ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY IN NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: THE INSTITUTIONAL DIFFUSION OF KOSOVO MEMORIES AND THE ORIGINS OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM

Matvey Lomonosov

U of Tyumen, Russia, m.lomonosov@utmn.ru

Abstract: The question "when is the nation" is answered differently by two influential theories of nations and nationalism – ethno-symbolism and constructivism. Ethno-symbolists emphasize the role of pre-modern ethnic memories, myths, symbols, and sentiments, while constructivists focus on modern institutions. Relying on published sources and archival data this article studies the Kosovo myth which has been often invoked as a crucial supporting case for ethno-symbolist theory. It traces the process of institutional diffusion and public promotion of the myth to answer whether pre-modern ethnic memories played a significant role in its popular appeal. The analysis shows the modernity of the Kosovo myth. Serbian nationalist mythmakers did not *rely on* "ethnic memories" of the masses but *taught* those memories *to* the masses. Methodologically, the article suggests that studying how particular national narratives spread through institutions and reach broad population can help to assess whether those narratives are historically rooted or relatively recent.

Keywords: Identity Construction; Institutional Diffusion; Kosovo Battle; Nationalist Myth; Nation-Building; Organizational Capacity; Serbian Nationalism; Social Memory; Theories of Nationalism

The question "when is the nation" remains one of the central to the theories of nations and nationalism (Connor, 2004; Smith, 1991, 1999; Uzelac, 2004). While answering it, the supporters of two influential schools of thought in this field – ethno-symbolism and constructivism – tend to focus either on ethno-historical memories, myths, and symbols or on modern institutions. For ethno-symbolists, the extensive use of ethno-history reveals the pre-modern ethnic origins of nations and their deep historical roots. For constructivists, the major role of modern institutions such as cultural organizations, state bureaucracy, education system, and coercive agencies in forging national identities confirms the relatively recent provenance of nationhood. The literature on contemporary nationalisms has explored the interaction be-

tween ethnic myths and institutions in shaping group identities (e.g. Gorenburg, 2003; Jenne and Bieber, 2014), while recently Siniša Malešević (2019: 27–39, 55–68) has suggested to study the development of ethnic kinship myths in institutions for finding "when is the nation." Following this line of research, I look at the entrance of the Kosovo myth into modern organizations on South Slav territories and its institutional diffusion. This helps me to answer whether pre-modern ethno-cultural memories and sentiments played a significant role in the myth's successful communication to the masses and popular appeal.

The Kosovo myth is usually seen as the foundational narrative of Serbian nationalism and as a critical supporting case for ethno-symbolist theory (Hutchison, 2005: 9, 17–18, 20, 22; Smith, 1999: 153–155; 2011: 236). The myth narrates the story of Serbian defeat at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. According to the myth, this battle marks the fall of the mighty medieval Kingdom of the Nemanjić dynasty. Despite outstanding self-sacrifice and military valor (e.g. knight Miloš Obilić), small Christian troops led by Serbian prince Lazar loose to an enormous Turkish army commanded by sultan Murad I. The Golden Age of Serbdom comes to an end on Saint Vitus day (June 28) together with the crush of the empire signifying the major national downfall. While praising military heroism, the myth explains the tragic result of the Kosovo battle by the numeric superiority and brutality of the Turks, discord and betrayal in the Serbian camp, and a "heavenly choice" made by prince Lazar. According to the myth, instead of keeping the early state, Lazar and his warriors select to attain the much more valued Celestial Kingdom through sacrifice, death, and martyrdom. Thus, the myth turns military defeat into a historic moral victory (see: Belov, 2007; Bieber, 2002; Čolović, 2016; Djokic, 2009; Emmert, 1992; Greenawalt, 2001).

The existing scholarship on the Kosovo myth to which this article is deeply indebted is rich and empirically sound. However, it mostly traces the history of different narratives of the Kosovo battle by comparing Serbian epic folksongs, chronicles, and church legends to

modern mythopoeia or analyzes how the myth was used in modern politics. Instead, I closely look at process of the myth's institutional diffusion and dissemination. I argue that studying *how* national myths proliferated helps to assess *whether* their appeal and success were dependent on the memories of pre-modern ethnic groups. I conclude that the Kosovo myth is a modern phenomenon because I find that its institutional diffusion and dissemination in 1830s–1930s was an organized and centralized top-down process. This process allowed nationalists to *create* "ethnic memories," not to *reactivate* them.

My analysis is based on published primary and secondary sources, and archival data from Balkan countries. Its central chronological focus extends from the establishment of the autonomous Serbian polity to the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia. Although my attention concentrates on Serbia, Montenegro, and the Yugoslav state, the activities of Serbs living under Ottoman and Habsburg sovereignty are also analyzed.

Ethnic Memories and Institutions, Ethnic Memories *in* Institutions, and the Main Debates in the Theories of Nationalism

The question "when is the nation" (Connor 2004; Uzelac 2004) is answered differently by the proponents of ethno-symbolism and constructivism – the two most influential schools of thought. Both groups of scholars agree that nations seen as mass cultural communities striving for self-determination, legal equality among members and institutional autonomy emerge in the modern period, specifically around the late eighteen–early nineteenth century. They also agree that the spread of nationalism and the development of strong national identity among masses requires institutional density and persistent action from the elites (Breuilly, 1994: 1–5, 54–59; Gellner, 1996: 5–13, 90–101; Hobsbawm, 1992; Guibernau, 2007: 17–20; Hutchinson, 2005: 5–7, 33, 45–46, 74–75; Malešević, 2013: 74–81; Ozkırımlı, 2003; Smith, 1991: 93–122; 1999: 101–106, 175–176, 274; Wimmer, 2002: 19–41).

Despite these points of agreement ethno-symbolists argue that the understanding of the nation based on the idea of popular sovereignty and the political integration of the masses "is framed… in modernist terms" and sanctions "automatically a modernist explanation" (Smith, 1999: 104; see: Hutchinson, 2005: 13). It "makes" modern nations modern by definition. Therefore, ethno-symbolists call to focus on pre-modern collective cultural ties and sentiments, the "ethnic origins" necessary for the successful formation of nations (Hutchinson, 2005: 13–15, 27, 29, 33; Smith, 1991: 21–22; 1999: 10, 13–14, 105; Guibernau, 2010: 14, 18–19). The focus of the argument shifts to the relative importance of cultural antecedents in comparison to modern institutions (see: Malešević, 2019: 40–46). Ethno-symbolists emphasize the power of cultural legacies embodied in ethnic myths, memories, and symbols in modern nation-building. In contrast, constructivists reject the idea of cultural continuity between national and ethnic identities. They see pre-modern ethnic sentiments and memories as localized, fluid, weak, and malleable (Breuilly, 1993: 1–5; Gellner, 1996: 90–101; Hobsbawm, 1992; 2002: 46–79).

This debate over the cultural continuity and premodern roots informs the research foci and objectives of ethno-symbolists and constructivists. Ethno-symbolists lay emphasis on ostensible parallels between pre-modern and modern myths, memories and symbols or the cultivation of ethno-cultural myths and symbols in medieval dynastic, religious, representative, and judicial institutions (Archard, 1995; Hutchinson, 2004: 9–44; Panossian, 2002; Schöpflin, 2000: 80–95; Smith, 1991: 19–42;1999). Constructivists oppose these cultural accounts of the rise of nations and nationalism in two ways. First, they tend to advance socio-economic and organizational explanations, turning close attention to the development of printing, mass media and, especially, modern state institutions such as military draft, schooling, census, topographic surveying, and bureaucracy (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983: 19–84; 1996: 5–62; Malešević, 2013: 55–88; Mann, 1995; Wimmer, 2002: 42–82; Tilly, 1992: 96–160). Second,

they debunk nationalist myths showing their variability, situational character, manipulability, strong dependence on political context, and discontinuity with pre-modern folk memories and sentiments (Berger, 2009; Hobsbawm, 1992; Kolstø, 2005; Levinger and Lytle, 2001; Ozkırımlı, 2003).

The opposing views of pre-modern popular myths and memories translate into the account of nationalist elite action. For ethno-symbolists emerging nationalist elites should not be seen "outside of society mobilizing it from above" (Hutchinson, 2005: 33). In fact, they are beneficiaries of "vernacular mobilization" (Smith, 1991: 61–68; 1999: 188–199). Nationalists manage to create, head, develop and use cultural and, then, state institutions because their ideas reflect culturally embedded popular preferences. The recourse to these historically rooted memories makes nationalist doctrine to strike "deep popular chord" and have "widespread," "mass appeal" and "popular resonance" (Hutchinson, 2005: 6, 37; Smith, 1999: 9, 100; Guibernau, 2010: 18–19). In contrast, constructivists see national institutions as an outgrowth of capitalist development, industrialization, state competition or imperial policies, fortuitous in relation to the development of pre-existing cultural identities. They assume that nationalists gradually populate modern institutions because of contingent processes. Once in institutions ethnic entrepreneurs acquire powerful organizational machinery for the spread of nationalism among masses. It is this institutional "social closure," "social caging" that allows elites to penetrate society and create new collective myths and symbols. Through institutional closure the sense of national identity gets instilled into broad masses in disregard of pre-modern cultural legacies (Malešević, 2012: 64–74; Mann, 1995; Ozkırımlı, 2003; Wimmer, 2002: 19–41).

In short, both ethno-symbolists and constructivists agree that modern institutions and nationalist elites working though these institutions are important for the rise of nationalism. However, while answering the question "when is a nation" and assessing its ethnic roots they

tend to prefer studying either ethno-historical myths or modern institutions. Ethno-symbolists focus on national myths and symbols to prove their provenance from pre-modern ethnic memories. Constructivists focus on modern institutions and oppose the relevance of pre-modern cultural legacies.

Even outside of this debate over the modernity of nations in the theories of nationalism modern institutions and nationalist myths are often studied separately. Miroslav Hroch and his followers who distinguish the Phase B of Agitation in the development of national movements focus on the rise of cultural organizations and their social composition (Hroch, 2008; Raun and Plakans, 1990; see: Maxwell, 2010). They do not dwell on the content of national propaganda and effectively treat this phase as an “organizational” one (Magosci, 2002: 33–54). Memory scholars study the institutional organization and support of collective memories through the production of various glorifying and victimizing narratives in specific “mnemonic sites, practices, and forms” such as public commemorations, museums, tourist venues (Olick and Robbins, 1998: 124; Assman, 1995; Connerton, 1989). They focus on the process of selection and reinterpretation of history in institutions depending on societal and political circumstances, but rarely trace the developmental trajectories of particular narratives in an array of institutions.

As I have shown the importance of both institutions and myths is broadly recognized in the theories of nationalism but deserves to be analyzed in interaction. The studies of contemporary nationalisms illustrate the formative role of this interaction in ethnic mobilization and shaping national identities (Gorenburg, 2003; Jenne and Bieber, 2014). Recently constructivist theorist Siniša Malešević (2019: 27–39; 55–68; cf. 2013: 66–87) suggested to look at institutional development and ideological penetration together and pay closer attention to the kinship-based myths in order to account for early nation-building and answer the question

"when is the nation." Building on this research, I study the diffusion of Kosovo myth in modern state and non-state institutions to locate the temporal origins of Serbian national identity.

The Kosovo myth has been extensively studied in the literature on Serbian history which I do not discuss here. Briefly put, its different currents align with primordialist (e.g: Djordjević, 1991; Redjep, 1976), ethno-symbolist (e.g. Bieber, 2002; Belov, 2007: 479–511; Čolović, 2016; Vujačić, 2015: 130–138) and constructivist (e.g. Greenawalt, 2001; Pantelić, 2011: 447–448) accounts. Importantly, the area studies literature scholarship focuses on the narrative content of the Kosovo memories and analyzes how they change over centuries. Instead I look at how the myth entered to and diffused through modern institutions in order to answer whether it initially had wide popular appeal and whether the pre-modern ethno-cultural memories and sentiments played significant role in its successful communication to masses. This helps me to address whether cultural rupture or continuity marks the history of Serbian identity.

If the Kosovo myth indeed had popular pre-modern roots, as ethno-symbolists argue, then the actions of the mythmakers would be effectively constrained and informed by cultural legacies of the past and popular responses from below. The myth's promotion and spread through institutions would have likely acquired the following features:

- The institutional diffusion and dissemination of the narrative would have constituted a process only loosely organized. Instead of having been tightly coordinated from above, the promotion of the nationalist narrative from the very start would have involved multiple grass-root centers distributed evenly across pre-existing ethnic community and territory. Accordingly, the elite mythmakers would not have needed to work very hard to build organizational infrastructure prior to the dissemination of the myth, having been able to rely on already present popular mnemonic practices. Mass articulations of the myth and public commemorations would have likely occurred in an improvised manner and at spontaneous

gatherings of the masses rather than in organized settings. This is because, as ethno-symbolists argue "vernacular mobilization" (Smith, 1991: 61–64, 2011: 233–234; cf. Hutchinson, 2005: 33, 36–37, 43) would have set in motion "the reciprocal response and contribution of individuals and strata of 'the people'" (Smith, 2011: 234).

- The content of institutionally disseminated promotional materials and elite rhetoric would not have needed to include the knowledge widely shared by population, such as epic songs, church legends or basic information on the key protagonists of the Kosovo battle. Nationalists could have simply referred to the myth, instead of narrating it in detail. In the end, pre-modern Kosovo memories of Serbian *ethnie* should have been comparable to "Homeric epics." These epics according to Smith (1999: 108–109) constituted an important element of the "ethnic consciousness" and "collective identification" of the whole ancient "Hellenic community."

Later sections of this article support constructivist view on the temporal origins of nations. Contrary to the ethno-symbolist predictions, I find that the institutional diffusion and promotion of the Kosovo myth was well-organized and began in a limited number of locations (Vojvodina, and the capitals of Serbia and Montenegro), while the promotional materials *did not rely on* "ethnic memories" of the masses but *explained to* the masses what those memories actually were.

Vojvodina Elites and Nationalizing Balkan Polities

The cultivation of the nationalist Kosovo narrative in the first half of the nineteenth century was not a spontaneous process occurring all over Serbian-speaking territories and welcomed by masses. Small in number and geographically contained cultural and political elites led this initiative. Initially the ideological center was situated in Austrian-controlled Vojvodina. In the 1840s the capitals of the Serbian Principality and Montenegro began to

play an increasingly prominent role. A close collaboration developed between Western-educated Austrian Serbs and political leadership of the two nationalizing polities.

An overwhelming majority of the pioneering mythmakers originated from or received education in Austrian lands. Their attention was rather focused on each other than on broad masses. They were representatives of the high culture, who viewed popular traditions as a raw material which had to be elaborated, corrected, or even invented. The nationalist intelligentsia held ongoing correspondence, exchanged works, and referenced one another (see: Belov, 2007: 493–511; Popović, 1998: 164–165). When Montenegrin leader Petar II Petrović Njegoš celebrated the heroes of the 1389 Kosovo battle in his poem *Mountain Wreath* in the 1840s, he found inspiration in the fictional works of his Vojvodina-educated teacher Sima Milutinović Sarajlija, not in the local folklore. At times the intellectuals collaborated on outright fabrications of popular poetry (see in detail: Čolović, 2016: 160, 169, 195–208; Djurković, 1990; Bojović, 1989: 394–395).

Three periods should be distinguished in the institutional diffusion of the Kosovo narrative. Before the 1830s Serbia and Montenegro lacked administrative capacity for nation-building. Over next decades this problem had been solved. For example, by 1837 the number of Serbian civil servants had grown twentyfold (Malešević, 2019: 191–193), largely through the involvement of the educated natives of Vojvodina. In the 1830s and 1840s, dozens of Austrian Serbs arrived in Belgrade staffing governmental and educational institutions (Popović, 1998: 164–165; MacKenzie, 1985: 45). Until the 1860s Vojvodina-born Serbs constituted ca. 40% of all scholars in the Principality of Serbia and additional 15% came from other Austrian lands (Novoseltseva, 2016: 156).

Under these external influences and prompted by Polish *émigrés*, in 1844 the minister of interior Ilija Garašanin came up with the first Serbian national program *Načertanije* (the "Draft"). It sought the "liberation" of all Ottoman Serbs and the "resurrection" of powerful

medieval Serbian Empire (Čolović, 2016: 191–195; MacKenzie, 1985: 43–58). Soon Garašanin managed to persuade Montenegrin leader Petar II Petrović Njegoš to work together. In Serbia a number of the mythmakers were coopted into the government and a secret intelligence network of agents and propagandists (see: Čolović, 2016: 194–197; MacKenzie, 1985: 64–75). For example, a Vojvodina-born intellectual Jovan Sterija Popović served as a professor of the state-sponsored Belgrade Lyceum, and then as the Serbian minister of education (MacKenzie, 1985: 64–65).

Despite these large organizational successes and expansionist plans, until the late 1870s the state structures were reluctant to raise Kosovo themes publicly. The autonomous status of Serbia and Montenegro under Ottoman sovereignty entailed restrictions. When the Serbian government invited poet Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj from Novi Sad to write national anthem, he was warned against explicitly mentioning the Kosovo battle, because it could affront the sultan (Djordjević, 1991: 320). In these circumstances the promotion of the Kosovo myth through patriotic literature and cultural institutions could barely reach yet uneducated public. The situation changed dramatically after the Congress of Berlin which gave to nationalists a free hand in the territories of now independent Serbia and Montenegro.

Elites and States in Building Cultural and Educational Institutions

The educated circles of Vojvodina launched the efforts in establishing nationalizing institutions. However, as its state capacity expanded, the Principality of Serbia acquired the leading role. This resulted in the formation of an interlocking directorate among the organizations forging Serbian national identity.

In 1826 a group of wealthy traders and imperial bureaucrats established *Matica srpska* in Pest. Soon this major cultural institution came to coordinate cultural development of the Austrian Serbs by overseeing Slavic-speaking schools, distributing stipends for talented art-

ists, opening reading rooms, and printing propaganda literature. The gallery of *Matica srpska* was inaugurated in 1847, and *Matica*-affiliated Serbian National Theatre opened its doors in 1861. Another important initiative taken by Vojvodina intelligentsia in the 1860s was the formation of the United Serbian Youth movement operating in Austro-Hungary. Its official journal induced the youth to "break the chains of the five-century slavery" healing "the wound of Kosovo" and restoring the "valour of [Kosovo hero] Obilić" (Čolović, 2016: 184–188; Djordjević, 1991: 316–317, 324; Ekmečić, 1991: 339).

Serbian and Montenegrin states joined the process of building nationalizing institutions in the 1830s. In that decate the first publishing houses were established in Serbia and Montenegro (Starčević, 1997:11). These institutions helped to overcome the tight control of the Habsburg authorities that only allowed the Old Slavonic script. The two publishing houses centralized both the printing and distribution of Serbian literature in the Ottoman lands. In early 1840s the Belgrade minister of education Jovan Sterija Popović established the Society of Serbian Letters, the first small theater, and the Serbian Museum. In the late 1860s a permanent Serbian National Theater was inaugurated by the Serbian prince.

State intervention played big role in etablishing non-state nationalist organizations. In 1843 the editor of Serbia's official newspaper *Serbian News,* Miloš Popović, proposed the founding of Belgrade's first reading hall. In the late 1840s the halls were opened in Belgrade, Smederevo and Kragujevac with the help of ministries of education and interior and respective city administrations (Ekmečić, 1991: 336–337). Garašanin's trustee, secret agent and nationalist author Matija Ban and other professors of the state Lyceum facilitated the creation of the Society of Serbian Youth. Its official inauguration took place on the day of the Kosovo Battle (Saint Vitus day) honoring the sacrifice of "heroic predecessors… for freedom" (Djordjević, 1991: 315–316; MacKeznie, 1985: 65).

Mass schooling was introduced in Serbian-inhabited regions relatively late but had immediately become central to the promotion of the Kosovo myth. In 1880 the Serbian Parliament founded the Main Educational Council composed of state officials, leading scholars and influential clerics, whose members considered mass education as central for achieving national unity and progress. Schools had to make "one soul and one goal in every part of the fatherland" a reality. Since as late as in 1910 95 percent of all the students did not continue beyond the compulsory fourth grade, 50 percent of the classes in elementary school curriculum were devoted to subjects dealing with Serbia, such as language, history, geography, and the Orthodox faith (Jelavich, 1990: 34–39). After establishment of the Yugoslav state, in the 1920s the government stimulated the development of new curricula and textbooks by making all school print materials subject to official sanction. Usually the ministry published a list of literature approved for elementary education (Troch, 2012).

The Diffusion and Development of the Kosovo Myth in Institutions

Non-State Cultural Societies

As mentioned previously, the first cultural associations in Serbian-inhabited lands were Matica Srpska, the United Serbian Youth in Vojvodina and the Society of the Serbian Youth in Belgrade. Both youth organizations relied on state support. At the turn of the twentieth century similar institutions mushroomed and played an important role in promoting Serbian nationalism, particularly outside of two nationalizing states. Some of them bore the names of medieval rulers, military commanders, and religious leaders, for instance, *Obilić* choral society (1883) in Belgrade, *Obilić* gymnastic club in Mostar (1903), and *Dušan the Strong* student group in Pristina (Djordjević, 1991: 317–318).

Cultural organizations influenced the minds of population through visual propaganda, commemorative practices, own media, the distribution of literature, and educational activi-

ties. The Gallery of *Matica Srpska* acquired the second largest collection of Serbian art, which included Kosovo-focused paintings and lithographs of Nikola Aleksić and Pavle Čortanović. Regular publications about the 1389 battle in the newspapers and illustrated calendars, which adored many Serbian houses in final decades of the nineteenth century, also emerged as effective vehicles for the cultivation of the Kosovo myth (see: Bojović, 1989: 395–406; Pejin, 1991: 167–164).

Since 1889, cultural societies actively participated in celebrations of Saint Vitus day. In early 1889, in Austro-Hungary a formal organization committee was established by Vojvodina intelligentsia. The commemorations opened with a solemn requiem performed in the town of Ruma and then continued with a memorial service to the Kosovo heroes in nearby Vrdnik. Choral societies and the Orthodox flock from all over Austro-Hungary were invited to participate performing the songs devoted to the 1389 battle (Djordjević, 1991: 319–321; Emmert, 1992). After the takeover of Kosovo in 1912, mass visits to the "liberated Holy Land" on Saint Vitus day were organized by patriotic organizations (Djordjević, 1991: 319–321; Emmert, 1992). In the Yugoslav period, the activities of all cultural societies were regulated by a special decree and received state financial support. The organization of Saint Vitus day commemorations had to be coordinated with the government at that time.

Another channel of government ideological influence over non-state cultural institution was printing. After its founding, the State Printing House of Serbia published voluminous nationalist literature. Some of these materials were particularly instrumental in the promotion of the Kosovo myth. In 1836 Gavrilo Kovačević's *Battle* saw the light of day for the first time in the Ottoman territory. The book became one of the most widely read among the Serbian-speakers (Belov, 2007: 493; Popović, 1998: 165). Other relevant works included *Miloš Oblilić* by Jovan Sterija Popović and *Tsar Lazar* by Matija Ban, textbooks, and propaganda speeches by state officials.

Documents from Bosnia and Herzegovina provide an interesting insight into propaganda activities of Serbian national societies. The *Prosveta* (Enlightenment) society founded in Sarajevo in 1902 served as one of the main channels promoting Serbian nationalist mythology in the region until 1949. It organized regular meetings, supported schools, libraries and reading rooms, staged performances and exhibitions, purchased and distributed patriotic literature, and helped to commemorate national holidays. In 1932 the society had 244 libraries and reading rooms all over Bosnia.[1] The entrance hall of its central library in Sarajevo was decorated with nationalist paintings celebrating medieval heroes: the *Coronation of Emperor Dušan* by Paja Jovanović and *Kosovo Maiden* by Uroš Predić.[2]

Government-Controlled Cultural Institutions

The Society of Serbian Letters (later the Royal Academy), National Museum, and Belgrade National Theater were the key institutions of state control in the cultural sphere. The Vojvodina intelligentsia originally established the Serbian Theater in Novi Sad, but the theater also received sporadic financial help from the government and often exchanged ideas, actors, and administrative cadres with its sister organization in Serbia.

Among the most popular plays in the repertoires of the two national theatres were Kosovo-focused dramas of Sterija Popović, Ban and Subotić. In the 1880s Miloš Cvetić triumphed with his plays *Lazar* and *Dušan*, which remained on the stage in Belgrade for over twenty years. Just before the First World War the Belgrade public watched the *Resurrection of Lazar* by Ivo Vojnović and *Kosovo Tragedy* by Žarko Lazarević (Čolović, 2016: 255–263, 284–285; Emmert, 1992; Ekmečić, 1991: 339–340; Mihailovich, 1991: 149–150; Pejin, 1991: 162–164).

Serbian Romantic painters who turned an increasing attention to the Kosovo battle since the 1870s were admitted to the state academy, supported by the National Museum, and

personally encouraged by the royal family. Some of them originated from Serbia proper, but most came from the Austro-Hungarian lands: Vojvodina and Croatia. The medieval battle was reflected in the *Kosovo cycle* of paintings created by academicians Adam Stefanović, Pavle Čortanović, Anastas Jovanović, Paja Jovanović, Djordje Krstić, and Uroš Predić (Popovich, 1991: 242–244, 250–252).

At the turn of the twentieth century the Kosovo myth gained popularity among Croatian and Slovenian artists inspired by ideas of Yugo- and Pan–Slavism. The most famous among these Yugoslavists were members of the Serbian Royal Academy Marko Murat, whose paintings covered Serbian medieval history, and Ivan Meštrović, who came up with an ambitious idea to build a *Saint Vitus Day Temple*. The project was presented in Serbia's pavilion at the International exhibition in Rome but never realized. Nevertheless, Meštrović managed to complete the sculptures of the *Kosovo Maiden, Miloš Obilić* and the *Mother of the Jugovićs*. In the interwar period, these themes were covered by Slovene sculptor Lojze Dolinar and his Croatian colleague Antun Augustinčić (Čolović, 2016: 264–283; Ekemičić 1991: 339–341; Emmert, 1992; Popovich, 1991: 252–253; Pavlović, 1989).

State support was central for early films with the Kosovo theme. The first Serbian film *Coronation of King Peter I of Serbia* included depictions of passing actors dressed as Prince Lazar and Miloš Obilić. In 1939 Belgrade producer Kosta Novaković received an order from the Yugoslav authorities to create a fully-fledged narrative film. He managed to film the commemorations of 1939 and several scenes but had no time to finish the project before the Second World War (Kosanović, 1989).[3]

Public Commemorations and Official Addresses

From 1870s onwards, the Kosovo myth was reified in numerous speeches, manifestos, and appeals "to the nation" made by monarchs and key government officials. It is important

to note that all these manifestations, public pronouncements as well as commemorations, occurred in organized settings, such as prearranged memory sites, educational institutions, military parades, and army barracks. They never represented on-the-spot improvisations by enthusiastic and spontaneously gathered crowds.

In 1867 Montenegrin prince Nicholas I, who had previously authored the influential poem *There, Over There* invoking ancient glory of the medieval Dušan Empire and Miloš's military valor (see: Čolović, 2016: 175–182), chose the month of June to declare war on the Ottoman Empire (Djordjević. 1991: 314). Encouraging his army, the prince gave a speech on Saint Vitus day:

> For almost five centuries the Turkish force has trampled members of our people and devastated the beautiful lands of our old and great state... I know that your knightly chests are filled with a desire to struggle against the Turks, to avenge Kosovo and resurrect the ... freedom of the Serbian people buried long ago... (Njegoš, 1968: 155–159)

Since then the Kosovo myth was articulated by the members of Njegoš, Obrenović, and Karadjordjević dynasties, ministers, and army commanders on many occasions, at historical turning points.

The most massive state-sponsored commemorations of the Kosovo battle before the Second World War included grandiose 500-th and 550-th anniversaries and a highly emotional memorial service to the medieval heroes on the newly captured Field of Kosovo in 1912. I only discuss the 1939 commemorations which are not covered in the literature. Importantly, these manifestations show well how much effort the government invested and how involved was it in the formation of a non-state nationalist organization in Kosovo on whose initiative the anniversary happened.

The 550-th anniversary took place in the advent of the Second World War. The long-embattled government desperately tried to turn the event into a signifier of all-Yugoslav unity. The 1389 resistance was presented as a common initiative of all South Slavs, who defended European values and Christianity. Huge festivities were held in Kosovo, Vojvodina, Serbia proper, and Dalmatia. The call for organizing the main commemorative event in Kosovo ostensibly came "from below," that is from the Association of the Kosovo Natives (*Udruženje kosovca*) founded in Belgrade in the 1930s. However, the leading members of that association included nationalist intellectuals, who in the early twentieth century used their Ottoman citizenship, administrative and school-teacher positions to coordinate *četnik* struggles and perform various secret functions for the Serbian government in the "unredeemed" Balkan territories.

In 1939 the Association of the Kosovo Natives relied on its connections within the government, church and cultural circles to assure that Serbian elites work in concert. The ministry of transportation helped with vehicles and negotiated discounts for train and boat connections to Kosovo. The ministry of education opened school doors in the region to provide free accommodation for the participants, and together with the ministry of defence and numerous cultural societies facilitated mass attendance. Eventually, king Petar II, regent Pavle with almost the whole cabinet, influential city majors, cultural figures, and church hierarchs with the patriarch headed the 1939 commemorations.[4]

The government promotion of Kosovo commemorations was not limited to these massive manifestations, but also aimed to change "banal" grass-root practices. In 1892 Saint Vitus day became an official state holiday and since then was regularly celebrated within state institutions. According to official prescriptions, churches were draped in black, black flags waived on houses, and national standards hung at half-mast. All invitations had to be

printed with black margins. Annually various state-supported sports rallies took place in late June (Djordjević. 1991; Ekmečić, 1991: 339).

To ensure popular awareness of the Kosovo myth, the schools were ordered to end academic year on June 28. The teaching body had to organize student performances of patriotic songs, memorial services to the fallen "for the honored cross and golden liberty," and conversations on the national significance of Kosovo (Vukić, 2003: 75). In Yugoslavia Saint Vitus day was celebrated in the schools all over country to strengthen the unity of the South Slavs. For instance, in June 1919 students of *Montenegrin* educational institutions were lectured "about the significance of Saint Vitus day for the *Serbian* people."[5]

Public Schools

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the information about the Battle of Kosovo appeared in the textbooks and readers on geography and history. Geographical textbooks described "Old Serbia" (Kosovo) as a "sacred land," where "our kings and emperors resided." The authors paid attention to the battlefield near Pristina, Dušan's capitals Prizren and Skopje, and the town of Peć with the seat of the Serbian patriarchate (Jelavich, 1990: 145, 156). One of the most popular history textbooks by Mihailo Jović, which had reached its thirty-sixth edition in 1913, devoted about 20 percent of its pages to the "terrible battle" and the "fall of the Serbian Empire." The Tsardom (Empire) of Dušan was characterised as a "more enlightened and more successful state" than many other countries of the period (Jović, 1914: 65). After experiencing crisis under timid and unwise Dušan'ssuccessor Uroš, the state was reinvigorated by Lazar, who also managed to legitimize the independent Serbian Church. Nevertheless, the prince's efforts were thwarted in 1389, when the bravest Serbian heroes fell together with the Serbian Tsardom. In the aftermath of this "most significant event for the Serbian people" nobody in Europe could resist Turkish onslaught anymore (Jović, 1914: 81–103).

mong the books recommended for Bosnian school students in 1919 was one by Milan Prelog on medieval history, which offered a Yugoslavist interpretation of the Kosovo battle.[6] In the same year the government financed the publication of an overview of Serbian, Croatian and Slovene history authored by a professor of the Sarajevo trade academy Vasilij Popović. According to the author, the work emphasized "the highest power [of the Serbian medieval state] under Nemanjić dynasty" and included epic folksongs.[7]

In the early 1920s an adapted version of the Jović textbook was still in wide circulation in Yugoslav schools. Now, however, the battle assumed the meaning of a Serbian struggle for a common cause of South Slav freedom. The author lamented that if all South Slavic brothers could join Lazar's forces, together they would have beaten the Turks and pushed them back to Asia. With the installation of the dictatorship, the Yugoslav authorities made additional efforts to emphasize the all-Yugoslav character of the 1389 events. New textbooks explained that back then Serbs and Croats stood next to each other, shoulder to shoulder, fighting the common enemy. Moreover, Croats acquired their own "Kosovo," namely the 1493 battle at Krbava field, where a Croatian army clashed with the Ottomans (Troch, 2012).

The Orthodox Church

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Orthodox Church as an institution largely refrained from nationalist interpretations of the Kosovo battle. Local memorial services to the martyr Prince Lazar were held annually in June in Vojvodina Vrdnik monastery. In other religious sites they might have been served at times on the initiative of individual patriotically minded priests but were not a regular practice. For a long period, the day of the battle was marked in religious calendars as Saint Amos day. Only in the 1860s did the church in Serbia and Montenegro started to hold regular memorial services for the "Kosovo martyr" Lazar on

Saint Vitus day. It was followed by the Orthodox clerics in Vojvodina, Croatia, and Bosnia (Čolović, 2016: 189; Djordjević, 1991: 310, 316; Popović, 1998: 157–159).

Since the 1870s the state in Serbia increasingly assumed control over ecclesiastical affairs, first through Belgrade metropolitan Mihajlo and then directly through lay delegates of the synod. Orthodoxy was proclaimed the official religion in the 1903 constitution (Velikonja 2003: 102). But as late as the 1880s many hierarchs still opposed the idea of Saint Vitus day becoming national holiday accompanied by massive and joyful celebrations. They argued that true Christians needed to hold a modest memorial service and pay due respect to the fallen martyrs without engaging in patriotic demagogy. The contest over the status of the Kosovo battle martyrs continued up to the wake of the 1889 commemoration, when the religious officials in the state of Serbia finally agreed on the church participation in the solemn anniversary.

Thus, slowly, under state (and intelligentsia's) pressure the church organization became a significant instrument in spreading the Kosovo myth. Saint Vitus day became an official ecclesiastical holiday in the early 1890s. Now parishes served as important sites for mass celebrations of Saint Vitus day, especially on the local level. In their sermons clerics praised the Kosovo heroes as martyrs for "the honored cross and golden liberty," "Faith and Fatherland." Contemporary political leaders were represented as restorers of the past glory (Durković–Jakšić, 1989: 365–370; Kraljić, 1991: 133–136; Pejin, 1991: 157–160; Popović, 1998: 158–160; Velikonja, 2003: 99–102).

However, broad masses initially neither demanded for nor enthusiastically supported the celebrations. In 1889, the battle's 500-th anniversary in Bosnia was limited to short memorial services to Prince Lazar in separate parishes due to the lack of support from local church leadership and imperial authorities. Only in exceptional cases they were followed by mass gatherings and nationalist speeches. Alternatively, in Serbia proper, where the state as-

sumed the leading role in organization of the holidays, and in Vojvodina, where strong societies of intelligentsia pressured the church and supplied the masses, the participating public sometimes counted dozens of thousands of people (see: Kraljić, 1991; Popović, 1998: 158–159; Pejin, 1991).

In the Yugoslav period, the Kosovo myth became an integral part of church nationalist ideology known as *Svetosavlje* (the Cause of Saint Sava). This doctrine, whose famous representatives were Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović and archimandrite Justin Popović, presumed a mystical unity of the collective and the individual in the Serbian nation and stressed the role of the Orthodox Church as a primeval guardian of the national spirit in the face of Western moral corruption. Velimirović proclaimed "the holy nationalism of the Gospel" to be "the only appropriate path" (Velikonja, 2003: 100). In his 1933 *Tsar's Testament* Serbs were rendered as saviours of genuine European values and civilization. The 1389 battle was portrayed as a bulwark struggle of pristine Orthodox Christianity against the cruel Turks of "unbaptized Asia" (Velimirović, 2006: 29–30).

Teaching "Ethnic Memories"

The assumption that widely shared pre-modern memories made possible the promotion of the Kosovo myth among broad masses is hard to support with evidence. This is because instead of simply pointing to the national significance of popular ethnic memories, the mythmakers usually described in full length what those memories were. Most of the patriotic literature that they disseminated portrayed the events of 1389 in detail. Far from being a simple reinterpretation of subjects already known by the public, many fictional works of the nineteenth century meticulously traced the life stories and deeds of the Kosovo heroes. Non-fiction books familiarized readers with the history of the medieval Serbian state, the course of the anti-Ottoman war, and identified crucial historical sites (e.g. Maletić, 1847;

Marković, 1931). Some of these materials were accompanied by complete texts of the Kosovo epic songs, while others incorporated extracts from the epics or monastic texts directly into narrative.

In their public speeches between the 1870s and 1930s, state officials often dwelled on what happened to Serbia at the end of the fourteenth century and carefully listed the all sites in Kosovo that were supposedly dear to the Serbian heart (Djordjević, 1991: 218–323)[8]. Commemorations of Saint Vitus day in churches were usually accompanied by "patriotic lectures" given by nationalist intellectuals, who aimed to educate attending public on the issues of national history. These lectures, not memorial religious services *per se*, eventually came to be seen by Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman authorities in the period before the First World War as threatening (see: Kraljić, 1991; Pejin, 1991). Teachers gave lessons on history during the celebrations of Saint Vitus day at schools. In addition, according to government instructions, students were required to learn by heart and recite epic folksongs (Bojović, 1989: 397–398, 406; Vukić, 2003: 75). Most importantly, epic folksongs were included in historical schoolbooks in full length constituting a major part of the text (Jović, 1914). Geographical textbooks and readers explained what historical sites existed in "Old Serbia" (Jelavich, 1990: 145, 156). If the public already knew the epics and the tradition of the medieval church, all this information would have been redundant. In other words, "popular ethnic memories" of Kosovo were in fact a result of nationalists' top-down educational efforts.

Discussion and Conclusion

Contributing to the long discussion between ethno-symbolists and constructivists over the modernity of nations, I look at the entrance of the Kosovo myth into modern institutions on South Slav territories and its institutional diffusion in order to answer whether the pre-modern ethno-cultural memories and sentiments played a significant role in the myth's suc-

cessful communication to the masses and popular appeal. I find that the myth is a modern phenomenon. Its spread through institutions and promotion among population constituted a stepwise, top-down, centralized, and elite-led process. Contrary to ethno-symbolist expectations, the Kosovo nationalist mythmaking was not provoked, welcomed, and supported by broad public across all ethnic territory.

I distinguish three periods in the institutional diffusion of the Kosovo narrative in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before the 1830s Serbia and Montenegro lacked administrative capacity for nation-building and educated cadres familiar with nationalist doctrine. In this period the discussion of the Kosovo battle was a prerogative of educated Austrian Serbs and mostly developed within the confines of the Scholarly phase A in Hroch's terms. First cultural institutions appeared, but only in Vojvodina. At the second stage, which roughly falls between 1830s and 1860s and corresponds to the Phase B, the Kosovo battle was recalled, singled out as a pivotal event in the national history, and interpreted as an exemplar of struggle for national liberation from the "Turkish yoke." A broad set of institutions was established and became instrumental for communicating nationalist agenda to laypersons. In this process Orthodox intelligentsia from Vojvodina, influenced by Western ideas and current political developments, closely collaborated with the governments in Belgrade and Cetinje. Although in the beginning the leading role was assumed by the intelligentsia, the Serbian and Montenegrin governments eventually came to support and coordinate nationalist mythmaking.

At the third stage, from 1870s onwards, inaugurating the Phase C,[9] the contribution of the state became even more powerful. The Kosovo myth was promoted through government-sponsored publishing, official rhetoric, public commemorations, art projects, and schooling. The government also managed to exert growing influence on the Orthodox Church. Non-state cultural societies founded by intelligentsia relied increasingly on government support. It was

this coordinated and collaborative effort resulting in *the organizational density, the institutional completeness* (see: Breton, 1964; Fennema, 2004) of the Kosovo myth dissemination that enabled its popular acceptance in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Importantly for my argument, the content of the promotional materials disseminated in the nineteenth and twentieth century suggests the absence of pre-modern ethnic memories of Kosovo among masses. Instead of simply noting the national significance of "ethnic memories," the mythmakers usually explained to the public in detail what those memories were. Most of the distributed literature and delivered speeches meticulously described the battle, its protagonists, and relevant geography. The schoolbooks and popular literature contained lengthy extracts from the Serbian epics of the Kosovo cycle.

The Kosovo myth has often been treated as a critical case for ethno-symbolist theory. While exposing its modernity this article puts in question the main thesis of ethno-symbolists about the rootedness of modern nations in pre-modern *ethnies,* or at least challenges the conclusion that the link between these two lies in the realm of myth-symbolic complex. Importantly, I am not claiming to provide an ultimate evidence for denying any sense of what Hobsbawm (2002: 46–79) with reservations calls "proto-nationalism" and Smith (1999: 130–134) refers to as ethnocentrism that *might* have existed among the Orthodox speakers of Serbo-Croatian dialects in pre-modern times. With its limited focus, my study cannot cover the whole historical process of the evolution of collective identities in Serbia and adjacent lands. Some works criticizing the widespread assumptions of academics about perennial Serbian identity have already appeared (Pantelić, 2011; also see: Stokes, 1976).

By proposing the diffusion-focused approach I am trying to advance the comparative studies of national mythopoeia by showcasing a new way of assessing the temporal origins of foundational narratives. The article provides evidence that examining *how* national myths enter modern institutions, diffuse through them, and reach the masses helps to answer *whether*

these myths are modern or historically rooted. The diffusion of novel narratives develops as a centralized and organized process and originates in a limited number of locations. These narratives are detailed in their account of ethno-history, biographies of "national" heroes and historical geography. They often include long excerpts from "forgotten" epic songs and poems, church legends and chronicles. Thus, they teach the masses their "ethnic memoires."

REFERENCES

Arhiv Države Crne Gore (The Archive of the State of Montenegro, Cetinje).

Fond osnovne škole "Njegoš" [The collection of the Primary School *Njegoš*]

Arhiv Kosova (The Archive of Kosovo, Pristina).

F. 49. Kolekcija geografskih mapa i karata [The collection No. 49 of geographic maps]

F. 57. Zbirka Mihajla Kijametovića [The personal collection No. 57 of Mihajlo Kijametović].

F. 199. Dimitrije Parmonović [The personal collection No.199 of Dimitrije Paramonović].

Arhiv Jugoslavije (The Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade).

F. 66. Ministarstvo prosvete Kraljevine Jugoslavije [The collection No. 66 of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia].

Državni Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (The State Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo).

F. Ministarstvo Prosvete. Odjeljenje za BiH u Sarajevu [The collection of the Ministry of Education. Bosnia and Herzegovina Division in Sarajevo].

F. «Prosveta». Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo u Sarajevu [The collection of *Enlightenment,* Serbian Cultural and Educational Society in Sarajevo].

F. Zemaljska vlada za BiH [The collection of the Regional Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina].

Archard, D. (1995) “Myths, Lies and Historical Truth: a Defence of Nationalism.” *Political Studies* 43(3): 472-481.

Assmann, J. (1995) "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65: 125-133.

Banac, I. (1984) *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Belov, M. (2007) *U istokov serbskoi natsionalnoi ideologii: mekhanizmy formirovaniia i spetsifika razvitiia (konets XVIII – seredina 30-h godov XIX vv.) [The Origins of the Serb National Ideology: The Mechanisms of Formation and Peculiarities of Development (from the end of the eighteen century to 1830s].* Sankt Petersburg: Aleteyia.

Berger, S. (2009) On the role of Myths and History in the Construction of National Identity in Modern Europe. *European History Quarterly* 39(3): 490-502.

Bieber, F. (2002) Nationalist Mobilization and Stories of Serb Suffering: The Kosovo Myth from the 600th anniversary of the present. *Rethinking History* 6(1): 95–110.

Bojović, Jovan. (1989) O Vidovdanu u Crnoj Gori [On Saint Vitus Day in Montenegro]. In: Durković-Jakšić, Lj. (ed) *Sveti knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjice Kosovskog boja, 1389–1989*. Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski SPC, pp. 391–406

Breton, R. (1964) Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology* 70(2): 193-205

Coakley, J. (2004) Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10(4):531–560.

Čolović, I. (2016) *Smrt na Kosovu Polju: Istorija kosovskog mita [Death on the Kosovo Field: A history of the Kosovo myth].* Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.

Connerton, P. (1989) *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, Walker. (1994) *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Djokic D. (2009) Whose Myth? Which Nation? The Serbian Kosovo Myth Revisited. In: Bak J., Jarnut, J., Monnet, P. and Schneidmueller B. (eds) *Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages: Nineteenth–Twenty First Century*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink. URL: http://research.gold.ac.uk/3455/1/Kosovomyth2.pdf (accessed 10 February 2021).

Djordjević, D. (1991) The Tradition of Kosovo in the Formation of Modern Statehood in the Nineteenth Century. In: Vucinich W.S. and Emmert T. (eds) *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 309–330

Djurković, Ž. (1990) Kosovska legenda u “Pjevaniji” Sime Milutinovića Sarajlije [The Kosovo Legend in Pevanije of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija]. In: Babović M. (ed) *Kosovski boj u istoriji, tradiciji i stvaralaštvu Crne Gore.* Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, pp. 143–153

Državna realna gimnazija u Prištini [The State Real Gymnasium in Priština]. 1936. *Izveštaj za školsku 1935–1936 god.[The Report for 1935–1936 Academic Year].* Priština: Jovan Kostić.

Durković-Jakšić, Lj. (1989) Ustanovljenje u vaskrsloj Srbiji Vidovdana za državni praznik [The Establishment of the Saint Vitus Day as a State Holiday in Resurrected Serbia]. In: Durković-Jakšić Lj. (ed) *Sveti knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjice Kosovskog boja, 1389–1989*. Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski Sinod SPC, pp. 365–388

Emmert, Th. (1992) The Kosovo legacy. In: Dorich W. and Jenkins B.W. (eds) *Kosovo*. Alhambra: Kosovo Charity Fund. URL: http://www.kosovo.net/sk/history/dorich_kosovo/kosovo11.htm (accessed 10 February 2021).

Fennema, M. (2004) The Concept and Measurement of Ethnic Community. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(3): 429-447.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1996. Nationalism. New York: NYU Press.

Gorenburg, Dmitry. 2003. Minority Ethnic Mobilization in the Russian Federation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Greenawalt, Alexander. 2001. "Kosovo Myths: Karadžić, Njegoš and the Transformation of Serb Memory." Spaces of Identity 3: 49–65.

Guibernau, Montserrat. 2010. The Identity of Nations. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. Introduction to The Invention of Tradition, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, pp. 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 2002. Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hroch, Miroslav. 2008. Małe narody Europy: perspektywa historyczna [Small Nations of Europe: The Historical Perspectives]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

Hutchinson, John. 2005. Nations as Zones of Conflict. London: SAGE.

Jelavich, Charles. 1990. South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Jenne, Erin K., and Florian Bieber. 2014. "Situational nationalism: Nation-building in the Balkans, subversive institutions and the Montenegrin paradox." Ethnopolitics 13.5: 431-460.

Jordanović, Branislava. 2002. Ministarstvo Prosvete i ministri Kralevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Kraljevine Jugoslaviji, 1918–1941 [The Ministry and Ministers of Education in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918–1941]. Beograd: Pedagoški muzej.

Jović, Mihail. 1914. Srpska istorija za narod [Serbian History for the People]. Beograd: Državna štamparija.

Kolstø, Pål. 2005. "Assessing the Role of Historical Myths in Modern Society." Pp. 1–35 in Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe, edited by Pål Kolstø. London: Hurst &

Company.

Kosanović, Dejan. 1989. “Kosovski boj i filmska snjimanja [The Kosovo Battle and Film Production].” Pp. 247–260 in Kosovo u pamćenju i stvaralaštvu, edited by Nenad Lubinković and Irena Arsić. Beograd: Narodna biblioteka "Vuk Karadžić".

Kraljić, Tomislav. 1991. “Petstogodišnica Kosovske bitke u Bosni i Hercegovini [the 500th Anniversary of the Kosovo Battle in Bosnia and Herzegovia].” Pp. 133–139 in Kosovska bitka 1389. godine i njene posledice, edited by Nikola Tasić and Veselin Djuretić. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.

Levinger, Matthew and Paula Franklin Lyttle. 2001. “Myth and Mobilization: The Triadic Structure of Nationalist Rhetoric.” Nations and Nationalism 7.2: 175–194.

MacKenzie, David. 1985. Ilija Garašanin, Balkan Bismarck. Boulder: East European Monographs.

Magocsi, Paul. 2002. Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Malešević, Siniša. 2013. Nation-States and Nationalisms: Organization, Ideology and Solidarity. London: Polity, 2013.

Malešević, Siniša. 2019. Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maletić, Djordje. 1847. Istoričesko-kritičesko opisanie bitke Kosovopoljske, 1389 [Historical and Critical Description of the Battle of Kosovo Field, 1389]. Novi Sad.

Mann, Michael. 1995. “A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses.” Pp. 44–64 in Notions of Nationalism, edited by Sukunar Perival. Budapest: CEU University Press.

Maxwell, Alexander. 2010. "Twenty-five years of ABC: Miroslav Hroch's impact on nationalism studies." Nationalities Papers 38.6: 773-776.

Mihailovich, Vasa. 1991. "The Tradition of Kosovo in Serbian Literature." Pp. 141 – 158 in Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle, edited by Wayne S. Vucinich and Thomas Emmert. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Njegoš, Nikola. 1968. Govori [Speeches]. Cetinje: Obod.

Olick, Jeffrey, and Joyce Robbins. 1998. "Social Memory studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." Annual Review of Sociology, 24(1): 105-140.

Ozkırımlı, Umut. 2003. "The Nation as an Artichoke? A Critique of Ethnosymbolist Interpretations of Nationalism." Nations and Nationalism 9.3: 339–355.

Pantelić, Bratislav. 2011. "Memories of a Time Forgotten: the Myth of the Perennial Nation." Nations and Nationalism 17.2: 443–464.

Pavlović, Dobroslav. 1989. "Spomenici kosovskim junacima na Gazimestanu [Memorials to the Kosovo Heroes at Gazimenstan]." Pp. 421–425 in Sveti knez Lazar: Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjice Kosovskog boja, 1389–1989. Beograd: Sveti arhijerejski Sinod Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve.

Pejin, Jovan. 1991. "Obilježavanje petstogodišnice Kosovske bitke u Ugarskoj i širinje kosovske legende [The Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of the Kosovo Battle in Hungary and Spread of the Kosovo legend]." Pp. 141–165 in Kosovska bitka 1389. godine i njene posledice, edited by Nikola Tasić and Veselin Djuretić. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.

Popović, Miodrag. 1998. Vidovdan i časni krst: ogled iz književne arheologije [Saint Vitus Day and the Cross of Honour: An Essay on Literary Archaeology]. Beograd: Čigoja štampa.

Popović, Vasilj. 1920. Istorija Jugoslovena [History of the Yugoslavs]. Sarajevo: Knjižara J. Studničke.

Popovich, Ljubica. 1991. “The Battle of Kosovo and Battle Themes in Serbian Art.” Pp. 227–266 in Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle, edited by Wayne S. Vucinich and Thomas Emmert. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Prelog, Milan. 1920. Pregled istorije Južnih Slavena: Srba, Hrvata, Slovenaca [The Overview of History of the South Slavs: The Serbs, Croats and Slovenes] Dio.1. Sarajevo: Bosanska pošta.

Raun, Toivo, and Andrejs Plakans. 1990. "The Estonian and Latvian National Movements: An Assessment of Miroslav Hroch's Model." Journal of Baltic Studies 21.2: 131-144.

Rusinow, Dennison. 2003. “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia.” In: Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, edited by Dejan Djokić, 11–26. London. Hurst & Company.

Schöpflin, George. 2000. Nations, Identity, Power. London: Hurst & Company.

Shemiakin, Andrei. 1998. Ideologiia Nikoly Pashicha: Formirovanie i evoliutsiia, 1868-1891 [The Ideology of Nikola Pašić: Formation and Evolution, 1868–1891]. Moskva: Indrik.

Smith, Anthony D. 1991. National Identity. London: Penguin Books.

Smith, Anthony D. 1999. Myths and Memories of the Nation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 2011. “National Identity and Vernacular Mobilization in Europe.” Nations and Nationalism 17. 2: 223–256.

Starčević, Velimir. 1997. Staro srpsko knjižarstvo [The Old Serbian Book Publishing]. Beograd: Prosveta.

Stokes, Gale. 1976. “The Absence of Nationalism in Serbian Politics before 1840.” Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 4.1: 77–90.

Troch, Pieter. (2012) Between Yugoslavism and Serbianism: Reshaping Collective Identity in Serbian Textbooks between the World Wars. *History of Education* 41(2): 175-194.

Uzelac G. (2002) When is the Nation? Constituent Elements and Processes. *Geopolitics* 7(2): 33-52.

Velagić A. (2007) The Education System in Herzegovina during the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–1929). *Bosnian Studies* 1: 122–149.

Velikonja M. (2003) *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina.* College Station: Texas A & M University Press.

Veljimirović N. (2006) Carev zavet [Tsar's Testament], 1933. In: *Srpska književnost Kosova i Metohije. XI–XXI vek*, edited by Staniša Nešić. Beogrda: Pravoslavno delo, pp. 29–30

Vujačić V. (2015) *Nationalism, Myth and the State in Russia and Serbia: Antecedents of the Dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Vukić P., ed. (2003). Letopisi osnovnih škola u Knaževini Crnoj Gori (1885-1908): zbornik dokumenata [Chronicles of the Secondary Schools in the Principality of Montenegro (1885–1908): collection of documents]. Cetinje: Državni Arhiv Crne Gore.

Wimmer A. (2002) *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Breuilly, J. (1993) *Nationalism and the State.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Anderson B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Novoseltseva L. (2016) Stanovlenie serbskoi nauchnoi intelligenstii vo vtoroi polovine XIX vv. [The Formation of Serbian Academic Intelligentsia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century]. *Voprosy istorii* 7: 154–171.

Redjep J. (1976) *Prića o boju Kosovskom [The Tale of the Kosovo Battle].* Zrenjanin: Centar za kulturu.

Tilly Ch. (1992) *Coercion, Capital, and European states, AD 990-1992.* Oxford: Blackwell.

ENDNOTES

[1] Interestingly, in the early 1930s activists of the *Enlightenment* society produced an internal report *What books are read the most?* They wanted to find what books enjoyed wide popularity in order to plan purchasing policy for over 220 libraries across the country. The report documents that Bosnian readers preferred epic songs and folklore (55 percent of the libraries) as well as historical literature (34 percent). Practically oriented texts on agriculture were less popular (23 percent) (Estimated by the author based on: DABiH. Fond "Prosveta." Sign. PKD. 1934. Kutija 114. L. 61–69).

[2] DABiH. Fond "Prosveta." Sign. PKD. 1934. Kutija 114. L. 58–59.

[3] Some photos of the 1389 commemorations and filmed scenes are available in: Arhiv Kosova (The Archive of Kosovo, Pristina; hereafter AK). F. 57. Zbirka Mihajla Kijametovića [The personal collection No. 57 of Mihajlo Kijametović]. LVII – K.2 – 378–398 – 1939.

[4] AK. F. Zbirka Mihajla Kijametovića. LVII – K.1 – 4 – 1961, LVII – K. 2 – 30 – 1939. L. 1–53.

[5] Arhiv Države Crne Gore (The Archive of the State of Montenegro, Cetinje; hereafter ADCG). Fond Osnovne škole "Njegoš" [The collection of the Primary School *Njegoš*]. Fasc. 12. Br. 109. On commemorations of the Saint Vitus day in a Serbian school in Pristina in 1914 see: AK. F. 199. Dimitrije Paramonović [The personal collection No. 199 of Dimitrije Paramonović]. Kutija 5. L. 7. For 1936 see: Državna realna gimnazija u Prištini 1936: 12, 15. All these materials shed light on the intentions of the government and the course of commemorations, but, sadly, do not help in reconstructing the feelings and thoughts of the participants.

[6] Based on the available literature it is hard to trace the whole process of distribution of educational literature throughout the Yugoslav state (see: Jordanović 2000). Therefore, I rely on local data from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Državni Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (The State Ar-

chive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo; hereafter DABiH). Fond Zemaljske vlade za BiH [The collection of the Regional Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina]. Sign. ZVBH-2. 1919. Br. 67–12. I used a later edition of Prelog's works (Prelog 1920). The education department of the Bosnian Regional Government was subordinated to the Ministry of Education of the kingdom. An integrated syllabus was introduced in 1927 (Velagić 2007: 132–133).

[7] DABiH. Fond Zemaljske vlade za BiH. Sign. ZVBH-2. 1919. Br. 67-143. L. 2, 5. The book was eventually published in 1920 under the title *History of the Yugoslavs* (Popović 1920).

[8] Notably, after their incorporation into the new independent states some of these sites were renamed to convey their national significance. For example, the exact part of the Kosovo Field where the battle had supposedly occurred in 1389 was now officially called after the celebrated medieval commander of Serbian troops *Car Lazarovo Polje* (The Field of Tsar Lazar): AK. F. 49. Kolekcija geografskih mapa i karata [The collection of geographic maps]. XLIX–7–125/4 – 1943.

[9] It is important to note that Hroch associates the Phase C with a mass national movement (Hroch, 2008: 9, 44–47). However, what to consider as “mass movement” is debated in the literature (Maxwell, 2010: 870). In this article the start of the Phase C means getting access to the minds and hearts of still “nationally unaware” masses through public manifestations and universal educational institutions.