

A historical black and white photograph of a street in Sarajevo, showing people, a horse-drawn carriage, and buildings. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent orange filter. The text is contained within a white-bordered box.

HERITAGE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

REPRESENTATIONS AND
REINTERPRETATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

SARAJEVO, 5-8 OCTOBER 2016



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INTRODUCTION

As a devastating period of 20th century European history, the First World War left behind an indelible mark in social memory that has manifested itself in a rich variety of ways from the time of the war until present day: in the personal memoirs of direct participants and remote observers, in public monuments and museums, in historical chronicles and narrations, in the reconfigured landscape and, not least, in music and the arts. However, for more than forty years, memories of WWI have remained in the shadows of WWII.

With the disintegration of socialist state, post-socialist transformation and Europeanisation processes, new representations and reinterpretations of WWI have also emerged in the former Yugoslav republics. Although practices of remembering and forgetting in this part of the Balkans have received extensive treatment across a range of disciplines, processes of producing and modifying memories of the WWI have remained relatively marginalised. The existing literature shows that research focused specifically on the remembrance of the WWI in the area of former Yugoslavia remains relatively scarce.

This conference seeks to fill the gaps in memory studies and open up a range of questions relating to the heritage of the war in the former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans. In particular, the conference intends to discuss WWI as an ongoing, meta-cultural process through which different social actors continually redefine the legacy of the war as a means of forming a collective identity in the present, reinterpret mutual relations and develop specific representations. The conference aims to highlight the political demands on memory of WWI. It will discuss historical as well as contemporary forms of WWI memory, the relations between them and the genealogy of memories, through observation of the reshaping of memory landscapes from the time of the war until present day.

SCHEDULE

Location: Hotel President, Bazardžani 1, Sarajevo

Wednesday, 5 October 2016

9.00 Registration

MONUMENTS OF WWI

9.30 - 11.10

Chair/Moderator: Karl Kaser

**Božidar Jezernik, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
The War After the End of the Great War

Risto Pekka Pennanen, University of Tampere, Finland
The Creation and Disintegration of Sarajevo Wehrmann im Eisen During and
After WWI

Maja Slijepcevic, Panteion University of Athens, Greece
From the Monument of Assassination Towards Gavriilo Princip's Monuments

Katarína Zimová, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Memorials Devoted to the Fallen Soldiers of WWI in the Area of the Present
Slovak Republic

**Ines Crvenkovska-Risteska, Ljupčo S. Risteski, "Ss.Cyril and Methodius"
University - Skopje, Macedonia**
Monuments Dedicated to WWI in Macedonia. Between Forgetfulness and
New Contextualisation

11.10 - 11.35

Discussion

11.35 - 11.50

Coffee break

REINTERPRETING WWI HISTORICAL PERSONALITIES

11.50 - 13.10

Chair/Moderator: Dan Podjed

**Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research,
Zagreb, Croatia**

The Great War in Croatia does not Have a Woman's Face, but Its Second Life
in Cultural Memory Does

Nikola Baković, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Germany

Remembrance of Stepa Stepanović Between National Memory and Local
Politics

**Alenka Bartulović, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**

Retracing the Steps of Gavrilo Princip?: Alternative Engagements with the
Memory of the Sarajevo Assassination

Mitja Velikonja, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Slovenia

Appropriated Heroes: Gavrilo Princip and Rudolf Maister as Subcultural Icons

13.10 - 13.30

Discussion

13.30 - 15.10

Lunch break

15.10 - 16.30

Chair/Moderator: Renata Jambrešić Kirin

**Dževad Drino, University of Zenica, Faculty of Law, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Benamina Londrc, University of Zenica, Faculty of Law, Bosnia and
Herzegovina**

Rudolf Zistler – Defence Attorney at the Trial of Perpetrators and Participants
of the Sarajevo Assassination in 1914

**Peter Simonič, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
Rudolf Maister - Physical and Cognitive Inscriptions of a WWI Hero

**Marjana Strmčnik, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
Rhetoric and Symbolism of WWI Heroes

**Sara Špelec, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
Alexander the Unifier: the Forgotten Yugoslav King

16.30 - 16.50

Discussion

16.50 – 17.05

Coffee break

17.05 - 17.45

Film Screening

My Wars (Věra Kosíková)

20.00 - 22.00

Opening Night Dinner

Inat kuća

Thursday, 6 October 2016

9.00

Registration

REMEMBERING WWI IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

9.30 - 10.50

Chair/Moderator: Samuel Foster

Robert M. Hayden, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Reversing Versailles: Accepting the Aggressors' Narrative by Commemorating
the Assassination in Sarajevo as the Start of the War

**Jurij Fikfak, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts,
Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Commemorative Practices upon the Hundredth Anniversary of WWI in the
Balkans

**František Šístek, Institute of History – Czech Academy of Sciences, Praha,
Czech Republic**

The Contested Memory of WWI in Montenegro

**Nebojša Čagorović, University of Donja Gorica Podgorica,
Monte Negro**

No Longer a Hidden Page of History

10.50 - 11.10

Discussion

11.10 - 11.25

Coffee break

11.25 - 12.45

Chair/Moderator: Grażyna Ewa Karpińska

Adnan Jahić, University in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Early Years of the Kingdom of Serbs,
Croats, and Slovenes: The WWI in the Political Conflict between “Yugo-Tatars”
and “Porkland”

Ljiljana Dobrovšak, Institute of Social Sciences „Ivo Pilar“, Zagreb, Croatia

Places of WWI Memory in Croatia

**Boštjan Kravanja, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**

Local Knowledge About WWI in the Upper Soča Valley, Slovenia

**Jana Pospíšilová, Zdeněk Uherek; Czech Academy of Sciences, Institute of
Ethnology, Prague**

Hard-Times Stories

12.45 – 13.05

Discussion

13.05 - 14.45

Lunch break

**OFF THE BEATEN TRACK:
MARGINALISED STORIES OF THE WWI**

14.45 - 15.45

Chair/Moderator: Mitja Velikonja

Samuel Foster, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK
Salonica, 1915-1918: The First World War's Forgotten Front

Dan Podjed, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Rituals of Cooperation During WWI: Representations and Reinterpretations

Jasenska Kranjčević, Institute for tourism, Zagreb, Croatia
WWI and Tourism on the Croatian Adriatic Coast

15.45 – 16.00

Discussion

16.00 - 16.15

Coffee break

16.15 - 17.15

Chair/Moderator: Peter Simonič

Daša Ličen, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Saša Babič, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Ljubljana, Slovenia
War Diaries as a Niche to Slovene Identifications

Tatjana Jukić, University of Zagreb, Croatia
Psychoanalysis as a World War Memorial

**Anton Snoj, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts,
Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
Rituals and Special Events of the First City Boys' Folk School in Ljubljana
During WWI

17.15 - 17.30

Discussion

Friday, 7 October 2016

POPULAR INTERPRETATIONS AND ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF WWI

9.30 - 10.50

Chair/Moderator: Miha Kozorog

Cathie Carmichael, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK
Marš na Drinu. Habsburg Policy and Military Actions in the Mačva Region of
Serbia in 1914

Ivana Basic, Institute of Ethnography SASA, Belgrade, Serbia
A Purple Journey to the End of Humanity – World War One in the Novel The
Sixth Day by Rastko Petrović

**Rajko Muršič, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**
The Time of Transition: Popular Music in Slovenia after WWI

**Lana Šehović Pačuka, University of Sarajevo, Academy of Music, Sarajevo,
Bosnia and Herzegovina**
Concert Life in Sarajevo During the First World War Through the Prism of
Newspaper Articles

10.50 - 11.10

Discussion

11.10 - 11.25

Coffee break

ARCHIVES, PHOTOGRAPHY AND CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF WWI

11.25 - 12.25

Chair/Moderator: Ivana Basic

Karl Kaser, University of Graz, Austria

Film Archive Jugoslovenka kinoteka as Memory Storage
Related to the Great War

**Dragnoslaw Demski, Institute of Archeology and Ethnology,
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland**

Photographic Narratives of the First World War.
The Wiew from the Polish 'Archives'

Stevan Mačković, Istorijski arhiv Subotica, Serbia

On the Military Casualties of WWI and Sources from the Subotica Register
Office (1914-1919)

12.25 - 12.40

Discussion

12.40 - 14.20

Lunch break

PRODUCTION OF WWI MEMORY TROUGH LANDSCAPE

14.20 - 15.40

Chair/Moderator: Tatiana Bajuk Senčar

**Dominika Czarnecka, Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish
Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland**

WWI 'Cartographies': Mapping the Polish Landscape of Forgetting

**Grażyna Ewa Karpińska, University of Łódź, Institute of Ethnology and
Cultural Anthropology, Poland**

At a War Cemetery: Cultural Traces and Practices

**Jaka Repič, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Ethnology
and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**

Memorialisation of WWI in the Landscape of the Julian Alps

**Miha Kozorog, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**

Conservation of Military Landscapes in the
Upper Soča Valley in Slovenia

15.40 – 16.00

Discussion

16.00 - 16.15

Coffee break

CONSTRUCTING HERITAGE OF THE WWI IN SLOVENIA

16.15 - 17.55

Chair/Moderator: Jaka Repič

**Petra Svoltjšak, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and
Arts - Milko Kos Historical Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
and University of Nova Gorica, Slovenia**

The Slovene Remembrance of WWI – Between Memory and Denial

**Ernesta Drole, Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Nova
Gorica, Slovenia**

Immovable Cultural Heritage of WWI in the
Territory of the Soča/Isonzo Front

**Tatiana Bajuk Senčar, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of
Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Ljubljana, Slovenia**

Commemorating Bohinj as the Hinterlands of the Isonzo Front:
the Creation of the Supply Hinterland for the Krn Battlefield
Thematic Route

**Jože Hudales, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of
Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Slovenia**

Interpretations and Reinterpretations of WWI in Museums and (Private)
Museum Collections

**Tadej Koren, "Walk of Peace in the Soča Region Foundation", Kobarid,
Slovenia**

**Petra Testen, Institute of Cultural History at the Research Centre of the
Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts,
Ljubljana, Slovenia**

The Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic – an International Historical
Area that Keeps the Heritage of the Isonzo Front Alive

17.55 - 18.20

Discussion

Saturday, 8 October 2016

EXCURSION



1

TATIANA BAJUK SENČAR

COMMEMORATING BOHINJ AS THE HINTERLANDS OF THE ISONZO FRONT: THE CREATION OF THE SUPPLY HINTERLAND FOR THE KRN BATTLEFIELD THEMATIC ROUTE

On 3 September 2015, a new thematic hiking route was formally inaugurated in Bohinj during Bohinj's 8th Hiking Festival. 45 kilometres long, this path connects sites significant to Bohinj's history during WWI on the occasion of the 100-year anniversary of the outbreak of the Isonzo Front. The memorial path project was first set in motion 12 years ago by the Bohinj historian Tomaž Budkovič, to whom the path is also dedicated. Bohinj lay at the rear of the Isonzo front lines and operated as a passage between the hinterlands and the line of battle. The locations along the path link existing sites long associated with Bohinj's WWI history (Tomaž Godec Museum) with new historical sites in order to mark and commemorate the role of Bohinj as an integral element of the supply system to the Krn battlefield.

At the time of its inauguration this new thematic route, titled The Supply Hinterland for the Krn Battlefield, was also formally incorporated into the Walk of Peace memorial thematic route, which runs along the Isonzo Front in the Upper Soča region from the Alps to the Adriatic. With the addition of the Bohinj thematic route, the extended Walk of Peace now maps out links between the front lines and the hinterlands as they existed during the years of WWI between the Bohinj and the Upper Soča regions.

In this paper, the author analyses the events that comprised the inauguration of the memorial route in Bohinj as a commemorative social process, and the ways in which the linking of Bohinj's path to the Walk of Peace and to broader WWI historical narratives is viewed by different groups of local social actors. More specifically, the author examines the ways in which local actors view the potential of commemorating local heritage, particularly the region's WWI heritage, as a resource for tourism both locally and regionally defined.



2

NIKOLA BAKOVIĆ

REMEMBRANCE OF STEPA STEPANOVIĆ BETWEEN NATIONAL MEMORY AND LOCAL POLITICS

Remembrance of WWI in Serbia has for the better part of the 20th century been overshadowed by subsequent historical events, thus paving ground for diverse modes of appropriation and instrumentalisation of the war's socio-political aspects. This situation was often further complicated by internal ruptures within the Serbian society on the state and local levels. The proposed contribution will examine the bottom-up facet of local memory culture in the Serbian town of Čačak, which revolved around glorifying the deeds and personality of the commander of the Serbian 2nd Army during the Great War, Marshal Stepa Stepanović (1856-1929).

This military commander spent the last decade of his life in Čačak, a fact that shaped the form of the local remembrance of the war to a considerable extent. The heroicisation of Marshal Stepanović was underway already during his lifetime, the street where he resided, for example, being named after him.

After Stepanović's death, remembrance expanded to include his gravesite and a school built in his honour. The Nazi occupiers desecrated these sites of remembrance, whereas the socialist authorities neglected the memory of the renowned commander due to allegations he had a hand in suppressing the communist movement in Sarajevo in the wake of the 1918 unification. However, in the late 1980s Marshal Stepanović's legacy was rediscovered, and the initiative to build a monument dedicated to his name sparked a vehement public debate. The civic confrontation began as discussion over the artistic vision of the monument,

but very quickly erupted into politicised mud-slinging and an all-encompassing showdown with the cultural practices of the socialist era. The name-calling campaign came to involve many cultural celebrities of the time, including the architect Bogdan Bogdanović. The “monument affair” thus turned into a major divisive line within the local political scenery (often defying nominal ideological standpoints), simultaneously revealing deeper social ruptures and mnemonic tendencies within the provincial community.

Through a diachronic analysis of grassroots memory practices connected to specific local celebrity, the hereby presented research aims to showcase the contingent nature of locally based mnemonic agency, as well as the diffuse nature of its operative channels. Albeit inevitably influenced by wider historical dynamics and centripetally oriented national remembrance strategies, the diverse plethora of local groups informed their remembrance practices and discursive strategies with specifically indigenous social interaction dynamics and interpersonal patterns of mnemonic alliance and confrontation. Precisely these tête-à-tête networks and circumstances of the small urban community, in many ways conveniently “semi-secluded” from central mnemonic policies, shaped the tactics of specific actors regarding the utilisation of a military hero’s memory in the power-struggle processes on the micro-level. In particular, the mediated antagonisation prompted by the monument initiative offers a glimpse into the process of mnemonic merging of the remembrance of Stepanović’s martial achievements with non-“Who Brought You Here, Marshal?”



3

ALENKA BARTULOVIĆ

RETRACING THE STEPS OF GAVRILO
PRINCIP?: ALTERNATIVE ENGAGEMENTS
WITH THE MEMORY OF THE SARAJEVO
ASSASSINATION

The assassination of Habsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 is often described as one of the most consequential assassinations of modern times. In addition, certain commentators of disruptive events of the late 20th and early 21st century identified the origins of diverse historical turbulences in “the day that shook the world” (Veljko Bulajić, 1975), often making ungrounded and de-contextualised links between Gavrilo Princip’s fateful shot in Sarajevo and current political struggles or armed conflicts.

The strong emphasis placed on the assassination by political interpretations as well as academic circles has recently been criticised by scholars, who noted that this persistent focus not only obscures the realities of WWI and diverts discussion to political and ideological clashes, but also, as Bosnian historian Husnija Kamberović (2015) claims, enhances tensions and antagonisms in the deeply divided Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. This was shown to be true during the Sarajevo Assassination Centennial which offered various events (from cultural spectacles to academic conferences) initiated and financed by different actors, mostly in Sarajevo in 2014. The flood of international events organised principally with the aim of promoting the ideas of peace and integration resulted in opposite consequences, entering the slippery field of different and often clashing

re-interpretations of WWI events, the Sarajevo assassination and its prominent figures, particularly the person of Gavrilo Princip.

In post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gavrilo Princip re-establishes his position as one of the most prominent figures, reflecting simmering political battles and Bosnian national divisions, and it should be noted that he has constantly been – under different regimes – presented in the light of competing politically motivated assessments. In today’s Bosnia-Herzegovina there are thus two dominant re-interpretations of Gavrilo Princip, painting a highly polarised picture of the historically significant figure as a “national hero” on the one hand, and as a brutal “terrorist” on the other. The political struggles attributing different meanings to Princip and his act (as well as to Young Bosnia as a movement) in Dayton-era Bosnia-Herzegovina have attracted a strong interest among scholars, however the more nuanced interpretations that distance themselves from nationalistic perspectives and exclusive readings of Gavrilo Princip are often neglected (for rare exceptions, see Donia 2015). This is certainly a consequence of the clear predominance of methodological nationalism in the analysis of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society.

Hence, this paper moves away from most noticeable political struggles and examines a variety of popular engagements with the memory of the Sarajevo assassination and its lead protagonists. In particular, it aims to highlight tourism-related uses and reinterpretations of Gavrilo Princip, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the assassination event itself in the popular culture of today’s Bosnia-Herzegovina. Furthermore, it also intends to offer a different framework of analysis, placing the Sarajevo assassination in the context of the post-Balkan wars reconstruction process, where coping with everyday uncertainties often resulted in the formation of different kinds of nostalgias. Based on brief fieldwork conducted in Sarajevo and an analysis of promotional materials along with a selected part of post-war popular culture, the paper intends to expose not just the commodification of the Sarajevo assassination, which became one of the top sites on the map of “dark tourism”, but also the process of generating counter discourses that question the dominant national construction of historical events.



4

IVANA BASIC

A PURPLE JOURNEY TO THE END OF HUMANITY – WORLD WAR ONE IN THE NOVEL *THE SIXTH DAY* BY RASTKO PETROVIĆ

The Sixth Day, a novel by Rastko Petrović, though having been unjustly neglected for a long time is, according to numerous more recent reviews of contemporary literary criticism, the very best novel of Serbian literature dealing with WWI. The war, as “an immense event of humankind” in Petrović’s words, is depicted indirectly, with the retreat of the Serbian army and people across Albania in the foreground. The focal point of this novel with elements of autobiography is the process of the dehumanisation of man, who becomes a “feral, resigned and impulsive animal”, whereas war is depicted as a “purple” cyclic journey to the bare core of the human being intersecting with decisive historic, collective and deeply intimate experiences.

By becoming divided between its human essence and the animal drive for survival, individuality is decomposed and lost in a simultaneous abhorrence and distancing from reality combined with the wish to build a new life on the ruins of the old. Wartime events are not present in the novel immediately; rather, the image of the war is reflected in the conscience of the main character who, undergoing the Serbian Golgotha, comes to the knowledge of otherness on many levels – knowledge of the possibilities of closeness and danger which he detects to coexist simultaneously in random fellow travellers, but also knowledge of his own animal nature (often expressed by the metaphor of a dog), because war reduces every thought and every psychological reaction to a single “hallucinatory”

idea – “managing, somehow, to stay alive”. Simultaneously, great bloodshed in Petrović’s vision becomes “a cycle of womanhood in nature” which expurgates “a half-rotten germ” for the sake of creating another. Famine, disease, death and war, traditionally a “male subject”, are identified as a part of the cycle of motherly nature, which strives for renewal and beginning again, and historical factography is here on many levels replaced by suggestive mythical images.

In Petrović’s novel, WWI is encapsulated primarily as a tragedy of humanity, the narrative of war void of the commonplace elements of historical war novels (heroism, national pathos, ideology). Therefore, it can be regarded as a superb (artistic) anthropological and psychological study of the wartime experience.



5

CATHIE CARMICHAEL

MARŠ NA DRINU. HABSBUURG POLICY AND MILITARY ACTIONS IN THE MAČVA REGION OF SERBIA IN 1914

Relations between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbia had notoriously been unstable for a long while before the Sarajevo assassinations of 1914. Certain senior Serbian officials, including Commander in Chief Radomir Putnik, had been expecting war and invasion years before it actually broke out. Namely, the two states shared over 500 kilometres of border while exhibiting heated trade rivalries as well as geopolitical tensions heightened by the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

In the month between the assassinations and the declaration of war, anti-Serb sentiment reached a feverish pitch in official Habsburg media. The Mačva region of Serbia, a fertile region west of Belgrade, consisted of the towns of Šabac, Loznica and Lešnica as well as numerous villages between the Drina and Sava rivers. During their journey to Bosnia in May 1914, Gavrilo Princip and Nedeljko Čabrinović stayed in the Mačva region's townships and locales and were deemed to have accomplices among the border guards – as was claimed in the so-called ultimatum delivered to Serbia on the 22nd July. It was this area, consequently, that felt the brunt of the Habsburg military assault throughout the final five months of 1914.

Though the Serbs claimed victory at the Battles of Cer and Kolubara, the western parts of Serbia were badly damaged with exorbitant casualty rates. The events were recorded by contemporaries such as Natalija Matić Zrnić as well as numerous Habsburg writers such as Josef Šrámek and the Swiss neutral Rodolphe

Archibald Reiss. Combat and civilian deaths incurred a great toll on the victims of all sides, including bereaved families and traumatised survivors. This paper will cover representations of the initial campaigns to subdue Serbia, in particular the 1964 Yugoslav film *Marš na Drinu* made by the Belgrade-based company Avala. In the paper, I will examine both the narrative of the film and the nature of its subject matter in the 1960s context.



6

**INES CRVENKOVSKA-RISTESKA,
LJUPČO S. RISTESKI**

MONUMENTS DEDICATED TO WWI IN
MACEDONIA. BETWEEN FORGETFULNESS
AND NEW CONTEXTUALISATION

The celebration of the centenary of WWI in Macedonia took place primarily in the atmosphere of the statement that “Macedonia does not possess a monument for the Macedonian soldiers killed while serving in foreign WWI armies.” In the Great War namely, Macedonian territory was divided between three neighbouring countries. Consequently, the locals were mobilised into and fought as part of different armies, often on opposing sides of the battlefield. After the war, the population of Macedonian lands thus continued to remain divided. In the years that followed, other Balkan countries launched extensive nation-building programs. Within the framework of these activities for example, they arranged and constructed military cemeteries, memorial crypts and memorials dedicated to WWI.

According to historical records, some 200,000 men from the territory of modern-day Macedonia were recruited and involved in the armies on both sides of the war. One part was mostly conscripted into the Serbian, and another into the Bulgarian army. After WWI, Vardar Macedonia become part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and was incorporated into the cultural and national policy of the state, but without the right to its own cultural and national identification. In this period, a number of monuments and memorials were then built in honour of the fallen soldiers of WWII. Changes in the different entities rulings over Macedonia by the end of WWII contributed to the fact that wartime memories were primarily expressed in the construction of new and demolition of old monuments, neglecting the remote and reinterpreting

the recent past. Even after WWII, though Macedonia gained its independence as an egalitarian socialist republic within the Yugoslavian federation, no particular interest emerged to foster the upkeep and restoration of the many local German, French, English, Russian and Serbian soldiers' Great War cemeteries. The country and the people considered themselves to have been used and exploited during WWI.

Today, Macedonia is establishing a new discourse on the construction of memories of the events of WWI, which seeks to concentrate on memorials dedicated to Macedonians soldiers who perished while serving in the various warring states and armies of the great conflict.



7

DOMINIKA CZARNECKA

WWI 'CARTOGRAPHIES': MAPPING THE
POLISH LANDSCAPE OF FORGETTING

In this paper I focus on mapping the Polish landscape of forgetting in the Legnica district with regard to WWI memory sites. The Legnica district, with its capital Legnica (German: Liegnitz), is a territorial unit in south-western Poland (a part of the Lower Silesian voivodeship). Legnica was incorporated into Polish territory following the Potsdam Conference in 1945 as a section of the so-called 'Recovered Territories.' Earlier, it had been part of Prussia and, since the unification of Germany in 1871, a part of the German Empire.

When WWI ended, many sites of memory were created in this area by the Germans: not only cemeteries but also monuments or memorial plaques (e.g., a monument to the grenadiers who died during WWI or a memory site to all the inhabitants of Legnica who perished in WWI). When WWII ended, Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland within the Northern Group of Forces and Polish communists began to dismantle all the preserved signs of previous German presence from these lands (e.g., the memory site to all the inhabitants of Legnica lost in WWI was converted to locker rooms for sports players in the 1960s). Since the 1989 democratic breakthrough, despite many initiatives, only a few WWI memory sites have been restored.

In this presentation I would like to start by comparing the German and Polish WWI memorial landscape in the Legnica district. In order to achieve this, I will consider and compare German visual representations (photos, postcards) of WWI memory sites (created before 1945) with Polish ones created between 1945-1989. I shall then move on towards a reconstruction of the contemporary

memorial landscape by conducting fieldwork (visual ethnographies as well as interviews).

In the final stage I would like to deconstruct and reinterpret the Polish WWI memorial landscape of the Legnica district. I will try to show that in contemporary Poland, the memory of WWI not only remains thoroughly overshadowed by WWII, but also that many landmarks were irretrievably lost because of their German origins. In fact, when talking about WWI 'cartographies' in this area, one is faced with the landscape of forgetfulness (active and passive) rather than remembrance.



8

NEBOJŠA ČAGORVIĆ

NO LONGER A HIDDEN PAGE OF HISTORY

This paper will address how the memory of Montenegro's legacy from WWI and its subsequent loss of statehood continues to be used by political actors in Montenegro to redefine its history and serve as a foundation of its current political identity. The paper will examine how Montenegro's role in WWI and its aftermath were reinterpreted and utilised to forge a collective memory of Montenegrin statehood in light of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In particular, this paper will study how the newly designed images and the construction of monuments commemorating WWI and Montenegro's loss of statehood are used to promote Montenegrin independence and continue to define and strengthen Montenegrin identity.

At the outset of the 1990s, historian Šerbo Rastoder published a collection of papers from the Montenegrin government in exile protesting against Serbian occupation and the absorption of Montenegro into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The 1990s also saw the Montenegrin staging of the theatre play *Princess Xenia* based on King Nikola's daughter and her life in exile. These works served to revive and fuel Montenegrin patriotism and nationalism in the 1990s as a means of resisting Milošević's Serbia. The period featured the publication of many books and exhibitions describing in detail the unfair demise of King Nikola's Montenegrin dynasty, along with stories of prominent Montenegrins forced into exile as a result. In the referendum campaign, where Montenegrins voted to regain their independence at the ballot box, the "Yes for Independence" campaign erected monuments dedicated to the former Montenegro statehood and commemorated events that brought about the loss of its sovereignty in Paris in 1919. Two scenes revived from history for this purpose were the sinking of a

ship full of Montenegrin volunteers by the Albanian coast, and the celebration of the battle of Mojkovac where Montenegrin soldiers suffered heavy casualties while covering the retreating Serbian army.



9

DAGNOSŁAW DEMSKI

PHOTOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR: THE VIEW FROM THE POLISH 'ARCHIVES'

One of the aims of my paper is to review photography presenting the First World War, mainly in the Balkans, found in the Polish visual archives. In this context I understand the notion of 'archive' in accordance with Ernst Van Alphen's idea of the contrast between the narrative and the archive. I focus on what is stored in material collections and digital databases, and how the fabric of such accidental collections enables their use by the future generations. Though no collections are devoted specifically to such photography, one can encounter these materials or digital databases as parts of bigger collections dedicated to the Great War in general.

Images are commonly known to be mediated in terms of the image itself and its framing through context. I present the ways in which this kind of First World War photography in the Balkans is stored, listed, classified and exhibited in the Polish 'archives'. Does the subject matter we can observe in the collections have documentary value? Do the material archives pursue control and stability over past meaning? And, finally, how do the photographic narratives of the war in the Balkans depend on the practices utilising databases or archives in the Polish collections, distant from the Balkans frontlines?



10

LJILJANA DOBROVŠAK

PLACES OF WWI MEMORY IN CROATIA

As citizens of Austro-Hungary, a country at war, the inhabitants of the nominally autonomous Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia were required to participate in the global war despite the fact that no major military operations took place on the territory of the kingdom itself. The influence of WWI on the political history of Croatia remains a matter of debate, yet there exist only rough estimates concerning the number of victims, dead and missing. It should be noted that WWI was, until recently, seldom a subject of focused scholarly research in Croatia. Many topics were avoided or left unexplored, including the one to be presented at this conference.

We still do not know how many memorials to the people who suffered, went missing or died in WWI were erected on the territory of Croatia at the time. Since there has until recently been no culture of memory regarding WWI and no organised visits to the memorials dedicated to its victims, these memorials were forgotten, damaged, destroyed or removed, leaving new generations of historians with a difficult task ahead. On the basis of conducted research, this presentation shall encompass questions such as the existence of places of memory – WWI memorials in Croatia today, their number, the state they are in, and the fate of those that have since disappeared.



11

DŽEVAD DRINO, BENJAMINA LONDRIC

RUDOLF ZISTLER – DEFENCE ATTORNEY AT THE TRIAL OF PERPETRATORS AND PARTICIPANTS OF THE SARAJEVO ASSASSINATION IN 1914

Rudolf Zistler, the defence attorney in the process against the assassinator of archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, showed his legal artistry at the Military Court starting with the trial against Gavrilo Princip and the members of the Young Bosnia youth movement on 12 October 1914. Zistler was a young Austrian lawyer who disregarded the massive public pressure, urging instead the court towards objectivity and impartiality, fashioning his own legal fight. In his defence strategy, he referred to provisions of the San Stefano peace treaty and the Congress of Berlin from 1878, according to which the Ottoman Empire consented to the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina yet the sovereignty of the country remained in the hands of the Sultan, building on these grounds a case against the charges of treason. He additionally claimed that the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not legally justified, since it was never ratified in the Hungarian Parliament, and during the defence of Veljko Čubrilović, stated future generations and historians will keep a close eye on this particular trial. For that reason he claimed the sentences should not be brutal; they ought to stand as bright pages in the annals of criminal law science for posterity. Despite the skilfully presented defence, his clients were convicted, with Zistler himself coming under attack by sabre at the hands of Hungarian officers right after leaving the courtroom. Upon the trial's completion Zistler left for Zagreb, returning to Sarajevo after the end of World War I, though he refrained from public

statements. Historians are left with a single interview in addition to his book *How I Defended Princip and His Comrades* (Kako sam branio Principa i drugove). Zistler died in 1960. In this paper, the authors will illuminate the personality of the defence counsel at the trial of perpetrators and participants in the Sarajevo assassination in 1914, on the basis of available materials, paying particular attention to the legal aspects and logic of his defence.



12

ERNESTA DROLE

IMMOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF WWI IN THE TERRITORY OF THE SOČA/ISONZO FRONT

In 1915, Italy entered WWI on the Entente side. The territory of the Soča River became a bloody battlefield. On the banks of the beautiful Soča, known locally as the emerald river, Italian and Austro-Hungarian forces fought tooth and nail, making it one among the most savage battlefields of Europe where soldiers died en masse. The Isonzo (Soča) front, opening in May 1915, was 93 km long, stretching from Mount Rombon in the north of the territory to the river's estuary into the Adriatic Sea in the South. Thus, an artistic metaphor, the prophetic verse written by the Slovene poet Simon Gregorčič some years before WWI: "The river Soča shall flow blood" became reality in all its terrifying cruelty. Companions and friends of the countless perished soldiers arranged their last homes in fields, plains, Karst sinkholes and sunny highland meadows.

Soldiers of many nationalities fought on the Isonzo Front, and the cultural heritage of the front is thus the work of various creators. United on the same battlefield, they came from different cultural backgrounds. On the battlefield of the Isonzo Front they left their cultural traces and numerous records in their native languages. Many found their last resting place on the banks of the emerald river. The immovable heritage of the Isonzo Front represents a special kind of bond between nations. Heritage formed during the sanguine struggle has a particular memorial and cultural value. After WWII, though, the recognition and valorisation of WWI heritage did not start until the seventies and eighties, having been neglected prior. Military cemeteries were renewed first, as they had

been uncared for and left to decay in the decades following WWII. The sites were in a very poor state, with many headstones irreparably damaged which made the restoration of their original aspect impossible. The cemeteries now represent an exceptional cultural heritage that distinctively marks the area of the battlefields along the River Soča.

Chapels and churches built along the front line carried a special meaning, giving the soldiers courage. They were sites of consolation and purification, spaces for the sharing of memories and contemplation. Soldiers of different nationalities, different religions found peace in these simple consecrated places. Sometimes, a tiny altar in the wet, cold stone cavern at Mrzli Vrh sufficed, bearing the inscription: "Virgin Mary, our Mother, be the protector of your people."

The mountain chains Krn, Rombon and Mengore were declared a cultural monument in 1993, having been the wartime site of the most vicious fighting. On the former battlefields are preserved trenches, memorials, various inscriptions, caverns, barracks. In 2000, restoration works began in these protected areas. Much work has been done on a voluntary basis by locals, while the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia conducted the professional supervision of interventions into the heritage.



13

JURIJ FIKFAK

COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES UPON THE
HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF WWI IN
THE BALKANS

The First World War, known also as the Great War, brought an end to vast empires and in conjunction with the 1918 influenza pandemic resulted in an exceptional demographic catastrophe. Both events left a significant mark on the urban and rural life across Europe. Considering the distinctively heterogeneous structure of the clashing empires, the conflict often entailed a struggle between members of the same nation serving two different factions: the Central Powers or the Entente. During the formation of ethnic and national awareness, the war thus caused a personal identification crisis in many individuals, alongside doubts whether they should belong to their state, their ethnos, or their nation (e.g., whether they were Austro-Slavs or merely Slavs). To a great extent, one of the most characteristic outcomes of WWI was largely the elimination of the possibility of identifying with the empire. This was replaced by the feeling of belonging to an ethnos or nation.

In this framework of changes, the practices of commemorating WWI took place in the Balkans. In terms of different starting points and especially the final outcome of the war, this commemoration varied greatly. On the one hand, there appeared the rituals of victory over the Central Powers, which were especially typical of the Serbs who were used as an invented factor to start the war, and the Romanians who only joined the Allies in 1916. On the other hand, there existed the defeated; in the Balkans, these included the Slovenes, Croats, Bulgarians (who lost some of their lands), and Hungarians, the greatest losers, having lost

a considerable portion of their territory through the Treaty of Trianon (under the treaty, Transylvania became part of Romania).

The basic question in this analysis of commemorative practices a hundred years after the end of the war is what tendencies, ideas, and concepts predominate in the commemorative ceremonies in these different countries. Where do the main emphases lie in large state ceremonies or official discourse on the one hand, and where in local events, which often commemorate fallen relatives, on the other?

All of the countries studied are in some way connected with the European Union (either as member states or candidate countries) and hence the question should be raised of how commemorative practices upon the centenary of the war can be used – especially in the official discourse – to comprehend the idea of a United Europe as “that which can transcend the former divisions.”



14

SAMUEL FOSTER

SALONICA, 1915-1918: THE FIRST WORLD WAR'S FORGOTTEN FRONT

Strategically located on the northern fringe of the Thermaic Gulf in modern Greece, the port of Salonica (Thessaloniki) possesses a long history as one of south-eastern Europe's most important economic and political hubs; coveted by regional and Great Powers alike. Until the mid-twentieth century, its demographic composition included the oldest Jewish populations in mainland Europe alongside Bulgarians, Greeks, Roma and Turkish Muslims. In October 1915, a large Entente expeditionary force comprised of British and French troops, initially sent to relieve the beleaguered Serbian army to the north, established a foothold in the city. Serbia's occupation abrogated this objective, however, London and Paris' unwillingness to allow neutral Greece's occupation by the Central Powers saw the city transformed into the main base for what became the Entente's 'Balkan Campaign'. Thus, from 1916 to 1918, over two million Entente soldiers served on the 230 kilometre long front to the north or passed through the city, *en route* to Africa and the Middle East. As well as British and French: Americans, Italians, Russian, Serbs and soldiers from the colonial Empires were deployed against the German-backed Bulgarian army turning Salonica into the most cosmopolitan of the war's military fronts.

This paper will assess the impact this influx of foreign troops had on the lives of native Salonicans as well as perceptions and attitudes expressed by the soldiers themselves. As the Entente high command's attention became preoccupied with achieving final victory in Belgium and France, the Balkans quickly developed into a stale-mate; the soldiers' experiences characterised by boredom

and frustration at their inactivity exacerbated by the discomforts and privations of day-to-day living. Placing this situation into the wider context of the war, the paper will consider why Salonica and the Balkans campaign has been, and remains, largely ignored within the official wartime narrative.



15

ROBERT M. HAYDEN

REVERSING VERSAILLES: ACCEPTING
THE AGGRESSORS' NARRATIVE BY
COMMEMORATING THE ASSASSINATION
IN SARAJEVO AS THE START OF THE WAR

The Versailles Treaty specified that the Great War “*originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on 28 July 1914 against Serbia*” (Preamble) and that it was “*imposed upon [the Allies] by the aggression of Germany and her allies*” (cl. 231). And in fact the war did begin with the shelling of Belgrade by Austro-Hungarian gunboats on the night of July 28-29, 1914. Commemorating the Sarajevo assassination a month earlier as the start of the war is therefore odd, an acceptance of the Austro-Hungarian position after the fact, and doubly odd since few if any serious historians regard the assassination as causative except in so far as it gave the Austrians an excuse to mount an offensive war on Serbia that many had planned and desired in any event. The Sarajevo assassination was thus no more the start of the Great War than the events of 9/11/2001 were the start of George Bush’s March 2003 war on Iraq, or the Tonkin Gulf incident in August 1964 the start of the American war against Vietnam.

That the centenary was marked by ceremonies on June 28, 2014 instead of in Belgrade on July 28, is thus worthy of discussion. This paper considers reasons why the original Austrian and German narrative of 1914, which justified the kind of aggression outlawed after World War I and reinforced as illegal at Nuremberg, has been triumphant over that of the Versailles Treaty and of the first country that was invaded and subjected to some of the first documented war crimes against

a civilian population. One reason was that the Austrian version of the assassination in Sarajevo had been widely adopted by the British and the French in the 1930s as they faced attacks on their own empires by subject peoples. Other reasons may lie in the widespread blaming of Serbia for the wars of the 1990s, and thus by analogy for the earlier wars; this second reason was reinforced by images of Sarajevo as a victim of Serbian aggression in 1992-95 and by extension, in 1914 as well. Yet another reason for ignoring the first military events of the war was the hegemonic role of Germany in 2014, which would have made commemoration of its aggression in 1914 awkward. Finally, the presenting the war as having been due to unthinking action (“sleepwalking”) rather than the result of strategic gambling and miscalculation, obviated the need to consider seriously how the Great Powers now, like those in 1914, still challenge each other in strategic calculations of great risk. The displacement of the July 28 military attack on Belgrade by the June 28 assassination in Sarajevo as the start of the war, thus forces consideration of the “ongoing, meta-cultural process through which different social actors continually redefine the legacy of the war as a means of forming a collective identity in the present, reinterpret mutual relations and develop specific representations,” the central themes of this conference.



16

JOŽE HUDALES

INTERPRETATIONS AND
REINTERPRETATIONS OF WWI IN
MUSEUMS AND (PRIVATE) MUSEUM
COLLECTIONS

In my paper, I shall briefly present some of the first interpretations of WWI in certain museum institutions around the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which were founded soon after 1918, with some remaining unchanged also after 1945. In Slovenia we have only a few collections of arms, uniforms etc. with artefacts from 1914-1918; most of them having been “stored” in various depots and playing a marginal role in museum (re)presertations of 20th century history. The first extensive exhibition of WWI in Slovenia was set up in 1988. In the 1980s, several private collections of artefacts from 1914-1918 also emerged, some of them accessible to visitors. In the region of the wartime Isonzo Front in particular, production of WWI heritage then became popular and today involves the engagement of numerous private institutions and organisations as well as individual initiatives, in addition to the efforts of national bodies.

In the paper I will try to present some of these private initiatives and collections, and the reasons for their existence as well as (re)interpretations which are inscribed to this heritage by their owners. In 1993, one of these local initiatives promoting the memory of the Isonzo Front experienced great success with the awarding of the Council of Europe Museum Prize to the Kobarid Museum. With its presentations and reinterpretations of WWI, the Kobarid Museum, as the largest private museum in Slovenia, in various ways impacted the national museological scene. A shift in the attitude towards these memorials became more

pronounced in the nineties, due to new European integration processes taking place at the time, which advocated the importance of shared European history and international harmony. Later on almost all museums undertook new attempts to actualise the heritage of WWI, especially at its centenary in 2014, as part of an organised scheme planned to continue until 2018. Analysis of these contemporary productions of the Great War's heritage will also be one of the essential parts of the paper at hand, and I shall try to evaluate it in the frame of new museological attempts to reinterpret all kinds of "difficult" or "suppressed" heritage, which in Slovenia certainly includes the memory of WWI.



17

ADNAN JAHIĆ

POLITICS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES: THE WWI IN THE POLITICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN "YUGO-TATARS" AND "PORKLAND"

This article analyses the gist of the political and party-oriented conflict between the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO) and the political group referred to as the Muslim Radicals—two parties that fought for the favour and support of the Bosniak (i.e., Muslim) electorate before and after the elections for the Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1920. The JMO leadership was dominated by supporters of the former Muslim Independent Party (MSS) and Muslims that were inclined toward Croatian nationalism; however, the religious authorities also played an important role, and the profile of this political organisation was marked by emphatic reservation regarding the “nationalisation” of Bosnian Muslims in the Serbian spirit and a clearly articulated interest in preserving their political and social individuality, religious identity, and spiritual tradition. Having inherited the non-national orientation of the pre-war newsletters *Muslimanska sloga* (Muslim Harmony) and *Misbah* (Light), the JMO newsletter *Pravda* (Justice) was attacked by supporters of the new national and state reality, claiming that it was shaped by people that only formally accepted the idea of national and state unity, but who in reality were endeavouring to achieve prominent social

positions and prevent Muslim economic and cultural progress in the new national state. The most persistent in this argumentation was the political group centred around the newsletter *Domovina* (Homeland), which was owned by the prominent politician Šerif Arnautović, and whose editor-in-chief was Avdo Hasanbegović, the future president of the pro-Serbian cultural society *Gajret* (Endeavor). This pair appeared in the elections for the Constituent Assembly as the Independent Muslim Ticket, but in political circles it was known as the core of the Muslim Radicals, who sought to link the Bosnian Muslim element to the national goals of the Serbian People's Radical Party. Notwithstanding the convincing victory of the JMO and election failure of the Independent Muslim Ticket, Arnautović and Hasanbegović continued to issue *Domovina*, believing that the Muslim population would become convinced of the hopelessness of the "separatist" policy of the JMO, which was critical of the main pro-regime parties. In the conflict between the two parties and their newsletters, *Pravda* and *Domovina*, they did not mince words in discrediting their opponents (referring to them as Jugotatari 'Yugo-Tatars' and *Domuzovina* 'Porkland'), and one of the main themes that filled the columns of these newsletters was the behaviour and participation of their leading figures on opposite sides in the political and social developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the First World War. Insight into the content of the discussion that took place on the pages of these publications reveals interesting information and details about the psychology and attitude of individual Bosnian public figures during the WWI, as well as the scope of the controversies that captured the attention of political circles in the postwar era regarding developments during the war.



18

RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN

THE GREAT WAR IN CROATIA DOES NOT HAVE A WOMAN'S FACE, BUT ITS SECOND LIFE IN CULTURAL MEMORY DOES

The heritage of WWI in Croatia is almost completely inhabited by literary and artistic representations, today as well as throughout the 20th century. The canonical status of M. Krleža, I. Andrić or I. Meštrović guarantees their artistic portrayals of the war a stable place in cultural memory. Given that WWII figured as the Great(er) War in socialist episteme – “a war to end all wars” – its antecedent was mainly used to illustrate the Marxist view of modern history as the result of small-nation-proletarians’ struggles against imperialist wars and conquests. However, positive and nostalgic references to the era when Croatia was subordinated to the Austro-Hungarian rule and was part of “Central European civilisation” were introduced during the 1990s, alongside supporting historical research. For literary scholars and folklorists, this brought new impetus for an inquiry into the national history through the lens of memory studies, gender and cultural studies, but it also urged them to disclose, read and reinterpret scattered and non-archived ego documents written during WWI.

My own research is focused on women’s autobiographies, correspondence and diaries, as well as on biographies of Croatian feminist intellectuals, artists and educators who fought for women’s rights during WWI, especially for the right to education, equal pay and public visibility. Their professionalism and humanistic reply to the national and global cataclysm, together with their mutual feminist support and the ethics of care, were juxtaposed to wartime xenophobia, nationalism and misogyny fuelled by the print and illustrative magazines in

particular. While historians have recently delved into the activities of women's groups in wartime and afterwards, they do not wonder why particular women managed to become agents of social change and why they gradually "fell out" of the records of national history. Namely, though organised women and outspoken intellectuals failed to achieve marked social change in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – resumed by the revolutionary women in the next war – they clearly articulated a feminist agenda platform for the future.

I am particularly interested in women's writings and self-portraits through which artists tried to reconcile the project of self-realisation with contributions to a new (Yugoslav) collective identity. Their legacy was, however, rejected by socialist heirs as an example of political naivety, philanthropic feminism and the bourgeois self-centredness of the "Third Woman". One research focus of mine deals with the question why the ideologically and socially diverging starting positions of Serbian and Croatian war heroines (for example Milunka Savić and Štefanija Falica), alongside the female authors of war memoirs (Julka Hlapec Dorđević, Milena Đ. Jelačić, Nadežda Petrović, Zora Dimitrijević in Serbia, and Nasta Rojc, Adela Milčinović, Jagoda Truhelka and Zofka Kveder in Croatia), led to their equal "falling out of history", confirming Svetlana Aleksijević's thesis that WWI in the first and the second Yugoslavia "does not have a woman's face." Nevertheless, its more complex and "feminised" picture has been reconstructed in recent cultural memory due to the movements of the WWI centenary when women's scholars and writers (Sibila Petlevski, Jelena Kovačić, Anica Tomić, Milena Marković, Biljana Srbljanović, Adisa Bašić and others) finally made their way to the fray.



19

BOŽIDAR JEZERNIK

THE WAR AFTER THE END OF THE GREAT WAR

When the Great War finally came to its end, most of Europe found itself questioning its sense and meaning. These contemplations were also explored by the numerous commemorative events dedicated to the memory of fallen soldiers, which took place almost daily in various parts of the continent during initial post-war years. The issue of the war's purpose and justification was distinctly relevant to the citizens of the Kingdom Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, whose (self)questioning and search for historical statements were additionally burdened by the fact that citizens of the new "nation of three names" had been enemies on the frontlines, fighting on opposite sides of the war. This uncomfortable truth represented a tremendous obstacle for the formulation of a unified "common" wartime memory.

An even greater problem lay in the fact that this fundamental issue was never actually discussed with deliberation, but was instead left to an unbridled mixture of victorious (self)satisfaction on one side, and the stumbling search for an embellished historical image on the other. When, after a couple quiet years, the construction of monuments to the military casualties began in Serbia and Slovenia – few were erected in other parts of the Kingdom – remembrance of the dead soon became intensely intertwined with nationalist ideology.

Mainly from 1925 onwards, monuments to fallen soldiers were being constructed in many Serbian towns and villages, and in many Slovene villages and some towns as well. In Serbia, they always "displayed" the military uniform of the victorious Serbian army. In Slovenia, however, the statues of soldiers – when

in uniform – displayed historically accurate Austro-Hungarian garb instead. Thus, keeping alive the memory of fallen soldiers also served as an instrument fanning the old wartime antagonisms and resentments between members of the “nation of three names”.



20

TATJANA JUKIĆ

PSYCHOANALYSIS AS A WORLD WAR
MEMORIAL

Given the engagement of psychoanalysis with the Great War, as well as the reconstitution of psychoanalysis in the 1920s that can be traced back, in part at least, to Freud's 1915 reflections on war and death, I argue that psychoanalysis, with its lasting impact on 20th century culture, can be approached as an assemblage where the memory of the Great War is retained and processed. If psychoanalysis therefore invites to be addressed as a world war memorial, it invites also that the logic of war memorials be reassessed in psychoanalytical terms. In order to probe the memory regime thus generated from within psychoanalysis, I will focus on the war writings of Viktor Tausk, specifically in the positions where they undermine Freud's ambition to secure the future of his method, or else his method as a promise of the future.



21

GRAŻYNA EWA KARPIŃSKA

AT A WAR CEMETERY: CULTURAL TRACES
AND PRACTICES

I shall be speaking about war cemeteries dating from the First World War, located in the vicinity of Łódź (Poland). From among two hundred of such cemeteries I have selected a few, all of them established after the Battle of Łódź in 1914, with the awareness that they may constitute an example for describing the others as well. I treat their space as a palimpsest on which are inscribed various layers that are chronologically and culturally different, but which nevertheless overlap and intertwine. I look at the older and newer instances of “war cemetery architecture” and I describe the former and contemporary actions intended to commemorate the fallen soldiers and sacralise the past. Architectural elements and human actions comprise a document that reports on reality; they are materials which, in effect, produce a narrative about the current time and constitute an evidence of patterns – modes of acting and thinking – which are present in contemporary culture.



22

KARL KASER

FILM ARCHIVE *JUGOSLOVENKA* KINOTEKA AS MEMORY STORAGE RELATED TO THE GREAT WAR

The Yugoslav Film Archive (*Jugoslovenka kinoteka*) in Belgrade constitutes one of the largest film archives in the world. Among its rich holdings, there is preserved and restored also a stock of films (primarily documentaries, newsreels and feature films) related to the Great War. This collection comprises a total of 63 films having been made accessible by *Jugoslovenka kinoteka* and the project First World War Collections of the European Film Gateway. The film material is primarily concerned with Serbia and the Serbian army – but not exclusively; there are also Yugoslav dimensions. The material can be roughly grouped in the following way: (1) films shot in the years of WWI (newsreels and documentaries), (2) films shot in the interwar period (documentaries and feature films) and (3) films shot in socialist Yugoslavia (documentaries and feature films). To the first group belong, for instance, the films of the Serbian pioneer of cinematic war reporting Djordje Djoka Bogdanović. To the second group belongs, for example, the feature film *A život teče dalje* (Yet Life Goes On) with Karl Junghans as director. The third group includes, for example, the feature-length *Hajduk*, directed by Aleksandar Petković.

There can be no doubt concerning the profound memory potentials of all kinds of film material. And yet, movies are not innocent. They are created to reflect the interests of the producers and directors, as well as the social relations of the times they were made in and the storage policy of respective film archives. Post-WWI documentaries are based on material captured during the war, but

the footage was newly assembled in order to tell a particular narrative, a story. The footage shows only traces of historic reality – the rest is politics of memory. My paper can be considered a first attempt at the investigation and systemisation the film materials related to WWI found in the plentiful memory storage of *Jugoslovenka kinoteka*.



23

MIHA KOZOROG

CONSERVATION OF MILITARY
LANDSCAPES IN THE UPPER SOČA VALLEY
IN SLOVENIA

In Slovenia, until the 1990s, the twelve battles between the Italian and Austro-Hungarian armies that followed from May 1915 until October 1917 in the Upper Soča/Isonzo Valley were mainly discussed by historians and represented in a few museums as the military history of WWI. In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the heritage of WWI was for ideological reasons overshadowed by that of WWII. In the 1990s, however, collectors of military paraphernalia, private museums and public institutions for heritage preservation invested a fresh impulse in the construction of heritage of WWI. In the Soča Valley, heritage tourism industry thus gradually developed in connection with this rush.

The heritagisation process also embraced landscapes, i.e. open areas where a century ago military activities took place. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia was among the first to recognise the so-called historical landscapes as part of the heritage of WWI. Recently, private initiatives, largely dependent on tourism income, started their own projects of moulding military landscapes to serve visitors.

Focusing on the open-air museum on the Mount Kolovrat, this paper will present the heterogeneous agents involved in the heritagisation of the landscape, variants of understanding and practicing of landscape conservation, as well as different ideological backgrounds that inform them (e.g. tourism vs. expert knowledge). Relations between local people and the conserved landscape will be discussed and, moreover, since the military landscape crosses the Slovene-Italian border, its role in international relations considered.



24

JASENKA KRANJČEVIĆ

WWI AND TOURISM ON THE CROATIAN
ADRIATIC COAST

Although most of the Croatian territory was not directly exposed to the Great War, the event naturally had a drastic impact on tourism development at the time.

The aim of this paper is to research which investments in the tourism industry were stopped, and which running projects interrupted with respect to the hospitality and tourism accommodation industry.

The article presents statistical data and indicators on the decline in tourist traffic. The first major blow to Adriatic coastline tourism were limits to maritime tourist transport, imposed in the wake of the sinking of the ship “Baron Gautsch” in 1914.

Notably, some existing hotels survived because they transformed into hospitals for the time being, accommodating and facilitating recovery of the wounded.

In conclusion, the paper presents the hotel and tourism projects that were underway yet remained unrealised due to the war alongside the Croatian Adriatic coast on the basis of research in the archives of Croatia.



25

BOŠTJAN KRAVANJA

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WWI IN THE UPPER SOČA VALLEY, SLOVENIA

The Upper Soča Valley is a mountainous region in the northwest of Slovenia, the scene of highland battles of the Isonzo Front during WWI. In particular, the so-called battle of Kobarid that took place in October 1917 represents a WWI event of major significance. In the last 25 years, a lot of work has been done with this specific, remarkably diverse heritage. In 1990, a group of local enthusiasts established the Kobarid Museum of WWI that soon became one of the most recognised Slovene museums, finding also international success. In addition, its presence redefined the identity of the town Kobarid and propelled a general development of the wider local area. The 2000s saw the establishment of a new specialised heritage institution, the Walk of Peace, which widened the network of trails along the historical Isonzo Front lines, built six outdoor museums along it, established an information centre, a specialised library with documentation records, and more.

Since the main purpose of the establishment of the Walk of Peace was the “scientification” of the Isonzo Front, access to and local knowledge about its heritage was from there on in more and more institutionally framed, selected, controlled and, one might say, also restricted. However, apart from these dominant heritage institutionalisations, local (and sometimes national) reflections on the Isonzo Front heritage have always been diverse. The overall local heritage development has stimulated the production of different “historical tourism” oriented products, as well as various alternative or even artistic projects on the Isonzo Front. Moreover, interest in the promotion of the local WWI material

heritage increased also among the residents of the valley itself, where some of the amateur collectors had already started with their activity well before institutionalised heritage development, in the 1980s at the latest.

In my contribution, the latter will be presented in terms of the principal generators of specific local knowledge about the Isonzo Front heritage, which is different from the “official” and “scientific” one. It presents itself as rather partial, incomplete, technical, often poorly contextualised and yet passionate, vivid and curiously unique. In the lecture, I will further elaborate on this type of knowledge, ethnographically outline its changes through the last decades, and assess its value and potentials within the, or parallel to, the institutional environment of heritage politics.



26

DAŠA LIČEN, SAŠA BABIČ

WAR DIARIES AS A NICHE TO SLOVENE
IDENTIFICATIONS

Diaries are very familiar to anthropologists, however, they mostly represent a way to chronicle intimate fieldwork experiences rather than an actual source of scholarly endeavours. They traditionally “belong” to historians, yet some among them discard diaries because of their supposed lack of objectiveness. That precisely creates, on the other hand, a suitable setting for an attempt at performing historical ethnography through diaries. Although the soldiers of WWI were facing a lack of all the basic materials, including paper and ink, writing to those who remained home or simply for themselves made life in the trenches slightly more bearable. Plenty of Slovene soldiers also put in writing their experiences of being war prisoners and travelling the dreadfully protracted way home, which when observing, one cannot but compare to the hazardous refugee pathways of current day.

To mark the centenary of WWI, a flood of new books is being issued. In the case of Slovenia, which had basically not dealt with the First World War at all until the break-up of Yugoslavia, the book overflow is, in point of fact, very much needed. The surprising research delay is a result of particular circumstances, since most of the Slovene soldiers were in the Great War fighting for the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire that disintegrated in its wake. The war was, according to historian Marko Štepec, “theirs” not “ours.” Furthermore, WWI later became overshadowed by WWII that formed a highly crucial part of the Yugoslav ideology.

What seems especially thought-provoking for an anthropologist and goes somehow against what historians state are the convoluted identifications of these Slovene soldiers, who were not simply Slovenes fighting for the Emperor but were split between being the inhabitants of a certain local community, identifying with their crown land, belonging to the emerging Slovene nation, cheering for a future Yugoslavia, or having faith in the Slavic brotherhood. War diaries offer a valuable peek into the identifications of the regular soldiers and illuminate history as more complicated than it appears at first sight. In our paper, I aim to compare the war diaries of several Slovene soldiers, including ones that have never been published or even thoroughly read, appearing therefore especially worthy of note, and through them rethink the simplified Slovene identity as it has emerged.



27

STEVAN MAČKOVIĆ

ON THE MILITARY CASUALTIES OF WWI AND SOURCES FROM THE SUBOTICA REGISTER OFFICE (1914 - 1919)

War always brings terrible devastation as well as great loss of human life. While material damage can be repaired, damage to human life in the form of massive numbers of disabled, sick or killed is irrecoverable. Although Subotica itself was located far away from any of the major fronts, many of its inhabitants still fought and died all over war-torn Europe. Since this topic has not been researched excessively or covered in a historiographical manner, the exact number of inhabitants of Subotica killed in battle during WWI is difficult to determine.

Death certificates issued by the local register offices are among the most indispensable sources for determining the number of casualties during WWI. The Subotica Register Office, as a state authority, was tasked with recording information about the fallen soldiers from Subotica as well as soldiers from elsewhere who met their end in the Subotica Military Hospital. Strictly standardised forms used by the Register Office contain not only information about the total number of soldiers and their units, but also information about the place of their death and their national, religious and social status. Using information from the forms we found that between 1914 and 1919 there were 1475 registered deaths of soldiers. Most of them (462) were killed in Galicia, followed by Italy and other places. We also discovered names of seven soldiers originating from modern-day Croatia whose earthly remains still lie in Subotica, in a special military part of the so called “*Senćansko groblje*” cemetery, as well as the names of fourteen soldiers from Subotica who are buried in cemeteries around Croatia.



28

RAJKO MURŠIČ

THE TIME OF TRANSITION: POPULAR MUSIC IN SLOVENIA AFTER WWI

The author will present preliminary results of his analysis of the introduction of jazz in Slovenia in the early 1920s, as the first genre of (Afro) American popular music accepted in the country. In the following years, jazz became the leading modern popular music genre, although other modern kinds of popular music began to develop, mostly under the influence of radio introduced after 1927.

It is true that other genres of American popular music had been introduced even before WWI, especially tango and certain other modern kinds of dance, but it is still important to note that jazz was brought to Europe (as well as to other continents like Africa and Australia) by American troops at the end of WWI. No later than ten years after the first jazz recording had been released (The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, 1917), jazz became the standard popular music of the time.

The author will describe the development of early jazz in Slovenia and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the 1920s.



RISTO PEKKA PENNANEN

THE CREATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF SARAJEVO *WEHRMANN IM EISEN* DURING AND AFTER WWI

W*ehrmänner im Eisen* ('soldiers in iron') were wooden monuments designed for nailing, used for charitable fundraising in Austria-Hungary and Germany during WWI. The first such figure of a mediaeval knight appeared in Vienna where it was nailed to its place on 6 March 1915. The nails, paid for separately by the benefactors, could be either made of iron, silver- or gold-plated, depending on the donated sum. Children and soldiers were offered a discounted price for their iron nails.

The first *Wehrmann im Eisen* in Bosnia-Herzegovina was unveiled in Banja Luka during the Emperor's birthday festivities on 18 August 1915. In Sarajevo, the first wooden soldier figure stood at the Railway Station Square and was unveiled on the eve of the Emperor's saint's name day, on 3 October 1915.

However, a considerably more important soldier figure – by Viennese sculptor Franz Zelezny (1866–1932) – appeared in front of the entrance of the Landesbank (Provincial Bank) building at the crossroads of Franz Ferdinand Street and Ferhadija Street. The unveiling ceremony for this statue of a Bosnian-Herzegovinian infantry rifleman took place on the anniversary of the Emperor's coronation on 2 December 1915. The ceremony consisted of, among other events, the unveiling of the linden-wood statue, a patriotic propaganda speech, the playing of the Kaiserhymne, cannon salutes and the ritual hammering of nails into the statue. Subsequently, authorities arranged similar ceremonies for school-children as well. The organisers of the charitable campaigns that carried strong

elements of war propaganda thought that in the future, these nailed figures would serve as tourist attractions. In addition, as a contribution to the campaigns, Franjo Mačejovski in 1916 composed the march *Wehrmann im Eisen* and dedicated it to the Commanding General and Governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina Stjepan Freiherr Sarkotić von Lovćen, the patron of the statue projects. After the defeat of the Central Powers and the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, all *Wehrmänner im Eisen* in Bosnia were destroyed, soon vanishing from the memory of the people living in the new South Slavic kingdom. Mačejovski's march shared the same oblivion. Nowadays, nobody seems to know Bosnian *Wehrmänner im Eisen*; picture postcards of them are published in anthologies of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia without context.

Nevertheless, in the same place where the *Wehrmann im Eisen* had stood, Socialist Yugoslavia built the Eternal Flame (*Vječna vatra*) in 1946 as a memorial for the liberators of Sarajevo and victims of fascism who had fallen during WWII. The memorial has a connection with WWI; it is modelled after the Eternal Flame in Paris (1921) built in memory of those perishing in WWI.



30

DAN PODJED

RITUALS OF COOPERATION DURING
WWI: REPRESENTATIONS AND
REINTERPRETATIONS

On the fronts of the Great War, characterised by trench warfare fought along static battle lines, an unusual form of cooperation based on an informal principle of ‘live and let live’ often developed between representatives of the warring parties. Enemies in different battlefields realised that it was more beneficial to cooperate with their opponents than it was to attack them and run the risk of a reciprocal attack. The most famous example of this kind of cooperation between adversaries took place in 1914 on the Western Front, specifically on the battlefield in Ypres, where German and British troops, for a short time and without the consent or knowledge of their superiors, ceased hostilities, decorated Christmas trees, and even sang festive songs. They exchanged gifts and souvenirs and played a football match on no man’s land. Such interaction between enemies was seemingly an expression of altruism and cooperation, but various analyses (e.g. Axelrod’s) show that the irrational altruism was in fact intertwined with egoism – mainly due to the soldiers’ concern for their own survival. Although cooperation between mortal foes can be explained with the economic logic of the Game Theory, there are anthropological, sociological, and psychological explanations for this phenomenon as well.

This paper identifies and analyses such unusual events on the battlefields of WWI, including the area of the Isonzo Front, and discusses how ‘rituals of cooperation’ were established at the time. It also notes how these events and rituals were preserved in the diaries and letters of soldiers and how they came

to be firmly established in contemporary collective memories – they are depicted in movies, music, literary works, monuments, and other memorials and artworks. Finally, the author highlights the relevance of such representations and interpretations of events of a hundred years ago for modern policy-making, cross-border cooperation, and promotion of joint and ‘borderless’ socio-cultural and political spaces.



31

JANA POSPÍŠILOVÁ, ZDENĚK UHEREK

HARD-TIMES STORIES

First world war was the bloodiest war in the Czech Lands of the 20th century. About 300,000 Czech and Moravian inhabitants died directly in war battles or as a consequence of their war wounds. Most of them fought abroad while their relatives suffered shortage in the homeland and trembled for their safety. Paradoxically, local Czechs and Moravians were not at all keen on the Great War and did not understand why they were fighting, and for whom exactly. They were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy but did not identify with its political interests. Therefore, they were known as untrustworthy soldiers, deserters and refugees. Czech satirists, famous for their jokes, waged their own contest in sardonic jest on the subject matter.

Nevertheless, myriad personal tragedies arose from the Great War throughout Bohemia and Moravia; a commemorative plaque or memorial for WWI victims is now placed in almost every Czech and Moravian town and village. In our contribution, we aim to touch upon wartime accounts from the Czech lands, documenting the perception of the war as it was experienced by Central Europeans a good century ago.



32

JAKA REPIČ

MEMORIALISATION OF WWI IN THE
LANDSCAPE OF THE JULIAN ALPS

In the presentation I will address issues concerning the heritage and memorialisation of WWI inscribed and re-enacted in the landscape of the Julian Alps in Slovenia. According to Sounders, military histories usually consider landscapes as an inert, static, empty and self-evident backdrop to military action and the subsequent practices of memorialisation. However, several anthropologists, geographers and archaeologists, Feld and Basso among them, noted that landscapes cannot be separated from human experiences but are part of a world of movement, relationships, memories and histories.

Human experiences and memories of WWI have deeply influenced the formation of European societies as well as heritage politics and practices of memorialisation. In the Julian Alps, the Isonzo Front and its geographical backgrounds were inscribed with service paths, remnants, graveyards and monuments as well as with numerous accounts and narratives of battles, human misery and achievement. It is a socially constructed landscape in which memorialisation of the war has been an ongoing process involving various local, national and supranational actors, institutions and politics.

The aim of the presentation is to explore connections between landscape and the re-actualisation of memory, established through practices of landscape experiences and commemorations by institutions that engage in interpretations and heritage practices of WWI. Various landscape attributes, such as paths, monuments and memorial places are being (re)constructed as popular tourist and hiking destinations, whereas narratives attached to these places are re-enacted in

national or local political discourses and commemorations. Drawing on recent anthropological discussion on the perception of landscape, I will focus on the Isonzo Front and its background as a palimpsest of overlapping spatial inscriptions, memorialisation and appropriation of heritage in the Alpine landscape.



33

PETER SIMONIČ

RUDOLF MAISTER - PHYSICAL AND
COGNITIVE INSCRIPTIONS OF A WWI
HERO

The author will focus on the subject of the WWI military hero Rudolf Maister and his role in contemporary society and memory (100th anniversary). A person as it relates to society can be studied as the spatial inscriptions of national ideas, cultural policies and management, ritual-memorial practice, market extensions, contesting and marginalised narratives, etc.

With the military intervention of troops under the command of General Rudolf Maister against German guards Schutzwehr in November 1918, Maribor became part of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The officer and poet soon became a subject of admiration and celebration, even though it took almost one hundred years before his first proper memorials were erected. His persona was present in historical textbooks, yearly commemorations, mass media etc., and utilised in specific times, for instance as a raw model during Slovenia's independence war in 1991.

Recent significance of Maister as a WWI hero began in 2005, after Gianfranco Fini – Italian foreign minister and leader of the political party Alleanza per l'Italia – gave an opening speech at the celebration of a newly declared Italian holiday: Memorial Day dedicated to the exodus from Istria and Dalmatia, and to victims of the *foibe* (post-WWII mass graves in the Karst). Slovenia's response came in the form of three new national holidays in the context of ethnic border struggles and the historical formation of the Slovene state: first holiday for the Prekmurje region bordering Hungary, second holiday for coastal region Primorska bordering

Italy, and third for Styria bordering Austria. 23 November thus became the Day of Rudolf Maister. In times of still-growing European integration and economy, Italian and Slovene right-wing governments decided to emphasise distinction and national identity instead.



34

MAJA SLIJEPCEVIC

FROM THE MONUMENT OF ASSASSINATION TOWARDS GAVRILO PRINCIP'S MONUMENTS

***Y**ou begin to liquidate a people by taking away its memory. You destroy its books, its culture, its History. And then others write new books for it, give another Culture to it, invent another History for it. Then the people slowly begin to forget what it is and what it was...*

Bosnia's turbulent history and frequent changes in dominant political ideologies dictated the way its monuments were established. It is due to those alterations that we can distinguish a variety of different influences portrayed through different monuments, depending on which phase of Bosnian History they belong to. For the same reason, we can detect multiple changes in the appearance, the representation, memorialisation and the production of meaning in the context of the same monuments. When new political ideologies repressed the old order, new monuments had to be erected in order to give a symbolical meaning of belonging to the new public space. Hand in hand with that, the old meanings had to be reframed.

Therefore, my research paper will examine the Bosnian case study of the WWI Monument of Assassination and its following reinterpretations. Following the tendency of building monuments after WWI, during 1917 Sarajevo received its most famous monument, named the Monument of Assassination, which was initially dedicated to Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. Due to political shifts, it was replaced already in 1918, with the new plaque marking "a historical place where Gavrilo Princip sacrificed his liberty on the day of St. Vitus, the 28th of

June 1914.” The monument to Gavrilo Princip was built at the exact site of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, on the corner of the Latin bridge, which was renamed to Princip’s Bridge during the 1920s. Princip that way became “something of a national hero in the Yugoslav state, for having risen up against the foreign occupiers and for triggering a war that would lead to the formation of a state uniting the south Slavs.”

This initial plaque commemorating Princip was removed from the place of Franz Ferdinand’s association during 15 August 1941 when Germans marched into Sarajevo, and was sent to Hitler as a birthday gift. The monument had been rebuilt two more times during Second Yugoslavia, both times again paying tribute to Princip, but was then again removed during the Bosnian war and reframed to commemorate Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie’s assassination and the “vanished footprints” of Gavrilo Princip.

After the Bosnian conflict of the 1990s, the context of the monument was changed irrevocably as its locus was incorporated into the contemporary Bosnia. Gavrilo, who is perceived as a “Serbian terrorist” (despite the fact he was declaring himself as a Yugoslav) becomes “unwelcome” in the city and the new Bosnian narratives, together with Serbs who are held responsible for three years of the siege of Sarajevo and whose memory is exiled from the city by the DPA. It all becomes rather intriguing, especially after the centenary celebration of the beginning of WWI to whose protagonists this monument was originally dedicated. Hence, I am about to research the relation of this monument to identity-building in the post-conflict Bosnian context, the role that both monuments and counter monuments (because their role switches depending on looking at the phenomenon from the contemporary Bosnian or Serbian side) play in the everyday lives of citizens, and in the construction of personal identities vs. collective identities.



35

ANTON SNOJ

RITUALS AND SPECIAL EVENTS OF THE FIRST CITY BOYS' FOLK SCHOOL IN LJUBLJANA DURING WWI

The First City Boys' Folk School (Slovene: *Prva mestna deška ljudska šola*; German: *Der ersten städlichehen Knaben Volksschule*) is the historic name of the modern Elementary School Ledina. It was in its time the first and most well-supported elementary school in Ljubljana. It was also the one most closely monitored by the presiding government. My research focuses on this school and the (political) rituals and special events aimed at its pupils during WWI.

The Ledina school published extensive yearly reports during the war, and these constitute a fundamental source of the research at hand. They are found in the Historical Archive of Ljubljana (ZAL). The reports show how an elementary school operated during the war and how it intensified the ideological education of its pupils through rituals and celebrations. They also contained lengthy articles about the members of the imperial family and even local heroes who fought for the empire. Although yearly reports and rituals were a constant at the Ledina school before and after the war, they were both even more important during wartime. The reports reveal the basic stages of the celebrations and events, what kind of activities were held there, and what the children who participated in them saw and heard.

The rituals described in the reports were divided into three thematic groups: yearly rituals, anniversaries and other major rituals, and other special events. Yearly rituals were celebrated every year or more often, like the name-day of the

Emperor or the weekly school mass. Anniversaries and other major rituals were celebrated on special occasions. The anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I is an exception. Although it was before 1914 only celebrated every ten years, it became a yearly ritual during the war because of its importance and the Emperor's advancing age. A major wartime ritual was the driving of nails in the "defensive shield in iron" (Slovene: *brambni ščit v železju*; German: *Wehrschild in Eisen*) in December 1915. Children (and others) participated in the nailing and at the same time donated money to the war effort. Other special events were not celebrations per se.

These special events were also mourning solemnities, funerals or just ritualised activities not on the usual schedule. In February 1916 thus, the school buried Stanko Zvršen, a pupil in Ledina's first grade, who died on a street in the city centre having been struck by a bomb.

By examining the ideological education of children one can observe the basic mindset the Austro-Hungarian Empire wished to install in every one of its (future) political subjects. The study shows how the Empire wished to be seen in the eyes of its youngest members, and what methods they used in the case of a particular elementary school.



36

MARJANA STRMČNIK

RHETORIC AND SYMBOLISM OF WWI
HEROES

Following WWI, the commemoration of its memory on the Slovene territory (within the Kingdom of SCS and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) brought to its nationalisation. The process was not immediate, taking a protracted period to develop due to a particular reason: the majority of Slovene (as well as Croat and Bosnian) soldiers served in the Austro-Hungarian army that was defeated in the Great War. Across the front line was a victorious Serbian army (within the Triple Entente) that claimed the rights to heroic posture within the historical representations of this event in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

The idea of great events and great men of Europe (as well as Slovenia) flourished between the 1910s and 1930s: within the public discourse, the portrayal of war heroes, brave young men, developed independently of the fact that Slovene soldiers “lost” the war. These developments expressed themselves also in the materialisation of memory through various monumental objects in the Slovene landscape.

During the socialist period, the collective memory of WWI was overshadowed by WWII events – mainly due to the current interests of political elites. Starting in the 1980s and particularly after 1991, the history of WWI and the decades around it attracted scholars to research and represent it in new social contexts, creating new collective memory. On the ex-Yugoslav territory, the transformation of this memory was particularly intensive: the process that failed to unify citizens of both Kingdoms following WWI (since soldiers of various

constituent nations fought on opposite sides of the war) was revived in national projects during the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia and afterwards.

With this paper I will research the utilisation of rhetoric and symbolism regarding WWI soldiers/heroes as it was used among the creators of public discourse, and ways in which the rhetoric and symbolism were presented and legitimised in public. Within this, I shall be interested in whether the representations of the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s are still present in today's public discourse, and what are their dimensions.



37

PETRA SVOLJŠAK

THE SLOVENE REMEMBRANCE OF WWI –
BETWEEN MEMORY AND DENIAL

The paper aims to discuss the issue of the oscillating Slovene remembrance of WWI during the period 1918–2015, which was primarily rooted in the irreconcilable gap between the winners and the losers of the Great War. Slovene remembrance will be analysed through political discourse and reinterpretations, and their influence on the formation of the memorial landscape in Slovenia, with special regard to the period of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia), when WWI represented the central state-building memory of the new state. The issue of the memorisation will be presented from the viewpoint of a contested, exclusionary and certainly not unifying state memorisation, embodied also in the memorials of WWI in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and in Slovenia. On the other hand, the endeavours of the Slovene veterans and public memory strove for an equal, more inclusive and integral interpretation of WWI and its meanings and consequences for the Slovene post-WWI future.

Special attention shall be drawn to the memorisation of the Isonzo Front and its confrontation with state remembrance during the period of the Italian rule in the region of the former front. The (re)interpretation of the Isonzo Front will also be analysed within the post-WWI Yugoslav context and the oscillations in remembrance throughout the century-long time span. The memory of this front will be analysed through the memorial landscape, public/intimate memorisation of WWI and its actual imprint in the cultural heritage as a unifying element in the region of the former Isonzo Front.

The issue of the memorial heritage of WWI in Slovenia shall be presented on different levels, from the political/state to the public level, based on a thorough research of the topic carried out in the past two decades.



LANA ŠEHOVIĆ PAĆUKA

CONCERT LIFE IN SARAJEVO DURING THE
FIRST WORLD WAR THROUGH THE PRISM
OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

WI left far-reaching consequences on the socio-cultural history of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which permanently influenced the circumstances of its musical life. The war impacted especially the West-European-oriented aspects of the musical life in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital, whose concert segment was thoroughly interrupted. All the significant elements of the concert scene collapsed, seriously threatening the infrastructure of musical life. It should be noted that Sarajevo had had a rich concert scene prior to the war, leaning on the commitment of foreign musicians and choral societies established by local dilettantes. Between 1914–1918, the scene was reduced to a framework of parlours and city cafes that became the principal hosts of musical events instead. In fact, during the wartime period, Sarajevo's concert life was largely dependent on the enthusiastic efforts of wealthy members of the bourgeois class and occasional guest artists visiting Sarajevo from the other war-torn European countries. Concert were held in parlours of the Austro-Hungarian officers, in cafes of the *a la franca* orientation or in cramped city halls and cinemas. These places were only suitable for a small number of reputable foreign audience, which led to the isolation of locals from the European musical flows.

Particularly interesting insight into the concert situation is found in the periodicals of the time. Articles on musical life and its happenings were in the pro-regime (*Sarajevski list*, *Večernji sarajevski list*, *Bosnische post*, *Bosnicher Bote*) and national newspapers (*Hrvatski dnevnik*, *Srpska riječ*, *Zeman*, etc.) often

transformed into means of propaganda, behind which both sides pushed for clearly defined political goals. Thus, the articles concerned with musical circumstances become a place of reading of the complex political, social and national issues arising on Bosnia-Herzegovina's war-affected soil.



39

FRANTIŠEK ŠÍSTEK

THE CONTESTED MEMORY OF WWI IN
MONTENEGRO

The memory of WWI in Montenegro has been a subject of successive reinterpretations, mutually exclusive discourses and parallel memorial cultures since the interwar period and until the present. Certain issues, such as the role of Montenegro's wartime ally Serbia in the period 1914–1916, the occupation of Montenegro by Serbian forces in the autumn of 1918, the unification of Montenegro with Serbia and the subsequent armed uprising against the unconditional union played an important role in debates about Montenegro's identity and statehood after the break-up of Yugoslavia. These topics provided powerful arguments in favour of independence before the referendum in 2006. Interestingly, the “Habsburg” aspect of the WWI experience (including the outbreak of the war and occupation by Austria-Hungary in 1916–1918) played a secondary role in the discourses and clashes of recent decades. Since the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, the memory of WWI has been reinterpreted primarily through the lens of Montenegro's relations with Serbia. The centenary of the Sarajevo assassination in 2014 led to a new wave of reassessments and commemorations of WWI, which are likely to culminate in 2018.

The paper will pay special attention to the competing reinterpretations and commemorations of events loaded with the greatest symbolism in the collective memory of WWI in Montenegro: 1) The battle of Mojkovac (January 1916) as a symbol of victory against a mightier enemy, heroism and Montenegrin sacrifice for Serbia; 2) the fall of Lovćen (January 1916) as a symbol of defeat, national trauma and alleged treachery; 3) the Christmas uprising against Serbian and unionist troops (January 1919) following the takeover of Montenegro by the Serbian army and unconditional unification with Serbia in the final days of WWI.



40

SARA ŠPELEC

ALEXANDER THE UNIFIER: THE
FORGOTTEN YUGOSLAV KING

In the following paper I will discuss the absence of Slovene cultural memory regarding the period of the First Yugoslavia, which was a “creation” of the Paris Peace Conference and thus of WWI. The main figure of the first Yugoslav period and one of the most important political figures of the time was the “forgotten king” Alexander I of Yugoslavia, who had ruled from 1918, when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed (later renamed to Kingdom of Yugoslavia) up until 1934, when he was assassinated in Marseille. When Alexander and the first Yugoslav period were erased from cultural and political memory, they began to play the role of Others in the cultural identity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – the so-called members of one “nation of three names”. The loss of cultural memory created a huge void in Slovene collective memory, and it now seems as if the period of Alexander’s rule had never even existed.

I would also like to present the impact the mythical birth of Yugoslavia had on the process of building Slovene cultural memory and national identity, focusing on the idea of Yugoslavism, which is a form of invented tradition. The idea, flourishing for a long time (especially among Croats), became historical fact at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Although King Alexander now appears more or less erased from Slovene collective memory, he was our first “national” king in whose honour many monuments were once built. Among them was Lojze Dolinar’s masterpiece – an equestrian statue of Alexander in Ljubljana, which embodied “well-being and hope

for a better future for the Slovene people”, as could be read in the newspapers of the time. Today, there is nothing we could remember King Alexander by: no monuments stand in his honour, no streets are named after him, very few articles are concerned with his person, etc. His absence from the public discourse has thus encouraged me to talk about King Alexander and rediscover this essential political figure who ought to and deserves to be remembered.



41

PETRA TESTEN, TADEJ KOREN

THE WALK OF PEACE FROM THE ALPS
TO THE ADRIATIC – AN INTERNATIONAL
HISTORICAL AREA THAT KEEPS THE
HERITAGE OF THE ISONZO FRONT ALIVE

The Isonzo Front (1915–1917), one of the battlefields of the Great War, left permanent traces both in the memory of the inhabitants and in the very landscape along the valley of the Soča River. During a hundred years this (im)movable heritage evolved into a cultural-historical monument of international interest. The area along the onetime front line is nowadays connected into the Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic.

Commemoration of military-political events as well as the evaluation of their memory and the daily life situations during WWI had long been subject to political will and different (re)interpretations; but during the past 25 years, both historiography and political climate in Slovenia have radically changed. Similarly, care for the heritage of the Isonzo Front has shifted from local institutions and from the space of local memory to the national level, to the centre of interest, to universities, schools, to the level of collective memory of the broader European space. The heritage of the Isonzo Front has become part of historical remembrance, and in the valley of the Soča River, also an inseparable part of a rich tourist offer.

The paper presents the Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic which was officially opened in the spring of 2015. Under the patronage of the “Walk of Peace in the Soča Region Foundation” the trail connects the areas, the people and the opulent cultural and natural heritage along the onetime Isonzo Front. With

the help of various institutions and societies, the remnants and memorials such as military cemeteries, caves, trenches, charnel houses, chapels, monuments, outdoor museums and other memorials which represent important material and intangible heritage of European history, have been excellently preserved and maintained. As to the idea of the Walk of Peace and its practice, it was devised in such a way as to remind humanity of the era of the Great War and, above all, constantly call attention to the paramount value of peace. Instead of separation, it offers an opportunity for a joint development of the region. The Walk of Peace runs across Slovene and Italian territories and plays, as such, a significant connecting role. With the opening of its course from the Alps to the Adriatic it has become an important historical-tourist product involving a variety of cultural and tourist events. Last but not least, as an area of invaluable historical heritage, it is being established as an international historical area of significance. Presently, one of its major projects is to attain entry of the Walk of Peace from the Alps to the Adriatic and the heritage of WWI onto the UNESCO World Heritage List. Its listing on the UNESCO tentative list is the first success in this regard already. Now, future plans are to connect the Slovene-Italian battlefield along the Soča with the present Austrian and Swiss parts of the Isonzo Front area.



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MITJA VELIKONJA

APPROPRIATED HEROES: GAVRILLO PRINCIP AND RUDOLF MAISTER AS SUBCULTURAL ICONS

The centenary of dramatic events from the times of WWI is marked not only in the official discourse such as national historiography, popular science, media reports, state celebrations, monuments etc., but also in various subcultural and sub-political groups. Typical are examples of Gavrilo Princip (1894–1918), a member of Young Bosnia and assassin of the Archduke – heir presumptive to the Habsburg throne Franz Ferdinand; and Rudolf Maister (1874–1934), considered by Slovenes as *a fighter for the northern border*. This article will analyse appearances and meanings of their images in contemporary urbanscapes (graffiti and street art) and their ideological appropriation by groups of football fans and nationalist sub-political movements.



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KATARÍNA ZIMOVÁ

MEMORIALS DEVOTED TO THE FALLEN SOLDIERS OF WWI IN THE AREA OF THE PRESENT SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Given its geographical location and natural terrain geomorphology, the territory of present-day Slovakia was not among the densely populated areas of Europe in the past, and has also not been a geopolitical or geostrategic focus of historical development. The existential predestination of a small and sparse country on the periphery rather than in the centre of action, however, did not preserve Slovakia and its residents from a number of wars and violent conflicts.

Slovaks were never a numerous nation. In addition, the other significant historically and geopolitically determined factor is that the Slovak Republic as a country and sovereign state of Slovaks was constituted only “recently”, in the 20th century. In particular, this is the reason why the history of Slovakia manifests an incredibly long absence of its own identity. Alongside it, there was also a lack of military identity, despite the fact that government units in which Slovaks resided were always manned with Slovak combatants.

The study deals with the topic of cultural heritage and social memory of the Slovak nation with a special emphasis on the issue of creating the first Czechoslovak Republic as a natural cry for freedom and liberation from Austro-Hungarian domination. On the basis of theoretical works by the Slovak history researcher Juraj Babják, it brings a modest depiction of memorials located in the territory of present Slovakia, with a special effort to show the actual state

of monuments devoted to the fallen soldiers of WWI in the area of the present Slovak Republic.

Through the description of historical facts and circumstances, the ambition is to outline a comprehensive overview showing an existence of historical conditions particularly connected with the territory of present-day Slovakia as a part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time of bloody events related to the Great War, a conflict that in essence dramatically altered the social, cultural and political processes around the world, but especially in the context of Europe.



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