

Conceptualising Serbia, Depicting Resurgence:
Serbian Nationalism in Visual Sources from Independence to
the Founding of Yugoslavia.

17990 Words

Leiden University ~ Universiteit Leiden

History (MA): Politics, Culture and National Identities, 1789 to the Present

20EC

Hand in: 24 June, 2021.

Table of Contents

Guide to Serbian pronunciation – p. 3

Introduction – p. 4

Chapter 1. Uroš Predić's *Kosovo Maiden*: The Origins, Development and Culmination of a National Myth – p. 15

Chapter 2. History is Cyclical: Depictions of Migration & the Nation as Martyr – p. 29

Chapter 3. Mythologising the 'Land of the Black Mountain': Orientalism and 'Internal Othering' in Paja Jovanović's Montenegrin Scenes – p. 39

Chapter 4. Patriarchy, Domesticity and European Integration: Uroš Predić's *Queen Natalija* in Context – p. 54

Chapter 5. Masculinity, Brotherhood and Homophobia: Paja Jovanović's *The Takovo Uprising* in Context – p. 64

Chapter 6. The *Kosovo Maiden* and *Vidovdan Temple* - Serbian Nationalism in a Yugoslav Mould: Continuity Across The First World War – p. 75

Conclusion – p. 92

Appendices – p. 94

Bibliography – p. 103

Primary sources – p. 103

Secondary sources – p. 109

Guide to Serbian Pronunciation

Serbian is a South Slavic language that can be written in either the Cyrillic or Latin alphabets. Prior to the break-up of Yugoslavia, the language was officially known as ‘Serbo-Croat’ but is today known variously as Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian or Montenegrin. As this project focuses on Serbia, it will refer to the language as ‘Serbian’. Where this thesis refers to Serbian names or words, the standardised Latin spelling will be used. Accordingly, here is provided a guide to the pronunciation of those Serbian letters and diacritics that differ from English. When referring to a geographical term or place name with an English equivalent, the English will be used. When referring to paintings, an English translation of the title will be used.

C, c – ‘Ts’, as in **flts**

Č, č – ‘Ch’, as in **cherry**

Ć, ć – ‘Ch’, as in **church**

D, d – Hard ‘d’, as in **dog**

Dž, dž – ‘Dg’, as in **ledge**

Đ, đ – Voiced alveolo-palatal affricative: ‘Aspirate j/ch’, no exact English equivalent

G, g – Hard ‘g’, as in **good**

I, i – ‘Ee’, as in **fleet**

J, j – ‘Y’, as in **you**

K, k – Hard ‘c’, as in **block**

Lj, lj – ‘Ly’, as in **billion**

Nj, nj – ‘Ny’, as in **minion**

Š, š – ‘Sh’, as in **sheep**

Ž, ž – ‘Zh’, as in **measure**

Introduction

Serbia is a European nation which, while often discussed, is seldom understood. The country, and those who consider it home, are frequently associated with the extreme nationalism and crimes of the 1990s. The importance of the Kosovo region in Serbian culture perplexes outside onlookers while Serbian political leaders' continued denial of war crimes reinforces external perceptions of the country as hostile and insular. Such denialism is categorically indefensible. However, there is more to Serbia, and to Serbian people, than such discourses – in the same way that there is more to Western European societies than their entrenched colonial denial. A discussion of Serbian nationalism, historical memory and their evolution beyond the confines of such narrow, stigmatising narratives to emphasise the nuance and European parallels within these forces is the guiding aim of this thesis. The thesis' core research question is: what was the relationship between visual culture and nationalist narratives in Serbia between 1878 and the Interbellum and what does it reveal?

To achieve this, this thesis will examine expression of Serbian national sentiment, with a specific focus on visual sources, from Serbia's formal independence in 1878 (although *de facto* independent earlier) to the formal founding of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. This period witnessed several wars and significant dynastic wrangling - as discussed throughout the thesis, three families claimed national leadership in this period. However, it also saw remarkable social transformation, political innovation and cultural effervescence. It was a period of incredible tension and transition and the events it witnessed continue to shape South-Eastern Europe today, as seen throughout this thesis.

The length of this timeframe means that this thesis will be more akin to a *longue durée* study of long-term trends and forces than a microhistory focusing on very specific

analysis. Given this thesis' stated interest in the Europe-wide phenomenon of nationalism, the works of Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Eugen Weber, Eric Hobsbawm, Stefan Berger and Ernest Gellner have greatly influenced this thesis.¹ Anderson's concept of the 'Imagined Community' has been particularly important in how this thesis examines the role of paintings in communicating and reinforcing 'imagination' of the nation.² Maria Todorova's book, *Imagining the Balkans*, and its concept of 'Balkanist' discourses, has been highly influential in efforts to locate Serbian history in a broader European context, moving beyond misguided assumptions of Serb exceptionalism in Anglophone media and academe.³

The visual sources referred to throughout this thesis will, primarily, be paintings. Some of these paintings remain highly enigmatic symbols in contemporary Serbian culture while others are less well known but still informative in discussion of nationalist discourses in the period of study. This visual focus will help address a propensity to restrict historical research to written sources – a proclivity that, at its worst excesses, has amounted to institutionalised racism. This focus is important as national expression is an inherently diverse phenomenon, of which visual expression represents a powerful component.⁴

In Serbia, paintings are especially valuable in discussion of how historical memory and Orthodox Christianity were mobilised along national lines. Additionally, they provide insight into how the Kosovo Myth has been constructed and reconstructed since the 1804-1817 Serbian Revolution. The importance of the Kosovo Myth to the history of Serbia and

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), 1-197.

Miroslav Hroch, *European Nations*, Trans. Karolina Graham. (London: Verso, 2015), 1-275.

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 3-496.

Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-186.

Stefan Berger & Christoph Conrad, *The Past as History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1-379.

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006), 1-130.

² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1-197.

³ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-189.

⁴ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing* (London: Reaktion Book Ltd., 2001), 9-19, 62, 157-159.

Serbian nationalism cannot be overstated.⁵ This continued importance necessitates nuanced and informed discussion of Serbian nationalism's development, attesting to the contemporary relevance of this thesis.

National mobilisation, in terms of constructing a model of self-sacrifice and resilience to be emulated in the struggle for national liberation, was a clear aim for Serbian intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century.⁶ This is as true of the painters of the period as it is of its authors such as the famed philologist Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) or the venerated poet Prince Petar II Petrović-Njegoš of Montenegro (1813-1851).⁷ The influence of national historical narratives is similarly present in nineteenth century Serbian theatre, clear in Dunja Resanović's discussion of Stefan Stefanović, Jovan Subotić and Jovan Dragašević's plays, and in twentieth century Serbian opera, as shown in Jelena Milojković-Djurić's discussion of Prague-educated composer Petar Konjović's works.⁸ This is true also of the development of

⁵ Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 26-37, 63-65, 68-71.

Tim Judah, "The Serbs: The Sweet and Rotten Smell of History", *Daedalus* 126 (3) (1997): 23-32.

Todorova, *Balkans*, 184-186.

Svetlana Slapšak, "Women's Memory in the Balkans: The Alternative Kosovo Myth", *Gender and Nation in South Eastern Europe* 14 (2005): 95-99, 102-103.

Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 93, 328-329.

Florian Bieber, "Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering". *Rethinking History* 6 (1) (2002): 95-107.

⁶ Ibid.

Lilien Filipovitch-Robinson, "Modernity in the Art of Krstić, Jovanović, and Predić", *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies* 21 (1) (2007): 115-134.

Lilien Filipovitch-Robinson, "Inspiration and Affirmation of Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Serbian Painting", *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies* 19 (2) (2005): 317-328.

Aleksandar Pavlović & Srđan Atanasovski, "From Myth to Territory: Vuk Karadžić, Kosovo Epics and the Role of Nineteenth Century Intellectuals in Establishing National Narratives", *The Hungarian Historical Review* 5 (2) (2016): 357-371.

⁷ Ibid.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-89.

Čedomir Antić, *The History of Serbia*, Trans. Miljana Protić (Belgrade: Laguna, 2018), 151-154, 193-195.

⁸ Dunja Resanović, "From three Ottoman gates to three Serbian sites of memory: the performative rewriting of Belgrade from 1878 until today", *History and Anthropology* 30 (4) (2019): 393-403.

Jelena Milojković-Djurić, "Les Sources Nationales des Opéras de Petar Konjović (1883-1970)," *Revue des études slaves* 84 (3/4) (2013): 409-420.

Serbian architecture, the Serbian Neo-Byzantine style in particular, and in early Yugoslav architecture, as shown in Chapter 6.⁹

These early Yugoslav projects reflected the reimagination of Serbian national narratives and symbolism in a South Slavic guise. Such reinvention reflects the desire in pre-1914 Serbia that the state act as a South Slavic ‘Piedmont’. Such was this desire that ‘*Pijemont*’ was the name of the journal of the infamous nationalist clique ‘The Black Hand’, officially known as ‘Unification or Death’, published daily in Belgrade between 1911 and 1915.¹⁰ As shown also in the 1844 *Načertanije* (discussed in Chapter 1), many envisaged the Serb state uniting the South Slavic peoples, emulating Piedmont-Sardinia’s role in establishing the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.¹¹ Such reimagination is significant, demonstrating remarkable continuity over the course of the First World War, a subject tackled in Dominique Kirchner Reill’s discussion of the Fiume Crisis.¹² Connections between Serb and Yugoslav nationalism therefore relate to far wider academic debate about the role of the conflict as a turning point, and, in reference to Italy as a model, attest to the European context in which Serbian nationalism developed. Such European comparisons are central to this thesis’ aim of de-essentialising Serbia’s history and feature throughout.

⁹ Aleksandar Ignjatović, “Byzantium’s Apt Inheritors: Serbian Historiography, Nation-Building and Imperial Imagination, 1882-1941”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 94 (1) (2016): 57-92.

Resanović, “Serbian sites of memory”, 393-403.

Aleksandar Ignjatović, “Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović’s Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism”, *Slavic Review* 73 (4) (2014): 828-858.

Jelena Bogdanović, “Evocations of Byzantium in Zenitist Avant-Garde Architecture”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75 (3) (2016): 299-317.

¹⁰ John Paul Newman, “The Hollow Crown: Civil and Military Relations during Serbia’s “Golden Age,” 1903-1914”, in *The Balkans as Europe, 1821-1914*, ed. Timothy Snyder & Katherine Younger (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2018), 140-142, 147-148, 151-155.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 56-61.

“Pijemont”, 1911-1913. *Digitalna Narodna Biblioteka Srbije* (‘National Digital Library of Serbia’), accessed 16 April 2021. <https://digitalna.nb.rs/Wiki.jsp?setLang=en&page=NBS%2Fnovine%2FPijemont>.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Dominique Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis* (Cambridge (Massachusetts): The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 16-22, 108-133, 195-230.

This thesis' focus on painting and visual depiction of nationhood builds on a significant corpus dealing with Serbian nationalism in terms of epic poetry and the Kosovo Myth.¹³ As such, it contributes to an active field through discussion of sources that, with the exception of Lilien Filipovitch-Robinson and some limited discussion by Tim Judah, remain largely overlooked by Anglophone authors.¹⁴ While more is surely available in Serbian publications, the author does not yet possess a reading knowledge of Serbian, necessitating reliance on Anglophone literature. While the wealth of Anglophone literature on Serbian nationalism is a great aid for those lacking very specific language skills, this corpus can become self-reinforcing, perpetuating a stigmatising obsession over conflict. This thesis has taken three steps to avoid this.

Firstly, the thesis focuses on visual sources that are largely overlooked in literature extant, ensuring a new contribution to the field. Secondly, the thesis' timeframe and *longue durée* approach differs from a corpus that largely limits itself to the late twentieth century. Finally, there has been a significant effort to locate Serbian sources, both primary and secondary, in translation. Such efforts have been aided by extensive Serbian publication in English, ensuring Serbian scholarship is referred to throughout.

The body of English language research concerning Serbian painting is limited. While this ensures the thesis' originality, it does present challenges to analysis. However, the work of Filipovitch-Robinson, Jovan Jančićjević and, to a lesser degree, Tim Judah will support analysis.¹⁵ As such, this thesis will draw from a wide body of historiography concerning

¹³ Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 357-371.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-89.

Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 95-111.

¹⁴ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 115-134.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 317-328.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-2, 69-70.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 30-32.

¹⁵ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 115-134.

nationalism both in the Serbian context specifically, and across Europe more generally. The thesis is thus supported by a broad range of academic literature.

Through extensive use of secondary comparison, this thesis will tackle problematic narratives of ‘Serbian exceptionalism’, demonstrating strong parallels with developments across Europe. Exceptionalising discourses around Serbia form part of wider ‘Balkanist’ discourses (as Todorova termed them) stigmatising South-Eastern Europe as inherently unstable.¹⁶ While right, indeed necessary, to remember and condemn the crimes of the likes of Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić, historians and Western observers must not fall into the trap of reducing Serbian society to such figures. Nor is it methodologically sound to interpret this region’s past through the lens of a single decade of particular instability in recent memory. As Tim Judah persuasively argues, the crisis which gripped the Serb lands from the late 1980s should be studied as a phenomenon of social and political break-down, comparable to the hijacking of governing institutions in the Interbellum.¹⁷ It was not, and must not be categorised as, an inevitable expression of some inherent violence within the Serbian ‘national character’.¹⁸ Where this thesis refers to the tragic events of the 1990s, it does so in demonstration of relevance, not as a vehicle of analysis.

The visual sources addressed in this thesis come from the digital collections of Wikipedia, Wikimedia Commons and various Serbian cultural institutions. While other sources will be discussed, the primary focus will be the paintings. Those of Uroš Predić and Paja Jovanović, the two most prominent Serbian artists of this era, will constitute the core of

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 317-328.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-2, 69-70.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 30-32.

Jovan Janićijević (ed.), *The Cultural Treasury of Serbia* (Belgrade: IDEA, 2002), 175-279, 535-586.

¹⁶ Todorova, *Balkans*, 1-189.

¹⁷ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 23-25.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

the primary source base.¹⁹ Their history and Orientalist paintings prove the most valuable sources in terms of this thesis' focus, although a portrait constitutes the subject of analysis in Chapter 4. Other painters' works will be examined but to a less detailed degree, owing to the limitations of the word count.

The specific focus of visual analysis will be references to national historical and political narratives tied to the nation-building project of the period. In terms of national history writing, the project will draw significantly from Stefan Berger's concept of the "master narrative".²⁰ Berger defines the 'master narrative' as "the underlying script of 'historical culture' at a given time in a given country".²¹ That is, the historical narratives forged to 'imagine' national entities as timeless and temporally contiguous. Like Hroch, Anderson and Weber, Conrad and Berger's book treats 'national history' as a "project of European modernity", one intimately tied to nineteenth-century technological and cultural change.²² This thesis will study visual sources in this theoretical framework, treating them as products embodying the 'master narrative' of 'national history'. Throughout, the development of 'national culture' in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Serbia will be treated as a European project. This project paralleled developments across the continent and was intimately tied to growing exchange with major urban centres, such as Vienna or Budapest. Berger and Conrad's book thus informs how this thesis approaches primary sources in a broader and de-exceptionalising European context.

Visual sources are naturally conducive to tackling exceptionalising narratives.

Education in major European cities was highly influential in nineteenth-century Serbia's

¹⁹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 69.

²⁰ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 2, 11.

²¹ *Ibid*, 2.

²² *Ibid*, 3-6.

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1-197.

Hroch, *European Nations*, 1-275.

Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 3-496.

cultural development. In the case of artworks, the academies of Vienna and Munich were especially significant with education at these two institutions forming two distinct schools of nineteenth-century Serbian Realism.²³ The two leading Serbian Realists, Paja Jovanović and Uroš Predić, were both educated in Vienna.²⁴ Equally, exhibitions across Europe proved central both to Serbian art's development, and the development of the narratives behind it.

Throughout, this thesis will highlight the influence of nationalist 'master narrative' history on Serbian visual culture. In this respect, many Serbian artworks visualised nationalist historical and cultural narratives. Such works reinforced the unity of faith and nation, mythologised Kosovo and Montenegro as national ideals and proclaimed the unity of the nineteenth century Serb nation-state and the 'Golden Age' of the Mediaeval Serbian Empire, portraying the nineteenth century state as Byzantium's successor.²⁵ Visual embodiment of the "marvellous past" imagined by such narratives was central in promoting the irredentist vision of national liberation outlined in the 1844 *Načertanije*, as well as that of early Yugoslavists.²⁶ Given the sheer number of works of this kind, this thesis focuses only on the most consequential.

It should be noted also that the era of this thesis' study was one of particular importance in Serbia's artistic history, with leading Realist painters beginning to work and the introduction of painting *en pleine air* by Đorđe Krstić from the beginning of the 1880s.²⁷ This was closely tied to Serbia's increasing development, the growth of nationalism and the

²³ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 189.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, 186-192.

Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 49-109.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 28-35.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 115-134.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 317-328.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 35-52.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

emergence of a new national elite keen to celebrate its origins.²⁸ Before the nineteenth century, Serbian art was effectively limited to religious art with the Ottoman Muslim elite often averse to visual depictions of the human form, with the general exception of miniature paintings.²⁹

In terms of methodology, the thesis draws heavily from the work of Peter Burke. While recognising that visual sources, like written sources, are not necessarily objective or reliable, the thesis will study visual sources so as better to understand the period in which they were created.³⁰ In keeping with Burke's interpretation of Erwin Panofsky's three-tiered method, analysis will focus heavily on iconography and iconology.³¹ While rejecting Panofsky's 'zeitgeist' thinking and emphasising that images can be purely aesthetic, Burke recognises the use of Panofsky's approach, particularly in the context of nationalism as applied in this thesis.³² Iconology is the practice of contextualising an image as, through this, its cultural significance is revealed.³³ In each chapter, this will be achieved through outlining key developments in a contextualising introduction, supporting subsequent analysis of visual sources. Such iconological analysis permits more sophisticated analysis than discussion of iconography, the images and motifs present in an image, alone.

This three-tiered approach focuses on "preiconographical description" of "natural meaning", "iconographical analysis" of "conventional meaning" and "iconographical interpretation" of "intrinsic meaning".³⁴ The first step, "preiconographical description" of an image, refers to the outlining the superficial contents of the image in question.³⁵ The second step, "iconographical analysis", refers to analysis of the cultural context and significance of

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 175-182.

³⁰ Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 9-19, 81-122, 169-188.

³¹ Ibid, 34-45.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid, 32-43.

³⁴ Ibid, 35-36.

³⁵ Ibid.

the image and its contents.³⁶ That is to say, to use Burke's example, outlining the difference between an image of a meal, and an image of the Last Supper.³⁷ Finally, "iconographical interpretation" refers to analysis of underlying meaning of the image.³⁸ It is this final layer of visual analysis that is the most valuable to historians.³⁹ Throughout, analysis will highlight the significance and context of an image's contents in terms of nationalist 'master narrative' history and contemporary political developments. Discussion of what images *omit* will also feature prominently, particularly in Chapter 4 and 5 and their discussion of gender and sexuality. Although not always explicitly stated step-by-step, this three-tiered method guides iconological analysis throughout the thesis in its entirety.

The central argument throughout this thesis is that the articulation of Balkan nationalisms in the nineteenth century is inseparable from far-reaching processes of cultural and aesthetic 'Europeanisation'. Consequently, they cannot be treated as exceptional. This is evident through study of visual sources, demonstrating the clear benefit of their inclusion in the study of nationalism. Increasingly conservative attitudes to gender and sexuality were similarly tied to 'Europeanising' nation-building. Likewise, these sources show significant continuity between nationalist historical narratives before and after the Great War. In this respect, the thesis illuminates overlooked and highly relevant aspects of nineteenth-century nation-building through visual source analysis.

This thesis examines visual sources produced between 1878 and the Interbellum. It begins with discussions of nationalist mythologisation of Kosovo and migration. After this, it examines nationalist imagination of Montenegro before looking at changing attitudes to gender and sexuality in the context of nation-building. Finally it examines continuity between

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Serbian and Yugoslav nationalism. This will illuminate the relationship between nationalism and visual culture in the context of diverse and far-reaching processes of 'Europeanisation'.

Chapter 1:

Uroš Predić's *Kosovo Maiden*: The Origins, Development and Culmination of a National Myth

Mythologisation of Kosovo is the most well known, most nebulous and, quite probably, the most controversial aspect of Serbian nationalism. Its importance cannot be overstated. The emergence, and repeated reinvention, of the Kosovo Myth was a long and complicated process. The Battle of Kosovo was a confrontation between Serbian and Ottoman forces in 1389.⁴⁰ Although most historians (among them Misha Glenny and Tim Judah) would argue the battle was inconclusive, the death of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović on the Field of Blackbirds and subsequent mythologisation of the conflict have become, in the words of Svetlana Slapšak, Serbia's "central national myth", a view shared by many historians.⁴¹ Historians should not study Kosovo as an event, but as a phenomenon. In this respect, Slapšak is correct to call Kosovo a "*lieu de mémoire*" in Serbian culture.⁴² It was constructed as such in the nineteenth century to inspire domestic enthusiasm and international sympathy for an irredentist vision of national liberation, tying the nation to the Orthodox faith and the Mediaeval Serb state.⁴³

This chapter will show how the Kosovo Myth is not the product of some 'ancient hatred', but an evolving cultural phenomenon subject to repeated reimagination. It will

⁴⁰ Judah, *History, Myth*, 26-46, 66-71.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 25-32.

Antić, *Serbia*, 81-84.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Misha Glenny, *The Balkans 1804-2012* (London: Granta Publications, 2012), 11.

Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 95.

⁴² Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 97.

⁴³ Ibid, 93-103.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 26-46, 66-71.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 25-32.

Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 357-371.

outline the context and importance of Kosovo mythologisation before proceeding to analysis of *Kosovo Maiden*. Still relevant in contemporary politics, between 1878 and 1914 the Myth was closely connected to intensifying European cultural contact and the irredentist vision embodied by the 1844 *Načertanije* of leading politician Ilija Garašanin.⁴⁴ This document articulated a vision of a Greater Serbia, paralleling the Greek *Megáli Idéa* and irredentist aspirations of Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian nationalist intellectuals.⁴⁵ It was highly influential in Serbian policy until the First World War, although it remained secret until 1906.⁴⁶ Concerned with preventing an Austro-Russian partition of the Balkans and heavily influenced by Adam Czartoryski and Frantisek Zah, the *Načertanije* drew heavily from the ‘master narrative’ of nascent Serbian national historiography.⁴⁷ This is clear in Garašanin’s writings: “Our present will not be without our tie with our past... this Serbdom, its nationality and its political existence as a state, stands under the protection of sacred historic right”.⁴⁸ This reflects the ‘Golden Age’ thinking that defined Serbian nationalist imagination of the Mediaeval Serbian and Byzantine Empires, something discussed throughout this thesis.

The Myth bolstered Serbia’s claims to ethnically diverse regions before both a domestic and European audience.⁴⁹ Moreover, the nineteenth century Kosovo Myth aimed to

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides, “Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 26 (1) (1990): 4-14.

Dimitris Livianos, “The quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism and collective identities in Greece, 1453-1913”, in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia, pp. 254-267. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Adam Goldwyn, “Go Back to Homer’s Verse: *Iliads* of revolution and *Odysseys* of exile in Albanian Poetry”, *Classical Receptions Journal* 8 (4) (2016): 507-513.

Stark Draper, “The Conceptualization of an Albanian nation”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20 (1) (1997): 123-127.

Milena Mahon, “The Macedonian question in Bulgaria”, *Nations and Nationalism* 4 (3) (1998): 389-393.

Mihai Rusu, Mihai. “(Hi)story-telling the nation: the narrative construction of Romanianism in the late 19th century”, *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 5 (1) (2014): 103-117.

⁴⁶ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 28-29.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 28-29.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 56-61.

⁴⁸ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 28-29.

⁴⁹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 26-46, 66-71.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 25-32.

Europeanise the national past, casting the nation as a martyred defender of European civilisation against an invading Islamic ‘Other’.⁵⁰ While today often discussed in terms of Serb exceptionalism, such Europeanising intent in the nineteenth century shows that Serbian nationalism must be studied within a broader European context. Predić’s 1919 painting represents the apogee of the Kosovo Myth of the Serbian long nineteenth century from the Revolution to the First World War.⁵¹ Indeed, it is quite probably the single most famous image in Serbian culture.⁵²

Slapšak traces the Myth to the immediate fall-out of Prince Lazar of Serbia’s death.⁵³ Lazar was survived by his widow, Queen Milica, who assumed leadership of a perilously fragmented state.⁵⁴ Slapšak contends that, to bolster her authority, Milica sponsored a cult of Lazar alongside that of Saint Petka, a protector of women.⁵⁵ Like other mediaeval states, this Serbia was based on the twin pillars of Church and Crown.⁵⁶ The ruling Nemanjić dynasty had become closely intertwined with Orthodoxy through the canonisation of Saint Sava who, in addition to securing Serbian autocephaly in 1219, was a Nemanja.⁵⁷ The cult of Saint Sava, Serbia’s patron saint, ensured the dynasty was venerated in the frescoes and sermons of the Church even before Kosovo.⁵⁸

Slapšak, “Women’s Memory”, 95-100.

Bieber, “Serb Suffering”, 95-104.

Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 357-371.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 30-31.

⁵² Judah, *History, Myth*, 69.

⁵³ Slapšak, “Women’s Memory”, 107.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 25.

⁵⁷ Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-26.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

The Ottoman conquest was completed in 1459 when, in Judah's words, "the state was swept away... but the Church remained".⁵⁹ This is crucial in the blurring of nation and Orthodoxy in many Balkan nations. For several centuries, the only 'Serb' institution as such venerated the Nemanjić dynasty, including Lazar.⁶⁰ This had a lasting effect on popular culture.⁶¹ As Judah argues, under Ottoman rule the Serbian peasantry came to conceive of the pre-conquest period as a 'Golden Age' and Lazar as a Christ-like martyr.⁶² Consequently, Lazar and the Battle of Kosovo became entwined with narratives of the resurrection.⁶³ Lazar had chosen "the kingdom of heaven" over "the kingdom of earth", as Slapšak puts it.⁶⁴ With the Great Migrations beginning in 1690, the relics of the ancient monasteries of Kosovo, including Lazar's, were translated to Fruška Gora in Habsburg-ruled Srem, where a new Patriarchate was established at Sremski Karlovci.⁶⁵

As Judah notes, self-sacrifice for a higher ideal is hardly unique to Serbian literature.⁶⁶ Likewise, Slapšak outlines similarities with Greek nationalist imagination of the 1453 Fall of Constantinople and Albanian territorial claims based on Illyrian descent.⁶⁷ In addition to other Balkan irredentisms, such construction of an external geographic *lieu de mémoire* merits comparison with the Zionist movement and French Revanchism.⁶⁸

Comparisons could also be drawn with post-1920 'Trianon Trauma' in Hungary, with Armenian imagination of Mount Ararat and with Macedonia's position in Greek and

⁵⁹ Miloš Ivanović, "Militarization of the Serbian State under Ottoman Pressure", *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8 (2) (2019): 401-402.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 25.

⁶⁰ Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-21, 36-37.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 25-27.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 96.

⁶⁵ Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 27.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 37-39.

⁶⁶ Judah, *History, Myth*, 26-27.

⁶⁷ Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 97-99.

⁶⁸ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 194-195, 244-245.

Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 100-103, 110-111, 334-336.

Bulgarian nationalist discourses.⁶⁹ The Ararat comparison is especially compelling with the mountain celebrated as the landing site of Noah's Ark, establishing Armenia as the definitive cradle of civilisation and fusing nation with Christianity in a geographic entity symbolic of timeless endurance.⁷⁰ Evidently, the Kosovo Myth cannot be studied as 'exceptional'.

Such mythologisation equates the resurrection of Serbia with the resurrection of Christ.⁷¹ This equation creates a highly cyclical 'master narrative' of the national past in which defeat is dressed in the holy guise of martyrdom, through which suffering holds promise of future renewal, death of rebirth. When considered in this light, as the product of a society desperately seeking higher meaning behind intense suffering, the Kosovo Myth which so perplexes outside observers becomes a much more human phenomenon. While this does not remotely condone the crimes committed in the name of Kosovo, nor their continued denial, recognition of this fact is important in countering stigmatisation of Serbian history, people and culture in discussion of the subject.

Scholars agree that the nineteenth century was a period of particular importance in the development of the Kosovo Myth. Aleksandar Pavlović and Srđan Atanasovski discuss the Kosovo Myth as an 'invented tradition', drawing from the work of Hobsbawm.⁷² As Judah outlines, Kosovo gained renewed relevance with the Revolution, with singers comparing the uprisings' leaders with the Nemanjić and warriors of Kosovo.⁷³ Visual culture was important

⁶⁹ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 218-219, 249-250, 257-258, 327.

Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: from kings and priests to merchants and commissars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 49-52.

Mahon, "Macedonian question", 389-405.

Loring Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1-178.

⁷⁰ Panossian, *The Armenians*, 49-52.

⁷¹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-21, 36-37.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 25-27.

Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 95-101.

⁷² Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 357-371.

Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-308.

⁷³ Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 28.

in forging such links, with Karađorđe hanging a portrait of Tsar Dušan in his council.⁷⁴ As oral poetry quickly waned, intellectuals sought to compile collections of the oral canon before it was lost.⁷⁵ Most important was Vuk Karadžić who, in addition to reforming the Serbian orthography, would publish an immense number of folk songs and poems between 1814 and 1862.⁷⁶ Karadžić would inspire other scholars, among them Petar II of Montenegro whose contribution to Serbian literature is discussed in Chapter 3.⁷⁷

Karadžić was instrumental in the development of modern Kosovo mythology and his work produced, in Miloš Nemanjić's view, a cultural "revolution".⁷⁸ The poetry collected in his Kosovo Cycle has played a powerful role in shaping imagination of the region.⁷⁹ As Pavlović and Atanasovski note, Karadžić's work built on that of German Romantics like the Brothers Grimm and Gottfried Herder.⁸⁰ Karadžić's research was in-keeping with trends across Central and Eastern Europe where nationalist intellectuals, where lacking a significant corpus of written literature, turned to folk and oral literature in their assemblage of 'national culture'.⁸¹ This propensity is noted in Berger's discussion of Karadžić's work and in Hroch's discussion of Serbian, Bulgarian, Irish, Icelandic, Belarusian, Finnish, Latvian and Estonian nationalist use of folklore, oral literature and nature.⁸² Karadžić's Kosovo Cycle must be studied as a product of European intellectual currents. Indeed, Karadžić won great admiration across Europe, including from German historian Leopold von Ranke.⁸³ Likewise, specific

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Judah, *History, Myth*, 41.

Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 357-362.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 93.

⁷⁷ Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 361.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 357.

Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 208.

⁷⁹ Pavlović & Atanasovski, "Nineteenth Century Intellectuals", 357-371.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 359.

⁸¹ Ibid, 359-360.

⁸² Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 93.

Hroch, *European Nations*, 47-48.

⁸³ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 93.

themes, events and figures are often celebrated in the poetry of multiple Balkan languages.⁸⁴

While Todorova outlines how Kosovo Mythologisation is a Serbian, not Balkan, phenomenon, this shows how the Kosovo phenomenon cannot be treated as exceptional.⁸⁵

Karadžić was selective in his collections, favouring poems on the Kosovo theme with his first publication focusing on those concerning “former Serbian being and name”.⁸⁶ This proclivity reflected growing middle class interest in the Kosovo tradition which became a cultural device through which the emergent Serb state could articulate a single identity and justify its territorial ambitions.⁸⁷ Karadžić’s Kosovo Cycle is, therefore, a product of the rise of nationalism and this nationalism’s need to construct continuity between the Serb state of the nineteenth century and that of the Mediaeval ‘Golden Age’. As Judah puts it, Karadžić gave Serbian nationalism an “intellectual backbone”.⁸⁸

The extent to which this was an ‘invented tradition’ is similarly apparent in the origin of the Kosovo poems, most of which were collected in Fruška Gora, and in Karadžić’s occasional editing of songs.⁸⁹ A consequence of the Great Migrations and relocation of Serbian monasteries to the north, it suggests that the Kosovo Myth was not universal before the nineteenth century.⁹⁰

The Myth became truly ‘national’ through Karadžić’s publications, and those they inspired. In the post-1878 period studied by this thesis, the Myth grew in importance. This

Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 208

⁸⁴ Slapšak, “Women’s Memory”, 99-100.

Margaret Beissinger, “History and the Making of South Slavic Epic”, in *Archaeology and the Homeric Epic*, Susan Sherratt & John Bennet (ed.) (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), 136-139.

⁸⁵ Todorova, *Balkans*, 186.

⁸⁶ Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 363.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 357-371.

⁸⁸ Judah, *History, Myth*, 62.

⁸⁹ Hobsbawm, *Invention of Tradition*, 1-308.

Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 364-370.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 39.

reflected the growing confidence of Serbian nationalism, irredentism especially, and the growing power of the state which sponsored Kosovo commemoration, such as through Vidovdan celebrations, to bind the national community and encourage enthusiasm for national liberation.⁹¹ The five hundredth anniversary of the battle in 1889 proved a major turning point in this respect. Falling in a period of political instability after defeat in the 1885 Serbo-Bulgarian War, the quincentenary proved a welcome distraction for the urban public.⁹² As Judah recounts, in addressing celebrations foreign minister Čedomil Mijatović stated “More important than language and stronger than the Church... The glory of the Kosovo heroes shone like a radiant star in that dark night of almost five hundred years... The new history of Serbia begins with Kosovo – a history of valiant efforts, long suffering, endless wars, and unquenchable glory”.⁹³

This statement encapsulates the position of Kosovo in late nineteenth-century Serbian culture. In a period which saw cultures across Europe imbued with the ‘master narratives’ of nationalist historiography, the Kosovo Myth came to pervade Serbian culture. Kosovo had been prominent in literature throughout the century, as shown in the works of Karadžić but also those of Petar II Petrović-Njegoš, Sima Milutinović Sarajlija and even very obscure works such as Vladimir Vasić’s poems.⁹⁴ However, this trend appears to have intensified from the 1860s, continuing into the 1878-1929 timeframe of this thesis.⁹⁵ The *Kosovo Maiden* of

⁹¹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 49-71.

Bieber, “Serb Suffering”, 95-99.

⁹² Judah, *History, Myth*, 68.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 357-371.

Vladimir Vasić, “Ej Kosovo”, in *Pesme Vladimira Vasića*, pp. 16-17 (Zemun: Štamparijom N. K. Sopronovom, 1865), trans. Vuk Živanović, Digital National Library of Serbia (*Digitalna Narodna Biblioteka Srbije*), accessed 17 June 2021. https://digitalna.nb.rs/wb/NBS/Stara_i_retka_knjiga/Zbirka_knjiga_Stojana_Novakovica/S-I-0046?search_query=Kosovo#page/0/mode/1up.

⁹⁵ Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 57-92.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 70-71.

1919 must be regarded as the culmination of the development of the Kosovo Myth in this period.

While today the Kosovo Myth serves as a symbol of Serbian defiance, contributing to discourses Othering Kosovar Albanians and the LGBT+ community (regarded as a European-backed threat to the Serb nation by the Orthodox Church), in this period the opposite was the case.⁹⁶ Under Milošević, the constructed ‘Other’ was Muslim Bosnians and Albanians (although Albanian nationalism is notably secular, Kosovar Albanians are predominantly Sunni Muslim) and the Catholic Croats.⁹⁷ Between 1878 and 1914, however, the ‘Other’ was the Ottoman Turks.⁹⁸ This attests to the remarkable capacity of Kosovo Mythology for reinvention, as noted by Judah.⁹⁹ This capacity makes its study particularly important for understanding the historical development of the Western Balkans.

Such Othering cast the Ottoman conquest as ripping Serbia from Europe. In this light, independence was a natural return to the European fold, Ottoman rule an interruption – a theme in many Balkan ‘national histories’ of the era.¹⁰⁰ The pre-conquest Empire was thus conceived as a ‘Golden Age’ producing a “uniquely superb national culture” through fusion of Slavic and Byzantine culture.¹⁰¹ It is such narratives which influenced the Serbo-Byzantine

⁹⁶ Irena Ristić, “Serbian Identity and the Concept of Europeanness”, *Panoeconomicus* 52 (2) (2007): 185, 191-195.

Nik Jovčić-Sas, “The Tradition of Homophobia: Responses to Same-Sex Relationships in Serbian Orthodoxy from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day”, in *New Approaches in History and Theology to Same-Sex Love and Desire. Genders and Sexualities in History*, ed. Mark Chapman and Dominic Janes (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 55-56.

⁹⁷ Judah, *History, Myth*, 40, 158.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 37-43.

Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 1-97, 181-242.

Draper, “Albanian Nation”, 125, 130, 135-141.

⁹⁸ Judah, *History, Myth*, 30-89.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 20-158.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 23-24, 37-43.

¹⁰⁰ Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 357-371.

Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 57-92.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-109.

¹⁰¹ Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 57-68, 75-86.

Newman, “Military Relations”, 144-153.

architecture so influential in the era of this thesis' focus.¹⁰² In this 'master narrative', Dušan's empire was destined to become a new Byzantium, a glorious right of which the nation was deprived by the Ottoman conquest.¹⁰³ Thus, Serbia was not just conceptualised as a martyr, but as a martyr for European civilisation.¹⁰⁴ Blurring the concepts of 'European' and 'Christian', an inherently anti-Semitic and Islamophobic characterisation of European identity, is not unique to Serbia. Indeed, Emmanuel Macron's unsubstantiated comments concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina, allegedly a "ticking time bomb" due to returning "jihadists", shows it is a conflation which remains regrettably current.¹⁰⁵

Not only did the Myth serve to imagine continuity between Mediaeval and modern Serbia, bolstering the new state's territorial claims, but it also sought conceptually to re-Europeanise the national collective. In doing so, narratives of Serb sacrifice and Serb suffering courted the sympathy of international audiences, an aim reflected in many of the paintings discussed in this thesis. This Myth, which is so often regarded as exceptional, was in the nineteenth century intimately tied to Europeanisation. Equally, its development raises far reaching parallels across the continent. This shows how Serbian history can only be understood in terms of wider European cultural currents.

The rest of this chapter will be devoted to analysis of *Kosovo Maiden* using Burke's three-tiered method. "Preiconographical description" and "iconographical analysis" will be tackled here but "iconographical interpretation" will be spread between this chapter and

¹⁰² Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

Ignjatović, "Vidovdan Temple", 828-858.

Bogdanović, "Zenitist Avant-Garde", 299-317.

Miloš Jovanović, "'The city in our hands': urban management and contested modernity in nineteenth-century Belgrade", *Urban History* 40 (1) (2013): 47-50.

¹⁰³ Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-109.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

Ristić, "Serbian Identity", 185-195.

¹⁰⁵ Danijel Kovacevic, "Bosnia Demands Explanation for Macron's 'Time-Bomb' Remark", *BalkanInsight*, 8 November 2019, accessed 18 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/08/bosnia-demands-explanation-for-macrons-time-bomb-remark/>.

Chapter 6. This chapter argues that *Kosovo Maiden* represents the visual apogee of nineteenth century Kosovo Mythologisation, the significance of which has already been addressed. As Filipovitch-Robinson notes, in the post-1878 period both Uroš Predić and Đorđe Krstić found inspiration in the Kosovo epics.¹⁰⁶ Due to its comparatively greater importance and the limitations of the word count, this chapter focuses on Predić's *Kosovo Maiden* of 1919.



Figure 1. Uroš Predić, *Kosovo Maiden* ('*Kosovska Devojka*'), c. 1919. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*') through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 20 June 2021.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kosovo_Maiden,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87,_1919.jpg.

¹⁰⁶ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 319-320.

In terms of ‘preiconographical description’, Predić depicts a woman and a wounded man. In ‘conventional meaning’, this woman is a figure celebrated throughout Serbian poetry.¹⁰⁷ As Filipovitch-Robinson notes, Predić’s depiction mirrors closely the song *The Battle of Kosovo*.¹⁰⁸ The maiden comes to the Field of Blackbirds searching for her betrothed only to find he has fallen in the battle.¹⁰⁹ Observing the destruction around her, the maiden offers wine, bread and water to the wounded warriors, as depicted here.¹¹⁰ The maiden and wounded hero are the very centre of the image. Surrounded by an almost apocalyptic battle scene, the warrior supported by the corpse of another, the two figures sit bathed in the warm glow of a setting sun. The golden aura surrounding them creates a sense of holiness, appropriate for a cultural phenomenon so firmly fused with Christian imagery, but also implies the end of an era. As day precedes night, so too did the sacrificial glory at Kosovo Field precede “that dark night”, as Čedomil Mijatović termed Ottoman rule, in nationalist imagination.¹¹¹ The setting sun therefore symbolises the closing of the ‘Golden Age’ that was, in the ‘master narrative’ of nationalist historiography, prematurely curtailed by conquest.

Both figures embody highly gendered ideals. The warrior represents an ideal constructed through epic literature of the self-sacrificing tragic hero fallen in defence of a higher power – in this painting, the nation. The warrior’s sword, while dropped symbolising defeat, is stained by blood. Although defeated, the warrior resisted. In this respect, he embodies the ideal of resistance and self-sacrifice in pursuit of the higher aim of national salvation.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 320-322.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 68.

The maiden embodies a patriarchal archetype of Serbian womanhood. She is not portrayed in the guise of national resistance but as caring for the warrior wounded in the nation's defence. This reflects the restriction of women to maternal and symbolic roles in the nationalist narratives of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹¹² She is, in this respect, an ideal of maternity and compassion, reflecting the discourses underpinning both nationalism and patriarchy. In terms of 'iconographical interpretation', the two figures embody nationalist ideals of Serbian manhood, and womanhood, respectively.

Slapšak has written about the female narratives within the Kosovo Cycle.¹¹³ According to Slapšak, such narratives critical of needless sacrifice were overlooked in the writing of history and literature in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ This was due to the rigidly patriarchal nature of European societies in this period, which reduced women to maternal and symbolic roles within the highly restrictive bourgeois family model.¹¹⁵ Such silencing of women's voices was in Serbia tied to the decline of *slepice*, female story-tellers and singers.¹¹⁶ Accordingly, the Kosovo Myth of late nineteenth-century imagination was not just synthesised with Orthodox belief and national 'master narrative', but it was also completely male-dominated.¹¹⁷ In terms of 'iconographical analysis' then, Predić's *Kosovo Maiden* is a product of the highly nationalistic 'male gaze' of the era. More than this, it embodies the values of the Kosovo Myth in terms of heroism and self-sacrifice outlined earlier in this chapter.

In terms of the Kosovo Myth as a Europeanising device, the painting captures the moment when, in Serbian nationalist thought of the Belle Époque, the nation was ripped from

¹¹² Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 125-128.

¹¹³ Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 95-109.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 100-109.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 103, 109.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 103.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 95-109.

Europe and robbed of its glorious destiny. The painting is thus an image of great importance in Serbian culture, demonstrating both the relevance, and benefit, of engaging with visual sources in the study of nationalism.

Chapter 2:

History is Cyclical: Depictions of Migration & the Nation as Martyr

If there is an image which rivals *Kosovo Maiden* in its cultural importance in Serbia, then it is Paja Jovanović's 1896 *Migration of the Serbs*. Indeed, it is the only image to have featured in every Serbian history textbook of the twentieth century.¹¹⁸ Migration is a central theme in cyclical interpretations of Serbia's past with migration and Kosovo Mythology together creating a lens through which the national past is constructed and national suffering understood. Discussion of nationalist portrayal of migration will focus on two images, Jovanović's 1896 *Migration of the Serbs* and Predić's *Refugees from the Herzegovina Uprising of 1889*.

Building on the previous chapter, this chapter contends that migration was central in Serbian nationalism's construction of unbroken continuity between the Mediaeval and nineteenth century Serb states. This 'master narrative' was supported by a mythologisation of continuous struggle against the invading Ottoman Other and played a crucial role in inculcating Serbian nationalist feeling, thereby bolstering the state's irredentist territorial claims. These narratives are embodied in visual sources, demonstrating their importance in nationalist expression. These paintings reflect how Serbian art developed within a European intellectual sphere as an avenue for the export of nationalist narratives, raising awareness and sympathy for national liberation.

¹¹⁸ Resanović, "Serbian sites of memory", 397.



Figure 2. Paja Jovanović, *Migration of the Serbs* ('*Seoba Srba*'), c. 1896. Oil on canvas, 126 x 190 cm. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*'), 1970, p. 32, through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Serbmigra.jpg>.

Migration of the Serbs was commissioned by the Serbian Church at Sremski Karlovci, the subject picked by Patriarch Georgije Branković himself, for display at the Budapest Millennium Exhibition of 1895.¹¹⁹ In terms of 'iconographical analysis' of 'conventional meaning', the painting depicts the first of the Great Migrations. The 'Great Migrations' were a series of movements from Ottoman ruled 'Old Serbia' to Habsburg lands to the North between the late seventeenth and mid eighteenth centuries.¹²⁰ Migration is likewise important in Albanian nationalist discourses which claim legitimacy through descent from the Balkans'

¹¹⁹ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 42.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 323-325.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Modernity", 125.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 1-2.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 27, 30-31.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*.

Antić, *Serbia*, 104-111.

Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 98.

pre-Slavic inhabitants.¹²¹ Such narratives Europeanised the national community during the National Awakening and, under Communism, justified a totalitarian cultural revolution.¹²² In Serbian discourses, the place of the Muslim ‘Other’ in the Great Migrations reinforces the entanglement of Serbian religious and national identity in conceptualising the national past.¹²³ Specifically, this painting depicts Archbishop Arsenije III of Peć leading the First Great Migration in 1690. Archbishop Arsenije is central, surrounded by Serbian warriors, civilians and their livestock. In ‘conventional meaning’, it forms a panorama of the nation on its journey from Kosovo to Srem. In ‘intrinsic meaning’, the nation flees persecution to rise again.

The image must be seen as a declaration of national survival. The centrality of clerics and warriors represents the endurance both of Serbian faith and Serbian resistance. The depiction to the right of the two clerics of a woman holding an infant, repeating maternal tropes of women’s role in the national community, symbolises the nation’s survival and the rebirth of the national church in Srem.¹²⁴ Specifically, this symbolises the resurrection of the Kosovan monasteries in the North following the Great Migrations. This is relevant to the nineteenth century Kosovo Myth as the monasteries of Fruška Gora, as discussed in Chapter 1, provided many of the epic poems recorded in Karadžić’s Kosovo Cycle.¹²⁵ Such imagery ties the establishment of the Patriarchate of Sremski Karlovci with the nation’s survival,

¹²¹ Ibid, 98.

Enika Abazi & Alberta Doja, “From the Communist point of view: Cultural hegemony and folkloric manipulation in Albanian studies under socialism”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49 (2) (2016): 165-166-171.

Goldwyn, “Poetry”, 508, 511-512.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Judah, *History, Myth*, 30-46, 158.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 27, 30-31, 37-43.

¹²⁴ Slapšak, “Women’s Memory”, 95-109.

Jill Vickersl & Athanasia Vouloukos, “Changing Gender/Nation Relations: Women’s Roles in Making and Restructuring the Greek Nation-State”, *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics* 13 (4) (2007): 501-521.

Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 125-128.

¹²⁵ Pavlović & Atanasovski, “Nineteenth Century Intellectuals”, 364-368.

reflecting the perceived unity of Serbdom and Orthodoxy sustained by the Kosovo phenomenon but which was also doubtless beneficial to the Patriarch commissioning the painting.

In terms of ‘iconographical interpretation’ of ‘intrinsic meaning’, the underlying meaning of the image is clear: that the Serbian presence in Vojvodina is legitimate and that the Serb nation endures. In depicting before the combined audience of the Kingdom of Hungary the origins of the Patriarchate through the Great Migrations, the painting asserts the legitimacy of the Serbian presence within the Kingdom, and Serbians’ contribution to its development.¹²⁶

The theme of migration asserts parity between Serbs and Hungarians. The Budapest Exhibition celebrated the millennial anniversary of the nomadic Magyars’ conquest of the Carpathian Basin following their migration from the Pontic Steppe.¹²⁷ Migration was thus important in the Hungarian ‘master narrative’, as reflected in Árpád Feszty’s painting *Arrival of the Hungarians* submitted for the Exhibition.¹²⁸ In depicting the Great Migrations, it is probable the Patriarch intended to assert Serb parity in subtle defiance of the Magyarisation policies of the 1875-1890 government of Kálmán Tisza.¹²⁹ The rise of Yugoslavism was, somewhat ironically, connected to Magyarisation with culturally repressive policies in the Kingdom of Hungary spurring cooperation between Serb and Croat nationalists.¹³⁰ Indeed, Filipovitch-Robinson suggests the painting was deliberately conceived to rival Feszty’s work, as well as several Croat submissions.¹³¹ This demonstrates how nationalist historical

¹²⁶ Filipovitch-Robinson, “War and Peace”, 42.

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 323-325.

¹²⁷ Filipovitch-Robinson, “War and Peace”, 42.

Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 114-115, 158, 204, 218-219.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

See Appendix 1, p. 94.

¹²⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 103-106.

¹³⁰ Judah, *History, Myth*, 93-95.

¹³¹ Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 323-324.

narratives influenced Serbian visual culture and how Serbian painting was used to project such narratives before wider European audiences. The painting was intended to be shown with an educational presentation of the history of the Serb community in Vojvodina, reinforcing the ‘master narrative’ behind Predić’s work.¹³² This, combined with the painting’s apparent contestation of Croat and Hungarian nationalist history, shows once more how Serbian nationalism in this period developed within a broader European context.

The depiction of warrior and infant holds promise of inter-generational resistance, creating an image highly symbolic of national endurance. This is the case as, upon close observation, it becomes apparent that these two figures’ eyes, unlike those of the other figures, are locked with those of the viewer. Their gaze is hard and straightforward, suggesting unwavering determination. The warrior, as in many of the paintings analysed in this thesis, represents a national, male ideal. He is wounded but remains armed with both sword and musket at-hand. Although retreating, the warrior promises to continue resistance. This reflects the nationalist narratives of the Kosovo Myth in their cyclical construction of the national past and promise of salvation from defeat. That the infant shares this gaze implies that, if the warrior is unsuccessful, another generation will assume the task of national salvation. The warrior and infant embody the martial and Christian symbolism inherent to late nineteenth century Kosovo mythologisation. This is a powerful assertion when considering the context, both in terms of Serbian irredentism and the circumstances of ethnic minorities during Magyarisation. Likewise, it reflects common semiotic use of infants to represent purity and renewal, a motif common to many cultures.

Cultural mythologisation of the Great Migrations, of which this painting is the most renowned example, reinforces the blurring of nation and faith. The panorama created by

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Modernity”, 125.

¹³² Filipovitch-Robinson, “War and Peace”, 42.

Jovanović depicts, in effect, a Serb Exodus. Where the Israelites were condemned to the desert, in Serbian nationalist imagination the nation was condemned to conquest. Such religious imagery is fitting for a painting commissioned by ecclesiastical authorities and serves to sanctify the national community. The painting thus epitomises the Church's claim to embody the nation, emphasising its origins in mythologised 'Old Serbia'. This is noted also by Judah, who observes that the composition places Arsenije in the guise of Moses.¹³³

The painting was ultimately not shown in Budapest – its sponsors insisted it be revised to add greater emphasis to political figures.¹³⁴ However, it is the original, used here, which has become iconic.¹³⁵ The painting instead debuted at the 1900 Paris World Exposition.¹³⁶ This renowned painting shows how Serbian nationalism developed within, and to a degree for, a wider European environment. It embodies cultural mythologisation of Kosovo in the period and the highly cyclical 'master narrative' of national sacrifice and resurrection it inspired and sustained.

The same is true of Predić's 1889 *Refugees from the Herzegovina Uprising*. Along with the 1876 April Uprising in Bulgaria, the Herzegovinian Uprising was an important trigger of the Great Eastern Crisis.¹³⁷ This crisis saw significant regional intervention by major European powers.¹³⁸ It resulted in the formal independence of Romania, Montenegro and Serbia, Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the creation of an

¹³³ Judah, *History, Myth*, 1.

¹³⁴ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 42-43.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 323-324.

¹³⁷ Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008), 110-123, 205-207.

Glenny, *The Balkans*, 70-151.

Antić, *Serbia*, 167-170.

Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream. The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923* (London: John Murray (Publishers), 2006), 447-487.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

autonomous Bulgaria and seriously weakened the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁹ The crisis saw serious atrocities and widespread civilian displacement on all sides.¹⁴⁰ While religious and national tensions were important factors, economic factors cannot be overlooked with agricultural disruption inducing Ottoman default in 1875.¹⁴¹ International creditors, primarily Western European, imposed austerity measures, straining inter-communal relations beyond breaking point.¹⁴² While sometimes overlooked, economic factors were similarly significant in the failure of Yugoslavia.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Judah, *History, Myth*, 136-158.

Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 184-202.
Antić, *Serbia*, 268-276.



Figure 3. Uroš Predić, *Refugees from the Herzegovina Uprising* ('Hercegovački begunci'), c. 1889. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('Narodni Muzej Srbije'), through: narodnimuzej.rs. Accessed: 20 June 2021. <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/new-age-and-modern-period/collection-of-serbian-18th-and-19th-century-painting/?lang=en>.

Like *Migration of the Serbs*, the painting depicts national migration, creating an assertive image of endurance. In terms of 'conventional meaning', the painting shows Serbian refugees fleeing to safety in the aftermath of the 1875-77 Herzegovinian Uprising. The figures depicted are highly individualistic with women, children and men all present. While defeated and dejected, they remain stoic as they cross the mountain pass.

As in *Migration of the Serbs*, two figures are depicted looking forward with a piercing gaze. The two figures are the heavily armed warrior in the centre, and the young boy to his

right, who is pictured holding hands with his visibly dejected mother. Both in the stoic gaze of the warrior, and that of the child, the painting asserts the nation's present and future survival, as in *Migration of the Serbs*. This message of endurance is seen also in the birds circling in the distance. In addition to the eagle being Serbia's national bird, heroes are often depicted as "falcons" in Serbian poetry, as seen in Vasić's poem *Ej Kosovo*.¹⁴⁴ The 'intrinsic meaning' of this image is clear: that defeat is temporary and migration is not an end. It amounts to an assertive declaration of national survival in the face of the hardship of the 1870s. This was a highly political message in the context of the ongoing liberation struggle and tensions over Bosnia and Herzegovina. In its heroic depiction of Herzegovinian refugees, this painting shows how displacement was interpreted in the period, projecting an image of resilience in the face of adversity.

The painting was produced only a decade after these events and should be considered in commemorative terms. This emphasises the resilience of the national people while contesting Austria-Hungary's claims to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such nationalist narratives are of great relevance due to the influence they exerted on the members of the Black Hand and Young Bosnia, leading directly to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in 1914.¹⁴⁵ The Black Hand, officially 'Unification or Death', was a radical nationalist clique of army officers formed following the 1908-1909 Bosnian Annexation Crisis.¹⁴⁶ Many of its members held leading roles in the deposition of King Aleksandar Obrenović in 1903.¹⁴⁷ It should not be confused with the White Hand which was formed by Aleksandar Karađorđević as a counter-weight in the military.¹⁴⁸ The White Hand was from 1917 the pre-eminent military

¹⁴⁴ Vasić, "Ej Kosovo", *Pesme Vladimira Vasića*, 17.

¹⁴⁵ Antić, *Serbia*, 228-231.

Newman, "Military Relations", 139-155.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 140-148.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 148.

faction and, in its steadfast loyalty to Aleksandar Karađorđević, played an active role in the establishment of the royal dictatorship in 1929.¹⁴⁹

Discussion of images of migration in Serbian culture is important in understanding interpretation of more recent conflict. Judah has commented on this point, observing that Serbs viewed the displacement of ethnic Serbs during the 1991-1995 Croatian War of Independence through the lens of the Great Migrations.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, the chronology of Serbia's national past provided in the volume edited by Janićijević quite literally begin with the Slavic migrations of the sixth century CE.¹⁵¹ Migration is, therefore, a recurrent theme in Serbian culture. It is a phenomenon intimately connected with mythologisation of Kosovo and with very real suffering, a thing of which Serbians have seen more than their fair share. Visual depiction of migration, and the narratives such depictions embody, are closely tied to the liberation struggle of the nineteenth century and the European context within which nationalism evolved. Understanding Serbian images of migration is crucial in understanding Serbian nationalism of the nineteenth century as well as the tragic events of the 1990s.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 148-155.

¹⁵⁰ Judah, *History, Myth*, 40.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 43.

¹⁵¹ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 17.

Chapter 3:

Mythologising the ‘Land of the Black Mountain’: Orientalism and ‘Internal Othering’ in Paja Jovanović’s Montenegrin Scenes

Montenegro is the single most overlooked state in the writing of Balkan history. This stems from its size but also, like neglect of Macedonia and Slovenia, from its relative avoidance of bloodshed during the Yugoslav Wars.¹⁵² Historians’ neglect of Montenegro thus stems, in part, from a problematic emphasis on the conflict of the 1990s reflecting ‘Balkanist’ tropes of ethnic strife. Discussion of Montenegro is, therefore, important in moving historiography beyond this narrow framework to reflect the full nuance of South Eastern European historical experience.

Montenegro is directly relevant to this thesis as it is, like Kosovo, highly romanticised in nationalist Serbian cultural and historical discourses. While the ‘Kosovo Myth’ has been studied in great depth, Montenegro is largely ignored in Anglophone literature creating an academic corpus that is, at best, lop-sided. This chapter’s discussion of Montenegro will help to redress this imbalance. Moreover, its focus on Orientalist painting demonstrates how Serbian nationalism was imagined and constructed through active adaptation of Western media. This shows again how the phenomenon must be treated in a wider European context, rather than as exceptional.

This chapter contends that Montenegro has been imagined in the guise of a warrior ideal to spur those fighting for national liberation, and to support the ‘master narrative’ of national continuity between the Mediaeval Serbian Empire and the Serb state established

¹⁵² Glenny, *Yugoslavia*, 235-242.
Danforth, *Macedonian Conflict*, 142,

following the 1804-1817 Revolution. This narrative of continuity rests heavily on narratives of Christian resistance against a Muslim Other, reflecting the perceived fusion of nation and Orthodoxy seen in the preceding chapters. The history of the Western Balkans, including Serbian nationalism, must account for this mythologisation of Montenegro, as well as Kosovo. Such mythologisation is immediately apparent in nineteenth century Serbian visual culture, in Orientalist painting most notably.

Montenegro was never conquered by the Ottomans.¹⁵³ This gave nineteenth century Montenegro a tradition of independence without equal in the region.¹⁵⁴ In the twentieth century, this legacy has been used by Montenegrin nationalists to imagine a historically distinct national community.¹⁵⁵ Serbian nationalism has used this legacy to construct the region as a refuge of the nation during Ottoman rule.¹⁵⁶ Montenegro in Serbian nationalist discourses has thus been conceived as a kind of “Serbian Sparta” marked by its racial and religious purity – a “Little Zion” home to the “best of Serbs”.¹⁵⁷ Such racial idealisation of Montenegro, also seen in inter-war ‘Dinaric Man’ theory in Chapter 6, shows how Western racial pseudo-science influenced the articulation of Serbian identity in this period.¹⁵⁸

Montenegro has been constructed as an Orthodox ideal due to its religious government – until the founding of the Principality in 1858, Montenegro was governed by a

¹⁵³ Antić, *Serbia*, 112-117.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 63.

Srdja Pavlović, “Literature, Social Poetics, and Identity Construction in Montenegro”, *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17 (1) (2003): 131-134.

Emil Hilton Saggau, “A Shrine for the Nation: The Material Transformation of the Lovćen Site in Montenegro”, *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies* 20 (5) (2018): 495-497.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132-157.

Saggau, “Lovćen”, 495-509.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132-152.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 32-34.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 63-65, 75-77.

¹⁵⁷ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132, 141-142.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 65.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 66.

Prince-Bishop, or *vladika*.¹⁵⁹ By the nineteenth century, this position was held by the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty.¹⁶⁰ This combination of independence and religious governance has been adapted in Serb nationalist historiography to construct a ‘master narrative’ that sees Montenegro’s history as one of continuous national resistance against the invading Muslim Other.¹⁶¹ As the Kosovo Myth came to legitimise the re-emergence of a Serb state in the nineteenth century and the irredentist vision embodied by the *Načertanije*, so too was mythologisation of Montenegro central in imaging national continuity from the Mediaeval Serbian Empire to the nascent nation-state.

The 1846 poem *Gorski Vijenac* (‘The Mountain Wreath’) of Petar II Petrović-Njegoš was pivotal in nationalist imagination, Srđa Pavlović favours “appropriation”, of Montenegro and Montenegrins in the period.¹⁶² The immensely influential poem recounts an event in the eighteenth century where Metropolitan Danilo led the killing of Muslim Montenegrins.¹⁶³ Interpretation of the poem varies, with some (among them Pavlović) arguing the text is metaphorical, focusing on human nature rather than a literal event.¹⁶⁴ Conversely, some regard the poem as a call to violence, viewing it as symptomatic of a culture that normalises sectarian violence.¹⁶⁵ Serbian nationalist discourses generally frame the text as evidence of the continued Serb character of Montenegro, and as emblematic of Montenegro’s centuries-

¹⁵⁹ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132-133.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 132-152.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 32-34.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 63-65, 75-77.

Saggau, “Lovćen”, 495-509.

¹⁶² Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 144-152.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 75-77.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 208.

¹⁶⁴ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 144-152.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

long battle for Serb liberation.¹⁶⁶ Such is the significance of the text that Gavrilo Princip, the infamous assassin of Franz Ferdinand, could recite from memory the poem in its entirety.¹⁶⁷

Before beginning analysis, the complexity of identity in Montenegro, and its wider relevance, must be addressed. The relationship between Montenegrin and Serbian identity is acutely complicated, as outlined by Erin Jenne and Florian Bieber.¹⁶⁸ In the nineteenth century, Montenegro was a tribal society where, if people recognised a ‘national’ affiliation, it would be as Serbs in the religious sense.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, the Petrović-Njegoš were committed to Serb liberation.¹⁷⁰ As such, there were three dynasties vying for leadership of the Serbian nation in the nineteenth century and such competing claims could spark tension between Belgrade and Cetinje.¹⁷¹

In 1858 Montenegro, with formal border demarcation agreed with the Porte, attained *de facto* Ottoman recognition.¹⁷² *De jure* recognition followed in 1878, a constitution in 1905.¹⁷³ With the establishment of Montenegro’s parliament tensions around identity grew, where previously political tensions primarily concerned the relationship between autonomous tribal leaders and the centralising national government.¹⁷⁴ From 1905, the People’s Party (*Narodna Stranka*) generally pursued union with Serbia while the True People’s Party (*Prava Narodna Stranka*) generally upheld Prince, from 1910 King, Nikola Petrović-Njegoš’ vision of a Montenegro within the Serbian nation but independent of the Serb state.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 34.

¹⁶⁸ Erin Jenne & Florian Bieber, “Situational Nationalism: Nation-building in the Balkans, Subversive Institutions and the Montenegrin Paradox”, *Ethnopolitics* 13 (15) (2014): 431-454.

¹⁶⁹ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 133-134.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 132-138.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid, 133.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 135.

Glenny, *Balkans*, 149.

¹⁷⁴ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 135-136.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 135-137.

In 1918, Montenegro joined the emerging Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes following the decision of the Podgorica Assembly.¹⁷⁶ It became, in effect, a province of Serbia.¹⁷⁷ The Assembly's decision was rejected as unconstitutional by King Nikola's government-in-exile and its supporters, who became known as 'Greens' (*Zelenaši*).¹⁷⁸ Conversely, the 'Whites' (*Bjelaši*) regarded union as the logical culmination of Serb liberation and an inevitable consequence of Yugoslav unification.¹⁷⁹ This division focused on questions of Montenegro's political status and its ethno-national character, and bears similarities to tensions between Macedonian and Bulgarian nationalism, as noted by many scholars.¹⁸⁰ This division defines Montenegrin politics to the present day, as shown by the acrimonious dispute over Montenegrin autocephaly and long-running contestation of the tomb of Petar II at Mount Lovćen.¹⁸¹ In addition to demonstrating that 'identity politics' is anything but a new phenomenon, this attests to the pressing need to study Serbian nationalist imagination of Montenegro, not just Kosovo.

In painting, Serbian depictions of Montenegro are generally romanticised images of clan warriors depicted in the Orientalist style. The most important painter in this field is undoubtedly Paja Jovanović – indeed, Filipovitch-Robinson claims his “career was built” on Orientalist scenes.¹⁸² However, Jovanović departs from other Orientalists in his depiction of something very familiar to him, drawing from profound personal experience and

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 137-138.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 54, 106-107, 165-166.

Hroch, *European Nations*, 70-71, 192, 269

Mahon, “Macedonian question”, 389-405.

Ilka Thiessen, *Waiting for Macedonia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 23-44.

Theodora Dragostinova, “Continuity vs. Radical break: national homogenization campaigns in the Greek-Bulgarian borderlands before and after the Balkan Wars”, *Journal of Genocide Research* 18 (4) (2016): 406-421.

¹⁸¹ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132-157.

Saggau, “Lovćen”, 495-509.

¹⁸² Filipovitch-Robinson, “Exploring Modernity”, 123.

knowledge.¹⁸³ Equally, his images of Montenegrins depart from earlier Serbian works, such as those of Đura Jakšić, in their compelling realism and detail, in contrast to Jakšić's highly romanticised portrayal.¹⁸⁴

Examination of Jovanović's Montenegrin paintings will focus on three works proceeding chronologically from *The Wounded Montenegrin* of 1882 to *The Fencing Lesson* of 1884 and, finally, to *The Sword Dance* of 1890, alternatively known as *The Fencing Game*. The most detailed analysis will be of *The Wounded Montenegrin*, a painting of particular importance in Jovanović's international professional development and which is particularly illustrative of the trends discussed by this chapter.¹⁸⁵

Jovanović's audience was truly European. While drawing inspiration from Serbian nationalist imagination of Montenegrins, his style was that of the Realist and Orientalist traditions in which he was trained at Vienna.¹⁸⁶ Many of his Orientalist scenes were painted for Western institutions with Jovanović winning a notable commission from London's French Gallery in 1883.¹⁸⁷ Drawing on his deep knowledge of the region, the characters of his paintings are depicted, in ethnographic terms, very accurately.¹⁸⁸ This is the result of significant field research.¹⁸⁹ Such research was strongly encouraged by the Vienna Academy in which Jovanović trained, by renowned history painter Leopold Muller especially, while his larger scenes show the influence of Christian Gripenkerl.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸³ Ibid, 122-125.

¹⁸⁴ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 37-38

See Appendix 2, p. 95.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 35-41.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 122-132.

¹⁸⁶ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 122-132.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 124-125.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 123.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 122-125.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 35-41, 44.

As Filipovitch-Robinson observes, Jovanović's Montenegrin paintings reflected wider interest in the Balkans produced by the Great Eastern Crisis.¹⁹¹ They present an idealised image of Serbian martial valour drawing from a tradition of cultural romanticisation of Montenegro and Montenegrin clansmen of clear contemporary resonance in aftermath of the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War.¹⁹² These paintings thus reflect growing outside interest in the Balkans and the efforts of Serbian nationalism to frame itself in a guise to which Western audiences would be receptive, thereby generating sympathy for Serbian irredentism.¹⁹³ While, as Antić notes, Serbia spent most of the nineteenth century at peace, national liberation, embodied by the *Načertanije*, remained the guiding goal of Serbian nationalism.¹⁹⁴ Such paintings are, therefore, of clear relevance to the era's 'master narrative' and demonstrate again how Serbian nationalism was conceptualised, before both a domestic and international audience, through creative use of originally Western modes of expression.

¹⁹¹ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 38.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 35-41.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 124-125.

Glenny, *The Balkans*, 70-248.

¹⁹³ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 35-50.

¹⁹⁴ Antić, *Serbia*, 167-168.

Newman, "Military Relations", 143.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 56-61.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 28-29.



Figure 4. Paja Jovanović, *The Wounded Montenegrin* ('*Ranjeni Crnogorac*'), c. 1882. Oil on canvas, 114 x 186 cm. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*'), 1970, p. 30, through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovi%C4%87;Ranjeni_Crnogorac_.jpg.

The Wounded Montenegrin focuses on the anti-Turkish wars of the 1870s and thus had clear contemporary relevance upon its completion in 1882. Its composition is very complex in terms of light, perspective and the positioning of figures. The focus is the namesake wounded warrior whose positioning draws the viewer's focus down and to the left. The warrior lies disarmed with his musket at his feet and badly wounded, the blood-stained white of his sash evoking conflict, suffering and loss of innocence (something alluded to also by the warrior's youth). It is the suffering of the young man that provokes the viewer with the youthful, Christ-like figure contrasting sharply with the elderly man running to his aid and the faceless young woman to the left. In this respect, the young warrior resembles that in Predić's *Kosovo Maiden*, painted nearly four decades later. This emphasises sacrifice and loss of youth in recent armed conflict. As such, the painting is simultaneously commemorative

and propagandistic, working to generate sympathy in domestic and international audiences for the cause of national liberation for which this idealised highlander fought.

In terms of gender, this is a very male painting focusing on a male ideal of the highland warrior. This is clear in the multiple male figures and in their characteristic traditional dress and heavy armament. By this time, such traditional dress must have embodied a timeless and romanticised ideal of the clansman viewed and constructed through an urban gaze, meriting comparison with portrayal of highland people in Albania and the nations of Britain. Montenegro's inseparability from Serb resistance to the Ottoman conquest in nationalist history writing ensures that such figures represented a centuries-long, ongoing, battle for liberation. This attests to the resonance of the painting, produced only a few years after the Great Eastern crisis, as does its prize-winning reception on the Viennese art scene.¹⁹⁵

The young woman to the left of the warrior, presumably his wife, is the only prominent female character in the tableau. This reflects the painting's emphasis on a masculine ideal, something reinforced by her face being covered by her hair, in contrast to the detailed and expressive faces around her. While her pose conveys grief, with her face covered she remains impersonal. In this guise, she reflects a stylistic trope reducing women to passive victims of war whereas men are portrayed, as here, as combatants.

This character should be seen as embodying the nation and its suffering. In nationalist discourses, women are frequently reduced only to mothers of the nation's children (and thus, as here, its defenders) while nations are frequently personified in female guise.¹⁹⁶ Her dress and pose also seem suggestive of youth, emphasising innocent suffering. The woman embodies the young Serb nation's suffering in pursuit of liberation during the 1870s. This

¹⁹⁵ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 35-41.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 122-125.

¹⁹⁶ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 125-128.

shows how the depiction has a dual intent of commemorating those suffering in the pursuit of national liberation, and in generating international sympathy for the Serbian cause.

The Wounded Montenegrin was an incredibly successful painting, winning its creator both the Vienna Academy prize and a scholarship from the Austrian government.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the French Gallery in London would only a year later commission several Orientalist paintings from Jovanović.¹⁹⁸ This image reflects a mythologising national gaze constructing the Montenegrin warrior as a Christ-like martyr in defence of the freedom of the national collective while the young woman represents the idealised victim of the nation's plight.

The image is compelling due to the detailed and individualistic composition of figures within the assemblage. As such, this image is a product both of Serbian nationalist imagination of Montenegro and Jovanović's Austrian education. It projects, to both a Serbian and European audience, an idealised image of Serbia's struggle to complete national liberation. The theme depicted was of intense contemporary relevance so shortly after the Great Eastern Crisis and formal recognition of Serbia and Montenegro's independence in 1878.¹⁹⁹ It shows how Serbian culture idealised, even "appropriated", Montenegrins to construct a 'master narrative' of national continuity and continuous resistance.²⁰⁰ The painting is thus emblematic of a process of mythologisation that closely resembles, both in content and significance, that of Kosovo. This must be recognised to understand Serbian nationalism in the period studied in this thesis, but also political tensions within modern Montenegro.

¹⁹⁷ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 123.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 124-125.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 122-125.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 35-41.

Glenny, *Balkans*, 149.

²⁰⁰ Pavlović, "Identity Construction", 132-157.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 63-66, 75-77.



Figure 5. Paja Jovanović, *The Fencing Lesson* ('*Cas macevanje*'), c. 1884. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. Original collection of origin not provided (Retrieved from: <http://www.yuorpe.com/people/nena/Galerija/macevanj.jpg>), through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovic;Cas_macevanje.jpg.



Figure 6. Paja Jovanović, *The Sword Dance or Fencing Game* (Serbian Title not provided), c. pre 1900. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From unspecified private collection., through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Joanovitch_Paul_\(1859%E2%80%931957\)_The_Sword_Dance,_Private_Collection.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Joanovitch_Paul_(1859%E2%80%931957)_The_Sword_Dance,_Private_Collection.jpg).

The Fencing Lesson of 1884 and *The Sword Dance* of 1890, both shown above, are similar to *The Wounded Montenegrin* in style, content and message. Both images are, again, very male and focus on depicting an idealised, Orientalised, image of the warrior. In both images, clansmen and swords are central, reflecting again a narrative of continuous conflict, resistance and endurance. While again it must be stressed that violence did not define Serbian experience of the nineteenth century, the influence of nationalist narratives of continuous struggle cannot be overlooked.²⁰¹

Such images are metaphors for national survival under Ottoman rule, tying the post-Revolutionary Serb nation, of which Montenegro was by most considered a part, to the pre-conquest Mediaeval polity and ‘Golden Age’.²⁰² This is particularly apparent in *The Fencing Lesson* which depicts the training of a young boy surrounded by elderly warriors and women with children. The effect of this depiction is to emphasise once more the trope of women as mothers of the nation’s defenders, and to show inter-generational Montenegrin resistance in a timeless struggle for national salvation.²⁰³

In both paintings, we see again how characters are constructed with great detail to create a compelling, yet timeless, image of the Montenegrin highlander. The painter uses the Orientalist style of the Vienna Academy to visualise the nationalist narratives upholding Montenegro as a Serb ideal. This style, which won Jovanović great acclaim across Europe, uses an originally Western aesthetic in a new context.²⁰⁴ Here, the Orientalist style is used to depict that which is proximate and familiar, rather than the exotic – something Filipovitch-Robinson also observes.²⁰⁵ The effect is a kind of ‘internal Othering’ or ‘internal

²⁰¹ Antić, *Serbia*, 167-168.

²⁰² Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132.

²⁰³ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 125-128.

²⁰⁴ Filipovitch-Robinson, “War and Peace”, 35-41.

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Exploring Modernity”, 122-125.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Orientalising’ in which Montenegro and its inhabitants were conceived and ‘imagined’ through the lens of the Serbian nationalist ‘master narrative’. The effect is that, like Kosovo, Montenegro existed not just as a place or society, but as a cultural phenomenon and ideal.

This narrative of continuous resistance, like those surrounding the Battle of Kosovo and Great Migrations, united Serbian national history into a single chronological progression from the Golden Age of Dušan the Mighty to the present day through the Early Modern Prince-Bishopric of Montenegro. This was true when these paintings were made in the 1880s and 90s, and is in many ways true today.²⁰⁶ Such narratives of endurance through conquest exist in many European cultures. In Western Europe, such narratives are particularly emphatic in modern expressions of Welsh cultural survival.²⁰⁷ This demonstrates again how Serbian nationalism cannot be regarded as inherently exceptional.

The relevance of this ‘internal Orientalism’ to late nineteenth century Serbia and the trends that culminated, ultimately, in the creation of Yugoslavia is clear. This gives the study of nationalist conceptions of Montenegro, in addition to Kosovo, pressing relevance in view of the enduring tensions between Serbian and Montenegrin identity.

Analysis of these paintings has demonstrated again the core argument of this thesis that Serbian nationalism, between the Congress of Berlin and founding of Yugoslavia, was constructed, imagined and articulated in a process inseparable from that of the country’s cultural ‘Europeanisation’. Jovanović’s education and use of the Orientalist style to articulate a specific vision, a specific ‘master narrative’, of the nation’s past shows how Serbian nationalism was visually depicted with a twin aim: to inspire the domestic audience while courting the sympathy of the international audience.

²⁰⁶ Pavlović, “Identity Construction”, 132-157.

²⁰⁷ Dafydd Iwan, “Yma o Hyd”, song lyrics through Musixmatch.com, accessed 17 June 2021. <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Dafydd-Iwan/Yma-o-Hyd>.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this, as is argued throughout this thesis, is that the Europeanisation of the Balkans and growth of nationalism has been seriously mischaracterised by stigmatising Balkanist discourses. While Western discourses were important, this was not a process of passive emulation. Rather, South Eastern Europeans drew from the innovations and modes of expression current in the most developed regions of Europe and adapted them, creatively and energetically, to their local context. While these images themselves depict violence, they stand testament to overlooked Balkan agency in a process of truly unprecedented social transformation.

This is seen throughout the paintings analysed in this thesis but is especially apparent in Jovanović's Montenegrin scenes. The artist fuses nationalist symbolism with Western modes of artistic expression to create an ideal. These images are at once emblematic of the unique position of Montenegro in Serbian historiography but also symbolise the violence of the 1870s. They were simultaneously timeless and pressingly relevant. In their popularity, such images served to educate Western audiences newly interested in the region.²⁰⁸ In this regard, they show that cultural exchange was not one-way from West to East and North to South. This shows how 'Europeanisation', an incredibly complex process of cultural and institutional innovation and development, is often mischaracterised as straightforward emulation.

In addition to stripping South Eastern Europeans of meaningful agency in the region's development, such misrepresentation ignores the enduring influence of Constantinople. Even in Serbian nationalism, this is clear in Klara Volarić's discussion of the newspaper *Carigradski Glasnik* ('Constantinople Messenger').²⁰⁹ This importance is likewise evident in

²⁰⁸ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 124-125.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 38.

²⁰⁹ Klara Volarić, "Between the Ottoman and Serbian States: Carigradski Glasnik, an Istanbul-based Paper of Ottoman Serbs, 1895-1909", *The Hungarian Historical Review* 3 (3) (2014): 560-586.

the role of Istanbul-based intellectuals in the development of written Albanian, as seen in Frances Trix's discussion of the Stamboul orthography.²¹⁰ Such misunderstanding of the region's development obscures Constantinople's leading role in South Eastern Europe's 'Europeanisation', reinforcing Islamophobic denial of Turkey's position in Europe.

This chapter demonstrates the varied and far-reaching benefit of discussion of Serbian nationalist imagination of Montenegro through analysis of visual sources. Such discussion is essential in understanding the development of the Western Balkans, both in the period of this thesis' focus and in the present day. Evidently, Serbian nationalism has been imagined and articulated through a process of cultural exchange with the wider European continent. To characterise it as an 'exceptional' force is to misunderstand its origins, its development and the glaring danger of chauvinistic populism to Euro-Atlantic societies today.

²¹⁰ Frances Trix, "Alphabet conflict in the Balkans: Albanian and the Congress of Monastir", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 128 (1997): 3, 5-6, 9, 14-15.

Chapter 4:

Patriarchy, Domesticity and European Integration: Uroš Predić's *Queen Natalija* in Context

Uroš Predić's portrait of Queen Natalija offers fascinating insight into the profound social and political changes that gripped Serbia in the nineteenth century. It provides a rare window into the life of a figure largely overlooked in available literature, and into conceptions of gender in the late nineteenth century. The painting illuminates the impact of growing cultural exchange between the Balkans and the major urban centres of Western and Central Europe. More specifically, it attests to how new 'national' elites across South Eastern Europe adopted forms of cultural expression through which to legitimise their standing, and articulate national identities. The painting is thus an invaluable source offering insight into a complexity of historical developments in Serbia and the wider Balkans.

The mid to late nineteenth century saw great activity in terms of the production of portraits depicting the leading figures in Serbian society. Such paintings were a source of prestige for those commissioning them and a necessary source of income for artists.²¹¹ Broadly speaking, these portraits conform to a global artistic style depicting venerable figures of national standing. Usually seated desk, wearing either a formal suit or military uniform, their distant gaze and stately pose project an image of wisdom, experience and stability in the service of the nation. This is clear in the portraits of Predić, Konstantin Danil, Nikola Aleksić and Stevan Todorović.²¹²

²¹¹ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 123.

²¹² See Appendix 3 (a-d), p. 96-99.

While portraiture had been a mainstay of political culture across much of Europe for centuries, in Serbia it represented an innovation. Before the nineteenth century, Balkan societies were dominated by Muslim elites often reticent to depict the human form.²¹³ Where a Christian elite did exist, it was a Greek-speaking commercial and ecclesiastical elite.²¹⁴ The only ‘Serb’ group in a position to sponsor portraiture was the Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Empire, with depiction of humans largely confined to church frescoes in Ottoman-ruled lands.²¹⁵

Consequently, the rise of a secular elite portrait tradition would have been tied to independence and the birth of a new, Serbian-speaking, national elite keen to celebrate its position at the helm of the nation reborn. Balkan portrait culture therefore reflects the rise of nationalism and consequent emergence of new ‘national’ elites from groups previously marginalised. Queen Natalija’s portrait is an exceptional case study in new elites’ political use of images, something seen again in Chapter 6 and in Karađorđe’s already noted use of images of Dušan.²¹⁶

Major European cities, Vienna especially, were central in the education of Serbian artists and architects, two thirds of the latter having studied in Austria-Hungary by the late nineteenth century.²¹⁷ The development of Serbian portraiture was thus a product of growing

²¹³ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 175-191.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

Livanios, “Quest for Hellenism”, 248-249.

Mary Neuburger, *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 22, 28-29.

²¹⁵ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 175-191.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-21.

Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 24-27.

²¹⁶ Judah, “Sweet and Rotten”, 28.

²¹⁷ Janićijević (ed.), *Cultural Treasury*, 189.

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Exploring Modernity”, 115-134.

Filipovitch-Robinson, “War and Peace”, 35-52.

Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 317-328.

Attila Aytiken, “The Production of Space during the Period of Autonomy: Notes on Belgrade Urban Space, 1817-67”, *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies* 18 (6) (2016): 594-595.

European exchange as Serbian artists combined Western training with Serbian nationalist imagery. This trend is likewise apparent in Serbian literature, theatre, opera and architecture, Neo-Byzantine architecture especially.²¹⁸ It is important to remember that not all culture is nationalistic and positive reception of ‘national culture’ was not guaranteed. This is shown in Resanović’s detailing how late nineteenth century Serbian audiences far preferred Western plays to nationalist theatre.²¹⁹ However, in this respect portrait culture shows how the articulation of Balkan nationalisms in the nineteenth century was inseparable from far-reaching processes of cultural and aesthetic ‘Europeanisation’.

Balkan participation in this European cultural sphere is directly relevant to this painting as Uroš Predić studied in Vienna between 1876 and 1885 with the support of a Matica Srpska scholarship from 1877, winning the Vienna Academy’s Grundel Prize in 1879.²²⁰ The Neo-Classical and Romantic artistic education he received there had a profound effect on his work.²²¹ *Queen Natalija* is thus, quite literally, a product of intensifying cultural contact between the Balkans and major European urban centres, reflecting the adoption and adaption of established forms of cultural expression it spurred across the region.

Dubravka Stojanović, “Between Rivalry, Irrationality, and Resistance: The Modernization of Belgrade, 1890-1914”, in *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890-1940*, ed. Jan Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014), 155-156, 161-162.

Ignjatović, “Vidovdan Temple”, 846.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

Resanović, “Serbian sites of memory”, 393-403.

Milojković-Djurić, “Opéras de Petar Konjović”, 409-420.

²¹⁹ Resanović, “Serbian sites of memory”, 395.

²²⁰ Filipovitch-Robinson, “Exploring Modernity”, 128-129.

²²¹ Ibid. 127-134.



Figure 7. Uroš Predić, *Queen Natalija Obrenović of Serbia* (Serbian title given as 'Kraljica Natalija Obrenović Prebačeno sa Ostave'), c. 1890. Oil on canvas, 58 x 44 cm. Original collection of origin not provided, through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 20 June 2021.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queen_Natalia_Obrenovic_of_Serbia_in_Paris_by_Uros_Predic.jpg.

The Queen sits in the very centre of the portrait. Her pose, and the objects around her, have been carefully chosen to project a specific image. This is, as Burke notes, an essential feature of portraiture.²²² In their own ways, all of the paintings discussed in this thesis project an idealisation of a figure, a society, or a nation. Here, the image projected is an idealisation

²²² Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, 21-36.

of nineteenth century womanhood. The Queen sits, surrounded by paintings of her relatives (a subtle assertion of her ties to the future king) and a gilded icon of the Virgin Mother and Baby Jesus, as a Christian and a mother. Her dress, white, is emblematic of purity and piety while her wedding ring is deliberately visible on her left hand. The warm, ruddy hues of the rugs surrounding her convey a sense of security and warmth embodying the ideals of Victorian domesticity with the mother as home-maker.

This period saw the growth of highly restrictive conceptions of gender and sexuality across the Balkans. Restriction of women to the role of home-maker, inspired by Western European bourgeois domestic ideals, was dependent on increased levels of prosperity, reducing the need for female participation in the workforce.²²³ This is visible in the Serbian Civil Law in force between 1844 and 1946 which subordinated women to their male relatives.²²⁴ The increasing rigidity of notions of gender and sexuality was, therefore, inseparable from Europeanisation and the emergence of a middle class, attesting to a frequently overlooked degree of complexity in such developments.

The French political paper *Le Figaro* sits crumpled and relegated to the floor. Above this on the table to the Queen's left sits an edition of *Domaćica*, 'Housewife', a prominent Belgrade-based woman's weekly in circulation between 1879-1914 and 1921-41.²²⁵ The effect of the artist's use of newspapers is two-fold. On the one hand, the political publication lying cast-aside is literally subordinate to the domestic paper amongst the Queen's icons and family portraits. The 'intrinsic meaning' of this message is clear: that Queen Natalija

²²³ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 125-128.

Jovčić-Sas, "Homophobia", 60-62, 67-69.

Slapšak, "Women's Memory", 100-103, 109.

²²⁴ Svetlana Tomić, "Women Intellectuals in Serbian 19th Century Culture and Their Beliefs: The Importance of Discontinuity", Paper presented at the 51th Annual ASEES Convention, San Francisco, California, 23-26 November 2019, 11.

²²⁵ Gordana Stojaković & Snežana Bogdanović, "Women's World (1886-1914): Serbian Women's Laboratory as an Entrance into the Public Sphere", *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies* 25 (1) (2011): 21.

prioritised her responsibilities as a mother, a wife and a Christian above political machinations. This shows a nineteenth century woman embracing society's patriarchal ideals to construct an image of herself within this framework.

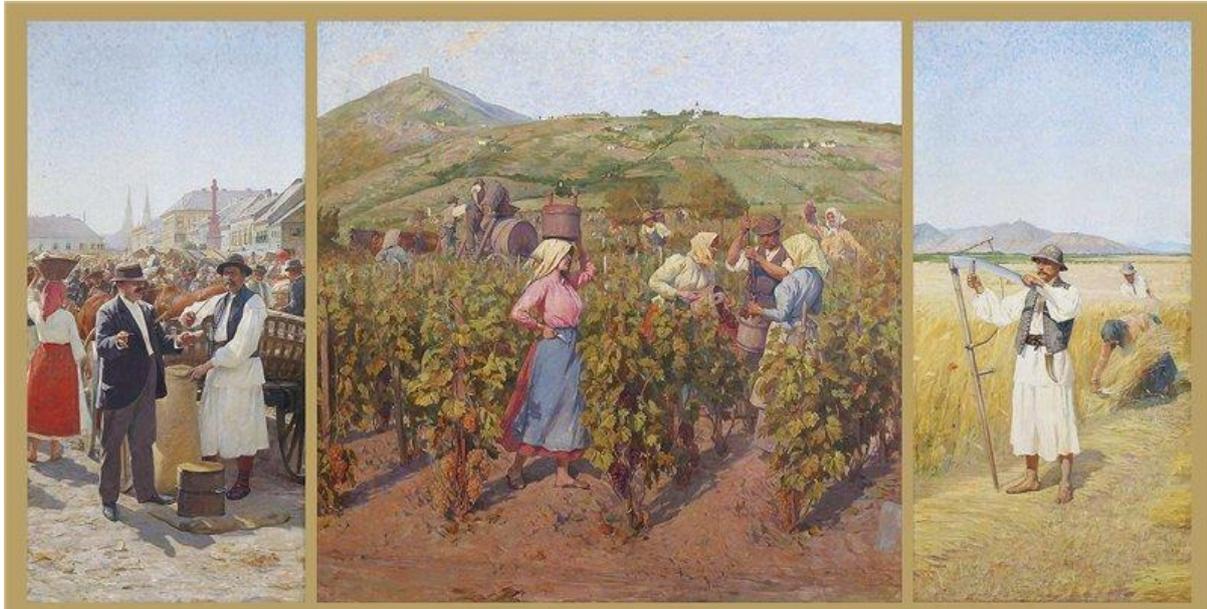


Figure 8. Paja Jovanović, *Vršac Triptych* ('*Vršački Triptihon*'), c. 1895. Oil on canvas, 1: 200 x 200 cm, 2: 200 x 100 cm. From the collection of the Vršac City Museum ('*Gradski Muzej Vršac*'), source: Balašević, Jovan. *Vojvodina: Tourist Guide*, 1966, p. 45, through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vr%C5%A1ac_triptych.jpg.

In presenting such an ideal, the painting is directly comparable to Paja Jovanović's *Vršac Triptych* of 1895 (above). Commissioned by the town council for the Budapest Millennium Exhibition of 1896, this painting provided an idealised image of ethnic harmony and Serbian life within the Kingdom of Hungary.²²⁶ It does this through three separate images: a depiction of the bustling market square, of peasant women at work in the vineyards and the peasant man sharpening his scythe. It asserts the legitimacy of the presence of Serbian community within Hungary while, in Jovanović's choice of a triptych design and the

²²⁶ Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 50.
Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 125-127.

sight of spires behind the square, asserting the unity of Serbdom and Orthodoxy.²²⁷ In essence, it is an ideal, a model, of Serbian life. Both the *Vršac Triptych* and *Queen Natalija* project specific social ideals. Projection of such models is a feature of painting in the period. Uroš Predić's 1887 *Merry Brothers* can be seen in a similar light in terms of its Realist depiction of drunken village boys - even if intended as a model more to be avoided than emulated.²²⁸

The second important factor in terms of newspapers is national. *Le Figaro* was a French publication, *Domaćica* a Serbian publication. Queen Natalija was not herself Serbian and the positioning of papers thus emphasises the Queen's commitment to her adopted nation in a period of heightened national passions. This was a recurrent concern also for the Greek and Bulgarian monarchies (of Danish and German extraction) in contrast to the native ruling families of the Serbian, Montenegrin, Ottoman and Romanian monarchies.²²⁹

Finally, the theme of literacy is consciously at the heart of this image. The prevalence of newspapers has already been addressed. Significantly, the Queen sits reading while the table to her left is piled with books and papers. That their titles are illegible shows that it is literacy in the general sense, rather than specific subjects of titles, that Predić depicts. This is important as, as Svetlana Tomić notes, Queen Natalija was a prominent intellectual.²³⁰ It was Queen Natalija who, from 1876, awarded the first medals to Serbian women for social

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Exploring Modernity", 130-131.
See Appendix 4, p. 100.

²²⁹ Konstantinov, *Bay Ganyo*, 134-135 (footnote 80).

Glenny, *The Balkans*, 168-174,

Nikos Kokosalakis, "The Political Significance of Popular Religion in Greece", *Archive des Sciences Sociales des Religions* 64 (1) (1987): 41.

Eleni Bastéa, "Athens, 1890-1940: Transitory Modernism and National Realities," in *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890-1940*, ed. Jan Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014), 129-131.

²³⁰ Tomić, "Women Intellectuals", 12-15.

work.²³¹ Additionally, alongside Savka Subotić, the Queen was instrumental in the founding of the first women's educational institutions in Belgrade and Novi Sad.²³² Thus, the painting projects an idealised image of the Serbian, Christian mother, to be admired and emulated. Within it however is a message of women's education and advancement that exposes the inherent contradiction between the image of Natalija in the painting, and the reality. Tomić provides a quotation of Queen Natalija's referencing an old Serbian adage capturing this perfectly: "A woman is like a shadow: as you chase her she runs away, and if you run away, she chases after you... The person who said this had never met a proud woman".²³³ Evidently, Queen Natalija was far more than just a good mother and devout Orthodox Christian, as suggested also by her later conversion to Catholicism.²³⁴

As Tomić makes clear, Queen Natalija is overlooked both in Serbian and English literature.²³⁵ She is effectively absent from the works of Judah and Glenny, two leading Anglophone scholars of the region.²³⁶ However, Čedomir Antić makes fascinating indirect reference to her in his book, originally written in Serbian.²³⁷ One of the defining achievements of King Milan's reign was the 1888 Constitution based, like Bulgaria's 1879 'Tarnovo Constitution', on that of Belgium.²³⁸ Drafted by a cross-party committee representing the Liberals, the Progressives and the Radicals, the 1888 document was markedly more liberal than its predecessor.²³⁹ Although politics remained volatile, Antić observes that in 1903 some twenty-two percent of Serbia's population held the right to

²³¹ Ibid, 12.

²³² Ibid, 13-14.

²³³ Ibid, 13.

²³⁴ Ibid, 15.

²³⁵ Ibid, 9-15.

²³⁶ Glenny, *The Balkans*, 70-248.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 49-101.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 28-34.

²³⁷ Antić, *Serbia*, 175-178.

²³⁸ Konstantinov, *Bay Ganyo*, 15 (in footnote 2).

²³⁹ Antić, *Serbia*, 177.

vote.²⁴⁰ In percentage terms, this was among the highest in continental Europe – a remarkable feat for a country generally portrayed as possessing no meaningful democratic traditions of its own.²⁴¹ It is Antić's discussion of the motivations behind the promulgation of the 1888 Constitution that illuminates, somewhat inadvertently, Queen Natalija as a political force.

Following Serbia's humiliation in the 1885 war, King Milan considered abdication.²⁴² Abdication would necessitate a regency, the third since the Revolution.²⁴³ Milan instead announced his abdication in 1889 during the military parade celebrating the Constitution's promulgation.²⁴⁴ Antić claims the reason for this delay was Milan's desire to democratise Serbia's government.²⁴⁵ He pursued this end, Antić argues, to minimise the political influence Queen Natalija would command as Queen Mother in a regency, as well as in the belief that a more democratic government would collapse, necessitating his return to power.²⁴⁶ This reveals two important things about Queen Natalija. The first is that she was an independent force in late nineteenth century Serbian politics, in stark contrast to how conventional history frames Milan's reign. Her activities in the promotion of women's education likewise suggest this.²⁴⁷ The second is the extent to which the Queen's domestic life differed from the ideal presented in Predić's painting. Indeed, the royal marriage was plagued by infidelity and irreconcilable differences in matters of foreign policy to the point where King Milan sought divorce.²⁴⁸ This is important 'iconographical analysis' of the cultural context within which the painting had meaning.

²⁴⁰ Ibid, 172 (in footnote 39).

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid, 175-178.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Tomić, "Women Intellectuals", 13-14.

²⁴⁸ Antić, *Serbia*, 176.

This portrait demonstrates how a highly educated woman and adept political actor could project an idealised, constructed image of herself within the rigid confines of nineteenth century gender norms from which to derive legitimacy. It is therefore surprising that this thesis is, to the author's best knowledge, the first work in English analysing this portrait. This is surprising given the insight it yields into conceptualisation of gender in the late nineteenth century Balkans. Changing attitudes to gender were intimately tied to the Balkans' Europeanisation. This, alongside increasingly intolerant attitudes to sexuality, represents a too-often overlooked facet of processes of Europeanisation, as addressed in the next chapter. Evidently, the painting illuminates great complexity in the historical development of the region. Likewise, it highlights the political influence of an overlooked female figure and how such female political figures could construct politically expedient images of themselves within highly conservative gender norms through visual media. This reflects both the value of visual sources in the study of the past and shows again that Serbia is not historically exceptional.

Chapter 5:

Masculinity, Brotherhood and Homophobia: Paja Jovanović's *The Takovo Uprising* in Context

The Takovo Uprising of 1894 depicts a moment of great significance in Serbia's modern past. The painting shows Miloš Obrenović raising the standard of revolt against the Sultan. This moment marked the beginning of the Second Serbian Uprising (1815-17) which culminated in Serbia's *de facto* independence.²⁴⁹ The painting thus falls within the national history tradition. However, in its depiction of Miloš Obrenović, the painting is propagandistic, asserting the Obrenović family's claim to legitimacy as leaders of the Serb nation-state versus their domestic rivals, the Karađorđević family, and the Petrović-Njegoš of Montenegro. This chapter will, however, also analyse the painting in the context of attitudes to sexuality. This version used here is that which is now housed in the Rudnik-Takovo Regional Museum.

This chapter argues that Jovanović's painting projects a dual image of national liberation emphasising both the Obrenović family's role in independence and the remarkable transformation of Serbian society since independence. On both counts, the Orthodox Church is central, demonstrating again its inseparability from Serbian identity. In terms of sexuality, the chapter contends that the Europeanisation of the Balkans in the nineteenth century had a causal role in the 'invention of homophobia', as Jovčić-Sas terms it – drawing from Hobsbawm's influential concept of 'invented tradition'.²⁵⁰ This does not mean that there was no historic prejudice towards same-sex relationships. Rather, the 'invention of homophobia'

²⁴⁹ Antić, *Serbia*, 142-150.

Glenny, *Balkans*, 1-22.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 325-326.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 55-60, 68-73.

Hobsbawm & Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*, 1-308.

Jovčić-Sas, "Homophobia", 72.

refers specifically to the bi-popular division of people by sexual preference which was an innovation of this era. Prior to the nineteenth century same-sex relationships were stigmatised although common, perhaps comparable, in Western European terms, to extramarital relationships, although it is unclear to what extent previous relative tolerance was an ‘elite’ phenomenon. This is a highly relevant area of research as the legacy of such change continues to be felt across the region.²⁵¹ Despite this, it is routinely overlooked. In this context, *The Takovo Uprising* is an informative source as how previous comparative tolerance was erased from collective memory in nationalist imagination of the past.

During the latter nineteenth century, the rights of women and of LGBT+ people became severely curtailed across South-Eastern Europe as the restrictive Western model of the bourgeois family gained broader acceptance. This trend developed first in educated urban circles before spreading to more rural areas.²⁵² Growing intolerance towards same-sex relationships in emulation of Western precedent following Serbia’s independence, and the legacy of this shift, is outlined in a 2018 article by Jovčić-Sas.²⁵³

This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, like nationalism, attitudes to gender and sexuality across South-Eastern Europe in this period must be understood in terms of broader European intellectual and discursive context. This naturally relates to this thesis’ aim of de-essentialising Serbian history. Secondly, recognising the role played by nineteenth century Western discourses and, more directly, colonial legislation in the globalisation of highly intolerant attitudes to sexuality and gender is an essential step in coming to terms with the nebulous legacies of nineteenth century imperialism. The rigidity of Western gender norms was certainly visible in women’s rights, as addressed in Chapter 4. However, it was notably more apparent in attitudes to same-sex relationships.

²⁵¹ Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 55-65, 72-73.

²⁵² Jovčić-Sas, “Homophobia”, 60-62, 64, 68-73.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, 55-77.

Homosexuality was criminalised in Serbia in 1860 in a law which, in its references to “deviance” and “inversion”, draws its vocabulary directly from Western European pseudo-science.²⁵⁴ With this law, what had previously been stigmatised became a criminal offence. When the word “homosexuality” first entered Serbian lexicon in 1892 it did so in translation, demonstrating how Manichaeic division of people by sexual preference was an innovation of this era, even if specific social stigma was not.²⁵⁵ In this regard, growing contact with Western discourses, that is to say ‘Europeanisation’, was central to increased intolerance.²⁵⁶

Traditionally, attitudes to same-sex relationships were far more flexible in Islamic and Orthodox societies than in those of Catholic Europe. Echoing Greco-Roman and Byzantine tradition, sexual discourses were shaped by a culture of machismo.²⁵⁷ This culture centred on a masculine ideal that was not incompatible with same-sex or inter-ethnic relationships later considered highly taboo.²⁵⁸ This was particularly apparent in largely gender-segregated Muslim communities but appears visible in Orthodox communities also.²⁵⁹ It is thus remarkable that, in defiance of wider global currents, the Ottoman Empire decriminalised homosexuality in 1858.²⁶⁰ The Republic of Turkey is, therefore, one of very few European states where homosexuality has at no point been illegal - equivalent legislation would not appear in Serbia until 1994.

Şükrü Hanioglu notes how sexual attitudes changed among the Westernised *Alla Franga* Ottoman elite of the mid-nineteenth century with the rapid disappearance of same-sex

²⁵⁴ Ibid, 70.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, 71.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 55-60, 68-73.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, 60-68, 72-73.

Hanioglu, *Late Ottoman Empire*, 104-106.

Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (ed. & trans.), *An Ottoman Traveller. Selections from the Book of travels of Evliya Çelebi* (London: Eland Publishing Limited, 2011), 40-42, 62.

²⁵⁸ Jovčić-Sas, “Homophobia”, 55-73.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Hussain Ishtiaq, “The Tanzimat: Secular Reforms in the Ottoman Empire”, On Behalf of Faith Matters, 2011, accessed 29 April 2021. <http://faith-matters.org/images/stories/fm-publications/the-tanzimat-final-web.pdf>, 10.

extramarital relationships.²⁶¹ As Hanioglu remarks, conscious adoption of Western European sexual mores was led by Constantinopolitan high-society and directly concerned with overseas perception.²⁶² Eleni Bastéa makes a similar observation about the development of Athens' urban landscape, in terms of the centrality of foreign perception.²⁶³ This mirrors the pattern of change Jovčić-Sas outlines in Serbia where rigid gender and sexual attitudes were promoted within the broader aim of forging a modern, European society and countering prejudiced narratives framing the Serbs, and Balkans Slavs more generally, as sexually deviant.²⁶⁴ This demonstrates how the development of homophobia in the modern sense, just like nationalism, was a region-wide phenomenon directly connected to far-reaching, state-led processes of cultural and institutional 'Europeanisation'. These same sexual discourses were central to the decline of polygamy and the gender-segregated harem in the period, attesting to the complexity of nineteenth century social change.²⁶⁵

Such past comparative tolerance is remarkable as attitudes to sexuality, in Jovčić-Sas' view, amount to a unique exception in the Orthodox Church's adherence to tradition.²⁶⁶ Jovčić-Sas' primary focus is the institution of *Podbratimstvo* ('brotherhood unions').²⁶⁷ While rejecting equation of *podbratimstvo* to same-sex marriage, Jovčić-Sas is unconvinced by the Church's view that such unions were without exception platonic – an assertion that, if not delusional, certainly seems a little naïve.²⁶⁸

These unions were primarily a bond between two warriors, as shown in their popularity during the wars of the Serbian Revolution.²⁶⁹ While many unions were

²⁶¹ Hanioglu, *Late Ottoman Empire*, 104-106.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Bastéa, "Athens", 128-152.

²⁶⁴ Jovčić-Sas, "Homophobia", 60-73.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 68-69.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 55-60, 72-73.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 64-73.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 64-68.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 65.

undoubtedly no more than this, numerous Western travellers remarked on certain unions with a sexual element.²⁷⁰ Throughout the period of this thesis' focus, such unions did survive in isolated rural areas, attesting to the uneven pace of social change.²⁷¹ Jovčić-Sas argues persuasively that priests would not be so naïve as always to assume *podbratimstvo* were wholly platonic.²⁷² In such cases, these unions appear to have functioned as a form of 'damage-control', bringing supposedly 'sinful' behaviour into the realm of the Church.²⁷³ Like marriage, the primary concern was containing desire, not gender.²⁷⁴ In the nineteenth century, this limited degree of flexibility was superseded by more rigid Western conceptions of morality.²⁷⁵ Same-sex relations, even specific sexual acts, were increasingly stigmatised as 'Turkish' and, by the late nineteenth century, were framed as a 'disease' brought by the conquest.²⁷⁶ This is an aspect of Muslim Othering in Balkan Christian societies, and of cultural Europeanisation and nation-building in the region, that is largely overlooked. Moreover, it raises fascinating parallels with discourses framing homosexuality as a Western "illness" across much of contemporary Europe.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 63, 65.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 64-68.

²⁷² Ibid, 66.

²⁷³ Ibid, 66-68.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 60-73.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, 72.

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 55-60.



Figure 9. Paja Jovanović, *The Takovo Uprising* ('*Takovski Ustanak*'), c. 1894. Oil on canvas, 160 x 256 cm. From the collection of the Rudnik-Takovo Regional Museum ('*Muzej Rudničko Takovskog Kraja*'), through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovic-Takovski_ustanak.jpg.

The influence of nationalist imagination of the past in this painting is glaring, as is its political relevance in the era of its composition. The central, elevated figure is that of Miloš Obrenović. Both his position, at the very heart of the tableau, and striking dress emphasise the role of the Obrenović family in the establishment of the modern Serb state. This is clearly dynastic propaganda given the family's rivalry with the Karađorđević and Petrović-Njegoš families for the mantle of national liberator. This view is supported by the Ministry of Education's widespread nation-wide distribution of reproductions of the painting.²⁷⁸ Its legitimising narrative was especially relevant as the year of its completion was marked also

²⁷⁸ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 46-47.

by the abdication of King Milan.²⁷⁹ As such, it held a powerful message of royal, nationalist propaganda in the political instability following the defeat in 1885.²⁸⁰

Equally central to this painting is the role of the Orthodox Church as national guardian. To the left of Miloš Obrenović a priest can be seen to bless the rebel leader. The positioning of the figure of the liberator and the cleric side-by-side and the priest's blessing of Obrenović emphasises the union of Serb Church and nation. This is similarly clear in the cross on the flag borne by Obrenović, and in the golden cross atop the flag pole.

Jovanović's use of light, shown beaming down upon the assembled rebels, suggests divine blessing for their struggle. This emphasises the just nature of the struggle of the Second Serbian Uprising, and the intertwining of Serbian faith and nation. However, it has clear relevance to the 1890s, representing divine blessing for the then-ruling Obrenović dynasty, and for the continuation of national liberation through the incorporation of Ottoman-ruled lands. As has been argued throughout this thesis, legitimisation of this aim (embodied most clearly in the *Načertanije*) was central to Serbian nationalism between 1878 and 1914, as is widely reflected in the painting of the period.

Such inseparability of nation and faith is apparent across many Orthodox nations of Europe, although somewhat overlooked by leading scholars generally focusing on industrialisation and print media.²⁸¹ Indeed, as disputes over Montenegrin church property,

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Vassiliki Georgiadou, "Greek Orthodoxy and the Politics of Nationalism," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 9 (2) (1995): 296-311.

Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 62-66, 82-92.

Dragostinova, "Continuity vs. Radical Break", 406-421.

Danforth, *Macedonian Conflict*, 39, 62, 98.

Livanios, "Quest for Hellenism", 239-267.

Pavlović, "Identity Construction", 132-157.

Saggau, "Lovćen", 495-509.

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1-197.

Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1-186.

Macedonian and Ukrainian autocephaly and the Hagia Sophia show, this connection between faith and nation remain a live issue in South Eastern Europe.²⁸² In the case of Serbia, this is discussed by Judah while comparisons can also be drawn with the role of religion in nineteenth century Irish, Welsh, Polish or Croat nationalism, and with the nascent Zionist movement.²⁸³ Likewise, the exact relationship between faith and nation was an increasingly vocally contested in Belgium and Spain from the 1870s.²⁸⁴ While often ignored, religion remains intimately tied to nation across much of Europe. This is especially true of the Western Balkans making the origins of this unity a particularly compelling area of research.

The legitimacy of the Obrenović family is communicated also through the dress of Miloš Obrenović which, in contrast to those around him, is strikingly grand. In reality, Miloš Obrenović was a peasant rebel and his decedents were still derided for this fact by the crowned families of Europe in the 1890s.²⁸⁵ As Glenny observes this was something of a point of insecurity for the Serbian royal family at the time of this painting's composition.²⁸⁶ In this image, Obrenović is portrayed in a highly regal guise, defending the dynasty's position in Serbia and before a European audience sceptical of its pedigree.

Hroch, *European Nations*, 1-275.

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1-102.

Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 1-379.

²⁸² Samir Kajosevic, "Montenegro Religious Protesters Step Up Rallies Ahead of Polls", *BalkanInsight*, 24 August 2020, accessed 18 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/08/24/montenegro-religious-protesters-step-up-rallies-ahead-of-polls/>.

Sinisa Jakov Marusic, "North Macedonia Leaders Renew Campaign for Church's Independence", *BalkanInsight*, 23 September 2020, accessed 18 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/09/23/north-macedonia-leaders-renew-campaign-for-churchs-independence/>.

Marcus Tanner, "Russian Church 'Cuts Ties' to Constantinople Over Ukraine", *BalkanInsight*, 17 September 2018, accessed 18 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/09/17/russian-church-cuts-ties-to-constantinople-over-ukraine-09-17-2018/>.

Hamdi Firat Buyuk, "Turkey's Plans for Hagia Sophia Strain Greek Relations", *BalkanInsight*, 17 June 2020, accessed 18 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/06/17/turkeys-plans-for-hagia-sophia-strain-greek-relations/>.

²⁸³ Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-112, 158.

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 102-103.

Eugenio Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community. Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 120-142.

Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 68-70, 110, 124.

²⁸⁴ Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 199

²⁸⁵ Glenny, *Balkans*, 163-168.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The dress of Obrenović, and those assembled around him, is likewise significant in emphasising development. Jovanović was again fastidious in his research and depiction of folk costume, travelling to the site of the event in keeping with his Austrian training.²⁸⁷ The ‘national’ folk dress of the crowd, combined with the enthusiasm of their raised swords, has an obvious message in terms of national enthusiasm for Obrenović’s rebellion (and, implicitly, the family’s position at the head of the Serb state in 1894). There is also here a more subtle message emphasising development with the folk dress of the assemblage contrasting with the ‘European’ dress current in cities by 1894. The painting must, therefore, be seen as celebrating the achievements of the independent Serb state in terms of promoting development through Europeanisation. This was a key goal for nineteenth century Serbia’s leaders, as it was across the region.²⁸⁸

The gravestone stands testament to those men who fell in pursuit of the nation’s resurrection while its being a cross, in addition to embodying the fusion of nation and martyr symbolism addressed in Chapter 1, asserts the Christian character of the anti-Turkish revolt. Given that there is a woman and a child surrounding the cross, the artist likely intended the fallen warrior as the father. The woman, the only woman in the image, is portrayed in the trope of woman as mother and victim. That the child stands atop the grave in such a celebratory pose emphasises that those who fell did so for future generations of Serbs, a symbol of national self-sacrifice that abounds in European sources of the period showing again the frequency of semiotic depiction of infants in visual culture.

It is the deceased warrior in the paternal setting of the family unit that makes this painting interesting in terms of sexuality, in addition to its relevance to narratives of national

²⁸⁷ Filipovitch-Robinson, “Revolution”, 325-326.

²⁸⁸ Glenny, *Balkans*, 163-168.

Jovanović, “contested modernity”, 34-35, 44-45.

Jovčić-Sas, “Homophobia”, 69.

liberation, dynastic legitimacy and Orthodoxy. The image presented here is of the family ideal of the male as defender and mother as care-giver. As noted in the previous chapter, this ideal was dominant in Serbia by the 1890s. This painting is thus a product of its times projecting a specific domestic ideal onto the Revolution. The warriors are depicted simply as fighters united by their shared goal, national liberation, for the future benefit of the nation, embodied by the infant. In terms of sexuality, the painting overlooks the inconvenient reality noted by Jovčić-Sas that the conflict of the Serbian Revolution saw a proliferation of brotherhood unions, many of which were undoubtedly more than platonic.²⁸⁹ While the debate around the character of such unions has already been addressed, there is no sign of anything other than martial, religious and national bonds in Jovanović's *Takovo Uprising*.²⁹⁰

In this regard, the painting stands testament to how nationalist art of the late nineteenth century reimagined the nation's past in an idealised form. In such idealisation, anything that might detract from celebration of the nation was omitted. Behaviour which, by the 1890s, had come to be regarded as morally and legally impermissible held no place in such visual imagination of the glories of the national past. This is significant as it provides insight into how nationalist discourses reconstruct the past, erasing previous relative sexual tolerance towards as attitudes began to calcify in line with influential pseudo-scientific theories of sexuality. LGBT+ history is an especially difficult field of research as locating sources can prove an acute challenge. Because of this, 'iconographical interpretation' of sources indirectly reflecting the 'invention of homophobia' in the late nineteenth century is important to social and cultural historians.

This chapter has demonstrated the apparent composition of this painting in celebration of the national liberation struggle and the Obrenović family. This shows, as has been

²⁸⁹ Jovčić-Sas, "Homophobia", 65-66.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 61-68,

demonstrated throughout this thesis, how artistic depictions of the Serbian national past were, in this period, highly political. These paintings, including *The Takovo Uprising*, embody the narratives of dynastic legitimacy, Orthodox faith and the irredentist vision that dominated Serbian politics of the period. This demonstrates the far-reaching benefit of engaging with visual primary source materials, especially in the study of national expression. However, this painting has an additional layer of significance in its imposing the sexual and moral norms of the 1890s onto the era it depicts. In selectively avoiding traditional aspects of warriors' relationships that, by the 1890s, had become a major taboo, the painting illuminates the profound social change across nineteenth century South Eastern Europe, as outlined in Jovčić-Sas and Hanioğlu's work.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Ibid, 55-73.

Hanioğlu, *Late Ottoman Empire*, 104-106.

Chapter 6:

The *Kosovo Maiden* and *Vidovdan Temple* - Serbian Nationalism in a Yugoslav Mould: Continuity Across The First World War

In the writing of Europe's past, the First World War is generally either an end or a beginning – it is cast, in short, as a rupture. While a convenient, and highly relevant, bookend to the long nineteenth century, this leaves continuity overlooked. The prevalence of such continuity is the subject of Dominique Kirchner Reill's fascinating new microhistory of the Fiume Crisis, although such continuity is far from limited to the Croatian port.²⁹² Her book re-examines the dispute over the Free State of Fiume (today Rijeka) focusing on local circumstances and sources to illuminate extensive, and largely overlooked, continuity between pre and post-war politics in the self-governing city.²⁹³

Building on Reill's compelling argument, this chapter will explore significant continuity between Serbian and Yugoslav nationalism. This chapter will argue that Serbian nationalist narratives were appropriated and adapted by the Yugoslav project in the efforts of the new state to establish a single identity. Such Yugoslavist recasting of Serbian nationalist narratives, the Kosovo Myth most prominently, is clear in visual and architectural sources of the period. Discussion of such trends will be supported by Jelena Bogdanović and Aleksandar Ignjatović's discussion of architecture and sculpture, as well as Chapter 1's discussion of Predić's 1919 *Kosovo Maiden*.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Reill, *Fiume Crisis*, 1-224.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

Ignjatović, "Vidovdan Temple", 828-858.

Bogdanović, "Zenitist Avant-Garde", 299-317.

As reinvention of the Kosovo Myth was paramount in the early Yugoslav state's efforts to forge a single identity, so too was the rapid re-emergence of Kosovo mythologisation in the 1980s central in the increasing disintegration of the socialist federal republic.²⁹⁵ This was shown most clearly in the 1985 SANU Memorandum and Slobodan Milošević's Gazimestan Speech of 1989.²⁹⁶ In this respect, Yugoslavist efforts to recast pre-WW1 Serbian Kosovo Mythologisation serve as essential context to understanding the increasing breakdown of the Yugoslav polity in the 1930s and 80s.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the 1919 *Kosovo Maiden* represents the visual apogee of nineteenth century Kosovo Mythologisation. Despite its unrivalled fame it was, to borrow Judah's words, "the last of its kind".²⁹⁷ Judah argues compellingly that the painting, as well as the royal church of Saint George at Oplenac, reflects the mood around the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars.²⁹⁸ Serbia saw victory in these conflicts and significantly enlarged its territory, incorporating both Kosovo and much of Macedonia including Skopje, the site of Tsar Dušan's coronation in 1346.²⁹⁹ The incorporation of such "embraced territories" was hailed as completing the country's liberation from Ottoman rule.³⁰⁰ Given the strong ties between the Mediaeval 'Golden Age' and the modern Serb Kingdom in the 'master narrative' of national history writing, the incorporation of such areas naturally seemed a reversal of the

²⁹⁵ Judah, *History, Myth*, 68, 40, 68, 158.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 37-43.

Glenny, *Fall of Yugoslavia*, 1-97, 181-242.

Živković, *Serbian Dreambook*, 42-93, 168-197.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 30-31.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 31-32.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 70-71.

²⁹⁹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 94-95.

Judah, "Sweet and Rotten", 34.

Antić, *Serbia*, 69, 223-227.

Glenny, *The Balkans*, 135-248.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

Ignjatović, "Vidovdan Temple", 828-858.

Silvana Sidorovska-Čupovska, "Nationalism in the Balkan Countries and Education of Macedonians (1913-1945)", *Politeja*, 30 (2014): 98.

Ottoman conquest.³⁰¹ As has been shown throughout this thesis, narratives of historical continuity focused on Kosovo and Tsar Dušan's empire, something clear throughout Serbian history painting.

This mood of celebration was short lived as Serbia was soon engulfed by the First World War.³⁰² During the conflict, the country witnessed some of the most extreme suffering of any part of Europe.³⁰³ By official estimates, perhaps the majority of the adult male population perished through a combination of intense armed conflict, a brutal Austro-Hungarian occupation and several epidemics.³⁰⁴ While ultimately on the winning side, the country emerged from conflict traumatised and at the head of a new, disunited and highly volatile state, the future Yugoslavia.³⁰⁵ To give an illustration of the scale of the challenges confronting this state, of the thirty-seven billion Austro-Hungarian crowns in circulation in February 1919, it was estimated that seven billion had been stamped (the first step in introducing a Yugoslav currency in former Austro-Hungarian territories) using illegal counterfeit stamps.³⁰⁶ Such counterfeiting meant banknotes were 'stamped' as Yugoslav (already colloquial short-hand for the state at this time) for far below the official conversion cost.³⁰⁷ The terming of the nation 'Yugoslavia', officially adopted in 1929, is likewise apparent in a proclamation produced in Novi Sad celebrating the end of the war proclaiming

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Antić, *Serbia*, 228-243.

Glenny, *The Balkans*, 307-392.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Antić, *Serbia*, 236-239.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 101.

Jovčić-Sas, "Homophobia", 68-71.

³⁰⁵ Judah, *History, Myth*, 95-108.

Antić, *Serbia*, 228-243.

³⁰⁶ Reill, *Fiume Crisis*, 73-103.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

“Down with the oppressors! Long live justice! Long live Yugoslavia!”, asserting the triumph of the Yugoslav nation over German and Hungarian oppression.³⁰⁸

The retreat of several hundred thousand Serbian soldiers and refugees across the Accursed Mountains during the conflict provoked powerful comparisons to the ‘master narrative’ and images of Kosovo and the Great Migrations seen throughout this thesis. These events, like the Great Migrations before them, became an intensely powerful symbol of national endurance – as Antić notes, the retreat is called the “Golgotha” (‘Calvary’) in Serbian.³⁰⁹ This shows again how these phenomena, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, have become a cyclical lens in Serbian nationalist narratives for understanding traumatic events in the national past. Antić calls the Great War “the deepest collective memory of the Serbian people”, holding a cultural power surpassed only by the Battle of Kosovo.³¹⁰ In view of the intense suffering it provoked, and that accompanied the collapse of the state it created, the conflict is considered, in Antić’s words, a “pyrrhic victory”.³¹¹

Such context is crucial to understanding the iconological significance of *Kosovo Maiden*. As outlined in Chapter 1, the painting embodies nineteenth century patriarchal tropes as well as the literary tropes associated with the Battle of Kosovo in Serbian culture and literature. While circumstances in 1919 undoubtedly added great poignancy to the image, by this time the Kosovo Myth was beginning to be reimagined as a vehicle of Yugoslavism. As such, the painting was already in some sense an anachronism by the time of its completion, representing the ‘glory’ of a pre-war Serbia that felt it could, for a brief moment, rest on its laurels in 1913.

³⁰⁸ “Narode!: stara Austro-Ugarska država je uništena...”, Veliki Rat (‘Great War’) Project, Plakati (‘Posters’) Collection, Narodna Biblioteka Srbije Beograd (‘National Library of Serbia Belgrade’), Original Publisher: Novi Sad: Sloboda, 1918, trans. Vuk Živanović, 2021, accessed 18 July 2021. <https://velikirat.nb.rs/en/items/show/1168>.

³⁰⁹ Antić, *Serbia*, 234-235.

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, 232-239.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, 232-243.



Figure 10. Ivana Jeremić, Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network), “Model of the Vidovdan Temple, 1912”, *BalkanInsight*. 18 December 2019. accessed: 21 June 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.



Figure 11. Ivana Jeremić, Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network), “Head of Miloš Obilić, 1908”, *BalkanInsight*, 18 December 2019, accessed: 21 June 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

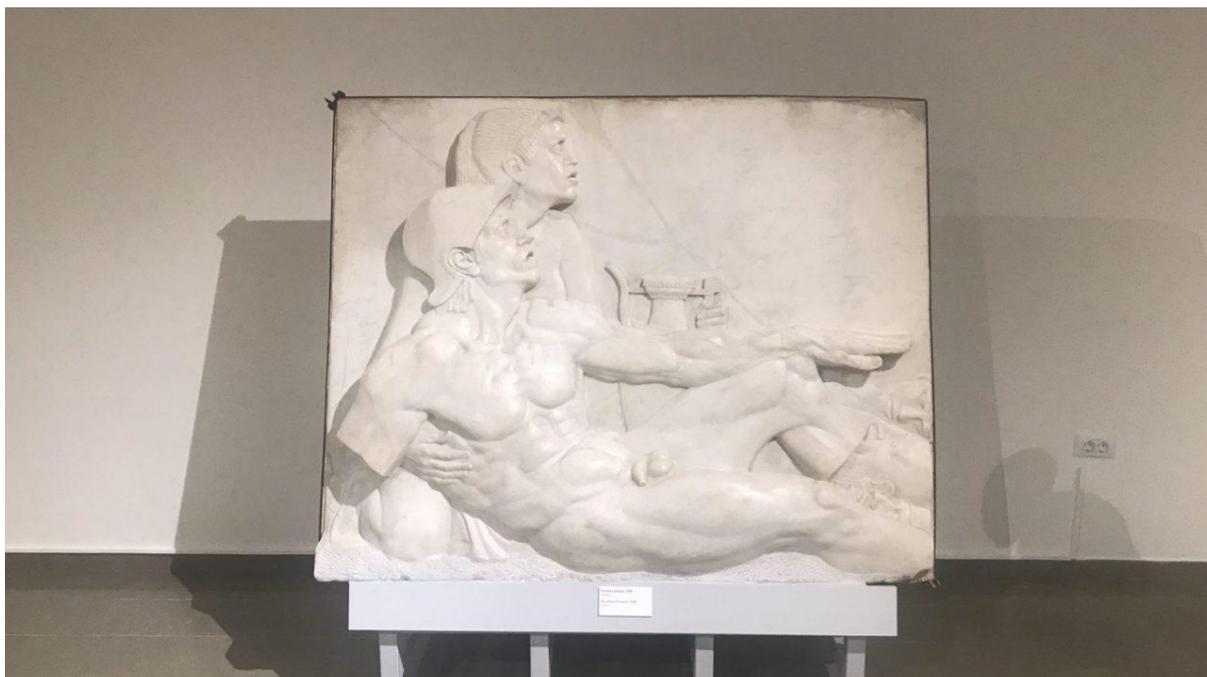


Figure 12. Ivana Jeremić, Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network), “The Maid of Kosovo, 1909”, *BalkanInsight*, 18 December 2019, accessed: 21 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

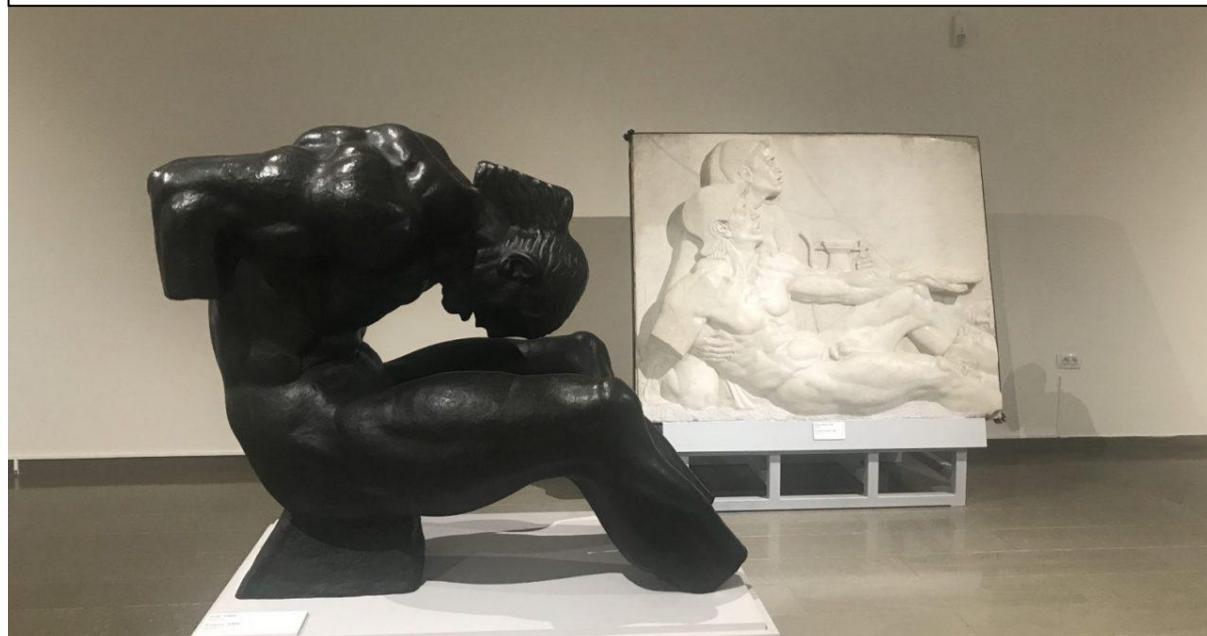


Figure 13. Ivana Jeremić, Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network), “A Slave, 1908.” *BalkanInsight*, 18 December 2019, accessed: 21 June 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

The articulation of a Yugoslav Kosovo Myth began in earnest before the First World War, with an art exhibition in Vienna in 1910 (although the first ‘Yugoslav’ exhibition was held in Belgrade in 1904, and included Bulgarian works).³¹² Detailed above, at this Vienna exhibition, Croat sculptor Ivan Meštrović unveiled his ‘Vidovdan Cycle’ with plans for a ‘Vidovdan Temple’ on the Kosovo Field containing over eighty heroic statues (the statues in question were produced between 1906 and 1913).³¹³ As discussed earlier, Vidovdan celebrations had by this time become important annual national events commemorating the Battle of Kosovo.³¹⁴ Meštrović’s work proved immensely influential.³¹⁵ The exhibition was a great success and proceeded to tour Europe exhibiting in Zagreb in 1910, Rome in 1911, Belgrade in 1912, Paris in 1919 and in several British cities between 1915 and 1918.³¹⁶ Many of the statues were ultimately purchased by the Serbian government and royal family.³¹⁷ Ignjatović argues that the cycle symbolises a single Yugoslavia through its creative blending of Western European, Serbian and Byzantine motifs to proclaim the oneness of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.³¹⁸ In such blending, the statues’ being exhibited throughout Europe and in the centrality of Vienna, we see again how nationalism in the region was developed and expressed within a European cultural context for both domestic and international audiences.

Stylistic fusion of a different kind is apparent in his plans for the temple building itself. As Ignjatović notes, the building drew significant influence from ancient Assyrian and Egyptian architecture.³¹⁹ This had the twin effect of emphasising the ‘newness’ of the Yugoslav idea while subtly sidestepping the problematic religious, and thus national,

³¹² Ignjatović, “Vidovdan Temple”, 828.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 94.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Judah, *History, Myth*, 49-71.

Bieber, “Serb Suffering”, 95-99.

³¹⁵ Ignjatović, “Vidovdan Temple”, 838-858.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 828-831.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 828-831.

³¹⁸ Ibid, 830-831.

³¹⁹ Ibid, 841-842.

connotations of Byzantine and Classical architecture.³²⁰ The proposed temple was reportedly called “a living treasure of Yugoslavism” by Nadežda Petrović, a renowned painter, war hero and personal friend of Meštrović.³²¹ Her paintings, regrettably, have had to be omitted from this thesis owing to the restraints of the word count. Its effect was to use the Kosovo Myth to articulate a vision of a new Yugoslav nation, freed from the historical divisions imposed on it by external actors and liberated from the suffering of the past, represented by the Battle of Kosovo.³²² This is reflected in plans to dedicate the Temple to Lazar and in stylistic references to Constantinople’s Church of the Holy Apostles.³²³ The Church, demolished to build the Fatih Mosque, simultaneously symbolised the Ottoman conquest and the unity of pre-schism Christendom (and thus the Serbs and Croats).³²⁴ Meštrović had particular pedigree as a Yugoslavist as he was Dalmatian.³²⁵ Influenced by the Western racial pseudo-scientific thinking prominent in the early twentieth century, Dalmatians were frequently portrayed as something of a South Slavic archetype.³²⁶ Renowned geographer and geomorphologist Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927) advanced nationalist racial studies claiming “the Dinaric is consumed with a burning desire to avenge Kosovo... and to revive the Serbian Empire... to kill lots of Turks is for him not only a way of avenging his ancestors”.³²⁷ This concept of the ‘Dinaric Man’ shows the adaptability of Kosovo Mythology to new contexts and the European scope of Serbian intellectual developments. Moreover, it supports Hobsbawm and Berger’s comments regarding the growth of Darwinian racial nationalisms.³²⁸

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid, 836.

³²² Ibid, 830-831, 833, 835, 839, 850-851.

³²³ Ibid, 844-845.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid, 831.

³²⁶ Ignjatović, “Vidovdan Temple”, 831.

³²⁷ Judah, *History, Myth*, 65-66.

³²⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 108.
Berger & Conrad, *Past as History*, 200-204.

Yugoslavist use of the Kosovo Myth to articulate a vision for a Yugoslav, rather than Serbian, historical ‘master narrative’ shows the extent to which early Yugoslavism built on Serbian nationalism. This was possible in the pre-war setting as Yugoslavist remoulding of Kosovo mythologisation could support Serbia’s irredentist ambitions and the aims of South Slavic nationalist groups within Austria-Hungary.³²⁹ This is important in understanding attempts at Yugoslav nation-building during the Interbellum and in terms of continuity across the span of the conflict. This demonstrates the extent to which, in some respects, by its completion in 1919 the *Kosovo Maiden* was out of touch with contemporary trends as Kosovo mythology was rapidly adapted by proponents of the Yugoslav project.

Similar continuity is visible in attitudes to Montenegro with the reconstruction of the chapel housing Petar II’s tomb in 1925. King Aleksandar personally supported the project, seeing Petar II’s cultural and political activities as a good example to project through a propagandistic lens, both in terms of bolstering his political position and in advancing his unitary Yugoslavism.³³⁰ Such efforts show the early Yugoslav state attempted also to mobilise nationalist imagination of Montenegro. The chapel, since demolished, has come to symbolise “Serbian domination of Montenegro” in Montenegrin nationalist discourses, as the Montenegrin President Milo Đukanović stated in a 2013 speech.³³¹ This illuminates the failures of Yugoslavism while demonstrating the contemporary relevance of Yugoslav nation-building.

³²⁹ Ignjatović, “Vidovdan Temple”, 829-830.

Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 57-92.

³³⁰ Danforth, *Macedonian Conflict*, 498-499.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 495, 507-509.

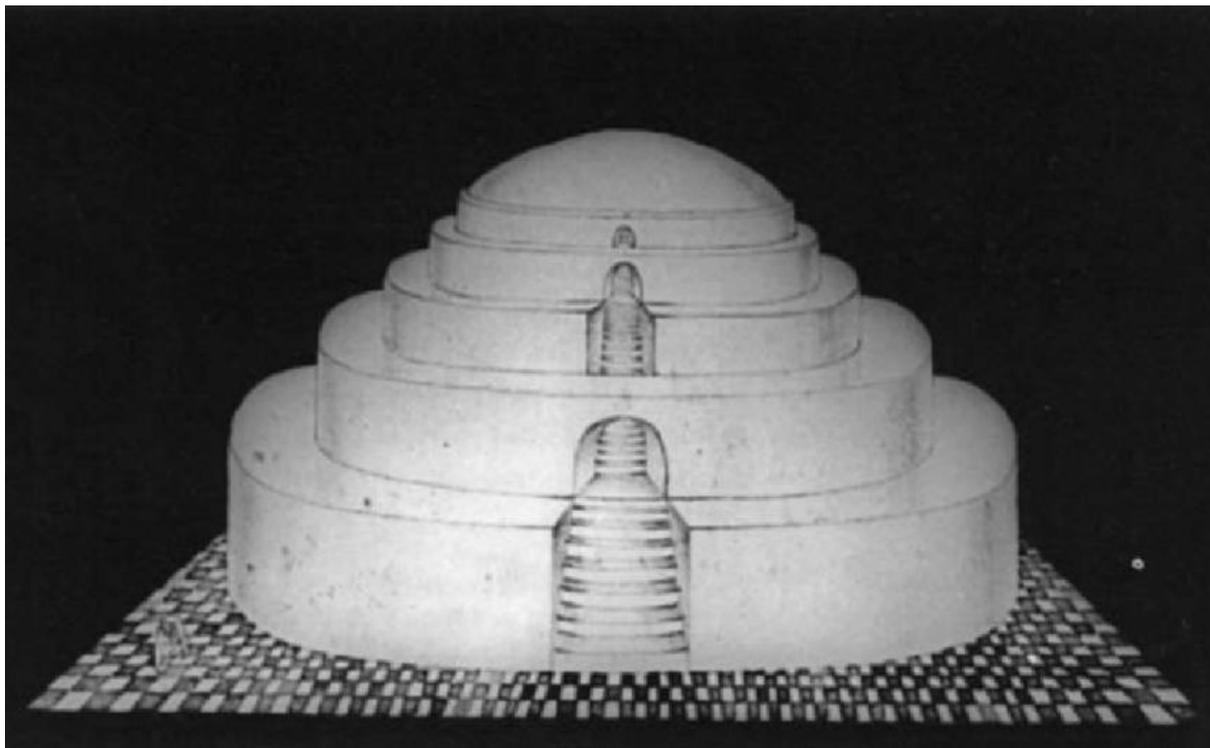


Figure 14. Jo Klek (Josif Seissel), “Zeniteum I”, c. 1924, *Zenit*, No. 35 [Dec. 1924], n.p., in *Zenit 1921–1926*, Edited by Vidosava Golubović & Irina Subotić, Belgrade: National Library of Serbia (‘*Narodna Biblioteka Srbije*’, Beograd), 2008, Courtesy of Irina Subotić. Uploaded by Jelena Bogdanović as ‘Figure 6’, in: Jelena Bogdanović, “Evocations of Byzantium in Zenitist Avant-Garde Architecture”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75 (3) (2016): p. 306. Through: *ResearchGate*, accessed: 21 June 2021. https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Jo-Klek-Josif-Seissel-Zeniteum-I-1924-Zenit-no-35-Dec-1924-np-in-Zenit_fig5_308091429.

Such continuity is evident even in post-war radical groups, as shown in Jelena Bogdanović’s discussion of plans for a ‘Zeniteum’.³³² The Zenitist movement was a leading avant-garde movement of the 1920s with close ties to Soviet groups.³³³ It rejected Western aesthetics and called for a new ‘man art’ based on the “*barbarogenije*”, ‘barbaric genius’, of the Southern Slavs.³³⁴ The group ceased in 1926 owing to government pressure over its ties to the Bolsheviks.³³⁵ Although the Zeniteum was never intended to be built, the proposals drew from Byzantine structures, reflecting the profound influence of Neo-Byzantine architecture, originally developed in Vienna (as was the earlier Biedermeier Style), on Serbian

³³² Bogdanović, “Zenitist Avant-Garde”, 299-317.

³³³ *Ibid*, 301-302, 312-313.

³³⁴ *Ibid*, 303-304.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, 302.

architectural expression.³³⁶ While Byzantine influence is undoubtedly subtle, Bogdanović argues persuasively that the dome of the proposed Zeniteum is inspired by that of the Hagia Sophia, creating a model for *barbarogenije* ‘man art’ that amounts, in her view, to a ‘Byzantine-modernism’.³³⁷ That even so radical a movement drew from the Byzantinist narratives of pre-war Serbian nationalism shows clearly how such narratives endured the crises of the 1910s.

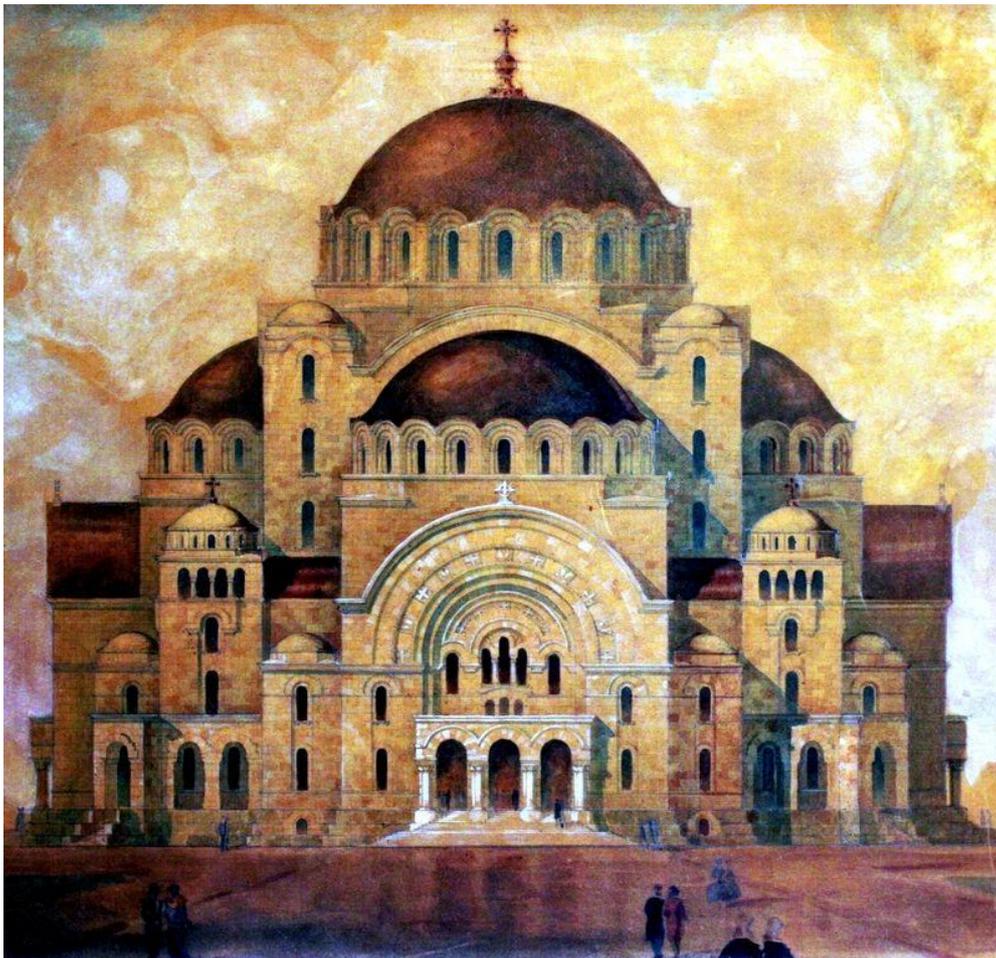


Figure 15. Bogdan Nestorović, *Bogdan Nestorović Watercolour of the Temple of Saint Sava* (‘*Akvarel Bogdan Nestorović Hram Svetog Save*’), c. 1931. Watercolour, dimensions of original not provided. Artist’s own work, licensed under: Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International Licence, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en> (Retrieved: 21 June 2021). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*, accessed: 21 June 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Akvarel_Bogdan_Nestorovic_Hram_Svetog_Save_1931.jpg.

³³⁶ Ibid. 299-301, 304, 307, 311, 314-315.

Attila Ayteken, “The Production of Space during the Period of Autonomy: Notes on Belgrade Urban Space, 1817-67”, *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 6 (2016): 594-595.

Jovanović, “Contested Modernity”, 34-35, 44-50.

³³⁷ Bogdanović, “Zenitist Avant-Garde”, 314,

This is seen more directly in proposals for the Basilica of Saint Sava shown below which shows obvious Byzantine influence from the Hagia Sophia, asserting the endurance of the pre-war fusion of faith and nation in narratives of Byzantine inheritance noted by Ignjatović.³³⁸ As Sava's relics were burnt by the Ottomans, the basilica would embody national resurgence— as shown also in pre-war depictions of the event by Stevan Todorović and Paja Jovanović.³³⁹ Equally, it would celebrate the unification of the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1919 which amounted to the refounding of the Patriarchate of Peć.³⁴⁰ The plans reflect continuity in how the Ottoman conquest, and consequently Serbian independence, were understood in 'master narrative' history with the unification of the Serbian Church paralleling that of the Southern Slavs in the new Yugoslav state.³⁴¹ This is visible also in Predić's 1921 painting *Saint Sava Blesses [the] Serb Youth* (below) which creates a very powerful image of the national patron saint conveying his blessing on the newly unified Serbs. It represents, in effect, a celebration of an almost divine victory in the battle to overcome the Ottoman conquest and realise national liberation, showing significant continuity in nationalist narratives and their effect on visual culture into the Interbellum.

³³⁸ Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 57-92.

³³⁹ Judah, *History, Myth*, 20-25.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 44.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 323.

³⁴⁰ Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 84-87.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

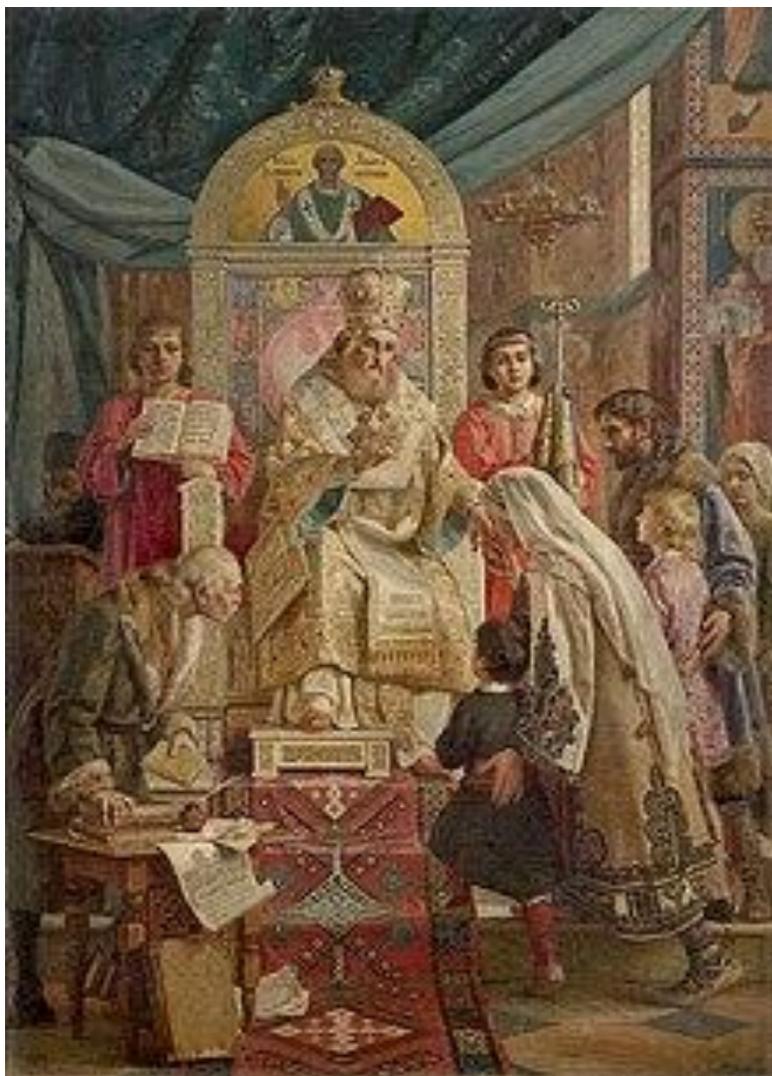


Figure 16. Uroš Predić, *Saint Sava Blesses [the] Serb Youth* ('*Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad'*'), c. 1921. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From Mihailo Grbić (Photograph), through: *Wikimedia Commons*, accessed: 20 June 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sveti_Sava_blagosilja_Srp%C4%8Dad,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87,_1921.jpg.



Figure 17. Creator not stated, *The avenger of Kosovo and liberator of our people, Petar the Great* ('*Osvetnik Kosova i oslobodilac našeg naroda Petar Veliki*'), c. 1937. Print in Colour, 44 x 34 cm. From the collection of the Digital Library of Matica Srpska ('*Digitalna Biblioteka Matica Srpska*'), original Publisher: Izdanje knjižare Tome Jovanovića i Vujića, Belgrade, Serbia, 1937. accessed: 20 June 2021. <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/3034>.

Such continuity is evident in the propaganda of the royal dictatorship established in 1929, as shown in the poster above. The poster celebrates King Petar Karadorđević as 'Petar the Great' and "avenger of Kosovo and liberator of our people". This is royalist propaganda meant to legitimise Aleksandar Karadorđević's dictatorial rule, the king having staged a coup amid an atmosphere of spiralling crisis following the assassination of several leading

members of the Croat Peasant Party in 1928.³⁴² However, its wording seeks to tie Yugoslav unification, of which King Aleksandar was a passionate proponent, with overcoming the defeat at Kosovo.³⁴³ Likewise, Petar is shown riding over the fallen banners of the Habsburgs and Ottomans, asserting the twin victory of the Yugoslav nation. This shows how nationalist ‘master narrative’ history writing was used in attempts to tie the new Yugoslav state to the Serbian ‘Golden Age’ of the Middle Ages and conceptualise South Slavic unification through the lens of Kosovo. Indeed, throughout the Interbellum Serbian intellectuals debated whether Serbia represented a single nation or a distinct part of a larger Yugoslav nation.³⁴⁴

This thesis has repeatedly shown how such ‘master narrative’ national history influenced pre-war Serbian visual sources, but it is clear also in Interbellum Yugoslav images, such as this one. Indeed, in the Yugoslav period the Mediaeval imperial Golden Age gained new significance in justifying Serbia’s role as unifier, undoubtedly a subject of contention as inter-ethnic relations grew tenser throughout the 1920s and 30s.³⁴⁵ As noted, in the period before 1914 many Serbian nationalists looked to Piedmont Sardinia as a model for South Slavic liberation.³⁴⁶ It was argued that Serbs were best placed to lead such unification as, due to the successes of the Slavo-Byzantine Mediaeval Serbian Empire, Serbs possessed unique “state crafting genes”.³⁴⁷ In this guise, Stanoje Stanojević called Serbia the South Slavic “imperial core nation” in his 1908 history.³⁴⁸ While Romanian and Greek historians also claimed the mantle of Byzantium (and Bulgaria and Trebizond were equally plausible Mediaeval successors), such discourses in Serbia were highly influential and

³⁴² Judah, *History, Myth*, 109-110.

³⁴³ Ibid.

Antić, *Serbia*, 244-247.

³⁴⁴ Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 91.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 57-59,80, 91.

Judah, *History, Myth*, 93-112.

³⁴⁶ Newman, “Military Relations”, 140-142, 147-148, 151-155.

³⁴⁷ Ignjatović, “Imperial Imagination”, 80.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 79-80.

exceptionalising.³⁴⁹ This is clearest in the history paintings of the pre-war era, Đorđe Krstić's 1891 *Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs* (commissioned by the Ministry of Education for the Belgrade Great School's Assembly Hall) and in Paja Jovanović's painting of Tsar Dušan for the Paris World Exposition of 1900 most notably.³⁵⁰ However, it is equally clear in Uroš Predić's 1921 *Saint Sava Blesses [the] Serb Youth* and his 1919 *Kosovo Maiden*. This shows how the 'master narrative' of continuity from the Mediaeval Golden Age to the modern Serb state was reimagined in the guise of the new Yugoslav state. Indeed, this narrative, if anything, gained importance in ultimately unsuccessful promotion of Yugoslav national unity. It was equally important in attempting to legitimise the power of Aleksandar Karađorđević (and the somewhat problematic dominance of the Serbian monarchy), whom propagandists compared to Tsar Dušan as well as King Petar.³⁵¹ Such Yugoslav reimagination of Serbian nationalist narratives raises natural comparison with British reimagination of English nationalism – a subject of escalating relevance since 2016.

Together, these diverse factors represent the efforts of a new state to forge for itself 'national culture'. They are the product of diverse and experimental attempts to imagine a single 'Yugoslavia' capable of transcending profound cultural and socio-economic differences. These efforts were, ultimately, unsuccessful. However, in mobilisation of pre-war Serbian nationalist imagery, they raise fascinating parallels with nineteenth-century nationalist use of culture, such as in Karadžić's Kosovo Cycle.

Moreover, they demonstrate significant continuity between Serb and Yugoslav nationalist imagination and imagery, in contrast to the usual portrayal of the Great War as a complete rupture. These trends are of significance in understanding the Yugoslav Project

³⁴⁹ Ibid, 58, 63, 66-67, 73-75.

³⁵⁰ Filipovitch-Robinson, "Revolution", 327-328.

Filipovitch-Robinson, "War and Peace", 48.

See Appendix 5 (a-b), p. 101-102.

³⁵¹ Ignjatović, "Imperial Imagination", 58, 63, 66-67, 73-75.

itself. It is, therefore, a very relevant area of research that supports this thesis' contention that nationalism in Serbia cannot be understood as an exceptional phenomenon and that visual sources cannot be overlooked in the study of the history of nationalism.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated the clear European scope of Serbian nationalism between the 1878 Congress of Berlin and the official establishment of “Yugoslavia” in 1929. Throughout, it has demonstrated how Serbian nationalist discourses of the period cannot be understood in isolation. Rather than an exceptional phenomenon, the development of Serbian nationalism was inextricably linked to far-reaching, transformative and highly complex processes of ‘Europeanisation’. Through analysis of visual sources, the thesis has shown the development of nationalist ‘master narrative’ history in Serbia and the effect it had on Serbian visual culture. While much of this thesis has discussed narratives surrounding conflict and displacement, this does not stem from a ‘Balkanist’ obsession with violence. Rather, it reflects their prevalence in nationalist narratives and, consequently, nationalist painting. While there is an abundance of Serbian art where such motifs are largely absent, they are by their nature unsuitable for analysis of ‘master narrative’ history.

Analysis of Serbian painting, supported by comparison with other European societies, has shown the extent to which such ‘Europeanisation’ was neither passive nor one-way. In this respect, the thesis challenges many of the assumptions current in literature on South Eastern Europe’s cultural and institutional development. Moreover, analysis of visual sources has given far-reaching insight into the narratives underpinning Serbian nationalism in this period and the socio-political context influencing their development. In this regard, the thesis’ engagement with primary sources has illuminated the complexity of this period of rapid change, as well as the benefit of engaging with visual expression in the study of nationalism.

Likewise, in its discussion of nationalist mythologisation of Montenegro and visual approach to the Kosovo Myth (a phenomenon usually studied through analysis of epic

poetry), this thesis has made an original contribution to the field. Adding to present understanding of Serbian nationalism and making an important contribution to neglected discussion of visual culture, building on the work of Lilien Filipovitch-Robinson and, to a lesser extent, that of Tim Judah, Nikola Kusovac and Radomir Stanić.

Moreover, the thesis has used visual sources to approach the history of gender and sexuality, demonstrating the overlooked complexity of these subjects in this region, their connection to nineteenth century nation-building and visual sources' appertenance to their discussion. Throughout, the thesis has emphasised the contemporary relevance of the trends discussed.

Whilst building on a significant corpus of secondary material, it has raised multiple lines of argument challenging 'Balkanist' assumptions about the nature of South Eastern Europe's historical development. It has demonstrated, with the support of visual sources, throughout its core argument that the development of Balkan nationalisms in the nineteenth century cannot be studied in isolation from processes of 'Europeanisation'. Clearly, this region cannot, and must not, be studied as historically 'exceptional'.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Árpád Feszty's *Arrival of the Hungarians*

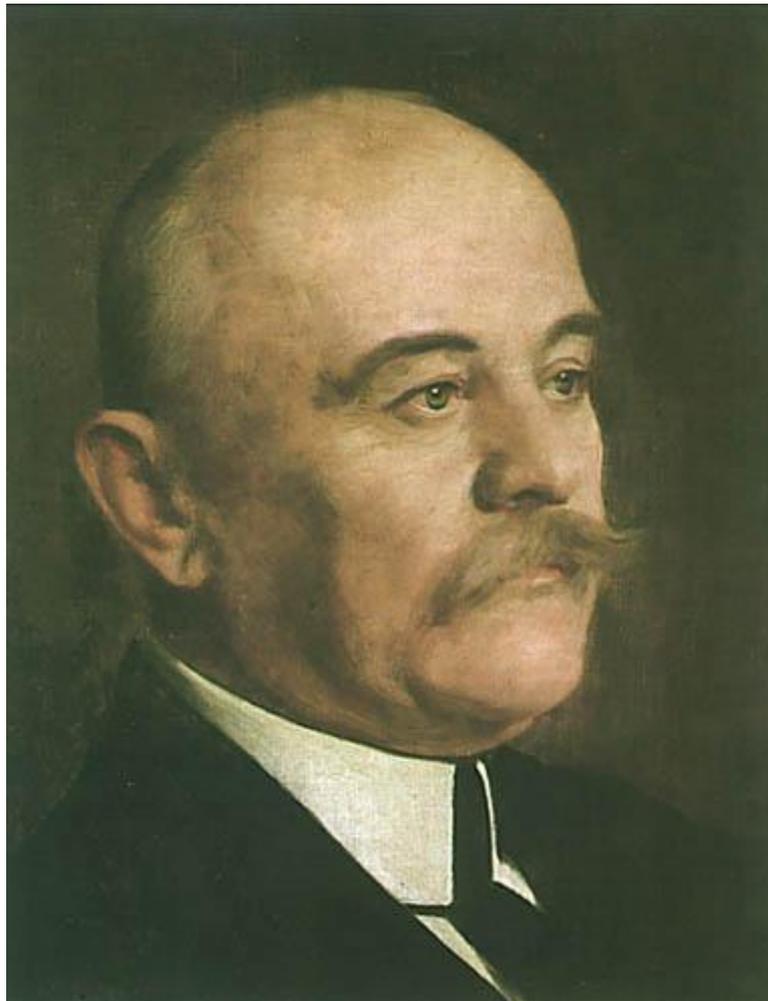


Appendix 1. Árpád Feszty, *The Arrival of the Hungarians* ('*A Magyarok Bejövetele*'), c. 1892-1894. Also known as The Feszty Panorama ('*Feszty-körkép*'), detail of The Seven Chieftains of the Hungarians. Oil on canvas, dimension of detail not provided, full panorama: 15 x 120 m. From the collection of the Ópusztaszer National Heritage Park ('*Nemzeti Történelmi Emlékpark*'), through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June 2021. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Arpadfeszty.jpg>.

Appendix 2: Đura Jakšić's *The Uprising at Takovo*

Appendix 2. Đura Jakšić, *The Uprising at Takovo* ('Takovski Ustanak'), c. 1876-1878. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('Narodni Muzej Srbije'), source: Mišić, Snežana. *Slikarstvo Đure Jakšića* (Belgrade: Belgrade University Press, 2017), through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 21 June 2021.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:C4%90ura_Jak%C5%A1i%C4%87_-_Takovski_ustanak,_1876%E2%80%921878,_Narodni_muzej.jpg.

Appendix 3: Nineteenth Century Serbian Portraiture

Appendix 3 (a). Uroš Predić, *Jovan Cvijić*, date of production not provided. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts ('*Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti*', 'SANU'), through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June 2021.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jovan_Cviji%C4%87,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87.jpg.



Appendix 3 (b). Konstantin Danil, *Portrait of Madame Tötösy* ('*Portret Gospođa Teteši*'), c. 1835-40. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('*Narodni Muzej Srbije*'), through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June 2021.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Madame_T%C5%91t%C3%B6ssy.jpg.



Appendix 3 (c). Nikola Aleksić, *Jovan Stefanović Vilovski, Major and Author* ('*Jovan Stefanović Vilovski, Major i Knjizevnik*'), c. 1850. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of Matica Srpska, through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June 2021.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:N._Aleksic,_Jovan_Stefanovic_Vilovski,_major_i_knjizevnik_\(oko_1850\).JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:N._Aleksic,_Jovan_Stefanovic_Vilovski,_major_i_knjizevnik_(oko_1850).JPG).



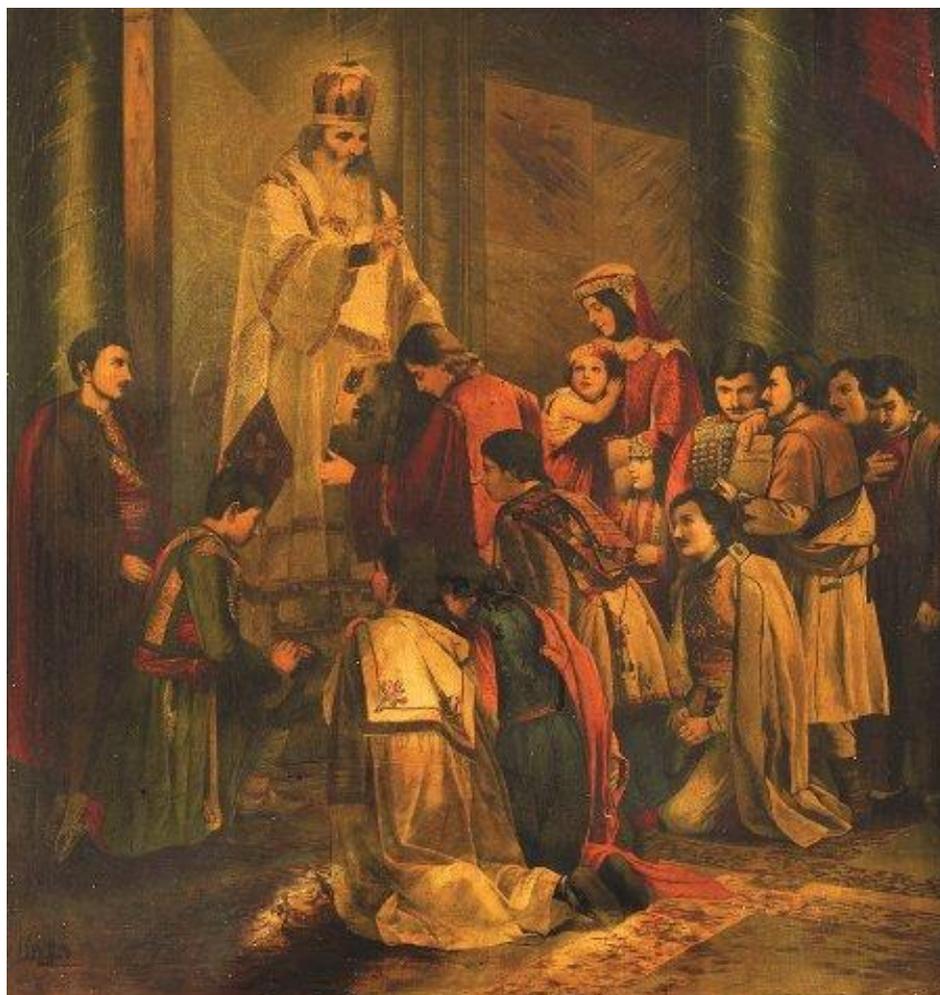
Appendix 3 (d). Stevan Todorović, *Portrait of Nićifor Dučić* ('*Portret Nićifora Dučića*'), c. 1874. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts ('*Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti*', 'SANU'), through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ni%C4%87ifor_Du%C4%8Di%C4%87,_1874.jpg.

Appendix 4: Uroš Predić's 1887 *Merry Brothers*

Appendix 4. Uroš Predić, *Merry Brothers* ('*Vesela Braća*'), c. 1887. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('*Narodni Muzej Srbije*'), through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 21 June 2021.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Merry_brothers_1887.jpg.

Appendix 5: Đorđe Krstić's *Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs* & Paja Jovanović's

Coronation of Tsar Dušan



Appendix 5 (a). Đorđe Krstić, *Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs* ('*Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad*'), c, 1891. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided, uploaded as anonymous photograph, *Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad u Crnogorskim Narodnim Nošnjama* ('*Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs in Montenegrin folk costume*'). Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June 2021.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:C4%90or%C4%91e_Krsti%C4%87,_%D0%A1%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B8_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B0_%D0%91%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B8%D1%99%D0%B0_%D0%A1%D1%80%D0%BF%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%B4,_1891.jpg.



Appendix 5 (b). Paja Jovanović, *The Coronation of Tsar Dušan* ('*Krunisanje Cara Dušana*'), c. 1900. Oil on canvas, dimensions of original not provided, from the 1900 Paris World Exposition, source: *Beogradske škole*, archived from the original, through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovi%C4%87-Krunisanje_Cara_Du%C5%A1ana.jpg.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Paintings:

Jovanović, Paja. *Migration of the Serbs* ('*Seoba Srba*'), c. 1896. Oil on canvas. 126 x 190 cm. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*'), 1970, p. 32. Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Serbmigra.jpg>.

Jovanović, Paja. *The Fencing Lesson* ('*Cas macevanje*'), c. 1884. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. Original collection of origin not provided (Retrieved from: <http://www.yurope.com/people/nena/Galerija/macevanj.jpg>). Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovic;Cas_macevanje.jpg.

Jovanović, Paja. *The Sword Dance* or *Fencing Game* (Serbian Title not provided), c. pre 1900. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From unspecified private collection. Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Joanovitch_Paul_\(1859%E2%80%931957\)_The_Sword_Dance,_Private_Collection.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Joanovitch_Paul_(1859%E2%80%931957)_The_Sword_Dance,_Private_Collection.jpg).

Jovanović, Paja. *The Takovo Uprising* ('*Takovski Ustanak*'), c. 1894. Oil on canvas. 160 x 256 cm. From the collection of the Rudnik-Takovo Regional Museum ('*Muzej Rudničko Takovskog Kraja*'). Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovic-Takovski_ustanak.jpg.

Jovanović, Paja. *The Wounded Montenegrin* ('*Ranjeni Crnogorac*'), c. 1882. Oil on canvas. 114 x 186 cm. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*'), 1970, p. 30. Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovi%C4%87;Ranjeni_Crnogorac_.jpg.

Jovanović, Paja. *Vršac Triptych* ('*Vršački Triptihon*'), c. 1895. Oil on canvas. 1: 200 x 200 cm, 2: 200 x 100 cm. From the collection of the Vršac City Museum ('*Gradski Muzej Vršac*'). Source: Balašević, Jovan. *Vojvodina: Tourist Guide*, 1966, p. 45. Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Vr%C5%A1ac_triptych.jpg.

Predić, Uroš. *Kosovo Maiden* ('*Kosovska Devojka*'), c. 1919. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Museum of the City of Belgrade ('*Muzej Grada Beograda*'). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kosovo_Maiden,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87,_1919.jpg.

Predić, Uroš. *Queen Natalija Obrenović of Serbia* (Serbian title given as ‘*Kraljica Natalija Obrenović Prebačeno sa Ostave*’), c. 1890. Oil on canvas. 58 x 44 cm. Original collection of origin not provided. Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queen_Natalia_Obrenovic_of_Serbia_in_Paris_by_Uros_Predic.jpg.

Predić, Uroš. *Refugees from the Herzegovina Uprising* (‘*Hercegovački begunci*’), c. 1889. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia (‘*Narodni Muzej Srbije*’). Through: *narodnimuzej.rs*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. <http://www.narodnimuzej.rs/new-age-and-modern-period/collection-of-serbian-18th-and-19th-century-painting/?lang=en>.

Predić, Uroš. *Saint Sava Blesses [the] Serb Youth* (‘*Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad*’), c. 1921. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From Mihailo Grbić (Photograph). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sveti_Sava_blagosilja_Srp%C4%8Dad,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87,_1921.jpg.

Other Visual Sources:

Creator not stated. *The avenger of Kosovo and liberator of our people, Petar the Great* (‘*Osvetnik Kosova i oslobodilac našeg naroda Petar Veliki*’), c. 193?. Print in Colour. 44 x 34 cm. From the collection of the Digital Library of Matica Srpska (‘*Digitalna Biblioteka Matica Srpska*’). Original Publisher: Izdanje knjižare Tome Jovanovića i Vujića, Belgrade, Serbia, 193?. Accessed: 20 June, 2021. <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/view/3034>.

Jeremić, Ivana. Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network). “Model of the Vidovdan Temple, 1912.” *BalkanInsight*. 18 December, 2019. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

Jeremić, Ivana. Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network). “A Slave, 1908.” *BalkanInsight*. 18 December, 2019. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

Jeremić, Ivana. Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network). “Head of Miloš Obilić, 1908.” *BalkanInsight*. 18 December, 2019. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

Jeremić, Ivana. Photograph: BIRN (Balkan Investigate Reporting Network). “The Maid of Kosovo, 1909.” *BalkanInsight*. 18 December, 2019. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/12/18/serbian-museum-puts-mestrovics-vidovdan-sculptures-on-display/>.

Klek, Jo (Seissel, Josif). “Zeniteum I”, c. 1924. *Zenit*, No. 35 [Dec. 1924], n.p., in *Zenit 1921–1926*. Edited by Vidosava Golubović & Irina Subotić. Belgrade: National Library of Serbia (‘*Narodna Biblioteka Srbije*’, Beograd), 2008. Courtesy of Irina Subotić. Uploaded by Jelena Bogdanović as ‘Figure 6’. In: Bogdanović, Jelena. “Evocations of Byzantium in Zenitist Avant-Garde Architecture.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (2016): p. 306. Through: *ResearchGate*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Jo-Klek-Josif-Seissel-Zeniteum-I-1924-Zenit-no-35-Dec-1924-np-in-Zenit_fig5_308091429.

Nestorović, Bogdan. *Bogdan Nestorović Watercolour of the Temple of Saint Sava* (‘*Akvarel Bogdan Nestorović Hram Svetog Save*’), c. 1931. Watercolour. Dimensions of original not provided. Artist’s own work. Licensed under: Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International Licence, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en> (Retrieved: 21 June, 2021). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Akvarel_Bogdan_Nestorovic_Hram_Svetog_Save_1931.jpg.

Other Primary Sources:

“Narode!: stara Austro-Ugarska država je uništena...”Veliki Rat (‘Great War’) Project, Plakati (‘Posters’) Collection, Narodna Biblioteka Srbije Beograd (‘National Library of Serbia Belgrade’). Original Publisher: Novi Sad: Sloboda, 1918. Translate by Vuk Živanović, 2021. Accessed 18 July, 2021. <https://velikirat.nb.rs/en/items/show/1168>.

“Pijemont”, 1911-1913. *Digitalna Narodna Biblioteka Srbije* (‘National Digital Library of Serbia’). Accessed 16 April, 2021. <https://digitalna.nb.rs/Wiki.jsp?setLang=en&page=NBS%2Fnovine%2FPijemont>.

Buyuk, Hamdi Firat. “Turkey’s Plans for Hagia Sophia Strain Greek Relations.” *BalkanInsight*. 17 June, 2020. Accessed 18 June, 2021. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/06/17/turkeys-plans-for-hagia-sophia-strain-greek-relations/>.

Dankoff, Robert and Kim, Sooyong (ed. & trans.). *An Ottoman Traveller. Selections from the Book of travels of Evliya Çelebi*. London: Eland Publishing Limited, 2011.

Iwan, Dafydd. “Yma o Hyd” (‘Still Here’). Song Lyrics (Welsh Text). From: Musixmatch.com. Accessed 17 June, 2021. <https://www.musixmatch.com/lyrics/Dafydd-Iwan/Yma-o-Hyd>.

Kajosevic, Samir. "Montenegro Religious Protesters Step Up Rallies Ahead of Polls." *BalkanInsight*. 24 August, 2020. Accessed 18 June, 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2020/08/24/montenegro-religious-protesters-step-up-rallies-ahead-of-polls/>.

Konstantinov, Aleko. *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian*. Edited by Victor Friedman. Translated by Victor Friedman, Christina Kramer, Grace Fielder & Catherine Rudin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010. Originally published in Bulgarian: *Baj Ganju: Nevěrojatni razskazi za edim sůvrěmenen bůlgarin* (Sofia: Pencho V. Spasov, 1895).

Kovacevic, Danijel. "Bosnia Demands Explanation for Macron's 'Time-Bomb' Remark." *BalkanInsight*. 8 November, 2019. Accessed 18 June, 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/08/bosnia-demands-explanation-for-macrons-time-bomb-remark/>.

Marusic, Sinisa Jakov. "North Macedonia Leaders Renew Campaign for Church's Independence." *BalkanInsight*. 23 September, 2020. Accessed 18 June, 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2020/09/23/north-macedonia-leaders-renew-campaign-for-churchs-independence/>.

Tanner, Marcus. "Russian Church 'Cuts Ties' to Constantinople Over Ukraine." *BalkanInsight*. 17 September, 2018. Accessed 18 June, 2021.
<https://balkaninsight.com/2018/09/17/russian-church-cuts-ties-to-constantinople-over-ukraine-09-17-2018/>.

Vasić, Vladimir. "Ej Kosovo." In *Pesme Vladimira Vasića*, pp. 16-17. Zemun: Štamparijom N. K. Sopronovom, 1865. Translated from Serbian original by Vuk Živanović, 2020. From: Digital National Library of Serbia (*Digitalna Narodna Biblioteka Srbije*). Accessed 17 June, 2021.
https://digitalna.nb.rs/wb/NBS/Stara_i_retka_knjiga/Zbirka_knjiga_Stojana_Novakovica/S-I-0046?search_query=Kosovo#page/0/mode/1up.

Sources Used in Appendix:

Aleksić, Nikola. *Jovan Stefanović Vilovski, Major and Author* ('*Jovan Stefanović Vilovski, Major i Knjizevnik*'), c. 1850. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of Matica Srpska. Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June, 2021.
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:N._Aleksic,_Jovan_Stefanovic_Vilovski,_major_i_knjizevnik_\(oko_1850\).JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:N._Aleksic,_Jovan_Stefanovic_Vilovski,_major_i_knjizevnik_(oko_1850).JPG).

Danil, Konstantin. *Portrait of Madame Tötössy* ('*Portret Gospoda Teteši*'), c. 1835-40. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('*Narodni Muzej Srbije*'). Source: photograph of original. Through: *Wikimedia*

Commons. Accessed: 22 June, 2021.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Madame_T%C5%91t%C3%B6ssy.jpg.

Feszty, Árpád. *The Arrival of the Hungarians* ('*A Magyarok Bejövetele*'), c. 1892-1894. Also known as The Feszty Panorama ('*Feszty-körkép*'). Detail of The Seven Chieftains of the Hungarians. Oil on canvas. Dimension of detail not provided. Full panorama: 15 x 120 m. From the collection of the Ópusztaszer National Heritage Park ('*Nemzeti Történeti Emlékpark*'). Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Arpadfeszty.jpg>.

Jakšić, Đura. *The Uprising at Takovo* ('*Takovski Ustanak*'), c. 1876-1878. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('*Narodni Muzej Srbije*'). Source: Mišić, Snežana. *Slikarstvo Đure Jakšića* (Belgrade: Belgrade University Press, 2017). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:%C4%90ura_Jak%C5%A1i%C4%87_-_Takovski_ustanak,_1876%E2%80%921878,_Narodni_muzej.jpg.

Jovanović, Paja. *The Coronation of Tsar Dušan* ('*Krunisanje Cara Dušana*'), c. 1900. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the 1900 Paris World Exposition. Source: *Beogradske skole*, archived from the original. Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Paja_Jovanovi%C4%87-Krunisanje_Cara_Du%C5%A1ana.jpg.

Krstić, Đorđe. *Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs* ('*Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad*'), c. 1891. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. Uploaded as anonymous photograph, *Sveti Sava Blagosilja Srpčad u Crnogorskim Narodnim Nošnjama* ('*Saint Sava Blessing Young Serbs in Montenegrin folk costume*'). Through: *Wikipedia*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:%C4%90or%C4%91e_Krsti%C4%87,_%D0%A1%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B8_%D0%A1%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B0_%D0%91%D0%B%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%81%D0%B8%D1%99%D0%B0_%D0%A1%D1%80%D0%BF%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%B4,_1891.jpg.

Predić, Uroš. *Jovan Cvijić*, Date of production not provided. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts ('*Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti*', 'SANU'). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June, 2021.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jovan_Cviji%C4%87,_Uro%C5%A1_Predi%C4%87.jpg.

Predić, Uroš. *Merry Brothers* ('*Vesela Braća*'), c. 1887. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the National Museum of Serbia ('*Narodni Muzej Srbije*'). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 21 June, 2021.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Merry_brothers_1887.jpg.

Todorović, Stevan. *Portrait of Nićifor Dučić* ('*Portret Nićifora Dučića*'), c. 1874. Oil on canvas. Dimensions of original not provided. From the collection of the Serbian Academy of

Sciences and Arts (*Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti*, 'SANU'). Through: *Wikimedia Commons*. Accessed: 22 June, 2021.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ni%C4%87ifor_Du%C4%8Di%C4%87,_1874.jpg.

Secondary Sources

Books & Book Chapters:

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.

Antić, Čedomir. *The History of Serbia*. Translated by Miljana Protić. Belgrade: Laguna, 2018.

Bastéa, Eleni. "Athens, 1890-1940: Transitory Modernism and National Realities." In *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890-1940*, edited by Jan Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch, pp. 127-152. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014.

Beissinger, Margaret. "History and the Making of South Slavic Epic." In *Archaeology and the Homeric Epic*, edited by Susan Sherratt and John Bennet, pp. 135-155. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017.

Berger, Stefan & Conrad, Christoph. *The Past as History. National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Biagini, Eugenio (ed.). *Citizenship and Community. Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Book Ltd., 2001.

Danforth, Loring. *The Macedonian Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream. The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923*. London: John Murray (Publishers), 2006.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006.

Glenny, Misha. *The Balkans 1804-2012*. London: Granta Publications, 2012.

Glenny, Misha. *The Fall of Yugoslavia*. London: Penguin Books, 1996.

Hanioglu, Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Hobsbawm, Eric & Ranger, Terence. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Hroch, Miroslav. *European Nations*. Translated by Karolina Graham. London: Verso, 2015.

Janićijević, Jovan (editor). *The Cultural Treasury of Serbia*. Belgrade: IDEA, 2002.

- Jovčić-Sas, Nik. "The Tradition of Homophobia: Responses to Same-Sex Relationships in Serbian Orthodoxy from the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day." In *New Approaches in History and Theology to Same-Sex Love and Desire. Genders and Sexualities in History*, edited by Mark Chapman and Dominic Janes, pp. 55-77. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Judah, Tim. *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Konstantinov, Aleko. *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian*. Edited by Victor Friedman. Translated by Victor Friedman, Christina Kramer, Grace Fielder & Catherine Rudin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010. Originally published in Bulgarian: *Baj Ganju: Nevěřojatni razskazi za edim sůvrěmenen bůlgarin* (Sofia: Pencho V. Spasov, 1895).
- Livanios, Dimitris. "The quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism and collective identities in Greece, 1453-1913." In *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Katerina Zacharia, pp. 239-267. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Neuburger, Mary. *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Newman, John Paul. "The Hollow Crown: Civil and Military Relations during Serbia's "Golden Age," 1903-1914." In *The Balkans as Europe, 1821-1914*, edited by Timothy Snyder and Katherine Younger, pp. 139-160. Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2018.
- Panossian, Razmik. *The Armenians: from kings and priests to merchants and commissars*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Reill, Dominique Kirchner. *The Fiume Crisis. Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020.
- Stojanović, Dubravka. "Between Rivalry, Irrationality, and Resistance: The Modernization of Belgrade, 1890-1914." In *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890-1940*, edited by Jan Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch, pp. 153-178. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014.
- Tanner, Marcus. *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Thiessen, Ilka. *Waiting for Macedonia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernisation of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Živković, Marko. *Serbian Dreambook. National Imaginary in the Time of Milošević*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011.

Journal Articles:

Abazi, Enika & Doja, Alberta. "From the Communist point of view: Cultural hegemony and folkloric manipulation in Albanian studies under socialism." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2016): 163-178.

Ayteken, Attila. "The Production of Space during the Period of Autonomy: Notes on Belgrade Urban Space, 1817-67." *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 6 (2016): 588-607.

Bieber, Florian. "Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering." *Rethinking History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2002): 95-110.

Bogdanović, Jelena. "Evocations of Byzantium in Zenitist Avant-Garde Architecture." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (2016): 299-317.

Dragostinova, Theodora. "Continuity vs. Radical break: national homogenization campaigns in the Greek-Bulgarian borderlands before and after the Balkan Wars." *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2016): 405-426.

Draper, Stark. "The Conceptualization of an Albanian nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1997): 123-144.

Filipovitch-Robinson, Lilien. "Exploring Modernity in the Art of Krstić, Jovanović, and Predić." *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2007): pp. 115-134.

Filipovitch-Robinson, Lilien. "Inspiration and Affirmation of Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Serbian Painting." *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2005): pp. 317-328.

Filipovitch-Robinson, Lilien. "Paja Jovanović and the Imagining of War and Peace." *Journal of the North American Society of Serbian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2008): pp. 35-52.

Georgiadou, Vassiliki. "Greek Orthodoxy and the Politics of Nationalism." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1995): 295-315.

Goldwyn, Adam. "'Go Back to Homer's Verse': *Iliads* of revolution and *Odysseys* of exile in Albanian Poetry." *Classical Receptions Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2016): 506-528.

Ignjatović, Aleksandar. "Byzantium's Apt Inheritors: Serbian Historiography, Nation-Building and Imperial Imagination, 1882-1941." *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (2016): 57-92.

Ignjatović, Aleksandar. "Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (2014): 828-858.

Ishtiaq, Hussain. "The Tanzimat: Secular Reforms in the Ottoman Empire." *On Behalf of Faith Matters*, 2011. Accessed 29 April, 2021. <http://faith-matters.org/images/stories/fm-publications/the-tanzimat-final-web.pdf>.

Ivanović, Miloš. "Militarization of the Serbian State under Ottoman Pressure." *The Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2019): 390-410.

Jenne, Erin & Bieber, Florian. "Situational Nationalism: Nation-building in the Balkans, Subversive Institutions and the Montenegrin Paradox." *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 13, No. 15 (2014): 431-460.

Jovanović, Miloš. "'The city in our hands': urban management and contested modernity in nineteenth-century Belgrade." *Urban History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2013): 32-50.

Judah, Tim. "The Serbs: The Sweet and Rotten Smell of History." *Daedalus*, Vol. 126, No. 3 (1997): 23-45.

Kitromilides, Paschalis. "Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus." *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1990): 1-17.

Kokosalakis, Nikos. "The Political Significance of Popular Religion in Greece." *Archive des Sciences Sociales des Religions*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (1987): 37-52.

Mahon, Milena. "The Macedonian question in Bulgaria." *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1998): 389-407.

Milojković-Djurić, Jelena. "Les Sources Nationales des Opéras de Petar Konjović (1883-1970)." *Revue des études slaves*, Vol. 84, No. 3/4 (2013): 409-420.

Pavlović, Aleksandar & Atanasovski, Srđan. "From Myth to Territory: Vuk Karadžić, Kosovo Epics and the Role of Nineteenth Century Intellectuals in Establishing National Narratives." *The Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2016): 357-376.

Pavlović, Srdja. "Literature, Social Poetics, and Identity Construction in Montenegro." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2003): 131-165.

Resanović, Dunja. "From three Ottoman gates to three Serbian sites of memory: the performative rewriting of Belgrade from 1878 until today." *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (2019): 393-405.

Ristić, Irena. "Serbian Identity and the Concept of Europeanness." *Panoeconomicus*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2007): 185-195.

Rusu, Mihai. "(Hi)story-telling the nation: the narrative construction of Romanianism in the late 19th century." *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2014): 101-120.

- Saggau, Emil Hilton. "A Shrine for the Nation: The Material Transformation of the Lovćen Site in Montenegro." *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (2018): 495-512.
- Sidorovska-Čupovska, Silvana. "Nationalism in the Balkan Countries and Education of Macedonians (1913-1945)." *Politeja*, Issue 30 (2014): 97-104.
- Slapšak, Svetlana. "Women's Memory in the Balkans: The Alternative Kosovo Myth." *Gender and Nation in South Eastern Europe*, Vol. 14 (2005): 95-111.
- Stojaković, Gordana & Bogdanović, Snežana. "*Women's World* (1886-1914): Serbian Women's Laboratory as an Entrance into the Public Sphere." *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2011): 21-58.
- Tomić, Svetlana. "Women Intellectuals in Serbian 19th Century Culture and Their Beliefs: The Importance of Discontinuity." Paper presented at the 51th Annual ASEES Convention, San Francisco, California, 23-26 November 2019.
- Trix, Frances. "Alphabet conflict in the Balkans: Albanian and the Congress of Monastir." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Issue 128 (1997): 1-23.
- Vickers, Jill & Vouloukos, Athanasia. "Changing Gender/Nation Relations: Women's Roles in Making and Restructuring the Greek Nation-State." *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2007): 501-538.
- Volarić, Klara. "Between the Ottoman and Serbian States: Carigradski Glasnik, an Istanbul-based Paper of Ottoman Serbs, 1895-1909." *The Hungarian Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2014): 560-586.