

Historiography in the Former and New Yugoslavia

ROBERT STALLAERTS

Dr. Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, wetenschappelijk medewerker
Internationalisatieproject Bosnië UZ Gent (kindercardiologie 1K5)
Bibliothecaris Mercator Hogeschool

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, we first sketch the development of the Academies of Science and Arts in the territory of Yugoslavia, both before and after the break-up of the kingdom and federation of Yugoslavia.¹

The Academies were the institutional framework in which official historical science has been developed in Yugoslavia and its republics.² The first official Yugoslav Academy was already created under the Habsburg regime and we go back to the nineteenth century to explain its creation.

In the second part, we focus on the development of historiography itself on the territory of the republics and the provinces of (ex-)Yugoslavia. Here we focus mainly on the evolution under the communist regime, though some earlier developments in the first Yugoslavia cannot be totally neglected. In our opinion, for a host of reasons, the break between communist and earlier historiography is not as radical as sometimes (and even today) has been pretended. We try to show this in the article.³

¹ I want to thank the Croatian historian Tomislav Markus for his many interesting comments. Likewise, I'm very grateful to the Bosnian historian Dževad Juzbasić who kindly handed my some unpublished work of him. Leo Van Assche did some editorial work on an earlier version. Of course, I'm personally responsible for all remaining shortcomings.

² As a referee remarked, it could be interesting to compare the role and function of Academies in Yugoslavia and here in Belgium (or elsewhere in Europe). In fact, Yugoslav Academies, along with being the organisational expression of the official scientific establishment, also set up and finance scientific projects. In this way, they take up - with the universities - a function similar of that of the National Scientific Council (Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, FWO) in Belgium. We leave a more detailed international comparison of the functions of the Academies in different countries for another occasion.

³ Of course, this value judgement will remain a bone of contention. Especially Croats in the diaspora seem to have strong opinions about this. For example, they easily use the qualification 'Yugonostalgic' for a view defended above.

In the conclusion, we present some general observations on the development of Yugoslav historiography and its institutions.

We are primarily concerned here with historiography produced within the borders of the territory of ex-Yugoslavia. Emigrant circles also presented a considerable amount of studies, but some of them were not free of strong ideological biases. As will be seen, the same is of course the case in (ex-) Yugoslavia and especially in the later communist period, a great deal of historiography centred around polemics between historians representing the views of the different republics.

By the term New Yugoslavia, we only want to define the successor states who are situated on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and not only the New Federation of Yugoslavia.⁴

2. THE ACADEMIES OF SCIENCE AND ARTS

The official framework of social science in Yugoslavia has been institutionalized by the founding of scientific institutes and at a higher level by the founding of the Yugoslav Academy and later the Republican and Provincial Academies. The chronology of the establishment of the several Academies is in itself a parameter of the weight and importance of the regional centres. In fact all Academies intended in one way or another to support the national culture of the centre or the republics of Yugoslavia. Language and historical studies were seen as an essential task of these Academies and local projects on these issues were strongly stimulated. The evolution of the Academies, not in the least that of the Yugoslav or later Croatian Academy, reflects the main political currents in the country, as the authorities always sought to influence or sometimes even impose the functioning of the Academies.

2.1.

A so-called Yugoslavian Academy (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, JAZU) was established even before Yugoslavia itself existed. It appeared in the wake of the Illyrian movement, as an expression of the Slavic feelings in the Austrian-Hungarian Habsburg Monarchy.⁵

⁴ We have no political or ideological earmarks with this name, though we know some people in the new states of the former Yugoslavia are very (to?) sensible to any association with the 'former Yugoslavia' or even (in our conception) with the more geographical concept of the Balkan(s).

⁵ In a long letter of 26.5.1999 to this author. Tomislav Markus is a member of the Croatian Institute for history (Hrvatski Institut za Povijest).

The real nature of 'Illyrianism' is still under discussion and is perhaps an example of the continuous revision of history under different political regimes.⁶ In fact, in a communication to this author, the Croatian historian Tomislav Markus made interesting remarks on the character and cohesion of Illyrianism. Up to him, it is even doubtful whether an 'Illyrian Movement' really existed. He acknowledges the existence of some kind of Illyrianism as a South Slav cultural cooperation in the 1830's and 1840's. In 1843, the name was even officially banned, and during the revolution of 1848-1849, the name was replaced by 'South Slav'. In 1863, it revived for a short period by the action of Ljudevit Gaj who tried to give the Illyrian idea wider popularity under intellectuals through the publication of his 'Narodne Novine'. However, he met the resistance of many Croats living under the Habsburg monarchy and of the Serbs. The main inspirator of the idea of founding a Yugoslav Academy was the "Croatian" catholic Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1903) (Stallaerts and Laurens, 205).⁷

The working rules of the Academy had to be approved by the Austrian authorities, and this lasted until 1867. This was in fact the main reason why a South Slav Academy did not appear already earlier. The Austrian authorities finally gave their consent as they wanted to preserve the aspirations and sensibilities between their Croatian and Hungarian subjects.

The Academy was set up as a Yugoslav or better a South Slav Academy as it also intended to work for the Bulgarians as a so-called South Slav People. Strossmayer was both a 'truly nationalist Croat as well as a genuine Yugoslav' (Pavlowitch, 43). He favoured the perhaps romantic and surely idealistic idea of conciliating Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs in a common Slav cultural nation. In this way his Academy should have been South Slav. In practice, however, local Croat representatives of the Academy tried to recuperate the Academy to spread narrowly nationalistic Croat ideas. For example, in 1868, the Academy began publishing a series of editions dedicated to Croatian historical sources, called 'Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium' (HAZU. History, 1). In this light, the character of the 'Yugoslav Academy' located in Zagreb always remained dubious.

⁶ In Croatian historiography of today, there exists interesting polemics about the weight to be given to the existence of the ideal and the goal of making a common Yugoslav cultural community, in opposition to the strivings for national political nations (T. Markus). Of course, this first idea was more popular in Yugoslav historiography, immediately after the founding of the Yugoslav nation.

⁷ Strossmayer also remained famous in church history for being opposed to the dogma of papal infallibility, defined at the Vatican Council of 1870.

Moreover, there were only two authors of non-Croatian origin who regularly cooperated on the publications of the 'Yugoslav Academy', the Slovene Matija Valjavec and the Serbian historian Stojan Novaković.⁸

In the first⁹ Yugoslavia, the period between the two World Wars, the Yugoslav Academy preserved her location in Zagreb, but had to repel centralist attacks from the Royal Academy of Belgrade. The long-term Academy president Gavro Manojlović managed to preserve the seat of the Academy in the Croatian capital. At the end of the thirties and under influence of nationalist and authoritarian pressures, the Yugoslav Academy transformed its programmatic orientation and changed its name into Croatian Academy. This was confirmed by the new Ustaša regime during the Second World War, which also installed a new management board of five Academicians with the task to form a new more politically suited Academy (Bogošič, 1). So, for example, Mile Budak, the ambassador of the Ustaša regime to Berlin, was chosen as the only new member in the field of creative literature.

2.2.

The Serbian Academy (Srpska Akademija Nauka, SANU) is the immediate heir of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts founded at Belgrade in 1886 (Markert, 195).

2.3.

The Slovenian Academy (Slovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umetnosti, SAZU) officially started its activities in 1938. It was the heir of The Society of the Humanities (Društvo za Humanistične Vede). Its oldest roots can be traced back to the Jesuit and theology schools of the 16th century and the Academia Operosorum, founded in Ljubljana in 1693.

2.4.

The three existing academies were reorganized after the Second World War when the communists had come into power. Given the Marxian history paradigm, social science was stimulated by the founding of new Social Science Institutes.

⁸ T. Markus pointed this out to me.

⁹ The first Yugoslavia is the unitary kingdom of Yugoslavia founded after the First World War. The second Yugoslavia is the federal construction of the communists that came into life after the Second World War. Some people speak of the third Yugoslavia, that would have persisted as a multiparty state after the fall of the communist regime in the beginning of the nineties, if Yugoslavia had not been broken up.

However, the influence of Marxism has never been as strongly felt in historiography as in the Soviet Union and other East-European countries, as a consequence both of the rupture with Stalin and of lack of deeper knowledge of Marx and Marxism.¹⁰

In 1947 the Croatian Academy was also reorganized along these same Marxist lines.

The Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts was established in 1967. Earlier, as well a result of the Socialist Revolution, there existed already a (Slavic) Macedonian Institute.

It produced both the codification of the (Slavic) Macedonian language and a history of South Slav Macedonia (*Istorija Makedonskog Naroda*, 1967).

The republic of Montenegro (Crna Gora) was another of the six republics of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, established after World War Two. Scientific institutions were established, such as the Historical Institute (Đurović, IX). It produced a History of Montenegro. However, only on the 6th of March 1973, a meeting was held that inaugurated the functioning of the Society for Science and Arts of Montenegro. In 1976, this scientific organisation officially transformed itself into the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Montenegro (*Crnogorska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti*, CANU).

The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Hercegovina (ANUBiH) was likewise founded as the highest scientific authority of the republic that was first recognized as a unit by the second AVNOJ-conference in 1943. The parliament of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina voted a law in 1951 on the foundation of a scientific society – with a section for history and philology –, that was finally transformed in the Academy of Sciences and Art of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1966.¹¹ The Academy was responsible for the redaction of the items on Bosnian-Hercegovina in the Yugoslav Encyclopedia and edited its own publications: *Radovi, Djela, Posebna Izdanja* a.o. (Juzbašić, 1999, 6). During the war and the occupation that began in 1992, the Academy continued organising their activities, notwithstanding the difficult circumstances and the loss of members. The section for Social sciences held a seminar, called “The war in Bosnia and historical science”. It pleaded for the conservation of the dignity of the historian and against the abuses of historical science for political purposes. Solidarity of world academies remained very scant, only a

¹⁰. With exception of Vaso Bogdanov, Mirjana Gross and some others, according to the opinion of T. Markus.

¹¹. We thank Academic Prof. Dževad Juzbašić for the instructive interview on Bosnian historiography at the Philosophical Faculty in Sarajevo on 15.4.1999 and for the admission to use his unpublished manuscript on the Academy of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as his personal notes on Bosnian historiographers.

representation of the French Academy paid a visit to the occupied Sarajevo. After the war, the material conditions of members and of the Academy itself remained difficult (Juzbašić, 9). On 11.10.1996, the Academy of the Serbian Republic (Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Republike Srpske, ANURS) was founded in Pale, then still the capital of the Serbian part of Bosnia. One of the members was the respected historian Milorad Ekmečić (Kostič, 1996, 1).

The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo and of Vojvodina (VANU) both knew as organs of a province of Serbia similar periods of expansion and contraction. In the seventies following the growing autonomy and cultural freedom, they expanded their range of activities to an unseen scale to be closed down by the authorities of the Republic of Serbia at the end of the eighties and its activities being absorbed by the Serbian Academy in Belgrade. It was argued that the functioning of the provincial Academies lead to annihilation of Serbian culture and secession. Especially the influence of cultural policy of Albania was condemned.

In fact, by accepting the Tosk language variant, the Gheg speaking Kosovars had put the door wide open for cultural and political indoctrination.

In order to further the coordination of the scientific work of the Academies, a Council of the Academies of Sciences and Arts was created which still existed in the eighties (Handbook, 171). However, to the best knowledge of this author, it has never played any significant role. (Or at least its activities were scarcely made public).

Like federal institutions as the Institute of Economic Sciences – earlier a scientific support organ of the Federal Planning Institute –, all suprarepublican integrative organs withered away, first partially with the reforms of the sixties and then definitively as a result of the Constitution of 1974.

After the recognition of the independence of Croatia, the Sabor (House of Parliament) passed a new law on the Academy on June 26th, 1991 providing the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (CANU) with a national and in fact more nationalist profile (HAZU, Hrvatska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti; HAZU. History, 2). The catholic Cardinal Franjo Kuharić became one of its honorary members. However, its president, the old and respected scientist Ivan Supek, privately a liberal opposition politician and opponent of Tuđman, tried to protect the Academy against major intrusions of narrow party politics, in particular of the dominant nationalist party HDZ (Supek, *Tko bi ubio Spasiteljja*). Supek fiercely defended the autonomy of the Academy and the alienation from daily party politics. However, he could not prevent that president Tuđman was also accepted as a member of the Academy, however dubious his purely scientific achievements. Tuđman also tried to replace Supek as head of the Academy by one of his party supporters. Supek had to defend himself against accusations of Tuđman, published in an open letter, but he managed to preserve the presidency of the Academy for a further term.

3. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF (THE PEOPLES OF) YUGOSLAVIA

3.1. Yugoslav historiography

The first historical studies on the Yugoslav idea were produced by the protagonists of the so-called Illyrianist movement in Croatia in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹² From then on, a strong historical tradition developed mainly in Zagreb, that was however more and more going to focus on Croatia. Franjo Rački produces the first Croatian valuable historical studies at the end of the 1850's. Nevertheless, South Slav minded intellectuals fostered the idea and carried it over into the formation of the first Yugoslav state, the Kingdom of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats, founded in 1918. Now, especially Serbs were going to produce royal historiography in the capital of Belgrade, for example Cubrilović and Čorović.¹³

The coming into power of the communists after the Second World War of course deeply influenced historiographical practice. Immediately after the war, more or less clear directions for the writing of Marxist history were given by the top leaders of the socialist revolution, Tito, Djilas and Kardelj. But the ideological pressures fluctuated faithfully with the internal and external political vicissitudes of the regime. Moreover, historical traditions, institutions and critical individuals were not always ready to take for given every change in the policy of the regime. So the overdone aspirations of the regime can sometimes easily be followed by the premonitions and complaints of regime supporting historians such as Hrabak. In a somewhat theoretical discourse, this writer exposes the objective, subjective and dialectical causes of the appearance of undesirable nationalistic traits in historical writings. He is more clear in pointing to the direct internal and international political influences on the proposed standards of historiography in the first two decades of the existence of communist Yugoslavia.¹⁴ We now reproduce some of his perceptions.

¹² This is doubted on by T. Markus, who sees only a marginal historical interest in the common South-Slav theme in the middle of the 1850's. Only later and especially after 1918 and the founding of Yugoslavia, the common South Slavic theme came fully to development and its weight of it was overrated in the Croatian policy and culture of 19th century Croatia.

¹³ Čorović, Vladimir. *Istorija Jugoslavije*. Belgrade, 1933. See Vucinich (1951, p. 42).

¹⁴ However, the theme itself is in 1967 still extremely sensible, and well in a degree that 'names of authors will not be named'. ("S obzirom na karakter teme, izbegavaće se navođenje imena autora."). Of course for the in-crowd, most actors are easily identifiable.

Theoretically and a little bit simplified¹⁵, nationalism and nationalist historiography had to wither away by the progression towards socialism and its universalist values, sometimes summarized by the slogan "unity and brotherhood."

Nationalist deviances were minimal in two early periods of the second Yugoslavia. At first, the claims of Italy on the Adriatic coast mobilized historians for the Yugoslav cause. The only negative side effect was that Belgrade historians replaced their field of action to the archives of Dubrovnik and this excited somewhat the envy of Croatian historians. Likewise, the mobilization on frontier problems of Koruško and Macedonia gave rise to overtly nationalist theses. But by the external threat of Stalin during and after the Cominform conflict, historians again closed ranks to defend the Yugoslav view against soviet and east European historians. Here, the case was clearly overdone and this produced later problems for the right interpretation of the different nations and nationalities in the liberation struggle. Other more direct actions of the communist leadership to stimulate the production of historical texts that should support Yugoslav patriotism did not generate the desired results. The directive to all commissions for history of the republican central committees to set up a redaction, was only successfully realized by Serbia. Moreover, most of the manuscripts the redaction received were characterized by overt romantic and sometimes aggressive nationalism. The publishing house Prosveta started in 1951 with the series "Our Serbian Past".¹⁶ When the Cominformist threat withered away, the publication was discontinued and the redaction was accused of Serbian national chauvinism. On the other hand, the regime itself stimulated until 1954 the history writing of the republics that for the first time had been officially recognized by the Second Session of the AVNOJ and on which the administrative construction of the federation was based.¹⁷ Again this admitted overt expression of classical forms of romantic nationalism, such as in some Montenegrin and Macedonian studies. It sometimes led to minor frictions between republics and provinces when 'border' problems were treated.

15. The author acknowledges that - along with remnants of old nationalist resentments and subjective aspirations - new objective nationalist frictions can grow through the development of a commodity economy, the more so if the different levels of development of the regions of Yugoslavia are taken into account.

16. "Iz srpske Prošlosti."

17. The second AVNOJ session in 1943 recognized six republics. Thus after the end of the war in 1945, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina were constituted as administrative republican units. The problem of the autonomous provinces within Serbia was even later settled mainly as a consequence of the resistance of the local population in the Kosovo-region.

Another deviation or inconsistency that was directly introduced by the political leadership into historiography concerns the treatment of the labour movement in Serbia. Until 1948, its role had been evaluated as negative, as it did not collaborate with the communist party. However, on the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the view was reversed. This can be seen as an expression of Serbian nationalism.

The period of 1954 until 1959, the author views as a period of minor intervention of the politicians. Qualified historians now entered the scene.

From 1959, another form of nationalism, caused by the economic progress, takes the lead. The main discussion concerns the economic functioning of the federation and its implication for the republics. These discussions resulted in secondary dissensions in historiography about the relations between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. In Serbia, the nationalist expression takes sometimes the form of Yugoslavism.¹⁸

Another problem with which Hrabak closes his analysis is the growth of Albanian nationalism after the economic reform and especially after the liberalization in 1966 thanks to the fall of Ranković.

In fact, one can continue this analysis by pointing to the Croatian spring at the end of the sixties. As main causes can be seen the discussion on the economic system and the growing political freedom after the economic and political reforms of the mid sixties. In the beginning of the seventies, these problems were overcome by crude repression, especially in Croatia. But at the same time, the view prevailed¹⁹ at the top of the communist leadership that the unity of Yugoslavia could only be preserved by giving more autonomy to its constituting parts. The republican bureaucratic centres took full advantage of these decentralizing impulses. Along with the official academies, especially other historical and social science institutes were going to produce practically without any central interference more or less nationalistic, provincial and deviant studies. For example, scientists in the Institutes for the Study of the Partizan War²⁰ or Labour Movement, attacked more and more sensible previously nationalistic labelled themes.

¹⁸. One can see that the problems of the early sixties and the positions taken by the participants closely resembled those of the nineties. One can speculate now why the system exploded in 1990 and not in 1960 (or with an even larger chance in 1971).

¹⁹. Therein, the opinion of 'first thinker and ideologue' E. Kardelj should have been decisive. He also worked out the project of the new constitution of 1974, that institutionalized the (con)federation.

²⁰. In the Zagreb institute, Franjo Tuđman could develop his theses. In the Belgrade Institute of Social sciences, (non-nationalist) critical researchers sent away from the university could do their work without major interference.

At the beginning of the eighties, both Tito and the economy died. After a short period of recovery (of the economy), a total economic crisis set in. The communist party lost its credibility. In the press and historiography, all previous taboo themes steal the show one by one: the darker sides of the communist regime, exemplified by the Goli otok concentration camp, the power abuse in a one party system and finally the rehabilitation of the political forces that fought the communists. Unhappily, as is generally known, strong and irrational nationalism pervaded both politics and historiography. This was already shown by our analysis of the Serbian Memorandum and is further illustrated in the following short overview of the historiography of the nations and main nationalities of Yugoslavia.²¹

3.2. Croatian historiography

Croatian historiography finds its justification in the existence of the separate Croatian people or at least in the existence of an independent Croatian state in various periods of history.

The historiography of Croatia found its early beginnings in Byzantine writing. Local authors first wrote their historical works in Latin and Italian. Ivan Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* [On the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia Book six], 1666), sometimes called father of Croatian historiography and Ritter Pavao Vitezović (*Croatia rediviva* [Croatia Revived], 1700) set in the trend of modern history writing. Their ideas were taken up by the romantic and Illyrianist movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. Croatian nationalistic thought was stimulated by the historical thinking of the leading figures of the Croatian Party of (State) Right. This way of thinking was continued between the two World Wars by the representatives of the Croatian Peasant Party.

From 1850 on until the first World War, scientific historiography really took off with the work of I. Kukuljević, F. Rački, T. Smičiklas, V. Klaić and F. Šišić. So Croatian historiography smoothly moved away from romantic traditionalism and patriotistic functionalism towards a critical assessment of available sources.

T. Markus gives absolute priority to Franjo Rački who worked on Croatian history of the 7th to 13 century. Markus takes distance of the popular belief (for example defended by Jaroslav Šidak) that Ivan Kukuljević is the father of

²¹ According to the official definition of Yugoslav communists, the difference between Yugoslav nations (*narodi*) and nationalities (*narodnosti*) is that nations have no other home country than the one in Yugoslavia itself, while nationalities have one abroad. For example, Serbs are a nation, Kosovars a nationality.

Croatian historiography. He was more a literarian and record keeper, and a well-educated dilettant in historiography while Rački wrote the first valuable historical works.

In the interwar period, Milan Šufflay makes a reinterpretation of the the Croatian Middle Ages and also specialized in the Albanian question. Fundamental research on the economic history of Croatia was initiated by R. Bičanić.

The victory of the communist partizans in the Second World War brought the Marxist paradigm to the forefront, though regularly contested by so-called bourgeois and nationalistic tendencies. So, for example, in 1948, the academician Anto Babić produced a much neglected *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije* (History of the Yugoslav Peoples).

In a first period, official marxist historiography concentrated on the more innocent history of distant times. This pattern was suddenly disrupted by the publication in 1963 of partizan general Terzić's monograph *Jugoslavija u aprilskom ratu 1941* (Yugoslavia during the April War of 1941). It blamed the Croats for collaboration with the Axis powers and for the fall of the first Yugoslavia. It gave Croatian historians an excellent opportunity to expose their contrary views. Tito himself reacted in condemning nationalist manifestations in historiography.

Croatian national views were again more freely expressed in the Croatian Spring (1967-72). The journal *Časopis za Suvremenu Povijest* (Journal of Contemporary History) came into life in Zagreb and expressed the views of Croatian historians. In 1968, Šidak, Gross, Karaman and Šćepić published their interpretation in *Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860-1940* (History of the Croatian People, 1860-1940). It was criticized by official Yugoslav historians for neglecting the Yugoslav component. In turn, when Dedijer and Ekmečić produced their *Istorija Jugoslavije* (History of Yugoslavia), Gross and Šidak condemned the unbalanced treatment of Croatian and Serbian history. Croatian historians not belonging to the academic establishment as V. Gotovac and F. Tuđman expressed even more nationalist views. During the repression of this movement, T. Mačan's '*Povijest hrvatskog naroda* [History of the Croatian People]' was taken out of circulation. Criticism on the unitarist line - more than often the hiding place of Great-Serbian nationalism - it now earmarked as Croatian extremism.

With the fall of the communist regime in 1991, revisionist nationalistic trends revived in Croatian historiography. More space is given to the role of religion in history (J. Krišto, *Prešućena povijest - Katolička crkva u hrvatskoj politici. 1850-1918* [The suppressed History - The Catholic Church in Croatian Politics, 1850-1918], 1994)²² and to national figures and movements that constituted the

²² Also in studies of Mario Strecha, Iskra Iveljić, Zoran Grijak, a.o.

history of Croatia. A revision of the history of the Croatian Banovina and the Independent State of Croatia just before and during the Second World War is under way. Criticism of the partizan history of the Second World War that had been done in dissident circles has now been officially consecrated (Tuđman, *The Wastelands of Historic Reality*, 1989). Tuđman's publication on the victims of Jasenovac of course provoked violent reactions of Serbian historians.²³ Tuđman himself recognized recently that his zeal to defend the purely "Croatian" point of view in the Jasenovac question was somewhat overdone. Perhaps this could be the starting point of a more detached, less regime bounded historiography, especially in the specialized historical institutes.

3.3. Serbian historiography

Serbian historiography, implicitly recognizing the existence of the Serbs as a separate people, has been closely connected to the political evolution of a Serbian or Yugoslav state, but shows as well an autonomous scientific and professional development. Four main currents can be discerned in the evolution of Serbian historiography: the traditional historiography, the critical school of Ruvarac and his followers, the communist-marxist legacy and the renewed Serbian nationalistic movement.

Serbian historiography before 1800 heavily leaned upon the tradition of folk songs and the chronicles of own Saints and Kings. It was enriched by the Chronicles of Count Branković's, the main source of historical knowledge and the view of the Serbs until the appearance of Jovan Raic's *Istorija* (1794-1795), itself the spiritual source of the Serbian revolution of 1804. The traditional historical school in the nineteenth century built further along the lines of this heritage. The main representatives of this school were the Belgrade professor and the academician P. Srećković and the historian Ć. Mijatović. Especially challenging the opinions of Srećković, Ilarion Ruvarac (1832-1905) developed his own critical method of historical enquiry. Carefully checking all available sources and rejecting mythological and merely patriotic elements, Ruvarac shed new light on several questions of Serbian national historiography: the

²³ Other important Serbian-Croat polemics - as indicated by T. Markus - concern the 'History of Yugoslavia' (*Istorija Jugoslavije*, 1972), the book of Mirko Valentić on the relation of the Vojna Krajina (Warzone) to Croatia (*Vojna Krajina i pitanje njezina sjedinjenja s Hrvatskom*, 1981), the polemics around work of Vasilije Krestić in the eighties (*Srpsko-hrvatski odnosi i jugoslovenska ideja u XIX veku*, 1988) and around the work of Ljubo Boban (*Kontroverze iz povijesti Jugoslavije*, 1989).

role of Vuk Branković in the battle of Kosovo, the murder by Vukašin on Tsar Uroš, the immigration of the Serbs to Vojvodina and the autonomy of Montenegro during Turkish rule. Other representants of the Serbian Orthodox Church did useful work in the development of Serbian historiography in the second part of the nineteenth century.²⁴ But especially Ruvarac inspired his followers in the period until the First World War to bring Serbian historiography on a higher level. One of them was Stanoje Stanojević (*Istorija sprskog naroda*, 1908). In the same period, the Czech K. Jireček made a significant contribution to Serbian historiography with his broad but analytical history of the Serbs (*Geschichte der Serben*, 1918).

The interwar period brought progress with contributions by various historians as Slobodan Jovanović. In 1933, V. Ćorović published his authoritative and very popular *Istorija Jugoslavije* (History of Yugoslavia). Serbian historiography regained a nationalistic ethos in the writings of J. Cvijić and V. Čubrilović.

Historiography was given a new impetus by the introduction of the Marxian paradigm at the instalment of the Tito regime. Political and diplomatic history was supplemented by analytical studies of the economic and social development of Yugoslavia (*Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, I-II, ed. Dinić et al., 1953-1959, and *Istorija Jugoslavije* (ed. Božić et al., 1972). Marxian historiography quickly showed its limitations in the canonical way political and social movements were to be interpreted, especially in recent history, and in leaving aside taboo themes. The axiom of unity and brotherhood likewise excluded the treatment of sensitive nationalistic issues.

After the death of Tito and with the gradual decline of the federal communist party, one by one these historical taboo themes were presented to the public, not always respecting the canons of high professional work. An early step in this direction was the attack on Tito by his earlier official biographer Vladimir Dedijer (*Novi Prilozi za Biografiju Josipa Broza Tita*). An outspoken political piece of work was the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences of 1986, as was a study of Vojislav Kostunica on the historical role of the communists in the suffocation of the multi-party system. Just as in high days of communism, Serbian historiography now takes a highly functional role. Under the constant pressure of Serbian nationalism and war, it does not seem likely that historiography will soon conquer for itself an autonomous space.

²⁴ T. Markus, o.c.

3.4. Slovenian historiography

Slovenian historiography has its roots in the later Humanist period and was written in Latin or German. Historiography in Slovenian language originates from the middle of the nineteenth century, when in the romantic period the national consciousness was linked to the Slovenian national identity (Jansa-Zorn, IV). The first synthetical work on Slovenian history until 1914 was produced by Bogo Grafenauer. Edvard Kardelj produced in 1939 a study of the national problem of Slovenia,²⁵ that later was presented as the classical Marxist treatment of the national problem. After independence, interest developed in the older history of Slovenia. One short treatment of Slovene history was presented by Janko Prunk.

3.5. Macedonian historiography

The first general history of Macedonia was published in 1969. It was composed by the National Institute of History under the guiding of Academician Mihailo Apostolski. In the foreword references are given to earlier works which approached the questions of the Macedonian people and its statehood. However, the study was presented as and is indeed the first thorough handbook on the history of the Macedonian people. It goes without saying that this 'Yugoslav' undertaking received a scathing critical review by its scientific homologues in Thessaloniki.

3.6. Montenegrin historiography

The history of Montenegro got its first synthetical treatment in 1967 under the redaction of historians of the Historical Institute of Montenegro and commissioned by a cultural commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro. The project was initiated at 1964, but got a strong impetus by the abandonment of centralist policy following the fall of the Yugoslav interior Minister Aleksandar Ranković, a Serb and head of the internal security forces (UDBA). Until today, the pressure is high to accaparate Montenegrin nationality under the Serbian nationhood.²⁶ Especially Serbian

²⁵ Sperans (Edvard Kardelj). *Razvoj slovenskega narodnega vprašanja* (1939).

²⁶ Djilas, himself originating from Montenegro, called once the Montenegrins a separate people, but at the same time they were "more Serbian than the Serbs." ("najsrbiji Srbi", Hrabak, 133).

exile organizations easily try to categorize Montenegrins in foreign countries as Serbs. So, Montenegrin polemics in historiography are frequently coloured by the division into the so-called pro-serbian White camp and the Montenegrin autonomist Green party.

3.7. Bosnian historiography

One of the first synthetical studies on Bosnian history appeared in the second volume of the *History of the Yugoslav Peoples* in 1959 (Tadić, 14). One of the classical subjects in Bosnian historiography was the discussion on the Bogumils and the Bosnian church and identity. Polemics with both Serbian and Croatian historical writers periodically appear on the agenda. In recent times, Bosnian historiography seemed to become a popular subject of English language authors who produced some valuable and less biased studies on the subject (Fine, Malcolm).

While in the contemporaneous historical moment, some Bosnian politicians express the pressing need to affirm the Bosnian identity, Bosnian historians recognize that not enough scientific work has been done to produce a scientifically based synthetical work on Bosnian history. Both financial and personnel resources are lacking, though some marvellous partial detail studies were already written, often in intolerable circumstances.²⁷

3.8. Kosovian historiography

Historiography in Kosovo in the communist period started with the doctoral dissertation of M. Krasniqi presented in 1963 (Hadri, 136). The Albanian point of view on the ethnographic question was immediately heavily criticized by Serbian academicians. Ali Hadri completed the picture with a treatise on the treatment of Albanians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between the two World Wars.²⁸ With the rising status of Kosovo in the seventies, intellectuals such as Rugova, Demaqi and Qosja developed and canonized the Albanian demands, at times referring to historiography. Sometimes, however, in very difficult circumstances, they fall too easily into phraseology instrumental to their ideological needs.

²⁷ Interview with the Academic Južbasić. See also: *Hocemo li ostati bez historičari?* (Will we remain without historians?). *Ljiljan* (Sarajevo), 325, 12.4.1999, p. 52.

²⁸ Hrabak (136) announced a four volume history of Kosovo and Metohija treating the period 1789-1945 by historians of Pristina. I could not verify whether this project was realized.

3.9. Vojvodinian historiography

The lack in synthetic work on Vojvodinian history was due to the diversity in minorities and languages in the region. Under pressure of the near-by Serbian centre of Belgrade, and having been itself the centre of Serbian culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the Matica srpska set the tone in the editing of literature and historical writing.

However, when the autonomy of both provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina was lifted, the functioning of both academies was discontinued as well.

4. CONCLUSION

A quick comparative look at defended theses and publications already shows that there is still a long way to go to see developing in each of the republics and regions a historiography according to high scientific standards. Historiography is still impregnated by romantic and nationalist theses. It seems that at the very beginning of a new regime, the political need was felt to control and ideologize history writing. Justification at all price of the new acquired positions is still prominent. This could be seen in the mythology of the defence of the new Serbian state, the romantic defense of the Yugoslav state, the legitimation of the communist regime and now again with the ideologization of historiography during the Yugoslav wars and the construction of a new regime. After some time in each regime developed a more detached vision, less by authorities controlled historiography, closer to scientific standards. But again and again this development to higher historiographic standards was swept away. The institutional construction of Academies and historical institutes more or less followed these evolutions, though in a slower pace and with somewhat more autonomy typical of a collective organ where not all members conformed immediately to political and ideological demands. In all periods of Yugoslav history appeared historians who in some way or another have been defying official policy. Since the Cominform conflict, this always has been a Yugoslav benefit from leaving stalinist or even communist orthodoxy. But it may be as well a by-product of the traditional gap between theoretical-ideological principles and concrete reality in all Balkan countries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANTOLJAK (S.), *Hrvatska historiografija do 1918. Svezak I-II* [Croatian historiography until 1918. Volume I-II], Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice hrvatske, 1992.
- APOSTOLSKI (M.), et al. (ed.) "Predgovor", in *Istorija Makedonskog Naroda*. Beograd, Zavod za Izdavanje Udbenika, 1970 (Istorija na Makedonskiot Narod. Skopje, Institut za Nacionalna Istorija, 1969), pp. 5-7.
- BANAC (I.), "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia." *American Historical Review*, 97(1992), 4, October 1992, pp. 1084-1104.
- BANAC (I.), *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- BATAKOVIĆ (D. T.), "La crise yougoslave: Les aspects historiques", *Balkan Studies*, 33 (1992), 2, pp. 275-292.
- BAUDET (F.) en DE BAETS (A.), "Het geheugen op spitsroeden", *Feit en Fictie*, IV, 1999, 3, pp. 99-111.
- BERISHA (I.), "The Balkan syndrome of a surplus of history", in Duijzings, Ger, Dušan Janjić and Shkëlzen Maliqi. *Kosovo - Kosova. Confrontation or Coexistence*, Nijmegen: Peace Research Centre, 1996, pp. 29-33.
- BILANDŽIĆ (D.), *Istorija Socijalističke Federative Republike Jugoslaviji. Glavni Procesi*, Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1979.
- BILANDŽIĆ (D.), "Key factors in the 'Memorandum' of 1986. The Document of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences - SANU", *Gaudeamus*, 1991, 4, pp. 19-21.
- BOGIŠIĆ (V.), "Novi književni besmrtnici." *Vijenac 83 on Internet* (<http://vukovar.unm.edu/vijenac/stari/broj83/83-4.html>).
- BOŽIĆ (I.) et al., *History of Yugoslavia*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
- BRKLJAČA (S.) i KATZ (V.), "Doing history in the shadow of the Balkan Wars/ Dogadanje historije u sjenci balkanskih ratova", *Prilozi/Contribution* (Sarajevo), 23 1999, pp. 263-270.
- CASTELLAN (G.), *Histoire des Balkans. XIVe-XXe Siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 1991.
- ĆIRKOVIĆ (S.), "Images of history: same objects, different perspectives", in Duijzings, Ger, Dušan Janjić and Shkëlzen Maliqi. *Kosovo-Kosova. Confrontation or Coexistence*, Nijmegen, Peace Research Centre, 1996, pp. 24-29.
- "Crnogorska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti", *Internet* (<http://www.podgorica.cg.yu/podgorica/nauka/Canu/Opste.htm>).
- CUVALO (A.), *The Croatian National Movement, 1966-1972*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990, East European Monographs no. 182.
- DEDIJER (V.), *Novi Prilozi za Biografiju Josipa Broza Tita* [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito], Rijeka: Liburnija, 1981 (Volume 2); Beograd: Rad, 1984 (Volume 3).
- Dix Années d'Historiographie Yougoslave* [Ten Years of Yugoslav Historiography]. Beograd: Savez Istorijskih Društava Jugoslavije [League of Historical Societies], 1955.
- DOGO (M.), "National truths and disinformation in Albanian-Kosovar historiography" in Duijzings, Ger, Dušan Janjić and Shkëlzen Maliqi. *Kosovo - Kosova. Confrontation or Coexistence*, Nijmegen, Peace Research Centre, 1996, pp. 34-45.
- ĐUROVIĆ (M.), "Predgovor", in *Istorija Crne Gore*, Titograd, Redakcija za Istorije Crne Gore, 1967, pp. VIII-XIII.
- ĐUKIĆ (S.), *Čovek u svom vremenu. Razgovori sa Dobricom Ćosićem*, Beograd, Filip Višnjić, 1989.
- FINE (J.V.A.), "The Bosnian church: A new Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries", Colorado, Boulder, 1975.
- GJEČOVI (X.), "A propos de quelques points de vue Antialbanais de l'historiographie étrangère sur les rapports Albano-Yougoslaves dans les années 1941-1944", *Studia Albanica*,

22 (1985), 1, pp. 155-177.

"Govor maršala Tita na svečanom skupu Slovenačke Akademije Znanosti i Umetnosti. (*Speech of Tito for the Official Meeting of the Slovene Academy for Arts and Sciences*)" *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1948, 2, 3-9.

GRMEK (M.), Marc Gjidara et Neven Simac. *Le nettoyage ethnique. Documents historiques sur une idéologie serbe*, Paris: Fayard, 1993.

GROSS (M.), *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*, Zagreb: Globus, 1985.

HADRI (A.), "Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji", *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1967, 1-2, pp. 51-84.

Handbook on Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Exportpress, 1987.

"HAZU. History." *Internet* (<http://mahazu.hazu.hr/History.html>).

"HAZU. Svježa Krv u Akademiji." *Vijenac 80 on Internet* (<http://vukovar.unm.edu/vijenac/stari/broj80/80-8.html>).

HISTORIOGRAPHIE de Macédoine (1945-1970), Skopje, Institut de l'Histoire nationale, 1970, 1972 (2 tomes).

HORVAT (B.), "Etatzizam ne voli poduzetnike", *Danas* (Zagreb), 2.8.1988, pp. 12-13.

HORVAT (B.), *Kosovsko Pitanje*, Zagreb: Globus, 1988.

"Hrvatska. Udar na HAZU. Pavlečić umjesto Supeka?" *Tjednik 19 on Internet* (<http://vukovar.unm.edu/tjednik/stari/broj19/19-3.html>).

Hrvatsko Narodno Vijeće/Croatian National Congress. (Meštrović, Mate i Latković, Radovan). "Hrvatsko Stanovište o memorandumu srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti." (*The Croatian Standpoint on the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts*), *Hrvatska Revija*, 1987, 4, pp. 635-657.

"HAZU. History." *Internet* (<http://mahazu.hazu.hr/history.html>).

"Hoćemo li ostati beze historičari?" (Will we remain without historians?). Ljiljan. (Sarajevo), 325, 12.4.1999, p. 52.

HRABAK (B.), "Istorija i njeni metodi. Deviacije u savremenoj jugoslovenskoj historiografiji u tretiranju nacionalnog pitanja", *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1967, 3-4, pp. 123-150.

Istorija XX Veka. Zbornik Radova 2. Beograd, Institut Društvenih Nauka, 1961.

"Istorija Jugoslavije." *Gledišta*, 14(1973), 3, pp. 261-326.

JANKOVIĆ (D.) (ed.), *The Historiography of Yugoslavia 1965-1975*, Belgrade: The Association of Yugoslav Historical Societies, 1975.

JANSA-ZORN (O.) - Eva Holz - Nataša Kandus, *Slovenian historiography in foreign languages. Published from 1918-1993*, Ljubljana, Research Center of the Slovenian Academy and the Institute of Contemporary History, 1995.

JIRIČEK (K.), *Istorija Srba* [History of the Serbs]. *Preveo* [Translated by] *Jovan Radonić*, Beograd: Naučna Knjiga, 1952.

JUZBASIĆ (DŽ.), "Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovina' Sarajevo, Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovina, s.d. (roneotyp.).

KARABEGOVIĆ (I.), "Institut za istoriju u ratu i neposredno nakon završetka. Kratak pregled djelatnosti (The Institute of History in War and Postwar Time. An outline of Activities", *Prilozi/Contribution*. (Sarajevo), 28, 1999, pp. 7-16.

KARAKOSTANOGLU (V.), "The right to Self-Determination and the Case of Yugoslavia." *Balkan Studies*, 32 (1991), 2, pp. 335-362.

KOŠTIĆ (S.), "Nauka u službi državnosti", *AIM*, Beograd, 10.11.1996. *Internet* (www.AIMPRESS.ch/dyn/pubs/archive/Data/199611/61110-001-pubs-beo.htm)

KOSTUNICA (V.) and Kosta Čavoski, *Party pluralism or monism: social movements and the political system in Yugoslavia, 1944-49*, Boulder, Social Science Monographs, 1985.

KRISTO (J.), "Neuspjela potraga revizionizmom [The unsuccessful Quest for Revisionism.]" *Vjesnik*, 27.7.1994, 14-15.

MACAN (T.), *Povijest Hrvatskoga Naroda. II. izdanje*, Zagreb, Školska Knjiga, 1992.

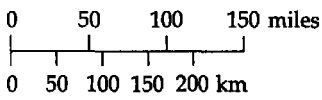
- MALCOLM (N.), *Bosnia. A short History*, London, Macmillan, 1994.
- MANTA (E.), "Rexhep Qosja. La Question Albanaise", *Balkan Studies*, 37 (1996), 1, pp. 174-178.
- MEDAKOVIĆ (D.), "Bolje da ćutimo nego da brbljamo." (Beter zwijgen dan raaskallen). *Oko*, 16.7.1999, pp. 6-7.
- "Memorandum." In: *Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts* (1995), pp. 95-140.
- Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Answers to criticisms. The Beginning and End of the Memorandum Committee's Work. *Internet*.
- MILOSAVLJEVIĆ (O.), "Populistička upotreba autoriteta nauke. Javna politička delatnost Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (1986-1992)" (Populist Use of the Authority of Science. Public political activities of the Serban Academy of Sciences and Arts (1986-1992)), *Republika*, 1-31 July, nos. 119-120.
- MISOVIĆ (M.) "Jugoslovenski Projekti. Kako u Istoriju", *NIN*, 14.6.87, pp. 20-22.
- NEČAK (D.), "Zur erforschung der Jugoslawischen Geschichte nach 1945 [Research on Yugoslav History after 1945]", *Österreichische Osthefte*, 29 (1987), 92-104.
- NOVAK (V.), "Jugoslovenska istoriografija izmedju dva svetska rata i njeni suvremeni zadaci [Yugoslav Historiography between the Two World Wars and its Present Task], *Istorijski Časopis*, 1 (1948), 198-217.
- PAVLOWITCH (S.K.), *Yugoslavia*, New York, Praeger, 1971.
- PETROVICH (M.B.), "Continuing Nationalism in Yugoslav Historiography", *Nationalities papers*, 6 (1978), 2, 161-177.
- PETROVICH (M.B.), "Croatian Humanists and the Writing of History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Slavic Review*, 37 (1978), 624-39.
- PETROVICH (M.B.), "Dalmatian Historiography in the Age of Humanism." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 12 (1958), 84-103.
- PRUNK (J.), *A brief History of Slovenia*. Translated by Wayne Tuttle, Majda Klander; Introduction by Milan Osredkar. Ljubljana, Mihelač, 1994.
- RAUKAR (T.), "Četiri desetljeća historiografije o hrvatskom srednjovjekovlju, 1945-1985 [Forty Years of Historiography on the Croatian Middle Ages, 1945-85]", *Historijski Zbornik*, 41 (1988), 61-75.
- Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Presidency. (Mihailović, Kosta and Vasilije Krestić). *Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Answers to Criticisms*. Belgrade, SANU, 1995.
- ŠIDAK (J.), "Hrvatska historiografija - njezin razvoj i današnje stanje (1971) [Croatian Historiography - Evolution and Status Questionis (1971)]", *Historijski Zbornik*, 23-24 (1970-71), 1-20.
- Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti. *Internet* (//IETF//DTD HTML//EN).
- STALLAERTS (R.), "Het nationaliteitenprobleem in Joegoslavië." *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Wetenschappen*, 1995, 1, p. 71-77.
- STALLAERTS (R.) and Jeannine Laurens. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Croatia*, Methuchen and London, The Scarecrow Press, 1995.
- SUPEK (I.), "Tko bi ubio Spasitelja", *Vijenac* 95. *Internet* (<http://vukovar.vnm.edu/vijenac/stari/BROJ95/95-8.HTML>)
- TADIĆ (J.), *Historiographie Yougoslave. 1955-65*. [Historiography of Yugoslavia. 1955-65], Beograd: Savez Istorijskih Društava Jugoslavije, 1965.
- TUDJMAN (F.), "Croatia in Yugoslavia" in Katich, Boris. *So speak Dissidents*. Norval, Toronto: ZIRAL, 1983, pp. 27-40.
- "Vječiti plamen Matice hrvatske" *Internet* (<http://vukovar.unm.edu/vijenac/stari/broj98/98-14.html>).
- VUCINICH (W.S.), "Postwar Yugoslav Historiography." *The Journal of Modern History*, 23(1951), 1, pp. 41-57.

APPENDIX

1945 YUGOSLAV BOUNDARIES



Scale



Historiografie in het vroeger en huidig Joegoslavië

ROBERT STALLAERTS

SAMENVATTING

In dit artikel schetsen we de achtergronden, het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling van de Joegoslavische Academie voor Wetenschappen en de verschillende andere Academies die later in de republieken ontstonden. De geschiedschrijving ontwikkelde zich grotendeels binnen dit institutionele kader.

In het tweede deel wordt dan ook getracht een kort overzicht van de historiografie te geven, zoals die zich binnen de Academies van de verschillende Joegoslavische republieken ontwikkelde. Interne polemieken en geschillen tussen de historiografie van de verschillende republieken worden aangeduid.

In het besluit formuleren we enkele algemene observaties over de ontwikkeling van de Joegoslavische historiografie en de werking van de Academies.

L'Historiographie de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle Yougoslavia

ROBERT STALLAERTS

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article décrit le développement de l'Académie Yougoslave et Les Académies des Républiques de l'ex-Yougoslavia. Le développement de la science historique se concentrait essentiellement dans ces institutions et nous essayons de donner un aperçu des développements différentiels dans les républiques yougoslaves et leur points de vues divergents. La conclusion contient quelques observations générales sur ces questions.