, therefore, enormous. Set against the backdrop of much stronger and countervailing

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[31] Milorad Ekmečić, "Predgovor," in Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 11.
[32] Ibid., 15-16.
[33] Dučić's article was first published as "Naši pisci i naši čitaoci" in the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* on April 26, 1908 and was reprinted in Jovan Dučić, *Sabrana djela*, vol. 6 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost," 1969), 243-244.

nationalist (Croat and Serb) influences from the neighbouring lands of Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, and Montenegro, their efforts were small by comparison. They believed, nevertheless, that it was in Bosnia's best interests to strive towards a more realistic goal, namely the political autonomy of Bosnia within the Empire. It was partially for this reason that the urban, educated, and especially, younger generation of Bosnian Serbs began to encourage the social, cultural, and political integration of the entire province and its nationalities.

**Social and Cultural Integration**[34]

In striving to nurture a politically viable territory capable of self-rule, some of the intellectuals believed that Bosnians needed to form a more cohesive "society," whose members shared certain attitudes, values, and loyalties. Unlike older intellectuals like Šantić and Ćorović who envisaged the preservation of their ethnic differences, whilst nurturing a spirit of solidarity as Bosnians, the next generation believed that their unity was partially dependent on achieving a certain level of social and cultural "homogenization." Influenced by the nation-building efforts elsewhere in Europe where education, propaganda, economic and cultural reforms were often used to integrate a wide range of social and ethnic groups into a more cohesive community, members of the younger generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals similarly applied themselves to uniting

[34] Theories on social integration, particularly when applied to the nineteenth century, can be classified into two main categories. The "assimilationist" school of thought saw the assimilation of minority cultures and linguistic groups into hegemonic cultures as inevitable and even beneficial for the sake of integrating the nation. See for example Karl Deutsch "Nation-building and national development: Some issues for political research," in *Nationbuilding* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966): 1-16. Scholars such as Walker Connor have taken issue with this line of thought for two main reasons. First, he argued that the dissolution of cultural differences was not always positive. Second, when there are at least two large and distinct cultures in the same state, assimilation of one or the other sometimes increased antagonisms. See Walker Connor's study, *Ethnonationalism*).

Bosnians. They believed that the best way to do so was to accelerate Bosnians' social and cultural integration with a view to making them more alike. Most thought, however, that their duties lay primarily with their own ethnic community, where they had the authority and legitimacy to interact in ways that would have the maximum impact. But a very few felt compelled by the magnitude of the mission to put pen to paper in order to encourage unity among the other ethnic groups as well. The intellectuals hoped that the cumulative effect of their efforts would be the creation of a common society, whose members would more easily and effectively cooperate together for the common good. The following discussion examines their endeavors, first among the Bosnian Serbs and then among the non-Serbs of Bosnia.

***The Bosnian Serbs***

After returning from their studies in Central and Western Europe, the new generation of intellectuals spent the bulk of their efforts on unifying their own ethnic community both in organization and ethos. They did so, in part, with a desire to integrate the masses and the elite. Above all, the intellectuals wished to transform the illiterate, confessionally-minded populations into modern, educated, and national Serbs. They believed that this process would have a two-fold benefit. It would not only give them a stronger position from which to negotiate their ethnic group interests in Bosnia, but would enable them to construct more stable psychological bridges across Bosnia's ethnic lines. If they were to nurture the collective progress of all the Bosnians, they surmised, then they first needed to reconcile themselves with the Bosnian Serb masses.

As the symbol of the Serb nation, the peasantry was among the first objects of this grand mission to modernize. This was because many of the intellectuals believed it was

time for peasants to "catch-up" to their educated counterparts. In the years following the promulgation of the Bosnian Serb Cultural Autonomy Statute (1905), therefore, there was a flowering of teaching and educational activities in the Bosnian countryside. Like the populist movements in France at the turn of the nineteenth century and in Russia in the 1870's, the Bosnian Serb educated elite traveled to rural Bosnia to work as teachers, priests, and doctors.[35] Some went simply to help the people as best they could, while others arrived to indoctrinate them with Serb nationalist ideologies. Writing in 1905, one rural teacher lamented that "our people of Bosnia [...] lag behind other cultured peoples of Europe." This backwardness, he believed, was common in the countryside where subsistence farming and the extreme hardships of peasant life prevented many from attending school. "With this sort of life," he wrote, "how can our rural inhabitant [*seljak*] reach enlightenment and progress?"[36]

Spearheading this mission to modernize the peasantry was the cultural-educational organization "Prosvjeta" ("Enlightenment"). Founded in 1902 in Sarajevo as the first major secular organization to be established independently of the Bosnian Orthodox Church, Prosvjeta had two main goals: to raise literacy and to nurse a native intelligentsia.[37] In the case of Prosvjeta's first goal, teachers and priests began special

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[35] James R. Lehning argues in *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) that French intellectuals and statesman did not view the peasants as the great symbols of the nation. Rather their intention was to transform the peasant into their ideal of a Frenchman. In the case of the Russian populists of the late nineteenth century, they, like the Bosnian Serb intellectuals, popularized the image of the peasant as the symbol of the nation. But unlike the Bosnian Serb intellectuals who were often themselves of peasant origin, many Russian intellectuals were several generations removed from the peasantry. They argued that only the peasants could claim to be fully Russian. See, for example, Vera Tolz's discussion of this in *Inventing the Nation*, 85-86.

[36] ić, "Iz misli seoskog srpskog učitalje.—posvećeno društvu 'Prosvjeti,' *Srpska riječ*, no. 24, February 13, 1905, 3.

[37] See Ekmečić, "Predgovor," in Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 10; During Prosvjeta's twelve years of activity prior to World War I, its benefactors included former Metropolitan Savo Kosanović and among its members were *Bosanska vila*'s Nikola Kašiković, Aleksa Šantić, Svetozar Ćorović, Petar Kočić, and Vasilj Grdjić, who

literacy classes, established reading rooms, and used mobile libraries to reach the rural public.[38] The reading material they used included mainly less sophisticated works that ranged from folklore to historical writings to articles outlining the importance of public manners and proper hygiene.[39] Prosvjeta also published one calendar and one journal, each designed as educational tools, especially for those villagers who could now read.[40] Of the 7,000 copies of the journal produced in 1911, for example, 1,000 were distributed to the poorest rural dwellers free of charge.[41] Although the qualitative success of these efforts is difficult to assess, their impact on literacy rates was respectable. From the first literacy classes in 1906 until the outbreak of war in 1914, there were a total of 5,060 graduates.[42] Prosvjeta's educational mandate and work among the less fortunate also inspired the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats to establish similar organizations in 1903 and 1904, respectively, each of whom had an equivalent social and cultural impact in their ethnic communities.[43]

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was its executive secretary from 1907-1914, along with hundreds of other middle class professionals, civil servants and businessmen. For a list of Prosvjeta's executive committee members from 1902-1914, see Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 93.

[38]Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 126-127.

[39] Ibid., 127; The logistical and financial difficulties of Prosvjeta's aims to raise literacy and nurse the growth of a native intelligentsia later led the organization (along with the help of many smaller cultural societies and individuals) to establish Bosnia's first Serb central library in Sarajevo in 1913. See, for example, Risto Besarović, "Tragom jedne inicijative," in *Iz kulturnog života u Sarajevu pod austrougarskom upravom.* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1974): 149-179. See also Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 119-126; One interesting publication geared towards an exclusively peasant audience was the journal *Za seljaka* (*For the Peasant*) (1909) in which contributing writers attempting to "civilize" the peasant touched on a variety of subjects from religion to culture to morals and manners. With so few readers, however, the journal stopped publication after just five issues.

[40] Calendars played a similar social and cultural role to literary and cultural journals and were used mainly, though not exclusively, in educating the broader masses. Among the editors of the calendar and journal were Svetozar Ćorović and his brother Vladimir, along with Prosvjeta's general secretary Vasilj Grdjić.

[41] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 130.

[42]Ibid., 115-117; For population statistics during the Austro-Hungarian era see Donia and Fine, 87.

[43] For a brief overview of the Bosnian Muslims' "Gajret" ("Aid") (1903) and the Bosnian Croats' "Napredak" ("Progress") (1904), see Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom*, 416 and the English-language article by Anita Lekić cited in this study called "'Gajret' and the Bosnian Muslim Intelligentsia."

Besides raising the intellectual and moral acumen of the masses, the Bosnian Serb elite also encouraged the physical fitness of the ethnic community at large. They believed that the unity and strength of the Serb nation in Bosnia lay in maintaining a balanced relationship between the mind and the body. This idea was not unique to Bosnia, but was first popularized in Western Europe where nationalism and the growth of imperial rivalries had inspired the establishment of organizations that encouraged the physical training of the population in case of war.[44] Like the Boy Scouts in Britain (1907) and the *Jungdeutschlandbund* in Germany (1910), the *Sokol* (literally "hawk") became the main association to have promoted this idea among the Slavs. *Sokol*s appeared in the nineteenth century among the Czechs who were inspired by the German gymnastics movement that aimed at attaining the ideals of physical strength and national unity.[45] They eventually became popular among the South Slavs, including the Bosnian Serbs who established their first *Sokol* society in Mostar in 1903.[46] Subsequent *Sokol*s were organized across the province, including those in Banja Luka, Tuzla, Bihać, Modriča, Bugojno, Zvornik, Trebinje, Nevesinje, and Sarajevo. Among their organizers were intellectuals like *Bosanska vila*'s co-founder Stevo Kaluđerčić and the folk writer and rural activist Petar Kočić.[47] Like their European counterparts, these *Sokol*s engaged in physical activity that incorporated gymnastics and outdoor recreation, such as swimming, fencing, horse-back riding, and hiking. They were also used in the inculcation of national pride at social gatherings that often included the singing of nationally patriotic songs. In striving to

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[44] James Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*, Second Edition (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1992), 222-223.
[45] Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 232-233.
[46] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 144.
[47] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 144-145; Zoran Grijak, *Politička djelatnost vrhbosanskog nadbiskupa Josipa Štadlera.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest vrhbosanska nadbiskupija Sarajevo. Dom i Svijet, 2001), 513-517.

expand their membership as well as their influence, they encouraged boys and girls to participate. They formally merged into a single organization in Bosnia in 1909, and two years later, joined Serbia's centralized association of *Sokol*s. The Bosnian Serb leaders, however, continued to view their local *Sokol*s as a means of bridging the social and cultural gap between themselves and the average Bosnian Serb.[48]

Although the attempts to unify the ethnic community were dominated by men, there were a growing number of educated women who were also eager to contribute. They formed a small part of an emerging generation of female middle class cultural workers from across the South Slav lands whose participation in the public sphere had steadily increased in recent years.[49] Bosnian women's participation, however, was relatively small in comparison to their South Slav counterparts. This was due in large part to the relative lack of educational opportunities for young girls and women in the province, through which the first cultural workers had been nurtured in Bosnia. During the late Ottoman era, the few (and usually private) educational opportunities afforded to women were commonly reserved for the daughters and wives of the Muslim elite.[50] The major exceptions to this were two schools that were established for Serb girls in Sarajevo in 1858 and 1869.[51] But compared to Serbia, where there were a total of 80 girls' schools

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[48] Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 145-147; Grijak, 513-17; Joll, 88-89. All Sokols were approved and registered by the authorities in Bosnia. Some of their approved mandates have been preserved in the ABH, PGS, "Društva" (1911) Box 18-286/38, Štatut Sokola u Modrici and ABH, PGS, "Društva," Box 18-269-3, "Sokol Pravila u Trebinji." Although Bosnian Serb Sokols were not political associations per se, they did have ties with Sokols from Serbia that openly promoted the Greater Serbia idea. According to their official mandate published in 1911, the overall purpose of these groups was to nurture the social and cultural solidarity of the Serbs.

[49] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austrougarskom upravom,* 395-409; Džaja, 65-80.

[50] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pos austro-ugarskom upravom,* 393-395, Hawkesworth, 89.

[51] The first was established by an industrious Serb woman named Staka Skenderova (1831-1891). See Mitar Papić, "Staka Skenderova," 119-136; The second was formed under the tutelage of an English Protestant philanthropist named Miss Adeline Paulina Irby (1833-1911). See Dorothy Anderson, *Miss Irby and her Friends* (London: Hutchinson, 1966); Josip Lešić, *Anđeli milosrđa: miss Paulina Irby* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1990).

in 1870, Bosnia lagged far behind.[52] Even under Vienna's direction, the education of Bosnian girls and women, while improving, was paltry. By 1900, there were only a dozen girls' schools out of a total of 193 in 1900.[53]

As could be expected, the few urban, educated Serb women of Bosnia focussed their efforts on improving the overall social and cultural circumstances of the members of their sex, especially their less fortunate rural counterparts.[54] In 1905, for example, they established a humanitarian association called the "Dobrotvorna zadruga srpkinja" ("The Serb Women's Charitable Association") in Sarajevo.[55] Although there were similar women's associations among Serbs in Serbia and Croatia, it was the first of its kind in Bosnia and only the second major secular Bosnian Serb association after Prosvjeta.[56] Taking their lead from their counterparts in Sarajevo, the women of Mostar, Modriča, Donja Tuzla, and Zvornik established charities of the same name.[57] These women's charities were were especially well-known for their fund-raising efforts, usually through the sale of women's arts and crafts through exhibitions and cultural events, that, in turn, enabled organizers to raise money for impoverished female students lacking the means to

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[52] Hawkesworth, 90-91, 102.
[53] Džaja, 65-80.
[54] Maria N. Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Washington, DC: American University Press, 1993), 133-158. See also Hawkesworth, 11-12, 90; Paul Pavlovich, *The Serbians: The Story of a People*, Second Edition (Toronto: Serbian Heritage Books, 1988), 1150-1152.
[55] Anonymous, "Skupština Dobrotvorne Zadruge Srpkinja," *Narod*, no. 268, February 2, 1913, 2-3.
[56] Sarajevo's Serbian Women's Charitable Zadruga also had its own organ called *The Serb Woman* (*Srpska Žena*). It published just three issues from 1912 to 1913 (see Pejanović, *Bibliografije štampe*, 172).
[57] The activities of these organizations occasionally made it into the Bosnian Serb political newspapers *Nation* (*Narod*) and *The Serbian Word* (*Srpska riječ*). See, for example, Anonymous, "Dobrotvorna Zadruga Mostarskih Srpkinja," *Narod*, no. 242, October 31, 1912, 3; Anonymous, "Skupština Dobrotvorne Zadruge Srpkinja u Zvorniku," *Narod*, no. 213, July 21, 1912, 2; For a closer look at the aims of these organizations see their statutes from Modriča and Donja Tuzla in the ABH, PGS, "Društva" Box 18-264/14, "Pravila Dobrotvorne Zadruge Srpkinja u Modriči, 1911" and Box 18-264/2, "Pravila Dobrotvorne zadruge Srpkinja u Donjoj Tuzli, 1907."

purchase food, clothing, and books.[58] And while the founders of these women's charities believed that there was a special need for the "advancement of the Serb youth—particularly young girls," they also provided some financial and moral support to the boys as well.[59]

These and other attempts to transform the lives of the Bosnian Serb masses in general and the peasants, in particular, however, came with a price. While attempting to improve the conditions of the Bosnian Serbs, the intellectuals appeared to be rejecting previous conceptions of the Serb nation that had strongly linked them to the culture of the peasants. As noted in previous chapters, Serb intellectuals from across the Balkans typically idealized the peasant masses as bearers of an indigenous national spirit, having preserved the Orthodox religion and national traditions under the "Turkish yoke." But beginning in the early 1900's, some Serb intellectuals began to shed the folk character of their national identity by updating it, using modern European genres, or by abandoning it altogether. Similar trends had been taking place among the other South Slavs, whose increasingly secularized, Westernized elites, were eager to demonstrate the progressive nature of their nations.[60] Likewise, the younger generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals was beginning to rethink the relevance of the folk character to their national identity. Influenced by national integrationist philosophies that emphasized the need to "socialize" and "politicize" the masses to fit with modern views of the nation, these intellectuals believed that the success of the nation-building project in Bosnia partially hinged on their

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[58] Anonymous, "III. Izvještaj sarajevske dobrotvorne zadruge Srpkinja od 30. januara 1908. do 30. Januara 1909.," *Istočnik*, no. 3, February 15, 1909, 43; *Školski glasnik. Školski službeni list zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu,god. V, Sarajevo, 30. Juna (17. Juna),* Articles 6-7: 238-239.
[59] ABH, PGS, "Društva," Box 18-264/14, "Pravila Dobrotvorne Zadruge Srpkinja u Modriči, 1911."
[60] Wachtel, 54-63.

abilities to transform the a-political, illiterate masses into urban and educated members of the Serb nation.

Among the most vocal critics of the folk character of the nation was the Bosnian Serb newspaperman Risto Radulović (1880-1915). Radulović was one of the few Serb intellectuals who was largely unaffected by the romantic and idealistic influences of rural life. He was a fourth generation citizen of the town of Mostar and had no close familial ties to the countryside. He had also traveled extensively, graduating from gymnasium in Croatia and enrolling in literary and German studies in Vienna, Geneva, and Italy. After returning to Mostar in 1906, he developed a reputation as an acerbic, and sometimes unlikeable personality, but one who cared deeply about his ethnic community's development and progress.[61] He was especially eager to distance the Bosnian Serbs from their peasant past with a view to modernizing and transforming them into a strong, unified and modern nation. Writing in 1912, Radulović argued that "an idyllic and idealistic understanding of the peasant has dominated among us Serbs," and for this reason, he believed, had been a detriment to their overall social and cultural progress. Peasants, he observed, were too locally-minded. The remote location of villages perpetuated this parochialism, making it difficult to transform the peasants into modern Serbs. He, therefore, argued that it was not enough for the elite to reach out to the peasantry. It needed to reach back. Radulović believed that one way for them to do this was to establish their own rural-based cultural and political associations. In this way, he argued, the elite and the peasants could be true partners in their collective progress.[62]

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[61] Dragomir Gajević, "Risto Radulović—Ideolog i kritičar bosanskohercegovačkog društva," in the collected works of Risto Radulović, *Izabrani radovi*, 11-13.
[62] Risto Radulović, "Seljak i politika," *Pregled* 2, no. 2, 1912, 65-69.

For the majority of the younger intellectuals wishing to modernize the peasants, however, the view of the peasantry with qualities distinct from Western, urban and educated society did not pose much of a problem. To adopt a modern view of the nation, they believed, was not to deny its peasant foundations. They could still celebrate their past, while attempting to modernize the nation. And for them this meant adapting to the current social and cultural mores of an urban, educated, and secular Europe. Indeed, as Bosnia's first generations of urban, educated, and secular Serbs, the younger generation of intellectuals was deeply committed to seeing the rest of the ethnic community "enter Europe" by meeting its social, cultural, and political standards. As one author argued in *Srpska omladina* (*Serb Youth*) (1912-1914)—Bosnia's first registered periodical published by and for the younger generation—the "older generation" had for years held them back, resting on its empty rhetoric of "café patriotism." It was, therefore, up to the younger generation to "create a solid foundation for a new, greater Serb, greater European culture."[63]

As could be expected, some Bosnian Serb intellectuals openly objected to these efforts to extinguish the peasant image and culture from the modern identity of the nation. Like many Bosnian Serb writers of the previous century, these "traditionalists" believed that the peasant character was a core attribute of their Serb national identity. By removing it from the nation, they argued, the Bosnian Serbs would be contributing to their own "denationalization." Among the leading traditionalists at this time were Bosnia's teachers and teaching clerics. Of these, certain female educators stand out as strong examples of the traditionalists' desires to protect the folk character of the nation. Their conservative perspectives were partially influenced by their own conventional roles in society. As the

[63] D. Mihajlović, "Omladina i nacionalizam," *Srpska omladina*, no. 1, September 1, 1912, 12-13.

the primary caregivers and chief socializers of the youngest members of the nation, women had been most responsible for having imparted the social and symbolic aspects of the Serb culture to their children. Although privileged by comparison to farming women, these urban, educated women idealized the peasantry for having preserved and passed on the Serb-Orthodox heritage into the modern era.[64] From the Islamic occupation to Catholic rule, they argued, while men fought and died, peasant mothers were steadfast in their commitment to raise up a new generation of Serb patriots. It was only in this way, they believed, that the Serbs could be assured of their survival as a distinct ethnic group within Bosnia. Teacher, writer, and poet Cveta Bingulac (1874-1950) said as much when she wrote in 1913,

> When it comes to a national feeling among us it appears that it was inborn [...] but even so this was passed on from Serb mothers to their children. And on that same national feeling our grandmothers' grandmothers were raised, and one after another in nearly every household from generation to generation.[65]

For this reason, Bingulac argued, mothers were not merely the "carriers" of the national identity, but its starting point, its very foundation. "Our people," she concluded, "have learned that it is in a Serb mother that we can see the foundations of Serbhood [*Srpstvo*]."[66]

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[64] These reflected the overall views of many other educated Serb women across the Balkans who generally emphasized the essentially "peasant" character of the nation. See, for example, Celia Hawkesworth's study cited in this chapter.

[65] Savka Subotić quoting Cveta Bingulac, "Srpska majka," *Srpkinja* (1913), 95; Scant information exists about Bingulevac's early life before 1914. Some of what we do know is as follows: She was born in the town of Vukovar in Croatia in 1874. After receiving an elementary school education she moved to Novi Sad, the capital of the Vojvodina, where she attended a higher girls' school (see J. Srdić/P [Jelka Srdić-Popović], "Cveta Bingulceva," *Srpkinja* (1913), 71-72). She also worked in Bosnia for a time, eventually moving to Serbia in 1913 and after World War I to Novi Sad where she continued to teach until her retirement in 1939 (see the brief encyclopedic entry "Cveta Bingulac" in *Leksikon Pisaca Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Belgrade: Matica Srpska, 1972): 243-44).

[66] Subotić, 95. Because women held no leading political or religious positions, the temptation to elevate their maternal power was great. Placing motherhood at the center of the Serb identity was, therefore, more a function of women's desires to elevate their contributions than to depict accurately their influence on the broader Serb community.

This perspective greatly contributed to the view among traditionalists that it was the responsibility of the urban, educated community to safeguard its ancestral, peasant heritage. These writers commonly argued that in the modern era, as the influence of the peasant culture diminished in Bosnia's towns and cities, the urban, educated elite needed to take the responsibility of preserving it for the sake of the future generations of Serbs. Thus, for instance, the poetess and early feminist writer Jelka Ostojić (1877-1963), argued that although today's peasants needed to become modern and educated members of the nation, they also needed to preserve and pass on their customs and values to the rest of the nation. Born in the Bosnian town of Zvornik, Ostojić began to publish her poetry in 1905 in cultural journals and newspapers. She wrote deeply personal poems and articles, mainly about her family, but also on subjects ranging from feminism to religion.[67] Like other traditionalists, Ostojić idealized the peasants as the centuries-old gate-keepers of the Serb culture and identity. "Keep them, o dearest village,/ Nourish them with great care/ Preserve them from foreign assault/ Defend your Serbian inheritance!"[68] But, as noted above, Ostojić believed that contemporary educators and leaders were obliged to return the favour by modernizing the masses and, in turn, the ethnic community as a whole. Writing in *Srpska riječ* in 1906, she argued that the "people's honour is preserved chiefly when there is a sincere love for the masses" and when, "above all, its intelligentsia works tirelessly on its behalf and for its good."[69]

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[67] See Hunski Vjekoslav, "Ostavština Jelke Ostojić," from the HAS, Family and Individual Archival Collection, Jelka Ostojić (1904-1961), Box 1.
[68] "U spomenicu," was first published in the Serb periodical from Novi Sad in the Vojvodina region of Hungary, *Ženski svijet* (*Woman's World*) (1886-1914) in 1906. A copy of the poem can be found in the HAS, Family and Individual Archival Collection, Jelka Ostojić (1904-1961), Box 1.
[69] A copy of "Iz psihologije naroda," can be found in the HAS, Family and Individual Archival Collection, Jelka Ostojić (1904-1961), Box 1.

It is difficult to assess how representative women writers like Ostojić and Bingulac were of the views of other educated, middle class Bosnian Serb women. Of the approximately 150 known Serb female writers from the early 1900's, for example, nearly all of them lived outside of Bosnia.[70] It is telling, however, that later, when Bosnian Serb women writers had the opportunity to establish Bosnia's first women's magazine produced by and for women called *Srpkinja* (*The Serbian Woman*) (1913), they did so not only as a convenient means of publishing their work, but as a medium through which to transmit the national value of the peasant culture to the urban public.[71]

Still other traditionalists, mainly confessional school teachers and priests, objected to what they believed was the younger generation's willingness to modernize the local population through a foreign education.[72] Although Serb confessional schools had grown from 56 in 1879 to 115 in 1910, the number of public elementary schools had increased more rapidly from 38 to 414 in roughly the same period and with Serb schoolchildren comprising the relative majority therein.[73] Given these circumstances, the traditionalists believed that the Bosnian Serbs would gradually succumb to foreign, imperialist influences which would, in turn, open the way towards their complete assimilation into the Empire. It was partially for this reason that they believed the younger generation of intellectuals was unnecessarily—and, indeed, unwittingly—propping up the hegemony of the Austro-Hungarian state. In an open letter addressed to the Bosnians Serb public in

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[70] Hawkesworth, 127-131, 135; Biljana Šljivić-Šimšić, "Women in Life and Fiction at the Turn of the Century (1884-1914)," *Serbian Studies: Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, 7, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 106-108.

[71] Anonymous, "Predgovor," *Srpkinja* (1913), 4. Symbolizing this in this first and only issue was the cover of the magazine that featured a peasant woman walking along a dirt path, accompanied by a dog and cow pulling hay on a cart. Only one issue was produced before World War I broke out.

[72] In the previous century, many of Bosnia's schoolteachers and Orthodox priests were born and raised outside of Bosnia, in the Vojvodina and in Serbia.

[73] Džaja, 68-69, 75; Okey, 326-327; In 1911/12, for example, the Orthodox comprised about 42% of the pupils attending state schools, the Catholics 37% and the Muslims only 14%. See Okey, 327.

1910 called *Let us Preserve the Serb National School: An Open Letter to the Serb People from the Serb Teacher's Association*, the Serb Teachers Association (1905) wrote, "If we want our people to remain a strong and developed community, this requires sensible and sober work in all areas," including "a national [Serb] education." Historical precedent, the Association argued, proved this to be the case. "No great nation has achieved power and greatness, under the influence of a foreign education."[74] In supporting Bosnia's confessional schools, they argued, it was possible to create a firm foundation on which to preserve their Serb national identity against foreign influences. For this reason, the Association concluded, the Bosnian Serbs needed to return to their educational roots, saying "It is up to you, the Serb people, to take care of your own! Help your Serb school!"[75]

The tensions between modern and national ideals on the one hand, and traditional, confessional ones on the other, remained unresolved under Austro-Hungarian rule. That said, the intellectuals on both sides of the debate were generally united in their desires to see their ethnic community modernize by becoming unified both in organization and ethos. Organizations like *Prosvjeta* and the Serb women's charities, whose members included a broad spectrum of older and younger professionals, teachers, and priests, were evidence of a common desire to support the collective progress of the nation. For the younger, and mainly secular, Westernized intellectuals, however, the hope of cultivating a single-minded body of individuals holding to the same identity (educated, modern, and Serb) was what inspired them to work among the people in the first place. This perspective stood in subtle contrast to traditional, folk interpretations, which had been

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[74] *Čuvajmo srpsku narodnu školu: Otvoreno pismo srpskom narodu od srpskog učiteljskog udruženja.* (Sarajevo: Srpska dioničarska štamparija, 1910), 1.
[75] Ibid., 12.

largely cultivated by writers from the previous century and had been preserved especially by the teachers and teaching clerics into the next. By raising the level of literacy and education and by establishing social and charitable organizations, secularized, Westernized intellectuals wished to integrate the social and cultural lives of the general population into their own. In so doing, they hoped to prepare members of the ethnic community to cooperate together in order to protect their common interests in Bosnia. That the aspirations of the masses and the elite sometimes conflicted was of little concern to these intellectuals who believed that in the process of modernizing, the general population would gradually incorporate the intellectuals' attitudes and values. Modernizing the Bosnian Serbs was, therefore, a means not only of unifying the ethnic community, but of bringing the masses alongside the elite.

***The Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims***

Although most intellectuals stressed the importance of unifying the Bosnian Serbs, a few went further. These individuals believed that closing the social and cultural gap within the ethnic community was the first step towards reconciling themselves with the other ethnic groups. Instead of being a truly unified "society" with shared attitudes and ambitions, they argued, Bosnia's confessional groups were tied to diverging social, cultural, and political allegiances that had produced a highly fragmented region. Such concerns were not unique to Bosnia, but reflected broader problems in Europe, where national leaders strove to create more cohesive and politically viable societies.[76] Even among the new Balkan states, where the predominant national group in each country

[76] See, for example, Norman Rich, *The Age of Nationalism and Reform* (New York: Norton, 1970), 43-47, 101-144.

accounted for 90% of the local population, intellectuals and statesmen were increasingly concerned with "nationalizing" their citizens through education and propaganda and by attempting to solve the problem of the growing social and economic disparity between the urban and rural members of the nation.[77] Influenced by these broader trends to "homogenize," Bosnian Serb writers hoped to do the same in Bosnia. However, most writers recognized that the Bosnians were far from embracing the sort of national unity they believed existed in the more ethnically uniform nation-states. Their goals were, therefore, modest by comparison. Writers mainly encouraged fellow-Bosnians to follow their lead by shedding their narrow "religiosity" and by adopting a modern secular outlook on what it meant to be "Bosnian." This process, they argued, would allow Bosnians of different ethnic groups to exclude religious considerations from their relationships with one another. They believed that Bosnians could no longer afford to function as "island communities" dependent solely on the benevolence of foreign occupiers. If they were ever to develop Bosnia's potential as a politically viable territory, they first needed to strengthen their social and cultural cohesion from within.

Consolidating their confessionally-based differences, however, was not an easy task. Few had the resources or means by which to nurture their integration. Most of Bosnia's province-wide institutions, administrative offices, literary and cultural associations were run or supervised by Austro-Hungarian officials. The Bosnian Serb intellectuals, moreover, did not have the same kind of authority to influence the Croat and Muslim populations as they did their own. This lack of means, resources, and power of influence, nevertheless, did not dissuade some of the intellectuals from attempting to reconcile Bosnia's faith communities. Using newspapers and other serial publications

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[77] Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 17, 19-30; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 47-50.

available to them, these writers focused their efforts on the power of printed propaganda to get the message across. In so doing, they hoped to build the necessary psychological bridges that could be extended to Bosnia's non-Serb inhabitants with a view to fostering a unified Bosnian society.

Among Bosnia's most vocal social critics in this regard was the writer and newspaperman Risto Radulović. As noted earlier, Radulović lived in Mostar where he had been exposed to a diverse religious milieu. While there, he became the editor of three major Bosnian Serb publications, including the newspaper *Narod* (*Nation*) (1907-1908, 1911-1914), the periodical *Pregled* (*Review*) (1910-1913), and Prosvjeta's self-titled calendar *Prosvjeta* (*Enlightenment*) (1912-1914). Radulović took advantage of his influential position, realizing that these publications had a far-reaching impact even among those non-Serbs who read these serials. He published the bulk of his work in the moderate, secular newspaper *Narod*, which contemporaries saw as a counter-point to the more traditional and confessionally-oriented Bosnian Serb publications, such as *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) (1905-1914).[78]

Like many of his European contemporaries, Radulović had embraced modern, secular nationalism as a positive and liberal force that held the keys to developing cohesive communities—national or not—that were capable of self-rule. For this reason, he believed it was necessary to apply its basic principles to Bosnia. In his view, secular nationalism had become a growing force in Europe partially because it produced among individuals of diverse religious backgrounds enough internal solidarity to protect them against divisive forces both from within and without. He was an especially great admirer of a Western Europe that he believed had produced highly unified polities by upholding

[78] The circulation statistics are taken from Džaja, 98.

the secular over the sacred and by acknowledging the dignity of the individual, regardless of religion. Embodying this modern national spirit, Radulović believed, were the states of England, France, Germany and, to a certain extent, Italy.[79] Although Radulović was largely educated within the Empire, he did not regard Austria-Hungary as either Western or modern, believing it to be a highly fragmented polity with no unifying culture to bind its inhabitants together. It was partially for this reason that he and some of his Bosnian contemporaries, including the Bosnian Croat poet Augustin Ujević (1891-1955), feared the long-term consequences this might have on an already-fractious Bosnia.[80] But unlike some of his contemporaries who focused on the role that foreigners, fate, and history had played in dividing Bosnians, Radulović urged Bosnians to take responsibility for their own misfortunes. Although he did not dismiss the role of external and impersonal forces in exacerbating their differences, he believed that it was time for the Bosnians to rouse themselves from their apathy.[81]

In keeping with his optimism about the role of modern, secular nationalism in binding a society together, Radulović argued that Bosnians needed to develop a specifically secular identity of their own. To that end, he believed that there should be a "fusion" of their ethno-national personalities (Serb-Orthodox, Croat-Catholic, and Muslim) into an integrated (Bosnian) whole. Influenced by Yugoslav ideologies that

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[79] See, for example, his articles "Na izvore culture," in *Izabrani radovi*, 231-232, first published in *Srpska riječ*, no. 143, July 6, 1910 and "Nadbiskup Štadler o Bosni," in *Izabrani radovi*, 159-160, first published in *Narod*, no. 41, September 15, 1907. His admiration for England and France was not entirely idealistic. He was extremely critical, for example, of certain developments in France that ran contrary to what he saw were its liberal, democratic ideals, including the Dreyfuss Affair. See for example "Nacionalizam Talijanski i Nacionalizam Francuski," in *Izabrani radovi*, 107-110 first published in *Srpska riječ*, no. 165, August 2, 1910 and in no. 170, August 9, 1910.

[80] See, for example, "Na izvore culture," in *Izabrani radovi*, 231-232, first published in *Srpska riječ*, no. 143, July 6, 1910; On Ujević, see Dragomir Gajević, "Risto Radulović—Ideolog i kritičar bosanskohercegovačkog društva," 28.

[81] See, for example, "U društvenom glibu," in *Izabrana radovi*, 96-97 first published in *Narod*, no. 284, March 30, 1913.

viewed the South Slavs as a single nation (or the potential to become one), he argued that the "Yugoslav idea can be a guide" to their efforts in Bosnia.[82] Radulović was especially vocal in advocating the "unification" of Bosnia in the social and cultural sense, a development that he believed would involve a certain amount of mutual assimilation, a process he described as "nationalization" ("*nacionalisanje*").[83] Although Radulović ultimately wished to see all the South Slavs unify in this way, he first wished to see his Bosnian compatriots come together. "We [pro-Yugoslavs] do not aspire to take politics beyond the borders of Bosnia," he wrote, but to encourage "the cultural development of the entire indigenous population."[84] Indeed, Radulović did not desire to create a wholly separate Bosnian "national" identity, seeing in Bosnia's "unification" the first step towards the unification of all the South Slavs in a political state of their own. But by using the Yugoslav idea as a model, he first hoped to bring the ethnic groups of Bosnia closer together.

There were, however, a number of obstacles to the sort of "nationalization" (i.e. "Yugoslavization") that Radulović was suggesting. According to some, among the greatest was a marked lack of "national" (i.e. "Yugoslav") feeling among the Muslims who continued to migrate to various parts of the Ottoman Empire. According to official statistics, some 24,000 Muslims received permits to leave the province between 1906 and 1918, only a slight drop from the 28,000 who had legally emigrated between 1883 and

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[82] "Jugoslovenska politika u Bosni," in *Izabrani radovi*, 105-106, first published in *Narod*, no. 96, May 17, 1908.
[83] "Rezolucija Akademske Muslimankse Omladine," in *Izabrani radovi*, 146, first published in *Narod*, no. 266, January 1, 1913.
[84] "Srbi i Hrvati," in *Izabrani radovi*, 128.

1905.[85] Although the Muslims left for a variety of reasons, some political, others religious and economic, certain Bosnian Serb writers were persuaded to believe that the Muslims were leaving for the Ottoman Empire mainly as a way to preserve their religious identity. Interpreted in this light, secular writers argued that the Muslims needed to place their feelings of patriotism toward Bosnia before their allegiances to Islam. In the article "Naši muslimani" ("Our Muslims"), Radulović lamented that the modern, secular spirit seen mainly in Western Europe and which had recently begun to influence the urban, educated Serbs in Bosnia, had not yet had a significant impact on the Muslim elite. It was partially for this reason, he argued, that many Muslims continued to portray "Turkey as if it is the seat of civilization." He lamented the fact that the Muslims had "no national feeling [*nacionalnog osjećaja*]," and, instead, embraced "[religious] fanaticism."[86]

Indeed, desires to persuade the Muslims to shed their "religiosity" preoccupied the writings of an increasing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals at this time. The satirist and political columnist for the conservative national newspaper *Srpska riječ*, Savo Skarić, wrote that while he understood the impulse for self-preservation, saying "we Serbs also have Orthodox Great Russia," where "it cannot be more Orthodox," but "my God, we still do not leave Bosnia."[87] Skarić's disillusionment was shared among some of his colleagues at *Srpska riječ* who in 1910 reprinted an article written by an anonymous writer for the Serb newspaper *Dubrovnik* from Dalmatia. In it, the author criticized the Bosnian Muslims for lacking a "national" (i.e.Yugoslav) feeling in Bosnia. "In our opinion, the

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[85] These statistics do not include those who left illegally and without permits. The total estimate ranges widely from 60,000 to 300,000 (Malcolm, 139-140). Hundreds of the poorest Serb peasants also left Bosnia every year around the turn of the century, but they numbered in the hundreds.
[86] "Naši muslimani," in *Izabrani radovi*, 140-141, first published in *Narod*, no. 142, November 9, 1911.
[87] "Pismo mome dragome mula-mehi u Bosni i Hercegovinu," was first published in *Srpska riječ* in 1909, issue no. 73 and is published in his collected works: Savo Skarić, *Izabrana djela zembilj, šala i mascara* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 292-296.

emigration of the Muslims will never cease until they stand exclusively on a national platform." In the footnote to this article, the editors of *Srpska riječ* added that "since *Dubrovnik* is not permitted [to circulate] in Bosnia, we carry [this article] with the same recommendation and with the hope that its message might influence the Muslims to oppose this ominous migration. –The Editors."[88]

Although some intellectuals argued that Muslim religiosity represented a major obstacle to nurturing a secular consciousness in Bosnia, others believed that there was an even greater impediment to their internal cohesion, namely the Catholic religion. They maintained that of all the religions and ideologies presently dividing Bosnians, Catholicism was the most dangerous. As noted elsewhere, the Catholic population experienced the most visible growth of Bosnia's three main faith communities with thousands of Catholic officials, civil servants, and colonists from the Empire settling in the province after 1878. As a result, many Bosnian Serb intellectuals feared that the expanding Catholic presence in Bosnia would continue to fragment the region socially, culturally, and politically. Their fears were realized early on, during the 1880's and 1890's, when certain Croat leaders began to support the highly controversial proselytizing work of Bosnia's charismatic Catholic and Croatian-born Archbishop Joseph Stadler (1882-1918) who had openly expressed his desire to "Catholicize" the province.[89]

As could be expected, Bosnian Serb writers responded with some ambivalence toward those Bosnian Croat leaders had who aligned themselves with Stadler. Risto Radulović suggested, for example, that these Bosnian Croats were partially to blame for inviting division into Bosnia, arguing that although "the antagonisms presently dividing

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[88] Anonymous, "Seoba muslimana," *Srpska riječ*, no. 67, March 27, 1910, 1.
[89] Džaja, 205-206; See also Zoran Grijak's biography of the Archbishop, *Politička djelatnost vrhbosanskog nadbiskupa Josipa Stadlera*.

the Orthodox and Catholics in Bosnia were first awakened by Kallay," some of the "domestic Catholics" were now supporting this "immoral work of this Stadler [...] group."[90] In keeping with his belief that Bosnians needed to "nationalize" along "Yugoslav" lines, Radulović argued that as long as these Bosnian Croats saw themselves as Catholics first and Bosnians second, they would never be able to foster the kind of spirit of cooperation that was necessary for the unification of Bosnia with all the South Slavs. As he later wrote, until the "progressive people who do not jump to the Pope's commands" speak out, "there will not be true success," namely "the unification of the Serbs and Croats."[91] Not wishing to offend all the Croats of Bosnia, however, some directed their criticism mainly towards the leaders of the Catholic Church in Bosnia who, as these writers argued, were the "real" source behind the idea of "Catholicizing" the province. As one anonymous author wrote, "our struggle is focused on that backward element," whose "'program' was derived from among the clerical dens." Those who collaborated with Stadler's cultural work in Bosnia were, therefore, tainted by association. As the same author explained, "our attack" is "against *those* Croats," who "gathered around [Stadler's] Jesuit [newspaper] '*The Croatian Daily*'" and who, for this reason, "could never be our allies." But to those Bosnian "Croats, who are not the followers of this Jesuit mob," he asserted, the Bosnian Serbs regarded them as "allies and brothers."[92]

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[90] "Jugoslovenska politika u Bosni," in *Izabrani radovi*, 106, first published in *Narod*, no. 96, May 17, 1908.
[91] "Klerikalci u akciji," in *Izabrani radovi*, 175, first published in *Srpska riječ*, no. 143, July 21, 1911. See also his article "O srpskom narodu," in *Izabrani radovi*, 129-137 that was first published in *Pregled*, no. 4, July 15, 1910: 213-223, where he briefly discusses the exclusivity of Bosnian Croat politics that, he believed, was more outward-focused (i.e. on union with Croatia), rather than on developing harmonious relationships inside Bosnia.
[92] Anonymous, "Mi i Hrvati," *Srpska riječ*, no. 48, March 1, 1908, 1-2.

Still others believed that the real danger was not the spread of Catholicism per se, but its political consequences, namely of the logic of uniting a "Catholicized" Bosnia with the Catholic province of Croatia. As one writer explained, Stadler's newspaper "communicates both publicly and daily, that these are Croatian lands [i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina]" and, for this reason, "we do not recognize [Stadler's associates] as brothers; they are simply the carriers of foreign ideas."[93] As Savo Skarić affirmed, it was 'really' the "clerical and religious fanatics" presently living in "Catholic Croatia" who "desired to put us [Bosnians] asunder."[94]

But while most of the intellectuals were preoccupied with eradicating their confessionally-based differences, a few believed it was possible to embrace their diversity as part of the total character of Bosnia. This view was advanced most famously in Bosnia by the Serb philosopher and later mystic, Dimitrije Mitrinović (1887-1953). Instead of fusing their ethno-national cultures into a more homogeneous whole, as many of his contemporaries had desired, Mitrinović believed that inter-ethnic harmony could be achieved by nurturing a mutual tolerance of their (ethnic) national differences. To that end, he advocated an "all-inclusive" perspective, similar to the ones shared by older writers like Šantić and Ćorović. In his view, ethnic and cultural diversity captured the true essence of what it meant to be a Bosnian. Although Mitrinović did not discourage the reconciliation of the ethnic groups, he believed that it should not come at the expense of individual ethnic and cultural expression, without difference, debate or conflict.[95]

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[93] Anonymous, "Glose," *Dan*, no. 5, February 19, 1906, 209.
[94] Skarić, 31. This article was first published in *Srpska riječ*, 1906, no. 135.
[95] This "all-inclusive" view of Bosnia was one that the writer would later apply to much broader "societies," including the Yugoslav, European and international "communities." For two good English-language study of Mitrinović's philosophies see Andrew Rigby, *Initiation and Initiative: An Exploration of the Life and Ideas of Dimitrije Mitrinović* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) and H.C. Rutherford, ed.,

Mitrinović's early life and education greatly influenced his views. He was born in a village community near the town of Mostar. Both his parents were teachers, well educated and well read, and kept a large home library stocked with classical European texts.[96] He read many Russian works of literature and history, but was mainly inspired by books about the German and Italian unification movements. Mitrinović's interest in these movements was nurtured in his discussions with his peers at Mostar's gymnasium, where he and other Serb students had formed a secret political circle called "Sloboda" ("Liberty"). Among the members of "Liberty" were Bogdan Žerajić (1887-1910) and Vladimir Gaćinović (1890-1917), both of whom would play important political roles in Bosnia, the former in the failed attempt to assassinate the military governor of Bosnia in 1910, and the latter in successfully plotting with Gavrilo Princip and others to assassinate the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.[97] Although united in their desires to overthrow Austria-Hungary, some of the members of Liberty viewed themselves as Serb nationalists, while others, like Mitrinović, defined themselves as Yugoslavs.[98]

Unlike many of his friends, Mitrinović disapproved of using violence, insisting that Bosnia's liberation could be achieved more gradually through a moral and cultural "unification" of the province's ethnic groups that would lead to self-rule and eventually unification with the other South Slavs in an independent state of their own.[99] Like Radulović, Mitrinović believed that the Bosnians formed a part of the greater Yugoslav nation and should be encouraged to think and act collectively. "A single [ethnic] nation is not simply a collective, an aggregate of individuals," he wrote, "it is an organism and,

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*Certainly, Future: Selected Writings by Dimitrije Mitrinović* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
[96] Rigby, 8-9; Rutherford, 6.
[97] Rigby, 10.
[98] Rigby, 10; Rutherford, 6.
[99] Rigby, 12-13.

besides that, it is a part of a much larger community." He believed that only from this perspective was it possible to look beyond one's narrowly ethnic identity and politics. "That which is specific to one [ethnic] nation" he posited, was "insignificant" and an impediment to the common good. But Mitrinović also embraced a positive acceptance of their differences and criticized those for whom "difference" meant nursing feelings of superiority that led to isolation and fragmentation. He was especially critical of those Bosnian Serb writers who perpetuated that which was "specific and local," namely a "tenderness for all that is Serb." He believed that this had created an ethno-centric view of things that had contributed to Bosnia's present disunity. But unlike Radulović who advocated a fusion of their social and cultural differences, Mitrinović suggested that it was possible to strengthen their internal cohesion by becoming tolerant enough of their differences to rise above their isolationist tendencies. "To be modern," he argued, meant that "one may be a socialist, an anarchist, an individualist, a spiritualist, a theosophist, a Buddhist metaphysic, and whatever one desires—the main thing is that he should feel all the pain and rumbling of our collective problems."[100] And as the most ethnically-diverse of all the South Slav lands, he argued, Bosnia had the greatest potential to serve as a model for this sort of unity.[101]

Mitrinović's "all-inclusive" concept was, however, a rare exception among the younger generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals who generally believed that a certain level of social and cultural homogenization was necessary to unifying the Bosnians. For many, secularization held the key to developing this unity. Forging this new and more cohesive Bosnia would mean that the ethnic groups would have to make every effort to

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[100] The article was first published in two parts in *Bosanska vila* in 1908 and is reprinted in his collected works, Dimitrije Mitrinović, *Sabrana djela*, vol. 1 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990): 157-165.
[101] See, for example, Rutherford's "General Introduction," in *Certainly, Future*, 1-16.

see themselves as Bosnians first, and Orthodox, Catholics, and Muslims, second, without which it would be difficult to prevent the ceaseless potential that religion had in dividing them socially, culturally, and politically. Although none advocated the complete eradication of their religio-ethnic identities, most believed that a certain level of assimilation would have to take place if they were to produce a unified Bosnian society.

**Conclusion**

Despite facing innumerable obstacles to their social and cultural cohesion, the new generation of intellectuals was determined to close the gap both within their ethnic community and beyond. These writers believed that by drawing local communities into a larger collective, through such means as print propaganda and mass education, they could begin to transform Bosnians from a fragmented mass of ethnic, rural, and urban sub-communities into a more cohesive "society." With rare exception, writers promoting ethnic reconciliation believed that some of their differences were far too great to be left alone. They believed that a certain level of mutual assimilation (social and cultural) was inevitable, even necessary, if they were to be successful in pulling together Bosnia's disparate ethnic groups. Unlike older thinkers who encouraged ethnic reconciliation through their existing commonalities (kinship and territoriality), many of the intellectuals of the younger generation emphasized the obstacles that stood in the way of their integration. Anxious to close the ethnic gap, they often wrote about the countervailing forces, internal and external, that prevented Bosnia from becoming a more unified society. Bosnians, they argued, needed to smooth away the obstacles to their unification. While they did not envisage a complete dissolution of their ethnic identities, they generally wished to see Bosnians develop a more uniform society and culture.

These writers realized, however, that without the power and resources of the state they could never attain the kind of social and cultural unity to which they aspired. For this reason, some began more openly to voice their desire to build a more durable type of political unity that, in the event that an enlarged Serb, Greater Serb or Yugoslav state failed to materialize, could be politically viable in the long run. The following chapter explores these political dimensions of nation-building in Bosnia.

# Chapter 4
# Nation-Building, Part II:
# Political Integration (1908-1910)

## Introduction

At the same time that the Bosnian Serb intellectuals began promoting the social and cultural integration of Bosnia, they stressed the necessity of integrating Bosnians politically as well. Precipitating this was Austria-Hungary's decision to annex Bosnia in 1908. It was at this time that the intellectuals, not wishing to assimilate into the cultural and political milieu of the Empire, began campaigning for Bosnia's political autonomy. Generally, they conceived this in collectivist, multi-ethnic terms as a collaborative responsibility of all the ethnic groups. Specifically, they understood it to mean that Bosnians had the right to a constitution, the right to legislate, and the right to administrate themselves, and presupposed certain democratic processes, including a free assembly and elections. The intellectuals believed that Bosnians were ready for this kind of collective self-rule, having demonstrated a willingness to work together on issues of common cause starting from the uprisings in 1878 and 1882 to the drafting of a political Memorandum in 1902 in which the Serbs and Muslims formally requested that Bosnia be granted political autonomy. Recognizing that such alliances could not be maintained in the long run, however, the intellectuals began to demand more permanent political structures that could guarantee Bosnians' rights to internal self-determination. As this chapter demonstrates, these were conceived in multi-ethnic terms that viewed the ethnic groups as equal political partners in their collective progress.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first summarizes the international and domestic response to Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia in 1908 that acted as a

catalyst towards inter-ethnic political cooperation in Bosnia. The second examines the writings of some of the intellectuals who promoted a collectivist, multi-ethnic framework of political integration. In this way, the intellectuals hoped to create a cohesive society that would be politically viable in the long run.

**The International and Domestic Response to the Bosnian Annexation (1908)**

Although discussions to annex Bosnia had been on-going since the Congress of Berlin, it was not until thirty years later that Vienna finally decided to act.[1] The Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 set the ball in motion. The Young Turks were an amalgam of intellectuals, politicians, and army officers whose threats to overthrow the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II forced the sovereign to restore the constitution and parliament which he had dissolved thirty years earlier.[2] Because Bosnia was still a part of the Ottoman Empire under the conditions of the Congress of Berlin and the Novi Pazar Convention, Vienna feared that Istanbul would invite Bosnians to send delegates and, in effect, question Austria-Hungary's position in Bosnia. It was at this time that Vienna became anxious to consolidate its power. On October 5, 1908, after months of intense discussions, Emperor Franz Joseph officially announced a change in Bosnia's status from an Ottoman territory to an annexed province of Austria-Hungary.[3] To the disappointment of Croatian nationalists, Bosnia was not joined to Croatia, but was granted provincial status with the promise of a constitution and local parliament.[4]

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[1] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 62.
[2] William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East.* (Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 127; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 82-84, 126-127.
[3] Malcolm, 150.
[4] The Emperor waited two days before making the annexation public to the Bosnians. He announced the annexation in Austria-Hungary's official newspaper in Bosnia, "Proglas na narod Bosne i Hercegovine. Mi Franjo Josif I., Car Austrijski, Kralj Češki itd. i Apostolski Kralj Ugarski stanovnicima Bosne i

Although most Bosnians did not publicly protest the news, some prominent individuals did. In an open letter published in October, certain Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim leaders criticized Vienna's decision to annex Bosnia "without asking and against our will."[5] At the same time, Serb, Muslim, and Jewish deputations traveled from Bosnia to Vienna also to declare their disapproval. Still others sought the support of the Great Powers, including two Bosnian Serb delegations, among whom were prominent intellectuals, such as Risto Radulović, Vasilj Grdjić, Nikola Stojanović, and Uroš Krulj. The one major exception to this local opposition was a Bosnian Croat delegation that had traveled to Vienna to welcome the annexation.[6]

For several months after the Emperor's announcement the "Bosnian Crisis," as it was then known in diplomatic circles, threatened to provoke war. In Serbia, the government demanded that Vienna rescind its proclamation and sought territorial compensation, or at the very least, political autonomy for Bosnia. Belgrade's condemnation was supported by public pressure from across Serbia, where speakers at mass rallies and demonstrators protested the news. Belgrade's National Theatre became the staging ground for popular protest that included the performance of patriotic plays, including one written by the Bosnian Serb playwright Petar Kočić that criticized Vienna's presence and rule in Bosnia. The annexation had also prompted the formation of secret societies inside Serbia, including "National Defense" (*Narodna Odbrana*) in 1908 and "Unification or Death" (*Ujedinjenje ili Smrt*), popularly known as "The Black Hand"

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Hercegovine," *Sarajevski List*, no. 120, October 7, 1908, 1. For the reaction from Croatian nationalists see, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 62.

[5] "Zajednička poruka narodu u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Srpska riječ*, no. 213, October 1908, 1.

[6] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,* 345-348; Uroš Krulj later wrote about the Bosnian Crisis in "'Narodova' grupa. Njen rad i ideologija," 1019-1020.

(*Crna Ruka*), in 1911, both of which promoted the unification of the Serbs into an enlarged Serbian state.[7]

After a flurry of diplomatic activity and protest in both Serbia and Bosnia, the Bosnian Crisis ended without changing Bosnia's new status. Objections from Belgrade died out when Russia, Serbia's most powerful ally, declared its intention not to back Belgrade in the event of a war with the Dual Monarchy. Under pressure from Germany—Vienna's closest ally—and unprepared for war following a humiliating military defeat against Japan (1904-05), Russia persuaded Serbia to accept the Bosnian annexation.[8] Even the initial condemnations of Britain and France, who had for a time considered calling a conference of the Great Powers, did not prevent the annexation from going through. Neither state was willing to provoke an international war in a region where they had no major interests to protect.[9] Istanbul, in its turn, could do little to alter the circumstances in Bosnia. With no support from the other Great Powers and in the midst of a domestic crisis of its own, Istanbul decided to relinquish its remaining claims on the region. In February 1909, therefore, it signed an agreement with Vienna by which the Ottoman administration officially handed Bosnia over to Austria-Hungary.[10]

Despite international and local opposition, the annexation of Bosnia to Austria-Hungary provided a number of benefits to the region. Now that Austria-Hungary's control was secure, the government continued to liberalize Bosnian society. Muslims benefited in 1909, for example, when Vienna finally granted them cultural autonomy.[11]

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[7] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 111; Joll, 88-89.
[8] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 247-249, 264-266; On the initial German response see, for example, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Annexation of Bosnia, 1908-1909* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1970), 40-43.
[9] See, for example, Schmitt, 36-40, 49-64, 79-99.
[10] Malcolm, 151.
[11] Among other things, the Muslims now had the right to administrate their *vakufs* (Muslim charitable endowments) through an elected vakuf commission (Malcolm, 151 and Donia and Fine, 107). Under

The main political advantage, however, came a year earlier when Vienna promised to introduce a constitution and local parliament where Bosnia's recently established political parties—the Muslim National Organization (1906), the Serb National Organization (1907), and the Croat National Union (1908)—could have a modicum of influence over their domestic affairs.[12] Vienna's decision to continue to liberalize Bosnia was due, in part, to its recognition that the Empire's survival was increasingly dependent on cultivating the loyalty of its national minorities. Indeed, the annexation came at a time when the calls for political autonomy had been growing among the other national groups, some of whom had already acquired varying degrees of self-rule in the previous century.[13] But by the early 1900's, appeals for the democratization of politics only intensified. Just one year prior to Bosnia's annexation, the Emperor had reluctantly introduced universal male suffrage in the Austrian half of the Monarchy.[14] Although Hungary did not adopt the same policy in its domains, both Croatia (a Hungarian possession) and Dalmatia (an Austrian possession)—two provinces in which the majority of the Empire's Serbs and Croats lived—already had a certain level of political autonomy that was supported by local parliaments, administration in Serbo-Croatian, and a lively political culture with numerous political parties.[15] When Austria and Hungary agreed to annex Bosnia, therefore, it was unlikely that they would have done so without also providing Bosnians with due political compensation.

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Ottoman times, it had been common for wealthy Muslims to offer a *vakuf*, or large-scale endowment made in perpetuity that were overseen by Muslim religious leaders, in order to establish and support the development of mosques, schools and other Muslim institutions (Donia and Fine, 67; Malcolm, 68).

[12] For a good summary of the activities of each political party, see Donia and Fine, 101-109.

[13] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 51-78.

[14] Ibid., 54.

[15] Ibid., 57-58, 65-71.

Nevertheless, months before the Emperor's annexation proclamation, rumours of an impending union with Austria-Hungary generated widespread anxiety among the Bosnian Serbs (and the Bosnian Muslims). The Serbs feared that Vienna might halt the political liberalization that Governor Burian had set in motion and, still worse, unite Bosnia to Croatia. This prompted the Serb National Organization (SNO) to request that Vienna grant Bosnia maximum political autonomy. In 1908, the SNO published its demands in its political platform first discussed at the party's founding meeting held in Sarajevo one year earlier. Elected representatives came from all parts of Bosnia and included a long list of some of the country's most well-respected intellectuals who now commanded a leading role in Bosnian Serb politics.[16] These included Aleksa Šantić, Risto Radulović, Nikola Stojanović, Petar Kočić, and Uroš Krulj, who represented the province's leading political newspapers, including Sarajevo's *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) (1905-1914), Banja Luka's *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*) (1907-1908, 1911-1913), and Mostar's *Narod* (*The Nation*) (1907-1908, 1911-1914).[17] The intellectuals' influence on the general ethos of the SNO was clearly reflected in the party's platform, which outlined several concerns that had formed a part of the intellectual discourse in the press, including the need for major social, economic, and educational reform. But the "fundamental principle," the document read, was to secure Bosnia's political autonomy because "every nationality has the right to self-determination."[18]

The members of the SNO recognized, however, that Bosnia represented a special case because of its ethnically-mixed population. They believed that Bosnians needed to

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[16] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 328; Kruševac, *Petar Kočić*, 184-185.
[17] Uroš Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije sa sarajevskim programom.* Mostar: Štamparija "Naroda", [Izdanje D-r Uroša Krulja U Ime Srpske Narodne Organizacije] 1908), 19-20; In order to be closer to the center of politics in Bosnia, both *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*) and *Narod* (*The Nation*) moved to Sarajevo one year after Bosnia's first session of parliament began.
[18] Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije*, 16.

seek out a distinctive kind of political autonomy that did not favour one ethnic group above another, and one to which the principle of multi-ethnic rule could be applied. By implementing a collectivist, political ethos, they argued, Bosnians would be better able to secure their "common work in the common interests of the people, regardless of religion."[19] Nothing short of granting "Bosnia to Bosnians," they insisted, would satisfy them.[20] For the next two years, therefore, before Bosnia officially received a constitution and parliament in 1910, the Bosnian Serb intellectuals-turned-politicians worked towards Bosnia's political integration by campaigning for their collective rights to political autonomy.

**Political Integration**

Without the practical experience of collective, multi-ethnic rule, however, the intellectuals had little to go on except a theoretical knowledge of democracy and their deep desire for internal self-determination. Generally, they envisaged this type of governance within a broadly democratic structure based on the multi-ethnic principle. Their main inspirations came from Western Europe, England and France in particular, where it was believed that the strength and security of those states rested on concepts of law and liberty and on institutions like the parliament that gave the ethnic groups an equal voice in their political affairs. In keeping with these democratic ideals and the logic of ethnic coexistence, the Bosnian Serb intellectuals began calling on Bosnians to share the responsibility of looking after the well-being and progress of all three of the country's ethnic groups. To accomplish this, they and their SNO colleagues were prepared to

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[19] "Memorandum," *Srpska riječ*, Sarajevo, no. 188, August 26, 1908, 1.
[20] Ibid., 1.

combine their efforts with the Muslim National Organization (MNO) that also desired political autonomy in Bosnia.[21] Although Bosnia's third major ethnic party, the Croat National Union (CNU), preferred a political union with Croatia, the SNO insisted that it had not only the Serbs in mind, but "the interests of the entire country and its nationalities."[22] This contradiction was partially resolved by the fact that the Serbs and Muslims constituted nearly 80% of the population, a detail the Serbs exploited on other occasions where their aims intersected with the Muslims'. Whatever the circumstances of their alliance, the Serbs and the Muslims immediately galvanized their efforts in pursuit of Bosnia's political autonomy. The following discusses some of the key documents in which the intellectuals and their political allies identified the core traits of this type of governance—namely that Bosnians had a right to constitution and the right to legislate and administrate themselves—as well as some of the problems they faced in achieving it.

First, as noted above, they believed it was vital that Bosnia have its own constitution. In one joint Memorandum sent to Vienna, the SNO and MNO asserted that "the greatest and most important requirement for the whole of the Bosnian people [...] is: a *Constitution*."[23] The members of each party had long understood the value of such a document in establishing meaningful internal self-determination. Similar political standards had already been established in the neighbouring South Slav lands, where Serbia (1888 and 1903) and Montenegro (1905) had each received a constitution and where Croatia had acquired a modicum of influence over its internal affairs under the Croato-Hungarian *Nagodba* ("Compromise") of 1868. Although these political contracts

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[21] Anonymous, "Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini i ustavno pitanje," *Srpska riječ*, no. 176, August 11, 1908, 2.
[22] Anonymous, "Ustav," *Srpska riječ*, no. 160, July 22, 1908, 1.
[23] "Memorandum," *Srpska riječ*, no. 188, August 26, 1908, 1.

were more democratic in theory than in practice, the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims recognized their political importance and prestige and, therefore, desired to see some sort of constitutional framework applied to Bosnia as well.[24]

Desiring to gain widespread public support and enthusiasm for their cause, Serb intellectuals and politicians embarked on a major press campaign to outline their reasons for seeking a constitution. For one thing, they believed that it would allow Bosnians to become full-fledged citizens of Europe. As noted in the previous chapter, the secularized, Westernized generation of intellectuals was greatly inspired by Western political models of representative government and popular sovereignty and wished to see these ideals realized in Bosnia. This was partially because many of the intellectuals took it for granted that Bosnia should have access to Europe's most modern political structures and institutions. They argued that despite centuries of decline under Ottoman rule, Bosnia now belonged to mainstream Europe by virtue of its being a territory of Austria-Hungary. As the SNO asserted in its political platform, "In these times when" the rights of "self-determination" have been granted "even to Asian nations," Austria-Hungary "cannot deny this right to a nation that by its geographic position is an integral part of Europe."[25] As citizens of Austria-Hungary, moreover, they believed that Bosnians deserved the same rights and privileges that had been bestowed to many of the other provinces in the

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[24] In practice, Montenegro's Prince Nicholas, Serbia's King Petar and Croatia's Hungarian governors were able to retain a firm control over local politics and policies. See Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History* 110; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 36, 65-68.

[25] Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije*, 14-15; Although most intellectuals and politicians wanted to introduce the basic principles of a Western political system following the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, there was the occasional loyalist of Vienna among them. As early as 1904, one writer suggested that given Bosnia's political inexperience, the most suitable political system was Enlightened Absolutism under Austria-Hungary. His newspaper, perhaps not surprisingly, lasted only three years and had little influence among most BH Serb intellectuals. See Anonymous, "Treba li nam ustavni zivot?" *Srpska štampa*, no. 57, August 4, 1904, 1.

Empire.[26] With the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1909, they posited, Vienna could no longer afford to deny Bosnians this basic right without losing face in democratic Europe. "With the proclamation of the constitution in Turkey," one author erroneously asserted, "Bosnia....is presently the one remaining part of Europe, and the world for that matter, where there is no constitution."[27]

Most writers believed, however, that it was not enough to grant Bosnians a constitution written by foreigners and imperialists who, while drafting political contracts containing liberal, democratic principles, often ignored them when the interests of the state were threatened.[28] Aware of these problems and desiring to have a say in the political framework of their homeland, politically conscious writers stressed that only a constitution drafted in cooperation with the Bosnians could accurately reflect the values and interests of the local population. Generally, this meant the small segment of the educated population, consisting mainly of urban, middle class professionals, civil servants, and prosperous landowners who represented the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats in the SNO, MNO, and CNU. Although Vienna had hoped to develop a native, urban intelligentsia and professional class loyal to the state, it was clear that many Serbs and Muslims still distrusted the government to represent them fairly and equally in a constitution. The on-going perception of Catholic, Germanic hegemony represented by the foreign-dominated Provincial Government, in particular, had impressed upon them the necessity of promoting a collective political arrangement that would treat each faith

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[26] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans,* 51-78.
[27] Anonymous, "Ipak se kreče! Ustav u Bosni i Hercegovini na vidiku!" *Srpska riječ*, no. 156, July 18, 1908, 1.
[28] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans,* 65.

community fairly. It was mainly for this reason that the SNO and MNO called for a "constitution....promulgated under the agreement of all three nations of Bosnia."[29]

In order to ensure their equality inside the province, writers also argued that it was essential that Bosnians be allowed to legislate themselves. Next to a constitution, therefore, they believed that the right to legislate was a key component of political self-rule. Influenced by West European political models and aware of their growing impact on politics within the Dual Monarchy, the SNO and its supporters argued that having one's own parliament, where elected representatives of the people could discuss and legislate on issues important to Bosnia, was a fundamental right of every national and territorial community. Appealing to the democratic ideals of popular sovereignty, the SNO and MNO asserted in one joint Memorandum that, "in a constitutional and electoral system, the will of the people would be fully satisfied" for through "the aid of parliament [...] it would be possible to care for our most basic necessities of life."[30]

But from the collective right to legislate, they argued, came also certain collective responsibilities. Representatives from both the SNO and MNO agreed that in order to nurture a sense of their common duties, they would have to form a parliament on a multi-ethnic model. Although the Memorandum did not clearly define what this model meant in practice, it appeared that both parties envisaged a parliament where Bosnians of different faith traditions could work together without having to rely upon ethnic lobby groups. "Through a constitutional and parliamentary system," the Memorandum read, Bosnians

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[29] "Memorandum," *Srpska riječ*, no. 188, August 26, 1908, 1.
[30] Ibid.

"would be guaranteed to work in common and by mutual consent on behalf of the common interests of the people, regardless of religion."[31]

Next to the rights of a constitution and the right to legislate themselves, writers also believed it was important that they be permitted to administrate themselves. If Bosnia was to be granted a maximum amount of internal autonomy, they posited, then only native Bosnians could responsibly administer the province in the best interests of its inhabitants. What concerned the Bosnian elite the most was that until the annexation, Austria-Hungary had not much altered its approach when it came to administering the province. Since the beginning, Vienna had conducted a policy of modernization and rational bureaucracy with a view to creating a contented and apolitical populace.[32] Yet, the gap between the state and the educated segments of Bosnian society only widened over the years. As the urban, educated populations expanded, they became increasingly frustrated by the state's unwillingness to permit more Bosnians into the civil service. Unlike the British who, at the height of their Empire's power and influence, were more active in recruiting and training indigenous officials to govern the colonies, Austria-Hungary followed the French imperial model in which policy-makers were far more selective and cautious in expanding local participation in the administration.[33] As noted in previous chapters, Austria-Hungary had staffed the Bosnian administration mainly with civil servants from the Empire. Of the over 9,000 bureaucrats working in Bosnia in 1907,

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 62.
[33] Although Bosnia was not formally a colony of the Empire, until 1908 it was not a formal part of the Empire either. For this reason, many scholars have argued that Bosnia was treated much like a colonial possession. See, for example, Robert A. Kann, "Trends Toward Colonialism in the Habsburg Empire, 1878-1918: The Case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1878-1914," in Don Karl Rowney and G. Edward Orchard, eds., *Russian and Slavic History* (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, 1977): 164-180.

for example, only 2,400 were from the province.[34] This disparity incited much criticism among all three of Bosnia's ethnic groups in the local press and after 1910, in Bosnia's parliament as well.[35] Vienna's failure to encourage the meaningful participation of the growing middle classes had by then produced an extremely frustrated urban, educated elite whose private discontents fuelled its public concern for Bosnia's political welfare.

It was partially for this reason that Serb and Muslim politicians argued that only Bosnians could administer the province justly and with a genuine interest in the overall welfare of the local population. In the SNO's political platform, party members explained that since "the aim of the state is to preserve the national and cultural interests of its citizens," then Bosnians themselves should be granted the right to oversee the administration of the province.[36] Similarly, in a Memorandum drafted by the MNO and SNO, Serb and Muslim leaders agreed that "all positions allotted to civil servants must be filled by the native inhabitants." They believed this was necessary because, "the participation of the people in every branch of government....would be of lasting significance to the established order in our fatherland and a just development for both state and society."[37] They argued this not only on the basis that Bosnian leaders were more sensitive to the needs of the region, but that it was the basic right of the indigenous inhabitants to rule themselves. As the SNO declared in its party platform, "domestic matters" would, in this way, "be given top priority in all governmental affairs and enterprises."[38]

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[34] Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Hercegovina*, 29.
[35] Babuna, 204.
[36] Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije*, 16.
[37] "Memorandum," *Srpska riječ*, no. 188, August 26, 1908, 1.
[38] Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije*, 18.

To a great extent, the desire to work together in drafting a constitution, and in legislating and administering themselves, marked the beginning of the search for a common political identity in Bosnia. While previous generations had tried to identify Bosnians' broader commonalities (kinship and territoriality), the post-annexation generation of leaders specifically attempted to define Bosnians politically through their core political values and principles. Indeed, it was at this time that the Serbs and Muslims began seriously to move away from the (ethnic) national principle of political unity and towards an ethnically-mixed model. A growing number of them realized that unlike their traditional ethnic politics, which generally required that participants put up limits and compete for resources on behalf of the ethnic community, the battle for political autonomy could only be won by blending the political values and goals of the ethnic groups. Indeed, the Bosnian Serbs recognized that the presence of Greater Serb ideologies had generated a certain level of instability in the region that needed to be overcome, or at least set aside, for the sake of their collective political concerns inside Bosnia. And with some positive models of political cooperation to emulate, including a Serbo-Croatian Coalition that was formed in the Croatian parliament as recently as 1905, Serb and Muslim leaders believed that collective self-rule was possible inside Bosnia as well. As one anonymous writer argued in *Srpska riječ*, "we want a constitution not just for the Serb-Orthodox, but for all the peoples of Bosnia," adding "for besides religion there are no differences among our people; all the masses suffer, whether they are Muslims, Catholics or Orthodox, and the towns-dwellers bear their burdens equally, whatever their faith." For this reason, he concluded, "every urban inhabitant of this land must participate together in our collective affairs."[39]

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[39] Anonymous, "Ustav" *Srpska riječ,* no. 160, July 22, 1908, 1-2.

And yet, as some began promoting a collectivist political ethos, others were more actively practicing it. Leading the way were the members of Bosnia's first ethnically-mixed political party called the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Socijalnodemokratska stranka Bosne i Hercegovine*) who, while epitomizing what the SNO and MNO were advocating, also acted as a reminder of the very real obstacles there still existed among the ethnic leaders in realizing their political integration. The Social Democratic (SD) Party was formed in Bosnia in 1909 and was only the fifth Social Democratic Party among the South Slavs, including those in Croatia (1894), Slovenia (1896), Serbia (1903), and Dalmatia (1903).[40] Prior to World War I, socialist workers movements were strongest in the more industrialized and developed societies of Western Europe, such as Britain, France, and Germany. In Eastern Europe, where there was a much smaller industrialized economy, socialist workers movements were far less significant both socially and politically. The small number of workers, lack of popular support, frequent disagreements over issues like labour union activity, cooperation with middle class parties and attitudes towards the peasantry, made these movements generally ineffective in Eastern Europe before the end of the First World War.[41]

In Bosnia, the SD Party was established partially in response to what its founders believed were the deteriorating conditions and pervasive social injustices among factory and farm workers. Vienna's decision early on to make Bosnia self-supporting made life increasingly difficult for farmers and factory workers whose taxes rose fivefold under

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[40] Ivan Avakumović, *History of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia*, vol. 1 (Aberdeen: The Aberdeen University Press, 1964), 2; Banac, *The National Question*, 196; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 138; Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 352.

[41] There were, of course, some exceptions, including the socialist and revolutionary movements in Russia that culminated in the Revolutions of 1917 and which brought the Bolsheviks to power. For socialist movements in the Balkans see, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 137-139. For the broader social and political climate in Russia prior to the Russian Revolutions of 1917 see, for example, Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 15-39.

Kallay's administration (1882-1903) alone.[42] While tens of thousands of tenant farmers continued to work under an increasingly burdensome agricultural system, factory workers were becoming increasingly restless under the rapid pace of Bosnia's large-scale industrialization. As a result, hundreds of peasants and workers emigrated from Bosnia. Still others rose in rebellion in a series of strikes in Sarajevo that began in 1905 and ultimately led to a General Strike in 1906.[43]

It was during this time that local socialists decided to form the Bosnian Trade Union (1906) that eventually became the SD Party (1909). Although the members of the SD Party, like their socialist counterparts elsewhere in Europe, proclaimed themselves internationalists, believing that workers in different nations shared a common fate, they generally focussed their attentions on the socio-economic problems of the Yugoslavs whom they believed were "really" a single nation that deserved to live independently in a state of their own. Ideologically, the SDs were nominally Marxist, but also drew their inspirations from a broad range of European socialist and anarchist philosophers from Saint Simon to Kautzky and from Masaryk to Kropotkin, whose ideas were prominently featured in the Party's newspaper, *Glas Slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) (1909-1914, 1917-1929).[44] The distribution of this newspaper among the reading public was widespread. In 1909, approximately 2,500 copies were distributed which, in relation to some of Bosnia's

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[42] C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), 745; Robert A. Kann and Zdenek V. David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1984), 432, 462.

[43] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarsiom upravom,* 330-334. Although the General Strike had originated among the workers, a small circle of Bosnian Serb intellectuals were among the agitators, including the rural activist and editor of *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*), Petar Kočić, as well as the editors of the political newspaper *Dan* (*Day*) Lazar Dimitrijevic and Đorđe Nastić (see Kruševac, *Petar Kočič,* 122). Hoping to turn the strike into a generalized revolution to end the land tenure system, Kočić, Dimitrijević, and Nastić agitated mainly among rural workers. They were eventually arrested, jailed and briefly exiled from Sarajevo (see Kruševac, *Petar Kočić*, 315-324; Kann and Zdenek, 432; Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 449).

[44] See for example Anonymous, *Glas Slobode,* no. 151, December 11, 1912.

leading political newspapers, including the SNO's *Srpska riječ*, Archbishop Stadler's *Hrvatski dnevnik* (*Croatian Daily*) (1906-1918), and the MNO's *Musavat* (*Equality*) (1906-1911) each of which had approximately 2,300, 1,500, and 1,480 subscribers in 1907, respectively, indicated not only a growing interest in socialism, but in a collaborative, multi-ethnic approach to politics.[45]

A central component of the SD Party philosophy, which it shared with other socialist groups, was the call to end the tradition of maintaining separate ethnic political programs. The Party members believed that these ethnic divisions had widespread social consequences for Bosnians. They argued that since each ethnic party in Bosnia wished mainly to protect the interests of landlords, merchants, factory owners, and managers, it would be difficult to resolve these issues peaceably and in the best interests of all the Bosnians. In this regard, the SDs were especially critical of the Serb and Muslim parties. They believed that the SNO party, for example, many of whose members were drawn from the merchant and middle classes, would protect middle class interests to the exclusion of those of the peasants and factory workers. The MNO, they believed, was no better. Because the leaders of this party were comprised mainly of landowners, the SDs argued, the MNO would seek to preserve landowning rights over those of tenant farmers. Writers also pointed out that while most Bosnian Serb intellectuals and Serb and Muslim politicians talked of working with the other ethnic groups, they did very little about this, forming no multi-ethnic political parties. They believed this was the case because the Serb and Muslim parties did not wish to risk compromising their ethnic- and class-based interests. As a result, they argued, the only way to resolve these issues was to pursue a socialist program. In so doing, the ethnic groups could work collectively at the highest

[45] Džaja, 97-101.

political levels, ensuring that farmers' and workers' interests would form an integral part of Bosnian politics. For this reason, they asserted, the SD Party represented a model that the other parties should follow.[46]

The socialists were, nevertheless, realistic about Bosnia's deeply-felt ethnic loyalties. As one contributing writer of *Glas slobode* wrote, "one of the main questions to cut deeply into public life is without a doubt" the "national [i.e. ethnic] question" which "is always on the daily agenda of the news, associations, clubs, and of authoritative assemblages."[47] Although the SD Party was fundamentally concerned with social problems, it believed that Bosnia's social and ethnic differences represented two sides of the same coin as demonstrated by the ethnic- and class-based interests of the other political parties in Bosnia. And for this reason, the SDs asserted, they hoped to eliminate these ethnic divisions, believing that its Party was uniquely prepared to integrate Bosnians both in organization and ethos. "We, social democrats must reaffirm" that "we are the only ones capable" of "waging a war on all sides and for all sides for the national-cultural interests of the people," because "we do not fall into step with [...] nationalist demagoguery."[48]

In the few short years after Bosnia's annexation, it was clear that the multi-ethnic principal had been gaining momentum among Bosnia's leaders. The SNO and MNO's desire to work together to achieve this and the formation of Bosnia's first ethnically-mixed political party in 1909 showed much progress in this regard. Although the SD Party was critical of the ethnic parties for not showing enough strength in overcoming

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[46]Aco "Ogledalo današnjeg društva," *Glas slobode*, no. 15, September 2, 1909, 2; J.[ovo] Šmitran, "Prosjak," *Glas slobode*, no. 88, July 17, 1912, 1-2; J.[ovo] Šmitran, "U pomoć!..." *Glas slobode*, no. 108, September 1, 1912, 1.
[47] The author uses the terms "narod" and "nacije" as synonyms, meaning "nation."
[48] Anonymous, "Narodnosno pitanje i socijalna demokracija," *Glas slobode*, no. 5, May 22, 1909, 2.

their ethnically- and economically-based differences, there was still much agreement among them, namely in their desire to see the political integration of their country.

And yet, there were still two other major obstacles that stood in the way of those who favoured the multi-ethnic political model in Bosnia. The first of these came "from below," namely from among those Bosnians who continued to identify their interests in strictly ethnic and confessional terms. The vast majority of mainly rural farmers, for example, continued to live much as they did during Ottoman times, shaped largely by their local confessional schools and religious institutions, which distanced them from the modern secular, national, and political values of the age. Many were either illiterate or altogether ignorant of liberal political philosophies. As a result, the intellectuals often found themselves in the awkward position of both campaigning and explaining the basic principles of democracy.[49] Similar problems had plagued their political counterparts elsewhere in the Balkans, where the vocabulary of democracy and liberalism had by then become commonplace among the urban, educated elites, but was still too abstract for their rural and less-educated counterparts.[50] In Bosnia, Serb leaders found it particularly difficult to spread the idea of democracy without a native-controlled political system or a literate majority already educated on Western political ideals. Indeed, the public's disinterest and implicit rejection of this was demonstrated powerfully during the SNO and MNO's joint campaigns for a constitution when public meetings organized to discuss the issue in Sarajevo in 1908 were poorly attended. As one frustrated author wrote, "For

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[49] See, for example, U., "Demokratija," *Srpska rijec*, no. 16, January 23, 1910, 1-2.

[50] See, for example, Longworth, 153; The independent states of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Greece, and an autonomous Bulgaria, for example, emulated certain West European processes by introducing national constitutions, national parliaments, and fair electoral procedures, and yet the ideological, social, and economic disparities between urban and rural inhabitants continued to grow in the years prior to World War I as governments concentrated their efforts on transforming the mainly urban populations, who held the bulk of the nations' political and economic power, into loyal citizens of the state. See Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, 26-27; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 15-19, 48-50.

thirty years we have led a courageous battle under the most difficult of circumstances," that is the "struggle to liberate your church, but now you do not even stir to liberate yourselves!" As the same author explained, the constitutional campaigns were of far greater importance because "neither a church, nor a school, nor your voice, nor your homeland, nor your home, nor a township, nor a district, nor your fatherland can be free until you yourselves are free."[51]

One solution that some of the intellectuals believed could galvanize the local population was to press on with their efforts to "enlighten" the reading public about democracy, its ideals and benefits. In an article published in early 1910, one anonymous writer maintained that in Bosnia "democracy" was among the "most used expressions" yet the "least understood." Although they had never lived under a democratic system, the author explained, it was not a new and untested idea, having developed over several centuries, first in ancient Greece and later in France and the rest of Western Europe. Now, in the modern era, he argued, democrats from across Europe were working "to protect the land, and to reform it so that its highest authority is the law" under which "its citizens are all equal." For this reason, he asserted, Bosnians needed to embrace this idea, arguing that "democracy is an idea that is celebrated by all who love justice, equality, culture and morality" and which encourages "every person to realize his talents in service to society."[52] As the same author recognized, however, it was up to "the people's intelligentsia to restore and sow" the idea of democracy "first into our own hearts and then into those of our own company."[53]

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[51] Anonymous, "Narod mora progovoriti!" *Srpska rijec*, no. 179, August 14, 1908, 1.
[52] U., "Demokratija," *Srpska rijec*, no. 16, January 23, 1910, 1-2.
[53] Ibid.

For some, including the publicist and editor of *Srpska riječ*, Djordje A. Čokorilo, this "company" included the youngest and most impressionable generation. Čokorilo believed that indoctrinating young Bosnian Serbs was absolutely essential for the long-term success of nation-building in Bosnia. To that end, he wrote a first grade primer for schoolchildren attending Bosnian Serb confessional schools called *The First Serb National Reader*, that became available in 1909 just two years prior to primary school education becoming compulsory in Bosnia. Čokorilo's intention, in his own words, was to "support the healthy spirit of civilization in our people," which for him meant that "good traditions" be "imbued with new and honourable practices" that reflected the modern, democratic spirit of the times. With this in mind, Čokorilo introduced his young readers to a broad range of terms including "freedom," "constitution," and "parliament" and stressed the importance of civic duties and volunteerism. Providing the foundation for these discussions, however, were West European political institutions and the political philosophies of writers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Victor Hugo, and Cicero as well as a translation of the entire introduction to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen.[54]

The main objective of Čokorilo's text was to encourage his young readers to identify with a more Western and democratic political vision that encouraged a common political identity and loyalty to Bosnia. Influenced by writers like Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović, Čokorilo argued that it was possible to nurture a more unifying and ethnically "neutral" identity without de-nationalizing the ethnic groups. Čokorilo explained that unlike a "tribal [*plemenska*]" loyalty that rested on "the patriotism of a

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[54] Djordje A. Čokorilo, *Prva srpska narodna čitanka.* (Sarajevo: Srpska dionicarska štamparija, 1909), 84-85.

single [ethnic] nation [*Narod*]," the "patriotism" of an ethnically-mixed territory would encourage a shared "love for the fatherland" and a "*love for our compatriots*." In this way, he believed, Bosnia could become a strong, unified and, above all, durable political entity with its own political culture and identity. "Which ties will play a decisive role in the survival of our fatherland?" he asked. The answer?: "A common *language, habits, flag, historical traditions*" and "eventually a *common government*." For this reason, he wrote, Bosnians had certain collective political responsibilities, without which, the survival of their separate ethnic groups would become threatened. "*Love for the fatherland* (patriotism)" he asserted meant that "every one among us work for the interests of us all." Unless they worked together, he concluded, "a single [ethnic] national group (*Narod*) cannot progress nor long survive."[55]

Even while writers hoped to clear away the impediments of mobilizing the local populations, there was still one other major obstacle to their political progress, namely "from above." Although the Emperor had promised to introduce a parliament along ethnic lines, it was not confirmed until some time after the annexation proclamation when details of the constitution and parliamentary structure were made public. The proposed arrangement would provide for a limited franchise that guaranteed the greatest number of elected positions to the middle and upper classes, a feature that was common elsewhere in Europe. However, it would also provide for the representation of separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim political parties and not ethnically-mixed ones. Governor Burian defended this confessional and curial system on the basis that "the inhabitants in Bosnia" had "from time immemorial been divided into three confessions." He believed that the arrangement was a logical and practical necessity, especially if they wished "to guarantee" the

[55]Ibid., 99.

country's "religious peace in the foreseeable future."[56] Burian, however, had not only the peace of Bosnia in mind. He wished also to maintain effective control over the province by eliminating potential obstacles to Austro-Hungarian rule, including the formation of powerful inter-ethnic alliances. Informing his decision, in part, was the Monarchy's continuing efforts to contain the nationalist movements. Although certain national leaders continued to hope that the Empire would be reorganized into national entities, others had increasingly stressed their desire for political independence from the Empire.[57] As a Hungarian, Burian was especially aware of the nationalities problem in the Hungarian crown lands, in Croatia in particular where, despite Budapest's efforts to "Magyarize" the Serbs and Croats and to pursue a policy of divide-and-rule, the Serb and Croats had, as noted earlier, formed a coalition in parliament in 1905.[58] Although these policies ultimately weakened the legitimacy of Budapest's rule among non-Magyars, their disastrous outcome was not a foregone conclusion. The prevailing attitude among policy-makers like Burian was that divide-and-rule politics was an effective means of restricting nationalist movements in the Empire. Burian hoped that his ethnic curial system in Bosnia would thus limit the local population's access to political power by keeping traditional ethnic and social divisions intact.

As could be expected, some intellectuals and political leaders openly protested the ethnic curial system introduced in Bosnia. One Bosnian Serb writer called the constitution a "mockery" and "not only because it is based on a confessional curial foundation," but

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[56] F[inance] M[inister] baron Burian, "Iz austro-ugarskih delegacija. Ministar baron Burian o ustavnim reformama u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Sarajevski list,* no. 128, October 25, 1908, 1.
[57] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 51-78; Kohn, *The Habsburg Empire*, 58-84.
[58] See, for example, Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 62; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 67-68.

because it reflected "a most primitive" and "crude anachronism."[59] The Social Democrats were similarly frustrated, arguing that "the confessional curial system" was "directly against the interests of the people." This, they stressed, was complicated by the dominance of the wealthy, traditional elite who would look after its own, class-based interests "rather than those of all the people." The Social Democrats, in turn, advocated the installation of a secular political system in Bosnia. "Religion," they asserted, "need not mix into the affairs of state." Using the Social Democratic Party as an example, one member argued that "we have organized ourselves without regard for religion or nationality [*narodnosti*]" and promised that if elected, party members would place "numerous obstacles" in the way of Austria-Hungary's ethnically divisive political system.[60]

A very few of the Bosnian Serbs, however, accepted the ethnically-based curial system as a positive, albeit temporary arrangement. They did so partially because the Serbs, who constituted the relative majority in Bosnia, would have a greater number of delegates to send to parliament. But they also believed that some form of political power was better than none. One anonymous contributor to *Srpska riječ* argued that until that "day [comes] when our people will not organize along confessional lines" they would "for now have to settle with these deficient organizations."[61] Nikola Stojanović, a lawyer and member of the SNO, went much further. He believed that an ethnically-divided parliament had, in fact, a two-fold benefit for Bosnians. First, Stojanović argued, it offered politicians from each ethnic party the unique opportunity to defend the interests of their ethnic group at the highest political level available to them. For this reason, he

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[59] Anonymous, "Ustav na vratima," *Srpska riječ*, no. 4, January 8, 1910, 1.
[60] Mi, "Naša ustavnost," *Glas slobode*, no. 1, April 16, 1909, 3.
[61] Anonymous, "Rad islamske organizacije," *Srpska riječ*, no. 14, January 19, 1908, 1.

wrote, the Bosnian Serbs needed to take full advantage, saying "we [the Serbs] need to become accustomed to the notion of being a selfish nation." Stojanović believed that this attitude would ensure that their interests would be defended fully and completely in the political realm. But he also believed that from national selfishness flowed a second important benefit, namely in creating an atmosphere of trust and reconciliation among the ethnic groups in parliament. Stojanović argued that if each ethnic party were given a forum to discuss face-to-face the social, cultural, and political interests of their respective communities, it would raise cultural awareness and mutual understanding among them. This would, in turn, promote ethnic tolerance and help pave the way towards ever-greater political cooperation. "Only that kind of thinking can lead us towards mutual tolerance and solidarity."[62] Although it was well known that Stojanović supported Greater Serb nationalism,[63] he was also a political pragmatist and, following the annexation, he adjusted his political thinking accordingly. As he wrote in 1908, ethnic interests should not supercede collective Bosnian ones. For the sake of the "progress of our fatherland," he concluded, "confessional and party motives must always be placed behind a general [Bosnian] patriotism."[64]

In 1910, therefore, on the eve of the promulgation of the constitution and opening of the parliament the forces supporting inter-ethnic politics were gaining momentum in Bosnia. Many Bosnian Serb intellectuals and politicians felt that despite the existence of separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim political parties, they could overcome this challenge.

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[62] Nikola Stojanović, "Na pragu novog doba," *Pregled*, no. 1, February 1, 1910, 2-4.
[63] In 1902 the lawyer published a highly controversial tract called *Srbi i Hrvati* (*Serbs and Croats*), in which he accused the Croats of lacking a sense of community and predicted their extinction. For this reason, he argued, the South Slavs needed to look to the Serbs and to Serbia in particular for their liberation and unification in a state of their own. The work was first published as an article in the Zagreb Serb newspaper *Srbobran* (*The Serb Defender*) in 1902 and later as a political tract called, *Srbi i Hrvati. (Drugo Izdanje S Pogovorom).* (U Novome Sadu: Srpska Štamparija Dra Svetozara Miletića, 1902).
[64] Stojanović, "Na pragu novog doba," 4.

They believed that promoting a collective political culture was an essential strategy, despite certain obstacles "from above," "from below," and from among some of the political leaders themselves. In the two years between the annexation in October 1908 and the opening of parliament in June 1910, they actively encouraged a multi-ethnic spirit of cooperation based on a collaborative political framework. To that end, they stressed the need to build and consolidate these political ideals in an ethnically-mixed environment that would ensure that the ethnic groups worked together under a common constitution and parliament. In this way, they treated Bosnia's provincial status not as an end itself, but as the first step towards combining their political interests with a view to gaining political autonomy in Bosnia. Although some initially distrusted Vienna's willingness to follow through on its promise to introduce a constitution and parliament, they remained cautiously optimistic.

Their optimism, however, soon turned to apprehension when on the first day of the first session of parliament a student from Herzegovina named Bogdan Žerajić (1886-1910) attempted to assassinate General Varesanin, the Austro-Hungarian military governor of Bosnia. Hoping to overthrow Austro-Hungarian rule in favour of a Greater Serb state, Žerajić had traveled to Sarajevo with the intention of turning attention to his cause. After firing five shots, all of which missed the governor, he used the sixth to commit suicide.[65] Bosnia's first parliamentary session was off to an undesirable start. Although parliamentarians from all sides condemned the assassination attempt, it was clear that the country's road to nation-building would be bumpy.[66]

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[65] Malcolm, 153.
[66] *Stenografski izvjestaj 11. sjednice sabora Bosne I Hercegovine držane dne 3. juna 1910. u Sarajevu*, 7.

**Conclusion**

Although Bosnia was not an ideal model for nation-building, an increasing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to encourage it at this time. The secularization and Westernization of the younger generation, in particular, proved to be an important step in this direction. Influenced by the ideal of the civic (political) nations of the West and of the concept of collective political progress, the intellectuals, who were now among the leading political figures in Bosnia, were spurred on to encourage a mult-ethnic, political ethos. Specifically, they believed that the Bosnians had a right to a constitution, a right to legislate, and a right to administrate themselves within a broadly democratic framework of mutual cooperation. In this way, the intellectuals hoped to bridge the ethnic divisions of their country on the road towards achieving Bosnia's political autonomy.

And yet the Žerajić assassination attempt demonstrated how wrong some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals had been in estimating popular support for the political nation-building project. A substantial ideological gap still existed between themselves and a country that was largely illiterate and influenced mainly by ethnic, nationalist concerns. Clearly, the liberalization of Bosnian Serb politics did not have an appreciable effect among groups outside of the political mainstream who had more tenuous ties to the levers of political power than did their political representatives. Austro-Hungarian rule and the more recent annexation, therefore, had not only alienated some of the intellectuals and political leaders from their occupiers, but from their less-educated and rural counterparts as well. In the coming years, the cultural and political elite would soon find that imagining collective progress was much simpler than carrying it out. As the next chapter

shows, concrete plans were repeatedly to flounder on ethnic and religious politics, calling into question the potential success of nation-building in Bosnia.

# Chapter 5
# Cooperation and Dissent:
# The Politics of Nation-Building (1910-1914)

## Introduction

Bosnia's first experiment in parliamentary democracy between 1910 and 1914 took place under extraordinary circumstances in its history and in the history of Europe. It was an explosive time that began with the assassination attempt on the Austro-Hungarian military governor of Bosnia on the first day of the first session of parliament and ended with the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914, the "shot heard round the world," that served as a catalyst for the First World War (1914-1918). Flanked by these two events came also two major Balkan wars (1912-1913) that, some argue, were a dress rehearsal for World War I.[1]

In this critical period in the history of Europe, Bosnia began its first official steps towards its political integration. For the Bosnian Serb intellectuals-turned-politicians, it represented the opportunity to realize the ideal of collective political progress in Bosnia. Above all, they hoped that parliament would resolve the existing grievances among the ethnic groups (and possibly between them and their Austro-Hungarian administrators). Unfortunately, parliamentary politics failed to minimize inter-ethnic tensions and actually exacerbated them. Indeed, it was not long after parliament convened in June 1910 that its deputies began to pit ethnic group interests against one another. This was partially because parliament forced to the forefront the differing political, social, and cultural goals of the ethnic parties. Although many hoped to build harmonious inter-ethnic relationships

[1] The literature on the origins of World War I is enormous. For an excellent summary of most of the major arguments see, for example, Joll, *The Origins of the First World War*. On the Balkan Wars' role in contributing to the tensions that started World War I see, for example, Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

within parliament, they often found themselves advancing their own agenda at the expense of those of the other ethnic groups. Parliament became a zero-sum game in which every gain for one ethnic community was perceived as a loss for the others.[2]

This chapter examines how Bosnia's first experiment in parliamentary democracy served to highlight differences and increase ethnic antagonisms. It will analyze some of the most contentious political, social, and cultural issues of the day, with a special emphasis on the Bosnian Serb intellectuals in both parliament and the press. The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first provides a brief description of Bosnia's political parties and their major objectives, while the second examines some of the key issues that became obstacles to carrying out nation-building in Bosnia before World War I.

**Political Groupings in the Bosnian Parliament**

Although the establishment of a parliament in 1910 was a major step forward towards the political integration of Bosnia, there were three main restrictions that characterized the parliament of Vienna's creation. First, it had a limited franchise that guaranteed the greatest number of elected positions to the middle and upper classes, a feature that was not uncommon in Europe at this time. In Bosnia, this complex curial system permitted one representative for every 10,000 peasants, one for every 2,300 urban residents and one for every 80 landowners. In this way, Vienna hoped that the wealthier and conservative elements would dominate the parliament. Second, parliament had no sovereign legislative power. All bills passed in the Bosnian parliament were subject to

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[2] For studies that explore these problems in multi-ethnic societies, see, for example, the following studies: Connor, *Ethnonationalism*; Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); See also Dejan Guzina, "Theory and Practice of Nationalism" in "Nationalism in the Context of an Illiberal Multinational State: The Case of Serbia" (unpublished PhD diss., Carleton University, 2000), 41, 50.

approval by both the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments and by the Joint Ministry of Finance whose Finance Minister Istvan Burian continued in his role as Governor of Bosnia. Third, in order to continue its policy of limited tolerance towards ethnic political expression, Vienna allowed the number of deputies to reflect the general ethnic proportions of the population (31 Serbs, 24 Muslims, 16 Croats, and 1 Jew).[3]

By creating these restrictions, Austria-Hungary was attempting to cobble together a loyal grouping of politicians who would be more sympathetic to its interests. As Vienna had hoped, all seats in parliament were won by members of the country's main ethnic political parties. These included the Muslim National Organization, the Croat National Union, the Croat Catholic Association, and the Serb National Organization. The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia, the only ethnically-mixed political party, did not win a single seat, thus reflecting the conservative views of Bosnia's constituents.[4]

As could be expected, the ethnic and social composition of each party greatly determined its goals in parliament. The Muslim National Organization (MNO), which was established in 1906, for example, drew its members largely from the landowning class, many of whom had led the Muslim cultural autonomy movement (1899-1909). After achieving their cultural autonomy in 1909, however, the Muslim elite was more loyal to Austria-Hungary and became one of the chief proponents of maintaining the social and economic status quo. During the parliamentary period, the MNO's principal goal was to preserve the traditional privileges of the Muslim landowners against Serb and

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[3] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom,*, 353-357; Donia and Fine, 100. Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 62-63.
[4] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 357-358.

Croat desires to reform the agrarian system in which Serbs and Croats constituted the majority of tenant farmers.[5]

Croat parliamentarians could not claim the same kind of unity, at least not initially. They were divided into two political parties, the first of which was the Croat National Union (CNU). The CNU was established in 1908 by moderate secular nationalists that, like the MNO, was loyal to Austria-Hungary. Its principal goals for Bosnia, however, were quite different. Most members of the CNU believed that Bosnia was a Croatian land and that its Muslim inhabitants were originally Croats who had converted to Islam during the Ottoman era. They hoped that Bosnia would join with Croatia and thereby increase the Bosnian Croats' political influence within the province. In the meantime, the CNU desired to form an alliance with the Muslims in order to form a majority in parliament, despite the thorny issue of agrarian reform.[6]

The second Croat political party was the Croat Catholic Association (CCA). Established in 1910 and led by Bosnia's Catholic Archbishop Joseph Stadler, the party focused on spreading Catholic religious ideals in Bosnia. The Archbishop hoped to stem the tide of secularism that was influencing the urban, educated Croat elite, including the members of the CNU. Stadler hoped to persuade Croat politicians of the social and political benefits of "Catholicizing" the Bosnian Muslims. The Archbishop had already acquired some notoriety over his aggressive efforts to convert Muslims to Catholicism

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[5] Donia and Fine, 79, 108; Donia, *Islam Under the Double* Eagl,e*:* 169, 171; A second party named the Muslim Progressive Party (MPP) had formed at the same time as the MNO, but it received little popular support and disappeared in just a few short years. Although members of the MPP envisaged much broader social and economic reforms for average Muslims, including peasants, workers and craftsmen than had the MNO, and although they supported religious equality in all things, social, cultural and political, they could not shake the reputation they had for once having supported the idea that Muslims declare themselves Croats. Even after renouncing this position, the average voter did not trust party members, voting instead for the MNO whose interests were, above all, to preserve landowning privileges. See, for example, Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 441-444.

[6] Donia and Fine, 103.

during the early years of Austro-Hungarian rule. Stadler's CCA, however, did not reflect the opinions of the vast majority of Croat voters. In the 1910 elections, the CCA won only 4 seats, while the remaining 12 were won by the CNU, thus reflecting a majority of support for moderate national views.[7] It was not until 1912, in an effort to form a united front in parliament, however, that the CCA and CNU fused into a single political party.[8]

Bosnia's third major ethnic party was the Serb National Organization (SNO). Established in 1907, the SNO based its unity on its claims that Bosnia was "really" a Serb land, that the Muslims were originally Serbs, and that the country would benefit in a political union with Serbia.[9] Of all Bosnia's political parties, however, it was the most fragmented. Following the elections of 1910 the SNO split into three political factions. The first was comprised mainly of the traditional, older elite who had led the cultural autonomy movement (1896-1905) and who had founded the political newspaper *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) (1905-1914). Although the members of this faction were not Austro-Hungarian loyalists, they were opportunistic and more willing to cooperate with Vienna than most other Serb deputies.[10] The second political faction congregated around the newspaper *Narod* (*The Nation*) (1907-1908, 1911-1914). Its leaders included a diverse grouping of intellectuals, such as Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović and many Westernized, secularized Serbs who held to differing national ideologies, including Greater Serb nationalists like Nikola Stojanović and Uroš Krulj, and Yugoslav advocates,

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[7] Ibid., 104, 106.
[8] Kann and Zdenek, 406-407.
[9] Donia and Fine, 102; Because of the sensitive nature of Serbian nationalist ideologies, those advocating a political union with Serbia chose to express this in anonymity, using pseudonyms and by leaving their work unsigned in the SNO's three main political newspapers, *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*), *Narod* (*Nation*) and *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*).
[10] Some Serb deputies accused these opportunistic politicians of not only lacking a clear political platform, but as being disloyal to the broader Bosnian Serb community. See, for example, Anonymous, "Raspadanje srpskog kluba," *Glas slobode*, no. 42, April 4, 1912, 1.; Ćorović, *Političke prilike*, 38.

like Risto Radulović.[11] Although its members supported a broad spectrum of nationalist ideologies, their immediate goals revolved around maximizing the political and civil rights of the Serbs in Bosnia.[12] The SNO's third political faction was led by the folk writer and social radical Petar Kočić, whose newspaper *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*) (1907-1908, 1911-1913) became this group's political mouthpiece. What made Kočić's group different from the others was that it was primarily concerned with the condition of the Serb peasant. Kočić had a personal investment in the so-called "Agrarian Question," having been born into a peasant family in western Bosnia.[13] Although the other two factions also desired reforms in the countryside they, like their CNU and CCA counterparts, were careful not to weaken their chances of establishing a coalition with the Muslims with a view to forming a majority in parliament.[14]

As could be expected, this diverse grouping of political parties proved useful in defending specific ethnic interests. But it also greatly contributed to a gradual deterioration in ethnic political relations that ultimately prevented the deputies from working together on their common goals. Instead of building political bridges and closing the ethnic gap, the political parties increasingly used parliament as a forum to articulate and impose their ethnic agendas. In a country whose ethnic communities were more used to negotiating with their rulers than with one another, the parliament became yet another arena where it was necessary to compete for influence and power. And although

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[11] Although none supported Trialism, they did hope that by building harmonious cultural and political relationships with the South Slavs outside of Bosnia, in Austria-Hungary and Serbia, this could eventually lead to a union of Bosnia with Serbia and the other South Slavs in an independent South Slav state.
[12] Uroš Krulj, "'Narodova' Grupa. Njen rad i ideologija"; Ćorović, 38.
[13] The studies covering Kočić's personal and political life are many. Just a few of these include Todor Kruševac's seminal biography *Petar Kočić*, Nicholas Moravčevich, "The Village Story in Serbian Literature: The Peasant in the Prose of Petar Kočić," *South Eastern European Journal* 21, no. 4 (1977): 506-516; Dragomir Gajević, "Bosna—Zemlja i ljudi u djelu Petra Kočića," *Život* 71, no. 1 (Jan. 1987): 84-101.
[14] Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle*, 179.

parliamentary problems were not merely the result of existing ethnic (and social) differences, it does help to explain why deputies desirous of cooperating with one another often clashed over the manner in which resources were to be used and laws were shaped. The following takes a closer look at three key issues that contributed to this widening ethnic gap in (and outside) of parliament, namely Bosnia's political status, the agrarian system, and language use in the province.

**The Question of Bosnia's Political Status**

Following the elections of 1910, the chief aim of many Bosnian deputies was to use parliamentary tactics to increase their collective political influence in Bosnia. They believed that in order to guarantee the success of their respective causes, they would have to ensure that parliament, and not the foreign-dominated Provincial Government, become the hub of political power. It was unclear, however, how they would share this power in a divided parliament where ethnic interests were pitted against one another. At a time when South Slav nationalism (Serb, Croat, and Yugoslav) was gaining momentum and when two Balkan Wars (1912-13) would soon threaten to destabilize the Balkan region, it would become increasingly difficult for Bosnia's leaders to create a common political vision in Bosnia before the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. As a result, they gradually came to support conflicting visions concerning Bosnia's political status within the Empire. This was because each was cast with an eye on securing the maximum possible benefits for their respective ethnic communities. While some favoured political autonomy for Bosnia (mainly the Serbs and Muslims), others preferred Trialism with Bosnia joined to Croatia (mainly the Croats), while still others wished to unite Bosnia with Serbia (mainly the Serbs). These three rival conceptions polarized the ethnic parties, making it

increasingly difficult to nurture common political goals, aspirations and, ultimately, a unifying political identity. The following briefly outlines the emergence of these conflicting political visions.

In the case of political autonomy, this idea had circulated in Bosnia long before the formation of parliament in 1910. Since at least the early nineteenth century, local Muslim leaders began to consider autonomy as an alternative to Ottoman corruption, administrative decay, and mismanagement in Bosnia.[15] Inspiring them, in part, were a series of successful autonomy and independence movements, including ones in Greece, Egypt, Bulgaria, and Romania, that had plagued the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century. Especially influential were the revolts in Serbia in 1804 and 1813-1815 that, with the aid of Russia, eventually led to Serbia's political autonomy in 1830 and independence in 1878. As the first South Slav region to have been liberated from foreign rule, Serbia became a country to envy and emulate as it strove to develop a modern administration and military supported by a small, but growing educated and urban population.[16] As the century progressed, other South Slav movements calling for political autonomy and independence grew apace in the Ottoman Empire and increasingly in neighbouring Austria-Hungary where provinces like Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia eventually acquired some political control over their domestic affairs.[17] By the time Bosnia became an occupied territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, the idea of

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[15] Džaja, 212.
[16] See, for example, Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 46-56.
[17] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 51-78, *in passim*.

autonomy had gathered force among the Muslims, a very few Croats, and most Serbs, the latter of whom saw this as the next best option to a political union with Serbia.[18]

When the first session of parliament opened in 1910, therefore, the hope of acquiring political autonomy was not far from the minds of many Bosnian politicians. Despite their divergent political programs, a number of Serb, Muslim, and Croat deputies initially worked together to maximize their collective power in Bosnia. With the exception of Josip Stadler's CCA party that remained focused on uniting Bosnia and Croatia, the remaining ethnic parties rallied together to bring about Bosnia's full internal autonomy. In June 1910, key members of the SNO, MNO, and CNU presented a joint resolution seeking direct legislative power in Bosnia's domestic affairs. In presenting the resolution, Milan Srškić (1880-1937), a Serb deputy and lawyer from Sarajevo, explained that since parliament did "not have legislative powers" it was "difficult to imagine that in our country our people could progress politically, culturally, economically, and socially."[19] Srškić and others objected especially to the ethnic curial system that they viewed as a major stumbling block to achieving maximum political autonomy in Bosnia. They believed that as long as their ethnic and curial politics superceded Bosnia's general welfare, it would be difficult to cooperate effectively or function harmoniously in parliament. As another Serb lawyer and deputy, Živko Nježić (1878-1964), said in

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[18] Although Croats were largely ready to accept Catholic occupation, Serbs and Muslims conspired to overturn Austro-Hungarian rule even after Vienna's military conquest of the country that year. See, for example, Donia, *Sarajevo*, 45-55; Although historian Vladimir Ćorović argues that the idea of autonomy surfaced as far back as the seventeenth century (see, for example, Ćorović, *Političke prilike*, 19, 25, 31), this does not seem likely given more recent studies such as Michael Robert Hickock's *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia* (Leiden, the Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 1997) that demonstrates how eighteenth century governors of the province ruled with the support of the local populace. Similarly, in his study *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State*, Kemal Karpat shows how major social and economic reforms in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century directly contributed to the rise of nationalist cultural and political movements in the nineteenth century.

[19] *Stenografski izveštaj V. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 10. juna 1910. u Sarajevu*, 37, 39-40.

parliament, "our constitution has emphasized our confessional and class differences," and for this reason "we cannot work [...] as we could and as we should."[20] Indeed, over the next several months little progress was made in parliament and no major reforms were introduced by the parties collectively. Commenting on this on-going political fragmentation in parliament, Petar Kočić urged his fellow-parliamentarians to continue "to work for the overall interests of this country, for the expansion of constitutional and civic freedoms, for the transformation of this monstrous electoral confessional system. These are the tasks for which we must tirelessly and persistently work."[21]

Despite the objections raised in parliament, the Austro-Hungarian authorities remained reluctant both to reverse the ethnic curial system and to grant Bosnia full political autonomy. This was partially because policy-makers believed that the strength of the Austro-Hungarian Empire increasingly depended on the Monarchy's ability to exploit ethnic/national antagonisms from within. As noted in previous chapters, Vienna and Budapest often employed a strategy of divide-and-rule in an effort to prevent the formation of strong inter-ethnic alliances. Such was the case in Croatia, where its former Governor Khuen-Hedarvary had until 1905 kept the Serbs and Croats from uniting in a formal coalition in parliament.[22] Not wishing the same to occur in Bosnia, Vienna later reinforced its position in April 1912 when it decided to replace the civil head of Bosnia's Provincial Government with General Potiorek (1853-1933), the commander of the V and

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[20] *Stenografski izvještaj V. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 10. juna 1910. u Sarajevu*, 52.
[21] *Stenografski izvještaj III. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 16. oktobra 1911. u Sarajevu*, 15; The Social Democratic Party founded in 1909 agreed with Kočić. Arguing in their political newspaper *Voice of Freedom*, the Social Democrats stated that such national political divisions made the parliament *a priori* dysfunctional. They believed that this only detracted from the real work of improving the overall welfare of the masses. See Anonymous, "IV. Kongres Socijal-demokratske stranke," *Glas slobode*,no. 79, June 26, 1912, 3.
[22] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 68-69; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 75-77.

VII Army Corps. By combining the civil and military administration of Bosnia, Vienna made clear its intention to uphold the political status quo.[23]

Vienna's recalcitrance contributed, in part, to the weakening spirit of cooperation in parliament that followed. With no support from the Provincial Government to move forward together, the ethnic parties gradually retreated to the more familiar politics of ethnic competition and rivalry. Although they embraced the ideals of ethnic equality in principle, history and experience taught them that only those with a preponderance of power had the greatest chance of advancing their agenda. To some extent, it was the very principle of democracy, of majority rule, that contributed to the intensification of ethnic divisions in parliament. With no ethnic community holding an absolute majority either in parliament or among the general populace, the introduction of (neo-) democratic principles to Bosnia, alongside an ethnic curial system, virtually guaranteed that ethnic conflicts would increase as each party sought to gain the upper hand. This meant that although the deputies were initially inspired to combine their political strength and to seek autonomy in Bosnia, they eventually fell back on supporting or at least holding out for more traditional political objectives that ultimately reinforced ethnic divisions in parliament.

Among the Croats, the most popular of these political objectives, and one that held the greatest benefits for them, was Trialism. As noted in previous chapters, nationalists from Croatia had since the latter part of the nineteenth century desired to become the third political partner in the Empire. They proposed that Croatia-Slavonia be

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[23] Some argue that this move was simply a reversion to Austria-Hungary's earlier policy of "discrete absolutism" in Bosnia. See Milorad Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars on Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina," in Kiraly and Djordjević, eds., *European Society and the Balkan Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987),: 267; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Previranja u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini 1912. godine," in *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968), 107-108.

joined to Dalmatia and to Bosnia in an enlarged Croatian state and thus expand the Dual Monarchy to a Triple Monarchy.[24] As could be expected, most Croat leaders from Bosnia supported Trialism partially because it meant that they would no longer be the smallest ethnic group. It also seemed a natural next step and political complement to the traditional social and cultural ties Bosnian Croats had enjoyed with their ethnic counterparts in Croatia.[25] Following the death of Bosnia's conservative Governor Kallay in 1903, the Bosnian Croat leadership began to discuss the possibility for just such a union. At a meeting of mainly secular Croat leaders held near the Bosnian town of Travnik in the summer of 1906, representatives decided to petition the Emperor to unite Bosnia and Croatia. Later, in 1908, when they formed the "Croat National Union" (CNU), they also had a Trialist union in mind.[26] Many Bosnian Croat religious leaders also favoured the idea, including Archbishop Stadler who used the opportunity of Bosnia's annexation that same year to request the unification of Bosnia and Croatia.[27]

Following the installation of the Bosnian parliament in 1910, therefore, Croat deputies, while desiring greater autonomy in Bosnia, simultaneously held out hope for a Trialist arrangement. Some endorsed it, for example, based on the familiar argument that Bosnia was "really" a Croatian territory. During the first session of parliament in 1910, one representative from the CNU asserted that in the interests of consistency, all ordinances and regulations should be written in "Croatian" because Bosnia was "really" a

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[24] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 67-68.
[25] Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 17-21, 143-149, 275-285, 368-370, 392-395, 481-488; Malcolm, 2,8-9, 10, 11-12, 17, 19, 20; Donia and Fine, 64-65; Džaja, 200-209.
[26] Kann and Zdenek, 406-407; There were a few opponents to this, however, mainly among a small number of Bosnian Catholic Franciscans who had been the traditional social and cultural leaders of the Bosnian Catholics under Ottoman rule and whose authority was undermined following the reorganization of the Bosnian Catholic Church and installation of the Croatian-born Josip Stadler as Archbishop in Bosnia. See, for example, Džaja, 202-204.
[27] Džaja, 209.

Croatian land inhabited by Croatian people.[28] Others, however, wishing to avoid the delicate issue of who the Bosnians "really" were, stressed the political benefits that Bosnians would enjoy in a Trialist state. During a heated debate about the budget in late 1912, the Bosnian Croat deputy, Kosta Đebić-Marušić, promoted the idea as a safeguard against the unrestrained rule of Austria and Hungary, saying that "in trialism there are no inferiors, for there are three equal partners!"[29] The deputy's appeals came at a time when the Governor of Croatia, Slavko Čuvaj (1851-1930), had begun issuing a series of unpopular decrees limiting press freedom and Croatian autonomy in order to deal with the rise of anti-Hungarian sentiments in the province. Čuvaj, who dismissed the Croatian parliament that same year, became the object of much criticism and of two assassination attempts perpetrated by young Croatian radicals.[30] Hungary's increasingly repressive rule, coupled with the Bosnian Croats' desire for real political power, made Trialism an increasingly attractive alternative to Bosnian autonomy. It was in this context that the CNU and CCA, anxious to consolidate Croat interests in Bosnia, decided to merge into a single political party in June 1912.[31]

As could be expected, most Muslims and Serbs rejected the Trialist option. In the case of the Muslims, they were unprepared to unite with Croatia where they would have constituted a tiny minority against a majority of Croats and Serbs. Although many Muslims had become loyal to Vienna after receiving their cultural autonomy in 1909, they were still strongly affected by the religious, psychological, and political legacy left by the Ottoman Empire. Having traditionally occupied the upper social, economic, and

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[28] *Stenografski izvještaji I. sjednica sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane godina 1910, u Sarajevu,* 351-353, 370.
[29] *Stenografski izveštaj XV. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 29. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 354.
[30] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 70-71, 110-111; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 92.
[31] Džaja, 208.

political strata of society under Ottoman influence, Muslim landowners, in particular, continued to see Bosnia as their "natural" territorial and political inheritance. This, coupled with the steady decline of Ottoman authority in Bosnia, starting from the Congress of Berlin (1878) to the Young Turk Revolution (1908) and annexation of Bosnia (1908), persuaded them not only of the potential that home rule had for Bosnia's internal social and political security, but for retaining their traditional influence and power.[32] As one anonymous writer expressed in the MNO's newspaper *Musavat* (*Equality*) (1908-1911) in 1911, it was "only in the autonomy of Bosnia" that they could uphold and expand their political power. Any other consideration, including Trialism, which the writer called a "political ideal of the Croats," was out of the question for the majority of Bosnia's Muslims.[33]

Like the Muslims, the Serbs did not want Bosnia to be annexed by Croatia, believing that it would limit what little influence they had, and were gaining, in the province. Although their political ideal remained the unification of Bosnia to Serbia, many had since the beginning of Austro-Hungarian rule regarded political autonomy as a good alternative to traditional Serb nationalism. As early as 1878, for example, when the Congress of Berlin was still in session, a Serb assembly in the Bosnian town of Tiškovac sent a memorandum to the Austrian Emperor asking him to persuade the Great Powers to

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[32] On the nuances of their position during 1878, for example, see Donia, *Sarajevo*, 39-53.

[33] Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 453; There were, of course, a few exceptions, mainly among some of the Muslim intellectuals who had been educated in Croatia under Austro-Hungarian rule. These Muslims had come back to Bosnia having been profoundly influenced by Croatian society, culture and politics, some forming a political party in 1908 called the "Muslimanska Napredna Stranka" ("Muslim Progressive Party") later renamed the "Muslimanska Samostalna Stranka" ("Muslim Independence Party") in 1910. In comparison to the more popular MNO which swept the elections in 1910, winning every seat available to the Muslims, however, this intellectuals' party had only a small following. See Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 441-444 and Džaja, 214.

grant Bosnians political autonomy with their own People's Assembly.[34] During the 1880's, similar discussions had taken place among Serb and Muslim émigrés and later among Serb and Muslim leaders in Bosnia who, as noted in previous chapters, presented a Memorandum to the Emperor in 1902 asking him to grant political autonomy in Bosnia.[35]

Serb leaders continued to nurture the idea even after Vienna's rejection of the 1910 resolution presented by the political parties that sought direct legislative power in parliament. Wishing to reduce the role of the Provincial Government and, through it, Vienna's influence in Bosnia, therefore, the Serbs continued to promote the idea both in parliament and the press. In 1912, for example, during a regular session of parliament, Vasilj Grdjić declared that, "We [the Serbs] are for the autonomy of Bosnia, which is both our alpha and omega." Responding to Croat proposals for Bosnia's unification with Croatia, Grdjić asserted that the Serbs "are opposed to Trialism because we, like Croatia, would be under Hungary's control."[36] But it was not only the fear of Hungarian hegemony that compelled them to support Bosnia's autonomy. Writing for the conservative political newspaper *Srpska riječ*, one author argued that the Serbs could never agree to Trialism because it posed the greatest threat to their political power and interests inside Bosnia: "We are for the autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he asserted, "because it is in the interests of the Serbs." Trialism, he wrote, "would see the unification

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[34] Risto Besarović, *Vaso Pelagić: život i rad* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960), 113.

[35] During the 1880's, for example, as certain Serb and Muslim émigrés discussed how to rid Bosnia of Austro-Hungarian rule, one of the discussants, the Bosnian Serb writer and socialist Vaso Pelagić (1838-1899), planned to circulate a petition in Bosnia to be sent to Russia and England seeking their support for Bosnian autonomy that resembled the kind that Bulgaria was granted by the Congress of Berlin. See Risto Besarović, "Treći period djelovanja Vase Pelagića u Bosni u svjetlu dokumenata austrougarske okupacione uprave," *Glasnik arhiva i društva arhiviskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 8-9 (1968-1969), 118; Dževad Juzbašić, "Pokušaji stvaranja političkog saveza između vođstva srpskog i muslimanskog autonomnog pokreta u Bosni i Hercegovini," 177-245; Džaja, 199.

[36] *Stenografski izvještaj XV. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 29. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 354; Croatia was a crown land of the Hungarian Monarchy. Under the 1868 "Nagodba" (compromise) Croatia was granted a parliament and Croatian became the language of its administration. But like Bosnia, it did not have direct legislative power. See Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 65.

of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia," and would not benefit the Bosnian Serbs who comprised "4/5 of the population" in Bosnia. This inflated ratio included the Muslims, whom the author regarded as Islamicized Serbs.[37]

Although the vast majority of Serb leaders supported autonomy, there were a few who believed that Trialism, if implemented fully, could also be beneficial to them. Among the most vocal were the members of the ethnically-mixed Social Democratic (SD) Party of Bosnia. As noted in previous chapters, the members of the SD Party wished ultimately to see the liberation and unification of all the South Slavs in an independent state of their own. They, therefore, believed that Trialism was a positive program mainly because it represented an important intermediate step towards achieving this. In a lengthy article entitled "Trialism and Autonomy" published in 1912, one member of the SD Party outlined its position this way:

> Our Serb politicians are seeking to secure our autonomy in Bosnia. But what kind of autonomy do we really have? No kind at all! Everything is done according to the will of Vienna and Budapest! [...] We will continue to support Serb politicians endeavouring to expand the people's autonomy, but we ask them this: can the Yugoslavs [*Jugoslaveni*] protect and advance their autonomy while they are still divided and fragmented? [...] It is only with the unification of the Yugoslavs that we can be assured of increasing our strength.[38]

With no seats in parliament, however, the Social Democrats did not have any impact on parliamentary politics in Bosnia before World War I.

Polarizing the ethnic parties still further at this time was the revival of a third option that made the issue of Bosnia's political status in the Empire more or less irrelevant. This was the idea of uniting Bosnia with Serbia. Events outside of the Bosnian parliament, namely the Balkan Wars (1912-13), brought this political option forcefully into the open. The origins of the First Balkan War can be traced back to the Congress of

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[37] Anonymous, "Narodno jedinstvo," *Srpska riječ*, no. 40, February 22, 1912, 1.
[38] Anonymous, "Trijalizam i autonomija," *Glas slobode*, no. 27, February 29, 1912, 1.

Berlin in 1878. Although the Congress had granted independence to Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania, and autonomy to Bulgaria, none were satisfied with the territorial settlement that either reduced their size—as was the case for Bulgaria—or left coveted parts of Balkan Europe (Macedonia and Albania in particular) still under Ottoman rule.[39] Following the Italian conquest of Ottoman Libya in October 1911, these Balkan countries decided that the time was ripe to liberate the remaining Balkan territories from Ottoman rule. Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece formed the Balkan League in March 1912 and declared war on Turkey in October. Although the war lasted just over a month, another Balkan War erupted the following year in June. This time Bulgaria, who had gained the least in the First Balkan War, fought Serbia and Greece in order to acquire territory in Macedonia, most of which had been conquered by its former allies. Bulgaria was quickly defeated by Serbia and Greece who were also joined by the Ottoman Empire and Romania. The Second Balkan War thus ended almost as soon as it began with the signing of an armistice in July 1913 that, with the exception of Albania to which the Great Powers granted independence, largely recognized the gains from the first war.[40]

Hostilities generated by this new Balkan crisis inevitably spilled over into Bosnia as ethnic groups took opposing sides in the conflict.[41] Among some of the Muslims,

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[39] Mazower, *The Balkans*, 94-95; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 7-8; Independence had also come at a price. Following the Congress of Berlin several conditions were imposed on the Balkan states including commercial treaties, constitutional changes and in the case of Montenegro size restrictions of fleets that had to fly the Habsburg flag. Over the next thirty years the independent Balkan states engaged in domestic reform. They did not, however, forego building up their economies and militaries, all with an eye on eventually resolving outstanding resentments over the territorial settlement of the Congress of Berlin. See Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 8, 13-105.

[40] Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 98-100.

[41] Although little has been written about the impact the Balkan Wars had inside Bosnia, what there is suggests that its effects were felt broadly and in various social and political echelons of society. Stephen Fischer-Galati argues this in his article "Effects of the Balkan Wars on East Central European Societies," in Bela K. Kiraly and Dimitrije Djordjević, eds., *European Society and the Balkan Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987): 365-370.


Map 5.1 Political Boundaries of the Balkans before and after the Balkan Wars (1912-13)[42]

Serbia's aggression against the Ottoman Empire sparked a new level of antagonism against the Serbs. Historic ties to Turkey as well as the widespread belief that the survival of Islam in Bosnia was linked to the survival of the Ottoman Empire contributed to the

[42] Hupchick and Cox (map 39).

Muslim reaction. Even some Croat newspapers in Bosnia were characterizing the Balkan Wars as a Christian crusade against Islam.[43] After the wars began, therefore, hundreds of Muslims from Bosnia volunteered to serve in Turkey's Army and hundreds more participated in street demonstrations protesting Serbia's expansionist aims into the Ottoman Empire.[44] In one incident, Muslim youth stood in front of the Muslim association "El kamen" shouting in protest against the Balkan League.[45] There were also an increasing number of reported cases of Muslim landlords beating Bosnian Serb tenant farmers "because they were Serbs."[46] There were, however, a very small number of mainly young, secularized Muslim intellectuals and students who, along with some of their Croat and Serb counterparts, supported Serbia's war against the Ottoman Empire. They were part of a small, but growing number of Yugoslav nationalists who wished to see the South Slavs liberated and united in an independent state. Some had even volunteered in the Serbian and Montenegrin Armies in the hope of seeing the war turn into a generalized campaign for the liberation of the South Slavs.[47]

Many of Bosnia's Croat leaders were also generally united in their opposition to the Balkan Wars. Those who opposed the conflict included certain clerics, such as Archbishop Stadler and his political party, as well as the CNU that desired to remain a part of the Empire in a Trialist union of some kind. Some believed that the Balkan Wars

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[43] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 262-263.
[44] Ibid., 274
[45] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 373.
[46] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 263.
[47] This was what some referred to as the "Mlada Bosna," ("Young Bosnia") generation, which later produced the ethnically-mixed group of pro-Yugoslav extremists who eventually succeeded in assassinating the archduke Franz Ferdinand in June 1914. This will be taken up in greater detail chapter six. Suffice it to say, these supporters of the war hoped that Serbia would eventually liberate Bosnia in order to join an independent Yugoslav or South Slav state. See for example Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 369-370; Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 267, 275-277; Many younger Muslims, however, remained loyal to Vienna. See for example, Anonymous, "Muslimani sarajevski prave manifestacije za Veliku Austriju," *Narod,* no. 243, November 6, 1912, 1; Vasilj Grdjić, "Izjava g. Vasilja Grdjića, srpskog narodnog poslanika," *Narod*, no. 248, November 21, 1912, 3.

would get in the way of realizing this union, seeing in these wars of nationalist expansion the first step towards Serbian aggression against Austria-Hungary.[48] As was the case among a small number of Muslims, however, there were many young Croat intellectuals and students who championed the Serbian side in the Balkan Wars. In November 1912, for example, 500 young Croats and Serbs pledged their support in a demonstration held on the streets of Sarajevo.[49] Like their Muslim counterparts, they believed that the majority of their efforts should be spent not on nation-building, but on using propaganda, protest and, in some cases, terror, to liberate Bosnia from Austria-Hungary and pave the way towards a South Slav union.[50]

Among the Serbs, the Balkan Wars aroused a massive wave of optimism. This was because the long-awaited hope that Bosnia would be joined to Serbia appeared at hand. Belgrade's military victories, which saw Serbia double the size of its territory, enhanced their confidence in Serbia's future role as the liberator and unifier of the Serbs still under Austro-Hungarian rule.[51] Indeed, nationalist enthusiasm soared among the Serbs across the Empire, where thousands celebrated Serbia's and Montenegro's victories, volunteered in the Serbian Army, and collected donations for war relief.[52] In Bosnia, Serb leaders were just as open about their support for the Balkan League. Those grouped around the SNO's *Otadžbina* and *Srpska riječ*, for example, published a list of Serb intellectuals, clerics, and politicians from Bosnia who publicly supported Serbia's war aims. Included among them were well-known intellectuals and politicians like Petar

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[48] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 267-268, 280; Džaja, 200-209.
[49] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 373; There were also a couple of plans made among students and the younger elite to travel to Belgrade in a show of support. See, for example, Hamdija Kapidžić, "Previranja u austrougarskoj politici," in Kapidžić, ed., *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 113-115.
[50] Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 369-373.
[51] Džaja, 194-199; Donia and Fine, 114.
[52] Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 92-93.

Kočić, Svetozar Ćorović, Uroš Krulj, Stevo Kaluđerčić, Živko Nježić, Nikola Stojanović, and Vasilj Grdjić.[53] Writing for the Bosnian Serb political journal *Pregled* (*Review*) (1910-1913), Grdjić asserted that the Serbs of Bosnia were unified in their support for Serbia, arguing that "all the Serbs wish nothing more than to see the expansion of the crown lands of Serbia."[54] With the exception of the Social Democratic Party's newspaper *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) (1909-1914) and its tiny group of followers who criticized the Balkan Wars as an imperialist, capitalist conflict, therefore, most Bosnian Serb publications, including the three main political newspapers representing the SNO in parliament (*Srpska riječ*, *Narod*, and *Otadžbina*), literary-cultural periodicals like the calendar *Prosvjeta* (*Enlightenment*) (1905-1914), and the Bosnian Serb women's almanac *Srpkinja* (*The Serbian Woman*) (1913), joined *Pregled* in supporting Serbia's expansionist aims.[55]

The Bosnian Serbs also demonstrated their support in other more tangible ways. Some served as volunteers in the Serbian and Montenegrin armies,[56] while others, including politicians, teachers, clerics, and other local groups spearheaded a major fund-raising campaign to aid the Red Cross in Serbia and Montenegro, for which they advertised in *Srpska riječ*, *Narod*, and *Srpski svještenik* (*The Serbian Clergyman*) (1912-

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[53] Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Otadžbina*, no. 143, November 3, 1912, 1; Anonymous, "Srbi poslanici za Srbiju," *Srpska riječ*, no. 202, November 3, 1912, 3.
[54] Vasilj Grdjić, "Rad Sabora. Željeznički program. Pitanje jezika na željeznicama. Balkanski rat," *Pregled*, nos. 9-12, April 1, 1913, 545. This journal was revived one last time in Sarajevo in 1927-1941.
[55] See, for example, Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Otadžbina*, no. 143, November 3, 1912, 1; Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Narod*, no. 261, January 9, 1913, 1; Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Narod*, no.304, June 15, 1913, 1-4; Anonymous, "U Ratu," *Srpska riječ*, no. 173, September 29, 1912, 1; Djuro Jakšić, "Padajte braćo…." *Srpska riječ*, no. 180, October 8, 1912, 2; Olga Kernić-Peleš, Untitled Article, *Srpkinja* (1913), 13; Cveta Bingulac, "Srpkinja u Ratu," *Srpkinja* (1913), 191; See also Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 131-132.
[56] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi* 144; On *Glas slobode*'s disapproval of the war see, for example, Anonymous, "Balkanski rat i socijalna demokracija. Protiv rata! Za balkansku zajednicu!" *Glas slobode*, no. 120, September 29, 1912, 1; Anonymous, "Protiv rata, za balkansku federaciju. Protestna skupština u Sarajevu," *Glas slobode*, no. 127, October 16, 1912, 1-2.

1914).[57] By April 1913 they claimed to have raised 600,000 K (crowns), or the equivalent to about $121,000 in donations.[58] A small number of influential women mainly from Sarajevo and Mostar were also eager to participate. While Mostar's Serb Women's Charitable Zadruga raised money to send to the Red Cross in Montenegro, Sarajevo's president of the Serb Women's Charitable Zadruga, Jelena Samardžić, participated as the only female member on the executive committee raising funds for the Red Cross in Serbia and Montenegro.[59]

Although the Balkan Wars had inspired widespread nationalistic fervour and political tension in Bosnia, it had also, quite unexpectedly, revived the idea of Bosnian political autonomy. To be sure, until the wars, the ethnic parties had been pursuing their separate political interests. As one Muslim deputy remarked in 1912, "parliament has not shown enough strength when it comes to expanding its constitutional rights."[60] But with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, some deputies saw in this new crisis a second chance to push forward the idea of autonomy. This was because Vienna was at this time having to deal with the fallout from the Balkan Wars inside its Empire as politicians from Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Slovenia seized the moment to advance their national interests. While some Croatian nationalists renewed their calls for a Trialist re-organization of the Empire, Slovenia's largest political party, the Slovenian People's Party, which had until

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[57] See for example the following articles: Odbor za prikuplanje priloge za 'Crveni Krst': Predsjednik Gligorije M. Jeftanović, Blagajnik Pero Todorović, Podpredsjednik Vaso Kraljević i Gavro Gašić, Tajnici Vasilj Grdjic i Petar Kočić, Odbornici Jelena Samardžic, Dr. Milan Srškić, Dr. Vlado Ćorović, Nikola T. Kašiković, J. Pešut, "RAT NA BALKANU," *Srpska riječ*, no. 180, October 8, 1912, 1; Anonymous, "Sarajevo za svoju braću," *Srpska riječ*, Sarajevo, subota 6. (19.) oktobra 1912., br. 179., god. VIII., str. 1; Anonymous, "Srpskom narodu Bosne i Hercegovine!" *Narod*, no. 235, October 9, 1912, 1; Anonymous, "Srpskome narodu Bosne i Hercegovine!" *Srpski Sveštenik*, nos. 18-19, October 1, 1912, 169-170.
[58] Grdjić, "Rad Sabora. Željeznički program. Pitanje jezika na željeznicama. Balkanski rat," 545.
[59] Anonymous, "Dobrotvorna Zadruga Mostarskih Srpkinja," *Narod*, no. 242, October 31, 1912, 3; Anonymous, "Sarajevo za svoju braću," *Srpska riječ*, no. 179, October 6, 1912, 1.
[60] *Stenografski izvještaj XV. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 29. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 363.

then committed itself only to expanding its local autonomy, began increasingly to consider the benefits of Trialism. Meanwhile, the Dalmatian diet took this opportunity to adopt a resolution that supported the Balkan League's war whilst, significantly, condemning Austria-Hungary's policies towards its subjects. At the same time, the advocates for an independent Yugoslav state began organizing mass rallies across the Empire in support of the Balkan League with the hope that this new Balkan crisis would lead to the unification of the South Slavs.[61]

It was not until the Second Balkan War that erupted in the summer of 1913, however, that Bosnian deputies seized the moment to push the idea of political autonomy in Bosnia. Led by the Serb lawyer Milan Srškić, politicians from the CNU, MNO, and SNO drew up a new political program that they presented in parliament in September 1913. The document contained a summary of demands on a variety of issues related to governance, the economy, education, finance, health, and the judiciary. But the deputies made it clear that autonomy was their primary goal. "Parliament," according to the program, "must have direct power to legislate on every issue."[62] As Srškić also explained when presenting the program, their autonomy must be founded on the principle of "inter-confessional" politics which, he believed, reflected "the spirit of the times."[63] Following three challenging years in parliament, Srškić and his fellow-MPs understood all too well that without establishing a stable foundation for inter-ethnic cooperation, political autonomy would remain just an ideal. "Until now," he argued, "the divisiveness in our

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[61] Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 92-93; Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 266-267; Kapidžić, "Previranja u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini," 122; Rogel, "The Slovenes and Political Yugoslavism on the Eve of WWI"; Carole Rogel, *Slovenes and Yugoslavism, 1890-1914* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1977), 82-103, 113-116.
[62] Dr. Milan Srškić, "Program (nacrt programa gospod Dr-a Milana Srškića i drugova kao osnova zajedničkog rada sa Muslimanima i Hrvatima)," *Srpska riječ*, no. 182, August 24, 1912, 1.
[63] Ibid.

political life has been a futile waste of our…national strength." The new political program, he believed, offered them a second chance. "The idea of this program," Srškić explained, "is to ensure the sincere and collaborative work of all the confessional groups."[64]

Despite the significance of this new proposal, it was not met with the same spirit of cooperation that was evident when deputies first raised the issue of autonomy in June 1910. Now, objections arose from certain Serbs from the factions of *Otadžbina* and *Narod* as well as Croats from the CCA, none of whom had signed the program. Abstaining Serbs mainly objected to the program's omission of the province's most contentious social and cultural issues, including the future of Bosnia's antiquated agrarian system.[65] For its part, the CCA did not support efforts to expand their autonomy mainly because of its desire to unify Bosnia and Croatia. As one writer asserted in Stadler's newspaper, *Hrvatski dnevnik* (*The Croatian Daily*), the best course of action was to support "the political unification of the Slav lands in our Monarchy."[66] Srškić's program also had little to nothing to offer Muslim landowners who, not surprisingly, also rejected the program. Within just a few short years, the hope of gaining political autonomy was becoming increasingly doubtful.

Working within the limitations of the ethnic curial system, therefore, and strongly influenced by long-standing nationalist aspirations that emerged strongly during the Balkan Wars, deputies from each party found it increasingly difficult to come to an agreement concerning Bosnia's political future at this time. Although many supported political autonomy, they could not come up with a political formula that was acceptable

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Narod*, no. 334, September 28, 1913, 1.
[66] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 156.

to all during their four brief years in parliament. There were, however, other causes of their political disunity. The politicians were simply not prepared to work on their common political interests when there were still certain outstanding social and cultural grievances among them. These included two of the most controversial issues in Bosnia, then known as the "Agrarian Question" and the "Language Question." These sometimes overshadowed the discussions surrounding autonomy and greatly undermined nation-building in Bosnia. Because each figured prominently in parliamentary politics, strongly polarizing the parties, the discussion below will address the Agrarian and Language Questions separately.

**The Agrarian Question**

Ethnic political relations, especially between the Serbs and the Muslims, were undercut in parliament by what was then known as the Agrarian Question (*Agrarno pitanje*). This referred to the question of whether or not it was socially and economically sensible to continue the country's agrarian system, much of which was based on traditional sharecropping, or tenant farming.[67] The practice had been mostly abandoned in Europe by the mid-nineteenth century, including in the South Slav lands with the exception of Dalmatia. Peasant payments were abolished in Serbia as early as 1817 and in Croatia and Slavonia in 1848.[68] But instead of also ending the sharecropping system in Bosnia following the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Austria-Hungary implemented a series of minor land reforms with a view to avoiding further upheaval in the Bosnian

[67] Banac, *The National Question*, 367, Donia and Fine, 77.
[68] Donia and Fine, 79.

countryside.[69] Naturally, to the peasants of Bosnia who continued to struggle under the agrarian system, this was perceived as a cruel social injustice.

But it was also perceived by some as an ethnic injustice. One of the most contentious issues surrounding the Agrarian Question concerned the high concentration of wealth and power that had been preserved in the hands of a very few Bosnian Muslim landowners. In the late Ottoman period, the Bosnian Muslim elite had dominated the highest social and economic positions in Bosnia. Muslim landowners, called *beg*s (large estate owners) or *aga*s (small estate owners), comprised only 0.7% of the entire population at the time. In this economic backwater where 88% of the population was engaged in agricultural production, the extremely privileged position of Muslim begs and agas was widely resented.[70] While some peasants owned their own farms, tenant farmers, who were known as *kmet*s, were obliged to pay taxes and give up approximately one-third of their crops to their Muslim landowners. The Serbs were especially critical of this system because the vast majority of kmets were Serbs, comprising 74% of the total as compared to the 21% of Croats and 5% of Muslims who were also kmets. For this reason, the Serbs perceived the agrarian system as the principal source of social and ethnic injustice in Bosnia.[71]

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[69] Malcolm, 141; Donia and Fine, 75-6, 96.

[70] The percentage of those working in agriculture had changed only slightly to 87% in 1910. See Friedman, 61.

[71] For a more detailed understanding of Bosnia's agrarian system refer to Donia and Fine, 63, 68, 75-79; Malcolm, 138-141; Friedman, 61-64; Sugar, *The Industrialisation of Bosnia-Hercegovina*; Dževad Juzbašić, "Uticaj balkanskih ratova 1912/13. na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i na tretman agrarnog pitanja," in *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine; odjeljenje društvenih nauka knj. 35; Posebna Izdanja knj. CXVI, 2002): 459-473; For statistical analyses of the deterioration of life in the countryside see Anonymous, "Opadanje našeg stočarstva," *Otadžbina*, no. 16, October 15, 1911, 1-2; V.V., "Agrarno pitanje," *Otadžbina*, no. 3, August 31, 1911, 1-2.

By the time parliament convened in 1910, therefore, the "Agrarian Question" had become the most contentious social and ethnic issue among the political parties. On the one hand, the Serbs believed that those who tilled the land had the right to own it. On the other hand, Muslim begs and agas wished to preserve their traditional landowning rights. As could be expected, these tensions were exacerbated in parliament where the ethnic and curial political structure ensured that Muslim landowners would be well-represented. Indeed, although the vast majority of Bosnia's Muslims were neither begs nor agas, nearly all Muslim parliamentarians were. Of the 24 Muslims elected to parliament in 1910, 17 were landowners and only 7 were intellectuals.[72] And while there were no kmets in parliament at the time, some Serb deputies, including Petar Kočić, were either born in rural villages or just a generation or two removed from them.[73] A resolution to the Agrarian Question was thus perceived not only as a gain for one community and a loss for another, but as a personal triumph or failure among the politicians.

It took events outside of parliament, however, to bring the issue forcefully into the open. During the summer and fall of 1910, farmers in western and northern Bosnia rose in rebellion once more. This time they were protesting Austria-Hungary's reform of 1906 that introduced a policy of "tithe-averaging" in which dues were calculated based on the

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[72] Within each group were some who were also merchants. See Juzbašić, "Uticaj Balkanskih Ratova 1912/13. Na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i na tretman agrarnog pitanja,"465; "Beg-dom" was not integral to the identity of most Muslims in Bosnia. There were more craftsmen, merchants, and free farmers among Muslims than landowners who comprised only 2% of their ethnic community. Most Muslims of Bosnia were urban inhabitants—indeed, even most landowners lived in town—who had by the eighteenth century constituted approximately 50% of the urban population. So with the exception of the small number of Muslim kmets and landowners the vast majority of Muslims were not directly affected by the Agrarian Question. See Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 446-447; Friedman, 61; Donia and Fine, 76, 78.

[73] For a list of SNO members see Krulj, ed., *Predstavka glavnog odbora srpske narodne organizacije*, 19-20.

average yields of the previous 10 years.[74] Given the four-year delay between the bill and this latest peasant rebellion, beg deputies contended that the idea for the revolt must not have originated among the peasantry, accusing certain members of the SNO of having provoked it. As one writer for the Muslim newspaper *Musavat* wrote, the peasant rebellion was just the beginning of rural terror instigated by Serb leaders in order to throw landowners off the land.[75] Even some of the older, conservative Serb deputies grouped around the newspaper *Srpska riječ* reported that the peasant revolt was likely the result of agitation from unidentified "outside influences."[76] Some beg deputies believed that they knew precisely who these agitators could be, accusing the social radical Petar Kočić and his faction in the SNO of provoking the rebellion.[77] The authorities had also suspected Kočić and his circle of agitating among the peasants and kept a close eye on all their activities at this time.[78]

As could be expected, the peasant revolt immediately thrust the Agrarian Question onto the parliamentary agenda. During the first month of the first session of parliament, for example, Petar Kočić had asked for the formation of a committee to look after agrarian affairs.[79] The Provincial Government agreed and in July selected an ethnically-diverse agrarian committee. It was comprised of individuals who stood on opposing sides of the Agrarian Question, including begs as well as those advocating the abolition of the

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[74] Todor Kruševac, "Seljački pokret štrajk u Bosni 1910. Godine," in *Jugoslovenski narodi pred prvi svetski rat* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1967): 369-405; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Agrarno Pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine (1878-1918)," in *Jugoslovenski narodi pred prvi svetski rat*, 332-333.
[75] Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 449.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] See the communiqués of the authorities during the summer and fall of 1910 in Todor Kruševac, ed., *Petar Kočić: Dokumentarna građa* (Sarajevo: Muzej književnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1967), 315-324.
[79] *Stenografski izvještaj VI. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 12. juna 1910. u Sarajevu*, 69.

current agrarian system, such as Petar Kočić.[80] At the same time, Serb deputies introduced a series of petitions that called for redressing wrongs committed against farmers that included cases of kmet rights to pasture, injustices in the courts, and exorbitant land taxes. Until the outbreak of World War I, Serb deputies would continue to deliver a steady stream of petitions and interpolations on behalf of Serb peasant farmers, especially the lowly kmet.[81]

As Serb politicians kept the issue on the parliamentary agenda, outside of parliament socially and politically conscious newspapermen, writers, and poets began increasingly to place the Agrarian Question in the public eye. Beginning in 1910 until the outbreak of war in 1914, Bosnian Serb newspapers and journals published a wide array of compelling reports, editorials, and stories concerning the plight of the peasantry in general and the Serb kmet in particular. Although these writers had collectively called for the abolition of the agrarian system, they did not form any major organizations. They did, however, congregate around a few key publications, including the socialist newspapers *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Truth*) and *Istina* (*Truth*) (1913-1915), and Petar Kočić's *Otadžbina*.[82] Using these and other publications, they attempted to rally people behind the abolutionist cause.

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[80] *Stenografski izvještaj XVI. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 10. jula 1910. u Sarajevu*, 430.

[81] During the first couple of months of the first session of parliament several petitions and interpolations were introduced by Serb deputies including Petar Kočić, Simo Eraković, Živko Nježić, Šćepan Grdjic, Nikola Stojanović, Svetozar Ćorović and Uroš Krulj. See for example the following: *Stenografski izvještaj X. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 21. juna 1910. u Sarajevu*, 219-220; *Stenografski izvještaj XXI. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 17. jula 1910. u Sarajevu*, 683-684; *Stenografski izvještaj XXII. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 19. jula 1910. u Sarajevu*, 731-734; *Stenografski izvještaj XXIII. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 21. jula 1910. u Sarajevu*, 787-788.

[82] Kočić believed that although it was Bosnia's greatest source of social injustice, it had not received enough attention in the SNO's two other leading organs, *Srpska riječ* and *Narod*.

In striving to "enlighten" landowners and to galvanize the public's support, writers focused on a few key issues that, they believed, justified their calls to end the agrarian system. First, some argued that by maintaining the economic status quo, Bosnia could never aspire to be an integral part of modern Europe. Influenced by what they believed were the West European ideals of social welfare, capitalism, and the democratization of society in all areas, including the economy, the intellectuals argued that Bosnia's agrarian system was incompatible with these principles. One socialist writer argued that "our kmets" constituted the "slaves of the twentieth century" who were "the shame of civilized Europe and of our occupiers who play a key role in that civilized Europe."[83] Believing that Bosnia formed an integral, if "backward," part of the Continent, writers argued that they needed to reform their economy if they were ever to "catch up" to the rest of modern Europe. As one author wrote, Bosnia's backwardness appeared almost "medieval" by comparison. He believed, nevertheless, that "even in this medieval Bosnia the modern spirit of the times must triumph."[84] Writing for the socialist newspaper *Istina*, another writer asserted that "the agrarian question in Bosnia" must be resolved if for no other reason than that it "no longer exists in Europe."[85]

Certain other intellectuals made their case against the agrarian system on humanitarian grounds. They argued that tenant farming was becoming increasingly burdensome to the peasantry and had contributed to the overall deterioration of its standard of living. Using the state's own statistics, one writer showed that while the number of farming families had grown from 240,192 to 254,788 between 1895 and 1910, the number of all major domesticated animals, including pigs, sheep, goats, oxen, and

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[83] Anonymous, "Zvone zvona....." *Glas slobode*, no. 57, September 14, 1910, 1.
[84] Anonymous, "Rascep u Muslimanskom klubu," *Istina*, no. 2, November 2, 1913, 1.
[85] Anonymous, "Agrar pred vratima," *Istina*, no. 77, May 8, 1914, 1.

horses had dropped.[86] The same author pointed out that many had, as a result, been forced to sell their farm animals, "for it is a well-known and unfortunate fact that the Bosnian farmer cannot with the wheat available [in one season] provide for his family until the following harvest."[87] To be sure, the conservative peasantry had at times contributed to this deleterious state of affairs by resisting agricultural innovations first introduced to Bosnia during the 1880's.[88] Ultimately, administrators decided on a policy of gradualism in the agricultural sector in order to concentrate their efforts on large-scale industrialization. As a result, the rate of agricultural production and crop yields slowed after 1900 and stagnated after 1906.[89] Although Bosnian farmers were slightly better off than their counterparts in Dalmatia, rural impoverishment in Bosnia was thought to have reached such a state of misery that it had one writer erroneously comparing Bosnian conditions to those experienced by American slaves during the days of slavery.[90]

This view of the peasantry as steeped in misery was also appropriated by writers of both prose and poetry. Story-telling was an especially useful tool through which intellectuals felt freer to criticize the government under the guise of "fiction." Among the best known of these writers was the SNO parliamentarian, Petar Kočić. Although many sympathized with the plight of the peasantry, for Kočić the issue of kmet emancipation was a very personal one. As noted earlier, Kočić was born into a peasant family in the Krajina (literally "periphery area") located in western Bosnia. There he had witnessed

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[86]Anonymous, "Opadanje našeg stočarstva," *Otadžbina*, no. 16, October 15, 1911, 1-2. The numbers were as follows: Pigs were at 662,242 in 1895 and 527,223 in 1910. Sheep numbered 3,230,720 in 1895 and 2,498,854 in 1910. Goats numbered 1,447,049 in 1895 and 1,392,565 in 1910. Oxen numbered 1,416,394 in 1895 and 1,308,753 in 1910. Horses were at 233,322 in 1895 and 221,896 in 1910.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Sugar, *The Industrialisation of Bosnia-Hercegovina*, 196; Malcolm, 140-141.
[89] Jozo Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955), 107-111; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 79-81; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, , 61; Malcolm, 140-142.
[90] Anonymous, "Agrarno Pitanje," *Otadžbina*, no. 33, December 14, 1911, 2.

first-hand, the slow, but steady disappearance of farming families who, along with those from northern Herzegovina, represented the highest number of peasants emigrating from the province.[91] Having first gained attention as a popular writer of folk fiction when he was a student at the University of Vienna, Kočić now used his literary talents to examine the woes of the Bosnian peasant. Writing from the perspective of a Serb kmet in one fictional story, he wrote, "Centuries have passed, rulers of Bosnia have come and gone, but we, the damned and the martyred, continue to live as slaves and kmets." Kočić was especially critical of the logic of an agrarian system that denied land to those who farmed it. "We are those, for whom they say are free prisoners: at home but without a home, on the land but without land."[92] And yet Kočić also regarded the peasants as resilient and crafty, possessing a certain folk wisdom. Among his most enduring fictional characters was David Štrbac in the story "The Badger in Court" that was first published in Serbia in 1904 and later turned into a one-act play.[93] Because of Kočić's harsh judgment of Austria-Hungary, the book and play were initially banned in Bosnia. After several editions and the scrupulous editing of the province's censors, the play was finally performed in Bosnia in the spring of 1914, though in towns other than Sarajevo.[94] The story takes place at an Austrian court, in which the Serb peasant David Štrbac arrives to sue a badger he has caught in his corn patch. Although officials tell him that the badger cannot be tried according to Imperial laws, David proceeds to use the court as a venue for his criticism of the Monarchy. With mock praise, David recites a long list of grievances.

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[91] Hamdija Kapidžić, "Ekonomska emigracija iz Bosne i Hercegovine u sjevernu Ameriku poćetkom XX vijeka," *Glasnik: Arhiva i drustva arhiviskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine* 7 (1967): 220.
[92] Zmijanac [Petar Kočić], "Kmeti," *Otadžbina*, no. 2, August 27, 1911, 1; Kočić often used pseudonyms, including "Zmijanac," literally "Man from Zmijanje," the rural district of his village birth place Stričica.
[93] Petar Kočić, *Jazavac pred sudom* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1966).
[94] Vojislav Bogičević, "Da li je za vrijeme Austrougaraske Uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini dozvoljano prikazivanje Kočićevog 'Jazavca pred sudom'?" *Život* 9, no. 10 (Oct. 1956): 681-684.

Among them was his insincere gratitude to tax collectors for ridding him of his troublesome cow, four goats, and a piglet:

> This glorious court has lifted many burdens from us peasants. No more do the sturdy bulls bellow in our meadows, nor attack our children; no more do large herds stampede our fences and crops as they used to in those dumb old Turkish times. The livestock that this glorious court left us is all quiet, tame, sensible, though, it is true, a bit scrawny and weak, but we dense Bosnians, don't really deserve any better…

Like many of Kočić's peasant characters, David represented an ideal to which he believed the abolitionists should aspire, namely to be rebels willing to stand up against their Austro-Hungarian rulers in order to bring down the agrarian system.[95]

Mindful of the reception that the abolitionist campaign would have on Muslim landowners and fellow-parliamentarians, certain writers made clear that their protests were against the agrarian system—propped up by the government—and not the Muslim people. Writing in Kočić's *Otadžbina*, one author argued that "We who are in the frontlines fighting for the obligatory resolution to the agrarian question do not in any way consider these to be *either religious or* [ethnic] *national questions, rather social questions*."[96] Kočić himself had urged that the Agrarian Question "be resolved in a way that will not be to the detriment of either the kmet or the aga."[97]

Although some Serb writers agreed that the Agrarian Question was an issue of social injustice, some believed that by abolishing the agrarian system, they might also improve ethnic relations in Bosnia. Thus, for example, one writer cited a study written by

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[95] Moravcevich, 506-516; For some good summaries on the fiction of Petar Kočić, see Dragomir Gajević, "Bosna—Zemlja i ljudi u djelu Petra Kocica," and the standard biography by Todor Kruševac called *Petar Kočić: Studija*.

[96] Anonymous, "Agrarno Pitanje," *Otadžbina*, no. 33, December 14, 1911, 1-2.

[97] Petar Kočić's article "Naša riječ," was first published in *Otadžbina* as its opening article during the newspaper's run in Banja Luka and is reprinted in Petar Kočić, *Sabrana djela*, vol. 2 (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967), 274-277; Similar arguments were offered by socialist writers. See for example Anonymous, "Rascep u Muslimanskom klubu," *Istina*, no. 2, November 2, 1913, 1; Anonymous, "Agrarno pitanje," *Istina*, no. 27, January 4, 1914, 1.

a professor from the University of Vienna in which the number of lawsuits between Muslim agas and Serb kmets were shown to have increased, despite the introduction of land reforms.[98] Still others believed that the poor state of rural relations were having an increasingly negative impact on those living in towns and cities where many of the urban inhabitants still had parents and relatives living in the countryside. Writing for *Otadžbina* in 1911, one author suggested that if urban, educated Bosnians were to salvage any of their positive feelings towards one another, they needed to seek to end the agrarian system which had for decades served to divide them. "[Austria-Hungary] knows that the resolution to that question [the Agrarian Question] would eliminate the thing that most divides us, for nearly all of the rest of our interests we hold in common." The same author suggested that the abolition of the agrarian system would free not only the kmet, but the landowner from a life of "ill-will and hatred" and concluded by saying that "our enemies know all this and for this reason do not permit our progress."[99]

Easing at least some of the tensions in 1911 was the introduction of a new agrarian bill. The proposal was drawn up by the Provincial Government in an attempt to satisfy both landowners and kmets, but without immediately dismantling the agrarian system. It was based on an Ottoman reform measure introduced in 1876 by which the peasants could purchase the land they tilled. The new bill recommended that standardized kmet indemnities should be replaced by a flexible system that permitted the landowner and kmet in question to decide on the purchase price. Although the bill still left the kmets vulnerable to the power of their landowners, it was agreeable to most Muslim and Croat deputies in the short-term. The parliamentary debate was, therefore, brief, beginning and

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[98] V.V., "Agrarno pitanje," *Otadžbina*, no. 3, August 31, 1911, 1-2.
[99] Anonymous, "Agrarno Pitanje," *Otadžbina*, no. 33, December 14, 1911, 1-2.

ending on the same day. Those who spoke in favour of it were Muslim deputies, while the main opponents were the Serbs with Petar Kočić and Vasilj Grđić leading the debate. The Croats, however, stayed out of the discussion as per their agreement with the MNO with whom they had formed a loose coalition in exchange for their support for Muslim landowner rights.[100] The following day, and without further debate, parliament passed the bill with an absolute majority that included all the Muslims and Croats, but only 12 of the 31 Serb deputies.[101] Among those voting against the bill was the mainly younger and radical contingent grouped around Kočić, who believed that the bill did not go far enough. But to most parliamentarians, the new law was seen as an acceptable, albeit temporary, measure in dealing with the Agrarian Question.[102]

The agrarian bill became law that same year, but it did not come into full effect until 1912. Thereafter, Serb deputies focused mainly on speeding up the pace of land purchases. Although some 4,400 Serb kmets bought lands from their Muslim landlords in 1912, this number began to decline soon after.[103] Serb deputies believed that the slow hand of bureaucracy was partially to blame. In some cases, kmets had to wait up to nine months before receiving permission to purchase land. In November 1912, following the first Balkan War, the Serbs formally asked Austria-Hungary to find an immediate resolution to the problem.[104] They argued that high purchase prices greatly contributed to these circumstances and suggested that the Provincial Government should subsidize more

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[100] The nature of the coalition is discussed in the next section of this chapter. See also Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 39.
[101] These Serbs comprised mainly the older, conservative element, such as Gligorije Jeftić, a former leader of the cultural autonomy movement (1896-1905).
[102] For a brief overview of the parliamentary debate, see Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 450-451; Kapidžić, "Agrarno pitanje u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske vladavine (1878-1918): 333.
[103] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 261.
[104] *Stenografski izvještaj XVI. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 30. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 376-377.

than the 6% it was currently paying.[105] Serb writers were also critical of those Muslim begs who were allegedly swindling kmets in order to make a greater profit.[106]

It took events outside of parliament, however, to lead to a more comprehensive resolution to the Agrarian Question. During the Balkan Wars, policy-makers became anxious to step up agrarian reforms in Bosnia mainly because of the growing concern that the wars would radicalize the Bosnian Serb peasantry and cause widespread unrest in the countryside. Rumours that the Serbian Army would soon liberate Bosnia and abolish the agrarian system had already been circulating among the peasants at this time.[107] These circumstances, coupled with Serbia's decision to begin freeing kmets on recently conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire, helped persuade Vienna to try to resolve the Agrarian Question in Bosnia as quickly as possible. It was at this time that General Potiorek, the military governor of Bosnia, along with the new Joint Finance Minister and civil governor Leo von Bilinski (1912-1914) made it known that they favoured seeing a swift resolution to the Agrarian Question.[108] As a result, a few Muslim and Serb deputies decided separately to discuss their own proposals with the General and Joint Minister behind closed doors during 1912 and 1913.[109] After much consideration, Potiorek and Bilinski eventually agreed to a Serb proposal that would see the government pay for a greater part of the interest of peasant purchases. This would be done with the promise that

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[105] Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Istina*, no. 1, October 30, 1913, 1; Anonymous, Untitled Article, *Istina*, no. 22, December 19, 1913, 1; *Stenografski izvještaj XV. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 29. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 342.

[106] This was indeed a growing problem, as begs attempted to profit over the loss of their great wealth, historic privileges, and identity. As one begdeputyasserted, the irony of land purchase was that "we are paying for our patrimony." See *Stenografski izvještaj XV. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 29. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 342. See also, Anonymous, "Kmetoderstvo," *Narod*, no. 331, September 18, 1913, 1; Anonymous, "Kmetoderstvo," *Glas slobode*, no. 45, April 11, 1912, 1.

[107] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 264.

[108] Juzbašić, "Uticaj Balkanskih ratova 1912/13. na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i na tretman agrarnog pitanja," 468-473; Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 263-264.

[109] See, for example, Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 263-265.

these Serbs would form a new political faction in parliament that would be loyal to Austria-Hungary. Unfortunately for Vienna, the First World War broke out before it could implement the plan.[110]

Despite efforts to resolve the issue, the Agrarian Question remained a major source of tension that reinforced ethnic divisions in parliament throughout the parliamentary period. This was because to both the Serbs and the Muslims, its resolution meant that one ethnic community would triumph at the expense of another. On the one hand, Serbs wished to abolish the agrarian system in order to free the kmets who were mainly Serbs. On the other hand, Muslim landowners desired to preserve their traditional rights to the land at the risk of harmonious political relations in parliament. As the Muslim landowner and deputy, Mustaj-beg Mutevelić, expressed in 1912, "We Muslims have always been willing to fight collectively with you [Serbs] against every foreign attack," but "as long as you desire to seize our property [...], as long as you wish to weaken us materially [...] there is and can never be any unity" in parliament.[111]

**The Language Question**

Like the Agrarian Question, the "Language Question" (*Jezičko pitanje*) became a major source of discord among parliamentarians at this time. It revolved around the issue of language both in form and in name. In the case of form, although Bosnians spoke the same language (Serbo-Croatian), they used different alphabets. While Serbs used Cyrillic (*ćirilica*), Croats used Latin (*latinica*), and Muslims used both in addition to the Arabic

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[110] Ekmečić, "Impact of the Balkan Wars," 263-266; Juzbašić, "Uticaj Balkanskih ratova 1912/13. na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i na tretman agrarnog pitanja," 472-473.
[111] *Stenografski izvještaj XVI. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 30. novembra 1912. u Sarajevu*, 350.

script.[112] In the case of the name of the language, Bosnians used various terms, the Serbs preferring to call it "Serbian" (and sometimes "Serbo-Croatian"), the Croats "Croatian" (and sometimes "Croato-Serbian"), and the Muslims variously used the Serb and Croat terminology. In a country whose population had a shared ancestry, history, and common language, it was typically these minor differences that distinguished whole communities from one another.[113]

But the fate of the Language Question did not rest entirely with the Serbs, Croats or Muslims. It greatly depended on policy decisions made in Vienna. As noted in previous chapters, language use first became a political issue after 1878, when the occupying government began to call the local language the "Language of the Land" (*Zemaljski jezik*) with a view to prevent Serb and Croat nationalism from taking root in Bosnia. Although the Austro-Hungarian authorities often used both Cyrillic and Latin in state schools and in official publications, Latin was generally favoured among officials.[114] This preference was largely practical because the majority of imperial officials and civil servants used the Latin alphabet.[115] In the years leading up to Bosnia's first parliament, however, the government's policies concerning language use gradually began to reflect a more tolerant attitude towards (ethnic) national expression. Under the liberalizing reforms of Governor Burian, the official language was changed to "Serbo-Croatian" (1907) and

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[112] See for example Malcolm, 101.

[113] It was what Michael Ignatieff calls the "narcissism of minor difference." Ignatieff argues that this occurs when two or more nearly identical ethnic nations distinguish between one another by highlighting traits that from the outsider's perspective appear trivial. Ignatieff has written extensively on the subject. See for example "Nationalism and the Narcissism of Minor Differences," in Ronald Beiner, ed., *Theorizing Nationalism* (New York: State University of New York, 1999): 91-102 and his study *Blood and Belonging*, 14; John V.A. Fine, Jr. and Robert J. Donia discuss some of the subtle differences found also in the costume, food, even household furnishings that distinguished rural Serbs, Croats and Muslims in the Ottoman era. See Donia and Fine, 82-83.

[114] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 18-19.

[115] Ibid., 13-15, 19; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 60-61. Moreover, Latin typewriters and newsprint machines were much more numerous and available.

Cyrillic and Latin were granted equal status. These changes were also upheld, albeit more vaguely, in the Constitution of 1910 that guaranteed the "preservation of the people's character and language," which also implied the equality of Cyrillic and Latin. The Constitution, however, did not identify the official name of the language, offered no practical understanding of how to apply the principle of alphabetical equity, nor mention the Arabic script.[116] Inconsistent policies and constitutional vagaries virtually ensured that the Language Question would be on the parliamentary agenda.

There were two main periods of parliamentary debate in which deputies discussed the issue of language. The first took place in the fall of 1911 when both the name of the language and the use of Bosnia's three main alphabets were discussed. The language bill proposed by the Provincial Government suggested that the official language be called "Croatian or Serbian," that it be used in internal and external communication, both written and verbal, and affirmed the equality of both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts (but with no mention of Arabic).[117] As could be expected, the bill immediately polarized the political parties with Serb deputies emerging as its most vocal critics. They argued that the official name of the language should reflect the ethnic proportions of the population. As representatives of the largest ethnic group (43%) in the province, they believed that the official name should acknowledge this and be called "Serbian or Croatian" instead of "Croatian or Serbian."[118] Still other Serb deputies objected to what they believed was an extremely vague "guarantee" of equality between Cyrillic and Latin, a promise that the authorities had made in the past, but failed to keep. In an interpolation presented in

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[116] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," in *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2002), 388, 397-398.
[117] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 403.
[118] Ibid.

October 1911 ten Serb deputies, including the intellectuals Svetozar Ćorović and Uroš Krulj, asked that Cyrillic be given the same consideration as Latin. As an integral part of the Serb identity, Cyrillic, they explained, needed to be respected by their Austro-Hungarian administrators. Noting a case in the town of Doboj where an Austrian official issued documents "in Latin to Serb personnel," they argued that "as a political official his conduct was not only improper but unlawful." They believed it was up to the administrators to uphold existing laws, reminding them that "Cyrillic is protected by law in our country." The general consensus among Serb deputies was that the Provincial Government needed to draw up a specific plan that would ensure Cyrillic be used alongside Latin in all communication, internal and external.[119] By granting them this, they believed it would contribute not only to the linguistic and cultural survival of the Serbs in Bosnia, but guarantee them a secure place of power in Bosnian politics.

Like the Serbs, the Croats were generally united in their desire to see their ethnic community gain or at least maintain the aura of dominance they already held in Bosnia. As a result, the members of the CNU approved the Provincial Government's proposal, seeing in it the continuation of Croat ascendancy in the province. According to the conservative Croat newspaper *Hrvatski dnevnik* (*The Croatian Daily*), the CNU's own Nikola Mandić was the author of the bill.[120] The conservative Catholic CCA party, however, was less satisfied than their CNU counterparts. It demanded that "Croatian" become the only identifiable language and Latin the exclusive alphabet of the land.[121] Although the CNU party never officially endorsed such an extreme proposal, at least one

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[119] *Stenografski izvještaj III. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane dne 16. oktobra 1911. u Sarajevu*, 18-19.
[120] Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 38.
[121] Ibid.

member sympathized with the CCA, having asserted just one year earlier that all regulations in German should be written in "Croatian" because Bosnia was a Croatian land inhabited by Croatian people. Needless to say, his statements did not go unnoticed among Serb and Muslim deputies who decried the speaker's national chauvinism.[122]

Of all the ethnic groups represented in parliament, the Muslim party was the least unified and, indeed, the least engaged in the debate. Although the MNO formally established a pact in March 1911 with the CNU, agreeing to support the Croat position on language in exchange for Croat support concerning the Agrarian Question, not all Muslims had signed the agreement. Some preferred to cooperate with the Serbs, while others generally agreed with the Serb position on language.[123] But there was another reason that kept them from entangling themselves in the debate. Among those who did not sign the pact was the landowner Derviš-beg Miralem, who argued that the Language Question, in its present form ("Serbian" vs "Croatian" and Cyrillic vs. Latin) was mainly an issue to be resolved between the Serbs and the Croats, and one that he believed most Muslims would accept, whatever the outcome.[124]

What mainly preoccupied Miralem and his circle at this time was the status of Arabic, which they perceived as the historic and traditional script of the Muslims.[125] The issue of Arabic use first arose in parliament when members of the MNO suggested that in addition to Latin and Cyrillic, Arabic be used on street signs. Wishing to curry favour

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[122] *Stenografski izvještaji I. sjednica sabora Bosne i Hercegovine držane godina 1910, u Sarajevu,* 351-353, 370.
[123] Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 39.
[124] Ibid.
[125] The Arabic language and alphabet, along with Turkish and Persian, was first introduced to Bosnia following the Ottoman conquests in the fifteenth century. Arabic, Turkish and Persian were, thereafter, taught in Muslim mektebs (elementary schools) throughout Ottoman rule, but it was not until about two centuries after the Ottoman conquests that some Muslims began to use the Arabic script to write in the local language of Serbo-Croatian. The protection of the Islamic faith in Bosnia was thus linked to the preservation of Arabic, more so than Turkish or Persian. See, for example, Malcolm, 101-103.

with the Muslims, both the Serbs and the Croats agreed to the idea. But Miralem also suggested that this be the first step in making Arabic the third official alphabet of Bosnia, believing that this would help protect the Bosnian Muslim identity against Greater Serb and Greater Croat chauvinism.[126] Although many educated Muslims, particularly the secular intellectual elite, had by then begun to favour Latin over Arabic, perceiving the latter as a purely religious script, they gave Miralem's proposal their full support.[127] And while Serb and Croat politicians agreed to the addition of Arabic on street signs, they were less inclined to embrace Arabic as an official alphabet, perceiving it as a foreign, Ottoman import.[128] In the end, despite political discussions in parliament, the Provincial Government ultimately decided against making Arabic the third official alphabet. Governor Burian believed that besides it being an extremely costly endeavor to print three separate scripts in all government communications and publications, he also recognized that the Croat and Serb majority would never have supported the move.[129]

Concerned with the lack of progress on the issue, the Provincial Government decided to draw up a new bill that was introduced at the end of 1911. The only substantive alteration was made to the name of the language, which changed from "Croatian or Serbian" to "Serbo-Croatian," thus leaning in favour of the Serb population. As could be expected, the bill provoked a new round of criticisms in parliament. Speaking on behalf of the Muslims, Šerif Arnautović (1847-1935), objected to the proposal, arguing that not only did it not reflect the will of the majority (i.e. the Muslims and the

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[126] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 405-406; Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, 103.
[127] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 403, 405-406.
[128] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 106; A month before passing the proposal to erect Arabic street signs prominent Serb and Croat deputies met and decided that they would not seek to make the Arabic script equal to Cyrillic and Latin.
[129] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 406-407.

Croats), but it was drawn up specifically to mollify those Serbs who he accused of holding secret meetings with government officials in order to produce a plan that favoured their side.[130] This unexpected reaction from the Muslims, who had largely remained on the sidelines of the issue, prompted the Serbs to fire back. After characterizing Arnautović's statements as a series of "unfounded insinuations," Milan Srškić declared that the Muslims had no business interfering with what was clearly an issue between the Serbs and Croats. "The Serbian club [SNO] is of the view that the resolution of the language question [...] can only be determined by agreement among the Serbs and the Croats, and until the Muslims decide to declare themselves either Serbs or Croats, they should not interfere."[131] As could be expected, the re-emergence of national chauvinism during the debate created an especially tense atmosphere in parliament. Verbal insults soon escalated into threats of physical violence between the Muslim deputy Šerif Arnautović and Kosta Majkić, a member of the SNO.[132] Needless to say, there was no resolution to the Language Question at this time. Once cooler heads prevailed, the political parties decided to accept the proposal, but only as an interim measure until a new bill could be introduced in parliament.[133]

Meanwhile, a number of Serb intellectuals, including certain members of the SNO, embarked on a press campaign to keep the Language Question alive outside of parliament. They hoped to galvanize urban Serbs to engage in a social protest against the potential loss of the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet in Bosnia, believing that their survival as an ethnic group and political force in parliament depended on it. Although

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[130] Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 41.
[131] *Stenografski izvještaji XII. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane den 26. Novembra 1911. u Sarajevu*, 9.
[132] Ibid., 9-10.
[133] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalni odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 407-408.

Bosnia's political circumstances had greatly altered since the early years of Austro-Hungarian rule, the intellectuals and political leaders from both periods shared a common concern about the potentially negative effects that a more powerful imperial, Catholic culture would have on their ethnic survival in Bosnia. The popular columnist Savo Skarić believed this was true, arguing that the growing influence of the Latin alphabet, in particular, meant that "Cyrillic" was in danger of "disappearing from the face of Bosnia" and, through it, the Serbs as a distinct nation.[134] And as the Bosnian Serb deputy and newspaperman, Risto Radulović argued, "our Cyrillic is purely a national script, a product of the Serb culture and one of its distinguishing features." To eliminate it, he concluded, was "to destroy the Serb nationality" in Bosnia. "We cannot and will not allow it."[135]

This fear, however exaggerated, was linked to the on-going concern that the disappearance of Cyrillic would bring them one step closer towards their "Germanization." Despite the success of the cultural autonomy movement in 1905, the Bosnian Serbs continued to believe that the encroachment of the German language and culture brought in by settlers and officials from the Empire were part of the same *drang nach osten* that had threatened minority cultures elsewhere in the Monarchy.[136] Many intellectuals believed that the state's promises of democratizing language use in the region through a constitution and parliament was mainly a distraction, and one that did

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[134] Skarić, *Izabrana djela*, 37.
[135] Risto Radulović, "Ćirilica i latinica," first published in *Narod*, no. 138, on November 16, 1911 and is reprinted in his collected works, *Izabrani radovi*, 170-171.
[136] Similar concerns had occupied the politics of the Empire's other South Slavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), whose attempts during the nineteenth century to codify and create a single national literary language, both separately and collectively, was in large measure due to their on-going fears of "Magyarization." Despite certain advances in local cultural and political autonomy, this fear continued into the twentieth century. See, for example, Wachtel, 24-31; Kann and Zdenek, 211, 213-16, 265, 283; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 55-57, 63-76.

not reflect Bosnian realities. Petar Kočić argued, for example, that the constitutional vaguaries on language were an attempt by Vienna to allow the German language and Latin alphabet room to grow and eventually predominate in Bosnia. "The impact of the new constitution and its statutes on our [Serb] language," he wrote, "is so clearly detrimental that we can only hope that our beautiful language, the most beautiful of the Slav languages, might not come to complete ruin nor fade away."[137]

Djordje Pejanović (1878-1962), the librarian of the first Serb Central Library in Sarajevo (1913), argued along similar lines in his article called "Hungarian and German Schools among Us." He believed that despite the introduction of a constitution and parliament in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serbs' language and culture were never entirely safe from Austro-Hungarian influences. He regarded the proliferation of Austrian and Hungarian private schools in particular, where the language of instruction was normally in German, as especially dangerous to the preservation of the Serb language and of traditional Serb values and customs. Since the beginning of Austro-Hungarian rule, there had been a steady growth in the number of these schools, having increased from just four in 1894 to a total of sixteen in 1915.[138] According to Pejanović, along with four Hungarian schools located in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Travnik, there were plans to erect three more in Brčko, Tuzla, and Banja Luka. Although these schools were established mainly for the benefit of the children of German and Hungarian civil servants, industrialists, and other settlers, by "recruit[ing]...indigenous children to these schools" with the promise of free enrolment and school supplies, Pejanović argued, Vienna was

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[137] Petar Kočić, *Sabrana djela*, vol. 2, from the article "Za srpski jezik" (1911), 242.

[138] The precise number of German and Hungarian schoolchildren that attended these schools is not known to this author, but for a brief description of private German and Hungarian schools in Bosnia, see Džaja, 73-74; On the population growth of Bosnia's urban, administrative centres (due mainly to the influx of Austro-Hungarian officials, and civilian and military personnel, including increases in the Catholic population), see, Donia, *Sarajevo*, 64.

attempting to accelerate the country's linguistic and cultural political assimilation into the Empire.[139]

But as other critics pointed out, the Serbs were contributing to their own "Germanization." Some were said to have increasingly favoured Latin over Cyrillic and German over Serbian. In an article entitled "Serbs Do Not Respect Cyrillic," one anonymous author criticized certain Serb businessmen who were exchanging store-front signs written in Serbian for those written in German.[140] Petar Kočić believed that if left unchecked, this acceptance and growing tolerance of a foreign language would make preserving an 'authentic' Serb language in Bosnia increasingly difficult. Similar problems, he believed, had plagued their counterparts elsewhere in the Monarchy where "our people, the Serbs and the Croats from Croatia," had allowed indigenous words and expressions to be replaced by German ones "in books, in newspapers, in decrees, in schools, and in the courts" as well as "in offices and in the border guard." He feared the same was happening in Bosnia where some Serbs were following the example of their ethnic counterparts in the Monarchy by permitting the use of 'Germanisms' in local speech which, he argued, had "no links with the living language of our people:"

> This must hurt our good and old Bosnians, because in the olden days our language was extraordinarily beautiful and resonant, much more beautiful and indigenous than the dialects in Eastern Serbia that had for a time been under the influence of the Byzantine culture and Greek syntax.[141]

As could be explected, some writers urged the Bosnian Serbs to oppose more forcefully the expansion of the German language and culture in Bosnia. Comparing themselves to the other Slavs of the Empire, one writer erroneously argued that while "we

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[139] Djordje Pejanović, "Madjarske i njemačke škole kod nas," *Srpska omladina*, nos. 3-4, December 1, 1912, 79-82.
[140] Anonymous, "Srbi ne poštuju ćirilice," *Narod*, no. 215, July 28, 1912, 3.
[141] Kočić, *Sabrana djela*, vol. 2, 243.

tolerate an expanding Germanization, the other Slavic cities in the Monarchy" like "Prague, Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Krakow," have "long ago removed the German mark." He urged his Bosnian Serb readers, therefore, to rise above their apathy, believing that the gradual acceptance of German would continually diminish the importance of the Serbian language and use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Bosnia. He wrote that it was "up to us" to "encourage the exclusivity of the Serbian language and of Cyrillic, and then ask foreigners…to respect [our] language and alphabet." While urging the public to shake off its apathy, he also suggested that it should engage in a subtle form of social protest:

> We are asking that in every shop, every café, on all the streets, that all Serbs join us in returning all German-written receipts, tenders, notices, to cease purchasing German products in shops, and to stop entering cafes and hotels where the menus are in German and where even the waiters are brought in from Vienna and Graz.[142]

Although no such social protest emerged, he and other intellectuals continued to keep the Language Question alive in the press with the hope that it might also influence its progress in parliament.

After a two-year lull and intense press campaign, the Language Question returned as the subject of a second round of talks in late 1913. As was the case with Bosnia's political status and with the Agrarian Question, the Balkan Wars had forced policy-makers to put the issue back on the agenda. General Potiorek strongly believed that resolving the Bosnians' most contentious social and cultural issues could alleviate local fears of Germanization, while simultaneously weakening nationalist (Serb and Yugoslav) movements in the province.[143] In 1913, therefore, the Provincial Government presented a new language bill in parliament. But although it affirmed "Serbo-Croatian" as the official name of the language, it gave

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[142]Anonymous, "Za Srpski jezik i ćirilicu," *Otadžbina*, no. 79, April 27, 1912, 1.
[143] Juzbašić, "Jezička politika austrougarske uprave i nacionalne odnosi u Bosni i Hercegovini," 412-413.

only a vague guarantee of the equality of Latin and Cyrillic equal status and said nothing about the specific use of either.[144] Serb leaders were extremely disappointed that their efforts in both parliament and the press had brought such uneven results.[145] During the parliamentary debate in December 1913, one Serb deputy pointed out that although the bill indicated that Cyrillic and Latin were now going to be used together "in all official proclamations, notices, addresses and seals," it did not explicitly state how this would be done.[146] The Serb intellectual and deputy from Mostar, Atanasije Šola (1878-1960), agreed, arguing that this left far too much room for interpretation. "Gentlemen, this means that when [the bill] is carefully examined," he asserted, "Cyrillic is in fact unequal" to Latin because the bill "does not state that if a civil servant wishes to write in Cyrillic, that he is permitted to do so." Instead, Šola believed, the bill implied that,

> Latin is recognized as the legal alphabet, while Cyrillic is considered an exception that may also be used. This bill, to be sure, states that both scripts are equal, but when we examine its contents, we then understand its actual meaning, namely that Cyrillic is tolerated, while Latin is the official alphabet that everyone must use in an official capacity.[147]

The Serb deputy Đoko Milošević also argued that the bill was too vague on the role of Cyrillic and for this reason, he believed, it would be under-utilized in the administration. "We know that until now," he explained, "there have been other official declarations made concerning the legal equality of both alphabets, but we are also well aware that civil

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[144]Anonymous, "Zakon o jeziku," *Istina*, no. 25, December 31, 1914, 1.
[145] See for example, Anonymous, "Jezično pitanje u saborskim konferencijama," *Narod*, no. 267, January 30, 1913, 3; Anonymous, "Deputacija radi jezičnog pitanja," *Narod*, no. 268, February 2, 1913, 3; Anonymous, "Saborska deputacija bosanska u Beču," *Narod*, no. 270, February 9, 1913, 3; See also the December 17 1913 debate in parliament in *Stenografski izvještaj II. Sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, držane dne 17. decembra 1913. u Sarajevu.*
[146] *Stenografski izvještaj II. Sjednice Sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, državne dne 17. decembra 1913. Sarajevu*, 41.
[147] Ibid., 14.

servants have rarely upheld them."[148] Given these ambiguities, two Bosnian Serb politicians offered their own proposals that they believed would guarantee that Cyrillic be used alongside Latin in all internal and external communication.[149] Neither received much support, however, except from among the Serb members of parliament.[150]

As could be expected, both the Muslim and Croat parties generally favoured the bill. Although the Muslims did not engage in the debate, based on the final vote, it was clear that they approved the bill. As for the Croats, they were, not unexpectedly, also pleased with the bill and urged the rest of parliament to vote to pass it. The only major objection came from the Croatian-born priest and newspaperman Kalikst Tadin who, while favouring the bill, criticized the term "Serbo-Croatian" to describe the language. "Why Serbo-Croatian?" he asked. "Better Croatian for the Croats or Serbian for the Serbs. Could anyone have imagined a more foolish concoction than Serbo-Croatian." But, as he concluded, it was the "lesser of two evils."[151] In the end, and despite strong objections from the Serbs, therefore, the Croat and Muslim majority voted to pass the language bill.[152]

Although the new law on language received official sanction from both Budapest and Vienna in mid-June 1914, the Language Question was not wholly resolved in Bosnia.[153] Among the remaining issues of contention was the name of the language (that

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[148] Ibid., 26.
[149] Ibid., 2-3, 27.
[150] Ibid., 40.
[151] *Stenografski izvještaj II. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, državne dne 17. decembra 1913. Sarajevu*, 33.
[152] Ibid.
[153] This was true for those opposing the bill as well as those supporting it. See *Stenografski izvještaj II. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, državne dne 17. decembra 1913. Sarajevu*, 10, 12, 13, 25, 27, 32.

satisfied the Serbs),[154] the implicit dominance of Latin (that satisfied the Croats and to some extent the Muslims), and the omission of Arabic (that satisfied the Croats and Serbs). Although the political parties believed in the principle of equality, in practice they behaved in ways that suggested their desire to resolve the Language Question in a way that favoured their side. Seen in this light, compromise was equated to defeat. There was, however, no opportunity to discuss the issue further in parliament. After the official sanction of the law in 1914 and before its promulgation, the First World War broke out, and within a few short weeks, Vienna dissolved the Bosnian parliament permanently. Like the questions concerning Bosnia's political status and the agrarian system, the Language Question would remain unresolved for the rest of Austro-Hungarian rule.[155]

**Conclusion**

From 1910 until the outbreak of war in 1914, parliamentary politics did not have the desired effect that deputies had initially hoped. It did not minimize ethnic tensions nor help resolve the greatest stumbling blocks to their political integration. On the contrary, it opened a Pandora's Box that contained the most contentious political, social, and cultural obstacles to their collective progress. The ethnic curial system that divided politicians into ethnic political parties virtually ensured that ethnic group interests would occupy the top of the parliamentary agenda. So, too, did the Balkan Wars that heightened nationalist feeling inside the province and served to exacerbate their existing differences in parliament. Despite calls to work together, therefore, each ethnic party gradually retreated

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[154] Although the Croat deputy Kalikst Tadin supported the bill, he objected to "Serbo-Croatian" as the official name to be given to the language. See *Stenografski izvještaj II. sjednice sabora Bosne i Hercegovine, državne dne 17. decembra 1913. Sarajevu*, 33.
[155] Juzbašić, *Nacionalno-politički odnosi*, 214-215.

to the more familiar politics of ethnic competition and defense. Indeed, ethnic rivalries reached such intensity at times that General Potiorek considered dissolving parliament on more than one occasion.[156]

That said, parliament also served to accelerate the potential to resolve long-standing ethnic grievances in Bosnia. While some scholars have argued that increasing contacts between the ethnic groups merely highlighted their differences, these also served to make them seek the resolution of their most contentious issues. As the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, literally, came face-to-face with each other, their greatest concerns were openly addressed and their biggest obstacles publicly debated. Parliament thus served as a vehicle through which the ethnic groups attempted to resolve their differences. Without this, it is difficult to envisage any progress in Bosnian nation-building. Unfortunately, we can only speculate about how effective the Bosnian parliament would have been if left unhindered for a decade or more; or how stable ethnically-mixed political parties could have been if deputies had pursued this idea more forcefully in parliament. Suffice it to say that while some politicians tried to work out their differences in parliament, they could not resolve some of their basic sources of ethnic tension before war broke out in 1914, after which Vienna dissolved the Bosnian parliament and ended the country's very brief period of nation-building.

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[156] Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje*, 65-67.

# Chapter 6
# The "Great Idea" of Yugoslav Unity (1908-1914)

## Introduction

The cultural and political movement to unify the Yugoslavs (literally "South Slavs") appeared in Bosnia on the eve of World War I. Its supporters argued that the Yugoslavs—Serbs,[1] Croats,[2] and Slovenes—were "really" a single nation and, therefore, deserved all the rights of collective political independence.[3] Whereas Yugoslav unity had been the subject of debate since the early nineteenth century in Croatia and later in Serbia, it captured the sustained interest of a growing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals only after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, when the hope of their country being united with Serbia was finally shattered. The failure of the Great Powers and Serbia to prevent Vienna from violating the agreements reached at the Congress of Berlin only solidified these sentiments. It was then that an increasing number of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals turned to what one writer referred to as the "great idea" of Yugoslav cultural and political unity.[4]

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[1] This included Montenegrins, most of whom saw themselves as Serbs, and the Macedonians whom the Serbs believed were part of the Greater Serb nation.

[2] As discussed in previous chapters, most Serbs and Croats believed that the Serbo-Croatian-speaking South Slav Muslims were directly descended from Orthodox (and largely Serb) or Catholic (mainly Croat) South Slavs. Because the precise origins of the South Slavs included a mixture of Serb, Croat and other Slav settlers into the region in the sixth and seventh centuries, all of whom intermarried with the indigenous population that variously included the Illyrians, Celts, and others, the question of whether Muslims were all "really" Serbs or Croats was largely a political one. For a brief account of the multi-ethnic origins of the Bosnians see, for example, Malcolm, "Races, Myths and Origins: Bosnia to 1180," in *Bosnia: A Short History*: 1-12.

[3] In some scenarios, the Bulgarians were also included. See, for example, Michael Boro Petrovic, *A History of Modern Serbia, 1804-1918*, vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 231-232, 245; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 39.

[4] M[iloš] Vidaković, "Na početku dela," *Srpska omladina*, no. 3, October 2, 1912, 41-42. Vidaković, a Bosnian Serb writer and part of the Young Bosnia movement, wrote these words in 1912: "It was not that long ago when … it was almost universally lamented and proclaimed that we did not have a great idea around which to assemble all that is honourable and proud, all that is desirable in creating a broad view and vision."

Despite the multitude of studies about the ideology of the Yugoslav movement, scholars have paid little attention to its development among the Bosnian Serbs.[5] Western and Balkan scholars alike have focused their studies mainly on the evolution of the Yugoslav idea among intellectuals from Croatia who first promoted it, or the political roles played by the Serbian government and Yugoslav Committee during World War I.[6] In the case of Bosnia, scholars have tended to emphasize the role of Young Bosnia, the name given to the loose grouping of students and young intellectuals that included Gavrilo Princip (1894-1918), the teenaged assassin of the Austrian Archduke.[7] Studies concerning Young Bosnia, however fascinating, have limited our understanding of the development of a Yugoslav identity in Bosnia, where a broad spectrum of Bosnian Serb writers promoted the idea.

This chapter will examine the nature of that idea among the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serb intellectuals on the eve of World War I. It will show that the Yugoslav idea was a natural extension of the collectivist, multi-ethnic consciousness then being applied to the Bosnian identity. Although the pro-Yugoslavs were largely young writers of varying philosophical and political outlooks, the simplest common position among them was the belief that an independent Yugoslav state would fulfill two basic desires. The first was

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[5] Historians have focused their analyses on Croatian intellectuals, among whom the Yugoslav idea originated. As a result, few have attempted a rigorous content analysis of the print culture that promoted Yugoslavism among the Serbs in and outside of Bosnia. Ljubinka Trgovčević makes this point about the intellectuals from Serbia as well in her article "South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*: 222-237, while Dušan Djordjevich notes in "Clio amid the Ruins: Yugoslavia and Its Predecessors in Recent Historiography," in Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case, eds. *Yugoslavia and its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990's* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003): 16, that the Bosnian Serbs have received little separate treatment in the general historiography.

[6] On Croatian intellectuals two influential English language contributions have been made by Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*; Gross, "Croatian National-integrational Ideologies"; On the roles of the Serbian government, army and Yugoslav Committee see, for example, Djordjević, ed., *The Creation of Yugoslavia*.

[7] On the revolutionary activity of the Bosnian youth and Gavrilo Princip see, for example, Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*. For a comprehensive analysis of the writings of Bosnian students and revolutionary youth see Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne*.

culturally-motivated. Namely, the intellectuals wished to see the character of the people reflected in the identity of the state. National anthems, official languages, and other cultural symbols have commonly served this purpose elsewhere in Europe. The second was politically-motivated, based on their desire for political representation. For these intellectuals, neither the Bosnian Constitution nor the Bosnian parliament could ever fully represent their political ideals as long as Bosnia remained under foreign rule. As could be expected, the task of carving out a common "Yugoslav" identity from this mixture of nations (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), religions (Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim), languages (Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian) and political sentiments was difficult. But the pro-Yugoslav intellectuals believed that it was possible to overcome their differences by demonstrating that they had enough in common, both culturally and politically, to justify unification. Using "Cultural Yugoslavism" and "Political Yugoslavism" as categories of analysis, therefore, this chapter will demonstrate their importance in the development of the multi-ethnic idea of Yugoslav unity as captured in the writings of some of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals on the eve of World War I.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first provides a brief overview of the appeal of Yugoslavism among the South Slavs more generally, while the second and third examine the ideology of Yugoslavism as expressed in the writings of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals.

**The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia: A Brief Overview of Intellectual Developments in Croatia and Serbia (with some thoughts on Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia)[8]**

When the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was created in 1918, the idea of Yugoslav unity was nearly a century old.[9] What began as a cultural movement to close the linguistic gap among the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in the 1830's became a political movement for Yugoslav unification later on.[10] Nationalist leaders were attracted to the Yugoslav idea at various times and for different reasons. Whether it was from a fear of Magyarization (Serbs and Croats), Germanization (Serbs and Slovenes) or the dread of being overrun by the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires (Serbia and Montenegro), Yugoslav unity became an increasingly attractive defense against the problem of cultural and political imperialism.[11] Having been frustrated by the failure to receive more recognition for their separate national demands, some co-opted the "great idea" of Yugoslav unity mainly with the hope of gaining leverage for their (ethnic) national interests, but also with the belief that the South Slavs were (or potentially could be) a single nation. Although their specific objectives may have varied, taken together they reflected a common desire to have their cultural and political ideals represented in an independent Yugoslav state. The following briefly outlines this pattern among the South

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[8] Of all the peoples who were incorporated into Yugoslavia, the Croats and the Serbs had made the most substantial contributions to the development of the Yugoslav idea prior to World War I. I will, therefore, confine most of my argument to them.

[9] The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had brought together the formerly independent kingdoms of Serbia (which now included a portion of Macedonia) and Montenegro as well as a substantial amount of territory previously a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, including Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, the Vojvodina, modern-day Slovenia and Bosnia.

[10] Although Bulgaria had previously been included in this scenario, its decision to wage war on its Balkan League allies following the first of the two Balkan Wars left Bulgaria irrevocably out in the cold in any future Yugoslav program. This analysis will, therefore, emphasize the remaining South Slavs.

[11] On the threat posed by Magyarization see, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 64; Tihomir Cipek, "The Croats and Yugoslavism," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*: 71-83; Mitja Velikonja, "Slovenia's Yugoslav Century," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*: 84-99; On the motives behind Belgrade's call for the liberation of all the South Slavs and the the process that led to the formation of the first Yugoslav union in 1918 see, for example, Dimitrije Djordjević, op. cit.

Slavs, giving special emphasis to the ways in which the Yugoslav idea became an extension of each nation's specific cultural and political interests.

As noted earlier, Yugoslavism first arose as a linguistic movement in Croatia in the 1830's and later during the 1860's. Known as "Illyrianism" (which referred to the ancient Illyrians who were for a time believed to be the ancestors of the South Slavs), the movement was initiated by a small group of publicists and nobles who were inspired by German Romanticism, particularly Herder's idea that language, not religion or political precedent, was the basis of nationhood. At the time, Hungarian laws on language and rural reforms began increasingly to encroach upon the traditional influence of the Croatian elite.[12] As a result, some began to advance South Slav cooperation as a way of defending Croatian language and political rights. Their first major leader, the linguist Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872), believed that the South Slav nations could band together by creating a common "Illyrian" language, which he envisaged as an amalgamation of their languages and dialects. This coincided with similar movements in Eastern and Central Europe in which linguists and national leaders sought to create a literary language that was free of foreign, imperialist influences. Like the language reformers Vasil Aprilov (1789-1847) from Bulgaria and the Czech linguist Josef Jungmann (1773-1847), the cultural "awakeners" of Illyrianism emerged with the belief that creating a standard language was necessary to defining their collective identity and political worth. Although most South Slavs chose not to switch to Gaj's Illyrian standard, the Illyrianists, later

[12] In 1827, the Hungarian Diet passed a language law that made Hungarian the language of government, including the parliament where Croatians sent their representatives. Later, during 1832-1836, the Hungarian Diet implemented a series of rural reforms that reduced the rights of Croatian and other nobles over their peasantry. Croatian nobles responded by introducing a bill that would make "Illyrian" the language of government in Croatian lands (i.e. Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia). See, for example, Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 44.

known as the "Yugoslavs,"[13] set in motion a series of events that encouraged an increasing number of South Slav leaders to promote their cultural and political cooperation against foreign influence and rule.[14]

In Serbia, the Yugoslav idea did not have an appreciable impact until the turn of the twentieth century. Faced with a mounting body of scholarly research in linguistics, literature, ethnography, and history that showed the South Slavs had much in common, it was only then that a growing number of Serbian intellectuals began to support the Yugoslav cultural and political movement.[15] Their ideas contrasted starkly with those of many other urban, educated Serbs, who had since the mid-nineteenth century nurtured the idea of creating a Greater Serbian state.[16] Serbian politicians were especially eager to expand Serbia's borders in order to protect it against foreign influence and invasion, while simultaneously acquiring what were then seen as historically Serbian lands.[17] The imagined borders of this Greater Serbian state commonly included Bosnia, Montenegro, Kosovo, parts of Albania, most of present-day Croatia, and Macedonia.[18] The Yugoslav option replaced the Greater Serb political project only during the First World War as the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires began to crumble and when Serbian leaders

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[13] In 1861 the Croatian parliament adopted the name "Yugoslav" to refer to the Serbo-Croatian language, but the term was also used to refer to the South Slavs.
[14] Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 63; Cipek, "The Croats and Yugoslavism," 72-73.
[15] Trgovčević, "South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia," 222-237.
[16] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 108-109.
[17] There were some exceptions to this, particularly during the 1860's when Belgrade and Croatian nationalists discussed the idea of establishing a Yugoslav state in one form or another. Such negotiations never amounted to any concrete plans and were quickly discarded following the death of Serbia's chief negotiator, Prince Michael Obrenović. (See Stevan K. Pavlowitch, "Serbia, Montenegro and Yugoslavia," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*, 58.
[18] As noted in chapter one, there were two main kinds of Serb nationalism. The first had in mind expanding Serbia in order to protect it against its more powerful neighbours. Its policy-makers envisaged expanding the state, but did not desire to "Serbianize" the conquered peoples. The second form of Serb nationalism, however, envisaged "Serbianizing" the conquered peoples, particularly those who were thought to be "really" Serbs (some Croats and all Muslims). The term "Greater Serbia" is here used as a general expression of Serbia's expansionist aims and may refer to either of the two aims of Serbian policy-makers at this time.

were persuaded to believe that Yugoslav unity was the most practical defense against the threat of foreign domination. Belgrade also recognized that the boundaries of the Greater Serb political project closely corresponded with those containing the other South Slavs (with the exception of Slovenia and Bulgaria), seeing in Yugoslavism an alternative to traditional Serb nationalism.[19]

For most of this period, the Slovenes, who constituted the third major political partner in the future Yugoslav state, preferred to remain under the security of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Wishing to protect the Slovenian language and culture and to advance the program of uniting the Slovenian lands into a single administrative unit, some Slovene leaders favoured the idea of cooperating with the South Slavs, but wished to do so within the framework of the Empire.[20] After decades of frustration and minimal political progress, however, the concept of South Slav independence began to influence an increasing number of the mainly younger Slovene intellectuals on the eve of World War I. It was at this time that a group of Slovenian intellectuals and students calling themselves "Preporod" ("Revival") (1912) became openly anti-Austrian, publicly endorsing the unification of the South Slavs in an independent Yugoslav state. These

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[19] Although scholars have traditionally argued that Yugoslavism was a cloak for the Greater Serb political project for all Serb nationalists, whether from Serbia or not, this argument is better suited to describe the attitudes of Belgrade politicians during World War I. According to recently published studies, this was not the case for most Serb intellectuals at this time. See Ljubica Trgovčević, op. cit. and Andrew Baruch Wachtel, "Ivan Meštrović, Ivo Andrić and the Synthetic Yugoslav Culture of the Interwar Period," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism:* 238-251.

[20] Only a very few had been attracted to Illyrianism during the 1830's and 1840's, which would have meant that Slovenes reject the Slovenian language in order to encourage linguistic as well as cultural and political cooperation with the Croats and possibly the other South Slavs of the Empire. Wachtel, *Making a Nation*, 30-31; George Thomas,"The Impact of Purism on the Development of the Slovene Standard Language," *Slovene Linguistic Studies* 1 (1997), http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/800/3/109Thomas.pdf (Accessed in June 2007).

young Slovenes believed that their cultural and political interests could be represented better in a Yugoslav program outside the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[21]

In the cases of Montenegro and Macedonia, few of its leaders had aspired much beyond their particular national interests prior to World War I. Although the Yugoslav idea attracted a tiny segment of opinion in Montenegro, most Montenegrins supported the Greater Serb idea, in part, because the majority was Serbian-speaking, Orthodox, and regarded itself as Serb. Despite the concern that Montenegro might lose some of its uniqueness in an enlarged Serbian state, a number of expatriots of the younger, educated elite viewed Serbia as superior in many ways and believed that a Greater Serb union could only improve upon Montenegro's cultural and political weaknesses.[22] Macedonians, in their turn, though predominantly Orthodox Slavs, were even less interested in the Yugoslav idea. Some regarded themselves as Bulgarians, while others promoted a distinctly Macedonian consciousness. There was, however, enough flexibility and question regarding the Macedonian identity at this time to encourage competing Serbian claims to the local population. But following the Serbian conquest of much of Macedonia during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and subsequent attempts to "Serbianize" the population under a united Yugoslavia, many Macedonians became outright hostile to any kind of union with Serbia.[23]

In Bosnia, as noted earlier, the Yugoslav idea had not attracted much attention until the Bosnian annexation in 1908. The shock of not having been consulted on the matter of annexation fueled anti-Austrian sentiments and encouraged a growing number

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[21] Mitja Velikonja, "Slovenia's Yugoslav Century," 84-86; Dennison Rusinow, "The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*, 16, 25; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 57.
[22] See, for example, Pavlowitch, 57-59.
[23] Hugh Poulton, "Macedonians and Albanians as Yugoslavs," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*, 115-119.

of Bosnian Serb intellectuals to promote the Yugoslav idea as the next best option to traditional Serb nationalism and Bosnian political autonomy. As could be expected, some of the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims believed that Bosnian Serb support for Yugoslavism was a cloak for Greater Serb nationalism.[24] In a few cases, it was easy to see why. Some Bosnian Serbs, while supporting the Yugoslav idea in theory, in practice engaged in political activities whose goal it was to help Serbia expand into Bosnia.[25] But there were other reasons for their opposition to Yugoslavism. Generally speaking, the Croats and, by 1909, most Muslims were loyal to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, neither aspiring much beyond their specific ethnic political interests within the Monarchy. The Bosnian Croats, who developed a close relationship with Croatia and who saw the Catholic Church expand rapidly in Bosnia after 1878, enjoyed an aura of dominance they had not experienced under Ottoman rule.[26] If anything, they hoped to see Bosnia unite

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[24] Dr. Dragoslav Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna i sarajevski atentat* (Sarajevo: Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1964), 100; Xavier Bougarel, "Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*, 100-101; Donia and Fine, 115-116.

[25] Among the intellectuals, Nikola T. Kašiković epitomized this kind of more obvious duality that among some Bosnian Serb leaders. While supporting the Yugoslav idea in public, even transforming his periodical *Bosanska vila* into a major literary force among Yugoslav writers, permitting a number of the mainly younger, radical leaders of the Yugoslav movement in Bosnia to edit and contribute several articles after 1908, Kašiković himself was, for all intents and purposes, a traditional Serb nationalist. From about the time of the annexation in 1908 until the assassination of the archduke in 1914, he, along with his wife Stoja and their eldest son Predrag, provided information about Austria-Hungary's military maneuvers to Serbia's spies, including the Belgrade writer and newspaperman Milorad Pavlović (1865-1957) whom Kašiković had befriended during his business travels to Serbia in the 1880's and 1890's. Later, during World War I, Nikola, Stoja, and Predrag were tried and convicted of treason. They were later absolved of their crimes in 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist and Bosnia had joined the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. For information on Nikola, Stoja and Predrag see for example, the ABH, PGS, Treason Trial of Nikola T. Kašiković and the ABH, PGS, Treason Trial of Stoja and Predrag Kašiković. See also Đuričković, *Bosanska vila*, 35-42; On the trials of other Bosnian Serb intellectuals accused of treason and Greater Serb agitation, see for example Đorđe Mikić, "Veleizdajnički procesi u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini: Suzbijanje nacionalnog pokreta do 1914," in Nikola B. Popović, ed., *Politički procesi Srbima u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1914-1917* (Laktaši: Grafomark, 1996): 49-92; Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, 173-188; Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* discusses treason trials among the South Slavs of the Monarchy before and during World War I.

[26] As discussed in chapter one, under the Ottoman Empire the Orthodox were favoured over the Catholics who, given the antagonism between Islam and Catholicism played out in the Crusades during the medieval era, were seen as a potential fifth column. See for example, Donia and Fine, 39, 64-65.

with Croatia in an enlarged Croatian province within the Empire.[27] The few Bosnian Croats who supported Yugoslav cooperation (in or outside the framework of the Empire) included some of the nascent intellectual elites and educated youth who, unlike their Serb counterparts, envisaged Zagreb as the future seat of this cultural and political union.[28]

Muslim disinterest in the Yugoslav idea was, however, far less clear-cut and had a variety of causes. After 1878, the Muslim elite had gradually accepted foreign rule partially because the Austro-Hungarian administration had maintained the agrarian system and partially because it generally did not interfere with *Vakuf* (charitable endowment) funds and Muslim religious schools in Bosnia.[29] But more than this, Muslim leaders were the least likely to adopt a Yugoslav position because of their tenuous links to the other South Slavs (cultural, political, and geographic). Not only were they more "confessionally-minded" and less "nationally-minded" than either the Serb or Croat elite, but their population as well as their cultural and political interests were concentrated inside Bosnia's borders. On the eve of World War I, therefore, when the Balkan Wars broke out, the Muslim leaders rebuffed any idea that would have united them with the Serbs or any of the other Christian Slavs fighting the Ottoman Empire. These and other factors persuaded them to reject the Yugoslav idea.[30] The few exceptions included certain members of the intellectual elite and educated youth, about whom very little has been written.[31]

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[27] Kann and Zdenek, 406.
[28] On the Bosnian Croats see, for example, Džaja, 200-209; On the perspectives of all three of the country's intellectual communities, including Young Bosnia, following the annexation in 1908 see Džaja, 220-236.
[29] Friedman, 63; Donia and Fine, 96; Malcolm, 140.
[30] Friedman, 78; Mark Pinson, "The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918," in Pinson, ed., *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 111.
[31] Xavier Bougarel, "Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*: 100-114; Džaja, 209-220; Ivo Banac, "Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and

Despite a general disinterestedness in Bosnia and elsewhere, therefore, the Yugoslav idea was gaining some support among urban, educated South Slavs on the eve of World War I. This was mainly because the pro-Yugoslavs believed that they could see their specific nation's cultural and political interests protected in a broadly Yugoslav framework. Yet it remains a fact that the specific nationalism(s) of the South Slavs sometimes conflicted with their Yugoslavism(s). Competing religious (Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim), linguistic (Cyrillic, Latin, Arabic), and cultural (Byzantine, Central European, Ottoman) legacies were compounded by major rival territorial and political ambitions that had mainly Greater Serb and Greater Croat nationalists claiming vast regions and the inhabitants therein as their own. As a result, Yugoslav advocates never adequately resolved the issue of the basis on which their unification should take place. Was it to be a centralized, Serb- or Croat-dominated creation, a larger Balkan federation, or a Yugoslav federal or centralized state in or outside of the Austro-Hungarian Empire? And yet, in spite of these differences, the Yugoslav idea did emerge and was a logical consequence of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of the Yugoslavs' overlapping political, geostrategic, and economic interests, and of their desire for collective security against the Great Powers. So although there were a variety of competing ideas, and sometimes rival, nationalist programs, they were loosely held together with the belief that the South Slavs' specific national interests could be accommodated in a Yugoslav union.[32]

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Postcommunist Statehood, 1918-1992," in Pinson, ed., *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 134; Friedman, 63-64.

[32] For a couple of good summaries of the Yugoslavs' nationalist ideologies and programs before 1918 see Banac, *The National Question*, 70-115; Ivo J. Lederer, "Nationalism and the Yugoslavs," in Sugar and Lederer, eds., *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*: 396-438.

Responding to these various cross-currents, the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to promote the Yugoslav idea inside Bosnia in broadly collectivist, multi-ethnic terms that they believed would appeal to the great majority of urban, educated Bosnians. They stressed the cultural and political similarities of the South Slavs, arguing that what held them together was the understanding that the South Slavs were "originally" a single nation whose unification into an independent Yugoslav state was both "natural" and necessary. The following survey highlights some of their writings and is divided into two parts. The first focuses on cultural aspects and the second on political ones. Together, they represent the multi-ethnic ideal writ-large as the intellectuals attempted to apply it to the cultural and political idea of Yugoslav unity.

**Cultural Yugoslavism**[33]

Recognizing the general apathy, and occasional hostility, toward the Yugoslav idea in Bosnia, the pro-Yugoslav intellectuals focussed mainly on explaining why this type of union was a good option for Bosnians. They understood that in order to rally the people, they would first have to convince them that the unification of the Yugoslavs was a logical step to take. Generally, they did so by arguing that there was an identifiably "Yugoslav" culture that bound them together. Unlike certain Slovene intellectuals who suggested a "melting away" of their separate (ethnic) national languages and dialects as a means of solidifying this cultural unity, most Bosnian Serb Yugoslavs made no such radical claims.[34] Their primary concern was to identify those traits they already shared. In

[33] Here, I have defined culture in broad terms that encompass both social and symbolic elements. I, therefore, include the category of language which is, arguably, represented in both of these manifestations of culture within a society.
[34] Mitja Velikonja, "Slovenia's Yugoslav Century," in Djokić, ed., *Yugoslavism*, 84-86.

this way, they hoped to persuade educated Bosnians to see themselves as "Yugoslavs" without abandoning their distinctly ethno-national names and traditions. They perceived the Yugoslav identity, therefore, not as a substitute for their Serb, Croat, and Muslim identities, but as an additional, supra-ethnic/supra-national component.

In striving to highlight their broadly cultural commonalities, pro-Yugoslav writers stressed three aspects they believed had the potential either to hinder or facilitate the adoption of a Yugoslav cultural identity. These were ancestry, language, and religion. Although there was not always agreement among them, the intellectuals hoped to convey to their Bosnian readers that those cultural traits thought to be uniquely "Serb," "Croat," or "Muslim," were often traits that they held in common. The intellectuals recognized that in a region where genealogy mattered, where blood determined belonging, and belonging political allegiance, they needed to persuade members of each ethnic group of the "organic" nature of their relationships.

In the case of ancestry, it was not difficult to persuade most educated Bosnians that the South Slavs had a common origin. Archeological, ethnographic, and historical research of the nineteenth century had, by the early 1900's, given credence to the theory of common origins.[35] Like many of their European contemporaries, the South Slav intellectuals believed that a shared ancestry gave the nation an important means through which to determine national boundaries, establish national self-worth, and to proclaim their "natural" rights to cultural and political self-determination. To that end, South Slav writers argued in one form or another that the Yugoslavs were originally one (ethnic) nation; that they arrived in the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries; and that the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires had divided them territorially and politically,

[35] Trgovčević, 223.

culturally and confessionally along Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic lines. Proponents of the Yugoslav idea were, above all, eager to promote the theory that the present-day Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were "really" the distinct "tribes" of that single (ethnic) nation with three names (*troimeni narod*).

In Bosnia, Serb writers were especially eager to draw attention to the common ancestry of the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims who not only made up the bulk of the Bosnian population, but were the most closely related by language and by culture. Although many of their writings commonly referred only to "the Serbs and the Croats," they nearly always implied the Muslims as well.[36] One of the most prolific writers to have promoted the ancestral unity of the Bosnians was the intellectual, publisher, and editor-in-chief of the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Narod* (*Nation*), Risto Radulović. Although the newspaper was one of the organs of the Bosnian Serb political party the Serb National Organization (SNO), its editor was not a traditional Serb nationalist interested exclusively in Serb concerns. He was both a socialist and a Bosnian patriot deeply devoted to the welfare of his countrymen. In Radulović's view, the knowledge of their shared ancestry should be used to encourage a collectivist, "Yugoslav" sense of belonging in Bosnia. Even before the annexation, Radulović had been promoting the view that "the members of all three" of Bosnia's "confessional communities, who speak this language, constitute one nation."[37] But it was not until after the annexation that Radulović's political aspirations for that nation changed from a narrowly Bosnian concern to a broadly Yugoslav one. Following the annexation proclamation, Radulović became one of the most vocal advocates of the political unification of the South Slavs and based this, in part, on the theory of common

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[36] As noted throughout this thesis, the Muslims of Bonsia were believed to have Serb and/or Croat roots.
[37] Risto Radulović, "Srbi i Hrvati," *Narod*, no. 96, May 17, 1908, and cited from Risto Radulović's collected works *Izabrani radovi*, 127-128.

origins. Writing in 1910, Radulović argued that he, along with a growing number of urban Bosnians, were increasingly persuaded to believe that it was "natural" for them to join the other South Slavs in a political union. He wrote that although "the annexation," was a tragic event, it simultaneously had "some positive results," namely that more people in Bosnia began to support "the national unification of the Serbs and Croats, who are one nation with two names."[38]

Indeed, the idea of *narodno jedinstvo* (i.e. "national unity") had within just a few short years become a central theme in serial publications across Bosnia, ranging from traditional national(ist) to literary-cultural to socialist radical newspapers. Although there were philosophical, political, social, cultural, and generational differences among them, the theory of common origins was accepted by many. Thus, for example, one anonymous author writing for the socialist newspaper *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) in 1912 stated that "Since we are one nation do we not have the right to live within a unified national community?"[39] The same sentiments could also be found in the moderate Serb national newspaper *Narod* (*Narod*) where one contributing writer asserted that "we must understand that the unification of the Serbs and Croats would be a merging of our national spirit."[40] Even the traditionally Serb nationalist and occasionally chauvinistic newspaper *Srpska riječ* (*The Serbian Word*) began carrying articles supporting the Yugoslav idea based, in part, on the theory of common origins. In the midst of the Balkan Wars, while Serb-Muslim tensions were at an all-time high, one contributing writer argued that although the Muslims did "not possess the national [Yugoslav] sentiment," he

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[38] Risto Radulović, "O Srpskom narodu," *Pregled*, no. 4, July 15, 1910, and cited in Risto Radulović's collected works *Izabrani radovi*,135.
[39] Anonymous, "Ideja narodnog ujedinjavanja," *Glas slobode*, no. 27, May 14, 1912: 1.
[40] Anonymous, "Nacionalizam u Dalmaciji," *Narod*, no. 265, January 23, 1913: 1.

believed they would eventually come to terms with the fact that "the strength and the future of the Muslim segment of our nation does not lie outside [the nation]."[41]

Ideas about their shared Yugoslav nationhood also figured prominently among certain politicians in the Bosnian parliament at this time. Notable among them was the Bosnian Serb newspaperman-turned-politician Đorđe Lazarević (1887-1915). Lazarević skillfully used both the printed and spoken word to promote the Yugoslav idea among his fellow-parliamentarians. Like other pro-Yugoslavs, he supported this partially on the basis of their common descent. Speaking in parliament in 1912, he declared that "my deepest personal opinion lies in the certitude that the Serbs and Croats are one nation with two [...] names." Lazarević argued that if the idea of "Serbo-Croatian national unification" had any chance of success, it "needed to penetrate us honestly, openly and without reservation."[42] It was significant that Lazarević spoke these words at the height of the Balkan Wars. Referring to the poor state of ethnic relations in Bosnia at the time, he stated that before Yugoslav unification could even take place, Bosnians needed to learn to live in peace with one another in their own country.[43]

But as some Yugoslav spokesmen recognized, genuine affinities toward a Yugoslav identity required a much closer relationship between theory—in this case, the theory of common origins—and social and cultural practices. They, therefore, believed it was important to identify those traits that were most familiar to the people and ones to which the greatest number could relate. After ancestry, most pro-Yugoslavs agreed that language was the most useful criteria in identifying the Yugoslav peoples. Indeed, when

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[41] M.K., "Bosanski muslimani i Turska," *Srpska riječ*, no. 243, January 28, 1913: 1.
[42] Djordje Lazarević, "Za narodno jedinstvo. Govor nar. poslanika Dra. Djordja Lazarevića u saborskoj sjednici od 17. (30.) decembra 1912. prilikom debate o jezičnoj osnovi," *Otadžbina*, no. 15, February 21, 1914, 5.
[43] Djordje Lazarević, "O narodnom jedinstvu. (Iz govora nar. poslanika dra. Djordje Lazarevića)," *Istina*, no. 25, December 31, 1913, 2.

considering the day-to-day lives of Bosnians, many recognized that whether they lived in town or country, it was their common language that bound them closely together.[44] As noted earlier, the idea of a single South Slav nationality had been linked first to a linguistic movement led by Croatian publicists and nobles in the early nineteenth century. Influenced by the tastes of their times and reacting against the threat of imperial, linguistic hegemony, these and other South Slav linguists and lexicographers turned to language, in part, to overcome their cultural and political weaknesses. As the century progressed, their separate linguistic reforms were even occasionally accompanied by attempts to produce a common written "Yugoslav" language with a view to establishing a united front against foreign, imperialist influences.[45]

Nearly one hundred years passed before the Bosnian Serbs, now perceived to be under a similar threat of linguistic imperialism under the Dual Monarchy, began seriously to reflect on the linguistic basis for promoting South Slav unity. This was aided, in part, by the growing presence of a small, but thriving urban, intellectual community who by the early 1900's had established a broad communication network upheld by various cultural associations as well as two dozen or so Bosnian Serb newspapers and journals. The spirit of this intellectual community was more secular than religious, more national than confessional and, therefore, like some of their modern, European contemporaries,

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[44] In the modern history of Europe, language forms the foundation of national identity and is a driving force in nation-building policy. Many scholars of European nationalism have argued this. See, for example, Stephen Barbour, "Nationalism, Language, Europe," in Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael, eds., *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 1-17; See also studies on modern nationalism that link language with national identity such as Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*; Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991).

[45] See, for example, Despalatović's study, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* for the Illyrian movement during the first half of the nineteenth century. On the attempts to produce a common literary language among the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes see, for example, Wachtel, 27-31.

they looked primarily to language, not religion, to distinguish one national community from another.[46]

Aware of the political divisions that language had already created among Bosnian leaders in parliament, both in name and in form, the pro-Yugoslavs chose instead to focus on what they believed the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims already had in common: the spoken word. To emphasize this point, some had more frequently begun to call the local language "Serbo-Croatian" ("Srpsko-hrvatski") in place of "Serbian" ("Srpski") or "Croatian" ("Hrvatski") and to call the South Slavs "Serbo-Croatians" ("Srbo-hrvati"), a trend that had also been adopted by many of the pro-Yugoslav intellectuals outside of Bosnia.[47] Desiring to "enlighten" people about the link between language and national identity, therefore, the Bosnian Serb intellectuals were anxious to stress the point that those who spoke the same language constituted one nation. "The Serbs and the Croats," one writer argued, "speak the same language, which is the main trait of any nationality [*narodnost*]," and for this reason, he added, "it is completely natural for these peoples to form a national union."[48] Aware that their dialectical differences had sometimes served to divide them regionally, if not nationally, another writer posited that these variations in the spoken word did not disqualify them from nationhood:

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[46] Similar patterns of national development took place in Western Europe during the Enlightenment and Romantic movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For a brief overview of the influence of language on the development of national identity from Western to Eastern Europe see, for example, Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*.

[47] Pavle Mitrović, "Novoilirski pokret," *Bosanska vila*, no. 22, Novembar 30 1913, 305-306; Anonymous, "Nacionalizam u Dalmaciji," *Narod*, no. 265, January 23, 1913, 1; Trgovčević, 228.

[48] Anonymous, "Srpsko-hrvatsko narodno jedinstvo," *Glas slobode*, no. 45, August 3, 1910, 1; That these ideas were not new to the educated, urban elite before 1908 is evident in the writings of certain intellectuals, including those contributors to the short-lived pro-Yugoslav newspaper *Srpska štampa* (1904-05). As early as 1904, one author wrote that "the Serbs and the Croats may be perceived as a single nation that speaks the same language." (See Anonymous, "Srpsko-Hrvatski antagonizam," *Srpska štampa*, no. 40, June 5, 1904, 1).

> The whole of the western and northern part of the Balkan peninsula belongs to our nation. [...] on every side, in every place, in every big and small town, in every village and hamlet, everywhere you can hear one language, with very little local linguistic variants, and these largely as dialects. That single language, in spite of ill-fitting theories to the contrary, is undoubtedly spoken by a single nation. That nation consists of ten million people [...] two independent kingdoms [Serbia and Montenegro] three religions [Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim,] [guided by] seven political constitutions.[49]

But in order for their common language to bind them together more closely, some came to the conclusion that they needed also to nurture a common literary culture. Influenced by the more advanced literary traditions in Europe, they believed that Yugoslav-oriented novels, poems, plays, newspapers, and political brochures could offer their readers an opportunity to share in the opinions, values, beliefs and, indeed, the vocabulary of the pro-Yugoslav intellectual and political elite.[50] They believed this was especially important to develop because a common literary culture was virtually non-existent in Bosnia. Nearly one hundred years of separate Serb, Croat, and Muslim literary developments had greatly contributed to this cultural fragmentation in the region.[51] The pro-Yugoslavs had in mind the Italian and German examples where the development of a

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[49] M. Pavlović, "Naša omladina," *Pregled*, nos. 6-7, October 1, 1912, 328-329; Linguistic unity as a basis for the South Slav nationality was, however, highly problematic when considering the other national groups like the Slovenes and Bulgarians, both of whom were considered to have descended from the same Slavic nation that had settled the Balkans. While no one doubted their "national one-ness" with either the Slovenes or Bulgarians, their main concerns tended to revolve around unifying the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, who spoke the same language and whose commonalities were far more evident to writers. On the Slovenes and some of the problems associated with pursuing a program of linguistic unity see, for example, Pavle Mitrović, ""Novoilirski pokret," *Bosanska vila*, no. 22, Novembar 30, 1913, 305-306.

[50] As some scholars argue, a necessary feature in nation-building has been the creation of a national literature. Anthony D. Smith's argument, that national identities are derived both from the existing traits of the community and from the imaginations of writers, is among the best known and best argued. See his study, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*; In addition to other factors such as social interaction, cultural practices and visual culture, a common literary culture becomes a salient feature of the development of a common cultural background for the nation. (See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 25).

[51] Until then, most periodicals and newspapers had been established by and for a specific ethnic community. On the subject of the divided literary culture that was prevalent in Bosnia during most of the Austro-Hungarian occupation see Dragomir Gajević, "Prilog proučavanje književnog života u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine," *Baština* 1 (Sarajevo 1990): 91-99; Predrag Palavestra, "Književnost u Bosni i Hercegovini od okupacije do aneksije (1878-1908)," *Život* 13, nos. 11-12 (Nov-Dec. 1964): 31-62.

"high" culture linked people, made them socially alike, and bound them politically.[52] Some Bosnian Serb intellectuals had already begun using literature as a way of "moralizing" farmers and workers by teaching them proper social and cultural habits and, in essence, excluding those traits that were "inconvenient" to the elite's imagined identity of the nation. Elevating the elite and the masses of each ethno-national community to a higher Yugoslav literary culture, while difficult, was, nevertheless, a major priority for these writers.

Nowhere was this more evident than among the youngest members of the Bosnian intellectual elite. Unlike their predecessors they had no direct memories of Ottoman rule or the millet system that had divided Bosnians by confession. They were fully integrated subjects of the Monarchy, having been educated entirely within the Empire, learning German and Hungarian in Bosnia's state schools and later in Austrian and Hungarian technical colleges and universities, where they routinely took loyalty oaths to the Empire. They were especially influenced by the Empire's multi-cultural, multi-national environment that was nurtured in the state's inter-ethnic school system in Bosnia, which fostered a certain level of camaraderie among them. This was the generation then known as "Young Bosnia" ("Mlada Bosna") which was thought to have derived its name from an article about the younger generation written in Petar Kočić's newspaper *Otadžbina* in 1907.[53] While the term was later applied to the Bosnian Serb assassin Gavrilo Princip and his band of revolutionaries, it was at that time used more generally to describe the hundreds of young Serb, Croat, and Muslim students and young intellectuals who had

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[52] Although the "modernists" have argued that modern national identity is largely invented for reasons of political expediency, they concede that the new "high" culture must be derived from existing culture. Modernist Ernest Gellner argues this in *Nationalism* (New York: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1997).
[53] Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*, 477, n.1.

organized literary and political circles in towns and cities across the province with a view to advancing Yugoslav unification, a cause which they shared with a growing number of their peers in the neighbouring South Slav lands.[54]

Indeed, the Young Bosnians, together with thousands of young, educated South Slavs from across Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, and Serbia were eager to increase their literary and cultural cooperation, believing that joint publishing and education would help their nations understand one another better and pave the way towards their cultural and political unification.[55] Because the Yugoslav movement was much smaller in Bosnia, the Young Bosnians often collaborated with the newest journals advocating South Slav unity outside of the province. These included *Ujedinjenje* (*Unification*) and *Vihor* (*Whirlwind*) in Croatia, *Novi Srbin* (*The New Serb*) in Hungary and *Preporod* (*Progress*) in Serbia.[56] There were, however, a few major outlets for pro-Yugoslav expression in Bosnia as well, though mainly among the more numerous Young Bosnian Serbs, including the student journal *Srpska omladina* (*Serbian Youth*) (1912-1913), the socialist newspaper *Zvono* (1914, 1919-21), and *Bosanska vila* (*The Bosnian Nymph*) (1885-1914) that had since 1908 promoted the Yugoslav idea. This co-mingling of ethnic cultural interests within a

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[54] Stanko Todorović, "Dvadesetpetogodošnjica Tajnog Revolucionarnog Đačkog Društva 'Jugoslavija' u Banjoj Luci" *Politika*, 28. Marta 1939, Belgrade Božidar Tomić "Narodna Odbrana i Predratna Tuzlanska Omladina" *Narodna Odbrana*, no. 49 and 50, December 10, 1933 Vladimir Čerkez "Sarajevski Atentat. Djelo Revolucionarna Bosanske Omladine Mišljenje 'Crnog Kabineta' o đačkim revolucionarnim organizacijama prije 1914 godine" *Oslobođenje organ narodnog fronta Bosne i Hercegovine*, June 28, 1952.

[55] The publishing houses of the *Srpska književna zadruga* (*Serbian Literary Cooperative*) in Serbia, *Matica hrvatska* (*Croatian Mainstream*) in Croatia, and *Matica slovenska* (*Slovenian Mainstream*) in Slovenia were instrumental as were the collaborative efforts of individuals who published joint literary projects, such as the *Almanah srpskih i hrvatskih pjesnika i pripovijedača* (*The Almanac of Serbian and Croatian Poets and Prosaists*) (1910) whose contributors included the Bosnian Serb writers Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović. As the introduction to the *The Almanac of Serbian and Croatian Poets and Prosaists* (1910) stated, the contributors, among whom were older Bosnian Serb writers Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović, viewed themselves as the "active supporters of the idea of national unity, in which they see the salvation and future of our tribe." See Trgovčević, 226-228; Wachtel, *Making a Nation*, 60.

[56] Vladimir Čerkez, "Sarajevski atentat. Djelo revolucioname bosanske omladine: Mišljenje 'Crnog Kabineta' o đačkim revolucionarnim organizacijama prije 1914 godine," *Oslobođenječ organ narodnog fronta Bosne i Hercegovine*, June 28, 1953.

larger South Slav framework was encouraging to many pro-Yugoslavs, including the Young Bosnian teacher and writer Borivoje Jevtić (1894-1959) who saw in the literary and cultural activity of Young Bosnia "an essential brick in laying the foundations for building a greater Yugoslav culture."[57]

To the vast majority who still could not read (88% in 1910), however, publications expounding on their shared "Yugoslav" ancestry and language did not reflect the social and cultural realities of the Bosnians, nor could an illiterate and largely politically powerless mass contest them. The persistence of confessional ties, in particular, made the concept of a multi-ethnic "Yugoslav" identity appear out of touch with the everyday lives of Bosnians. Indeed, of all the cultural traits that Bosnia's ethnic communities were endowed with, it was religion, with all its mystical and sacred aspects, that offered Bosnians their most powerful mythologies and persistent attachments. Although their common ancestry and language bound them together, the intellectuals recognized that these sometimes lacked the emotional force that religion had in inspiring ethnic identities in Bosnia. As one of *Vila*'s editors, the historian Vladimir Ćorović (1885-1941),[58] wrote, "we live in a time when there are still so many differences," especially in Bosnia, where people were divided into "three communities" with "three cultures" and "as many sentiments." But Ćorović believed that the members of the intellectual elite from all three ethnic groups were also culpable and, in his opinion, they continued to behave "like national egotists (I admit that we are)."[59] Ćorović believed, nevertheless, that among the urban populations at least, they were on the cusp of major

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[57] Borivoje Jevtić, "Mlada Bosna," *Bosanska vila*, no. 24, December 30, 1913, 338.
[58] *Bosanska vila*'s co-founder and editor-in-chief from 1887-1910 Nikola T. Kašiković was its other editor and, with his wife Stoja, remained among its chief collaborators. Ćorović was the second editor in 1910 and 1913-1914.
[59] Vladimir Ćorović, "Naš književni pokret," *Bosanska vila*, 25, nos. 1-2, 1910, 1-3.

change and faced a "crucial moment" that would determine their future "life, sentiments, and culture." He thought that this was largely because of the younger generation of intellectuals whom he believed were well on their way towards creating a common literary culture and multi-ethnic consciousness that would eventually nurture the "fellow-feeling" that until recently was missing in their cultural development.[60]

Recognizing the persistence of religio-ethnic ties in Bosnia, some intellectuals hoped to relegate religion to the sidelines, if not discard it altogether, in order to make room for a secular Yugoslav identity. Writing for *Srpska omladina* (*The Serb Youth*), the Young Bosnian Borivoje Jevtić argued that while the Yugoslav idea of nationhood might have previously existed in Bosnia in one form or another, religious differences had impeded its development. "Nationalism," he wrote, "is too narrowly linked with religion." Fortunately, he argued, the French Revolution had already set an example by introducing the secular slogan of "'liberty, brotherhood and equality,'" and, in turn, gave "priority of place to the national sentiments of a single race [i.e. the Yugoslavs]" over one's religious affiliation. His ultimate wish was for Bosnians to embrace these "modern ideas."[61] Jevtić's views were all the more striking given his religious upbringing in the Serb-Orthodox faith under the care of his devout, widowed mother. Jevtić had also attended Sarajevo's Serb-Orthodox elementary school before enrolling in the city's state gymnasium. But in Jevtić's view, there was no contradiction between his Serb-Orthodox identity and his developing Yugoslav one. "Religion," he argued, is "a separate matter, a personal matter."[62]

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Borivoje Jevtić, "Nova generacija," was first published in *Srpska omladina* (1913) and is reprinted in Predrag Palavestra's study, *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, vol. 2, 12.
[62] Borivoje Jevtić, "Nova generacija,"in *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, vol. 2, 12.

Some intellectuals were especially eager to "enlighten" their more religious Croat and Muslim counterparts of their need to support a secular, Yugoslav identity. The socialist Risto Radulović was among the most vocal, calling on the Croat and Muslim leaders to discard what he perceived was their narrowly-religious consciousness. In an article called "Clerics in Action," Radulović argued that Catholic clerics were "opposed to the national [Yugoslav] idea" because of its secular foundation and the potential this had to erode the Catholic identity of the Bosnian Croats. Just as the Italian clergy had opposed the national unification of Italy in the previous century, he argued, so too were Bosnian Croat clerics opposed to South Slav unity because of its overt secularity.[63] As for the Muslims, he believed that their religiosity was tied up with their lingering Ottoman loyalties and was, therefore, obstructing the progress of integrating the Bosnians within a common Yugoslav collective. He thus urged Muslim leaders to exchange their "purely religious" character in order to "assimilate into the circles in which [they] find [themselves], namely the Serbs and Croats."[64] Although Radulović was encouraged by what he believed were the signs of "Yugoslav" thinking among the younger and secularized Bosnian Muslims, saying that "until now we have not had that kind of harmony, especially among the Muslims," he also recognized that they represented only a tiny fraction of the Muslim elite.[65]

The strong pull of ethnic identities, loyalties, and aspirations among many Bosnians at this time made "nationalizing" them along Yugoslav lines a somewhat idealistic objective. The intellectuals recognized that both the sense of Yugoslav

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[63] Risto Radulović, "Klerikali u akciji," in *Srpska riječ*, no. 143, August 21, 1911, and reprinted in *Izabrani radovi*, 170-171.
[64] Risto Radulović, "Resolucija akademske muslimanske omladine," *Narod*, no. 266, January 26, 1913, and reprinted in *Izabrani radovi*, 146.
[65] Radulović, *Izabrana radovi*, 1988, 151-152, from the article "Pojava pravog nacionalizma," *Narod*, February 15, 1913, no. 276.

nationhood and loyalty to it had to be created. As a result, they attempted to go beyond their localized relationships by defining the Yugoslav identity in terms that had the broadest possible appeal. Using ancestry, language, and religion as vehicles through which to examine their cultural commonalities and differences, they aspired to bridge the gap between their ethno-national identities and their common Yugoslav one. Behind their calls was, in part, the desire to unify Bosnia's ethnic groups into a broadly Yugoslav, multi-ethnic framework. Writers recognized that a unifying cultural identity was essential if they were to rally people around a common political vision, i.e., the political unification of the South Slavs.

**Political Yugoslavism**

As much as the pro-Yugoslavs drew on a unifying cultural identity, they also aspired to develop a common political one. Indeed, rarely have the leaders of modern European nations defined their national and state cultures without also establishing their political limits, territorial or otherwise. In some cases, cultural definitions preceded political ones, but not always. Sometimes the calls for political unity inspired leaders to define more clearly the cultural identity of the community on whose behalf they claimed to work. For the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serbs, cultural and political boundaries arose at about the same time, were mutually dependent, and created a cultural-political connection within a broadly Yugoslav framework. In the political sense, this meant having to persuade others to adopt a Yugoslav political identity before the creation of a Yugoslav state. But it also meant that traditional Serb nationalism, which had looked exclusively after Serb interests would have to be modified in order to accommodate the other ethnic

communities. As a result, the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serb intellectuals often found themselves linking the Yugoslav political idea with the Greater Serb one.

Most current scholarship agrees that the Yugoslavism of the Bosnian Serbs—and the Serbs more generally—was, in some important ways, an extension of traditional Serb nationalism. There are some compelling reasons to think so. First, the Greater Serb political project was complicated, especially in Bosnia, by the fact that Serbs lived side-by-side with Croats and Muslims. Indeed, the imagined territory of the Greater Serbian state generally corresponded with the borders that contained most other South Slavs. Any Greater Serbia, therefore, would have to take into account the fate of the remaining South Slav nations. Second, conflicting theories on the ethnic origins of some of the South Slavs closely linked the territorial ambitions of the Greater Serb and Yugoslav political projects. Some Serb nationalists continued to claim, for example, that the South Slav Muslims were "really" Serbs who had converted to Islam and used these arguments as a basis for making territorial claims over Bosnia where the majority of the Muslim South Slavs lived. The same was, of course, true among certain Greater Croat nationalists from Croatia who desired to expand into Bosnia.[66] Third, as noted earlier, because language was perceived by many as a marker of national identity, some intellectuals and political leaders believed that it was only natural to assume that the South Slavs constituted a single nation (or the potential to become one) and could live together in an independent state of their own. Taking their cues from the Italian and German national unification movements of the nineteenth century, these intellectuals believed that despite certain geographic, political, and cultural differences, the South Slavs could successfully form a political union. In the context of turn-of-the-century nationalism and pan-Slavism in

[66] See, for example, Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 66-69.

particular, this blending of specific (i.e. Greater Serb) and broader (i.e. Yugoslav) nationalisms was not unusual. While fostering closer economic, cultural and, at times, political cooperation, pan-Slavism was sometimes also championed by those who made exclusive nationalist claims on the peoples and territories of the distinct, yet related national groups around them.[67]

Because of this fluidity between the Greater Serb and Yugoslav ideas, elements of the first were often appropriated into the second by the pro-Yugoslav Serb intellectuals, including those from Bosnia. One of the most prevalent ideas appropriated into Yugoslavism in this way was the idea that Serbia, with the aid of its ally Russia, was in the best position to unify the South Slavs and should, therefore, predominate in a future Yugoslav state. This was due to Serbia's size, Kingship, and military and state-building experience as compared to most South Slavs who were still under foreign rule.[68] It was not until the early 1900's, however, when Serbia's King Peter Karadjordjević (r.1903-1921) and the governing Radical Party embarked on an aggressive foreign policy that the Serbo-centric view of Yugoslavism emerged strongly. Under King Peter, Belgrade immediately bean expanding its political influence by strengthening its ties with Russia and France[69] and by encouraging greater cooperation among the Balkan states when, for example, it negotiated treaties of alliance with Bulgaria and Montenegro (1904-5).[70] At the time, one anonymous author wrote in the Bosnian Serb newspaper, *Srpska riječ*, that "Serbia was the first one to step up and do its utmost to see to it that the Yugoslavs come

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[67] Included among the leading representatives at the Pan-Slav Congresses held in Prague in 1908 and Sofia in 1910, for example, were the Polish nationalist Roman Dmowski (1864-1939) and the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić (1871-1928), both of whom held to varying levels of Greater Polish and Greater Croatian views.
[68] Banac, *The National Question*, 108-110; Rusinow, 23; Pavlowich, 60; Trgovčević, 234-235.
[69] Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History* 82, 90; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans* 33.
[70] See, for example, Wayne S. Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West: The Events of 1903-1908* (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 65-67 and especially chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8.

together."[71] But it was not until the Bosnian annexation crisis in 1908, when Belgrade publicly condemned Vienna's actions and when Serbians demonstrated in mass rallies and public protests across Serbia, that the view of Serbia as the great defender of the South Slavs gathered force, especially in Bosnia. After criticizing the Russians as well as the Croatians, Bulgarians, and even the Slovenians for their apathy and inaction during the crisis, the Mostar-born writer and co-founder of the journal *Zora* (1896-1903), Jovan Dučić, asserted that "the honour goes to Serbia who" was "the only Slav nation" to "reveal the strength of its Slav heart." For this reason, he argued, "Serbia remains alone in defending the [South] Slav idea."[72] Although the great majority of Serbian policy-makers and military officers in Serbia as well as most other Serbs, had traditional Greater Serb goals in mind at this time, Belgrade's strong national government, efforts to cooperate with the other Balkan states, and military victories during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) had persuaded a growing number of pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serb intellectuals that Serbia had the potential to pave the way towards the creation of a Yugoslav state as well.

But while the link between Greater Serbianism and Yugoslavism was evident among a small, but wide spectrum of writers in Bosnia, it was most commonly and frequently expressed in the writings and activities of the generation of Young Bosnian Serbs. As with cultural Yugoslavism, the real ferment of political Yugoslavism came from these students and young intellectuals. Unlike some of their older counterparts, however, they were more ambiguous in their views. They flirted with both the Greater Serb and Yugoslav ideas, and often simultaneously. As a result, they freely shifted from one position to the next, holding contrary opinions and displaying mixed loyalties and

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[71] G., "Dvije godine kraljevanja Petra I.," *Srpska riječ*, Sarajevo, June 3, 1905, no. 80, 1.
[72] From the article "Sloveni i Bosna," *Politika*, October 3, 1908, which is reprinted in Jovan Dučić, *Sabrana djela* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1969), 400-402.

identities. This was partially because these young writers were themselves still formulating their political opinions and partially because they saw enough similarities between the two concepts to make a loose, if somewhat incongruent, connection. Scholars have, therefore, found it extremely difficult to determine their basic ideological position.[73] But the same was true for those Young Bosnians from the other ethnic groups. While Young Croats were divided between traditional Croatian nationalism and the Yugoslav idea, Young Muslims, who were often recruited into the Yugoslav movement by the Serbs and the Croats, were fragmented between the traditional nationalist movements (Serb and Croat) and modern Yugoslavism.[74]

Although there were several individuals who exemplified this Greater Serb/Yugoslav duality, three examples stand out both for their ideological contributions to the subject and for their political influence among the other Young Bosnians. The first was one of the rare few to have been both a writer as well as a revolutionary activist, namely Borivoje Jevtić. As noted earlier, Jevtić was deeply devoted to his Serb-Orthodox culture and identity and like certain other Serb intellectuals of his day, he had absorbed some of the more chauvinistic elements of Serb nationalism into his thinking. In 1912, Jevtić co-founded *Srpska omladina* (*Serb Youth*) (1912-1913), whose contributors, while encouraging both Greater Serb and Yugoslav views, tended to favour the former. Jevtić admitted this imbalance and was himself persuaded to believe that the Yugoslav idea was a useful tool that could benefit the Serbs especially. Writing in December 1914, months

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[73] Rusinow, 24.
[74] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 112-113.

after World War I had begun, he acknowledged that the "'*Serb Youth* endeavored specially to lift up the Serb national idea among both the Orthodox and the Muslims."[75]

But unlike most traditional Serb nationalists, Jevtić was also greatly influenced by the broader Yugoslav movement. As one contemporary tried to explain, he was "a Serb nationalist who also worked towards the unification of the Serbs and Croats."[76] In late 1911, while still a high school student in Sarajevo, Jevtić co-founded the first ethnically-mixed Young Bosnian association in the province called the "Serbo-Croatian Progressive Organization," which held its meetings in Jevtić's downtown apartment.[77] The association was an amalgamation of previously existing Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat organizations that included a few Muslims as well. Members freely shifted between an exclusive Serb and Croat nationalism and a broadly Yugoslav one and had even designed their own flag based on the colours of both the Serbian and Croatian standards which they had significantly dubbed the "Chameleon."[78] Later, in February 1912, they held Bosnia's first "pro-Yugoslav" demonstrations, using the dissolution of the Croatian parliament and suspension of Croatian autonomy under Governor Slavko Čuvaj to call attention to the need to expand the civil liberties of all the South Slavs in the Monarchy.[79] After several arrests, the organization disbanded only to be replaced by an even larger one called the "Serbo-Croatian Nationalistic Youth" the following year.[80] The growing popularity of

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[75] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 104.
[76] AMB, Newspaper Collection "*Oslobođenje, Republike, Borbe*, itd," Article, "Službeni izvještaj sa glavne rasprave održane u Sarajevu od 12. do 28. oktobra 1914 protiv Gavrila Principa i drugova." This is a reprinting of an article that appeared in Sarajevo in October 1914 newspapers that were unsympathetic towards either the Greater Serb or Yugoslav cause. The newspapers that carried the article included the Bosnian *Hrvatski dnevnik* (*Croatian Daily*) and the Austrian-sponsored *Bosnische Post* (*Bosnian Post*).
[77] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 98.
[78] Ibid., 96-97.
[79] See for example, Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom*, 369-370; Hamdija Kapidžić, "Previranja u austrouarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini 1912. godine, " in Hamdija Kapidžić, ed,. *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine*, (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968), 111.
[80] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 102-109.

the Yugoslav idea among Sarajevo's students and young intellectuals reflected what Jevtić believed was his generation's shift toward a more inclusive, multi-ethnic form of nationalism. "The youth," he wrote, "has created a chasm between itself and [...] previous generations who have been unable to extricate themselves from a backward, chauvinistic perception that the Croats and the Serbs are two nations." For, as Jevtić believed, "in Bosnia and Herzegovina all [the youth] have become Yugoslavs."[81]

Another of Young Bosnia's leading ideologues and revolutionaries who also held to both the Greater Serb and Yugoslav ideas was Vladimir Gaćinović (1890-1917). Gaćinović was born in the village of Kačanj in the rough and rocky terrain of Herzegovina.[82] He came from an especially religious family that had turned out a number of Serb-Orthodox priests, among whom were Vladimir's father and his uncle.[83] As a youth, Gaćinović became only the second boy from his village to attend primary school and later gymnasium in Mostar. Influenced by the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Muslim autonomy movements, both of which drew a number of its leaders from Mostar, Gaćinović soon began to read political literature. He was especially inspired by Italian revolutionaries like Mazzini and Garibaldi, earning him the nickname "The Garibaldian" (*garibaldijevcem*) while still in high school. Later, as a university student in Belgrade, Vienna, and Geneva, he read Russian authors like the socialist-revolutionary Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) and the anarchist Michael Bakunin (1814-1876). It was while he was in Geneva and later Laussane that he came into contact with the Russian revolutionary émigré community, including the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social Democrats through

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[81] Cited in Ibid., 111-12.
[82] Drago Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1961), 27-28; Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 177.
[83] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 48; Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 29.

whom he met Leon Trotsky.[84] His contact with these groups greatly influenced his revolutionary activism in Bosnia later on when he, together with Borivoje Jevtić, Gavrilo Princip, and others planned the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.[85]

Although there has been some scholarly debate concerning Gaćinović's basic philosophical position, whether he was a Greater Serb or Yugoslav nationalist, he was neither wholly one nor the other.[86] Prior to World War I at least, he was predominantly a Greater Serb activist. In his late teens, he visited Belgrade for the first time and was inspired by nationalists there to organize secret cells in Bosnia, in Zagreb, and in western Slavonia. In 1911 he joined the Serbian nationalist organization *Ujedinjenje ili Smrt* (*Unification or Death*) that secretly plotted to liberate Bosnia from Austria-Hungary and unite it with Serbia in a Greater Serbian state.[87] During the Balkan Wars, he volunteered in the Serbian Army with the hope that the conflict might also lead to Bosnia's liberation from Austro-Hungarian rule.[88] Indeed, it was at this time that Gaćinović optimistically predicted the eventual union of Bosnia and Serbia and the triumph of the Greater Serb idea, a day that he enthusiastically proclaimed would "give birth to a new Serbian fatherland!"[89]

But like Jevtić, Gaćinović also supported the Yugoslav movement at this time. In the spring of 1912, before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, he had joined Jevtić's Serbo-

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[84] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 72-73, 127.
[85] In his memoirs, Jevtić wrote that of all the leaders of the Young Bosnia movement, Gaćinović was the most influential and his political circles the most important for Bosnia's political future. Borivoje Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat. Sećanja i utisci* (Sarajevo: Štampa i izdanje Petra N. Gakovića, 1924), 23.
[86] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 82-83, 85-126, *in passim*, argues that Gaćinović's Serb nationalism was tempered by his growing Yugoslavism before the First World War; Dedijer argues in *Road to Sarajevo*, 177, that he was more of a Serb nationalist than anything else; Earlier discussions on Gaćinović's position can be found in the article Nika Milićević, "Vladimir Gaćinović i Jugoslovenstvo Mlade Bosne," *Oslobođenje; List Sociojalističkog saveza radnog naroda Bosne i Hercegovine*, June 27, 1954.
[87] Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 83.
[88] Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*, 13.
[89] Vladimir Gaćinović, "Otadžbina," was first published in *Prosvjeta*, 1912 and is reprinted in full in Predrag Palavestra's study *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, vol. 2, 389.

Croatian Progressive Organization in Sarajevo.[90] That same year, Gaćinović co-founded with Jevtić and other Young Serbs the periodical *Srpska omladina* (*Serb Youth*) that, as noted earlier, promoted both the Greater Serb and Yugoslav ideas.[91] Because of Gaćinović's Greater Serb ambitions, however, scholars later questioned the sincerity of his Yugoslavism. One scholar posited that while Gaćinović may have participated in the Yugoslav movement, he did not fully embrace its goals nor perceive himself as a "Yugoslav" until nearer the end of the First World War.[92] Gaćinović's Yugoslav activism before 1914, however, cannot be dismissed out of hand. Given his support for both the Greater Serb and Yugoslav movements, it is far more reasonable to assume that Gaćinović, like his friend Jevtić, supported both views because of the potential each had in realizing the liberation of his homeland and the unification of the Serbs in one form or another. Like certain other pan-nationalists of his generation, Gaćinović supported traditional Serb nationalism and modern Yugoslavism, despite some of their basic incompatibilities.

A third ideologue and revolutionary to have represented the Greater Serb/Yugoslav duality among Young Bosnian Serbs was Gaćinović's close friend and co-conspirator, the Sarajevan-born teacher and newspaperman, Danilo Ilić (1890-1915). Like his friend Gaćinović, Ilić supported the use of violence to create a South Slav state, prompting one of his contemporaries later to describe him as "always prepared to die."[93] And yet, based on some of his pre-war political activities, Ilić could, arguably, be characterized as a narrowly Serb nationalist. During the Balkan Wars, for example, he

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[90] Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 96-97.
[91] Ibid., 101-109.
[92] Nika Milićević, "Vladimir Gaćinović i Jugoslovenstvo Mlade Bosne."
[93] Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*, 15.

joined the Greater Serb nationalist organization, *Narodna odbrana* (*National Defense*) that, as noted earlier, was established in Belgrade in the wake of the Bosnian annexation. It was also at about this time that Ilić, like his friend Gaćinović who was then serving in the Serbian Army, joined one of Serbia's well-known Chetnik (*četnik*) military squads whose members were among the most fervent supporters of the Greater Serb idea.[94]

But unlike the more traditional nationalists, Ilić also promoted a Yugoslav as well as a socialist agenda, a combination that was not uncommon among an increasing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals.[95] As noted in previous chapters, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nationalism attracted a growing number of socialists across Eastern Europe as it had earlier in Western Europe. Among the South Slavs, the socialist movement had by the early 1900's produced at least five South Slav Social Democratic Parties. In Bosnia, it attracted some of the Serbs (and some of the Croats) partially because of their desire to improve the conditions of the working poor and largely Orthodox tenant farmers struggling under an antiquated agrarian system. But socialism had also attracted those who had flirted with the Yugoslav idea, seeing in socialism a way of rising above their narrow ethnic politics, whilst addressing their common social concerns. Like the leaders of the other socialist-oriented national movements in Europe,

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[94] Ljubibratović, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, 13.

[95] The nature of socialism in Bosnia varied widely. The Young Bosnian Danilo Ilić, for example, while drawing on a variety of socialist philosophies, was most inspired by a revolutionary socialism that, above all, stressed violence and terror in order to win Bosnia's liberation. Ilić traveled to Laussane, Switzerland to meet Gaćinović in order to discuss the possibility of assassinating Governor Potiorek. While there he interacted with members of the Russian revolutionary émigré commmunity and armed with some Russian and French political literature, he brought back to Bosnia a renewed sense of mission. (See Ljubibratović, 129; Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*, 25-26). In Sarajevo, he socialized regularly with Gavrilo Princip and other would-be assassins, to whom he provided weekly translations of the writings of Bakunin, Marx, Gorky and others. He was among the most active participants of the socialist movement in Bosnia, having spread revolutionary propaganda among the working classes and having co-founded a socialist, pro-Yugoslav newspaper in 1914, but this paper had little influence. (See Jevtić, *Sarajevski atentat*, 25-26; Ljubibratović, *Mlada Bosna*, 129). Ilić's activism demonstrated the ease with which he moved between his Greater Serbianism and Yugoslavism, while simultaneously promoting social revolution.

the Bosnian Serb socialists hoped to solve socio-economic and national political problems simultaneously[96] and, by the eve of World War I, began transferring their calls for social justice from Bosnia to a future Yugoslav state.[97] As socialists and pro-Yugoslavs dedicated to improving the circumstances of the Serbs especially, they believed that the Serbs could work together with the other South Slavs to accomplish this. They thus fell somewhere along the nationalist (Serb) and internationalist (Yugoslav and socialist) continuum.

In order to understand the breadth of the socialist movement among the Bosnian Serbs, and its connection to both Greater Serbianism and Yugoslavism, however, one needs to examine the ideas of the country's two main socialist groups in which the Serbs constituted the majority. As noted in previous chapters, the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia (1909) was the province's first ethnically-mixed political party. Although it did not win a single seat in the general elections of 1910, it had approximately 3,000 subscribers to its political newspaper *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) (1909-1914, 1917-1929) during its first year of publication.[98] Party members were not "purely" Marxists nor "purely" social anarchists, drawing their inspirations from a variety of socialist philosophies and political programs. The socialists alternated, for example, between

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[96] Socialist-oriented national movements were less interested in international revolution than they were in social revolution in their native countries. Like the Social Democratic Parties among the South Slav nations under foreign rule, a fair number of socialist-nationalist political parties were preoccupied with achieving national political independence. Although leaders and their supporters would have held to both socialist and nationalist views, one of these often dominated the other. See, for example, Ronald Kowalski, "War and Revolution" in *European Communism, 1848-1991* (Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 81-100; Sheri Berman, "Revolutionary Revisionism and the Merging of Nationalism and Socialism," in *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 4-95; Avakumović, *History of the Communist Party*, 12-14.

[97] Banac, *The National Question*, 196.

[98] Anonymous, "Denuncijantima oko 'Hrv. Dnevnika.'" *Glas slobode*, no. 1, April 29, 1909, 4.

promoting a federalized Monarchy in which the South Slavs would form a political entity and a more vague position of supporting a free and independent Yugoslav state.[99]

And yet, the Social Democrats' support for Yugoslavism sometimes caused their opponents to accuse the Party of being a tool for Greater Serb nationalism. There were a several reasons for this. First, the founders of the Bosnian Serb newspaper *Srpska riječ*, many of whom were traditional Serb nationalists, had (uncharacteristically) welcomed the formation of this Party. Second, the Social Democrats were primarily drawn to what might be called traditional "Serb" interests in Bosnia, including the Agrarian Question and workers' rights. As noted in previous chapters, certain Bosnian Serb leaders had for years pursued social justice in Bosnia, particularly as it concerned the welfare of Serb farmers and workers. During the General Strike in Sarajevo in 1906 and peasant uprising in 1910, the most visible leaders—Petar Kočić, for example—were Serbs. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the Bosnian Serbs constituted the clear majority of the members of the SD Party.[100] Although the numerical superiority of the Serbs is not enough to make a clear connection between their Yugoslav socialism and Serb nationalism, it does suggest that these Bosnian Serbs were attracted to socialism, in part, because it addressed many specifically "Serb" concerns.[101] As could be expected, the Social Democrats denied the claim that they were Greater Serb nationalists and referred to their accusers and all others associated with ethnically-oriented newspapers as "bourgeois" enemies of the people.[102]

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[99] See, for example, the following articles: S.J. "Jugoslavensko pitanje i socijalizam," *Glas slobode*, July 10, 1912, no. 85, 1-2; Anonymous, "Ideja narodnog ujedinjavanja," *Glas slobode*, May 1, 1912, no. 57, 1; Anonymous, "Srpsko-hrvatsko narodno jedinstvo," *Glas slobode*, July 21, 1910, no. 45, 1.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Both of these issues were discussed in countless Bosnian Serb newspapers, including *Srpska riječ*, *Narod*, and most especially Petar Kočić's *Otadžbina*. See chapter four of this thesis.
[102] Anonymous, "Denuncijantima oko 'Hrv. Dnevnika,'" *Glas slobode*, no. 1, April 29, 1909, 4.

But although not all Social Democrats were Greater Serb nationalists, all were socialists who favoured the creation of a socialist and Yugoslav state. As one Social Democrat argued in *Glas slobode* (*Voice of Freedom*) in 1910, Yugoslavism and socialism were complementary concepts, with one movement flowing naturally from the other. The desire for national justice, he believed, stemmed from people's basic desires for social justice. In other words, if they had social justice, then their national problems and inter-ethnic antagonisms would fade away. As evidence, he pointed to the growth of Yugoslavism in Croatia where the "bourgeois classes in Croatia have proclaimed the national unification of the Serbs and Croats." Adhering loosely to Karl Marx's theories on the eventual rise of the proletariat, he argued that a similar process would have to take place in Bosnia before Yugoslav unification could come about. He expected it to begin only when the "bourgeois elements of the Serb National Organization [SNO] and Croatian National Union [CNU]" joined forces with the "Muslim capitalist elements [MNO]" immediately following the "resolution of the Agrarian Question." This, in turn, would lead the bourgeois leaders of all three of the country's ethnic parties to work towards the "national unification of the Serbs and Croats."[103] During the conference of Yugoslav socialists held in Ljubljana, Slovenia in November 1909, Social Democratic delegates from Bosnia reiterated this commitment to South Slav cooperation. Bosnian socialists, together with the delegates from Croatia and Slovenia, declared their desire to

[103]Anonymous, "Srpsko-hrvatsko narodno jedinstvo," *Glas slobode*, no. 45, August 3, 1910, 1; Not all members of the Social-Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed with his theory. One of its most well known leaders was the Bosnian intellectual Sreten Jakšić (1888-1952). Writing for the Party's newspaper in 1912, he argued that for socialism to work it must take place under the normal social and economic process of a modern, independent state wherein the Serbs and Croats could rule over themselves in a political partnership. Yugoslav independence would provide the right set of circumstances. "Socialism," he writes "may advance in a people, who are economically, culturally and politically mature." Therefore, they must "in the first place work towards the national unification of the Serbs and Croats." See S[reten] J[akšić], "Jugoslavensko pitanje i socijalizam," *Glas slobode*, no. 85, July 23, 1912, 1-2.

see the political unification of the South Slavs based on the idea that they were "really" a single nation.[104] Once World War I broke out, however, some Yugoslav socialists temporarily abandoned Yugoslavism in order to fight on the side of their specific nationalist causes. The Bosnian Social Democrats were generally not among them, opting instead to engage in anti-war propaganda and protest.[105]

It is important to note, however, that the Social Democrats were not wholly unified prior to World War I. Like Lenin's Social Democrats in Russia who had opposed the evolutionary thinking of the Mensheviks, the more radical members of Bosnia's Social Democrats wished to speed up the coming workers' and Yugoslav revolutions. Skeptical about the possibility for major social and economic reform in the Austrian-controlled Bosnian parliament, the radicals eventually broke away from the Social Democratic Party.[106] In 1914, they established a political newspaper called *Zvono, glasnik socijalista Jugoslavena* (*The Bell. The Herald of Socialist Yugoslavs*) (1914). The Young Bosnian, Danilo Ilić, was among its founders. Ilić and his associates took as their inspiration the Russian socialist newspaper *Kolokol* (*The Bell*) (1857-1862) that had been founded by the socialist thinker Alexander Herzen.[107] Although Herzen's newspaper was mainly concerned with abolishing Russian serfdom—which the Russian Emperor

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[104] Avakumović, 126.
[105] Ibid., 12-14.
[106] Anonymous, "Na početku djela," *Zvono*, no. 1, May 11, 1914, 1.
[107] Commonly referred to as the "father of Russian socialism," Herzen became the first Russian intellectual to apply West European political philosophies in the Russian context. Herzen had for years been a great admirer of West European thinkers who had argued that individual liberty was at the heart of any truly liberal, democratic society. Over time he came to believe that individual liberty could best prosper in an environment of social and economic cooperation and assistance, i.e. in a socialist state. This was possible particularly among the Slavs in general and Russia in particular where the survival of the peasant commune exemplified all the positive traits of mutual assistance and cooperation. Much has been written about Alexander Herzen. Two excellent English language studies on his life and works include Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism, 1812-1855* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961) and Monica Partridge, *Alexander Herzen: Collected Studies* (Nottingham, England: Astra Press, 1988).

officially abandoned in 1861—its socialist message and spirit of urgency inspired these Young Bosnians to believe that the time was ripe for a socialist and Yugoslav revolution of their own. Although they differed markedly from their former colleagues in the Social Democratic Party when it came to the pace of reform, they had similarly co-opted Yugoslavism to their socialist ideals. Believing that the liberation and unification of the South Slavs were prerequisites for their social and economic liberty, they stated in the first issue of their newspaper that "*The Bell* is a Yugoslavian socialist newspaper," whose founders believed that "through national liberty, comes the general liberty of mankind"[108] Placing a high priority on speeding up this process, they immediately announced their intention to establish a new socialist party in Sarajevo to be called the "Jugoslovenska socijalistička stranka" ("The Yugoslav Socialist Party"). Plans to organize the party were, however, interrupted one month later when on June 28, 1914 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, was assassinated in Sarajevo.[109]

Although the actual assassin was the nineteen-year-old Young Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip, the remaining organizers included seven other Young Bosnians (one Muslim and six Serbs, among whom were Jevtić, Gaćinović, and Ilić). Investigators of the assassination plot revealed that these students and young intellectuals had ties with two organizations from Serbia, the Serbian nationalist society National Defense and the secret society Union or Death (also known as "Black Hand"), the latter of which had since 1911 promoted the liberation of Bosnia through terrorist and revolutionary

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[108]Anonymous, "Na početku djela," *Zvono*, no. 1, May 11, 1914, 1; Answering the nay-sayers who believed that socialism and nationalism were contradictory concepts, one writer fired back, arguing that the two were complementary philosophies that promoted social and economic equality in a national context. As evidence he cited the words of a politician from the Austrian parliament who believed the same. See Anonymous, "Naš nacionalizam," *Zvono*, no. 4, June 2, 1914, 1.
[109]Anonymous, "Osnivanje naše stranke," *Zvono*, no. 2, May 17, 1914, 3.

activity.[110] That the Archduke had been the unfortunate target of these Young Bosnians' terrorist act came as no great surprise. The Archduke had sympathized with Trialism, to which neither the Serbs of Bosnia nor nationalists from Serbia could possibly agree.[111] The reason for his arrival had been to inspect the Empire's armed forces in Bosnia, a visible reminder of the Bosnian Serbs' subjugation. The Archduke had also (ill-advisedly) scheduled his day of arrival on the most sacred day on the Serb calendar, the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo (1389), when the Ottoman Army won a major battle against the medieval kingdom of Serbia that was soon after absorbed into the Ottoman Empire.[112]

The assassination was, however, neither "purely" an act of Greater Serb nor of Yugoslav nationalism.[113] The conspirators were a diverse group of young people with disparate nationalist and socialist ideals and philosophies. Following the arrest of the conspirators, it became clear that there was no single nationalist position to which they commonly held. While one conspirator announced, "I am a Serbian hero,"[114] Princip declared at his trial, "I am a Yugoslav nationalist, aiming for the unification of all Yugoslavs, and I do not care what form of state, but it must be free from Austria."[115] Clearly, for these young men, as it had been for others, the desperation for liberation and desire for political power had inspired them to nurture an organic relationship between their Greater Serb and Yugoslav aspirations. It took the subsequent events of World War

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[110] Whereas Belgrade's *Narodna odbrana* ("National Defense") had, in the spirit of an increasingly intense nationalism across Europe, promoted Serb nationalism through such activities as volunteer military training for young people, Union or Death was an extremist underground outfit whose founder, the army officer Colonel Dragutin Dimitrević, was among the assassins responsible for the regicide of the Serbian King Alexander Obrenović in 1903.
[111] Donia and Fine, 115; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 112.
[112] Malcolm, 155; Donia and Fine, 115; Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, 112.
[113] All this despite the violence of the anti-Serb protest that took place in the Sarajevo market immediately following the assassination. Donia and Fine, 116;
[114] Dedijer, *Road to Sarajevo*, 319.
[115] Malcolm, 153.

I, however, to bring about its further integration that finally facilitated the political unification of the South Slavs in 1918.[116]

**Conclusion**

As this survey has shown, the Yugoslav idea as expressed in the writings of the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serb intellectuals was loosely framed in multi-ethnic terms that reflected not only the national integrationist and socialist philosophies of the age, but of Bosnian realities under foreign, imperialist rule. Indeed, it was the heightened feelings of nationalism and anti-Austrian sentiments following the annexation in 1908 that had caused an increasing number to transfer the nation-building project in Bosnia to the nation-building project of Yugoslav unification. The pro-Yugoslavs recognized, however, that they could not rally people around the "great idea" of Yugoslav unity unless they could persuade the people to believe that they had enough in common to justify unification. Convinced that the South Slavs were, in fact, a single nation (or had the potential to become one), these intellectuals actively promoted what they believed were their shared cultural traits and political aspirations in order to gain popular support for the Yugoslav idea.

And yet a multi-ethnic, Yugoslav identity, though a composite of various confessional-cum-national groups, needed also to fit well with their traditional Serb interests. The result was that in different ways they often placed special emphasis on how to make their Yugoslav aspirations a natural extension of their Serb ones. The ideas of Serb national survival and the unification of the Serbs were thus incorporated into the

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[116] For decades after the formation of Yugoslavia, there was disagreement over the form (federal, centralist, confederalist or otherwise) that the country should take. See, for example, Banac, *The National Question*, 123-124, 135-136.

broader movement to unify the South Slavs. Although they supported the Yugoslav idea, it was clear that there were traces of Greater Serb chauvinism in their writings and in their political activism. As one scholar has suggested, representation always alters the represented.[117] No community can ever be fully represented, be it culturally or politically, in any state, Yugoslav or not, as long as rival political conceptions and aspirations continue to circulate among national leaders. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the pro-Yugoslav Bosnian Serbs did not also desire to have some kind of democratic union that extended the rights of citizenship and ethnic equality to all the members of the Yugoslav nation(s). Bosnian Serb leaders had already demonstrated this desire following the Bosnian annexation in 1908 when they and their Croat and Muslim counterparts fought to secure their basic cultural and political rights through a constitution and parliament in Bosnia. The same was true for the growing number of mainly younger Bosnian Serb intellectuals who supported the Yugoslav movement and had in some important ways taken the multi-ethnic idea they had learned from their fathers and applied it, with varying degrees of success, to the "great idea" of Yugoslav unity.

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[117] Anne Norton, *95 Theses on Politics, Culture, and Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 93-94.

# CONCLUSION

At the heart of this project lay a desire to examine the ideological development of a "Serb," a "Bosnian," and a "Yugoslav" consciousness among the Bosnian Serb intellectuals as well as to show the illusive point(s) at which each intersected. It has been argued that the simultaneous rise of each can be understood as the result of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals' search for a collectivist, multi-ethnic model of belonging that could draw together those ethnic nations with whom they had the closest cultural and political ties. In this way, they hoped to combat their cultural and political weaknesses under foreign, imperialist rule. The idea of "groupness" as a conscious choice, as a constructed language and ideology, thus formed an important part of this thesis. Although there were certain "raw materials" from which the intellectuals were able to draw (e.g. ancestry, language, and geography), these were molded into what the intellectuals perceived as concrete and legitimate groupings based on the broader tastes of their times, local circumstances, and on the views of the writers themselves. Their identity development, like the historical context from which it emerged, therefore, was continually subject to change and was by no means monolithic. Different individuals had varying views that altered over time and reflected the changing attitudes of the intellectuals, the social, cultural, and political circumstances in Bosnia, and the modern national and pan-national ideologies of the age.

During the earliest years of Austro-Hungarian rule, the intellectuals were primarily influenced by the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins as a way of binding Bosnia's three main ethnic groups closer together. They argued that all Bosnians were "really" Serbs and wished to "enlighten" Bosnians with the intention of strengthening their internal solidarity against the politics and policies of the Austro-Hungarian state. In

some ways, their attempts to "Serbianize" the Bosnians, reflected broader trends in contemporary Europe where national leaders attempted to close the social and cultural gap in order to create a more unified national collective. But in other ways, it differed from certain European patterns. In the first place, the Bosnian Serbs were not in any positions of political power nor did they have any political sway either in the administration of Bosnia or over the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Muslims whose social, cultural, and political sentiments, much like those of the Bosnian Serbs themselves, had developed largely independently of one another. Those intellectuals wishing to emphasize the "Serb" roots of the Bosnian identity, therefore, did so from a position of cultural and political weakness in relation to the Monarchy and in an effort to identify a rallying point around which they could unify the Serbs and non-Serbs of Bosnia. Another, and perhaps more crucial difference, however, lay in the fact that Greater Serb ideologies had originated outside of Bosnia, in Serbia and in Montenegro, and among Serbs living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire who wished to "Serbianize" the Bosnians in anticipation of unifying all the Serbs in an enlarged Serbian state.

It was not long after the installation of the Austro-Hungarian protectorate in 1878, however, that a few of the intellectuals began to develop a more flexible and ethnically-sensitive concept of "belonging" in Bosnia. They believed that it was possible to close the ethnic gap by promoting a multi-ethnic sense of "connectedness" in Bosnia, without imposing an ethnic Serb identity. The poetry and prose of Aleksa Šantić and Svetozar Ćorović, in particular, stands out for their emphasis on a multi-ethnic model of belonging based on Bosnians' common "kinship" and "territoriality." Shedding the more familiar Greater Serb model of Bosnian identity, they argued that Bosnians possessed an innate, but uncultivated sense of "fellow-feeling" that could bind them together without also "de-

nationalizing" them of their Serb, Croat, and Muslim identities. Although the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins had by no means "disappeared," its value in binding the groups together began to diminish.

By the early 1900's, a whole new generation of Bosnian Serb intellectuals began more actively to promote a multi-ethnic spirit of identity in Bosnia. Its adherents were mainly urban, Western-educated men who were raised entirely under the Austro-Hungarian administration when Bosnia was already undergoing a considerable amount of "modernization" and "Europeanization." They constituted an elite group of people, mainly teachers, but also merchants and civil servants, who had become the principal creators, users, and disseminators of cultural and political ideas in Bosnia. Because most were educators in the broadest sense, their claims to expertise afforded them a special position of influence in Bosnia. While earlier generations had mainly concerned themselves with preserving the cultural heritage of the Serbs, the next generation desired to shepherd their community into the modern age and integrate them into modern Europe. In part, this meant closing the gap between themselves and their largely illiterate ethnic community. To that end, they encouraged modern standards in literacy, education, and "civility," which they hoped would both modernize and unify their ethnic community.

But the growing number of Western-educated Bosnian Serb intellectuals also believed that in the interests of their ethnic community, they would need to think and act collectively with the other ethnic groups. Closing the social and cultural gap within the ethnic community was, therefore, regarded as the first step toward reconciling themselves with the other ethnic groups. Most writers recognized that Bosnians were far from embracing the sort of unity envisaged in the more ethnically homogeneous nation-states. Their goals were, therefore, modest by comparison. Writers mainly encouraged Bosnians

to follow their lead by shedding their narrow "religiosity," which they believed lay at the core of their different ethnicities, and by adopting a modern "secular" outlook. This process, they hoped, would gradually encourage Bosnians of different ethnic groups to begin to exclude "religious" considerations (social, cultural and political) from their relationships with other Bosnians and develop a truly unified "society." Bosnians, they argued, could no longer afford to function as "island communities" dependent solely on the benevolence of foreign occupiers. If they were ever to develop Bosnia's potential as a politically viable territory, writers believed, they first needed to strengthen Bosnians' internal social and cultural cohesion.

At the same time, the intellectuals also promoted the idea of combining Bosnians' political interests in order to work towards gaining Bosnia's political autonomy within the Empire. Their increasing fears of Austria-Hungary's cultural and political imperialism, coupled with the logic of ethic co-existence, helped determine how they envisaged this happening in Bosnia. They were inspired mainly by the West European ideal of a civic (political) community that conceived a territorial association of citizens as the basis of belonging and not just the (ethnic) nation. Persuaded of Bosnia's uniqueness as a multi-ethnic, territorial community, they began to encourage the political integration of Bosnians with a view to creating a cohesive society that would be politically viable in the long run. Generally, they conceived this in collective, multi-ethnic terms as a collaborative responsibility of all the ethnic groups. Specifically, it was understood to mean that Bosnians had the right to a constitution, the right to legislation, and the right to administer their country collectively, regardless of ethnicity.

And yet for all the Bosnian Serbs intellectuals' desires to nurture a common multi-ethnic spirit in Bosnia, they held ambivalent attitudes towards the Bosnian Croats. This

was partially because most Bosnian Croat leaders supported Austro-Hungarian rule. Under Vienna, the Catholic population swelled as military and civil personnel flooded the province, giving the Bosnian Croats an aura of cultural and political dominance they had not experienced under Ottoman rule. Just as some Bosnian Serbs promoted the unification of Bosnia and Serbia, many of the Croats welcomed the possibility of Bosnia's unification with Croatia. Some Serbs feared that if the Croats were successful, then an annexation would open the way toward Bosnia's "Croatization" (confessionally, culturally, and politically) and thus end any hope of Bosnia becoming politically autonomous. A Serb alliance with the Muslims was, therefore, viewed as an effective counterweight to Croat dominance in Bosnia. Although the Greater Serb theory of Bosnian origins partially explained Serb attempts to "woo" the Muslims, by the early 1900's they were far less interested in "Serbianizing" the Muslims than they were with creating a united front against both Croatian nationalism and Vienna's excessive interference in Bosnia's domestic affairs.

They believed they had their opportunity to do so when Vienna granted Bosnia a parliament and constitution in 1910. Faced with an indefinite period of foreign rule, the intellectuals-turned-politicians hoped to work with the other ethnic parties and maximize Bosnians' political power in the Empire. Drawing their inspiration from mainly Western European examples of democracy and parliamentarianism, they looked to their Muslim and, to some extent, their Croat counterparts as "comrades-in-arms," hoping to resolve existing ethnic grievances in order to work together in creating a politically viable territory. Unfortunately, parliamentary politics failed to minimize inter-ethnic tensions and actually exacerbated them. Although many hoped to build harmonious inter-ethnic relationships within parliament, they often found themselves advancing their own agenda

at the expense of those of the other ethnic groups. Although they advocated equality in theory, in practice each side desired to be the first among equals.

At the same time, a small number of the mainly younger Bosnian Serb intellectuals began to apply the multi-ethnic model of belonging beyond Bosnia. This younger and more radicalized generation saw no benefit in remaining in the Empire and began to promote what was then known as the "great idea" of Yugoslav cultural and political unity. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, an increasing number of South Slav intellectuals proposed that the Serbs and the Croats (together with the Slovenes and possibly the Bulgarians) were so closely related that they, in fact, constituted a single "Yugoslav" nation. These writers believed that the South Slavs already had enough in common both culturally and politically to constitute a common "Yugoslav" identity. They perceived the "Yugoslav" identity in broadly collectivist (multi-national) terms, not necessarily as a substitute for their Serb, Croat and Muslim identities, but as an additional, supra-ethnic/supra-national component. And if the South Slavs were "really" a single nation, they surmised, they deserved all the rights of collective political independence.

By World War I, many of the Bosnian Serb intellectuals had accepted the logic of the cultural and political necessity of cooperating with the other South Slavs. Their perceived commonalities had, over time, produced a multi-ethnic consciousness that intellectuals first applied to Bosnians and subsequently to the remaining South Slavs. Their evolving identity was, therefore, by its very nature a multiple one that linked belonging, both cultural and political, to one or more of three core groups: the Serbs, the Bosnians, and the remaining South Slavs. This project has highlighted some of the rhetoric of the intellectuals that demonstrated this evolution as well as their failure to

apply it fully in practice. Attempts to develop an inclusive rhetoric (however flawed and unevenly applied) had partially to do with the intellectuals' own experiences, education, and ideals which they tried to apply to Bosnia and, later to Yugoslavia. But it also emerged in a specific time and place, when the intellectuals, faced with the unfamiliar and unwelcome rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, came to believe that their cultural survival and desire for political power were dependent on the strength of their ties with their non-Serb neighbours. The outcome was that a growing number of Bosnian Serb intellectuals encouraged a common multi-ethnic identity with their non-Serb neighbours with a view to gaining control over their social, cultural, and ultimately, their political lives.

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