



Creating National Space(s):

Anthropogeography and Nation-Building in
Interwar Yugoslavia, 1918-1941

Vedran Duančić

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
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ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines anthropogeography *in* and *of* interwar Yugoslavia. It studies geography as a scientific enterprise, its institutional growth, which in the Yugoslav context began in the 1880s and intensified during the first half of the twentieth century, and the communication between scientific centers in Yugoslavia and abroad. Professionalization and institutionalization were crucial for obtaining a scientific apparatus and social authority that enabled geographers to act as politically engaged “nationally conscious” intellectuals who, nevertheless, insisted on the objective and inherently apolitical nature of their discipline. Besides this institutional development, the dissertation analyzes the geographical discourse dealing with the “Yugoslav lands” and the Yugoslav state, which presented Yugoslavia as coherent and sustainable to an international audience and to Yugoslavs themselves.

The overarching question is how and why geography came to play such a prominent role in comprehending the past and the present of Yugoslav communities and regions in an unprecedented context: the unification of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The central figure in the creation of a geographical narrative with political implications was the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić, whose seminal work *La Péninsule balkanique* has been identified as one of the most important scientific contributions to Yugoslav unification. However, the dissertation approaches him as just one of the many actors in a larger scientific network, and points to a number of hitherto less-known geographical works by Croat and Slovene geographers, which in the early days of Yugoslavia exerted an even larger impact on how the Yugoslav readership constructed the image of the new country. Some of these works already contained elements of an anti-Yugoslav geographical discourse that will grow particularly strong in Croatia through the publications of Filip Lukas. The geographers’ ethnic affiliation was not the only differentiating factor. Besides nationalist visions, their scientific and disciplinary positions also conflicted, and an emphasis is thus placed on disagreements arising from geographers’ employment of political geography, geopolitics, ethnography, and regional geography in the process of constructing and deconstructing interwar Yugoslavia as a geographical entity.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines geography *in* and geography *of* the first Yugoslavia, that is, the relationship between geography – particularly human geography or anthropogeography – as a science, geographical works on Yugoslavia and its regions, and various political projects that fall in the category of nation-building in an unprecedented historical context: the creation of a Yugoslav state.

When Prince Regent Alexander proclaimed the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, on December 1, 1918, the new state faced numerous uncertainties.¹ The supporters of Yugoslav unity – an idea that had been developed since the mid-nineteenth century² – enthusiastically greeted the establishment of the new country as the fulfillment of a centuries-old dream. Now that all the Yugoslav “tribes”³ had been liberated and united in accordance with the principle of self-determination, they believed that the possibilities for development were ample. However, numerous economic, social, cultural, and political problems that were perceived within a framework of “backwardness,” did not escape them; both staunch supporters of unity and those more skeptical of the possibility of bringing together communities that had been separated throughout their history were chronically aware of the Yugoslav predicament.

The new country was a rich mosaic of ethnicities, cultures, and religions, although only Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were recognized as constitutive entities. The country inherited different constitutional, economic, juridical, educational, and cultural practices and patterns, which reflected the divergent historical trajectories of the various regions and communities.

¹ The state was created under the name of *Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, which was changed to *Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* in 1921. The most significant name change occurred in 1929, when the new name, *Kraljevina Jugoslavija*, was given in attempt to promulgate a unitarist Yugoslav identity at the expense of particular national identities – Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian – which some unitarists believed to be the source of instability in the state.

² Jovo Bakić, *Ideologije jugoslovenstva između srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma, 1914-1941: Sociološko-istorijska studija* (Zrenjanin: Gradska narodna biblioteka “Žarko Zrenjanin,” 2004), 69-83; Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Petar Korunić, *Jugoslavizam i federalizam u hrvatskom nacionalnom preporodu, 1835-1875: studija o političkoj teoriji i ideologiji* (Zagreb: Globus, 1989); Dennison Rusinow, “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia,” in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 11-26.

³ Throughout the dissertation, the term “tribe” is used as a source term: Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were often called *pleme* (pl. *plemena*), especially by supporters of Yugoslav unity. The term *pleme* referred to the cultural and ethnic similarities and implied that these groups had not yet fully developed, or even that they could not fully develop on their own outside the Yugoslav framework.

How, then, was the country, whose constitutive groups had long individual histories, but which was just being created itself, described in its early days, beside as “our beloved, martyred, but glorious fatherland”?⁴ After all, for some time after Alexander proclaimed unification, some of the crucial markers of the country’s statehood remained unknown; the precise number of people living in the country, its territory and boundaries were just the most obvious among the uncertainties.

The main argument this dissertation makes is that geography emerged as uniquely suited to addressing these issues. Correspondingly, the overarching question that the dissertation tackles is why and how geography came to play such a tremendous role. In a hitherto unprecedented manner, the dissertation employs a comparative perspective that takes into consideration the different geographical traditions in Yugoslavia, their mutual contacts, and their contacts with foreign scientific traditions. It also repositions and reevaluates well-known figures, such as the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić, and, most importantly, analyses lesser-known geographical works by Croatian and Slovenian geographers such as Filip Lukas and Anton Melik, who have so far been neglected, although they were vital instruments of both consolidating and opposing Yugoslav unity in the interwar period.

I will demonstrate that geographers were in a position to give accounts of Yugoslavia’s contemporaneity as well as its past, as they examined the physical and cultural landscapes of the new country, but could also reflect on the history of the Yugoslav “tribes” and the ways in which geography had affected it. Part of the reason why geographical narratives on Yugoslavia were so successful was that they offered narratives that were not contradictory but in fact mostly complementary to the already existing historical ones. Works by geographers served as “inventories” of the new country, introducing readers – admittedly, a relatively small (literate) portion of the overall Yugoslav population – to regions mostly unknown to them, which until recently had been parts of different political entities. Their works reveal Yugoslav territorial aspirations at a time when the country’s borders were still being debated at the Paris Peace Conference and in subsequent negotiations with Italy. Above all, these geographical works constructed an image of Yugoslavia as a “natural” geographical unit, a country which was not only built by the will of its people(s), but which was also grounded in something almost impossible to argue with – nature. At a time when environmental determinism still played a

⁴ Ferdo Šišić, ed., *Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914.-1919.* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1920), 282; cf. Snežana Trifunovska, *Yugoslavia through Documents: From its Creation to its Dissolution* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1994), 159.

significant role in geographical discourse, this powerful statement relied on scientific authority and had direct political implications.

The premise of this dissertation, however, is not that this was a Yugoslav specificity. On the contrary, the sudden prominence of geography – and especially geopolitics⁵ – as a political tool throughout Europe, starting in the late nineteenth century and especially after 1918, has been documented in various cases, ranging from large empires with a global reach to small, newly-created states in East-Central Europe. Yugoslav geography necessarily has to be positioned in relation to this larger scientific complex. Communication between Yugoslav and foreign geographers, the transfer of ideas, and comparable political concerns point to the history of geography in Yugoslavia as an inextricable part of the history of geography in Europe. There are, however, certain characteristics of Yugoslav geography that make it stand out. Particularly after 1918, geographers throughout Europe attempted to consolidate their respective (nation-) states both externally and internally – to define, on the one hand, various types of boundaries with their neighboring states and ethnicities, and, on the other, the nation’s “essence,” which they often understood as rooted in space. Nowhere was this dual task more pronounced than in Yugoslavia. However, the same line of geographical argumentation developed by Yugoslav geographers could have supported the opposing political projects. For instance, an intricate chain of mountains and valleys, intersected by rivers, with the Adriatic Sea as the primary outlet, could describe Yugoslavia as a whole, as well as – with minimal modifications – the maximized Serbian, Croatian, or Slovenian national spaces. The geographical discourse narrating Yugoslavia can therefore be properly comprehended only if observed as the interplay of two levels: Yugoslav and “particular” – that is, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene – which were in some cases complementary and in others conflicting. The Slovenian and especially Croatian cases analyzed in the dissertation clearly illustrate the importance of this dynamic.

As the “explosion” of geographies of Yugoslavia calmed down by the mid-1920s, there was a shift toward a regional geography and the geography of Slovenian and Croatian lands, albeit with a crucial difference. Slovenian geographers successfully negotiated the two levels, while some Croatian geographers abandoned their initial support for the Yugoslav project and focused exclusively on the Croatian level, trying to deconstruct Yugoslavia on the grounds of its geographical and geopolitical unsustainability. While geographers from the “margins” of

⁵ Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson, eds., *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*. (London: Routledge, 2000); Geoffrey Parker, *Geopolitics: Past, Present and Future* (London: Pinter, 1998); R. Reuber, “Geopolitics,” in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, eds. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 4:441-452.

Yugoslavia – mostly affiliated to academic institutions in Ljubljana and Zagreb – were active throughout the interwar period, Serbian geographers were conspicuously reluctant to focus on either the Serbian lands or Yugoslavia, although Cvijić published his seminal work *La Péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* in Paris in May 1918.⁶ A combination of scientific and political reasons, including the authority that Cvijić enjoyed, can explain the silence of Serbian geographers on this subject.

The period immediately after the end of the First World War and the establishment of Yugoslavia, when the map of post-war Europe was being redrawn in Paris, saw a great proliferation of geographical works dealing with Yugoslavia, but it was not the only such example. A similar trend was noticeable after 1945, when socialist Yugoslavia was created with somewhat extended borders,⁷ and especially after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, when there was a need to assert the existence of successor states as both historical and geographical units, which were politically, economically, and culturally sustainable. However, the task of geographers in the early twentieth century was more difficult, as they had few or no examples to follow, and were therefore dependent on their own limited research and on fragmentary and often outdated information from secondary sources. Some of the geographers prominent in the interwar period had researched and published on the “Yugoslav lands” for some time before 1918. Since the late nineteenth century, the scope of Cvijić’s research grew until it encompassed all of the “Yugoslav lands” and the whole Balkan Peninsula. Other geographers prominent in the interwar period (some of whom remained active in academia after the Second World War as well), such as the Slovene Anton Melik, began their careers around the time of the establishment of the new country, when they wrote their first significant works on geography of Yugoslavia.

Another factor contributing to the difficulty of the geographers’ enterprise was the fact that in 1918 geography in Yugoslavia was still a relatively young science. The institutionalization of geography began in the late nineteenth century, when a chair in geography was established at the University of Zagreb in 1883, and in Belgrade ten years later, while Ljubljana and Skopje founded chairs in geography only after the First World War. It is important to note that the establishment of geography within academia did not lag much behind most other parts of Europe. However, if we perceive the process of institutionalization through

⁶ Jovan Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1918).

⁷ Anton Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1948); Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljopisni pregled* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952); Vojislav Radovanović, “Jugoslavija: geografski položaj, unutrašnje i spoljne veze,” *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka* 1-3 (1953/54): 116-146.

the number of professors and students, the number of courses and awarded degrees, the production of scientific literature, and financial support from the government, geography in interwar Yugoslavia appears as a small scientific field, searching for its scientific profile, still in initial phase of establishing relations and boundaries with other disciplines.

Given that the institutional framework characteristic of interwar Yugoslavia was largely inherited from the previous period, the research cannot be strictly chronologically delimited. Although the primary focus is on the interwar Yugoslavia that existed between 1918 and 1941, the chronological framework that has to be taken into consideration is larger. Yugoslav geography did not materialize in December 1918 with the establishment of the new state. Individual geographers and institutions of higher learning in the Kingdom of Serbia and the South Slavic areas of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – in Belgrade and Zagreb – had communicated for decades, although the creation of Yugoslavia, as well as of the University of Ljubljana with a chair in geography in 1919 indeed marked the beginning of a new phase of intensified relations. The “prehistory” of Yugoslav geography is in many ways crucial for understanding the developments after 1918, since it was a formative period for many of the examined geographers, when they acquired knowledge and formulated views on geography that came to the forefront in the interwar period. Furthermore, the different experiences of the centers in this geographical network after the disintegration of Yugoslavia in April 1941 should also be taken into consideration. In German-occupied Serbia, classes at the University of Belgrade were suspended, but they continued for some time – although with difficulty – during the war in Ljubljana, part of fascist Italy at the time, and in Zagreb, capital of the Independent State of Croatia. Some Croatian geographers, such as Filip Lukas, were relatively active during the Second World War, and their works from this period are particularly worth examining, although they were created outside the initial chronological framework.

The notion of “Yugoslav geography” used throughout this dissertation is ambiguous for several reasons. Above all, can we talk about “Yugoslav geography” or should we approach it as “geography in Yugoslavia” instead? The question is whether the examined geographers developed a specifically Yugoslav methodology to study geographical phenomena perceived as somehow specifically Yugoslav, or whether they engaged in a “universal” science. Alternatively, to challenge such a dichotomy, how did they negotiate their position within a larger scientific community?⁸ Was there a Yugoslav geography in the sense of institutional connections between the academic centers, communication between geographers, commonly

⁸ Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2004).

shared philosophical and methodological tenets, and common research interests?

Furthermore, although the country was colloquially called Yugoslavia since its establishment, this name was politically sensitive and became official only in 1929. However, as Lukas stated in 1925, “the Yugoslav name entered the foreign literature, and its great advantage is that the state can be called by a single name, instead of a long formula.”⁹ Even more problematic than the Yugoslav label were the territorial categories of “Serbia,” “Croatia,” and “Slovenia.” Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes existed, although it was debated whether this was as fully formed nations of “tribes” comprising the Yugoslav nation. Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, however, did not. No such administrative units existed in Yugoslavia until the creation of the autonomous Banovina Hrvatska in 1939. “Slovenia” had never before existed under such a name, and even the territorial extent of historical entities such as “Serbia” and “Croatia” was unclear, with nationalists from both sides claiming the same territories. The final remark refers to the Yugoslav label as a marker of ethnic or political affiliation. Some examined geographers supported the Yugoslav project and declared themselves as Yugoslavs or as Yugoslavs *and* Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes at the same time, while others rejected this dual identity and described themselves in terms of their particular national identity.

In order to address these issues, this dissertation collects several larger threads together. My approach has been informed by nationalism studies receptive to spatial issues, especially to geographical identity and geopolitical visions of the nation, on the one hand, and the history of science – geography and anthropogeography in particular – on the other. While there is an impressive number of scholarly works on both of these categories individually, relatively few works have combined the two approaches – and none of them for the case of Yugoslavia.

Spatializing nationalism studies

Many students of nationalism have recognized that geographical knowledge has been vital for building and solidifying national communities. In some cases, geographical knowledge in Europe has played such a role since the Middle Ages, long before the emergence of the modern concept of the nation or geography as a scientific enterprise.¹⁰ Territory has become

⁹ Filip Lukas, “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: Hrvatskome narodu, njegovima prošlim naraštajima na spomen, sadašnjima i budućim na pobudu; O tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, vol. 1, ed. Frane Bulić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925), 88.

¹⁰ Jacques Revel, “Knowledge of the Territory,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 1 (1991): 133-162; Anne Marie Claire Godlewska, *Geography Unbound: French Geographic Science from Cassini to Humboldt* (Chicago: The

one of the central categories of almost all modern nationalist movements, and many scholars have researched territorialization of nations, territorial conflicts and construction of boundaries, as well as the poetic inscription of meaning onto the spaces and places that created the ideas of homeland, motherland, or fatherland.¹¹

In an influential 1983 article geographer, Colin Williams and ethnologist and theoretician of nationalism Anthony D. Smith pointed out that “whatever else it may be, nationalism is always a struggle for control of land; whatever else the nation might be, it is nothing if not a mode of constructing and interpreting social space.”¹² National identity, as Williams and Smith described it, forms a people’s relations with other communities as well as with its environment: “If the ‘nation’ represents a mode of moulding and interpreting social space, ‘nationalism’ as ideology and movement may be seen as the dominant mode of politicizing space by treating it as a distinctive and historic territory.”¹³ Williams and Smith defined eight major dimensions of national territory: habitat; folk culture; scale; location; boundary; autarchy; homeland; and nation-building. They described the first four as objective givens, and the latter four as “more abstract and subjective aspects of space and environment.”¹⁴ Political geographers have paid considerable attention to these categories, showing just how important territory has been in international relations and conflicts around the globe.¹⁵

Benedict Anderson made another important and often quoted step toward integrating geography and space into nationalism studies when he included a chapter on “census, map, and museum” in his seminal book *Imagined Communities*.¹⁶ In the context of imperialist practices in Southeast Asia, Anderson has pointed to “two final avatars of the map” – the appearance of the historical map and the “map-as-logo.”¹⁷ Anthony D. Smith, already mentioned, has systematically paid even more attention to spatial issues. In Smith’s view, “the homeland, a sense of belonging, memory and attachment by the members of the community to an ancestral

University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹¹ Brian S. Osborne, “Constructions of National Symbolic Spaces and Places: The State of Place in Identity,” in *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview*, vol. 4, *1989 to Present*, ed. Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 1342-1349.

¹² Colin Williams and Anthony D. Smith, “The National Construction of Social Space,” *Progress in Human Geography* 7, no. 4 (1983): 502.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 504.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 512.

¹⁵ Peter Taylor, *Political Geography: World-Economy, Nation-State and Locality*, 3rd ed. (Harlow, UK: Longman Scientific & Technical; New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1993); Saul B. Cohen, *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

¹⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd and rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 170-78.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 174-75.

or historic territory regarded as uniquely ‘theirs’” is, together with autonomy, unity, identity, authenticity, dignity, continuity, and destiny, one of motifs and themes common to various manifestations of nationalism.¹⁸ Nationalists believe that “they need a fairly compact territory, preferably with ‘natural’ defensible frontiers, in a world of similar compact nations.”¹⁹

Although pointing out that it is difficult – if not impossible – clearly to distinguish between types of nationalism, Smith has argued that Hans Kohn’s “distinction between a more rational and a more organic version of nationalist ideology remains valid and useful.”²⁰ Smith has observed territorializing tendencies within the Western or civic model of nationalism, as opposed to the emphasis on descent, characteristic for the ethnic model of nationalism, which sees the nation as a “fictive ‘super-family.’”²¹ According to Smith,

The process of territorialisation of memories and attachments created ethno-scapes, and over time a demarcated symbiosis of people and land, regarded by the members as an ancestral land or “homeland.” The process may be carried further through the sanctification of territory. Here, the homeland is not only “ours,” it is “sacred,” and its landscapes become places of reverence and awe. It is these inner meanings that resonate so widely among the members of the community, and which for ethno-symbolists possess such importance for a deeper understanding of the “national homeland.”²²

People and the land they inhabit thus belong to each other. Some Yugoslav geographers from the interwar period built their geographical visions of the nation – whether Yugoslav or Serbian, Croatian, or Slovenian – precisely around such a connection, in which history and geography, time and space, and, finally, people and the land came to form an inseparable unity. Historical perspective is crucial for understanding the rootedness of a people in its national space, as “the territorialisation of memories and attachments creates the idea of a homeland tied to a particular people and, conversely, of a people inseparable from a specific ethno-scape.”²³ The notion of historic national lands, together with the ethnic lands, runs through this whole dissertation, because the views of many geographers throughout Europe, not only in Yugoslavia, as well as historians and other intellectuals, have corresponded to Smith’s definition of a historic land as “one where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations.”²⁴

¹⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London: Routledge, 2009), 62-3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

²² Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism*, 94.

²³ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, 9.

However, the analysis of Yugoslav geography in the first half of the twentieth century shows an important aberration from Kohn's model of two types of nationalism. Kohn differentiated between civic nationalism, characteristic for parts of Western Europe, which is inclusive and emphasizes the state and territory as cohesive factors, and ethnic nationalism, more characteristic for East-Central Europe, controlled by large multi-national imperial systems for long periods, which is exclusive, as it emphasizes kinship and shared culture.²⁵ However, not only in the works of Yugoslav geographers, but also in the public sphere in general, the national question was characterized by elements pertaining to both the ethnic model and the civic model. While the insistence on descent and shared national culture – especially language – was clearly manifested, a strong emphasis was placed on territory. Since the late nineteenth century, such was the case with a majority of nationalist movements across East-Central Europe, where territorial issues became more and more pressing, especially as the calls for independence intensified toward the end of the First World War. After the war, in the context of redrawing the map of the region and competition between several strong irredentist movements, territory, ethnicity, and culture jointly came into the focus of the nationalist movements.

Guntram H. Herb and David N. Kaplan have gone beyond Smith's evaluation of the importance of space for national identity. According to them, "territory is so inextricably linked to national identity that it cannot be separated out. Neither the identity, or consciousness, shared by members of a nation nor the physical territory of the nation itself can be viewed in isolation."²⁶ Two of their conclusions regarding the relationship between the national community and the land are especially pertinent for the way this dissertation approaches geography in interwar Yugoslavia. First, rather than talking about a group defining a given territory, the territory should be seen as defining the group. Second, "the way territory defines national identity can be addressed from two angles: from the inside, that is, how the national community is linked to the land, and from the outside, that is, how the national community is delimited in relation to other groups."²⁷ The environmental determinism of certain Yugoslav geographers resulted in the belief that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, or Yugoslavs in general, became what they are precisely because of the complex influences exerted by the territory they

²⁵ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944); Kohn, "Western and Eastern Nationalism," in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 162-65.

²⁶ Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan, "Introduction: A Question of Identity," in *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory, and Scale*, ed. Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

have inhabited since the early Middle Ages.

Many nationalists, regardless of whether they were professional geographers or not, subscribed to environmental determinism – the understanding that the “physical geography of home regions determined the characteristics of the people who lived there, including not only their socioeconomic behavior, but also their ethnocultural and psychological traits, and their political attitudes and behavior (e.g., propensity for individualism, freedom and democracy).”²⁸ Such a “nationalistic argument that the physical geographic characteristics of a particular place – the ancestral homeland – determined the national character of the population reinforced the ideas propagated at the time that each nation was an organism that sprang to life in the unique environmental conditions of its homeland.”²⁹ With a varying degree of determinism, as will be shown, virtually all Yugoslav geographers in the interwar period shared this belief: Yugoslavs or Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were all seen as products of their environment. However, these groups were at the same time seen as capable of making their “national” mark in the environment through cultural production. In most cases, the nationalists subscribed to the organic theory of both state and nation, which “reinforced the image of a ‘natural’ relationship between state, nation, and territory.”³⁰

In his book *Explaining Yugoslavia*, John B. Allcock accounted for space in the deliberations of nationalism in Yugoslavia. Referring to Anderson’s concept of imagined communities and Bourdieu’s symbolic capital,³¹ Allcock has argued: “A study of the Yugoslav area provides us with ample opportunity to look at the diversity of symbolic resources which are available for utilisation in the imagination of the nation.”³² He examined a “rather neglected factor” – space and landscape. According to Allcock, “The symbolic freight of space (that which is actually signified by references to space in their relation to national identity) is intimately interwoven with a people’s consciousness of history. Spaces are significant spaces, and the significances with which they are endowed are to be understood in terms of the historical narratives which link people to territory or places.”³³

Similarly, drawing from Yi-Fu Tuan’s reevaluation of place,³⁴ George W. White has

²⁸ Robert J. Kaiser, “Geography,” in *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, vol. 1, *Fundamental themes*, ed. Alexander J. Motyl (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2001), 318.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 318.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 320-1.

³¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

³² John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 337.

³³ *Ibid.*, 338.

³⁴ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Tuan, “Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective,” in *Philosophy in Geography*, ed. Stephen Gale

argued that “place and territory as cultural phenomena are not passive”; rather, they “contain the idea of the cultural landscape, which is an important medium for human beings ‘to employ their feelings, images, and thoughts in tangible material.’”³⁵ Uncertainties in the precise extent of the national territory, changes in a nation’s space and place that occur through time, as well as competing nationalist territorial claims, White points out, obscure the nation’s self-understanding and its affiliation to a given area. However, “some insights can be gained by looking at the spatial distribution of three major indicators.”³⁶ These are the locations of important institutions and historical events; the iconic national landscapes described in literature, poetry, art, and music; and the “tenacity factor” which “looks at the history of a group’s determination to protect or seize individual places or pieces of territory.”³⁷

Additionally, White differentiates between the core, semi-core, and peripheral areas of a given national space. Thus, writing about Serbia, he considers Serbia Proper, Montenegro, Vojvodina, Srem, and Old Serbia (Kosovo and Raška) as core areas, Macedonia, northern Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, central Banat, and western Bulgaria as semi-core areas, and finally, Croatia-Slavonia, Pannonia, eastern Banat, southern Bulgaria, northern Greece, and southern Albania as peripheral areas of the Serbian national space.³⁸ These categories seem to offer a clear and systemized scheme of the nationalists’ understanding of where the national (in this case Serbian) territories are, but they point to an important problem concerning the sources. White – himself a geographer – turned to the same type of sources as do most students of nationalism: cultural representations, especially folk culture and, in the Serbian case, epic poems.³⁹ Why have scholars avoided examining the construction of national space by members of a group that made studying space its main concern, namely geographers? With the important exception of Jovan Cvijić, few or no professional geographers, but many poets and politicians, have usually been mentioned in the context of constructing national spaces in Yugoslavia.

Indeed, imagology, cultural representations, and symbolic geography have been among

and Gunnar Olsson (Boston, MA: D. Reidel, 1979), 387-427.

³⁵ George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 25.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁷ George W. White, *Nation, State, and Territory: Origins, Evolutions, and Relationships*, vol. 1 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 9.

³⁸ White, *Nationalism and Territory*, 202-3.

³⁹ Jovan Cvijić considered folk traditions, and particularly epics, as invaluable sources of “indirect observation” (which was based on secondary literature) of anthropogeographical phenomena. See also Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, eds., *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characteristics: A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

the dominant approaches in studies of nationalism in the Balkans, and especially in the (post-) Yugoslav context. Symbolic geography became one of the key elements for understanding the violent break-up of Yugoslavia and the nationalist reconfigurations that followed it. Scholars dealing with Yugoslavia have examined the role of cultural stereotypes about the “Other” as well as about “us” in constituting and reshaping national identities since the 1980s, and have shown the omnipresence of symbolic geography in the public discourse. Seemingly simple geographical notions such as “Europe,” “Central Europe,” “the Balkans,” or the “East” and the “West,” have remained elements of the modern-day political arsenal.⁴⁰ Additionally, the tropes of “bulwark” (*antemurale christianitatis*) and “bridge,” used in many other East-Central European contexts as well, have systematically been employed as somehow uniquely Yugoslav, or Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, or Bosnian, characteristics in the self-description and deliberations of historical and cultural development of the constituent Yugoslav “tribes” at least since the late nineteenth century.⁴¹

This is consistent with the role of various artists, who “have also been significant agents in national territorialization projects through works paying homage to the homeland being constructed.”⁴² Symbolic landscapes have been mostly reserved for “poets”; in the works of professional geographers, even when they were writing about the same regions or places, the employment of symbolic tropes tended to be more reserved. Of course, professional geographers established hierarchies of national symbolic landscapes, whether it was the rugged Karst of the Dinaric area, the Pannonian Plain, or the Julian Alps, but they were primarily grounded in qualities of the physical landscape and its influence on national history and the national character.

Spatializing the history of geography

If the nation and nationalism have thus been “spatialized,” so should the other constitutive element of this dissertation be – the science, that is, geography itself. Geographers

⁴⁰ Bojan Baskar, “Within or without? Changing Attitudes towards the Balkans in Slovenia,” *Ethnologia balkanica* 7 (2003): 198-206; Ivan Čolović, *Politics of Identity in Serbia* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Čolović, *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002); Stef Jansen, “Svakodnevni orijentalizam: doživljaji ‘Balkana’/‘Evrope’ u Beogradu i Zagrebu,” *Filozofija i društvo* 18 (2002): 33-72; Marko Živković, *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginery in Time of Milošević* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

⁴¹ Ivo Žanić, “The Symbolic Identity of Croatia in the *Triangle Crossroads-Bulwark-Bridge*,” in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pål Kolstø (London: Hurst, 2005), 35-76.

⁴² Kaiser, “Geography,” 324.

and historians of geography dealing with nationalism added another fruitful dimension to the study of the relationship between geography and national identity. They were interested in how and why geography – as a science, not only as geographical knowledge or as spatial tropes – had a role in various nation-building projects. While the development and participation of certain national geographical traditions, such as French, German, or Russian, in the nation-building processes have been well documented, other scientific traditions, especially “peripheral” ones such as the Yugoslav, remain little known.⁴³

Charles Withers’ book *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520* is a notable example of “an attempt to understand the connections between geography, science and national identity in a particular geographical and historical context.”⁴⁴ Together with David N. Livingstone, Withers has been a prominent advocate of overcoming the insensitivity to the influence of locality in the history of geography.⁴⁵ This trend has been noticeable in the history and sociology of science. Especially since the mid-1980s, a “‘localist’ or ‘geographical’ turn in science studies” has taken place.⁴⁶ As Adi Ophir and Steven Shapin argued, “Within the history of science and allied disciplines, there has developed an influential *localist* genre, marked by attention to national and regional features of an enterprise once regarded as paradigmatically universal.”⁴⁷ In Withers’ work on Scotland, the purpose of the historical geography of geographical knowledge is dual: to examine the employment of geography in constructing Scotland as a “natural entity” and “to recover the sites and the social spaces in

⁴³ Robert W. Steel, ed., *British Geography, 1918-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Gerhard Sandner, “In Search of Identity: German Nationalism and Geography, 1871-1910,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 71-91; Mark Bassin, “Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 1 (1991): 1-17; Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Denis J.B. Shaw and Jonathan D. Oldfield, “Landscape Science: A Russian Geographical Tradition,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97, no. 1 (2007): 111-126; Paul Claval, “The Historical Dimension of French Geography,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 10, no. 3 (1984): 229-245; Claval, “From Michelet to Braudel: Personality, Identity and Organization of France,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 39-57.

⁴⁴ Charles W.J. Withers, *Geography, Science, and National Identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

⁴⁵ David N. Livingstone, *Science, Space and Hermeneutics: Hettner-Lecture 2001* (Heidelberg: Department of Geography, University of Heidelberg, 2002); Charles Withers, “The Geography of Scientific Knowledge,” in *Göttingen and the Development of the Natural Sciences*, ed. Nicolaas Rupke (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002), 9-18; Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003); Barney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009); Livingstone and Withers, eds., *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011).

⁴⁶ Steven Shapin, “Placing the View from Nowhere: Historical and Sociological Problems in the Location of Science,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, no. 1 (1998): 6.

⁴⁷ Adi Ophir and Steven Shapin, “The Place of Knowledge: A Methodological Survey,” *Science in Context* 4, no. 1 (1991): 5. Emphasis in original.

which geographical knowledge was undertaken and to plot the connections between the places of geographical knowledge production and its audiences and makers.”⁴⁸ Mostly following this approach, I analyze the production of geographical knowledge on Yugoslavia and its constitutive parts as an enterprise having a history as well as a geography of its own. This scientific production, as so often was the case, although part of a “universal” science, was crucially formed in relation to local concerns.⁴⁹

As Barney Warf and Santa Arias warned, “Geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen.”⁵⁰ Once believed to be universally valid – that is, regardless of the place of origin and reception – scientific theories have recently been more commonly understood as “shaped by the prevailing political, economic, religious, and social conditions, as well as a host of other cultural norms in different geographical localities.”⁵¹ However, if one of the results of the spatial turn in the history of science has been a growing sensitivity to scientific knowledge as “situated,”⁵² it is necessary not to focus exclusively on the local context, thus neglecting its wider significance.⁵³

Acknowledging the spatial turn in the history of science as well as in nationalism studies opens new perspectives in studying geography in interwar Yugoslavia. First, it helps to break with the predominant view of Yugoslav geography as a uniformed scientific field dominated by – and confined to – one name and one center: Jovan Cvijić and Belgrade. Above all, it is necessary to recognize geography in Yugoslavia as a scientific network consisting of a number of agents beyond Cvijić. Despite sharing many philosophical and methodological tenets and, at moments, converging research interests, chairs in geography at Yugoslav universities had different scientific profiles. Cvijić was doubtlessly the main node in this network, but his ideas, although respected, were not necessarily embraced by all other geographers. Instead, we should

⁴⁸ Withers, *Geography, Science, and National Identity*, 1.

⁴⁹ Elisabeth Crawford, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880-1939: Four Studies of the Nobel Population* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Carol E. Harrison and Ann Johnson, “Introduction: Science and National Identity,” *Osiris* 24, no. 1 (2009): 1-14, thematic issue: *National Identity: The Role of Science and Technology*; Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2004).

⁵⁰ Barney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1. Emphasis in original.

⁵¹ Livingstone and Withers, “Thinking Geographically about Nineteenth-Century Science,” in *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science*, 1.

⁵² Nicolaas Rupke, “Putting the Geography of Science in Its Place,” in *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science*, 439.

⁵³ Livingstone and Withers, “Thinking Geographically about Nineteenth-Century Science,” 13.

observe their relations to Cvijić in terms of – in the words of Pierre Bourdieu – succession and subversion strategies. The main characteristics of the scientific field, as described by Bourdieu, are visible in the communication between these institutions and agents: the interplay of heteronomous and autonomous positions; the distribution of power; scientific and social authority and capital; interests and profits; struggles between scientists in dominant positions and newcomers; and the strategies employed by scientists.⁵⁴

Second, it allows us to go a step further and resist a reductionist “nationalization” of geography in interwar Yugoslavia. The difference between the national and political identity of geographers is of crucial importance. I do not wish to deny or challenge the political identity of geographers in Yugoslavia – on the contrary. In certain cases, sympathies or affiliations to political projects addressing either the rural population or urban intelligentsia, to movements with a more or less explicit nationalist agenda, as well as attitudes toward the unity of the South Slavs and Yugoslavia can indicate geographers’ scientific profiles. However, being a Serb, a Croat, or a Slovene did not predispose individual geographers to a particular branch of geography or methodological approach. Although centers of the Yugoslav geographical network had certain idiosyncratic characteristics, these traits should not be described as “national” but observed in the context of establishing scientific schools, which was a process that proved to be successful only in Belgrade. Bearing in mind that, as Dejan Djokić reminds us, there was no inherent connection between political and national identities, geography in Yugoslavia should be approached through an examination of the negotiation of geographers’ scientific and political identities, communications between the scientific centers, and different modalities of teaching geography at the universities, writing scientific works, and conducting research.⁵⁵

Approaching Yugoslav geography as a scientific field and a network is a necessary step but not sufficient in itself, as it tells us little about the specific methodologies employed in research and publishing. While relatively much is known about Cvijić’s research practices (not least because he was the only one to leave a detailed account of his research trips and the fact that the contemporary press reported on some of his expeditions), next to nothing is known about the research practices of other Yugoslav geographers in the interwar period. An attempt

⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Specificity of the Scientific Field and the Social Conditions of the Progress of Reason,” *Social Science Information* 14, no. 6 (1975): 19-47; Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, trans. Peter Collier (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988); Bourdieu, “The Peculiar History of Scientific Reason,” *Sociological Forum* 6, no. 1 (1991): 3-26.

⁵⁵ Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Djokić, “Nationalism, Myth and Reinterpretation of History: The Neglected Case of Interwar Yugoslavia,” *European History Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (2012): 71-95.

to divide the research experiences of the geographers examined in this dissertation into neat and orderly categories would fail because many geographers conducted field research in addition to engaging in abstract reflections and relying on secondary sources. However, if many Yugoslav geographers had trodden the countryside observing physical and cultural landscapes, as well as sat in their offices writing and in seminar rooms lecturing future generations of geographers, several directions and motifs of research are discernible.⁵⁶ These differences were not only connected to the methodological proclivities of individual geographers, but they also directed their attention to different phenomena and, eventually, used them to articulate different conclusions regarding the geography of Yugoslavia, concerning anything from micro-regional studies to spatial deliberations of the national question.

“The nature of science is conditioned by place, is *produced through place* as practice rather than simply *in place*,” Withers has claimed.⁵⁷ Having this in mind, and in order to address the different research practices of Yugoslav geographers, I propose three heuristic categories or metaphors: a mule, a train, and an office. Although admittedly simplistic, they describe the scientific settings that the three geographers at the center of attention in this dissertation, one from the three titular nations or “tribes,” epitomized: the already mentioned Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927), Filip Lukas (1871-1958), and Anton Melik (1890-1966). The metaphor of a mule refers primarily, though not exclusively, to Cvijić, who was depicted riding a mule on a paradigmatic photograph repeatedly reproduced in the newspapers.⁵⁸ Cvijić built his domestically and internationally recognized authority on an intimate and detailed knowledge of the Balkans that he had accumulated in annual research trips that he started making in 1888. He spent summers walking or riding through scarcely-populated areas, understanding towns and cities mostly as locations where his travels would take a new direction, rather than as objects of his study.⁵⁹ As will be shown, his starting point was observation of the physical landscape, which he connected

⁵⁶ What is referred to here as “directions and motifs of research” bears a certain resemblance to the Kuhnian notion of “paradigm,” but is also envisioned as an alternative to it. The notion of paradigm has for a long time been criticized as misunderstood, ill-fated, and notoriously vague. Geographers have had found it difficult to identify paradigms in modern geographical studies. See Andrew Mair, “Thomas Kuhn and Understanding Geography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 10, no. 3 (1986): 345-369; David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 25.

⁵⁷ Charles W.J. Withers, “Place and the ‘Spatial Turn’ in Geography and History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4 (2009): 653. Emphasis in the original.

⁵⁸ “Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena,” *Politika*, October 27, 1931; “Jovan Cvijić – veliki učitelj nacije,” *Politika*, January 16, 1941.

⁵⁹ For instance, riding a “fat pony over the Welsh hills” appeared as a motif in the travels of scholars throughout Wales. See Pysr Gruffudd, “Landscape and Nationhood: Tradition and Modernity in Rural Wales, 1900-1950,” PhD diss., Loughborough University of Technology, 1989; Gruffudd, “Back to the Land: Historiography, Rurality and the Nation in Interwar Wales,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 19, no.1 (1994): 61-77.

to geology and geomorphology. To this, he added observations of ethnography, which would later make him known to a much wider audience. Wherever he went, Cvijić observed a mixture of various cultures and ethnicities, which he explained by qualities of the physical geography of the Balkans. For centuries, modalities of the permeation of foreign cultural influences depended on the internal fragmentation of the Balkan Peninsula and its communications with neighboring regions. An important characteristic of Cvijić's work was his extreme empiricism, as he wrote and taught only about what he had observed with his own eyes.

The train is the most complex and problematic metaphor in this classification. For several reasons, I primarily associate it with the Slovene geographer Anton Melik, who belonged to a younger generation of Yugoslav geographers. Although they usually spent some time abroad, geographers of this generation mostly acquired their degrees in the new country. Melik also conducted field research, but its intensity and extent cannot be compared to Cvijić's experience. Why then a train? It was not only one of the recurrent topics in Melik's geographical publications and a means of transportation in his enthusiastic travels through Yugoslavia, but a symbol of modernity as well. Melik received his training in history and geography and wrote the history of the Yugoslavs, as well as some works pertaining to historical geography. However, he is here considered as a representative of (anthropo-) geographers who were primarily interested in various aspects of the contemporary geography of Yugoslavia, rather than in seemingly atemporal "ethnographic groups," as was the case with Cvijić, or in the historicized geopolitics of the national spirit, as was the case with Filip Lukas.

If the office was a site common to all professional geographers, especially those teaching at the universities, it was an exclusive site of scientific practice for a minority of them. The Croatian priest, historian, and geographer Filip Lukas is the best example of this category. Resembling the nineteenth-century "armchair geographers,"⁶⁰ Lukas, not having a doctorate, stands out among the geographers under examination. Nevertheless, for decades he taught economic geography at an institution that would become the Faculty of Economy in Zagreb, but he also exerted a greater influence on Croatian society through "spatializing" the nationalist discourse on the Croatian nationhood during his presidency of the central cultural association in Croatia, the *Matica hrvatska*, between 1928 and 1945. Previously the domain of historians, in the interwar period in all parts of Yugoslavia the nation became a subject for geographers as well, and Lukas was largely responsible for such a development in Croatia. In a simplified and

⁶⁰ Lawrence Drietas, "Expeditionary Science: Conflicts of Method in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Geographical Discovery," in *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W.J. Withers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 255.

paradigmatic image, Lukas was not to be found riding a mule or even a train but sitting in his office, either at the Ekonomsko-komercijalna škola or in the Matica hrvatska, surrounded by books from which he drew information – statistical for works in economic geography, but mostly historical, anthropological, and, of course, geographical for works on Croatian culture in a geopolitical perspective. Cvijić, Lukas, and Melik are chosen as central case studies in order to achieve a comparative perspective, but throughout this dissertation, other Yugoslav geographers are also examined with regard not only to their political identities and to agendas expressed in their works, but also with regard to the methodological approaches they employed.

Comments on sources and methodology

Maps are one of the main – and usually the most effective – tools of geographers. Beside historians of cartography, historians of geography have also largely focused on them.⁶¹ Maps, however, are underrepresented in this dissertation, although they are not entirely absent from it, just as they were not entirely absent from geography in interwar Yugoslavia. For instance, Jovan Cvijić was renowned for his controversial maps of the ethnographic composition of Macedonia,⁶² Filip Lukas and Nikola Peršić created a luxurious and well-equipped world atlas,⁶³ and many other Yugoslav geographers produced maps of Yugoslavia and its regions, and included specialized maps of various quality in their works.⁶⁴ However, there was no systematic and large-scale map publishing enterprise that supported political claims even remotely comparable to those in France, the United States, or Weimar Germany.⁶⁵ The Austro-

⁶¹ Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Michael Heffernan, “The Politics of the Map in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Cartography and Geographic Information Science* 29, no. 3 (2002): 207-226; Mark Polelle, *Raising Cartographic Consciousness: The Social and Foreign Policy Vision of Geopolitics in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MA: Lexington Books, 1999).

⁶² Cvijić’s maps are comparable to a later, 1918 map by the Hungarian geographer and politician (a two-term prime minister) Pál Teleki – his famous *carte rouge*. See Henry Robert Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951); Balázs Ablonczy, *Pál Teleki (1874-1941): The Life of a Controversial Hungarian Politician*, trans. Thomas J. and Helen D. DeKornfeld (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monography, 2006).

⁶³ Filip Lukas and Nikola Peršić, *Minervin svjetski atlas* (Zagreb: Minerva, 1938).

⁶⁴ Milan Šenoa, *Geografski atlas* (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1928); Milan Šenoa, Ivo Juras, and Valter Bohinec, *Kocenov geografski atlas* (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1934).

⁶⁵ Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography, and the Visualization of the German Nation, 1848-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Michael Heffernan, “History, Geography and the French National Space: The Question of Alsace-Lorraine, 1914-18,” *Space and Polity* 5, no. 1 (2001): 27-48; Guntram H. Herb, “Persuasive Cartography in Geopolitik and National Socialism,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1989): 289-303; Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda, 1918-1945* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997); Edward M. House and Charles Seymour, eds., *What Really Happened at*

Hungarian and Serbian armies had mapped most of what would become the territory of Yugoslavia already before 1918, and the military cartographic institute of the Serbian (after 1918 Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene) army continued the mapping for its own purposes. The prohibitive price of map-making and the small market, rather than a lack of professional skills among geographers, explain the relatively marginal role of maps in Yugoslav geography. In the interwar period, geography *in* and geography *of* Yugoslavia was predominantly “textual.”⁶⁶

Therefore, in order to address the questions outlined above, rather than maps, I primarily examine three types of sources: documents related to universities; correspondence; and published geographical works, which are at least indirectly related to the issue of relations between structure and agency. Although insightful, university-related documents, such as records of the meetings of various councils, academic calendars, and lists of enrolled students, together with their final exams, are often fragmentary, and in certain cases even obscure rather than clarify geographers’ status and movement between the institutions. The focus of this dissertation is on the universities of Ljubljana and Zagreb because they involved some of the most revealing examples of scientists’ movement, which I observe in the context of possibilities for creating a more coherent Yugoslav geography.

The correspondence of most of the geographers examined here has not been preserved. However, the vast correspondence of Jovan Cvijić, kept in the archives of the Serbian Academy of Science and art in Belgrade, gives an insight into his communications with local informers who sent him their anthropogeographical observations, politicians, and a large number of his Yugoslav and foreign colleagues over approximately four decades, from the 1890s until his death in 1927. Much of the correspondence with fellow geographers is courteous and brief, and contains little reflection on geographical ideas.⁶⁷ Yet, the correspondence with several Yugoslav and foreign scholars – such as Artur Gavazzi, Borivoje Ž. Milojević, Jovan Erdeljanović, or Albrecht Penck and Emmanuel de Martonne – is vital for positioning Cvijić himself and Yugoslav geography within a larger scientific network, as well as for understanding

Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference 1918-1919; By American Delegates (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1921).

⁶⁶ This should not be confused with the modern-day understanding of maps as text. Instead, it refers to texts in the form of monographs, articles, etc. See J.B. Harley, “Maps, Knowledge and Power,” in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 277-312; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁶⁷ For instance, the most prominent American physical geographer of the time, William Morris Davis (1850-1934), wrote to Cvijić about the progress of his work and Cvijić’s (translated) articles he had read, and repeatedly asked Cvijić to send apparently exotic Serbian postage stamps to his son, who was a collector. Arhiv Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (Archives of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art, henceforth Arhiv SANU), 13484-282-1-7.

the structure and modalities of communication among Yugoslav geographers, and the issues they discussed.

The dissertation primarily examines published geographical works, which encompass several categories of texts/sources of different size, level of scientific authority, focus and specialization, targeted audience, as well as affiliation to various political and national projects. The most important category is that of scientific monographs. Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* is the best known among them, but not the only one. In chapter three, I point to a number of similar publications that narrated Yugoslavia, and thus constructed it as a geographical, as well as political, reality. These syntheses often relied on secondary literature and statistical data. Although considered scientific works, most syntheses of the geography of Yugoslavia published between 1919 and the mid-1920s aimed at a wider readership beyond the narrow circle of professional geographers. They were primarily descriptive, with restrained usage of a scientific vocabulary, and were structured around unproblematic regional systematizations of the physical and cultural landscapes. Importantly, there was little conflict among them; many followed Cvijić's narrative and added factual observations to it, or simply ignored it, rather than challenged it.

The second category is that of articles in scientific journals and chapters in edited scholarly volumes. Usually addressing more focused and specialized issues, they examined individual geographical phenomena and regions within Yugoslavia more frequently than Yugoslavia in general. These works aimed primarily at fellow professional geographers and scientists from related disciplines. In terms of reception in the public sphere, they played an incomparably smaller role than monographs. Yet, articles in scientific journals were crucial vehicles for the transfer of ideas among geographers and speak more precisely about geographers' scientific profiles. With the prominent exception of Filip Lukas, all the examined geographers contributed to this category of published geographical works.

The third category – works dealing with geography that, although written by geographers, did not necessarily aspire to a scientific status and were rarely perceived as such – is the most elusive. These publications are of invaluable importance for research as they were occasionally the main challengers of Cvijić's narrative, which other Yugoslav geographers perpetuated. Such publications reached the widest audience (although still a small part of the overall Yugoslav population), and were closely connected to contemporary politics. Geographical thinking played a central role in some of the earliest works of Anton Melik. He expressed his thoughts on the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy and the establishment of Yugoslavia under a pseudonym in short commentaries on the contemporary political and social

situation in the magazine *Ljubljanski zvon*. However, no Yugoslav geographer was as successful in linking political commentary and geography as Filip Lukas. By the late 1930s, Croatian intellectuals – primarily those who were conservative and on the right – were acquainted with his texts on international and internal Yugoslav politics, which Lukas regularly framed in a complex historical and geographical context.

The example of Lukas' works points to a fundamental methodological question: should his publications be read as works of political propaganda, as science, or as both? The same question is applicable to all the sources. I approach the examined geographical works through the process of "translation," in which ideas developed in scientific works, initially accessible to a limited circle of people, are employed for political purposes. The boundary between objective and politically-engaged science is thus obscured. While their scientific content – the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological paths taken – more clearly reveals the author's scientific profile, pinpointing the author's political stance is often more difficult. However, few geographers could circumvent the central problem of interwar Yugoslavia: the national question. Because of their multiple identities – as scientists in an era of positivism and nationally-conscious intellectuals – they were able to (re)position themselves in a wider socio-political and institutional context.

The structure of the dissertation

While the general aim of this dissertation is to examine geographical discourse as one of the main vehicles of nation-building in interwar Yugoslavia, the following chapters address several more specific research questions regarding anthropogeography as a science with political implications. Chapter one addresses complex questions of disciplinary relations and the structure of geography as a scientific network. The first question concerns the very definition of anthropogeography. The fact that the term was a direct translation of the German *Anthropogeographie* is one of numerous examples of the influence that German-language geography exerted in Yugoslavia, as well as in the rest of East-Central Europe. *Anthropogeographie* itself, just as the French *géographie humaine*, resisted confinement to a single definition. No final definition of anthropogeography existed in interwar Yugoslavia either, besides the consensus that it was a branch of geography studying the relationship between nature and people. Nevertheless, as will be shown, Yugoslav geographers articulated a variety of views as to what anthropogeography is and how anthropogeographical research

should be conducted, having in mind geographical characteristics such as the in-between position, which they saw as specific for Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

Disciplinary boundaries appear as an even more problematic issue.⁶⁸ These were continuously moving and dependent on the perception of individual scientists, who at the same time constructed them and could easily overstep them. The self-perception of Yugoslav geographers as anthropogeographers depended on the negotiation of multiple scientific identities: many of them were trained historians and geographers, while others maintained strong connections to geology and dealt with physical geography. The strong emphasis on ethnography among anthropogeographers in Belgrade further complicated the situation. Although widely praised, the Belgrade school of anthropogeography, founded by Jovan Cvijić, had few followers at other universities in Yugoslavia. As mentioned earlier, disciplinary boundaries generally did not correspond to the ethnicity of geographers, but in some case were related to their political attitudes.

The second question is whether there was such a thing as “Yugoslav geography” in the interwar period. The history of the institutional development of geography at universities is a necessary beginning but it does not suffice; geography should be understood as a scientific field and as a scientific network. In my understanding, the geographical network in interwar Yugoslavia consisted of the universities in Belgrade (and its annex, the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje), Zagreb, and Ljubljana, and professors and students affiliated to them, which formed the “primary circle” of mainstream or “elite” science; geography professors at gymnasiums and certain non-scientific associations which published monographs, periodicals, or various texts dealing with geography, as the “secondary circle” or “scientific intermediaries”; and, finally, the general public.⁶⁹ The geographical ideas examined in this dissertation were predominantly developed within the primary circle – although, as will be shown, in Zagreb the secondary circle successfully challenged its primacy – disseminated by the secondary circle, and frequently used, usually in a simplified version, in the political sphere, which mostly falls beyond the scope of this dissertation.

⁶⁸ Thomas Gieryn, *Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁶⁹ This is a paraphrase of Martin Rudwick’s account of “the worldwide community of active geologists at the time of the Devonian controversy.” See Martin J.S. Rudwick, *The Great Devonian Controversy: The Shaping of Scientific Knowledge among Gentlemanly Specialists* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1985), 29 and 418-26.

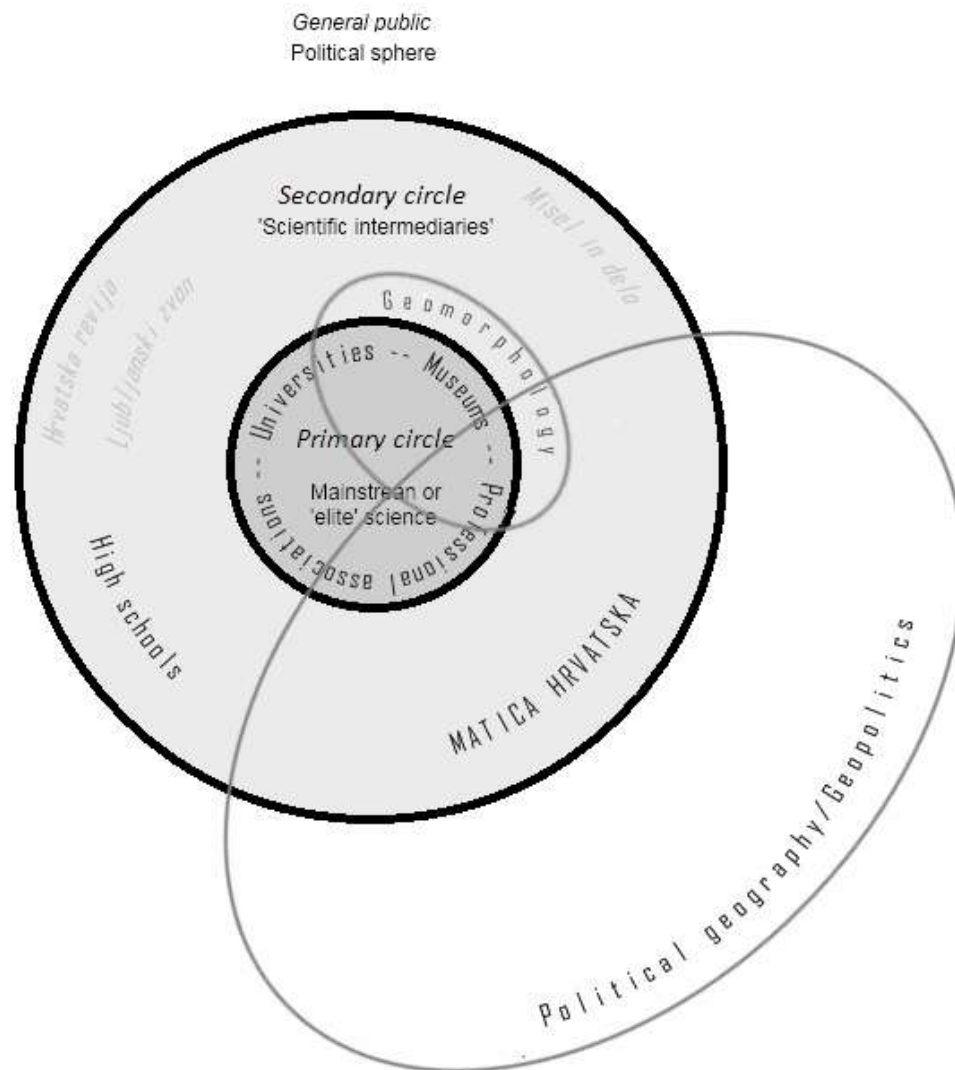


Figure 1.1. An approximate and selective depiction of the structure of the network of individual geographers and institutions in the form of a Venn diagram, made after Rudwick, *Great Devonian Controversy*, 29. The innermost level consists of professional geographers and scientists from related disciplines. Members of the second level – including a number of trained geographers who were outside the central academic institutions acted as “translators” of scientific concepts into more explicitly political terms. Their role in shaping the discourse was often much larger than the role of the first, professional, level. The third level is the public, where some of the concepts initially developed within the first or second level were employed in a political manner. The image depicts the involvement of the three levels in developing and employing political geography/geopolitics and geomorphology. Geomorphology was mostly confined to the first and partially to the second level. Political geography and, since the mid-1920s, especially geopolitics were present at all three levels.

The second chapter deals with the unavoidable figure of Serbian and Yugoslav geography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – Jovan Cvijić. Cvijić has often been described as the founder of anthropogeography with a distinctively Serbian or Yugoslav character. His understanding of the Balkans and Yugoslavia as especially convenient for anthropogeographical research points to the perceived privileged position of Yugoslav geographers. Yugoslavs were depicted as occupying an in-between position, not only in terms of their geographical location between Asia Minor and Europe, Pannonia and the Mediterranean, or between the East and West, but between two stages of development as well: they were no longer “natural” because of modernization, yet they had not become fully “modern.” Throughout the dissertation, this in-betweenness is shown as a crucial element of the narratives and methodological strategies of Yugoslav geographers.

While Cvijić’s contributions at the Paris Peace Conference to the “geographical narration” of Yugoslavia at the end of the First World War, and to the overall development of geography in Yugoslavia, must not be neglected, I argue that his role needs to be reexamined. Although the best-known and most influential geographer, Cvijić was not the only Yugoslav geographer – either in Paris or “back home.” He was a focal point where most of the communication within the network converged, and the author of the best-known geographical work on Yugoslavia, yet his death in 1927 introduced surprisingly little change to the structure and channels of communication within the network. He served as a reference point for other Yugoslav geographers, whether they agreed with or contested his politically charged ideas. However, one question has not been systematically raised: What was the reception of his work by other Yugoslav geographers, besides paying lip service to his “unique scientific figure”?

Chapter three examines hitherto little known yet relevant geographical works by Croat and Slovene geographers published in the period immediately following the establishment of Yugoslavia. It challenges one of the most consistent conclusions about Cvijić – that his unparalleled knowledge of the Balkans and the internationally recognized scientific authority favorably influenced Yugoslavia’s territorial disputes at the Paris Peace Conference – by examining relations between the political nature of the conference and the conference as a scientific “workshop.” During the First World War, Cvijić systematically propagated Serbian war efforts that included the “liberation and unification” of all Yugoslavs, and proclamation of this unity roughly coincided with publication of his magnum opus, *La Péninsule balkanique*. However, we should look for the reasons behind its ambiguous reception in Yugoslavia in the fact that the book was published in Paris, in French (and not German, which was widely spoken by the East-Central European intelligentsia, including that of Slovenia and Croatia), and at a

time when communications were still disrupted by the effects of war. It was, after all, a book written for an international audience, and it had little to say about Yugoslavia, which did not even exist at the moment of its publication.

After the establishment of the new country, a number of geographers in Yugoslavia – while Cvijić was still in Paris – filled the void and started writing geographies of Yugoslavia. These were syntheses, occasionally relying on some of Cvijić's older works (rather than *La Péninsule balkanique* itself), but mostly on foreign literature and their own observations, as well as on compilations of the prewar statistical data. The surge of geographies of Yugoslavia, however, came from the “margins,” from several established geographers and a number of younger ones, whose careers were just beginning. Only by accounting for this phenomenon, can we talk about geography *in* and *of* Yugoslavia, because these were works written by Yugoslavs in Yugoslavia, for Yugoslavs, and on Yugoslavia. I emphasize the contributions from the “margins” – Ljubljana and Zagreb – as the construction of these geographical narratives about Yugoslavia should be studied in terms of selective appropriations of elements of Cvijić's work and direct or, more frequently, indirect references to other Yugoslav geographers.

Of course, not all geographical works published in interwar Yugoslavia dealt with Yugoslavia itself; only a minority did, but these works played a politically important role and could add to the scientific authority and prestige of the author. Many anthropogeographical works pertained to the field of regional geography. While Cvijić's successor in Belgrade, Borivoje Milojević (1885-1967), examined regions with no clear ethnic affiliation, such as coastal areas, mountainous areas, river valleys, and the Pannonian basin, some geographers in Ljubljana and Zagreb tended to interpret “regions” as national territories.⁷⁰ Melik's geographies of Slovenia were compatible with the Yugoslav project, but by the mid-1920s, Lukas developed a geographical narrative of Croatia that was in direct conflict with the very idea of Yugoslav unity. This was followed by the intensification of his interest in political geography and geopolitics.

Chapter four examines political geography. If much of the anthropogeography in interwar Yugoslavia was politicized, little of it can be described as pertaining to the discipline of political geography. Political geography, another branch of geography that resisted disciplinary demarcation, especially because of its proximity to geopolitics (the two concepts, however, differed in several important aspects), gained in importance throughout East-Central

⁷⁰ Josip Roglić, “Geography in Yugoslavia,” *Geographical Journal* 118, no. 2 (1952): 205.

Europe in the interwar period, as a manifestation of complex and often hostile relations between countries with pretensions to the same territories. Political geography was seen as a respectable academic enterprise, while the German *Geopolitik* and its variants were easily dismissed as politicized and corrupted, yet the obsession with the boundaries, location, and shape of political entities were common to both. The prolonged insecurity regarding the state boundaries, especially with Italy, which was resolved only in 1924 when Italy annexed Fiume/Rijeka, explains why political geography was used to address relations between Yugoslavs and neighboring nations and countries. But, as the works of Lukas and several other Croatian authors who were not professional geographers show, it was also applicable internally, for establishing relations between nations and national spaces within Yugoslavia. As elsewhere in Europe, geopolitics in Yugoslavia was especially appealing to intellectuals on the political right, such as Lukas, but the strong emphasis that *Geopolitik* placed on the state at a time when an independent Croatian state did not exist, except as a memory of the millennium-long continuity of Croatian statehood, was partially problematic for him.

Chapter five deals with geographical works, almost exclusively by Croatian geographers, which were at the same time a continuation and antithesis of the narratives supporting Yugoslav unity published in the early days of Yugoslavia. Anti-Yugoslav discourse found its way into geography, and Filip Lukas became one of its main propagators. At the same time, Lukas' works with an explicit anti-Yugoslav agenda starting in the second half of the 1920s represent a continuation of many ideas, motifs, and methodological procedures that he had developed in his earlier publications, but with a diametrically opposed political agenda. Importantly, in his case there was no clear cut line between the pro-Yugoslav (or at least Yugoslav-tolerant) and anti-Yugoslav phases, but rather a gradual development.

Instead of taking the role of Lukas as one of the intellectual teachers of the Croatian nationalists in the late 1930s at face value, I emphasize the scientific background of a relatively well-known political confrontation in the late 1930s and early 1940s within Croatian politics. The conflict between “nationalists” and the Croatian Peasant Movement (which was also nationalist to a certain degree) was at the same time a conflict between the conservative or even reactionary geography represented by Lukas and ethnographers who supported the peasant movement. The conflict can be related to the metaphor of the donkey, train, and office, as it brings together scientific profiles – manifested in the experience of research, methodological and publishing strategies – and political, rather than exclusively national, identities.

Chapter 1

THE GEOGRAPHICAL NETWORK IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA

One of the fundamental questions a study of geography in interwar Yugoslavia faces is whether there was such a thing as a Yugoslav geography or just several national geographical traditions that continued to coexist or developed parallel after 1918. In a sense, the question mirrors the most important issue of interwar Yugoslavia – whether there was a Yugoslav nation composed of three “tribes” that would eventually merge and acquire a unique national identity, or three similar but separate and fully formed nations. The national question was at the foundation of the political instability the country faced.¹ The attempts to promulgate a Yugoslav identity started well before the First World War, when they intensified.² The establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on December 1, 1918 gave a further impetus, but such attempts were strongest during the dictatorship established by King Alexander I on January 6, 1929 (hence the *šestojanuarska* or *šestosiječanjaska diktatura*), which loosened only after his assassination in October 1934.³ The relations within the geographical network in Yugoslavia – which is here understood as comprising institutions, individual geographers, and their ideas – were by far less dramatic, but at the same time, political developments in the country affected the network and the network influenced political developments by supporting political agendas with its scientific authority.

The country’s academic landscape also remained fragmented. This is not surprising given that it was partly composed of scientific traditions and institutions inherited from the pre-1918 period. Belgrade and Zagreb, and to a degree also Ljubljana, which acquired a university only in 1919, entered the new country with different scientific institutional profiles. Yugoslav geographers spoke the same “scientific language,” yet they were not necessarily saying the same things. The parallel with the idea of South Slavic unity based on cultural, primarily linguistic, similarity seems self-evident. Difficulties in negotiating the particular national (Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian) and Yugoslav levels of identity, so chronically noticeable in the political life of the country, were visible in the structure of the geographical network as

¹ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).

² Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

³ Christian Axboe Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs: Identity in King Aleksandar’s Yugoslavia* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

well. Nonetheless, there was communication among the geographers, just as there was between the otherwise mutually antagonistic political representatives of the ethnic groups. The geographical network in Yugoslavia thus in many aspects resembled the situation in, and the structure of, the country itself. Geography in interwar Yugoslavia is here examined on two levels. On the one, “national” scientific traditions, which were represented in universities met for the first time within the same political and institutional framework, while on the other level, the communication of individuals with different political, class, and disciplinary identities, as well as the available technical or financial resources influenced the larger scientific development.

A number of factors contributed to the creation of a unifying framework for Yugoslav geography. Besides the creation of the state itself, the most important one was a shared education, which the overwhelming majority of Yugoslav geographers had received. Within approximately two decades, between 1890 and 1910, a number of students from the South Slavic territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbia studied geography – usually together with history – at the University of Vienna under the renowned German geomorphologist Albrecht Penck (1858-1945).⁴ For instance, Artur Gavazzi, who obtained his doctorate in 1891,⁵ Jovan Cvijić (in 1893),⁶ ethnologist Niko Županić (in 1903),⁷ Pavle Vujević (in 1904),⁸ Karel Capuder (in 1906),⁹ Jefto Dedijer (in 1907),¹⁰ and Filip Lukas, who did not obtain a doctorate but studied to become a teacher of geography and history (graduated in 1906),¹¹ all attended Penck’s lectures. Thus Penck, who taught in Vienna between 1885 and 1906, before assuming a chair in Berlin,¹² exerted a strong influence on a whole

⁴ The other professors through whom Yugoslav students had a shared experience were Eduard Suess, who taught geology, Julius von Hann, who taught meteorology, and Wilhelm Tomaschek, who taught historical geography.

⁵ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 681.9, Gavazzi, Arthur (1891.06.25-1891.07.02).

⁶ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 760, Cvijic, Jovan (1892.12.01-1892.12-13).

⁷ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 1619, Zupanic, Nikolaus (1902.05.15-1903.06.20).

⁸ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 1737, Vujevits, Paul (1904.05.07-1904.06.02).

⁹ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 1966, Capuder, Karl (1905.11.14-1906.02.08).

¹⁰ Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 2250.10, Dedijer, Jefto (1906.12.01-1907.02.16).

¹¹ After studying two semesters at the University of Graz, Lukas spent the following six semesters, until 1903, at the University of Vienna. See Arhiv der Universität Wien, Philosophische Fakultät, Nationalen, 191/1900-01W, 194/19001S, 194/1901S, 198/1901-02W, 203/1902S, 209/1902-03W, 209/1902-03W [Nachtrag], and 214/1903S.

¹² Hans-Dietrich Schultz, “‘*Ein wachsendes Volk braucht Raum.*’ Albrecht Penck als politischer

generation of scientists who went on to establish geography in Yugoslavia. After Penck left Vienna, a generation of Slovene geographers such as Anton Melik, Silvo Kranjec, Valter Bohinec, Franjo Baš, as well as the Croat Ivo Rubić, who were instrumental in institutional establishment of geography in Slovenia after the First World War, also studied there. Many of the aforementioned scientists spent only a short period of time – sometimes just a couple of semesters – in Vienna, but they were all nevertheless initiated in the German-speaking physical and human geography (*Anthropogeographie*), which was of decisive importance for disciplinary developments in Yugoslavia.¹³

A shared Yugoslav experience after 1918 offered a crucial unifying framework for the geographical network. Many geographers focused on their respective national communities or home regions, but they all had an opinion regarding Yugoslavia's new boundaries and its position within the Versailles system (and, toward the late 1930s, within Hitler's New Europe as well), the country's internal administrative (re)arrangement, uneven cultural and economic development, and, above all, the national question in Yugoslavia. Regardless of what they thought of Yugoslavia, whether they supported the unity of Yugoslavs or insisted that it could never be achieved, they all in one way or another referred to the country in their works.

Still another unifying element of the Yugoslav geographic network was Jovan Cvijić. As a towering figure of Yugoslav geography, Cvijić was at the center of this network, just as much as Belgrade was the political and symbolical center of the country. Through the adoption and occasional challenging of his ideas, and through the mobility of some of his close associates and students, Cvijić was connected to all the other centers in the network – Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Skopje – which can tentatively be labeled as secondary centers. Cvijić also connected Yugoslav geography to a larger European and even global scientific network during his study in Vienna, his stay in London, and especially his time in Paris during the First World War, where he taught at the Sorbonne and was in contact with the prominent French geographer, Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918).

Rather than focusing on Cvijić as the sole representative of geography in interwar

Geograph,” in *1810–2010: 200 Jahre Geographie in Berlin an der Universität zu Berlin (ab 1810), Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (ab 1828), Universität Berlin (ab 1946), Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (ab 1949)*, ed. Bernhard Nitz, Hans-Dietrich Schultz, and Marlies Schultz, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Geographisches Institut der Humboldt-Universität, 2011), 99-153.

¹³ Examining Penck's influences calls for a cautious approach to the larger issue of intellectual influences: while Albrecht Penck, Friedrich Ratzel, Alfred Hettner, and numerous other geographers indeed influenced the direction of the development of geography as an academic discipline in Yugoslavia, examination of their influence should not turn into what David Livingstone describes as “the tired hunt for precursors.” Rather, it should support an analysis focusing on the process of applying “international” geographical knowledge on the specific “local” situation. See David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 197.

Yugoslavia, this dissertation places greater emphasis on the network's "margins," primarily Ljubljana and Zagreb. Interwar geography in these centers has not been systematically studied. However, the communication of institutions and geographers from Ljubljana and Zagreb with the center and among themselves is vital for understanding the process of geographical narration of Yugoslavia in the early days of its existence. For, Croatian and Slovenian – rather than Serbian – geographers took up the task of explaining Yugoslavia to Yugoslavs, of constructing it as a natural and cultural unity. Importantly, some of these geographers later led the attacks against Yugoslavia as a natural and cultural unity. Generally, in terms of discursive and teaching practice, geographers in the "peripheral centers" of the geographical network were more preoccupied with Yugoslavia than geographers in Belgrade. Therefore, only by examining the whole network is it possible to explain how and why geography was able to assume a pivotal and unprecedented role in forming national identities and proposing solutions for the numerous political, social, cultural, and economic problems that Yugoslavia faced after 1918.

The notion of geographical network used in this dissertation comprised institutions, people, and ideas. Regarding institutions, the network consisted of academic institutions such as departments, institutes of geography, and geographical societies in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. To these, ethnographic museums should be added as well because of their shared methodological and conceptual tenets, although they are only sporadically represented in this work, partly because the history of ethnology in Yugoslavia has been relatively thoroughly examined, and partly because they fall outside the primary focus of my research.¹⁴ Additionally, the oldest and largest cultural association in Croatia, the Matica hrvatska of Zagreb, should also be included in the network, although its primary mission was "cultural" rather than "scientific."¹⁵ Thus, the perceived network was polycentrically structured, a sort of "social system of many decision centers having limited and autonomous prerogatives and operating under an overarching set of rules."¹⁶ Despite enjoying a great deal of autonomy due to separate institutional development both before and after 1918, these three unifying factors – influence of German-speaking geography, focus on Yugoslavia, and the prominence of Jovan Cvijić – functioned as a centripetal force bringing them together, with varying levels of success in

¹⁴ Tomislav Pletenac, "Etnologija u službi politike: pozadina sukoba Franić-Gavazzi," *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 7-8 (1995/1996): 83-93.

¹⁵ Neither the Matica srpska of Novi Sad nor the Slovenska matica of Ljubljana played a role comparable to that of the Matica hrvatska regarding geographical production, despite the existence of certain parallels. For instance, Jovan Cvijić was an associate member of the Matica srpska, and Anton Melik was the president of the Slovenska matica from 1950 until his death in 1966.

¹⁶ Paul D. Aligica and Vlad Tarko, "Polycentricity: From Polanyi to Ostrom, and Beyond," *Governance* 25, no. 2 (2014): 237.

different periods and on different issues.

The intensity and magnitude of the expansion of geography in the South Slavic lands did not – and could not – mirror the development elsewhere in Europe. In Germany, for instance, twenty-four chairs of geography were established between 1871 and 1910,¹⁷ and the global reception of geographical paradigms developed since the time of Karl Ritter and Alexander von Humboldt ensured the prestige of German geography in the late nineteenth-century. As Richard Hartshorne put it in 1939, “Modern geography in all countries has been fundamentally dependent on that developed in Germany.”¹⁸ Of course, the state’s size and economic weakness explain the small number of chairs in geography in interwar Yugoslavia. It is necessary to differentiate between geography as an institutionalized science and geography as a course taught in elementary schools. As Charles Jelavich showed, geography in elementary schools, especially in the Kingdom of Serbia prior to 1914, decisively influenced pupils’ understanding of their own national community, as well as of other South Slavs. In the decades before the establishment of Yugoslavia, geography in schools fostered nationalist sentiments more than history, by pointing to the extent of the national territory, which had great consequences on the development of interwar Yugoslavia.¹⁹ The role of institutionalized geography intensified during the First World War and especially after 1918.

In many aspects, the development of geography in the South Slavic lands resembled the discipline’s development in the rest of East-Central Europe. Heavily influenced by the German tradition, geography became a fully recognized discipline by the end of the nineteenth century. The establishment of a number of independent countries in the region after 1918 gave a new impetus to its development. These newly-formed (or restored, as was the case with Poland) states came to the attention of East-Central European geographers, and universities, seen as vital centers of nation-building projects, experienced a new period of growth.

¹⁷ Gerhard Sandner, “In Search of Identity: German Nationalism and Geography, 1871-1910,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 71-91.

¹⁸ Richard Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past* (Lancaster, PA: The Association of American Geographers, 1939), 120.

¹⁹ Charles Jelavich, “Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?,” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983): 601-619; Jelavich, *South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990).

1.1. Anthropogeography between history and ethnology

A study of geography as a scientific discipline and its engagement in nation-building projects cannot be accomplished by examining geography alone. Although he advocated the emancipation of geography from related disciplines, primarily history, Richard Hartshorne also stated that geography is “a field in which the members who are officially recognized as ‘geographers’ may, at a single meeting, read papers which to some of the hearers appear to belong in geology, climatology, soil science, economics, history, or political science.”²⁰ Geography is at the center of this analysis, but its links to other disciplines, as well as the type of education geographers received, their specialization and career trajectories, all necessitate an approach to geography that positions it as a part of a wider intellectual and scientific complex. The purpose of this subchapter is to describe anthropogeography as a scientific discipline in interwar Yugoslavia. It follows David Livingstone’s observation that “if the history of geography reveals anything, it is the shifting nature of its own conceptual boundaries,” in order to examine the relations of anthropogeography – and geography in general – with related scientific enterprises, primarily history and ethnology.²¹

Since the late nineteenth century, geography was intrinsically intertwined with a branch of related disciplines that are today commonly called earth science. In Belgrade and Zagreb, geology, climatology, and geomorphology became institutionally recognized and started attracting scientists’ attention slightly before anthropogeography. Geology, although taught separately from geography at the universities of interwar Yugoslavia (as well as before 1918), was nevertheless central to the work of many physical geographers.²² Hartshorne’s observation that “long and close association with one of the systematic sciences, geology, tended to direct our comparative thought far from history, and indeed from the systematic social sciences, toward the systematic natural science”²³ was partially valid in the Yugoslav context as well. But since the second half of the nineteenth century, throughout the world “geography was taking on a decidedly human cast, though some students continued to concentrate on the physiographic and geologic elements.”²⁴ Yugoslav geographers, including those primarily

²⁰ Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 202.

²¹ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 315.

²² Similarly, “geography at Harvard emerged from the study of geology,” “was taught as part of geology, and the emphasis was very much upon geomorphology and physiography.” Neil Smith, “‘Academic War over the Field of Geography’: The Elimination of Geography at Harvard, 1947-1951,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 2 (1987): 156-57.

²³ Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 322.

²⁴ Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 75.

interested in human geography, maintained their belief in the great importance of physical geography. This was partly due to their professional training and partly to environmentally deterministic attitudes shared by many contemporary geographers around the world. Although anthropogeography was gaining in popularity, university courses in geography emphasized geomorphology as a discipline in which geographers could make a name for themselves.

On the other hand, geography's close connection to anthropology and ethnology can be partially observed through the concept of cultural sciences, whose intellectual and political aspects have been examined by Woodruff D. Smith. In Smith's interpretation, the cultural sciences included "anthropology in its many varieties, human geography, culture history, and branches of psychology that focused on culture." Smith analyzed the works of "cultural scientists who believed that they were practicing a nomothetic science (i.e., searching for the laws of human society as revealed in culture) and who regarded culture itself mainly in its anthropological sense."²⁵ From the perspective of this study, however, Smith's focus on the concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* (cultural science) poses certain problems. Yugoslav geographical discourse dealing with culture cannot be analyzed only through the prism of *Kulturwissenschaft*; it requires taking into consideration its strong links with history. The link between history and geography in Yugoslavia was manifested not only in the combined use of historical and geographical explanations in scientific works. Most works by Yugoslav geographers from the first half of the twentieth century point to the multifold scientific identities of their authors.

Since the nineteenth century, geography was understood as "a meeting point between the sciences of Nature and the sciences of Man."²⁶ This was visible in the works of many well-known contemporary geographers such as Ellen Churchill Semple, Jean Brunhes, Ellsworth Huntington, and Griffith Taylor, who "all published major works that were frankly indicated as combinations of geography and history."²⁷ In an attempt to redefine the position and role of geography in Yugoslav schools, Borivoje Ž. Milojević praised its versatility. According to him, "as geography in science stands on the boundary between natural and social sciences, so in school it occupies a place between history and the science on spiritual characteristics and deeds on one, and the science on nature, organic and inorganic, on the other hand."²⁸ Such was the

²⁵ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

²⁶ James Bryce, "The Relations of History and Geography," *Contemporary Review* 49 (1886): 426, quoted in Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 191.

²⁷ Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 125.

²⁸ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, "O zadacima geografije u našoj zemlji," in *Geografska nauka i nastava* (Beograd: Mlada Srbija, 1934), 75.

situation at universities as well.

The university records of Yugoslav geographers from the first half of the twentieth century reveal the frequent combination of disciplines they studied: Petar Matković, Milan Šenoa, Filip Lukas, Stjepan Ratković, Zvonimir Dugački, Vid Balenović, Anton Melik, Silvo Kranjec, Franjo Baš, and Roman Savnik, to name a few, all studied history and geography. This combination was a common one. The records of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, for instance, show it frequently occurring before as well as after 1918. A slight majority of students studying both geography and history specialized in the latter. Topics of the final exams and dissertations suggest that a majority of geographers who studied both history and geography were inclined to anthropogeography, rather than physical geography.²⁹ Consequently, anthropogeographers often historicized their geographical argumentation.³⁰ Geographically inclined works by the Slovene historian Ljudmil Hauptmann on the relationship between nature and history in the development of Yugoslavia and on the geographical foundation of the national problem in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were, for example, historical narratives with a hint of geographical or geopolitical argumentation.³¹ A professor at the University of Zagreb, Hinko Hranilović, described the work of his predecessor, the first professor of geography in Zagreb, Petar Matković, as “entirely historical and founded upon the historical method . . . or compilation, that is, as [when] a historian examines geographical materials.”³²

Relying on history meant that the anthropogeographers did not challenge the already existing historical narratives of the nation but instead added an additional, spatial, dimension to it. The appeal of anthropogeography should be understood in terms of its fruitful cohabitation not only with history, but also with another emerging discipline – ethnology. Rather than as a science of culture, in the Yugoslav context ethnology was understood as a

science of the peoples on the earth. It examines the origin and development of every people and all characteristics and phenomena that make it a people. And the final task of ethnology is to find through this research laws of the creation and development of all the peoples on the earth or, differently said, to find the laws of the ethnic development

²⁹ This is only a tentative conclusion reached on the grounds of a preliminary examination of student final exams. Detailed and systematic research in this field is yet to be done.

³⁰ This was not a specifically Yugoslav characteristic. The trend was visible already in the title of Ratzel’s groundbreaking work on anthropogeography – *Anthropogeography: Basic Principles of Applying Earth Studies to History*. See Friedrich Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie: Grundzüge der Anwendung der Erdkunde auf die Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Engelhorn, 1882-1891).

³¹ Ljudmil Hauptmann, “Priroda in zgodovina v razvoju Jugoslavije,” *Njiva* 2, no. 7 (1922): 113-133; Hauptmann, “Geografska podloga nacionalnog problema u Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 8-10 (1939): 63-68.

³² Hinko Hranilović, “Novi smjer naše geografije: prilog savremenoj povjesti hrvatske znanosti,” *Glasnik hrvatskoga naravnoslovnoga društva* 13, no. 4-6 (1902): 173.

of the humanity.³³

The belief in the nomothetic nature of ethnology was shared by the first generation of ethnologists, for whom the difference between ethnography and ethnology was blurred. According to Antun Radić, ethnology searches for general laws that govern the life and thought of a people (rather than the development of culture), while physical and psychical anthropology study the causes for those laws.³⁴

Different relations between geography and cultural anthropology or ethnology were noticeable in the interwar Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian academic centers. In the overwhelming number of cases, ethnology or cultural anthropology, rather than physical anthropology, prevailed at the universities. In Belgrade, the chair of anthropology and ethnology had existed since 1881. In Zagreb, the chair of ethnology was established in 1925 but became fully functional in 1927 with the appointment of Milovan Gavazzi. Specialists in physical anthropology, such as Branimir Maleš³⁵ in Belgrade and Božo Škerlj³⁶ (whose career would flourish after the Second World War) in Ljubljana, participated in the debate on racial theory but conducted research only on a limited scale. However, racial theory appealed to many non-anthropologists as well. In fact, it was one of the most widely debated scientific issues of the interwar period.

Therefore, it is not surprising that racial theory in the first Yugoslavia and in the 1941-1945 period has received much scholarly attention in recent years. The role of race in the formulation of a Croatian national identity, as opposed to a Yugoslav identity, by Croatian nationalist and the Ustasha ideologues has especially been thoroughly examined.³⁷ A large

³³ Jovan Erdeljanović, *Osnove etnologije* (Belgrade: Narodna štamparija Mirko Drobac, 1932), 3.

³⁴ Despite straightforward references in Radić's works to people as a research unit of ethnology, it has been argued that it was not formulated and practiced in this manner. See Jasna Čapo, "Hrvatska etnologija, znanost o narodu ili o kulturi?," *Studia ethnologica* 3 (1991): 7-15, esp. 8.

³⁵ Branimir Maleš, "Antropologija i Jugoslaveni," *Letopis Matice Srpske* 315, no. 2 (1928): 172-179; Maleš, *Antropološka ispitivanja* (Belgrade: Centralni higijenski zavod, 1932); Maleš, *Ciljevi i metodi savremene antropologije* (Belgrade: Centralni higijenski zavod, 1933); Maleš, *O ljudskim rasama* (Belgrade: Kolarčev narodni univerzitet, 1936); Maleš, *Nekoliko napomena o Dinarskoj rasi* (Belgrade: Centralni higijenski zavod, 1936); Maleš, *Rase kojima pripadaju Srbi i Hrvati* (Belgrade: Socijalno-medicinski pregled, 1937).

³⁶ Božo Škerlj, "Kako naj razumemo dinarsko raso?," *Geografski vestnik* 4, no. 1-4 (1928): 34-56; Škerlj, "Nekatere rasne karte Evrope po l. 1920," *Geografski vestnik* 4, no. 1-4 (1928): 111-115; Škerlj, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Slowenen: Farbenkomplexionen von 1147 Mädchen und Frauen," *Anthropologischer Anzeiger* 8, no. 1-2 (1931): 126-143; Škerlj, "Rasna slika Jugoslavije," *Geografski vestnik* 12-13 (1936/1937): 156-169.

³⁷ Nevenko Bartulin has authored some of the most thorough studies on the topic. He focused on two periods when the discourse was intensively developed: the 1930s and the existence of the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-45. Nevenko Bartulin, "The Ideology of Nation and Race: The Croatian Ustasha Regime and its Policies Toward Minorities in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945" (PhD diss., University of New South Wales, 2006); Bartulin, "The NDH as a 'Central European Bulwark against Italian Imperialism': An Assessment of Croatian-Italian Relations within the German 'New Order,'" *Review of Croatian History* 3 (2007): 49-74; Bartulin, "The Ideal Nordic-Dinaric Racial Type: Racial Anthropology in the Independent State of Croatia,"

number of participants in the debate – few of whom were geographers – and the various disciplinary perspectives employed indicate that there was no single coherent discourse, rather several overlapping ones. The central issue was the Dinaric race, which the French anthropologist Joseph Deniker in 1900 famously listed as one of six primary European races, alongside the Northern, Eastern, Ibero-Insular, Western, and Littoral race.³⁸ This “dark, brachycephalic, tall race, [is] called Adriatic or Dinaric, because its purest representatives are met with along the coast of the Northern Adriatic and especially in Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia,” but also, Deniker added, in Romania, Venetia, Slovenia, Tyrol, parts of Switzerland and France.³⁹ If a secondary – lower, less brachycephalic, and lighter – Sub-Adriatic race is taken into consideration, its spread is even larger. Although the racial issue was in many aspects linked to geography, and although geographers such as Jovan Cvijić and Filip Lukas were among the prominent contributors to the debate on Serbian, Croatian, and Yugoslav racial affiliation, the debate cannot unambiguously be described as pertaining (only) to the field of geography.⁴⁰ For this reason – and because the original research contribution of this dissertation lies elsewhere – the racial issue is not treated in a separate chapter. Instead, certain racial ideas, directly related to anthropogeography and the geographical narration of – and against – Yugoslavia are examined in the chapters on the geographical construction and deconstruction of interwar Yugoslavia.

The “overlap between geographical and ethnographical scholarship,” so noticeable in nineteenth-century Germany, clearly existed in Yugoslavia as well.⁴¹ The two disciplines were closest in Belgrade, less close in Ljubljana, and relatively separate in Zagreb, where toward the end of the 1930s they even appeared on different sides of a political conflict between Croatian political movements. According to Lukas, “with no real boundaries toward ethnology, and closely connected to it, stands anthropogeography, or the geography of man. The aim of this . .

Review of Croatian History 5 (2009): 189-219; Bartulin, “The Anti-Yugoslavist Narrative on Croatian Ethnolinguistic and Racial Identity, 1900-1941,” *East Central Europe* 39, no. 2-3 (2012): 331-356; Bartulin, “Intellectual Discourse on Race and Culture in Croatia, 1900-1945,” *Review of Croatian History* 8 (2012): 185-205; Bartulin, *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia: Origins and Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

³⁸ Joseph Deniker, *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*, 3rd ed. (New York: Walter Scott, 1913), 326-33; cf. Bartulin, *Racial Idea*, 50-51.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 333.

⁴⁰ Other scholars also examined the wide scope of the debate. See Višeslav Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata u hrvatskom seljačkom pokretu i nacionalističkom i ustaškom pokretu, 1935-1945” (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2011); Rory Yeomans, “On ‘Yugoslav Barbarians’ and Croatian Gentlemen Scholars: Nationalist Ideology and Racial Anthropology in Interwar Yugoslavia,” in *“Blood and Homeland”: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeastern Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 83-122.

⁴¹ Mike Ball, “Franz Boas,” in *Reader’s Guide to the History of Science*, ed. Arne Hessenbruch (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 88-89.

. great branch of geography is to find the link between man and the earth.”⁴² Although he recognized their interconnectedness, Lukas himself paid surprisingly little attention to ethnographic methods in his anthropogeographical work. Unlike Cvijić, Lukas was not interested in the small, individual cultural objects and phenomena but understood culture in superorganic terms.⁴³ For him, national culture was manifested in the national spirit rather than in individual customs or material culture.

Although trained as a geographer and specialist in physical geography, the central figure of Serbian geography in the first half of the twentieth century, Jovan Cvijić, was already during his lifetime perceived as an interdisciplinary scientist. This was primarily the result of a wide scope of his interests and the methodology he employed to answer a diverse set of research questions that focused on the mutual relations between people and the environment. If physical geography was the “*métier*” of academic geographers,⁴⁴ it was nevertheless “precisely where the discipline was further removed from formal categories and universal principles – namely, human geography – that its complexity, subtlety, and flexibility was most displayed.”⁴⁵ In addition to being a geographer, Cvijić has often been described as an ethnologist – even a sociologist – or at least as a scholar who contributed greatly to these fields.⁴⁶ In the interwar period, his links to ethnology were strongly stressed. Even the Belgrade school that he founded has often been characterized as ethnological.⁴⁷

Decades later, Cvijić’s sociological, rather than his ethnological, inclinations and methodological preferences were emphasized.⁴⁸ In the early 1980s, Serbian sociologist Milovan

⁴² Filip Lukas, *Ekonomska geografija* (Zagreb, 1923), 1:7.

⁴³ For an account of the best known examples of superorganicism in the American twentieth-century anthropology, see James S. Duncan, “The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70, no. 2 (1980): 181-198; Marie Price and Martin Lewis, “The Reinvention of Cultural Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (1993): 1-17; and Denis Cosgrove and James S. Duncan, “On ‘The Reinvention of Cultural Geography’ by Price and Lewis,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 3 (1993): 515-519.

⁴⁴ Preamble to Johannes Gabriel Granö, *Pure Geography*, ed. Olavi Granö and Anssi Paasi, trans. Malcolm Hicks (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), xiv.

⁴⁵ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 310.

⁴⁶ Dinko Tomašić, “Sociology in Yugoslavia,” *American Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 1 (1941): 53-69. For instance, Roucek argued that through Cvijić’s work “the sociology of the Balkans was given a good geographic and ethnographic basis. On the other hand, it is unfortunate for Yugoslav sociology that Cvijić’s co-workers lacked the background to give an economic and sociological interpretation to their anthropogeographic and ethnopsychological researches.” See Joseph S. Roucek, “The Development of Sociology in Yugoslavia,” *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): 983.

⁴⁷ Milovan Radovanović, “O naučnim osnovama Cvijićeve antropogeografsko-etnološke škole i njenom značaju za poznavanje etničkih procesa u srpskim zemljama,” *Globus* 34, no. 28 (2003): 3-28.

⁴⁸ Joel M. Halpern and E.A. Hammel, “Observations on the Intellectual History of Ethnology and Other Social Sciences in Yugoslavia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 1 (1969): 17-26; cf. Svetozar Ćulibrk, “Cvijić’s Sociological Research into Society in the Balkans,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 4 (1971): 423-440.

Mitrović argued, “although Cvijić was primarily a geographer, because of his multi-sided and unusually original and encouraging work, whose significance and influence reach across the boundaries of a discipline, it is impossible to talk about [Yugoslav] sociology, especially its early phase, without a review of his contributions.”⁴⁹ Rather than this being a form of appropriating Cvijić by sociology, Mitrović saw this as recognition of yet another dimension of Cvijić’s work. “More frequently than geographers themselves, ethnologists often talk about sociologists claiming Cvijić, although he helped their science only marginally,” Mitrović claimed, and concluded, “this is an atavistic argument of the traditional resistance of ethnologists and ethnographers toward the sociology.”⁵⁰

One of Cvijić’s most prominent disciples was the prolific ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović (1874-1944). Erdeljanović not only edited and published the Serbo-Croatian translation of the second volume of Cvijić’s principal work, *Balkansko Poluostrvo*, after Cvijić’s death, but he also applied many of Cvijić’s ideas to ethnological field research. While stressing the environmental influences on human groups, Erdeljanović partially neglected the geographical aspect of practical ethnographical research. Cvijić’s vision of the connection between geography and ethnology was manifested in the journal *Naselja srpskih zemalja* (Settlements of the Serbian lands), launched in 1902, which changed its name to *Naselja i poreklo stanovništva* (Settlements and the origin of the population) in 1921. Though *Naselja* could be compared to the Zagreb-based *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (Collection on the folk life and customs of the Southern Slavs), launched in 1896, it was more successful in applying the connection between geography and ethnology in practical research.

Ethnography entered the high school curriculum in Yugoslavia as a part of geography classes in 1931.⁵¹ In his 1932 textbook *Osnove etnologije* (Foundations of ethnology), Erdeljanović classified nature’s influences on man into three broad categories: cosmic influences; influences of the land; and the influences of flora and fauna.⁵² He emphasized Cvijić’s argument that the migrations during the Ottoman invasions intensified the “ethnic processes” – that is, merging – between Serbs and Croats, and only partially Slovenes. While he took over Cvijić’s description of the psychological characteristics of the South Slavs, Erdeljanović downplayed most of the geographical thinking that was at the foundation of

⁴⁹ Milovan Mitrović, *Jugoslovenska predratna sociologija* (Belgrade: Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije, 1982), 24.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁵¹ Suzana Leček and Tihana Petrović Leš, *Znanost i svjetonazor: etnologija i prosvjetna politika Banovine Hrvatske 1939.-1941.* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, Hrvatski institut za povijest; Slavonski Brod: Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2010), 7.

⁵² Erdeljanović, *Osnove etnologije*, 25-31.

Cvijić's ideas and turned toward the ethnical composition of Yugoslavia. Croatian ethnologists rather negatively reviewed Erdeljanović's work, and described it as old-fashioned and pedagogically lacking. In 1940, in a wider attempt by the Croatian Peasant Party, which governed the autonomous Banovina Hrvatska, to establish ethnology as the central nation-building science, Erdeljanović's textbook – “which was scientifically outdated, methodologically inappropriate, and ideologically unacceptable”⁵³ – was replaced by a textbook by the Croatian pedagogue, historian, and geographer, Vid Balenović (1883-1970).

In 1925, in a rare work from the interwar period that explicitly raised the issue of the disciplinary relations of geography and ethnology, the Slovene priest, politician, and ethnologist, Lambert Ehrlich (1878-1942), described geography as a “material” and ethnology as a “spiritual science”, which focused on the cultural development of humanity. The fact that the two disciplines were especially difficult to tell apart was, according to Ehrlich, visible in the attempts of many ethnologists to explain the cultural differences among the peoples exclusively on the basis of geographical environment, regardless of the human creative genius.⁵⁴ Ehrlich took a conciliatory position regarding the relationship between the environment and human groups, one that was shared by many contemporary geographers worldwide: culture is not entirely dependent on geography, but geography, especially the morphology of the earth's surface, exerts a strong impact on the development of culture.⁵⁵ “Although we attribute the important influence on human culture to geographical factors,” Ehrlich continued, “we still cannot agree with [Adolf] Bastian, who explains all phases [of human culture] with two facts, namely the identical psychological nature of humans (*Elementargedanke*), through which all analogous manifestations of culture are explainable, and the geographical environment that facilitates all concrete differences among the national cultures (*Völkergedanke*).”⁵⁶

Ehrlich in fact reflected on a topic much larger than the mere disciplinary relations between geography and ethnology – the relations between nature and man, and, consequently, environment and culture. This has been one of the fundamental questions geography has aimed at explaining. While this large-scale relationship was at the center of interest of most European and American geographers, only few Yugoslav geographers explicitly raised this issue. Focusing on the local issues, Yugoslav geographers only superficially reflected upon the global environment-people and nature-culture relations. Filip Lukas, for instance, frequently

⁵³ Leček and Petrović Leš, *Znanost i svjetonazor*, 54.

⁵⁴ Lambert Ehrlich, “Geografija in etnologija,” *Geografski vestnik* 1, no. 1 (1925): 24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

mentioned the influence the environment exerts on people – or rather, on the nation – and group’s ability to adapt to the environment, but never truly elaborated on this. In fact, his view can be described as a somewhat confused – but not uncommon in the period – combination of determinist and possibilist understandings of the man-nature relationship. In the case of Lukas, this relationship was manifested in the question of when and how Serbs and Croats become separate and individual nations, or more precisely, what was the role of environment – the territory the two groups inhabited – in facilitating this differentiation? Were the two groups inherently different or did they develop into separate cultures and nations (only) through responding to the environment? As will be shown, Lukas pointed to the latter conclusion. In that case, however, the difference between Serbs and Croats appears to have little to do with national consciousness and historical action and appears to have been determined by nature instead.

Cvijić’s view also fluctuated between determinism, stressing the role of the environment, and possibilism, stressing the role of human agency, although he offered a slightly more nuanced perspective. The relative absence of elaborated ideas on the relations between man and nature in the works of other Yugoslav geographers, however, does not mean that they were uninterested in the issue. They focused more on regional geography and their respective national territories, so their conceptualizations of the man-nature relationship are more noticeable in writings on particular case studies than in methodological or “programmatic” texts. In the context of geography in interwar Yugoslavia, Richard Hartshorne’s 1939 claim that “in our day, to be sure, it is more common for scientists to express their philosophical views of problems presented by their scientific work in separate publication,”⁵⁷ with minor exceptions,⁵⁸ did not correspond with the contemporary scientific practices.

The intertwining of geography and ethnology was nowhere as vividly manifested as in the Congresses of Slavic Geographers and Ethnologists. The idea for the congress came from Cvijić; he first talked about the need for such a scientific gathering at a congress of Czech naturalists he attended in Prague in 1914.⁵⁹ The first Congress of Slavic Geographers and Ethnologists took place in Prague in 1924,⁶⁰ the second in several locations in Poland in 1927, the third in as much as seventeen locations across Yugoslavia in 1930, and the fourth and final

⁵⁷ Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 60.

⁵⁸ Milojević, *Geografska nauka i nastava*.

⁵⁹ Milojević, “Pred prvi kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa,” in *Geografska nauka i nastava*, 60.

⁶⁰ Pavle Vujević, Petar S. Jovanović, and Borivoje Ž. Milojević, “Prvi kongres slavenskih geografa i etnografa u Pragu,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 10 (1924): 88-95.

congress in Bulgaria in 1935. The congress had a dual task: to facilitate communication between scientists and to strengthen the political and cultural bonds between the Slavic countries in East-Central Europe that had “regained their freedom” after 1918.⁶¹

In May 1930, dozens of geographers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and some West European countries – as well as Russian emigrants – came to Yugoslavia.⁶² Suzana Leček and Tihana Petrović Leš have aptly pointed to the employment of science in reaffirming Yugoslavia’s image and good relations with its partners – primarily Czechoslovakia – in East-Central Europe.⁶³ Besides the common scientific interests, the relations of Yugoslav scientists with their Polish and Czechoslovak colleagues were built upon shared adversaries – Germany, Austria, Hungary, but also the ambiguously positioned Bulgaria⁶⁴ – and the Pan-Slavic idea. Interestingly, the language of communication was not German, indispensable for the work of all Central European scientists, but French, the language of diplomacy.

For the congress in Yugoslavia, Pavle Vujević edited a collective volume whose very title mirrored the concept of the congress: *Kraljevina Jugoslavija: geografski i etnografski pregled* (The Kingdom of Yugoslavia: geographical and ethnographic overview).⁶⁵ Short contributions by scientists from Belgrade, Ljubljana, Subotica, Skopje, and Zagreb brought little new findings or conclusions but mostly recapitulated the existing geographical canon on Yugoslavia. The volume mostly adhered to Cvijić’s geographical paradigm, and chapters covered geology, physical geography (geomorphology, climate, and hydrography), zoology, economy and transportation, demographics, ethnology, “historical-anthropogeographical overview,” and geodesy and cartography.

However, especially revealing regarding the relations between geography and ethnology was the commentary of the Croatian ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi, published in the *Prager Presse* in 1930. Gavazzi expressed his skepticism about the concept and framework of the congress. He pointed out that geography and ethnology are separate at the universities, and

⁶¹ Ibid., 60.

⁶² Borivoje Ž. Milojević, “Treći kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa,” *Politika*, May 4, 1930.

⁶³ Suzana Leček and Tihana Petrović Leš, “Država i znanost: jugoslavenstvo na III. slavenskom kongresu geografa i etnografa 1930. godine,” *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 23, no. 1 (2011): 149-182.

⁶⁴ In his account of his travels through Macedonia in 1925, Anton Melik wrote that some Serbian geographers believed Bulgarians should not be allowed to participate in the congress that would take place in 1930 in Yugoslavia because of the atrocities the Bulgarian army committed against Serbs in the First World War, which Bulgarian intellectuals supported, and had never apologized for. Interestingly, the then Orthodox bishop of Ohrid, Nikolaj Velimirović, known for his radical nationalist rhetoric, replied that “the Bulgarians are *Balkanci* [Balkan people], and *Balkanci* are better than the French, and they should be admitted [to the congress].” Anton Melik, *Do Ohrida in Bitolja* (Ljubljana: Jutro, 1926), 101.

⁶⁵ Pavle Vujević, ed., *Kraljevina Jugoslavija: geografski i etnografski pregled* (Belgrade: Davidović, Pavlović i drug, 1930).

warned that at congresses such as the Congress of Slavic Geographers and Ethnologists ethnology is usually marginalized at the expense of geography. Rather than with geography, according to Gavazzi, ethnology should be represented at philological congresses, because he believed it had more in common with ethnology and dialectology, folk literature, demography, and anthropology than with geography.⁶⁶ Leček and Petrović Leš have correctly pointed out that this was in fact a break with the relations between the two disciplines as was envisioned by Cvijić. However, “Since in his work he otherwise did not neglect geographical factors,” they argue, “in Gavazzi’s petition for separation of ethnology and geography we can probably discern a critique of political manipulation in Cvijić’s conception.”⁶⁷ This particular conclusion seems unsubstantiated, as Gavazzi’s ethnological writing and teaching practice from this period do not point to any critique of the political implications of Cvijić’s work. Indeed, Gavazzi’s ethnological ideas came into a conflict with geography – but that of Filip Lukas, rather than of Jovan Cvijić. Leček and Petrović Leš focused on an ethnographer’s stance and neglected the perception of Yugoslav geographers. Even the director of the Ethnographical museum in Zagreb, Vladimir Tkalčić (1883-1971) – who had also studied geography, together with history, archeology, and history of art – had no such complaints, and was above all worried about the bad weather spoiling ethnographically informative excursions and overly long presentations which disrupted the schedule.⁶⁸

Contrary to the grievances of the ethnologist Gavazzi, the geographer Melik stated that the “primary aim of the congress was to reinvigorate the personal contacts between geographers and ethnographers of the Slavic states so they could get to know the nature, anthropogeographical and ethnographic characteristics of Yugoslavia.”⁶⁹ The itinerary of the excursions was well planned and offered a good insight into the geography of Yugoslavia, despite long and uncomfortable journeys, Melik observed, stating that he could “note with satisfaction, what immense work has been done by the three previous congresses for the mutual understanding of the Slavic world, both in the material and the personal aspect. Cvijić’s idea, which acted as the initiative for it, turned out great.”⁷⁰ All speakers at the opening ceremony in

⁶⁶ Leček and Petrović Leš, “Država i znanost,” 157n13.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁶⁸ Vladimir Tkalčić, “III. kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa,” *Narodna starina* 9, no. 22 (1930): 187-190.

⁶⁹ Anton Melik, “Tretji kongres slovanskih geografov in etnografov,” *Geografski vestnik* 7 (1931): 151. Melik had also written a report on the second Congress of Slavic Geographers and Ethnologists in Poland in 1927. See Anton Melik, “II. kongres slovanskih geografov in etnografov,” *Geografski vestnik* 3 (1927): 132-35.

⁷⁰ Melik, “Tretji kongres slovanskih geografov in etnografov,” 152.

Belgrade mentioned Cvijić, who had died in 1927.⁷¹

Admittedly, the fears of Milovan Gavazzi were not entirely unsubstantiated, as delegates from Poland and Czechoslovakia, together with their Yugoslav hosts, spoke mostly about geography and anthropogeography, referring to ethnography only in the context of looking forward to getting to know the Yugoslav diverse population, rather than as a separate science.⁷² It was symptomatic for relations between geography and ethnology that at the fourth congress, which, unlike the previous ones, was based in one place – Sofia – in August 1935, three geographic and two ethnographic excursions were organized. Svetozar Ilešič reported that the majority of the Slovenian participants opted for the geographic excursion through sub-Balkan valleys, “which offered an exquisite wealth of observations, primarily morphological and phytogeographical,⁷³ as well as anthropogeographical and ethnographic.”⁷⁴

Rather than criticizing the political implications of Cvijić’s work, Milovan Gavazzi challenged Cvijić’s anthropogeographical paradigm that insisted on an intrinsic connection between geography and ethnology. Gavazzi believed that in such a relationship, ethnology was the lesser partner. His challenge will be the starting point for an examination of the political conflict between the ideologists of the Croatian Peasant Party and the Croatian “nationalists” in the late 1930s Croatia in chapter five. The identity policy has already been correctly identified as one of the key issues of this conflict, but I will show that it was at the same time a scientific, disciplinary conflict. It was a culmination of the process of the increasingly incompatible development of geography and ethnology, which was specific for Croatia because of the opposing political affiliations of the main protagonists of the two disciplines as well as the institutional-academic structures in Zagreb, which could not have been found in Belgrade or Ljubljana.

1.2. The culture-historical method and its application to Yugoslavia

Among the most influential paradigms in circulation in interwar Yugoslavian as well as European and North American anthropogeography and cultural anthropology at the turn of the

⁷¹ “Svečano otvaranje Kongresa slovenskih geografa i etnografa u Beogradu,” *Vreme*, May 5, 1930.

⁷² “Kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa u Beogradu,” *Politika*, May 5, 1930.

⁷³ Phytogeography is a branch of geography dealing with the geographical distribution of plants.

⁷⁴ Svetozar Ilešič, “IV. kongres slovanskih geografov in etnografov v Sofiji l. 1935.,” *Geografski vestnik* 12-13 (1936-1937): 207.

twentieth century were interrelated concepts of “diffusion” and “cultural circle” (*der Kulturkreis*). Diffusionism, often called by its German name, *Kulturkreislehre*, has a complex genealogy, especially because in the first half of the twentieth century a related yet not identical concept of “culture area” became dominant in American ethnography and cultural geography.⁷⁵ Both German and American variations were connected to the best-known geographer of the late nineteenth century, Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). Woodruff D. Smith has examined the “diffusionist turn” around the turn of the twentieth century as a revolt against the neoliberal theoretical patterns of the Berlin school of anthropology established by Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) and Adolf Bastian (1826-1905).⁷⁶ This “diffusionist revolt,” as Smith names it, “unseated neoliberalism from its place of dominance in German ethnology and led to Germany’s separation from the main currents of international anthropology.”⁷⁷ While Bastian and Virchow were primarily interested in individuals, groups were at the center of Ratzel’s interest – “not just for the neoliberal reason that group culture influenced individual thought, but also because the important actions in history were performed by groups, not separate persons.”⁷⁸ Whereas neoliberal cultural science, much in line with Enlightenment reasoning, believed in the psychological unity of mankind, its opponents challenged the differentiation between the so-called natural (“primitive”) and cultural peoples – *Naturvölker* and *Kulturvölker*. The “antihumanist scientists,” as Andrew Zimmerman labels them, opposed the very category of *Naturvölker*, which was previously considered a research unit that could reveal the primeval human mental condition. The dichotomy between “primitive” and “cultured” peoples was false, they argued, and “proposed to treat all societies – even those classified by their seniors as ‘natural peoples’ – as having culture and history and thus established what came to be known as the ‘culture-historical method’ (*kulturhistorische Methode*) in anthropology, sometimes also called ‘diffusionism’ or the *Kulturkreislehre* (theory of culture circles).”⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Clark Wissler, “The Culture-Area Concept in Social Anthropology,” *American Journal of Sociology* 32, no. 6 (1927): 881-891; Wissler, “The Culture Area Concept as a Research Lead,” *American Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 6 (1928): 894-900; Malcolm M. Willey, “Some Limitations of the Culture Area Concept,” *Social Forces* 10, no. 1 (1931): 28-31. See Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *A History of Anthropological Theory* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1998), 53.

⁷⁶ According to Smith, “the ‘neoliberal’ theoretical pattern developed by the Berlin anthropological establishment encompassed positions on the three major elements of the older liberal pattern: individualism, the idea of nomothetic social science, and notions of social change and equilibrium.” *Ibid.*, 106.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷⁹ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 201. Barrett differentiates between three schools of diffusionism. First, in Vienna, where the *Kulturkreis* concept emerged through the writings of Friedrich Ratzel, Fritz Graebner, and Wilhelm Schmidt, who emphasized migration and diffusion as factors explaining similar cultural forms in distinct areas. Second, which was short-lived in the United Kingdom, marked by the works of W.H.R. Rivers, W.J. Perry, and G. Elliot

Almost all Yugoslav anthropogeographers subscribed to the dichotomous view of the *Naturvölker* and *Kulturvölker*.⁸⁰ Most geographers not only adopted the concepts but also emphasized how convenient for research the Yugoslav people and culture were from a methodological point of view. Yugoslavs seemed to occupy an in-between position, not only in terms of geographical location but between two main stages of development as well; they were no longer “natural” because of modernization, yet they did not become fully “modern” and therefore “cultural.”

Ratzel was interested in the historical and geographical aspects of culture.⁸¹ For him, “the object of ethnological study was . . . primarily historical: to trace the movements of people and cultural traits across the earth’s surface in ages gone by and to link the pattern of those movements to similar phenomena in the present so as to be able to predict the future.”⁸² Although his successors downplayed the importance of migrations, Ratzel believed that “the general framework of history” was in fact “the existence of constant migration and adaptation to environment.”⁸³ In connection to migrations, Ratzel examined the geographical spread of material objects. He believed that the fact that some peoples and cultures seemingly had no direct contact yet they shared material objects was proof of contact between them, and that high levels of similarity could reveal the paths of cultural diffusion.⁸⁴ As people are generally uninventive, the early communities must have acquired much of their culture through the diffusion of cultural traits.

The focus was no longer on the individual but on the cultural trait and the group, and “the collocation within a geographical area of a great many similar traits essentially defined the physical boundaries of a cultural area – an idea originally of Bastian, which would later be denoted as the concept of the ‘*Kulturkreis*.’”⁸⁵ The cultural trait was, however, also a problematic research unit. Critics of the concept pointed to the frequently arbitrary identification of the traits and an inability to interpret them properly, especially their different meanings in different contexts. For the majority of German ethnologists and

Smith. Third and most influential was the school shaped in the United States by Franz Boas. See also Stanley R. Barrett, *Anthropology: A Student’s Guide to Theory and Method* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 53.

⁸⁰ The Croatian ethnologist and sociologist Mirko Kus-Nikolajev (1896-1961) warned against such a conceptualization of relations between human groups.

⁸¹ Günther Buttmann, *Friedrich Ratzel: Leben und Werk eines deutschen Geographen, 1844-1904* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft MBH, 1977), 25-29.

⁸² Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture*, 142.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

anthropogeographers culture became an aggregate of traits. While some ethnologists relied on geography primarily to map the occurrence of traits, geographers – including Ratzel – were more interested in the effect that acculturation had on human adaptation to the environment.⁸⁶

The ethnographers Fritz Graebner (1877-1934) and Bernhard Ankermann (1859-1943) further developed and popularized Ratzel's ideas. In 1904, they presented and published papers on *Kulturkreise* (cultural areas) and *Kulturschichten* (cultural layers) in Oceania and Africa.⁸⁷ For them, “the key to recreating the cultural history of peoples was identifying and delimiting the boundaries of *Kulturkreise*. *Kulturkreise* were held to be the proper framework for analysis in ethnology and prehistory. The immediate object of ethnological research was to isolate traits of all sorts that made up the culture of a particular people in a particular place and then to compare them in a comprehensive, systematic way with arrays of traits of other peoples elsewhere.”⁸⁸

Together with the linguist, anthropologist, ethnologist, and Catholic priest Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954), founder and editor of the journal *Anthropos*, a vital forum for the development of culture-historical method, Graebner was the main proponent of *Kulturkreislehre*. Graebner elaborated on its conceptual and methodological foundations in his work *Methode der Ethnologie*.⁸⁹ Interestingly, although the book was influential and popular with many European geographers as well as, understandably, ethnologists and anthropologists, it was not mentioned in book reviews in Yugoslav geographical journals or in the works of anthropogeographers. Overall, the method consisted of determining the points of comparison and

the relationships among isolated traits that affected the dynamics of a people's culture and also to note the amount and degree of cultural similarity between peoples on the basis of the number and forms of traits they had in common. From there, a geographical area could be determined within which certain cultural forms, taken in the context of a people's whole culture, were clearly dominant. This area was the *Kulturkreis*. The pattern of traits that allowed the boundaries of the *Kulturkreis* to be laid out was the unique general culture of which the specific cultures of the individual peoples in the region were in some sense manifestations.⁹⁰

According to Graebner and Ankermann, *Kulturkreise* comprised different layers or levels,

⁸⁶ Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*, 203.

⁸⁷ Fritz Graebner, “Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37, no. 1 (1905): 28-53; Bernhard Ankermann, “Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37, no. 1 (1905): 54-90.

⁸⁸ Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture*, 155.

⁸⁹ Fritz Graebner, *Methode der Ethnologie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911).

⁹⁰ Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture*, 155.

which were “usually formed by migration, conquest, and colonization as people from one *Kulturkreis* moved into a new area and imposed themselves on or alongside others of different culture already there.”⁹¹ Such a view corresponded to the views of Yugoslav geographers, notably Cvijić, as it helped them to classify the numerous external cultural influences that shaped the Balkan Peninsula during centuries of competing foreign cultural or political dominations.

However, there was a significant difference between *Kulturkreislehre* and the application of the culture-historical method in Yugoslavia. The culture-historical method was developed through the examination of “exotic” cultures and societies, primarily as a part of *Völkerkunde* – a science studying cultures outside of Europe. In Yugoslavia, as in some other European scientific traditions, partly including Germany, anthropogeography and ethnology developed into an inward-looking *Volkskunde* – the study of the community to which the researcher belongs.⁹² Together with the concepts of cultural and national territory, Yugoslav anthropogeographers applied certain elements of the culture-historical method.

1.3. Institutionalization of geography in the Yugoslav lands

1.3.1. Institutionalization in Zagreb

The institutionalization of geography in the Yugoslav context began with the establishment of a chair of geography at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb in 1883.⁹³ In the following decades, the department remained relatively small, with no pronounced research profile. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, geography at the University of Zagreb was viewed in an “unfavorable light” and was said to be marked by “scientific conservatism.”⁹⁴ Even in the mid-1920s, critics stated that in the last five decades there had not been a scientific geographer at the University in Zagreb, who could contribute positively to the discipline.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., 159.

⁹² Adam Kuper, “Anthropology,” in *The Cambridge History of Science, volume 7: The Modern Social Sciences*, ed. Theodore M. Porter and Dorothy Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 365.

⁹³ *Spomenica o 25-godišnjem postojanju Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Akademski senat, 1900), 58.

⁹⁴ Hranilović, “Novi smjer naše geografije,” 174.

⁹⁵ Branko Vodnik, “Prilozi za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu,” *Jugoslavenska njiva* 10, no. 8 (1926): 268.

In 1922, the chair was transformed into an institute within the Faculty of Philosophy, which was in 1927 fragmented into the Geographical Institute, primarily focusing on anthropogeography, and the Institute for Physical Geography.⁹⁶ Milan Šenoa (1869-1961) and Artur Gavazzi (1861-1944) were the most prominent figures in geography at the University of Zagreb during the interwar period, and taught most of the classes in the interwar period. In the academic year 1926/27, another symptomatic institutional change occurred: physical and anthropogeography were no longer listed in the philosophical-historical but in mathematical-naturalist part of the Faculty of Philosophy.⁹⁷

The Faculty of Philosophy was the oldest and largest center of geographical research and teaching in Croatia, but its monopoly was challenged during the interwar period. An alternative center emerged at the Economic-Commercial School in Zagreb, which would later become the Faculty of Economy. Filip Lukas taught economic geography there from 1920 to 1945.⁹⁸ Together with his assistants, Nikola Peršić and Zvonimir Dugački (who became an assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy in 1936),⁹⁹ Lukas formed a center of economic geography in Croatia, with a strong interest in political geography. However, Lukas exerted even more influence in the capacity of president of the Matica hrvatska. I will repeatedly examine this duality characteristic for Zagreb, as I argue that this structural context had repercussions on the formation of the intellectual and sociopolitical contexts of geography in Croatia.

The case of Lukas deviates from the otherwise comparable cases of Cvijić and Melik, and geography in Croatia differs from the disciplinary developments in Serbia and Slovenia in several important aspects. Beside Lukas' political attitudes, the first difference is his relative marginality within institutionalized academia. Although a trained geographer, a geography

⁹⁶ Dragutin Feletar, "Pregled razvoja geografije u Hrvatskoj: uz 110. obljetnicu Katedre za geografiju u Zagrebu," *Acta Geographica Croatica* 28 (1993): 1-21. The decision had actually already been made in 1925, when the Faculty of Philosophy proposed the division to the Ministry, which acted upon the recommendation. The two chairs were to focus on "political-historical" and "physical-mathematical geography"; see Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Central Archives of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb), Sjednički zapisnici 1924/1925, Zapisnik VI. redovne sjednice profesorskoga zbora mudroslovnog fakulteta, držane dne 30. lipnja 1925. u 9 sati (Minutes from the sixth regular session of the faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on June 30, 1925 at 9am).

⁹⁷ *Akademičke vlasti, osoblje, ustanove i red predavanja u Sveučilištu Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1926./27.* (Zagreb, 1927), 81-82. A comparable development had previously taken place in Germany, where Ferdinand von Richthofen "had been trained as a geologist, and as a geographer he was primarily interested in geomorphology. Upon his election to the Academy of Sciences, he chose to enter the 'physical-mathematical class' in contrast to 'the historian Ritter' who had belonged to the 'historical-philosophical class.'" See Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 92.

⁹⁸ Damir Magaš, "Geografija i geografi na visokoškolskim ustanovama u Hrvatskoj izvan Prirodoslovnomatematičkog fakulteta u Zagrebu," *Geoadria* 12, no. 2 (2007): 152-53.

⁹⁹ Branko Pleše, "Uz 70-godišnjicu života prof. dr. Zvonimira Dugačkog," *Geografski glasnik* 35 (1973): 247-249.

teacher for more than thirty years, and author of a number of monographs, Lukas did not publish in scholarly journals. His works appear in the form of monographs, articles in edited volumes, and, above all, a large number of articles in various journals dealing with politics and culture. Most important of these was *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian Review), published by the Matica hrvatska, and launched in 1928. Most of his works, in fact, were closely connected to the publishing enterprises and, generally, infrastructure of the Matica hrvatska. Even very few reviews of Lukas' works appear in scientific journals in Yugoslavia. For instance, in 1933, in an overview of the recent comprehensive university textbooks and synthetic geographical works by Yugoslav authors, Anton Melik mentioned only Lukas' two-volume *Ekonomska geografija* (Economic geography) – nine years after its publication.¹⁰⁰

A review of Lukas' 1925 work, *Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda* (The geographical foundation of the Croatian people), points to the difference in position within academia between Lukas on the one and Cvijić and Melik on the other side. The author of the mentioned review, Ivo Rubić, summarized the attitudes of many academic geographers toward “less academic” geographical works, which were seen as lying on the other side of the demarcation between objective science and subjective politics:

No matter how many works by this author I read, I am again reassured that he often leads the reader into abstract spheres and, by philosophizing, abandons the exact foundations. It is similar with this work. In the beginning of the introduction, the author writes about the geographical foundations of the nation. These are the land and man [*zemlja i čovjek*]. I thought the treatise would be purely anthropogeographical and that it would deal with the relation between the soil and the population of Croatia. It is an interesting problem, purely geographically, that would help our agrarian policy. Instead, in the continuation of the introduction the author writes about the transformation of history into geography and of geography into history. According to this, it might be expected that this is a geopolitical treatise. But we see that the author did not maintain either of these directions. In the first part, he discusses the Croatian lands. The position and its influence are excellently described. He divides the Croatian lands into three parts, the Balkan Peninsula, the Danube, and the Alpine region. He divides the former into the littoral, mountainous area, and the hinterland. The foundations for such a division are historical. It is neither a geological nor a morphological division. He only describes the character of people that lived there, and the results of the past cultures, but does not describe the landscape itself. Therefore, there is too much history involved.¹⁰¹

In the same period, according to John K. Wright, Emmanuel de Martonne, “one of the leading representatives of the modern French geographical school, would seem to regard the recent development of geography in France as something of an emancipation from the dominance of

¹⁰⁰ Anton Melik, “Naši univerzitetni udžbeniki za geografiju,” *Geografski vestnik* 9 (1933): 202.

¹⁰¹ Ivo Rubić, review of “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice Hrvatske o tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, by Filip Lukas, *Geografski vestnik* 2 (1926): 49.

history,”¹⁰² which was not characteristic in all centers of the geographical network in Yugoslavia.

Rubić concluded that the work had no scientific value, as it was sporadically politically tendentious.¹⁰³ Thus, the second difference differentiating Lukas from most of other Yugoslav geographers concerns a reading of Lukas as a politically biased author rather than an objective scientist. This dichotomy is part of a larger issue of relations between purportedly objective science and ideology-driven politics as two separate fields. The sociology and history of science have long disproved the notions of objective and apolitical science and started to focus precisely on scientists’ multiple roles and the involvement in various forms of policy-making of agents who claim to possess empirical and objective knowledge untainted by ideology.

1.3.2. Institutionalization in Belgrade

The Geographical Institute in Belgrade was established in 1893.¹⁰⁴ Just as in Zagreb, it was later divided; in 1905, when a modern university was established, the existing department of history and geography (*istorijsko-geografski odsek*) was split and two geographical groups were formed: physical and anthropogeographical.¹⁰⁵ Although Vladimir Karić (1848-1894), the author of the first modern geography of Serbia was active before 1893,¹⁰⁶ the institutionalization of geography in Serbia was primarily the result of the work of Jovan Cvijić. Having acquired his doctorate in Vienna in 1893, he returned to Serbia and, through his prolific work, decisively influenced the discipline in all parts of future Yugoslavia. Cvijić was the founding father of the Belgrade school of anthropogeography and ethnology, and many Yugoslav geographers, anthropologists, and ethnographers embraced his ideas.

In his view, anthropogeography studied “one of the most complex issues that ever preoccupied the human mind: the influence of nature on human artifacts and on the characteristics of the national spirit.”¹⁰⁷ Cvijić believed it was necessary to address those ambitiously formulated questions by interdisciplinary means, and therefore combined

¹⁰² John K. Wright, “A Plea for the History of Geography,” *Isis* 8, no. 3 (1926): 481.

¹⁰³ Rubić, review of “Geografska osnovica hrvatskog naroda,” 50.

¹⁰⁴ Snežana Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta, 1808-2008: istorija institucije* (Belgrade: Princip, 2008), 74.

¹⁰⁵ Milorad Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić: naučnik, javni radnik, državnik* (Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994), 30.

¹⁰⁶ Vladimir Karić, *Srbija: opis zemlje, naroda i države* (Belgrade: Kraljevsko-srpska državna štamparija, 1887).

¹⁰⁷ Jovan Cvijić, “Današnje stanje geografske nauke: uvodno predavanje iz geografije,” in *Antropogeografski spisi*, ed. Milislav Lutovac (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 333.

geographical, ethnographical, and sociological approaches. Besides the Institute, in 1910 Cvijić established the *Srpsko geografsko društvo* (Serbian Geographical Society), and its bulletin, *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* (Bulletin of the Serbian Geographical Society), became the most important geographical forum in Yugoslavia throughout the interwar period.

In the existing studies, Cvijić appears as an intellectual and national giant whose scientific value was globally recognized, yet the issues of his scientific predecessors and successors, as well as his communication with other Yugoslav and international scientists have been neglected. He was by no means the only geographer at the University of Belgrade, although for a long time he was the only one who gave classes, until Pavle Vujević and Jefto Dedijer (who died of Spanish flu soon after returning to Sarajevo from France in 1918) joined him in teaching physical and anthropogeography, respectively. In 1920, they were joined by Borivoje Ž. Milojević, who taught general geography, regional geography, and the geography of Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁸

Drawn to Belgrade since the turn of the century, geographers, anthropologists, and ethnologists became involved in the work of the geographical network in Belgrade. By leaving Belgrade for other centers in Yugoslavia, they strengthened institutional and disciplinary ties within the emerging Yugoslav scientific network. These transfers were facilitated, on the one hand, by the political attitudes of individuals such as the ethnologist Niko Županić (1876-1961), whose support for the national unification and the centralist government in Belgrade was returned in kind by the government by his appointment as director of the Ethnological Museum in Ljubljana, and, on the other, by the shared intellectual-scientific “habitus.”¹⁰⁹

The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which at the time was not a national center, was established in 1920 as a part of the University of Belgrade. A chair of geography was established in 1922.¹¹⁰ Until the suspension of classes at the Faculty of Philosophy in April 1941, it was run by Petar S. Jovanović (1893-1954). Together with the University of Ljubljana, it was one of the centers of geographical research and teaching established after the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It struggled with scarce resources – a situation

¹⁰⁸ Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić*, 30.

¹⁰⁹ Adopting the concept of habitus from Pierre Bourdieu, Monika Milosavljević argues that “Županić’s works are embedded in German-speaking anthropology, which can be understood as his intellectual habitus.” Regarding the network of geographers, I perceive the habitus as a collective rather than an individual trait. See Milosavljević, “Niko Županić i istorijska antropologija,” 691.

¹¹⁰ Artur Gavazzi, “Geografija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji iza svjetskoga rata,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 2 (1930): 165-68; Mirjanka Madževik, Biljana Apostolovska-Toševska, and Marjan Dimitrijević, *Institut za geografiju: 85 godina* (Skopje: Prirodno-matematički fakultet, Institut za geografiju, 2008), 8, 103; Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta*, 112.

somewhat different from the one in more developed Ljubljana. Initially, Jovanović and his fifteen students had no maps, globes, instruments, and literature whatsoever.¹¹¹ In 1923, the French Embassy donated maps and ten volumes of the journals *La Géographie* and *Annales de géographie*. Cvijić soon intervened and Jovanović received the necessary funds, which helped to significantly expand the institute.

1.3.3. Institutionalization in Ljubljana

Despite the existence of several geographical works on Slovene lands, there was no developed geographical tradition in Slovenia before the establishment of the University of Ljubljana. Ivan Gams has pointed out that young scholars trained in Vienna at the beginning of the twentieth century introduced geography – and the concept of regional geography in particular – to Slovenia.¹¹² Beside the Viennese influence, Svetozar Ilešič recognized the debt of Slovenian geography to Serbia and Cvijić in particular. According to him, Slovenian geography was formed under influences from two directions – from the northwest, by German geography, and from the southeast, by Cvijić.¹¹³ This was not characteristic only for Ljubljana, but Zagreb as well.

The youngest of the three universities in interwar Yugoslavia was established in Ljubljana in 1919.¹¹⁴ In 1921, the Geographical Institute was established at the Faculty of Philosophy. Two chairs, one for physical geography and another for anthropogeography, were first occupied by a Croatian geographer, Artur Gavazzi.¹¹⁵ During the winter of 1919/1920, before getting the position in Ljubljana, Gavazzi frequently complained about his poor financial situation and inability to get a position at the University of Zagreb in letters to Jovan Cvijić. Moreover, Gavazzi was assigned to teach in a high school, which he found unjust because of his age (he was fifty-nine), experience, and membership of the Yugoslav Academy of Science

¹¹¹ Verka Jovanović, “Životopis akademika Petra S. Jovanovića,” in *Petar S. Jovanović: istraživač u geografiji–pregalac u društvu*, ed. Verka Jovanović (Kragujevac: Centar za naučnoistraživački rad SANU i Univerzitet u Kragujevcu, 2014). 15.

¹¹² Ivan Gams, “Anton Melik in slovenska regionalna geografija,” *Geografski vestnik* 62 (1990): 27.

¹¹³ Svetozar Ilešič, “Slovenska geografija v pedesetih letih slovenskega Geografskega društva,” *Geografski vestnik* 44 (1972): 166.

¹¹⁴ Although 1669 is considered the date of the establishment of the University of Zagreb, a modern university was established in 1874. Similarly, an institution of higher education had existed in Belgrade since 1808, but the modern university was established only in 1905. There was no such a gradual development in Ljubljana: the first institution of higher education, the University of Ljubljana, was established in 1919.

¹¹⁵ Tatjana Dekleva, “Ustanovitev Univerze v Ljubljani,” in *Ustanovitev Univerze v Ljubljani v letu 1919*, ed. Jože Ciperle (Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, 2009), 37.

and Art in Zagreb. Gavazzi asked for advice and any sort of help – especially in the form of a position.¹¹⁶ By the time Cvijić recommended his friend as a suitable candidate for the newly-established chair in geography in Skopje, Gavazzi had already been approached by the University of Ljubljana. He was initially told that his position in Ljubljana would be temporary, until a suitable Slovenian candidate was found, but was soon offered a permanent position, which he accepted.¹¹⁷

If there were no adequate “local” candidates for the position in 1920, by the time Gavazzi left Ljubljana for Zagreb in 1926/27, the situation had changed. In 1922, a group of enthusiast students established the Geographical Society of Slovenia.¹¹⁸ One of these students, Anton Melik, succeeded Gavazzi in 1927. The University of Ljubljana nicely illustrates the interrelatedness of the nation-building project and science, both in terms of research and institutional organization. Melik stressed the importance of having a national university, which “Austria” had so long opposed.¹¹⁹ He argued that while some disciplines, primarily the natural sciences, depended more on laboratories and communication with the outside academic world, others were closely related to the direct environment. The latter explore the specific area and its qualities, the people and its history, art, language, ethnography, and all natural features. This could only be done “at a local university, by men with capabilities, technical resources, driven by love for the people and motherland. Precisely in this aspect it is obvious how much we need a university in Ljubljana,” Melik argued.¹²⁰

However, Melik’s take-over of geography in Ljubljana should not too easily be interpreted as the beginning of a new, Slovenian era.¹²¹ Despite a pronounced shift of focus to the Slovenian lands, throughout the interwar period he remained methodologically and conceptually indebted to Jovan Cvijić, and embraced some tenets of physical geography by William Morris Davis (1850-1934).¹²² Melik held a degree in history and geography and

¹¹⁶ Arhiv SANU, 13848-224-19, Artur Gavazzi to Jovan Cvijić, October 23, 1919.

¹¹⁷ Arhiv SANU, 13848-224-23, Artur Gavazzi to Jovan Cvijić, March 15, 1920. Unfortunately, it remains unclear to what Gavazzi alluded at the end of the letter when he said: “On the other hand, it might be good that is precisely me who is going to Ljubljana, for a certain reason which I will not state in the letter because of censorship, but which I will soon tell you personally.”

¹¹⁸ Valter Bohinec and Roman Savnik, “Kako je nastalo Geografsko društvo Slovenije,” *Geografski vestnik* 44 (1972): 161-65.

¹¹⁹ Anton Melik, “Ob desetletnici univerze v Ljubljani,” *Ljubljanski zvon* 49, no. 6 (1929): 386.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 387.

¹²¹ In the perception of Slovenian geographers, under Melik’s influence “geography at the University of Ljubljana developed not only in the spirit of the contemporary Central European science, but also as a national science.” See <http://geo.ff.uni-lj.si/kratka-predstavitev> (accessed February 19, 2013).

¹²² Ivan Gams, “William Morris Davis, Anton Melik, Level Top Ridges and Slope Processes in Slovenia” *Acta geographica Slovenica* 41 (2001): 204-19; Anton Melik, obituary to W.M. Davis, *Geografski vestnik* 10 (1934): 183-84.

published in both fields. Even his dissertation on the colonization of the Ljubljana wetlands was historical *and* geographical.¹²³ According to Gams, Melik could have just as easily have applied for a position at the history department, but those were already occupied by Slovenians, which reveals the importance of maintaining the Slovenian character of the university.¹²⁴

Gavazzi established the Geographical Institute in Ljubljana and oversaw its expansion, but due to his specialization in physical geography (more precisely, climatology) and the fact that he was Croatian (although born into a family of Italian origins), he was seen as “less sensitive to the problems of general, wider geographical research, especially that of Slovenia, which he knew poorly.”¹²⁵ Indeed, Gavazzi was among those geographers who rarely linked physical and human geography; instead, throughout his career he dealt almost exclusively with geomorphology, climatology, and hydrology.¹²⁶

As David Livingstone remarked, “The story of how geography’s academic institutionalization was eventually accomplished in the face of the educational reforms of the late nineteenth century is both long and complicated, and doubtless involved different strategies in different places.”¹²⁷ In seeming contrast to this, at none of the three universities does there seem to have been a scientific or a political conflict over the incorporation of geography into academia, which had previously occurred at many other European universities.¹²⁸ From an interwar perspective, geography had entered academia in Zagreb a considerable time before, even if it was still searching for its specific profile. Though Petar Matković (1830-1898), the founder and holder of the first chair of geography in Zagreb,¹²⁹ was respected in the field, the establishment of geography in Belgrade is usually presented as incommensurably more dependent on one name – Cvijić.

Due to Cvijić’s prestige in Serbia and because geography was already an established discipline elsewhere, its establishment in academia in Belgrade seems unproblematic and

¹²³ Anton Melik, *Kolonizacija ljubljanskog barja* (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1927).

¹²⁴ Ivan Gams, “O pomenu Antona Melika za slovensko geografijo,” *Geografski vestnik* 78, no. 1 (2006): 81.

¹²⁵ Ilešič, “Slovenska geografija,” 167.

¹²⁶ Notable exceptions are Artur Gavazzi, “Nationalities in the Yougoslavic Littoral,” in *The Yougoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, ed. Milan Rojc (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919), 1-14; Gavazzi, *Zemljopis Evrope*, vol. 1, *Sjeverna Evropa: Norveška, Švedska, Finska, Kuola i Svalbard* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1931); Gavazzi, *Otkrivanje zemalja: povijest geografskih putovanja od najdavnijih vremena do konca XVIII. stoljeća* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1939).

¹²⁷ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 189.

¹²⁸ For the development and tensions surrounding institutionalization in Germany, see Sandner, “In Search of Identity”; David Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, chap. 6 and 7.

¹²⁹ Matković studied in Vienna, Berlin, Prague, Göttingen, and obtained his PhD in Graz in 1860. See Feletar, “Pregled razvoja geografije u Hrvatskoj,” 7.

straightforward. The emphasis on the unique importance of Cvijić in the process of institutional establishment of geography, however, should not be taken at face value. As Snežana Bojović has showed, the Belgrade university (then actually still not a fully formed modern university, which it would become only in 1905) suddenly expanded in the 1890s, and a number of other institutes, besides geographical, was established as well.¹³⁰ Because of the lag, in the case of Ljubljana the process of adopting geography as an already formed and institutionally recognized science can be observed. The history of geography in the pre- and post-1918 South Slavic lands was seemingly not bifurcated. However, this was partially because of a lack of self-reflection and the avoidance of methodological and, especially, theoretical discussions. Whereas Carl Sauer defined the situation in American academic geography in the 1920s and 1930s as “the great retreat,”¹³¹ in Yugoslavia, on the contrary, geography was claiming new ground. There was no need to negotiate its position or prove its scientific worthiness, which was something geography in many other countries was obliged to do for decades.¹³² The fight for the academic standing of geography took place at another time and place, and geography was introduced to the academic centers in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana in a form that was taken from the German-speaking tradition known to most of Yugoslav geographers.

Still in an early phase of development, and struggling for finances, especially during the 1930s, institutions of high learning – together with museums – could absorb only a fraction of the graduate experts. In the interwar period, institutes or departments of geography at the three universities consisted of a handful of people: a tenured or associated professor, a docent (assistant professor) and a couple of private docents – with great differences in status and income.¹³³ Some of the geographers examined in the dissertation taught at high schools. Although poorly paid and often pressured by the government – changes in the location of the

¹³⁰ Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta*, 74.

¹³¹ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 260.

¹³² Vincent Berdoulay, *La Formation de l'école française de géographie, 1870-1914* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1981); Claval, “Historical Dimension of French Geography.” For instance, Susan Schulten writes about the same problem or process taking place in the United States in the late 19th century, where geography was subordinated to geology and the most prominent figure, William Morris Davis, was a trained geologist, not a geographer. Additionally, “while geographers considered their discipline’s breadth and synthetic nature an indication of their exceptional status, other academics considered it evidence that geography lacked disciplinary coherence.” See Schulten, *Geographical Imagination in America*, 73. British geographer Mackinder raised the issue of geology by arguing that the relationship between geography and geology “has been productive of nothing but evil to geography.” Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 193. For the difficulties in establishing geography as a scientific discipline in the United Kingdom, see Ron Johnston, “Learning our History from our Pioneers: UK Academic Geographers in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 29, no. 5 (2005): 651-667.

¹³³ In 1930, the ratio between the salaries of tenured professors, who had the status of an assistant to a minister, and of assistant professors, with the status of a trainee in a high school, was 8:1. The professorial salary was 42,000 dinar and that of assistants 5,400 dinar. Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta*, 173.

assignment were a frequent form of punishment for subversive political attitudes¹³⁴ – teachers were respected and some had the opportunity (time rather than resources) to focus on research in their respective fields of interest. Some of them eventually found places at universities and, in the case of some ethnologists, museums. For this reason, a research that focuses solely on institutions of higher education obscures a considerable number of scholars.

People like Silvo Kranjec, Valter Bohinec, Franjo Baš, Svetozar Ilešič, Roman Savnik, Ivo Rubić, Milan Šenoa, Nikola Peršić, Zvonimir Dugački, Stjepan Ratković, Anton Melik and Filip Lukas spent at least a part of their careers outside institutionalized academia, mostly teaching in gymnasiums. This, however, does not mean that they did not participate in the networks that formed around the academic institutions. With varying success, these non-institutional agents were often able to link international and local knowledge and to address wider audiences than those limited to mainstream academia.

1.4. Teaching geography at the Yugoslav universities

The curricula at the three universities – that is, four faculties, when Skopje is included – are valuable sources for a comparative study of geography in interwar Yugoslavia. University calendars point not only to the size of each individual scientific center but also to their philosophical and methodological proclivities. They reveal research interests such as the emphasis on physical geography or anthropogeography, and the level of their engagement in what David Livingstone has called the “geographical experiment,” which marked late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century geography.¹³⁵ More importantly, they also point to the regional focus of teaching, whether it was the immediate geographical surroundings – usually the “national lands” – or Yugoslavia, the Balkans, or Europe. Published, at least in theory, twice annually by the university authorities, university or academic calendars provide information about the names of professors, their academic rank, and the classes they were giving, including their frequency and location.

Since the three universities were established at different times, a truly comparative analysis of the ways in which geography was taught can be achieved only for the interwar period, they were all active. In Serbia, for instance, classes and the publication of the academic

¹³⁴ Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1996), 1:241.

¹³⁵ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 190.

calendar were suspended during the two Balkan and world wars, but even in times of peace, academic calendars were sometimes either not published or have not been preserved in the university and national libraries. Although professors could occasionally change the titles of their classes from what was announced in the academic calendar, the calendars generally reveal the scientific interest of individual professors of geography as well as the overall scientific profile of a given academic center. Political disruptions such as the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the establishment of Yugoslavia caused changes in the academic profiles of geography chairs and institutes. However, not all of these changes were politically driven, as the generational changes and methodological developments in the field reshaped the scientific profiles of academic geography in Belgrade, Ljubljana, Skopje, and Zagreb.

The adoption of newer geographical trends, such as the close interconnectedness of physical and human geography, an emphasis on statistics that complemented or even substituted field research, and a rising interest in political and economic geography also reveal changing relations between the two generations of Yugoslav geographers. In such a classification, the older generation of Yugoslav geographers consists of scientists who mostly studied in Vienna between 1890 and the First World War, while geographers of the younger generation graduated in large numbers at one of the Yugoslav universities after 1918, although they often spent some time studying abroad as well. This younger generation of geographers could therefore be more appropriately described as Yugoslav. They were somewhat less dependent on German – especially Ratzelian – paradigms, and after the Second World War, they mostly embraced the new scientific impulses coming, more and more, from the United States. Nevertheless, the older generation was aware of the contemporary disciplinary developments as well, but tended to formulate their ideas upon the foundations current at the time of their intellectual formation. Yet, there was no differentiation of generations or cohorts in the sense of Karl Mannheim.¹³⁶

Throughout the interwar period, the older generation dominated the field and set the foundational philosophical and methodological principles, which were partially inherited by the younger generation. There was little deviation from the predominant contemporary understanding of the influence of geographical environment on individual humans and human groups, including nations. Geographers of the younger generation could nevertheless introduce new ideas and often successfully merged them with the existing concepts developed by the older generation. The chance for success was, not surprisingly, higher in the case of younger geographers who more closely relied on the geographical canon, and who did not fundamentally

¹³⁶ Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 276-322.

challenge it. In this sense, geographical journals served as vital inter-generational links encompassing both generations of Yugoslav geographers.

All departments or institutes of geography in interwar Yugoslavia were of comparable size in terms of academic staff. Their sizes varied between just one person, which was characteristic for the early phase of the institutionalization of geography (in Zagreb it was Petar Matković, in Belgrade Jovan Cvijić, and in Ljubljana Artur Gavazzi), and four lecturers, as could be found in Zagreb in the academic year 1940/1941. Given the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary geography, these numbers are not definite, as some geographical courses were taught in cooperation with ethnologists or geologists. Because of the close interaction between ethnologists and geographers and the two disciplines themselves, ethnology should be taken into consideration in any attempt to analyze anthropogeography in interwar Yugoslavia.

The presence of ethnology in academia was strongest in Belgrade. There it developed parallel with geography at the Velika škola (Grand School), predecessor of the modern university. The chair in ethnology was established in 1881, two years before the chair in geography.¹³⁷ The professors of ethnology, Tihomir Đorđević and Jovan Erdeljanović, focused on the ethnicities and cultures of the Balkans, while among the geographers of the interwar period ethnology was mostly incorporated into the anthropogeographical teaching of Borivoje Ž. Milojević. However, in research and publishing practice, the intertwining of the two disciplines was stronger than the university courses would suggest. In Skopje, the case of Vojislav Radovanović aptly demonstrates how the relations between geography and ethnology were manifested in anthropogeography. As an anthropogeographer, Radovanović gave classes on regional geography as well as on the ethnology of the South Slavs and non-European peoples.

In Zagreb, where Cvijić's anthropogeographical paradigm combining geography and ethnology was respected but less consistently put in practice, Milovan Gavazzi started teaching ethnology in the academic year 1927/1928 as an entirely separate course with a separate chair.¹³⁸ As mentioned, Milovan Gavazzi was a vocal proponent of the separation of geography and ethnology in Yugoslavia, as he believed that this close association hindered the development of ethnology. However, in the first issue of *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* (Croatian

¹³⁷ Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta*, 74, 97. Although geography and ethnology were taught in Belgrade in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the systematic publication of the academic calendar begun only in 1905, when the modern University in Belgrade was established.

¹³⁸ Vitomir Belaj, "Milovan Gavazzi, sein Leben und Werk: Hommage anlässlich seines hundertsten Geburtstags," *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 7-8 (1995): 7-18.

Geographical Bulletin), edited by his father, Artur, his courses in ethnology were listed in an overview of “lectures in geography and related sciences at the University of Zagreb in 1928,” while, for instance, courses in geology were not.¹³⁹ This points to the existence of links between geography and ethnology in Zagreb as well, although by the late 1930s a political and scientific rift between the two sciences would occur. Interestingly, even in the period 1939-1941, during the existence of the Banovina Hrvatska within Yugoslavia with an autonomous educational policy, ethnology – considered the most valuable “national science” – was taught in the Croatian high schools as a separate unit within geography classes, and therefore did not break completely free from the dominance of geography.¹⁴⁰

The epistemological and institutional relations between geography and ethnology were seemingly the least pronounced in teaching practices in Ljubljana during the 1920s. In this period, the first professor of geography, Artur Gavazzi, emphasized physical geography and climatology. During the 1930s, Anton Melik, showed more interest in anthropogeography, and Valter Bohinec in regional geography. The Ljubljana-based geographers, however, paid more attention to ethnography in their writings than in their teaching, as is particularly clear from Melik’s *Kozolec na Slovenskem*.¹⁴¹

Courses on geographical methodology were relatively rare at all of the examined institutions, despite the fact that exercises and practical courses were a standard feature. Although related, the two categories should not be seen as identical. While exercises and practical courses dealt with technical issues and the skills needed for research – and often included cartography – geographical methodology addressed a wider set of issues, including philosophical and hermeneutical issues. Hinko Hranilović, who taught geography in Zagreb from 1894 to 1913, gave classes on the methodology of geographical research.¹⁴² Hranilović was attentive to methodological issues and published specifically on methodology.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ “Predavanja iz geografije i srodnih nauka na sveučilištu u Zagrebu godine 1928,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 1 (1929): 107.

¹⁴⁰ Marina Škrabalo, “Etnologija kao nastavni predmet u Hrvatskoj 1931.-1945,” *Etnološka tribina* 39, no. 32 (2009): 63.

¹⁴¹ Anton Melik, *Kozolec na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Merkur, 1931).

¹⁴² *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja Kraljevskog sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1895/1896* (Zagreb, 1895), 24; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja Kraljevskog sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1900/1901* (Zagreb, 1900), 28; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja Kraljevskog sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1904/1905* (Zagreb, 1904), 31; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1909/1910* (Zagreb, 1909), 29; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1910/1911* (Zagreb, 1911), 32.

¹⁴³ Hinko Hranilović, *Prilozi sintetičko-analitičkom postupku geografske metode* (Zemun, 1893); Hranilović, *Uvod u metodiku znanstvene geografije* (Zemun, 1896).

Geography in interwar Yugoslavia was characterized by a seeming lack of methodological awareness. Yugoslav geographers did not explicitly deal with some of the most pressing issues of the contemporary sciences at large, such as evolution, the relationship between people and the environment or between the “natural” and “cultural” peoples, or geography’s relations with advanced imperialism. Instead, they addressed these topics indirectly and through a local – regional, Yugoslav, or Balkan – prism. Besides Hranilović’s earlier work, methodologically explicit works such as Borivoje Ž. Milojević’s *Geografska nauka i nastava* (Geographical science and teaching)¹⁴⁴ and *Regionalna geografija* (Regional geography)¹⁴⁵ were rare.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, some geographers, including Cvijić and Lukas, developed more or less articulate understandings of geographical methodology of their own, and occasionally expressed them in the theoretical or conceptual introductions to their works.¹⁴⁷

From the beginnings of academic geography in Zagreb, Petar Matković “was more drawn to the history of geography than to geography itself.”¹⁴⁸ Matković gave classes on “the history of geography and geographical discoveries in Classical times and the Middle Ages,”¹⁴⁹ “the history of geography and geographical explorations until the great discoveries of the fifteenth century,”¹⁵⁰ “the history of great geographical discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,”¹⁵¹ “the history of geographical discoveries from Magellan to the end of the seventeenth century,”¹⁵² and “the history of geography and geographical discoveries in the 18th century.”¹⁵³ In Belgrade, Cvijić (in 1893) and Milojević (in 1920) dedicated considerable attention to their predecessors, especially from France and Germany, and to the overall

¹⁴⁴ Milojević, *Geografska nauka i nastava*.

¹⁴⁵ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, *Regionalna geografija: predavanja* (Belgrade, 1931).

¹⁴⁶ For instance, Artur Gavazzi’s 1930 text on the purpose and structure of geography was very short and taxonomic, and as such cannot be compared to the larger, more detailed, and refined works of Hranilović or Milojević. See Artur Gavazzi, “Nekoliko riječi o cilju i podjeli geografije,” *Glasnik geografskog društva* 14, no. 16 (1930): 1-4.

¹⁴⁷ Such was the case with Filip Lukas’ “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda” as well as some of his later works, and especially Jovan Cvijić’s *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskoga poluostrva* (Belgrade, 1902) and *La Péninsule Balkanique: géographie humaine* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1918), which was later translated into Serbo-Croatian in two volumes in 1922 and 1931.

¹⁴⁸ Hinko Hranilović, “Novi smjer naše geografije,” 174.

¹⁴⁹ *Akademijske oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja na Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1886/1887* (Zagreb, 1886), 21.

¹⁵⁰ *Akademijske oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1883/84* (Zagreb, 1884).

¹⁵¹ *Akademijske oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja na Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1884/85*. (Zagreb, 1884), 22.

¹⁵² *Akademijske oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja na Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1884/85*. (Zagreb, 1885), 22.

¹⁵³ *Akademijske oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja na Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1885/86*. (Zagreb, 1885), 22.

historical development of geography in their inaugural addresses.¹⁵⁴

A strong initial emphasis on the history of geography in Zagreb, however, might point to the weakness rather than strength of the discipline at the University of Zagreb in the late nineteenth century, as it suggests that geography had difficulty establishing institutional and epistemological boundaries with history, which by then was institutionally fully recognized. By the interwar period, though still interdisciplinary in nature and closely related to a number of other disciplines, geography, and especially anthropogeography, acquired a different institutional and political position, which allowed it to authoritatively address some of the most pressing issues of interwar Yugoslav society. Despite an occasional reference to Karl Ritter or Alexander von Humboldt,¹⁵⁵ Yugoslav geographers remained more aware of the history of the ethnic groups and territories that they researched than of their own discipline. Milan Šenoa's occasional courses on the "history of geographical science" in the interwar period stand out in this regard.¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, academic calendars offer a valuable insight into the disciplinary, thematic, and regional focus of geographers in these academic centers. On the one side is the relationship between physical geography and anthropogeography. The writing and teaching practice of geographers in Belgrade and Skopje has been summarily classified as anthropogeographical due to Cvijić's influence. The wider public and some geographical circles outside Yugoslavia were indeed mostly receptive to Cvijić's and Cvijić-like anthropogeography, particularly when there was a pronounced political dimension to it. Yet Cvijić and many of his disciples were equally interested in physical geography, especially the research of the Karst. Whereas French and American geographers mostly knew Cvijić for his work in the field of anthropogeography, German geographers were already since the 1890s greatly interested in his physical-geographical research and writings, as they corresponded to the research interest of a number of German geographers, including, among others, Albrecht Penck and Norbert Krebs. Academic calendars show that an overwhelming majority of courses that Cvijić taught at the university dealt specifically with geomorphology rather than anthropogeography.¹⁵⁷ It was his

¹⁵⁴ Cvijić, "Današnje stanje nauke," 317-35; Borivoje Ž. Milojević, "O duhu i sadržini geografije," *Prosvetni glasnik* 38, no. 5 (1921): 277-284.

¹⁵⁵ Milojević, *Geografska nauka i nastava*, 37-38.

¹⁵⁶ *Red kolegija u Univerzitetu Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Zagrebu u ljetnom semestru 1933/1934* (Zagreb, 1934), 14.

¹⁵⁷ Cvijić taught courses related to geographical morphology at least in the academic years 1906/1907, 1909/1910, 1910/1911, 1913/1914, 1921/1922, 1923/1924, 1924/1925, 1925/1926, and 1926/1927. See *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1906.-1907. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1907), 6; *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za prvi (zimski) semestar 1909.-1910. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1909), 6; *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1909.-1910. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1910),

disciples, Borivoje Ž. Milojević in Belgrade and Vojislav Radovanović in Skopje, who taught anthropogeographical courses. This is somewhat surprising, given Cvijić's reputation as a geographer who was deeply involved in creating nationalist ideology and the wide reception of his anthropogeography.

Since the establishment of the chair of geography in 1883, the focus of teaching geography in Zagreb was on regional and physical geography. In the 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century, Hinko Hranilović gave classes on both physical and anthropogeography – as well as on political geography, which were relatively rare at all the universities under examination. After Hranilović, Milan Šenoa, whose political engagement in the interwar period was negligible, gave classes on general political geography and the political geography of Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries.¹⁵⁸ Šenoa taught the regional geography of various European and non-European regions, general physical geography but also oceanography, and anthropogeography. On the other hand, Artur Gavazzi strictly preferred topics from physical geography, particularly climatology. As Gavazzi was the only professor of geography in Ljubljana until 1927, he also gave courses there on regional geography, but only once on anthropogeography.¹⁵⁹

The courses of his successor, Melik, were more diverse, as he covered both physical and anthropogeography, while in the late 1930s and early 1940s Valter Bohinec taught the regional geography of the Apennine Peninsula, North America, Egypt, and the Aegean

6; *Univerzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za prvi (zimski) semestar 1910.-1911. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1910), 6; *Univerzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1910.-1911. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1911), 6; *Univerzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1913/14. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1914), 6; *Univerzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za zimski semestar 1921-22 školske godine* (Belgrade, 1921), 10; *Pregled predavanja za prvi (zimski) semestar 1923-1924 školske godine* (Belgrade, 1923), 8; *Pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1923-1924 školske godine* (Belgrade, 1924), 9; *Pregled predavanja za zimski semestar 1924-1925 godine* (Belgrade, 1924), 9-10; *Pregled predavanja za letni semestar 1924-1925 godine* (Belgrade, 1925), 10; *Univerzitetski kalendar za školsku god. 1925-1926* (Belgrade, 1925), 10; *Univerzitetski kalendar za školsku 1926-1927 godinu* (Belgrade, 1926), 1-2.

¹⁵⁸ Šenoa gave a course on the political geography of France in 1910/1911, on the physical and political geography of Croatia-Slavonia in 1912/1913, on the political geography of Denmark and Scandinavia in 1913/1914, on the physical and political geography of Western Europe in 1924/1925, and on major areas of political geography as well as the physical and political geography of Australia in 1928/1929. See *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje, ustanove i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1910./1911.* (Zagreb, 1910), 32; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1912./1913* (Zagreb, 1912), 33; *Akademičke oblasti, osoblje i red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1913./1914.* (Zagreb, 1914), 37; *Red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1924.-1925.* (Zagreb, 1925), 19; *Akademičke vlasti, osoblje, ustanove i red predavanja u Sveučilištu Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu u zimskom poljeću 1928./29.* (Zagreb, 1928), 85; *Red predavanja u Kraljevskom sveučilištu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu u ljetnom poljeću 1929.* (Zagreb, 1929), 25.

¹⁵⁹ *Seznam predavanja na univerzi Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1925/26.* (Ljubljana, 1925), 4.

Mediterranean.¹⁶⁰ Bohinec's interest in regional geography intensified during his stay in Heidelberg, where he attended the lectures and seminars of Alfred Hettner, a strong advocate of the regional approach.¹⁶¹ Courses given at the three Yugoslav universities tell us little about the geographers' preference for *opšta/opća/splošna* (general or "systematic") or *specijalna* (regional) geography, although it is clear that the geographers observed a difference between them. Artur Gavazzi described general geography as propaedeutic to regional geography; the latter studies the relationship between man and nature and focuses on specific characteristics within a region.¹⁶² With a few exceptions, such as Bohinec, courses in general and regional geography were equally represented. The contemporary struggle between two types of dualism – general or systematic vs. regional, and physical vs. human geography – thus marked the disciplinary development in Yugoslavia.¹⁶³

If the relationship between physical geography and anthropogeography was just a scientific issue, the regional focus of courses was linked to the contemporary political situation. Prior to the First World War, the universities in Belgrade and Zagreb were parts of different political entities and, not surprisingly, academic geographers had different regional perspectives, although there was some overlap, particularly regarding a common interest in the Balkans. The scope, however, could hardly have been more different. In Belgrade, Cvijić gave courses only on topics regarding the Balkan Peninsula. The Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 provoked him to provide political and anthropogeographical reasons as to why Bosnia "belonged" to Serbia, and why it should have been incorporated into the Kingdom of Serbia.¹⁶⁴ Annexation motivated him to give a course on the "morphology of

¹⁶⁰ *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za poletni semester 1937* (Ljubljana, 1937), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1937/38* (Ljubljana, 1937), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za poletni semester 1937/38* (Ljubljana, 1938), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1939/40* (Ljubljana, 1938), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za poletni semester 1938/39* (Ljubljana, 1939), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1939/40* (Ljubljana, 1939), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za poletni semester 1939/40* (Ljubljana, 1940), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1940/41* (Ljubljana, 1940), 5; *Seznam predavanj na univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za poletni semester 1940/41* (Ljubljana, 1941), 5. During the Second World War, when the Slovene lands were split between fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and Ljubljana was incorporated to Italy, teaching the history and geography of Italy – and Slovenia – became a mandatory part of the curriculum for students of geography. Bohinec briefly taught the geography of Italy in the academic year 1941/1942. See *Seznam predavanj za zimski semster 1941/42-XX* (Ljubljana, 1941), 9; *Seznam predavanj za letni semester 1942-XX* (Ljubljana, 1942), 9.

¹⁶¹ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, chap. 8; Alfred Hettner, *Die Geographie: Ihre Geschichte, Ihr Wesen und Ihre Methoden* (Breslau: Hirt, 1927).

¹⁶² Gavazzi, "Nekoliko riječi o cilju i podjeli geografije," 3.

¹⁶³ Lalita Rana, *Geographical Thought: A Systematic Record of Evolution* (New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal, 2008), chap. 6.

¹⁶⁴ Jovan Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpski problem* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine

the Balkan Peninsula and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy” in the academic year 1909/1910.¹⁶⁵ In the following academic year, on the eve of the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, he taught the geography and ethnology of the areas that would be at the center of war efforts: Old Serbia (the Serbian ethnic and historical territories south of the borders of the contemporary Kingdom of Serbia, including Kosovo), Albania, and Macedonia.¹⁶⁶ This region was his field of expertise, where he had conducted a series of research trips between 1898 and 1910,¹⁶⁷ but in this case, he included ethnological aspects of contested and ethnically mixed areas as well, which was otherwise not characteristic for his teaching practice. After the First World War, geography courses in Belgrade included a geographical overview of the Yugoslav lands; Borivoje Ž. Milojević taught on the geography of the new country in the first postwar academic year and during the 1920s but, interestingly, such courses were not given at the University of Belgrade during the 1930s.¹⁶⁸

The regional scope of lectures in Ljubljana was limited in comparison to other universities because of the research interests of Artur Gavazzi, who preferred general (or systematic) and physical geography to regional approaches and anthropogeographical issues.¹⁶⁹ Still, he gave classes on Europe (in 1921/1922), Central and Southern Europe (in 1922/23), Southern Europe (in 1923/24), and the Balkans (in 1924/25). Already the first class given by Anton Melik in the summer semester on 1927/28 was on Yugoslavia. Until the suspension of classes in the late phase of the Second World War, Yugoslavia – together with an occasional course on Europe or Asia – remained his primary regional interest.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, Valter Bohinec gave the only course dealing explicitly with the Slovenian lands, and only in 1940/41; it was on the cartographic images of the Slovenian territories in historical perspective.¹⁷¹

While the Balkan Peninsula and especially its central parts were in the focus of geography teaching in Belgrade, the regional scope of teaching geography at the University of

Srbije, 1908).

¹⁶⁵ *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za prvi (zimski) semestar 1909-1910. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1909), 6; *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1909-1910. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1910), 6.

¹⁶⁶ *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za prvi (zimski) semestar 1910-1911. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1910), 6; *Unverzitetske vlasti i pregled predavanja za drugi (letni) semestar 1910-1911. školske godine* (Belgrade, 1911), 6.

¹⁶⁷ Milojević, *Geografska nauka i nastava*, 8.

¹⁶⁸ It is important to note that not all the academic calendars from the 1930s are available, so it is possible that the course was repeated in this period as well.

¹⁶⁹ However, Gavazzi addressed both physical and anthropogeographical issues as well as a regional approach in his *Zemljopis Evrope*, vol. 1, *Sjeverna Evropa*.

¹⁷⁰ Melik gave courses on the geography of Yugoslavia in 1927/28, 1928/29, 1931/32, 1935/36, 1936/37, 1939/40, and in 1940/41, including the second semester, during which time (April 1941) Yugoslavia was overrun by the Axis armies, and when the Slovenian territories were split between Italy and the Third Reich.

¹⁷¹ Bohinec also gave courses on the geography of Italy in 1942/43.

Zagreb could hardly have been more different, as it included virtually the whole world. The first professor of geography, Petar Matković, gave courses on the geography of Africa, America, Asia, Australia, the Balkan Peninsula, Europe in general, and Northern and Southern Europe in particular. His successor, Hinko Hranilović, covered the same regions but also introduced new topics to the curriculum: the geography of Eurasia, Croatia, and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Reacting to the contemporary political instability in the region, Hranilović brought the Dual Monarchy, the Balkans, and Croatia into focus in the period between the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 and the outbreak of the First World War.

No professor at any of the centers of geographical teaching under examination taught on as many different regions as Hranilović's successor, Milan Šenoa, did. His long career at the university started in 1897 and spanned the entire interwar period – he was a tenured professor from 1917 until his retirement in 1940.¹⁷² Before 1918, he gave courses on the geography of Asia, Australia and Polynesia, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Austrian Alps, Belgium and its colonies, the Carpathians, Croatia-Slavonia, Denmark, Europe in general, European colonial possessions in Africa, France, the German Empire and its colonies, Latin America, the Netherlands and its colonies, the Nile region, Scandinavia, and the Sudetenland. After 1918, he expanded the list by including a regional approach to Europe, the British colonies, Japan, Korea, the Pacific islands, Switzerland and the Swiss Alps, and the United States of America. Just like Milojević in Belgrade, Šenoa started teaching on the geography of Yugoslavia in 1920 but, unlike Milojević, he continued teaching it, although not continuously, throughout the interwar period.

While it might be tempting to interpret the differences in the scope of lectures in geography at Yugoslav universities in terms of parochialism, the disproportion raises an important question regarding the expertise acquired through field research. All the examined geographers conducted field research in one form or another, and excursions appear as part of the curriculum in Belgrade and Skopje, but rarely or not at all in Ljubljana and Zagreb.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, field research was part of the courses of study in Ljubljana and Zagreb as well;

¹⁷² Vladimir Blašković, "Milan Šenoa: povodom devedeste godišnjice njegova života," *Geografski glasnik*, no. 21 (1959): 2.

¹⁷³ In 1902, Hranilović stated that geographical excursions were a recent phenomenon in Croatia, linked primarily to a shift in education practices in elementary and high schools that insisted on a vivid demonstration of natural phenomena. Students of geography at the University of Zagreb went on excursions starting in 1896, since the first professor of geography in Zagreb, Petar Matković, had little interest in field research as it "gave limited insight and only the map gives a universal overview." Hranilović, "Novi smjer naše geografije," 170.

already at the turn of the twentieth century Hranilović described the introduction of excursions in Zagreb as the marker of a new age and a new direction in geography in Croatia.¹⁷⁴

Field research, which the press frequently covered, made Cvijić famous.¹⁷⁵ It was built into geography teaching in the centers influenced by Cvijić. Geography professors in Belgrade and Skopje taught only on the regions that they studied through field research, while the teaching in Zagreb, especially in Šenoa's case, resembled an encyclopedic high school approach in terms of its breadth, and was not limited only to his primary area of research (central Croatia). Šenoa was described by one of his colleagues at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb as a "passive non-scientific type" embedded in "reactionary-tribal structures."¹⁷⁶ Although this was a particularly biased account created in the context of personal disagreements, Šenoa indeed conducted research and published less than most of his colleagues, and appeared primarily in the capacity of a teacher.

Šenoa was not entirely an armchair geographer, but his experience of field research, and that of the majority of other Yugoslav geographers, could have hardly competed with that of Cvijić. The fact that until 1918 Croatia was a part of a large empire whose political and economic interests stretched beyond the Balkans – although the engagement of the Dual Monarchy in the Balkans was intense and proved to be fatal – might explain such a wide geographical scope of courses at the University of Zagreb. On the other hand, the ascent of the Karađorđević dynasty to power in Serbia in 1903 opened a new phase in relations with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, marked with increased tensions. In this period, the Serbian elite focused on finalizing its state-building project by expanding its territory in the Balkans, which Cvijić described as Serbia's historical mission.¹⁷⁷

However, no substantial difference in attitude toward Yugoslavia and Yugoslav unity was manifested in the teaching of geography at the three universities, that is, four faculties with chairs of geography. Yugoslavia was represented, although to a different extent, in all curricula in the interwar period. The main difference was the scope of the regions covered besides Yugoslavia and the Balkans; while Yugoslavia was emphasized in Belgrade, Skopje, and

¹⁷⁴ Hranilović, "Novi smjer naše geografije," 170.

¹⁷⁵ "Osječka kronika" [Osijek chronicle], *Riječ* (Zagreb), September 2, 1919; "G. Cvijić u Baranji" [Mr. Cvijić in Baranja], *Epoha* (Belgrade), September 14, 1919; "Dolazak profesora Cvijića" [The arrival of professor Cvijić], *Neven* (Subotica), September 17, 1919; "Profesor Cvijić u Subotici" [Professor Cvijić in Subotica], *Neven* (Subotica), September 18, 1919; "Dolazak prof. Cvijića" [The arrival of professor Cvijić], *Večernje novosti* (Sarajevo), September 22, 1923; "Hidrološka istraživanja profesora Cvijića u Hercegovini" [Hydrological research of professor Cvijić in Herzegovina], *Jugoslavenska lista* (Sarajevo), September 25, 1923.

¹⁷⁶ Vodnik, "Prilozi za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu," 269.

¹⁷⁷ Jovan Cvijić, "Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije," *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 3, no. 3-4 (1914): 1-23.

Ljubljana, in Zagreb courses dealing with it were “drowned” within a multitude of courses on other European and non-European regions and it thus comprised a relatively small part of the overall courses. If the geographical scope of the lectures was different, a dedication to regional geography, comparatively balanced distribution of topics in physical and anthropogeography – as well as an emphasis on their interconnectedness – a regard for ethnology, and a limited interest in the methodology of geography beyond the technical issues, were characteristic for all centers of geographical research and teaching.

1.5. Communication within the network

In order to answer the question as to whether there was such a thing as a Yugoslav geography or only several coexisting national geographical traditions in interwar Yugoslavia, it is necessary to examine the connections between the institutions, agents, and scientific ideas within the network. The network of geographers in interwar Yugoslavia was polycentric; it was comprised of the three national centers (but four faculties, if Skopje is counted) that formed networks of their own on a smaller scale, while still being incorporated in the larger network. The individual scientists, the primary agents of this network, were anchored in their respective institutions, where scientific schools were developed, but they also communicated with their peers throughout the national and international networks.

This subchapter examines the relations between geographers and institutions that facilitated the transfers of ideas within the Yugoslav geographical network. The biographies of Yugoslav geographers, except for Cvijić, are often patchy, but because of the small size of Yugoslav academia, it is relatively easy to trace movements of people from one center to another. Interestingly, while moving from a high school position to one at the university was relatively common (most of the university professors at some point taught at gymnasiums), there were just a few cases of transfers between the universities themselves. The cases of Valter Bohinec, Artur Gavazzi, Anton Melik, Vojislav Radovanović, and Ivo Rubić illustrate the internal dynamic of the Yugoslav geographical network, including the relations between science and politics – in particular regarding the role of academic institutions in the nation-building projects.

The best example of transfer between academic institutions, which illustrates the communication of geographers and other scientists, is that of the Serbian geographer Vojislav Radovanović (1894-1957). After an interruption during the First World War, when he enlisted

in the Serbian army and was wounded, he studied geography under Jovan Cvijić and graduated from the University of Belgrade in 1921. He taught at Skopje gymnasium in 1921-1922, and was briefly Cvijić's assistant in Belgrade.¹⁷⁸ Radovanović obtained a doctorate in 1924, and became a docent at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, but was appointed as an associate professor to the University of Zagreb in October 1925 – as the only member of the faculty from Serbia. Radovanović's stay in Zagreb was brief and controversial.

Before evaluating any candidates for the position, the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy turned to the "highest authority" and asked Jovan Cvijić for recommendation.¹⁷⁹

It is well known that we have an excellent geographical school of Mr. Jovan Cvijić, professor at the University of Belgrade, highly esteemed by scientists abroad as well. Therefore, it seemed proper to contact Mr. Cvijić on this matter, who in his letter and in person recommended Mr. Dr. Vojislav S. Radovanović, currently a docent of geography at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, as a candidate.¹⁸⁰

Cvijić praised Radovanović's character and pointed out that, besides being well-versed in physical geography and anthropogeography, Radovanović was a skilled cartographer.¹⁸¹

However, soon after his arrival at Zagreb, Radovanović was among nine professors of the University of Zagreb forced to retire in January 1926, during the brief period when Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, served as a minister of education (between mid-November 1925 and mid-April 1926).¹⁸² Some contemporary observers saw this decision, as well as most of Radić's brief mandate, as aimed against the Yugoslav idea, national unity, and driven by party interests.¹⁸³ They implied that Radić forced the pro-Yugoslav faculty from the university, in order to preserve its Croatian character. Whether this was really Radić's exclusive intention remains unclear but similar, although less dramatic, considerations of the ethnicity of the professors in Ljubljana show that the personnel policy was perceived through a prism of nationality just as much as – if not more than – that of professional credentials.

¹⁷⁸ V. Đurić and M. Kostić, "Dr. Vojislav S. Radovanović," *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 37 (1957): 3-6

¹⁷⁹ The same had happened in Skopje. In 1922, when Petar S. Jovanović was appointed, Borivoje Ž. Milojević asked Cvijić: "Do you believe Jovanović should become a docent in Skopje [?] We will ask Mr. Vujević to postpone the session [of the faculty committee regarding the promotion] until we get an answer from you." Arhiv SANU, 13848-790-26, Borivoje Ž. Milojević to Jovan Cvijić, September 28, 1922.

¹⁸⁰ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1924/25, Predlog za popunjenje II. katedre za geografiju na filozofskom fakultetu na kr. sveučilištu u Zagrebu, (Recommendation for filling the position at the second chair in geography at the Faculty of Philosophy at the Royal University of Zagreb).

¹⁸¹ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1924/25, Letter of Jovan Cvijić to Ferdinand Koch, May 30, 1925.

¹⁸² Dušan Bajagić, "Stjepan Radić kao ministar prosvete Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca," *Tokovi istorije*, no. 4 (2006): 142.

¹⁸³ Ljubodrag Dimić documents the astonishing number of ministers of education who were dismissed: forty-seven between 1918 and 1941, although many served several times, but no one longer than three years all together. See Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 1:174, 1:221-222.

However, in a debate that took place at the Faculty Council regarding the case of Radovanović and other dismissed professors, Radovanović's ethnicity was not even mentioned. Rather, procedural irregularities and scientific qualifications were the focus. Some members of the Faculty Council claimed that the very hiring of these docents and professors was problematic, as it had curbed the autonomy of the University – because the central government forced it – and that firing them had simply set things straight.¹⁸⁴ Others pointed out that the purpose of the law was to facilitate the removal of “anti-state elements” from the bureaucracy, including university professors.¹⁸⁵

In 1926, an alternative to reinstating Radovanović was to appoint Artur Gavazzi, who in the end was appointed to the chair of physical geography. However, several professors opposed appointing Gavazzi. One of the nine retired professors, literary historian Branko Vodnik (1879-1926), expressed his discontent in the press, and mentioned both Šenoa and Gavazzi by name.¹⁸⁶ Geologist Fran Tućan reminded his colleagues of the “devastating critique” that Gavazzi had received in 1897 when he ran against Milan Šenoa for the position of docent, but others considered this a minor issue.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, it was argued, “Prof. Radovanović, for whom, as his student, Prof. Cvijić interceded, is primarily an anthropogeographer, and has few publications in [the field of] physical geography. Prof. Gavazzi would be the most suitable for this chair.”¹⁸⁸ Historian Ferdo Šišić was surprised that an older scholar (Gavazzi was sixty-three at the time) was preferred over a younger candidate, and pointed out: “It is a curious case that both father [Artur] and son [Milovan] would come to the same faculty.”¹⁸⁹ Still others implied that the establishment of a second chair of geography was sudden, although a number of new chairs were established at the Faculty on as a decision of a Faculty committee itself.¹⁹⁰ Finally, the issue was settled by awarding the chair of physical

¹⁸⁴ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1925-26, Zapisnik izvanredne sjednice profesorskog zbora filozofskoga fakulteta držane dne 17. februara 1926. u 9 sati prije podne (Minutes from the extraordinary session of the faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on February 17, 1926 at 9am).

¹⁸⁵ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1925-26, Zapisnik ad hoc profesorskog zbora mudroslovnog fakulteta u subotu 27. veljače 1926. u 9 sati (Minutes from the ad hoc faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on February 27, 1926 at 9am).

¹⁸⁶ Vodnik, “Prilozi za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu.”

¹⁸⁷ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1925-26, Zapisnik ad hoc profesorskog zbora mudroslovnog fakulteta u subotu 27. veljače 1926. u 9 sati (Minutes from the ad hoc faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on February 27, 1926 at 9am).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. Indeed, Artur and Milovan Gavazzi are rare contemporary examples of a “scientific dynasty” in interwar Yugoslavia. An incomparably more significant example than the Gavazzi family – the Exner family – was examined by Deborah Coen in *Vienna in the Age of Uncertainty: Science, Liberalism, and Private Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

¹⁹⁰ Botanist Vane Vouk presented the chronology of the process of establishing the chair of physical

geography to Artur Gavazzi.

Personal contacts and relationships between scientific centers and traditions came to the foreground in the *votum separatum* of a Croatian mineralogist, Fran Tućan (1878-1954), in which he continued to support Radovanović's cause.¹⁹¹ Radovanović's "expertise in physical geography must be very good," Tućan argued,

if nothing else, because he is a student of our great geomorphologist, therefore physical geographer, Jovan Cvijić, who with great energy endeavored – and succeeded – to create his geographical school. And one of his students, according to the statement of Professor Cvijić himself, which he gave to me personally and which he had the opportunity to confirm in a letter on the occasion of the first appointment of Mr. Radovanović, is Mr. Radovanović himself. [Cvijić] had high hopes for [Radovanović] as a scientific worker in the field of physical geography or geomorphology, the main discipline of physical geography. . . . Radovanović is a young man full of scientific élan, who is suitable to gather our students around him, and to invest them in geographical discipline as his teacher, our great savant Jovan Cvijić, had managed to do.¹⁹²

Tućan praised Radovanović's success in integrating physical geography (morphology), hydrography, climatology, biogeography, and the impact of physical geography on cultural and social forms in his dissertation.

Besides revealing the importance of personal contacts with Cvijić, who used his authority to support aspirants to academic positions, Tućan also made clear his support for Cvijić's geographical paradigm. However, Artur Gavazzi also had good relations with Cvijić, as their correspondence shows.¹⁹³ Gavazzi objected to the existence of two separate chairs – for physical and anthropogeography – because this implied the separateness of the physical and cultural or natural and human spheres.¹⁹⁴ Instead, he suggested establishment of three chairs: one for general and one for regional geography, and a chair for the geography of the Balkans, which would include both physical and anthropogeography, but, as Gavazzi predicted, it remained a "*vox clamantis in deserto*."¹⁹⁵ The two chairs and institutes were reunited after the

geography, but also argued that the transfer of Radovanović to Zagreb was forced upon the university. Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1925-26, Zapisnik ad hoc profesorskog zbora mudroslovnog fakulteta u subotu 27. veljače 1926. u 9 sati (Minutes from the ad hoc faculty of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on February 27, 1926 at 9am).

¹⁹¹ Tućan was, just like Lukas, president of the Matica hrvatska, but only for a short period of time, in 1919-1920. In 1920, Lukas raised the issue of Tućan's unsuitability for the position of president of the Matica hrvatska. Preempting the vote that would remove him from the post, Tućan stepped down himself. Jakša Ravlić, *Matica hrvatska 1842-1962* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1963), 169.

¹⁹² Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1925-26, Prijedlog za popunjenje ispražnjene stolice za fizikalnu geografiju, dr. Fran Tućan (Recommendation to fill the position of the vacant chair of physical geography by Dr. Fran Tućan), February 25, 1926.

¹⁹³ Arhiv SANU, 13484-224-1-27, Letters of Artur Gavazzi to Jovan Cvijić.

¹⁹⁴ Gavazzi, "Nekoliko riječi o cilju i podjeli geografije," 4.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

Second World War, this time as part of the Faculty of Science (Prirodoslovno-matematički fakultet).¹⁹⁶

As in 1926 there was no chair in ethnology in Skopje, Petar S. Jovanović wrote to Cvijić that he

agreed with the colleagues, and proposed Voja [Vojislav Radovanović] for an honorary professor of ethnology and ethnography. Voja gladly accepted. Through the examination of settlements and the origins of population in these areas, it seems to me that Voja penetrated ethnographic problems, and that with the necessary preparation he could give these lectures. To tell you the truth, it seems to me that he is really a professionally formed geographer, and particularly an anthropogeographer, more capable of dealing with ethnological issues than anyone else is.¹⁹⁷

Thus Radovanović, who before the ill-fated episode in Zagreb taught anthropogeography in 1924/25 and 1925/26, in 1927 started teaching the ethnology of Serbia, the Balkans, Yugoslavia, the South Slavic lands, and even Oceania and Australia. During the 1930s, he returned to teaching anthropogeography, although he was described as a “proponent of the unity of geography,” interested in both geomorphology and anthropogeography.¹⁹⁸ This was characteristic for many geographers throughout the world, but in Yugoslavia, the paradigm that dominated the field was associated above all with Cvijić. Not surprisingly, some of Radovanović’s best-known works in the field of anthropogeography – especially those concerning the Southern Serbia (a contemporary reference for Macedonia) – clearly showed Cvijić’s influence.¹⁹⁹ Radovanović’s short affiliation to the University of Zagreb in 1925-1926 reveals an inability to establish a truly coherent network in Yugoslavia that would go beyond the transfer of ideas. The ethnicity of geographers and their research interests show that centers of geographical thought in Ljubljana and Zagreb retained their national character, especially

¹⁹⁶ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1945-46, Zapisnik III. redovite sjednice Vijeća Filozofskog fakulteta, održane 21. siječnja 1946. u 9 sati prije podne, XIII. Prijedlog prof. dr. Roglića, da se dosadašnji zavod za geografiju i fizičku geografiju reorganiziraju u jedinstveni geografski zavod (Minutes from the third regular session of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on January 21, 1946 at 9am; point 13: Recommendation of Prof. Dr. Roglić to reorganize the existing institutes for geography and physical geography into a single institute for geography). The proposal of Roglić corresponded to the attitude of the influential American geographer Isaiah Bowman, who was against the fragmentation of geography into physical and human, and stated that he “would not favor the establishment of a Department of ‘Human Geography.’ The departments that have reduced or eliminated systematic work in physiography have suffered greatly. Their Ph.D. product is, for the most part, neither well-grounded in the physical principles that underlie the phenomena of physiography and climatology, nor systematically trained in the principles of economics and political science, let us say. They seem to me to be suspended between earth and heaven and to offer neither good discipline nor particularly useful knowledge. What is needed, in my opinion, is a Department of Geography.” Quoted in Smith, “‘Academic War over the Field of Geography,’” 165.

¹⁹⁷ Arhiv SANU, 14460-IV-a-38, Petar S. Jovanović to Jovan Cvijić, November 27, 1926.

¹⁹⁸ Đurić and Kostić, “Dr. Vojislav S. Radovanović,” 5.

¹⁹⁹ Vojislav Radovanović, “Tikveš i Rajec: antropološka ispitivanja,” *Naselja i poreklo stanovništva* 17 (1924): 129-565.

after Gavazzi left Ljubljana for Zagreb in 1927.²⁰⁰

Whereas Radovanović linked Belgrade, Skopje, and – unsuccessfully – Zagreb, Artur Gavazzi's career took him to all three major centers: Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. Artur Gavazzi (1861-1944) studied geography and history in Zagreb, from where he graduated in 1886, and in 1890-1891 geography in Vienna, where he defended his doctoral dissertation.²⁰¹ After teaching at a gymnasium, he started teaching geography at the University of Zagreb in 1910 and in 1911 he became a private docent at the University of Belgrade, where he taught physical and astronomical geography. In 1914, he became an assistant professor in Zagreb, and in 1920 received a position in Ljubljana, where he stayed until the academic year 1926/27. Gavazzi retired just a couple of months after his return to the University of Zagreb, but continued teaching as a private professor and remained engaged in academia until his death. Gavazzi's moving to Ljubljana can be seen as an attempt to climb the academic hierarchy. The position of tenured professor of geography in Zagreb was at the time occupied by Milan Šenoa (1869-1961). Although Šenoa was younger than Gavazzi and had acquired his doctorate in 1895 as the first geographer to have done so in Zagreb – rather than in Vienna – he became a tenured professor in 1917. In Zagreb, the path for Gavazzi had closed already in 1894, when he failed to habilitate.²⁰²

Gavazzi was not the only Croat at the Institute of Geography in Ljubljana during the 1920s; Ivo Rubić (1897-1961) was finishing his studies there in the early 1920s. He had previously studied in Zagreb and Vienna, but graduated from Ljubljana in 1923. Rubić belonged to the first generation of geographers that obtained their degree in Yugoslavia. Before the First World War, such cases were rare, revealing the institutional weakness not only of geography, but also of the universities themselves. At the University of Zagreb, for instance, after Milan Šenoa's doctorate in 1895, Dragutin Feletar mentions only seven doctoral

²⁰⁰ The precise date of his return to Zagreb is unclear. Hanžek, Kren, and Vučetić insist it happened in 1926, although he only started teaching in Zagreb in 1927. Branko Hanžek, Tatjana Kren, and Marko Vučetić, "Geoznanstvenik Artur Gavazzi: nepoznato (rijetko ili nikad objavljeno) o poznatome," *Prirodoslovlje – časopis odsjeka za prirodoslovlje i matematiku Matice hrvatske* 12, no. 1-2 (2012): 5. Regarding his course on the geography of Europe at the University of Ljubljana for the second, summer, semester in the academic year 1926/27, he was titled as a professor at the University in Zagreb and a honorary teacher in Ljubljana. *Seznam predavanj na univerzi Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev v Ljubljani za letni semester 1927*. (Ljubljana, 1927), 4.

²⁰¹ The title of his dissertation was *Der Flächeninhalt der Flussgebiete in Kroatien*; cf. Oto Oppitz, "Artur Gavazzi," *Geografski glasnik* 8-10 (1939): 7; Archiv der Universität Wien, Fakultäten (14. Jh.-20. Jh.), Rigorosenakten der Philosophischen Fakultät (1870 (ca)-2003), PHRA 681 Gavazzi, Arthur (1891.06.25-1891.07.02).

²⁰² Hanžek, Kren, and Vučetić, "Geoznanstvenik Artur Gavazzi," 10-12.

dissertations that were defended between 1918 and 1945.²⁰³ The list, however, is longer and, although not formally in geography, a number of doctorates in related fields, including ethnology, occasionally mineralogy, and frequently history, by people who studied other disciplines alongside geography, could also be added.²⁰⁴ In this sense, the generation graduating after the end of the First World War and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, at “national” universities were the first generation of Yugoslav geographers in a more precise sense of meaning.

Rubić was briefly Gavazzi’s assistant in Ljubljana in 1923-1924, after which he taught in Split gymnasium. In 1930-1931, he studied in Berlin and, having returned to Yugoslavia, published his impressions of late Weimar Germany in a book, *Nova Njemačka* (New Germany).²⁰⁵ He was among the Yugoslav geographers whose careers continued and, in fact, flourished in the post-1945 period. His colleagues from Ljubljana hoped he could help connect Slovenian and Croatian geographers, but the success was partial at best. By 1925, when *Geografski vestnik* (Geographical Bulletin) in Ljubljana was started, Rubić had already left Ljubljana for Split and worked as the assistant editor from there – and was at the time seemingly equally distanced from all three major academic centers.

Rubić’s distancing was probably partly due to negative comments on his work that he received when applying for a docent position at the University of Zagreb. In 1935, the same year when Artur Gavazzi wrote him a favorable recommendation,²⁰⁶ Rubić was accused of plagiarizing his work on the Adriatic island of Palagruža.²⁰⁷ In 1940, his new application was hotly debated, and many faculty members seemed to have been well-informed about the allegations. The supposed plagiarism was stressed as the prime reason why his application should not even have been taken into consideration. Some members of the faculty entertained the possibility that the situation was a result of a printing mistake – that is, that the footnotes were omitted by accident – but the majority was convinced that Rubić plagiarized and even

²⁰³ These were Zvonimir Dugački in 1927, Oskar Reya in 1928, Oto Oppitz and Branimir Gussich in 1929, Dragan Zbožinek and Aron Fleischman in 1932, and Rudolf Petrović in 1942. See Dragutin Feletar, “Pregled razvoja geografije u Hrvatskoj,” 14.

²⁰⁴ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Doktorati 1878-1933; Doktorati 1933-2010.

²⁰⁵ Ivo Rubić, *Nova Njemačka* (Split: Hrvatska štamparija Gradske štedionice, 1931).

²⁰⁶ Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives), 1479, Artur Gavazzi to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, May 14, 1935.

²⁰⁷ Ivo Rubić, “Palagruža,” *Jadranska straža* 7, no. 4 (1929): 103-5 and 7, no. 5 (1929): 128-132. Rubić was accused of plagiarizing August Ginzberger, “Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Flora der Scoglien und kleineren Inseln Süd-Dalmatiens,” *Österreichische Botanische Zeitschrift* 70, no. 9-12 (1921): 233-248.

incorrectly interpreted parts of the original work.²⁰⁸ An implicit political conflict, which was absent in 1926 in the case of Radovanović, makes Rubić's case more interesting than plagiarism or scientific shortcomings. As a member of the Faculty Council pointed out, "In the time of the dictatorship [1929-1935], when the Croatian people were persecuted," Rubić not only attended pro-regime meetings but publically spoke against those who had lost their faith in the Yugoslav idea. Members of the council argued that "such a man cannot be a part of this Faculty."²⁰⁹ Rubić's application was unanimously rejected and, instead, Zvonimir Dugački was appointed.²¹⁰

The case of Oskar Reya in a sense mirrored that of Rubić. Reya (1900-1980) was a Slovene who, after studying geography in Ljubljana and Belgrade, obtained his doctorate in Zagreb in 1929. As a physical geographer and a specialist in meteorology, periods of his sojourns in Ljubljana and Zagreb correspond to the movements of Artur Gavazzi, who obviously influenced Reya's professional formation. This connection seems even more plausible if we take into consideration that Reya did his doctorate in Zagreb while working as an assistant and a private docent in Ljubljana. Melik, Gavazzi's successor in Ljubljana, was significantly less interested in meteorology than Gavazzi, and during the interwar period showed interest in anthropogeography as well as aspects of physical geography besides meteorology, which probably contributed to Reya's decision to finish his doctorate in Zagreb under Gavazzi's supervision.

Between 1921 and 1926, Artur Gavazzi's assistant in Ljubljana was Valter Bohinec (1898-1984). In 1923, Bohinec asked for an unpaid leave of absence, because he wanted to spend the academic year 1923/24 in Heidelberg, attending the lectures of a prominent German geographer, Alfred Hettner (1859-1941). Gavazzi, was apparently in touch with Hettner, as: "The latter stated in writing to Mr. Prof. Dr. Gavazzi that he would gladly receive the applicant

²⁰⁸ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1939-40, Zapisnik V. redovne sjednice Savjeta Filozofskog fakulteta, održane 17. travnja 1940. u 8 sati prije podne, 6. Pitanje natjecanja dra. Ive Rubića za sveučilišnu docenturu s obzirom na zaključak Savjeta od 3. VII. 1935. o njegovoj privatnoj docenturi (Minutes of the fifth regular session of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on April 17, 1949 at 8am; 6. The issue of the application of Dr. Ivo Rubić for the position of university docent in light of the Council's decision of July 3, 1935 regarding his position as a private docent).

²⁰⁹ Ibid. It was also implied that Rubić was involved in an anonymous defamatory leaflet that targeted a number of professors at the Faculty of Philosophy, especially Professor Šenoa.

²¹⁰ Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sjednički zapisnici 1939-40, Zapisnik VI. redovne sjednice Savjeta Filozofskog fakulteta, održane 24. lipnja 1940. u 8 sati prije podne, 5. Izvještaj o rezultatu natječaja za docenturu ili izvanrednu profesuru iz antropogeografije s regionalnom geografijom i prijedlog dra. Milana Šenoa, da se za docenta izabere asistent dr. Zvonimir Dugački (Report on the result of the application for the position of docent or assistant professor in anthropogeography and regional geography, and the recommendation of Dr. Milan Šenoa to appoint the assistant Dr. Zvonimir Dugački).

into the circle of his young geographers.”²¹¹ Gavazzi was supportive; he invested considerable effort to make it happen, arranged for Ivo Rubić to temporarily fill the position during Bohinec’s absence, and stated that he

warmly recommends the application of Mr. Dr. Valter Bohinec, because he is truly deserving of support, conscientious and diligent, and has much professional knowledge. Since the applicant deals with anthropogeography, it would definitely be desirable for him to go to Heidelberg, because there he could listen to one of the best such scientists. The undersigned [Gavazzi], who, in the end, cannot work at the university for many more years, has to take care of the next generation and choose the best among the more advanced young geographers as his successor.²¹²

Bohinec even received additional financial support for his study in Heidelberg from the University of Ljubljana.²¹³ During his stay in Heidelberg, he mediated between the Marburg professor of geography, Leonhard Schultze-Jena (1872-1955), who was interested in statistical data on Macedonia, and Cvijić.²¹⁴ Unfortunately, the outcome of his stay in Heidelberg in terms of his reception of the new anthropogeographical tendencies that Hettner advocated – particularly chorology, “the explanatory investigation of terrestrial reality divided into a series of component regions,” studied by the *Länderkunde*²¹⁵ – or the connections he established, remains unknown. However, Gavazzi’s letter of support shows that he considered Bohinec as one of the candidates – or even the prime candidate – for the future head of the Geographical Institute in Ljubljana.

The circumstances of Anton Melik’s employment at the university after Gavazzi left Ljubljana and returned to Zagreb in 1926/1927 remain somewhat unclear, just as the relations between Bohinec and Melik do in general. In May 1926, Bohinec, although favored by Gavazzi, was told that his application was against the University Law, but he was not willing to let it go easily. The university administration asked the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy to “explain the legal situation to Dr. Bohinec and to tell him that the administration believes it would be for the best if he himself asked for a transfer from the University to a high school position,” and to

²¹¹ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani (Historical Archives and Museum of the University of Ljubljana), Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 1838-1923, Valter Bohinec to the Administrative Council of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Ljubljana, October 5, 1923.

²¹² Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 1838, Artur Gavazzi to the University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Ljubljana, October 5, 1923.

²¹³ He received 8,000 dinars. As an assistant, his basic annual salary at the time was only 1200 dinars but a daily allowance was added on top of this. According to handwritten notes (by the university officials) on the application, the daily allowance was 34 dinars, which would significantly raise the salary on the annual level.

²¹⁴ Arhiv SANU, 13484-125, Valter Bohinec to Jovan Cvijić, April 9, 1924.

²¹⁵ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 263.

urge Bohinec to avoid a legal process.²¹⁶ In the end, Bohinec apparently did so.²¹⁷ The whole thing seems to have been decided even before Bohinec had officially applied. Already in March 1926, the dean wrote to the rector on the matter and stated:

Since the assistant positions at the university institutions are not to be considered permanent in the sense that someone could be an assistant . . . for a long period of years, but such positions are considered as transitional . . . For the purpose of a thorough professional education, the faculty council of the Faculty of Philosophy finds that now, after five years, Mr. Dr. Bohinec should be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Education, so it could use him in another, more permanent position, more suitable to his professional education.²¹⁸

Bohinec, however, reapplied in May 1927, again to no avail.²¹⁹ After Artur Gavazzi left Ljubljana, Melik took over the chair as an assistant in August 1927. This also did not go without problems.²²⁰ Specifically, Melik defended his doctorate in January 1927 and started giving classes only in 1928.²²¹ Despite his mostly well-received scholarly works – especially a synthesis of the history of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes²²² – Melik was partially an outsider to academia, seen “not [as] a scientist, but [as] an ordinary very good high school professor.”²²³ The same year, in 1927, Melik succeeded Bohinec as the editor of *Geografski vestnik* as well, although Bohinec did not even mention the possibility of resigning from that position when he had to leave the university.²²⁴ As a geography teacher at a Ljubljana gymnasium, Bohinec returned to the university as a private docent in regional geography in 1936, and taught alongside Melik until 1939.²²⁵ Then he became a librarian and a higher assistant at the

²¹⁶ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Zapisniki sej univerzitetne uprave od oktobra 1924 do junija 1930, XXIV. zapisnik redne seje univerzitetne uprave z dne 14. maja 1926. (Minutes of the meetings of the university administration between October 1924 and June 1930, Minutes of the regular meetings of the university administration on May 14, 1926), 169.

²¹⁷ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 270/26, Valter Bohinec to the administration of the University of Ljubljana, May 21, 1926.

²¹⁸ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 154/26, Nikola Radojčić, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy to the office of the rector of the university, March 29, 1926.

²¹⁹ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, Valter Bohinec, Application to the Rectorate of the University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Ljubljana, May 18, 1927.

²²⁰ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 39/621 Dr. Melik Anton, document XVII/12, Certificate appointing Dr. Anton Melik to the position of assistant professor of geography at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Ljubljana, September 1, 1927.

²²¹ *Seznam predavanj na univerzi v Ljubljani za letni semester 1928*. (Ljubljana, 1928), 4.

²²² Anton Melik, *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*, 2 vols. (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1919-20).

²²³ Vodnik, “Prilozi za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu,” 269.

²²⁴ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 270/26, Valter Bohinec to the administration of the University of Ljubljana, May 21, 1926.

²²⁵ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr.

cartography department of the National and University Library in Ljubljana.²²⁶ In 1942, his last attempt to get a permanent position at the university failed.²²⁷ Decades later, however, with no trace of animosity, Bohinec stated that under his successor editors, Melik and Svetozar Ilešič, *Geografski vestnik* developed into a scientific journal respected both at home and abroad.²²⁸

Even more than political issues, these debates over positions at the universities reveal the internal dynamics of the academic institutions, on the one hand, and the importance of personal relations within the geographical network in Yugoslavia, on the other. It is important to note that scientists other than geographers also participated in the decision-making processes concerning geography. While members of the faculty coming from disciplines more distant from geography took a passive stance, geologists, anthropologists, or historians occasionally became more engaged and thus their scientific predilections, understanding of geography from the perspective of their respective disciplines, and personal contacts with individual geographers, most notably Cvijić, influenced the field of geography.

1.6. Scientific journals as vehicles of communication within the network

Transfers of ideas can be traced in a similar fashion to the movement of geographers between the academic centers of interwar Yugoslavia. Transfers were primarily carried out through various publications, although the financial situation in Yugoslavia, which especially deteriorated in the 1930s, made procuring recent publications difficult. For instance, the funding for the ethnology seminar in Belgrade was more than halved during the 1930s; it was allocated between five and six thousand dinars annually compared to between fifteen and twenty thousand during the 1920s. In the academic year 1935/36, the dean complained that because of this “in the last six years, the seminar could not acquire a single volume of professional journals, and could, of other professional works, buy only several most necessary works.”²²⁹

Scientific publications – monographs and journals – are generous sources for studying

Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document XVII/19, Dismissal of professor Bohinec Dr. Valter, December 30, 1939.

²²⁶ Milan Natek, “Sedemdeset letnikov Geografskega vestnika in njegov prvi urednik dr. Valter Bohinec,” *Geografski vestnik* 71 (1999): 183.

²²⁷ Zgodovinski arhiv in muzej Univerze v Ljubljani, Faculty of Philosophy, Personal files, 4/64 Dr. Bohinc Valter, personal matters, document 86/2/1942, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy to office of the rector of the University of Ljubljana, June 15, 1942.

²²⁸ Valter Bohinec, “O rojstvu in prvih začetkih Geografskega vestnika,” *Geografski vestnik* 47 (1975): 179.

²²⁹ Quoted in Bojović, *200 godina beogradskog univerziteta*, 136.

the reception of ideas originating within the network as well as those coming from outside. References in the form of footnotes and bibliographies were not necessarily a standard feature in geographical monographs in Yugoslavia at the time, which can make tracing transfers difficult, especially if we go beyond the explicit mentioning of names or references to commonly-known ideas and concepts. Journals offer more possibilities for studying transfers of ideas, as they usually provided literary reviews, and since the articles in professional journals were more abundantly supplied with references.

Whereas almost all academics in Belgrade were Serbian, in Zagreb Croatian, and in Ljubljana Slovenian – with the few above-mentioned exceptions – according to the ethnic composition of the contributors and their institutional affiliation, journals were somewhat closer, even if only marginally, to the Yugoslav idea(l). Cooperation among journals and publishing in journals from other centers within the network was relatively easy to accomplish because journals were less dependent on the personal or political competition characteristic to assigning positions at universities, and they faced less administrative obstacles, even if there were some linguistic barriers.

Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva (Bulletin of the Serbian Geographical Society) was started in Belgrade in 1912.²³⁰ Together with *Naselja i poreklo stanovništva* (Settlements and Origins of the Population), *Glasnik* was a forum where Cvijić's interest in the Karst, conceptions of the ethnic migrations, cultural zones, and psychological types were put into practice. It bore the unmistakable signs of Cvijić's influence.²³¹ *Glasnik* was conceived and successfully ran as an authoritative publication for research on the Balkan Peninsula, which was visible in reports on physical and anthropogeographical field research and in a truly unique overview of relevant contemporary publications throughout Europe from a variety of disciplines. Initially, instead of individual reviews, there were comprehensive bibliographies of the Balkan Peninsula, comprising dozens of geographical, anthropological, ethnological, historical, and political titles, as well as travelogues on the Balkans in German, French, Russian,

²³⁰ The journal lost the adjective "Serbian" from its title in the fifth volume in 1921 – the first volume after the end of the war and the establishment of Yugoslavia – and regained it after the Second World War. Since it was entitled *Glasnik geografskog društva* throughout the interwar period, I use this form of the name. The name change, although not explained on the pages of the journal itself, could be seen as an attempt to overcome its original, narrow Serbian orientation and accommodate the newly-formed state as a field of research and as a forum for dialogue with other Yugoslav geographers.

²³¹ Even when Cvijić was not the editor of the journal, he was involved in its publishing. Borivoje Ž. Milojević used to inform Cvijić on the content of the following issues, especially pointing out Cvijić's own articles. See Arhiv SANU, 13484-790-31, Borivoje Ž Milojević to Jovan Cvijić, February 4, 1925; Arhiv SANU, 13484-790-32, Borivoje Ž Milojević to Jovan Cvijić, February 20, 1925.

English, Serbo-Croatian, and occasionally Italian.²³² No other publication in Yugoslavia matched its breadth.

More than Ljubljana and Zagreb, Belgrade, as the center of geographical research and with *Glasnik geografskog društva* as its main organ, had an international profile. Geographers around Cvijić closely followed the contemporary scientific production on the Balkans, and some foreign geographers who specialized in the Balkans or served as mediators between Yugoslavs and their respective academic centers maintained relations with Cvijić and Belgrade. The geographer who taught generations of Yugoslav students in Vienna, Albrecht Penck, and another prominent German geographer of the Balkans, Norbert Krebs, communicated with geographers in Yugoslavia and participated in an edited volume on the occasion of thirty years of Cvijić's scientific work.²³³

While the Belgrade *Glasnik geografskog društva* was initiated by a single strong figure, *Geografski vestnik* (Geographical Bulletin) from Ljubljana was started in 1925 as a collective enterprise of several young students of geography. During a hiking trip in the Slovenian Alps in the summer of 1923, Franjo Baš, Valter Bohinec, Ivan Rakovec, Ivo Rubić, and Roman Savnik committed themselves to graduating within the following three years, and to starting a journal on the model of the Belgrade *Glasnik*.²³⁴ Bohinec was appointed editor, and Savnik and Rubić his deputies. As a Croatian studying in Ljubljana, Rubić was supposed to open the journal to the Croatian geographers, who at the time had no specialized geographical journal of their own.²³⁵ Valter Bohinec edited the first two volumes (in 1925 and 1927), after which Anton Melik took over; Melik edited *Geografski vestnik* until 1958.²³⁶

During the interwar period, *Geografski vestnik* followed the Yugoslav geographic and related scientific production, yet it was obvious already from the first volume that Slovenia was at the center of its attention. A number of micro-regional geographic and ethnographic studies

²³² This was the practice in the first five volumes. Afterwards, "bibliographies" were substituted by reviews. This was probably an attempt to continue the previous publication – *Pregled geografske literature o balkanskom poluostrvu* – that ran from the mid-1890s to 1908. See Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić*, 30.

²³³ Norbert Krebs, "Fragmente einer Landeskunde des innerkraner Karstes," in *Zbornik radova posvećen Jovanu Cvijiću: povodom tridesetpetogodišnjice naučnog rada od prijatelja i saradnika*, ed. Pavle Vujević (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1924), 47-72; Albrecht Penck, "Das unterirdische Karstphänomen," in *Zbornik radova posvećen Jovanu Cvijiću*, 175-197.

²³⁴ According to Bohinec, the initial idea – by Ivo Rubić – was to establish not a scientific journal but an almanac for students of geography. The idea was abandoned as the group feared such a publication might live to see only one edition. Bohinec, "O rojstvu in prvih začetkih Geografskega vestnika," 177-78.

²³⁵ Bohinec and Savnik, "Kako je nastalo Geografsko društvo Slovenije," 163-64. However, Croatian geographers published in *Glasnik Hrvatskoga prirodoslovnoga društva* (Bulletin of the Croatian natural science society), which was started in 1886.

²³⁶ Natek, "Sedemdeset letnikov Geografskega vestnika," 182-83.

on different parts of Slovenia were reviewed; these included various geomorphologic surveys, regional geographies of Slovenia, but also those on Slovenia and Yugoslavia in a wider, Balkan and European framework, as well as numerous maps and even tourist guidebooks.²³⁷ Between 1925 and 1940,²³⁸ over one hundred thirty works by Yugoslav authors (in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian) were reviewed, around seventy works written in German (some of which were written by Yugoslav or other East-Central European geographers), and around a dozen in Italian and French.²³⁹ Foreign publications, including maps, were scrutinized for using old, Germanized names for localities, instead of the “national,” Yugoslav ones, and for political tendentiousness that went against the Slovene or Yugoslav territorial claims.

Greater attention than in other journals was paid to the diaspora – mostly Slovenes living in Italy and Austria – and the contested northwestern boundary of Yugoslavia. This interest comes as no surprise as there were around 340,000 Slovenes living under Italian rule at the time.²⁴⁰ *Geografski vestnik* kept the issue of borders and diaspora on the agenda. Although territories inhabited by Croats were also ceded to Italy after the First World War, there was less comparable – at least less systematic – engagement of Croatian geographers with the issue. A prominent exception was an edited volume, *The Yugoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*.²⁴¹ Dalmatia-born Ivo Rubić who lived and taught at a Split gymnasium between 1924 and 1941, had a personal interest in the Adriatic question.²⁴²

The youngest professional geographical journal in interwar Yugoslavia, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* (Croatian Geographical Bulletin) was also the most modest in size and

²³⁷ Roman Savnik reviewed twenty-seven maps of Yugoslavia already in the first volume in 1925, which was unparalleled in other geographical journals. Savnik, “Pregled doslej izdanih jugoslovanskih zemljevidov Države SHS in Balkanskega polotoka,” *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925):148-59.

²³⁸ During the Second World War, between 1941 and 1945, *Geografski vestnik* joined the “cultural silence” of Slovenian intellectual and cultural institutions. See Drago Perko and Matija Zorn, “Zgodovina Geografskega vestnika,” *Geografski vestnik* 80, no. 2 (2008): 10.

²³⁹ Because of the uneven forms of the reviews and some ambiguous cases, such as Yugoslav authors writing in German, French, or Czech, and works by foreign authors in Yugoslav publications, the list is not necessarily exhaustive and certain discrepancies in numbers are possible.

²⁴⁰ Oto Luthar, ed., *The Land Between: A History of Slovenia* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 380.

²⁴¹ Filip Lukas, “Yugoslavia as Economic Territory,” in *The Yugoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, ed. Milan Rojc (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919), 45-68.

²⁴² Ivo Rubić, “Dužina obale, broj otoka i luka Države S.H.S.,” *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925): 52-55; Rubić, *Naši otoci na Jadranu* (Split: Jadranska straža, 1928); Rubić, “Dinare i Dinarci,” *Jadranska straža* 7, no. 11 (1929): 308-310; Rubić, “Naši zapadni krajevi,” *Jadranska straža* 7, no. 12 (1929): 332-335; Rubić, “Palagruža,” *Jadranska straža* 7, no. 4 (1929): 103-05 and 7 no. 5 (1929): 128-132; Rubić, “Gravitacija susjednih žitelja Splitu,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 2 (1930): 109-152; Rubić, *Split i njegova okolica* (Split: Odbor Jadranske straže, 1930); Rubić, *Talijani na Primorju Kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Split: Hrvatska štamparija Gradske štedionice, 1930); Rubić, “Gravitacijske zone važnijih luka na istočnoj obali Jadrana,” *Hrvatski geografski vjesnik* 8-10 (1939): 202-232.

aspirations. It was primarily a one-man enterprise of Artur Gavazzi, who started it in 1929, after returning from Ljubljana and retiring from the University of Zagreb. Interestingly, he had rarely published in the local *Geografski vestnik* when he was a tenured professor in Ljubljana.²⁴³ Between 1929 and 1939, fewer than fifty monographs, individual articles, journal volumes, or maps were reviewed in *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*. Yugoslav and foreign journals were regularly presented – *Geografski vestnik* from Ljubljana and *Glasnik geografskog društva* from Belgrade usually quite thoroughly. On the other hand, although the editorial board received numerous foreign geographical and ethnological journals through exchanges, only a couple of German and Italian journals, such as *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, *Geographischer Anzeiger – Blätter für den geographischen Unterricht*, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, and *Bolletino della R. Societa Geografica Italiana*, were regularly reviewed.²⁴⁴ Even then, the reviewers focused primarily on articles on Yugoslavia, disputed territories (particularly in case of the Italian journals), and the Balkans in general.

The number of reviewed monographs and articles in German and Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian (as the language was officially called²⁴⁵) was roughly the same. Still, a higher proportion of reviewed foreign publications in comparison to Belgrade and Ljubljana journals does not mean that Zagreb geographers lacked interest in the work of their colleagues in Belgrade and Ljubljana, or that they were exceptionally interested in work of their foreign colleagues. Geographers gathered around *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* and the geographical institute at the University of Zagreb closely followed scientific production in Yugoslavia, yet it seems there was no substantial communication between the centers which could have facilitated the creation of a more coherent national, Yugoslav, geography.

Throughout the 1930s, *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* struggled with its finances. Modeled after its Belgrade and Ljubljana counterparts, its size, as well as the variety and quality of

²⁴³ He published only in the first issue. Artur Gavazzi, “Geografski razpored največje in najmanjše povprečne mesečne množine padavin na Balkanskem polotoku I,” *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925): 33-39; Gavazzi, “O meteoroloških postajah v Sloveniji,” *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925): 55-61.

²⁴⁴ Through exchange, the editorial board of the Croatian Geographical Bulletin was receiving *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*; *Geographischer Anzeiger – Blätter für den geographischen Unterricht* (Gotha); *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (Heidelberg); *Bolletino della R. Societa Geografica Italiana* (Rome); *L'Universo* (Florence); *Przegląd geograficzny* (Warsaw); *Polski przegląd kartograficzny* (Lvov); *Czasopismo geograficzne* (Lvov-Warsaw); *Mitteilungen der geographische Gesellsehaft in Hamburg*; *Geographical Review* (New York); *The Geographical Journal* (London); *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Leyden); *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Budapest); *Geographica Hungarica* (Budapest); *Annles de géographie* (Paris); *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français* (Paris); *Acta geographica Societatis geographicae Fenniae* (Helsinki); *Fennia* (Helsinki); *Geografisk tidsskrift* (Copenhagen); *Izvestija gosudarstvennogo ruskogo geografičeskogo občestva* (Leningrad); *Boletim da Sociedade de geografia de Lisboa*; *Sbornik Československe společnosti zemepisne* (Prague).

²⁴⁵ Dejan Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010), 6.

contributions decreased. The fourth volume, comprising only four small articles, ended with an ominous note saying: “Since the First Croatian Savings Banks, where the money of *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* is deposited, closed its cash desks, the fourth volume is published in significantly reduced size. We will compensate for this next year.” Instead, the note reappeared in the fifth and seventh volumes.

The last volume of *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* published before the Second World War, in 1939, was different, but it was a one-time publication. After a three-year hiatus, it was an unusually large, triple, volume. It was uniquely interdisciplinary, as it covered a wide range of sub-disciplines within geography and anthropology. It was also South Slavic in the widest possible sense, as works by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian, but also Bulgarian geographers were published. Along with Vladimir Dvorniković’s *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* (Characterology of Yugoslavs), also published in 1939,²⁴⁶ this volume of *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* in a way represented the swansong of the Yugoslav idea, a collective scientific enterprise in the time when the idea of Yugoslavism was thoroughly shattered. A focus on physical geography and the avoidance of politically sensitive issues in the volume produced a rather harmonious image of relations within Yugoslavia, which was at odds with what was happening in contemporary politics.²⁴⁷

By the late 1930s, the center of geographical thought and production in Croatia had moved away from mainstream academia as represented by geographers at the Faculty of Philosophy. The nationalist intellectuals around Filip Lukas and the *Matica hrvatska* had taken the lead. Lukas’ geographical ideas were explicitly political and profoundly anti-Yugoslav, influenced by German *Geopolitik* rather than the combination of geography and ethnology that marked Cvijić’s anthropogeography. However, the two groups of geographers in Zagreb, one associated with the Faculty of Philosophy and the *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, which was not published during the war, and the other formed around Lukas and the *Matica hrvatska*, cooperated on several publications during the Second World War. This time the cooperation happened within the philosophical, political, and conceptual framework that Lukas had been developing since the mid-1920s.

²⁴⁶ Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* (Belgrade: Kosmos, 1939).

²⁴⁷ The long-lasting political crisis culminated in August 1939, when a Serbo-Croatian compromise was reached. The system of nine *banovinas* imposed in 1929 was reshaped and two of them – Savska and Primorska – were combined, with some minor adjustments, into the Croatian Banovina, which included the overwhelming majority of Croats. Although a political victory of the Croatian Peasant Party and its leader, Vladko Maček, the agreement was criticized not only by Serbs, who called for the unification of Serbs into one unit as well, but also by the Croatian nationalist opposition, including the prominent members of the *Matica hrvatska* – Filip Lukas as well. Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), chap. 5.

The following comparative analysis of the content of the three professional geographical journals attempts to assess the cohesion of the network, the institutional affiliation of contributors to professional journals, and the focus of the articles. A comment by an influential American geographer of the first half of the twentieth century, John K. Wright, is noteworthy:

It should be observed that scientific geographical ideas are not necessarily expressed exclusively through publications devoted in name to geography. One of the most interesting trends in modern scholarship is the ever increasing manifestation of the geographical spirit in all the natural and social sciences, a development that no serious student of recent intellectual progress may well overlook.²⁴⁸

This warning is important for the understanding of the interdisciplinary character of geography in interwar Yugoslavia, which was partially manifested in scientific journals dedicated to geography as well.

Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva, published in Belgrade since 1912, *Geografski vestnik*, published in Ljubljana since 1925, and *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, published in Zagreb since 1929, helped to forge the connections between individual geographers and between different branches of the discipline and academic centers in Yugoslavia.²⁴⁹ While this analysis deepens the understanding of interdisciplinary relations, it should be approached cautiously. For instance, Cvijić's works were possibly more talked about than actually read by his colleagues, and although many foreign, mostly German, works dealing with theoretical, methodological, conceptual, and philosophical tenets of geography were reviewed in the aforementioned journals, these ideas were not necessarily applied to concrete research.

Artur Gavazzi, Anton Melik, and Ivo Rubić were the only Yugoslav geographers in the interwar period who published in all three geographical journals. Cvijić, who died in 1927, could also be counted among them, as he was an unavoidable reference of many of the works in all the journals. However, these examples only partially facilitated the transfer of ideas, concepts, or methodology. For instance, no significant upswing of interest in climatology or maritime geography in other centers of the Yugoslav network resulted from the works of Gavazzi and Rubić being published there.

Rather, as was the case with Rubić and his focus on the Adriatic, a more tangible result

²⁴⁸ Wright, "A Plea for the History of Geography," 487.

²⁴⁹ To a certain degree, they all resembled the original *National Geographic* (launched in 1888), inasmuch as it "was created to serve the community of scientists associated with the geographical work of the federal government, a category that included surveyors, topographers, statisticians, hydrographers, geologists, and explorers." Susan Schulten, *Geographical Imagination in America*, 45-46. The main difference seems to be involvement in the work of government, but Belgrade geographers, much more than their colleagues from Ljubljana and Zagreb, as will be shown in chapters three and four, in fact did maintain close relations with the government.

was in informing the professional readership as well as the general public about the issues in which they were otherwise not directly involved.²⁵⁰ The Treaty of Rapallo, signed by Italy and Yugoslavia in 1920, settled the Adriatic question. Italy gained less territory than the United Kingdom and France had promised it in the secret Treaty of London in 1915: it received the eastern Slovene lands, Istria, Zara/Zadar, and some islands, while Fiume/Rijeka was established as an independent state, only to be incorporated into Italy in 1924. Throughout the interwar period, Rubić and a small group of geographers who were, often by birth, personally attached to the Littoral, continued to inform the Yugoslav public about the Adriatic question through a series of publications, making it a Yugoslav rather than only a Croatian or Slovenian issue.²⁵¹

In the Ljubljana-based *Geografski vestnik*, only six geographers from Yugoslavia who were not affiliated with Ljubljana (five Croats – Ivo Horvat, Marijan Salopek, Zvonimir Dugački, Artur Gavazzi, and Rubić – who could be characterized as occupying an in-between position, as well as one Serbian, Borivoje Ž. Milojević) published articles between 1925 and 1940. Out of a total of one hundred and thirty-four articles (excluding short notices and book reviews) published in *Geografski vestnik* in this period, the authors of thirteen (9.7 percent) articles were from other parts of Yugoslavia and only four (3 percent) were from outside Yugoslavia. Therefore, only 12.7 percent of all articles published in *Geografski vestnik* were written by scientists outside Ljubljana and Slovenia.²⁵² However, there was a relatively strong awareness of the disciplinary development of geography elsewhere in Europe, including East-Central Europe, possibly stronger than in other centers.²⁵³

During a shorter period of publication (only ten volumes between 1929 and 1939 were published, irregularly), the number of articles by geographers from other parts of Yugoslavia in *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* from Zagreb was significantly higher. This was primarily due to the last volume published before the Second World War, to which fourteen Serbian, Slovenian,

²⁵⁰ Rubić was active in the association *Jadranska straža* (the Adriatic Guard). See Igor Tchoukarine, “The Contested Adriatic Sea: The Adriatic Guard and Identity Politics in Interwar Yugoslavia,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): 33-51.

²⁵¹ Rubić, *Naši otoci na Jadranu*; Rubić, *Talijani na Primorju Kraljevine Jugoslavije*; Rubić, “Gravitacijske zone važnijih luka”; Valter Bohinec, Silvo Kranjec, and Karel Dobida, *Naše morje* (Celje: Jadranska straža, 1933); Nikola Žic, *Istra* (Zagreb: Biblioteka Hrvata izvan domovine, 1936).

²⁵² Since individual authors contributed to several volumes or even authored more than one article in a single volume, individual articles are counted rather than authors. Artur Gavazzi, who published two articles in the first volume from 1925, is here counted as “Slovenian” because he worked in Ljubljana at the time, and was listed in the content as “from Ljubljana.” However, Svetozar Ilešič is also counted as Slovenian, although in the volume 12/13 from 1936-1937 he is listed as “from Paris.”

²⁵³ Yves Chataigneau, “Les tendances actuelles de l’école géographique Française,” *Geografski vestnik* 1, no. 2 (1925): 81-86; Paul Gauss, “Entwicklungstendenzen und gegenwärtiger Stand der wissenschaftliche Geographie in Deutschland,” *Geografski vestnik* 2, no. 1 (1926): 1-8; Ladislav Jonaš, “Geografija v Češkoslovaški Republici,” *Geografski vestnik* 2, no. 4 (1926): 133-139.

and Bulgarian geographers contributed. The editor of *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, Artur Gavazzi, most likely established contacts with the mentioned Bulgarian colleagues at the fourth Congress of the Slavic Geographers and Ethnographers that took place in Sofia in 1935, which he, among other Yugoslav geographers, attended.²⁵⁴ Out of fifty-nine articles (again excluding chronicles and literary reviews) in ten volumes, the authors of five articles – one Italian, one German, and three Bulgarians – were from outside Yugoslavia (8.5 percent), nineteen (23.7 percent) articles were authored by scientists from other parts of Yugoslavia, which means that a relatively high 32.2 percent of all articles published in *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* were written by geographers outside Croatia.²⁵⁵

Glasnik geografskog društva, published in Belgrade, was receptive to other Yugoslav as well as non-Yugoslav geographers and ethnologists alike. Works by geographers Emmanuel de Martonne and Yves Chataigneau (who later had a career in diplomacy), and the historian and linguist Emile Haumant from France, or the champions of Czechoslovak geography like Viktor Dvorský and Jiří Daneš, were either originally written or translated for *Glasnik geografskog društva*.²⁵⁶ Yet, between 1912 and 1940, out of two hundred and seventy-one articles in twenty-six issues, the authors of thirty were non-Yugoslavs (11.1 percent), and a further twenty-one (7.7 percent) were Yugoslavs affiliated to institutions outside Serbia. Overall, only 18.8 percent of the articles in *Glasnik geografskog društva* were written by geographers and other scientists from outside Serbia.²⁵⁷ This relatively low participation of outsiders is surprising given the

²⁵⁴ Ilešič, “IV. kongres slovanskih geografov in etnografov v Sofiji”; Josip Roglič, “IV kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa u Sofiji,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 22 (1936): 118-120. Additionally, in 1936 Gavazzi became an honorary member of the Bulgarian geographical society and was awarded the order of St. Alexander. See Oppitz, “Artur Gavazzi,” 10.

²⁵⁵ While Artur Gavazzi was counted as a Slovenian author in the case of *Geografski vestnik* because he worked in Ljubljana at the time of publication, the Slovenian-born historian Ljudmil Hauptmann, who taught history in Zagreb from 1926 to 1947, is counted as a Croatian contributor, but the Croatian-born geographer Josip Roglič, who will shape Croatian geography after the Second World War, is counted as a non-Croatian contributor because he taught geography in a Belgrade school at the time of publication (but he also studied in Vienna and Berlin in the academic year 1938/1939).

²⁵⁶ Emmanuel de Martonne, “Le relief des monts metalliferes du Banat,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 7-8 (1922): 1-21; Viktor Dvorský, “O ispitivanju katuna u zapadnom delu Balkanskog poluostrva,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva*, no. 3-4 (1914): 98-102; Dvorský, “Privreda u Čehoslovačkoj,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 7-8 (1922): 265-275; Dvorský, “Le rôle des montagnes dans la politique moderne,” *Glasnik geografskog društva* 9 (1923): 33-37; Jiří Daneš, “Promatranja iz ljumske oblasti,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva*, no. 3-4 (1914): 90-97; Daneš, “Pećine u kanjonu Prače i u okolini Glasinačkog polja,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 5 (1921): 139-142; Daneš, “O naučnom radu Jovana Cvijića,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 10 (1924): 82-85; Yves Chataigneau, “Nove države: Austrija, Mađarska, Čeho-Slovačka, Jugoslavija, Bugarska i Rumunija,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 5 (1921): 196-211; Chataigneau, “La région karstique de la Romanija,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 6 (1921): 97-101.

²⁵⁷ The count in the Belgrade case is especially sensitive since a significant number of geographers spent at least some time there. If they published in *Glasnik* while affiliated either to the University of Belgrade or the Belgrade school of geography, they are counted as local. Such was the case with the Croatian Josip Roglič and the Russian Vladimir Laskarev.

importance and appeal of the Belgrade school of geography for the other geographers in Yugoslavia and its connectedness with foreign geographical traditions. This was due primarily to a larger number of geographers in Serbia, where the network was significantly denser than in Ljubljana and Zagreb. The participation of geographers from across the Yugoslav network in *Glasnik* remained, in fact, disproportionately small.

The absence of works reviewed in both *Geografski vestnik* and *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* further illustrates the limited coherence of the network. The only work reviewed in journals from Ljubljana and Zagreb was *Medjimurje* by Zvonimir Dugački.²⁵⁸ Interestingly, the two reviews could not have been more different. While in a positive review in *Geografski vestnik* Svetozar Ilešič described Dugački as “one of the rare representatives of the modern geographical research in Croatia,” and argued that the book “corresponds to the contemporary geographical methods,”²⁵⁹ Artur Gavazzi was highly critical of it in *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*. Gavazzi wrote a polemical essay rather than a review; he had previously recommended that an earlier version of the manuscript not be published by the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb because it contained numerous errors, and now he saw its publication by a regional branch of the Matica hrvatska as a personal insult. Instead of reviewing the new, revised, version of the work, Gavazzi referred to his notes on the older version.

According to Gavazzi, Dugački used a wrong form of the region’s name, obsolete literature, was superficial in his research and imprecise in his description, wrongly identified and confused natural, ethnic, and political borders, and had no understanding of geology.²⁶⁰ The significance of this review is even greater if we bear in mind the small number of geographical publications in Yugoslavia and the general practice of at least commending authors for good intentions in addressing an important yet under-researched issue, if not the content itself. In a sharp contrast to Ilešič, Gavazzi stated:

Contemporary regional geography demands the causal relations between its individual natural and anthropological elements to be established. This cannot be found in this treatise. On the contrary, every segment in the anthropologic aspect is independent from the others, and no relations to the natural landscape are established. Therefore, this is not anthropogeography but statistics.²⁶¹

Gavazzi’s final observation was partially correct, as many Yugoslav geographers abundantly

²⁵⁸ Zvonimir Dugački, *Medjimurje* (Čakovec: Pododbor Matice Hrvatske), 1936.

²⁵⁹ Svetozar Ilešič, review of *Medjimurje*, by Zvonimir Dugački, *Geografski vestnik* 12-13 (1936-1937): 236.

²⁶⁰ Artur Gavazzi, “Geografska monografija o Medjimurju,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 7 (1936): 6-14.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

relied on statistics, often more than fieldwork, especially when it came to the geomorphological observation and research.²⁶² Gavazzi's attitude can be interpreted as more than just a professional disagreement. Negative reviews, especially of a work by an author within the same scientific center, were rare.²⁶³ Although some of Gavazzi's complaints were grounded, the unusually harsh tone and "nit-picking" point to a conflict reaching deeper than methodological issues, especially as Dugački had previously published in the *Hrvatski geografski glasnik*, which was edited by Gavazzi.²⁶⁴

To criticize Dugački meant, by association, to criticize Filip Lukas, Dugački's superior at the Economic-Commercial School and the president of the Matica hrvatska, whose regional chapter published the monograph. Gavazzi and Lukas had successfully collaborated in the early 1930s: two monographs, one by each of them, were published by the Matica hrvatska in 1931 and 1935 as parts of a larger envisioned series on the geography of Europe by the Matica hrvatska.²⁶⁵ By 1939, Gavazzi had prepared another manuscript, on the Apennine Peninsula,²⁶⁶ but the Matica did not publish it. This could have been a manifestation of a rift between Gavazzi and Lukas, especially as in the late 1930s, as will be shown in chapter five, Artur Gavazzi's son, Milovan, was directly engaged in a political and scientific conflict with Lukas and the Matica hrvatska. Instead, the Croatian Academy of Science and Art (as the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art was renamed in 1941-1945) published it.²⁶⁷

²⁶² Ivo Rubić, "Dužina obale, broj otoka i luka Države S.H.S.," *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925): 52-55; Rubić, "Gravitacijske zone važnijih luka," 202-232.

²⁶³ Another example of a relatively unfavorable review was Emilo Cvetić's review of *Geografija Jugoslavije*, by Milan Šenoa, pts. 1 and 2, *Prosvetni glasnik* 39, no. 1 (1922): 56-62; no. 2 (1922): 114-117.

²⁶⁴ Zvonimir Dugački, "Fünfzig Jahre Wirtschaftsgeographie," *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 4, no. 1 (1932): 275-279; Dugački, "Prometnogeografski značaj riječke i sušačke luke," *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 5 (1934): 14-20.

²⁶⁵ Gavazzi, *Zemljopis Evrope*, vol. 1, *Sjeverna Evropa*; Filip Lukas, *Zapadna Evropa: Britanski otoci* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1935).

²⁶⁶ Oto Oppitz, "Artur Gavazzi," 9.

²⁶⁷ Artur Gavazzi, *Apeninski poluotok i susjedna Padsko-Venetska nizina* (Zagreb: HAZU, 1942).

Chapter 2

SETTING THE CANON OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL NARRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA:

JOVAN CVIJIĆ AND ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHY OF THE BALKANS

The first, if not the only, name associated with geography in Yugoslavia is that of Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927). Cvijić is considered a towering figure of Serbian and Yugoslav geography in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, as he shaped the philosophical and methodological tenets of the discipline and set the course for intensive research in and human geography. There is a considerable literature on Cvijić and his work, yet few studies are comprehensive, and even fewer take into consideration recent developments in the history of science. This chapter approaches Cvijić and his work in the context of a larger Yugoslav and international network of geographers. Although the discursive analysis of his publications remains the dominant methodological approach, a remarkable but rarely used collection of Cvijić's personal correspondence opens new perspectives and enables the mapping of the geographical network in interwar Yugoslavia.¹ Throughout this dissertation, Cvijić appears as a center of an emerging Yugoslav geographical network, an individual who, through his institutional connections and geographical ideas, shaped the network and, alongside several other lesser-known geographers from Ljubljana and Zagreb, applied geographical thinking to the nation-building project.

Cvijić studied geography in Belgrade (1884-1888) and Vienna (1889-1892), where he wrote a dissertation on the Karst.² His professor in Vienna, the German geographer and geologist Albrecht Penck (1858-1945), heavily influenced Cvijić and they maintained cordial, even friendly, relations until Cvijić's death.³ In 1893, Cvijić started teaching geography in

¹ Arhiv SANU, collections 13484 and 14460. Parts of this archival collection, together with some other relevant collections of archival material on Cvijić, have previously been used by Ljubinka Trgovčević in "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 173-231.

² Jovan Cvijić, *Das Karstphänomen: Versuch einer morphologischen Monographie* (Vienna: Hölzel, 1893).

³ Clewing and Pezo have suggested that Cvijić's work influenced Penck's "völkisch turn" in the 1920s. Penck was among the central figures in German nationalist and revisionist geography during the interwar period and some of the motifs he employed correspond to Cvijić's. However, Cvijić was not the only geographer constructing such a narrative in the service of the nationalist project. In Germany in particular, many geographers dealt with similar topics, and, although Cvijić's influence should not be a priori dismissed, Penck's work should be primarily observed within this context. Konrad Clewing and Edvin Pezo, "Jovan Cvijić als Historiker und Nationsbildner. Zu Ertrag und Grenzen seines anthropogeographischen Ansatzes zur Migrationsgeschichte," in *Beruf und Berufung: Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 19. und 20.*

Belgrade, where he established the Geographical Institute at the Velika škola (Grand School) and, in 1910, the Geographical Society. He served as the rector of the University of Belgrade in 1906-1907 and in 1919-1920, and was president of the Serbian Royal Academy from 1921 until his death. Cvijić was among the founders and the leader of a small and short-lived political party, Jugoslovenska demokratska liga (Yugoslav Democratic League), but his active political career was brief.⁴ Especially important was his involvement in the work of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920 in the capacity of president of the Historical-Ethnographic Section, whose task was to provide scientific support for the Yugoslav territorial claims. His role in Paris, analyzed more in depth in chapter three, has been repeatedly addresses by scholars.⁵

A remark made by Serbian historian Ljubinka Trgovčević in the mid-1970s – “The scientific work of Jovan Cvijić has often been the object of scholarly and publicist interest, while less attention was paid to his public and national work” – is no longer valid.⁶ On the contrary, a practice of writing about Cvijić and his contribution to the national cause in an almost hagiographic manner, rather than about the scientific-geographical aspect of his works has been established. Three phases in the reception of his work are discernible. First, he was venerated already during his life, as newspapers articles, references by his colleagues, collections of his texts and speeches, and the publications on the occasion of the thirty-five years of his career witness.⁷ Soon after his death, a commemorative volume in his honor was published.⁸

Second, although younger generations of geographers partially moved away from his views on anthropogeography and although anthropogeography lost such a prominent position after the Second World War, the predominant view on Cvijić and his role changed little in

Jahrhundert, ed. Markus Krzoska and Hans-Christian (Münster: LIT, 2005), 271-2n16.

⁴ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 201-2; Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” 195-96.

⁵ Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” and Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije i stvaranje jugoslovenske države, 1914-1920* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga; Srpska književna zadruga: 1986) are the most detailed accounts. In literature on the Paris Peace Conference, Cvijić appears mostly in the capacity of one of the members of the Serbian delegation acting for the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. See Bogdan Krizman and Bogumil Hrabak, eds., *Zapisnici sa sednica delegacije Kraljevine SHS na mirovnoj konferenciji u Parizu 1919-1920* (Belgrade: Institut društvenih nauka; Odeljenje za istorijske nauke, 1960); Ivo Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study in Frontiersmaking* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); Andrej Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira 1919-1920* (Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije, 1969); and Dejan Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010).

⁶ Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” 173.

⁷ Jovan Cvijić, *Govori i članci*, 4 vols. (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921-1923); Pavle Vujević, ed., *Zbornik radova posvećen Jovanu Cvijiću: povodom tridesetpetogodišnjice naučnog rada od prijatelja i saradnika* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1924).

⁸ Jovan Cvijić, *Cvijićeva knjiga*, ed. Jovan Erdeljanović (Belgrade: Srpska književni zadruga, 1927).

socialist Yugoslavia. However, his political and ideological beliefs had to be negotiated. There were attempts to present Cvijić as having had, if not communist, then at least socialist inclinations, which were difficult to establish plausibly beyond the fact that in his youth he read the works of a pioneer of socialism in Serbia, Svetozar Marković. According to the exaggerated account of one of his closest students, Vojislav Radovanović, although “a genius in his field,” Cvijić was “occasionally reactionary. Still, certain ideological dark spots on the scientific work of this world-famous scholar cannot overcast the brilliant scientific work of the world’s greatest geographer of the first decades of the twentieth century.”⁹ In the view of some Yugoslav scholars, although “affected by the bourgeois psychology” of the time – and although not a Marxist – Cvijić allegedly “abundantly used Marx’s dialectic-materialistic method as a general philosophical approach to the issues he dealt with,” but such interpretations remain unsubstantiated.¹⁰

Third, although Cvijić was still considered a unique and pioneering figure after 1945, he was more often than not defined as a Serbian rather than a Yugoslav geographer. Such qualifications further intensified after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.¹¹ More recently, Živadin Jovičić repeated the common claim that Cvijić was the most significant figure in Serbian cultural history after Vuk Karadžić (a reformist and codifier of the Serbian language from the early nineteenth century). According to Jovičić, Cvijić elaborated on “philosophical questions of anthropogeography and the geographical discipline,” and *Balkansko poluostrvo* was a work of “geo-philosophical providence.”¹² Recent Serbian scholarship has been prone to observe Cvijić in an exclusively Serbian context and to focus on the importance, advantages, and perils of the geopolitical location of Serbia articulated in his writings, and on the connection between his patriotism and scholarship.¹³ The insistence on Cvijić’s political agenda, which undoubtedly exists in virtually all of his anthropogeographical works, as opposed to most of his geomorphological works, tends to neglect the complexity of his opus and to reduce it to a

⁹ Vojislav Radovanović, *Jovan Cvijić* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1958), 29.

¹⁰ Milenko Tešić, “Teorijsko-metodološki osnov Cvijićeveg stvaralaštva,” in *Naučno delo Jovana Cvijića: Povodom pedesetogodišnjice njegove smrti*, ed. Radomir Lukić et al. (Belgrade: SANU, 1982), 446.

¹¹ Jovan Cvijić, *Sabrana dela*, 14 vols. (Belgrade: SANU, 1987-2000).

¹² Živadin Jovičić, “Cvijićeve antropogeografska misao – idejna osnova savremene geografije,” *Demografija* 1 (2004): 16.

¹³ Branislav Milutinović, “Patriotizam Jovana Cvijića kao jedan od osnovnih zadataka njegovog naučnog rada,” *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini*, no. 32 (2002): 333-38; Mirko Grčić, “Cvijićeve percepcija geopolitičkog položaja Srbije,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 88, no. 2 (2008): 3-12. On the other hand, Marko Pišev, drawing upon the works of, among others, Jovo Bakić and Ljubinka Trgovčević, took a more critical and theoretically somewhat more refined stance toward the link between Cvijić’s patriotism and science. See Pišev, *Politička etnografija i srpska intelektualna elita u vreme stvaranja Jugoslavije, 1914-1919: slučaj Jovana Cvijića* (Belgrade: Srpski genealoški centar, 2013).

straightforward scholarly corroboration of a nationalist project. Cvijić was a scientist closely involved in creating Yugoslavia, both as a concept, through his scientific work, and as a political reality, through his activity at the Paris Peace Conference and in domestic politics. His scientific merit and prestige in international scientific circles have always been stressed. The place of Cvijić among other contemporary ideologists of either Serbian or Yugoslav nationalism has been described in detail. The group of works treating Cvijić primarily as a scientist has been incomparably smaller, partially because there have been few attempts to write the history of science in the Yugoslav context.¹⁴

With just a couple existing monographs comprehensively covering his work,¹⁵ Cvijić has often been examined as a side-note in the context of nationalist narratives in Yugoslavia. Some of these works gave valuable, although mostly fragmentary, insights in the political aspect of Cvijić's work.¹⁶ There is also a number of articles, chapters, and monographs more closely dealing with his anthropogeography.¹⁷ Two topics have been represented most strongly: the delineation of the Serbian and Yugoslav national space and the ethnopsychology of the Balkan peoples, both seen as an attempt to assert the primacy of Serbs over other groups in Yugoslavia and the Balkans. Much of the writing on Cvijić reveals an understanding of politics and science as inherently opposed categories. Some recent Croatian commentators dismissed Cvijić's scientific merit not on scientific but on implicitly political grounds, while his, primarily Serbian, apologists tend to overlook the political dimension or to reduce it to a seemingly benign patriotism.

Most works on Cvijić have treated him and his scientific production as unique and singular, with little or no awareness of science as a "process"¹⁸ involving a large number of

¹⁴ However, the Serbian Academy of Science and Art published a 13-volume bio-bibliographical series on the Serbian scientist, and in Croatia Žarko Dadić wrote on the interconnectedness of science and politics. See *Život i delo srpskih naučnika*, 13 vols. (Belgrade: SANU, 1996-2012); Žarko Dadić, *Egzaktne znanosti u Hrvatskoj u ožrađu politike i ideologije (1900-1960)* (Zagreb: Izvori, 2010).

¹⁵ Radovanović, *Jovan Cvijić*; and Milorad Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić: naučnik, javni radnik, državnik* (Sremski Karlovci: Izdavačka knjižnica Zorana Stojanovića, 1994).

¹⁶ John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 159-60; Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*; Holm Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Serbiens: 19.-21. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2007); Ljubinka Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije i stvaranje jugoslovenske države, 1914-1920* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga; Srpska književna zadruga: 1986); Ljubinka Trgovčević, "South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst, 2003), 222-37; and Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Frank Carter, "Between East and West: Geography in Higher Education in Yugoslavia," *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 4, no. 2 (1980): 43-53; Clewing and Pezo, "Jovan Cvijić als Historiker und Nationsbildner," 265-97; Holm Sundhaussen, "Serbische Volksgeschichte. Historiker und Ethnologen im Kampf um Volk und Raum vom Ende des 19. bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Volksgeschichten im Europa der Zwischenkriegszeit*, ed. Manfred Hettling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 301-25.

¹⁸ David L. Hull, *Science as a Process: An Evolutionary Account of the Social and Conceptual*

agents mutually connected in different ways. This is not to say that Cvijić was not the most prolific and persuasive Yugoslav geographer in the first half of the twentieth century. However, only by including geographers from other academic centers of interwar Yugoslavia – Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Skopje – it is possible to talk about Yugoslav geography in the full sense, and about the scientific and political debates that marked interwar Yugoslavia. In this expanded scope of research, Cvijić still occupies the central position; the rest of this chapter examines Cvijić as the nexus of the network of geographers in the Yugoslav territories prior to 1918 and in interwar Yugoslavia, and his anthropogeographical work in the context of establishing the canon¹⁹ of the geographical narration of Yugoslavia.

2.1. Jovan Cvijić as a center of the Yugoslav geographical network

Cvijić authored the most prominent geographical works on the Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic territories and was therefore a center of the geographical network. However, he was also in a center of the network in a more tangible sense. Cvijić was a nexus of communication for Yugoslav geographers both before and especially after 1918 because of his position as the head of the largest and most prestigious geographical institutions in Belgrade (the Institute for Geography at the University of Belgrade and the Geographical Society) and his acquaintances and collegial relationships with Yugoslav and foreign geographers and other scientists. His correspondence reveals an intensive communication with fellow geographers in Belgrade, Skopje, Zagreb, and, to a lesser degree, Ljubljana. His colleagues turned to him for advice on appointments to academic positions; they exchanged professional literature, shared research findings, and maintained courteous communication with frequent inquiries about his declining health.

Cvijić's position and role point to an important problem: How to approach and examine geography in Yugoslavia after his death in 1927? In Ljubljana and Zagreb, for instance, this was the period of intensified geographical production with profound political implications.

Development of Science (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

¹⁹ I do not wish to overburden the concept of “canon” used in this dissertation with theoretical deliberations. I use it in a literary theory sense, as “a body of writings established as authentic,” or as an “author’s works which are accepted as genuine,” but with an important caveat – the acceptance of the canon by a professional readership is crucial. The canon of the geographical narration of the Yugoslav land and people(s) that Cvijić formulated thus refers to a number of his works in which he expounded his geographical ideas and which Yugoslav and foreign geographers accepted and referred to in their works. S.v. canon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 116.

Although virtually all Yugoslav geographers in the interwar period implicitly or explicitly referred to Cvijić's work, their own scientific production cannot be seen only in terms of receptiveness to Cvijić's ideas. If this chapter examines Cvijić's anthropogeographical work, it is in order to outline the foundations for geographical discourse used by his contemporaries and younger colleagues. The following chapters will frequently refer to ideas expounded here, but they will also move to the "margins" of the geographical network in interwar Yugoslavia – its secondary centers in Ljubljana and Zagreb.

For a number of reasons, Cvijić's position at the center of the geographical network can be understood as that of a figure *in absentia*. It can be taken both literally and metaphorically, as it is applicable to extensive periods when Cvijić was physically absent from Belgrade while the scientific work and communication of geographers continued via him, and as it can help explain the persistence of the structure and modalities of communication within the network after his death. The main aim of approaching Cvijić and his role within a larger scientific network in this manner is to challenge the predominant understanding of him as a lone genius and to point to the fact that, although a crucial part of the network, he was nonetheless just one of the contributors to it. This seems especially important for the period after his death in 1927. Instead of focusing on the disappearance of the network's central figure, which was followed by the more or less successful borrowing of his ideas by his students, I propose to examine the strategies employed already during his lifetime to maintain the functioning of the network that revolved around him, but was not limited to him. The aim of treating Cvijić as a figure *in absentia* is dual: to take his unquestionably pivotal geographical work into consideration, and to open the path to an examination of other geographers who either agreed or disagreed with him, but nevertheless participated in the same scientific network, connected through institutional ties and scientific (and political) ideas.

Cvijić spent considerable parts of his life away from Belgrade. Starting in 1888, he conducted extensive field research in all parts of the Balkan Peninsula.²⁰ Almost every summer until 1914, he spent one to several months travelling, sometimes with some of his students, but nevertheless communicating, albeit to a limited extent, with his disciples and colleagues in Belgrade. After the First World War, his health declined and he spent more and more time in various spas and health resorts abroad, mostly in Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Switzerland.²¹

²⁰ Jovan Cvijić, "Forschungsreisen and der Balkan-Halbinsel," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 37 (1902): 196-214.

²¹ This is, for instance, visible in the addresses on the letters he received or in the headers of letters he sent, as they often contained the name and location of the hotel.

The condition of his health was of considerable interest to the press, and numerous obituaries included an overview of the development of his illness (he suffered from a gallstone and a heart condition), which escalated during his travels in Carinthia/Koruška in preparation for the plebiscite in 1920.²² The Belgrade press also covered his research trips and travels to conferences.²³ After the war, these expeditions started taking their toll on Cvijić's health. In a 1920 letter, Borivoje Ž. Milojević asked Cvijić on behalf of his students to "abstain from excursions, which are always strenuous," and said that they would "greatly rejoice to hear that [you have] commenced sorting out your morphological [research] experiences" instead.²⁴

His stay in the United Kingdom and France during the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference was the period of absence of greatest importance. This is when he wrote his best-known work, *La Péninsule balkanique*, established contacts with geographers and other scientists as well as policy-makers from all over the world, and came to be considered a leading international expert on the geography of the Balkans.²⁵ The First World War marked the strongest disruption in the work of Belgrade geographical school because a large number of people, including most of the intellectual elite, left Serbia in the face of the invading Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and German armies in 1915. Even then, however – with Belgrade geographers scattered in foreign, mostly French, university towns or fighting in the Serbian army – the network was temporarily dislocated rather than suspended.

Cvijić's frequent correspondence with his students since the turn of the twentieth century reveals that his students did a significant part of the work necessary for running the two journals, *Naselja srpskih zemalja* (Settlements of the Serbian Lands) and *Glasnik geografskog društva* (Bulletin of the Geographical Society). Their work also included organizing lectures at the Geographical Society in Belgrade, seminars at the University, collecting and editing papers for the journals, as well as doing their own research – all of which was done in agreement with Cvijić and with his approval. While that was not an unusual academic practice, it illustrates how the scientific network revolved around Cvijić even in his absence.

With the exception of this correspondence, which ended with his death on January 16, 1927, Cvijić's role at the center of the network, to a certain extent, continued even afterwards. This was not only a result of the application of his methodology and references to his concepts

²² Arhiv SANU, 14460-VIII-B-6-1, "Razvoj Cvijićeve bolesti" (Development of Cvijić's illness). See also Č.N., "Razvoj Cvijićeve bolesti: prema pričanju dr. Milorada Dragića," *Politika*, January 18, 1927.

²³ "Varvari," *Politika*, July 4, 1908.

²⁴ Arhiv SANU, 13484-790-18, Borivoje Ž. Milojević to Jovan Cvijić, September 28, 1920.

²⁵ Importantly, because of the political situation, German geographers with expertise in the Balkans, such as Albrecht Penck and Norbert Krebs, were mostly not even taken into consideration by the Western Allies.

or observations by his disciples, but also of a number of posthumous publications.²⁶ Additionally, the correspondence of his widow, Ljubica Cvijić,²⁷ reveals that some of his closest associates such as Jovan Erdeljanović and Borivoje Ž. Milojević maintained communications with their late teacher's wife. Somewhat surprisingly, they kept Ljubica Cvijić well informed about the posthumous publications and the reception of Cvijić's work, including technical and detailed information on the difficulties in translating Cvijić's work on Karst into French.²⁸ When the second volume of *Balkansko poluostrvo* was about to be published in Serbo-Croatian in 1931, Ljubica Cvijić was in frequent contact with the editor, Jovan Erdeljanović. His reports on the progress were also detailed.²⁹ In a letter, Erdeljanović even expressed some dissatisfaction with the translation by the ethnologist Borivoje Drobñaković. Erdeljanović was in favor of relying on the French original rather than on Cvijić's notes, since Cvijić had crystallized his ideas in the book.³⁰ Ljubica Cvijić's role in the publication of the translation of the second volume appears to have been more than just a marginal one, and Erdeljanović sent her drafts as soon as they were completed.³¹ She was also notified about delays in printing, some of which were due to censorship that demanded minor rephrasing,³² and was even asked to intervene with "Mr. Cvijić's friends" to alleviate the bureaucratic obstacles Erdeljanović faced.³³

Ljubica Cvijić dispatched copies of the book to geographers and institutions suggested by Erdeljanović,³⁴ but this was a courteous gesture rather than part of an elaborate plan as was the case with the dissemination of the French original, *La Péninsule balkanique*, in 1918. Yugoslavia's importance for global and European politics in the early 1930s was significantly smaller than at the very end of the First World War. Some of the late Cvijić's colleagues and contacts had died, most could not read Serbo-Croatian anyway, and some of them had read the book in the French original. Additionally, the publication of the second volume of *Balkansko*

²⁶ A list of Cvijić's posthumously published works includes the Serbo-Croatian translation of his best-known and most controversial piece, the second volume of *Balkansko poluostrvo*, in 1931, as well as abridged translations of his main points regarding Yugoslav ethnopsychology in English. See Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslavenske zemlje: osnovi antropogeografije*, vol. 2, *Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena*, trans. Borivoje Drobñaković, ed. Jovan Erdeljanović (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1931). The list of posthumously published works includes a number of works dealing with physical geography as well.

²⁷ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a, Prepiska Ljubice Cvijić (Correspondence of Ljubica Cvijić).

²⁸ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-111, Borivoje Ž. Milojević to Ljubica Cvijić, October 28, 1931; Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-113, Borivoje Ž. Milojević to Ljubica Cvijić, January 31, 1933.

²⁹ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-55, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, August 17, 1930.

³⁰ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-56, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, November 1, 1930.

³¹ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-59, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, December 20, 1930; Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-60, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, January 20, 1931.

³² Unfortunately, Erdeljanović did not specify which parts the censors found problematic.

³³ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-61, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, June 27, 1931.

³⁴ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-64, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, October 19, 1931.

poluostrvo came as a financial burden in times of economic crisis. For these reasons, the global reach of *La Péninsule balkanique* could not have been repeated. The second volume of *Balkansko poluostrvo* remained confined to Yugoslavia. It contained some of the most politically-laden parts of Cvijić's work, above all the ethnopsychological typology of the peoples of the Balkans. It narrated the differences between the Yugoslav "tribes" to Yugoslav rather than international readers; it was an anthropogeographical work on Yugoslavs for Yugoslavs. However, it was not "Yugoslav" in a full sense. While the first translated volume was published in both the Cyrillic and Latin scripts, in Belgrade and Zagreb, the second volume was published only in the Cyrillic script in Belgrade.

Cvijić's publications appeared in several languages besides Serbian. German was dominant at the beginning of his career. Through works in German, he built a reputation as a systematic and insightful scientist. However, those works aimed primarily at fellow physical geographers interested in the Karst, glaciations, and geomorphology in general. His internationally best-known anthropogeographical works, including *La Péninsule balkanique*, mostly written during the First World War, were in French. Additionally, a part of his opus was translated into English in 1918.³⁵ These works dealt with the geographical distribution of peoples in the Balkans and the zones of civilization, both of which were of great importance for the political situation at the end of the Great War, while his work in ethnopsychology became known to an English-speaking readership only after his death.³⁶ The circumstances of the posthumous publication of Cvijić's works in Yugoslavia and abroad additionally point to Cvijić's persistent position at the center of the Yugoslav geographical network, whether maintained by his widow or his disciples.

Cvijić communicated with foreign geographers as well. A considerable number of Penck's letters to Cvijić between the mid-1890s and the mid-1920 (the correspondence was entirely in German) indicate that they were in almost friendly relations. Dispensing with rigid courteous form, Penck already in the 1890s addressed the seven-years-younger Cvijić as "Lieber Cvijić" or "Lieber Freund." Penck's close relationship with Cvijić, his interest in the geography of the Balkans, and especially his claim that he encouraged German geographers to

³⁵ Jovan Cvijić, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *Geographical Review* 5, no. 5 (1918): 345-361; and Cvijić, "The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula," *Geographical Review* 5, no. 6 (1918): 470-482.

³⁶ Jovan Cvijić, "Studies in Yugoslav Psychology I," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 9, no. 26 (1930): 375-90; Cvijić, "Studies in Yugoslav Psychology II," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 9, no. 27 (1931): 662-81; Cvijić, "Studies in Yugoslav Psychology III," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 10, no. 28 (1931): 58-79.

learn Slavic languages after the Great War,³⁷ seem incompatible with Niko Županič's claim that Penck used to belittle and insult the Slavs during lectures – as well as with the nationalist attitudes in Penck's interwar works.³⁸ Penck even sent Cvijić a copy of his map of the spread of the German population in the “Polish corridor,” which supported Great-German territorial claims.³⁹ However, for an expert in the Balkans, it is strange that in 1922 he mistook Yugoslavia for a republic.⁴⁰

Penck was the first to resume the correspondence after the war. In 1920, he informed Cvijić about his family affairs, initially in a more reserved tone than before 1914. He also informed Cvijić that “behind our fronts, a lot of scientific work has been done,”⁴¹ giving an account of the research and scientific production that German scientists had conducted in the Balkans while it was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and German forces, but also expressing his sympathies with Cvijić for having lost much of his material and work. Penck was asked to mediate between the Yugoslav and German governments in an attempt to recover some of Cvijić's manuscripts, apparently taken by the retreating German army, but apparently with no success. While the war meant the cessation of work for Serbian geographers and ethnographers, Penck wrote about the difficulties German scholars experienced in continuing their research in the Balkans after the war. More important than the willingness of the Belgrade government to allow or help their research was the question of “how will the [local] population react [to German geographers], and will the local authorities support or hinder the [research] enterprise.”⁴² Penck asked Cvijić whether he thought German geographers would be considered spies, and Cvijić seems to have advised against research trips in Yugoslavia at the time.

Penck paid much attention to the exchange of publications – maps, separate articles, journal volumes, and monographs – and continuously prompted Cvijić to send more of them. He warned Cvijić of publications he had missed in his bibliographies, and on several occasions mentioned other geographers to whom he had lent Cvijić's works and with whom he discussed them. Far from the patronizing attitude of a Vienna and Berlin professor toward a colleague from peripheral Belgrade, Penck's letters point to a somewhat surprisingly egalitarian

³⁷ Arhiv SANU, 13484-953-49, Albrecht Penck to Jovan Cvijić, July 21, 1921.

³⁸ According to Županič, Penck often belittled and offended the Slavs in lectures: “At the University of Vienna, A[lbrecht] Penck insulted the Slavs in his audience . . . with his sarcastic comments.” Niko Županič, “Sistem istorijske antropologije balkanskih naroda,” *Starinar* 3 (1908): 44, quoted in Monika Milosavljević, “Niko Županič i istorijska antropologija balkanskih naroda,” *Etnoantropološki problemi*, n.s., 7, no. 3 (2012): 692.

³⁹ Arhiv SANU, 13484-953-50, Albrecht Penck to Jovan Cvijić, December 2, 1921; cf. Guntram Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda, 1918-1945* (London: Routledge, 1997), 23-33.

⁴⁰ Arhiv SANU, 13484-953-51, Albrecht Penck to Jovan Cvijić, August 3, 1922.

⁴¹ Arhiv SANU, 13484-953-48, Albrecht Penck to Jovan Cvijić, July 6, 1920.

⁴² Arhiv SANU, 13484-953-49, Albrecht Penck to Jovan Cvijić, July 21, 1921.

relationship. Furthermore, their communication illustrates the dynamics of a transnational scientific network and reveals not only that Cvijić (and Penck's other Yugoslav students) incorporated Penck's, mostly geomorphological, ideas to the nascent Yugoslav geography, but also that Penck was, together with, for instance, Vidal de la Blache and his disciples, one of the agents in introducing a wider European audience to Cvijić's geographical works. It is difficult to assess a possible change in Cvijić's attitude toward Penck in light of the war. At least in the 1920s, the memory of the First World War and the fact that Austria and Germany were Serbia's war opponents heavily influenced communications with the German geographers. The German geographical tradition exerted a great influence on Yugoslav geographers, who nevertheless remained reserved and cautious to political implications in the works of their German colleagues. Though German geography was held in high esteem – German journals and scientific publications were closely followed throughout the interwar period – Yugoslav geographers scrutinized it and tended to dismiss ideas they saw as politically tendentious, particularly regarding the southern boundaries of the German national space toward Yugoslavia.⁴³

Penck was not the only foreign connection to Cvijić and Yugoslav geography. In the interwar period, French scholars Yves Chategneau and Emile Haumant served as liaison officers between French and Yugoslav geography, and Jiří Daneš introduced Czechoslovak geography, including that of Viktor Dvorský, to his Yugoslav colleagues. They were not only intermediaries between academic traditions but also more or less active contributors to Serbian and Yugoslav geography – most notably in the pages of *Glasnik geografskog društva*. In addition, the Belgrade geographers themselves could claim a larger number of publications in foreign – again, mostly German and French – journals than their colleagues in Ljubljana and Zagreb. Still, publications by all Yugoslav geographers in foreign journals were noted and reviewed by their Yugoslav colleagues, as publications in foreign scientific journals were references par excellence, confirming one's outstanding scientific production.

⁴³ Anton Loboda [Anton Melik], review of *Die Südgrenze der deutschen Steiermark*, ed. Robert Sieger, *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 6 (1919): 378-379.

2.2. Cvijić's vision of anthropogeography: The Belgrade school of geography

Cvijić's first anthropogeographical work was a small but significant questionnaire, *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* (Instructions for study of villages in Serbia and other Serbian lands), published in 1896.⁴⁴ In *Uputstva*, Cvijić set the foundations for the future anthropogeographical research of the Balkans. He himself, his students, and numerous local informers (Cvijić particularly emphasized the valuable role of "reasonable peasants" and local priests and teachers, if there were any, for collecting the material⁴⁵) gathered observations from various localities and regions. Though Cvijić later expanded and refined the methodological approach in similar questionnaires for other regions,⁴⁶ already in *Uputstva* he expressed his view of the relationship between the environment and the culture – the nature and the people. The shape of villages, their location in relation to fertile fields and mountains, the types of houses and commercial buildings, economic activities, even the etymology of village names were to be examined with the physical environment in mind.

As the implicit aim was to examine the responses of the Balkan population to the environmental conditions, some later commentators on Cvijić's work interpreted it as having a non-determinist, Vidalian-like approach, stressing the possibilities of the adjustments of people rather than the determinist influences of nature, and proclaimed that Cvijić belonged to the French rather than the German geographical tradition.⁴⁷ Regardless of Cvijić's relationship to the two dominant geographical traditions of the time, the treatment of the relationship between nature and culture in his earliest anthropogeographical work calls for a different formulation of the question – not whether, but to what extent was Cvijić a geographical determinist.

Cvijić was, of course, heavily indebted to a number of predecessors and contemporaries. An intellectual debt still awaiting a proper examination is that to his Belgrade teacher, Vladimir Karić (1848-1894).⁴⁸ In 1887, when Cvijić was studying under his tutorage, Karić wrote a geographical monograph on Serbia, in which he stated: "The national spirit is related to geographical, ethnological, historical, and cultural elements, and is dependent on the [geographical element], and is in the position of reciprocal influence with other [elements]."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Jovan Cvijić, *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* (Belgrade, 1896).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁶ Jovan Cvijić, *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sremski Karlovci, 1904); and Cvijić, *Uputstva za ispitivanje naselja i psihičkih osobina* (Belgrade: Davidović, 1911).

⁴⁷ Milovan Mitrović, *Jugoslovenska predratna sociologija* (Belgrade: Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije, 1982), 24-32.

⁴⁸ Jovan Cvijić, Jovan M. Jovanović, Borivoje Ž. Milojević, and Sima M. Milojević, *Vladimir Karić: njegov geografski i nacionalni rad* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1929).

⁴⁹ Vladimir Karić, *Srbija: opis zemlje, naroda i države* (Belgrade: Kraljevsko-srpska državna štamparija,

The way Borivoje Ž. Milojević described Karić's methodology is almost a summary of Cvijić's own methodology as much as Karić's: "First the terrain and its inorganic and organic nature are described; then, in a more versatile and detailed manner, the people are studied; finally, the state is presented with its actions and institutions. The land as a foundation; the people, that live on it; and the state built by the people's work – three elements, which somewhat emphasize and depend one on another."⁵⁰ The "somewhat" (*donekle*) used by Milojević is a vital part of the contemporary understanding of the relationship between nature and culture. That they are mutually dependent was beyond any doubt; the question was to what extent.

Cvijić's "German connection," above all to Friedrich Ratzel, was stronger and longer-lasting than his intellectual links to the French possibilist geography of Paul Vidal de la Blache, which have often been emphasized. The main difference between the two approaches, as David N. Livingstone puts it, was that "whereas Ratzel dilated on the moulding power of environment, Vidal stressed society's role in modifying nature."⁵¹ This question was frequently, although usually only implicitly, posed by Yugoslav geographers in the first half of the twentieth century as well. As many authors of works on Cvijić have had only a limited insight into the history of geography, the contempt toward environmental determinism, arising from a lack of understanding of the concept, has been one of the main reasons why Cvijić's link to Ratzelian geographical paradigms has been systematically downplayed. Some, mostly Serbian, authors, directly refuted Cvijić's determinism while some Croatian authors emphasized it as a means of denying his scholarly value.⁵²

In an analysis of Cvijić's contribution to interwar Yugoslav sociology – rather than geography or ethnology, it should be noted – Milovan Mitrović tried to redeem Cvijić from what he understood as a reactionary Ratzelian paradigm in a paragraph worth quoting at length:

It is understandable why [Cvijić], as a geographer, accepted an anthropogeographical orientation to [address] wider problems of the relationship between the natural and social environment. But for him it did not mean only a natural-deterministic interpretation of economic, political, moral, other social, and, generally, phenomena of human life, as dependent exclusively on the geographical environment, which was otherwise characteristic for the dogmatic geography of Friedrich Ratzel. Cvijić came into contact with Ratzel's version of anthropogeography *accidentally*, because it was dominant at the place where he studied, but he *refuted vulgar geographical materialism*

1887), 213.

⁵⁰ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, "'Srbija' Vladimira Karića," in *Geografska nauka i nastava: metodološki članci* (Belgrade, 1934), 30.

⁵¹ David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 267.

⁵² Stanko Žuljić, "Kritički osvrt na neke zaključke i poruke J. Cvijića u njegovim antropogeografskim istraživanjima," in *Izvori velikosrpske agresije: rasprave, dokumenti, kartografski prikazi*, ed. Bože Čović (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, August Cesarec, 1991), 327-80.

after the “initial fluctuations” and remained more or less faithful to [anthropogeography’s] elastic interpretation that could be encountered at the same time in France (Blache and Brunhes). The French “school of human geography” (the so-called “possibilists”) critically opposed the rigid geographical determinism of the German cultural circle, which was dominated by Ratzel’s orientation. Cvijić was not directly under the influence of the French school of “possibilism” and, inasmuch, the distance he maintained toward Ratzel’s geographism (which was often associated with geopolitical and racist ideas) is even more important. Cvijić was preserved from [succumbing to Ratzel’s geography] most probably because of his “developed sense of economic issues” and “known socialist scrutiny,” which he brought from home – which is in principle opposed to any reductionism and dogmatism – and which gave Cvijić’s treatment of economic, political, psychical, moral, and other phenomena from a geographical perspective a humanist and *acceptable* mark.⁵³

However, historians of geography have reassessed the impact and appeal of geographical determinism. Ratzel is thus no longer considered a fully-fledged environmental determinist – although he believed the physical environment to be a “framework for innovation and culture building [which] determines the general tendencies in the change of cultural forms over time”⁵⁴ – and Vidal’s Possibilism should not be considered “an altogether radical voluntarism.”⁵⁵ Above all, Ratzel perceived culture – technology, intellectual traits, and social organization – as “man’s prime means of adaptation. . . . A state, for example, was simply the result of a particular people’s adaptation to an environment.”⁵⁶ Even more vehement determinists, such as Ratzel’s best-known American student, Ellen Churchill Semple (1863-1932), mitigated the initially strongly determinist approach in their later works.⁵⁷

Cvijić’s understanding of anthropogeography and the methodology he developed should be approached in the light of what David Livingstone calls the geographical experiment – “an experiment to keep culture and nature under one conceptual umbrella.”⁵⁸ This methodological approach was widespread in European and North American geography in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, and the embrace of something similar to the geographical experiment is already visible in Cvijić’s 1893 inaugural address.⁵⁹ A certain level of

⁵³ Milovan Mitrović, *Jugoslovenska predratna sociologija* (Belgrade: Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije, 1982), 25. Emphases added.

⁵⁴ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 146.

⁵⁵ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 267.

⁵⁶ Woodruff D. Smith, “Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum,” *German Studies Review* 3, no. 1 (1980): 53.

⁵⁷ Ellen Elisabeth Adams, “Ellen Churchill Semple and American Geography in an Era of Imperialism” (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 2011); Innes M. Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception on Geographical Knowledge* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

⁵⁸ Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 190.

⁵⁹ Jovan Cvijić, “Današnje stanje geografske nauke: uvodno predavanje iz geografije,” in *Antropogeografski spisi*, ed. Milislav Lutovac (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 317-35.

geographical determinism and the geographical experiment were crucial for geography's ability to develop persuasive narratives with political implications, as this combination allowed for the construction of a coherent and inherent union of the land and the people by tightly connecting physical and cultural landscapes.

In the first research travels that Cvijić started conducting in 1888, he focused primarily on the physical geography of the Balkans, but soon expanded the horizon of his interests:

A scientific researcher travelling through vast regions involuntarily starts to observe anthropogeographically and ethnographically; this is particularly true for the Balkan Peninsula, where on a relatively small area seven or eight different peoples live, and where four completely different cultures collide, and where there are ethnographically young tribes and peoples. . . . For a long time I considered such observations quite a marginal part of my physical-geographical and geological studies. But [anthropogeographical and ethnographical observations] grew; some of them were of great value, because we can notice them due to our social and cultural situation, while in the rest of Europe the opportunity to notice them has passed.⁶⁰

The understanding of Yugoslavia and the Balkans as a region particularly convenient for anthropogeographical research was a recurrent topic in the contemporary scientific literature. Yugoslav geographers saw the Balkans as the last pre-modern, or at least not yet fully modern, part of Europe (mostly because they tended to neglect the wider context of Eastern Europe), comparable to the exotic and remote non-European parts of the world studied by their colleagues in countries which either had colonial possessions or aspired to acquire them. This self-perception was crucial for the reception of scientific methodologies initially designed for the study of non-European cultures by Yugoslav geographers and ethnologists. Yugoslavs were perceived as between “natural” and “cultural” peoples. In this paragraph, Cvijić also raised an important issue of the chronology of his growing awareness of the anthropogeographical dimension of geographical research, which emerged as a result or a side effect of his research in physical geography. Rather than as two opposing types of geographical research, he understood physical-geographical and anthropogeographical issues as interlinked. Nevertheless, the wider public outside the narrow circle of experts was primarily interested in the anthropogeographical aspects.

Cvijić's account points to the methodological primacy of physical geography, an approach that many Yugoslav geographers used as a starting point in anthropogeographical research and writing. Because of the implicit environmental influences on culture, almost all anthropogeographical works included at least a short geomorphological account. Already in

⁶⁰ Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi*, 1. He repeated this almost verbatim in his account of his research trips in the Balkans. Cf. Cvijić, “Forschungsreisen auf der Balkan-Halbinsel,” 197.

Uputstva, Cvijić strongly emphasized the possible constrictions or stimuli of the environment. When he revisited the issue in *Antropogeografski problemi*, he instructed observers first to look for certain terrain characteristics that might have significantly influenced local cultural forms.⁶¹ This interdependency, as Cvijić himself pointed out, was not characteristic for his methodological approach only:

In recent times, a special geographical discipline, anthropogeography, has been formed, which has its origins in classical antiquity and was strongly enhanced by [Karl] Ritter and, recently, [Friedrich] Ratzel, and one of the main tasks of which is to examine the influence of geographical objects and climatic conditions on the direction and flow of human development. Furthermore, ethnography has since recently known about the common national thoughts (*Völkergedanke*), due to which even in the most distanced regions the same forms of material culture and similar spiritual and moral concepts often occur; acceptance or transfer of ethnographical phenomena from one people to another is considered. History examines the influence of physical conditions on historical events and the development of cultures.⁶²

Cvijić pointed to three main causes of anthropogeographical and ethnographical phenomena: “plastics” and the nature of the terrain, “ethnic moments,” and the influences of various cultures.⁶³ If the “large problems,” such as influence of the environment and ethnic composition, as well as their mutual relationship were already elaborated, in *Antropogeografski problemi* Cvijić for the first time elaborated ideas that would form the canon of the geographical narration of Yugoslavia.

2.3. Development of the geographical canon before the creation of Yugoslavia

It is impossible to examine the network of geographers on a larger Yugoslav and international level and the contested geographical ideas with political implications without a thorough understanding of Cvijić’s opus. The fact that Cvijić’s physical geography is underrepresented in this dissertation does not mean it is irrelevant. On the contrary, its importance can hardly be overstated and a modern study of Cvijić’s physical geography, which would take into consideration the recent developments in the history of science, is still awaited. Details of Cvijić’s work in physical geography are not examined because of its seeming position outside the political sphere, although the dissertation repeatedly challenges the presumed dichotomy between “pure” and politically-biased science. It is also partially because the size of

⁶¹ Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi*, 9-11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 22.

the dissertation does not allow a proper analysis to the extent that his work in physical geography deserves. If Cvijić formulated a geographical canon of the Balkans and Yugoslavia, he built it upon issues in both physical geography and anthropogeography. Borivoje Ž. Milojević aptly summarized the main reason why I emphasize the latter. When discussing the reception of his late teacher's work in the mid-1930s, Milojević stated:

If the results of Cvijić's examination of the physical characteristics of our lands had to remain little known, besides to the expert circles, then almost every one of our educated persons knows of the anthropogeography of J[ovan] Cvijić, of the work examining the cultural characteristics of our lands, and of the research of our population and its characteristics.⁶⁴

Although physical geography and anthropogeography appear as inseparably connected in Cvijić's work, his anthropogeographical vision of the Balkans and Yugoslavia became a cornerstone of narratives of Yugoslavia by his fellow geographers, intellectuals, politicians, and the wider public.

The importance of 1918 for the history of Yugoslavia cannot be overstated, and *La Péninsule balkanique* doubtlessly played an invaluable role, not so much in establishing Yugoslavia or even drawing its boundaries, as in raising international awareness of the Yugoslav question. Cvijić's book was not the original response of a well-informed geographer to the imminent break-up of the Dual Monarchy and the desired (and only now possible) unification of the South Slavs within a new European political order. Cvijić had already presented the ideas articulated in *La Péninsule balkanique*; the book was a finalized, more subtle, elaborate, and detailed version of Cvijić's earlier works.⁶⁵ The canon was significantly altered over time, partially in response to the contemporary political situation.

Importantly, Cvijić's ideas – together with the way in which he understood the relationship between physical and human geography, and the influence of the environment on human groups – achieved the status of a proved paradigm that only needed more quantitative corroboration. Borivoje Ž. Milojević proclaimed Cvijić's geographical paradigm, his framework for geographical research of the Balkans and, consequently, the geographical foundations of Yugoslavia to be a valid paradigm resembling Thomas Kuhn's concept of "normal science," which describes a functioning and generally accepted scientific paradigm

⁶⁴ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, "Naučni jubilej Jovana Cvijića," in *Geografska nauka i nastava: metodološki članci* (Belgrade, 1934), 20.

⁶⁵ Ironically, the process of formulating geographical ideas has been completely neglected in an account of origins or "how did the *Balkansko poluostrvo* come about." See Stevan M. Stanković, "Kako je nastalo delo 'Balkansko poluostrvo' Jovana Cvijića," *Globus* 35, no. 29 (2004): 53-64.

that is seemingly strengthened through testing that corroborates it.⁶⁶ Cvijić's ideas could thus only be perfected through future research along the research lines set by Cvijić himself.⁶⁷

Some of the strongest critiques aimed at Kuhn's work have referred to the concept of paradigm. Though appealing, critics have argued that paradigms are notoriously difficult to identify. Historians of geography have been able to identify only a handful of paradigms, and these have been contested as well.⁶⁸ Precisely because of the blurred lines between the geographical approaches and between geography and other related sciences, it is especially difficult to talk about the paradigms that Cvijić developed and employed in his research. Rather, several motives and a general direction of research are discernible.

There were several phases in the development of Cvijić's geographical ideas regarding the Yugoslav lands. In the first phase, all the major issues started to take shape but the scope was limited to Serbia and the wider concept of the Serbian lands, including those belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This phase lasted until the beginning of the First World War. The period between 1908 and 1914 was especially prolific in Cvijić's case, as he published several geographical works explicitly dealing with the political situation in the Balkans.⁶⁹ The second period coincided with the Great War, when Cvijić primarily wrote for an international readership, presenting and scientifically supporting Serbia's political and territorial claims.

In this politically active period of Cvijić's career, a shift of interest is noticeable. Whereas initially his primary interest was the southern part of the Balkans, which was the direction of Serbia's territorial expansion since the early nineteenth century, by 1918 he was mostly concerned with the boundary issues at the northern rim of the Balkans, which was most problematic for the new Yugoslav state. Initially interested in Serbia and the Serbian lands, during the First World War Cvijić expanded the scope of his geographical writings to include all Yugoslav territories, from Trieste/Trst and the Alps to Thessaloniki/Solun. Such a shift was connected to the reassessed priorities of the foreign policy of the Serbian government during the First War World, which – although never fully discarding the idea of a “simple” territorial expansion of Serbia to neighboring territories considered historically or ethnically Serbian – embraced the Yugoslav project.

⁶⁶ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁶⁷ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, “O duhu i sadržini geografije,” in *Geografska nauka*, 48.

⁶⁸ Andrew Mair, “Thomas Kuhn and Understanding Geography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 10, no. 3 (1986): 345-369; Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 25.

⁶⁹ Jovan Cvijić, “Izlazak Srbije na Jadransko more,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 2, no. 2 (1913): 192-204; Cvijić, “Raspored balkanskih naroda,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 2, no. 2 (1913): 234-65; Cvijić, “Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije,” *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 3, no. 3-4 (1914): 1-23.

2.3.1. *The Serbian perspective before 1914*

In 1902, Cvijić published a synthesis of his early anthropogeographical research – which had already by 1901 covered the whole Balkans – and that of his students and local informers. *Antropogeografski problemi balkanskoga poluostrva* (Anthropogeographical problems of the Balkan Peninsula)⁷⁰ was an important step in developing anthropogeographical methodology – which he just outlined in *Uputstva* – and a first step in the process of formulating the canon of the geographical narration of Yugoslavia. In comparison to more coherent and persuasive argumentation in the 1918 *La Péninsule balkanique*, the 1902 *Antropogeografski problemi* appears as a relatively crude presentation of research-in-progress. However, the structure and the major issues were already raised, and the shaping of the canon began. Besides anthropogeographical descriptions of the Balkan regions inhabited by the South Slavs, Cvijić reflected on the beginnings of the geographical school that would be associated with his name. “Work on anthropogeographical studies at the geographical seminar was a school for three [or] four generations of my students, some of whom are dedicated to the study of these issues, especially the settlements, with great will and understanding,” he stated, adding, “Among them Mr. [Jovan] Erdeljanović distinguished himself with greatest interest.”⁷¹ In fact, most of his students specialized in anthropogeography and only a small number in the “more difficult” geomorphology.⁷²

In *Antropogeografski problemi*, Cvijić raised major issues that would remain central points of his anthropogeography: cultural belts or zones of civilization, typology of settlements, and study of migrations. Ethnopsychology was soon added to them. He outlined four or five cultural zones: the Byzantian-Aromunian (or Byzantian-Cincar); patriarchal; Italian; and Central-European cultural zone – with the addition of Turkish cultural influences, which could be considered a zone in their own right.⁷³ Cvijić considered the Balkans as somehow particularly convenient for studying the mass-scale movements of people because except for “those European countries from which the population is emigrating to colonies or America in very large masses, there is no such ethnographically restless region in Europe, with such frequent recent movements of population and disturbances, as the Balkan Peninsula.”⁷⁴ Pointing

⁷⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskog poluostrva* (Belgrade, 1902).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 4. Vasović uses the term “Cvijić’s geographical school.” See Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić*, 31.

⁷² Pavle Vujević, “Cvijić kao geograf i profesor,” *Nova Evropa* 8, no. 1 (1923): 15.

⁷³ Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi*, 26. The main difference between this systematization of the zone of civilization and the one presented in *La Péninsule balkanique* refers to the names of the zones. In 1918, he called them the old Balkan or modified Byzantine civilization; the Turkish-Oriental influences; the Western civilization; and the patriarchal regime. Cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:142-60.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

to either geographical or ethnographical “central zones” of “our people” – be it Serbs or Yugoslavs – was closely linked to the contemporary political situation and Serbian territorial aspirations in the region. While during the annexation crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 the focus was on the Serbian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the ethnographically strongest group that comprised the ethnographical core, in 1902 the focus was on the region of Novi Pazar, the “political isthmus” that separated Serbia and Montenegro, thus splitting the Serbian national space.⁷⁵

Antropogeografski problemi stands out within Cvijić’s opus for the abundant usage of the concepts of core and periphery, which was otherwise not characteristic for his works, although he always considered one region and its population to be central.⁷⁶ The focus of *Antropogeografski problemi* was, in fact, on the peripheral lands, because “the most important changes happened in the boundary regions, where the peoples of different vitality and ethnographic strengths clash.”⁷⁷ The Orthodox part of the “Serbo-Croatian people” was more expansive than the Catholic part, which was located on the periphery and therefore more exposed to foreign cultural influences:

Even more important is the inconvenient peripheral position of the Catholic national parts and their contact with foreign centers of strong and organized cultures; as a result, but also because of the Catholic religion, which is universal in character, rarely takes the national color [*uzima narodnu boju*] and does not identify with the people, those deep national instincts are not so strong in the Catholic spirit of our people as in the Orthodox, which is mostly not on the periphery, not in the contact with the peoples of newer cultures.⁷⁸

Because of the communication routes it controlled, Cvijić stressed Serbia’s central position in the Balkans in all of his anthropogeographical works, but a Balkan-centric view in cultural terms as expressed in the abovementioned passage was unique. In order to assert Serbia’s central position and role in the Balkans he emphasized the size and strength of the Serbian Orthodox population, whose relative isolation from foreign cultural influences made Serbs more nationally conscious than the peoples inhabiting the Balkans borderlands. He did not repeat this interpretation in his later works; on the contrary, he stressed Serbia’s openness to foreign cultural and political influences. But the implication that Slovenes, Croats, or even Serbs from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (*Prečani*) are somehow especially affected by their geographical position, exposing them to cultural influences from Central Europe that at the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 191.

⁷⁶ Snezhana Dimitrova, “Jovan Cvijić on the Periphery and the Centre,” *Balkan Studies* 38, no. 3-4 (1996): 82-91.

⁷⁷ Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi*, 172-73.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 179.

same time brought “progress” and weakened the national consciousness, lingered on in *La Péninsule balkanique* as well. Because of its central position, Serbia “ethnographically received more than any other Balkan state. Its population is originally from all of our regions, furthermore all the Slavic populations of the Balkans are represented in it; but it is assimilated, it has adjusted and acquired a single type.”⁷⁹ As will be shown, Cvijić later stressed Serbian core areas as zones of origin – rather than a destination – of many migrations in the Balkans.

2.3.2. Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine: *geography in the service of the nationalist project*

The fact that Cvijić was a contemporary and a direct participant of all the crises that affected Serbian society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century influenced the development of his geographical canon. As said above, structural elements of *La Péninsule balkanique* had been in the making since at least 1902 and the publication of *Antropogeografski problemi*. What changed over time, as a response to the contemporary political crises, was the regional focus of Cvijić’s geographical narrative. In 1902, when Serbian foreign policy was not directly concerned with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cvijić paid more attention to “Old Serbia,” including the region of Novi Pazar, Kosovo and Metohija, and Macedonia. However, it was clear what was at stake in 1908.

There is a noticeable discrepancy between the perceived importance of Cvijić and his work for the Serbian and Yugoslav national cause(s) and the actual number of works with political implications among his publications. The overwhelming majority of his scientific production bears little sign of political engagement. This, however, is not to say that such examples were not of great significance for the national project – primarily Serbian but, to a lesser degree, also Yugoslav. While the wider audience was best acquainted with the political connotations of *La Péninsule balkanique*, Cvijić’s most explicitly political work was doubtlessly *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpski problem* (Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian problem) from 1908.⁸⁰

Just a couple of months after the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy officially annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had occupied since 1878, Cvijić published a work in which he summarized the main arguments against the annexation and expounded the reasons why Bosnia and Herzegovina should be annexed to Serbia. This was the first work that Cvijić wrote with

⁷⁹ Ibid., 181.

⁸⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpsko pitanje* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1908), 4n1.

an international audience in mind. It was an attempt to raise the issue of the unsustainability of contemporary Serbian and Montenegrin borders and to present the “just” Serbian territorial claims to Serbia’s potential allies in Western Europe. At the same moment, the Croatian historian Ferdo Šišić (1869-1940) published a speech he had given in Ljubljana in November 1908 on the occasion of the annexation.⁸¹ Unlike Cvijić, Šišić welcomed the annexation and hoped for the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the rest of the Croatian lands, as this would restore the historical territorial extent of Croatia.⁸²

Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine is unusual for several reasons. Firstly, such a fierce anti-Austrian attitude from a person who had studied in Vienna and maintained close contacts with Viennese scientists is striking. Cvijić tried to differentiate between “German” – a term that he, as many contemporary authors, often used interchangeably with “Austrian,” especially when talking about cultural issues – culture and German imperial politics. Cvijić clearly stated that he himself is “not only not an adversary of the high German culture, but [that he] believes that the small Balkan peoples, while guarding their national characteristics, should study and embrace it in its depth.”⁸³ Nonetheless, the book was an open and fierce attack on the “German” imperialist thrust toward the Balkans. Secondly, the book stands out from the rest of Cvijić’s opus because of a conspicuous absence of geographical argumentation. It was primarily a political treatise in an explicitly nationalist tone, with geographical reasoning significantly less articulate and subtle than in his other politically engaged works. This cannot be explained by the specific targeted readership, because the audience, particularly in Western Europe, was already highly receptive to the geographical dimension of politics. The answer should be looked for in the fact that the book *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine* was almost an immediate response to the annexation, proclaimed on October 6, 1908. Until that point Cvijić had not really engaged with explicitly political issues and therefore could not rely on his existing work, but had to create a completely original one.

The annexation was an arbitrary and illegal move, Cvijić argued, and “it offends the principles of nationality because it definitely places under a foreign rule not the peripheral but the central and ethnographically strongest part of the Serbian people.”⁸⁴ Whereas he would later point to the population of Šumadija in central Serbia as the ethnopsychologically strongest part

⁸¹ Ferdo Šišić, *Herceg-Bosna prigodom aneksije: geografsko-etnografsko-historička i državno-pravna razmatranja* (Zagreb, 1908).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁸³ Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine*, 59n1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

of the Serbian national corpus, in 1908 he tried to negotiate the central position of the Kingdom of Serbia in the Balkans and the central position of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Serbian national space. The former was a result of the fact that Serbia “occupies the central position in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, through which the most important communication artery of the peninsula, the Morava-Vardar line, runs.”⁸⁵ What should have been an advantage for the development of Serbia was, in fact, a drawback. This was because since the Berlin Congress of 1878, “The position of Serbia is such that the Austro-Hungarian [Monarchy] has been able to prevent or deprive Serbia of the foundations for a real economic and cultural development, and to, while formally not acquiring the territory of Serbia, make it its economic and political vassal.”⁸⁶

Serbia was almost “hermetically sealed,” surrounded from several sides by its greatest enemy. Cvijić described Serbia as a “surrounded country” and Serbs an “arrested people,” and presented the situation as an example of how geographical position can cause “internal anarchy.”⁸⁷ Establishing a territorial link between Serbia and the Adriatic Sea was imperative, not only because it would bring together a larger number of Serbs but also because the alternative sea outlet, Thessaloniki/Solun, was at the time in Ottoman territory and controlled by the Austrian capital. Cvijić was not concerned only with the Ottoman Empire but with a larger picture of the Balkans. The Dual Monarchy pressed Serbia from the west and the north, and Bulgaria additionally threatened it from the east. Cvijić seems to have simplified the problem by neglecting the implications of different geographical positions, quality of terrain, etc., on which he otherwise insisted. The issue of Serbia’s relations with its neighbors was thus reduced to territorial size: “It is wrong to leave one small state in the Balkans [Bulgaria] twice the size of its neighbor [Serbia]. There will be peace only if the territorial balance between these small peoples is strictly adhered to.”⁸⁸ A way to accomplish the balance is by gathering the Serbian lands. Otherwise, “Not to join Bosnia and Herzegovina with Serbia and Montenegro or not to give them autonomous government . . . means to create an unstable balance, a hellish situation [*pakleno stanje*].”⁸⁹

According to Cvijić, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy disrespected the nationality principle by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina and it approached the region as a colonial possession, with a perceived mission to civilize the population whose “real feelings and the

⁸⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 8-9.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 17.

logics of this people” the newly-arrived Habsburg officials did not – and could not – understand. Cvijić insisted that the local government remained distant from the people and that it could count only on the loyalty of a narrow circle of Catholics or opportunists who were themselves foreign to the national spirit. Admittedly, the Austro-Hungarian occupation government undertook modernization attempts, but Cvijić implied that even the most visible of these, such as construction of the railway system, could have been equally achieved by Serbia, as developments in Serbia (or even in Bulgaria) show.⁹⁰

Inconsistently with what he would claim just a couple of years later, in 1908 Cvijić stated:

Bosnia and Herzegovina is the key to the Serbian problem according of the value of its people, its central position in the ethnographic mass of the Serbo-Croatian people, and a convenient mixture of the Orthodox and Catholics. Without them, there can be no larger Serbian state. They are the most important region for resolving the Serbo-Croatian as well as the Yugoslav question.⁹¹

Cvijić ended the book in an unusually aggressive tone, suggesting that if the European powers neglected Serbian and Montenegrin demands, “Europe itself will direct the Serbian people to the path of force, and it will use the first convenient opportunity to discuss its greatest national question with the Austro-Hungarian [Monarchy] in this fashion.”⁹² Cvijić listed territorial demands: access to the Adriatic Sea at Sutorina in Boka Kotorska and a territorial link between Serbia and Montenegro through the Drina valley in eastern Bosnia. This would separate the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, thus preventing further Austro-Hungarian expansionist desires.

However, this could only be a temporary solution, as there is “a clearly articulated desire that the whole Yugoslav complex from Ljubljana and Trieste deep into Macedonia makes one national unit and develops culture on the national basis.”⁹³ Serbs had a distinct role in the project as the “main mass of that Yugoslav complex consists of the Serbian people who, besides that, occupy the most favorable, but therefore the most perilous geographical positions.”⁹⁴ Cvijić ended with a sinister prophecy that “the Serbian problem must be resolved by force,”⁹⁵ pointing pre-emptively to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as the main culprit of a potential conflict. Developments proved Cvijić right, at least regarding the manner in which the Serbian problem

⁹⁰ Ibid., 42.

⁹¹ Ibid., 24.

⁹² Ibid., 47.

⁹³ Ibid., 56.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 55-56.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 62.

would be resolved. But during the Balkan Wars, when Serbian territory was suddenly and significantly expanded southwards, and the First World War, when the Kingdom of Serbia was occupied (not without difficulty) by the armies of the Central Powers, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine* temporarily disappeared into the background.

This work is significant as one of the most obvious manifestations of the intersection of Cvijić's multiple roles, that of a recognized scholar and a nationally-conscious intellectual. *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine* should not primarily be interpreted as a proposition of feasible territorial changes (as, especially in 1908, Serbia lacked the political and military power to enforce them); it was a scientific work whose political implications proved more useful as the "scientific foundation" for a national project in the future rather than at the time of its publication. It reached only a limited readership when it was first published, and was assigned a prominent place among the works supporting Yugoslav unification retrospectively, only after Yugoslavia was established.

2.3.3. *A shift toward the Yugoslav perspective during the First World War*

Just as his text on the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cvijić's *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi Južnih Slovena* (Unity and psychical types of the South Slavs) was an immediate response to the contemporary political situation – the outbreak of the First World War.⁹⁶ Cvijić wrote it in late 1914; it was initially published in January 1915, when the Serbian army was still successfully defying the attacks of the Austro-Hungarian forces – but was made available to a wider readership only in 1921.⁹⁷ The work represents one of the milestones in formulating the geographical narrative of Yugoslavia and should be read in the context of the contemporary political situation in Serbia, the Balkans, and Europe, since the articulation of Cvijić's scientific argumentation was heavily influenced by the war effort and military goals.⁹⁸ Importantly, a map of Serbian territorial claims – which in 1918 became Yugoslav claims – was published in *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi Južnih Slovena*, and it was presented, unaltered, at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.⁹⁹

The geographical position of Serbia – its central location in the Balkans – was

⁹⁶ It was initially published in only 200 copies. Jovan Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi Južnih Slovena* (Niš, 1914).

⁹⁷ Jovan Cvijić, "Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi Južnih Slovena," in *Govori i članci*, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921), 53-140.

⁹⁸ Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu."

⁹⁹ Vasović, *Jovan Cvijić*, 59.

emphasized during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 but became of truly vital importance only during the First World War, when Serbia was surrounded and jointly attacked by its Central European and Balkan neighbors, members of the Central Powers. It was “a significant but difficult geographical position of Serbia in the center of the Balkan Peninsula around the Morava-Vardar valley, with communications that connect Central Europe with the Middle East, with the Mediterranean Sea and Suez.”¹⁰⁰ In such a position, Serbia had either to stop German expansionism or to be consumed by it:

Serbia, with the Yugoslavs in the Austro-Hungarian [Monarchy], is the main bulwark against the penetration of Germandom and Austro-Germandom toward the south, and is thus, because of its geographical position, the main fighter for the freedom and independence of the Balkan Peninsula. Other Balkan states do not have such a geographical position, and therefore do not have such an importance as Serbia, neither for preventing and stopping Central European penetration, nor for the freedom and independence of the Balkans, for the motto “the Balkans to the Balkan peoples.” That is why Serbian independence is constantly exposed to greater dangers and pressure than any other Balkan state but, on the other hand, the prospects of a greater future are open to her.¹⁰¹

Because of mountains and valley passes, Serbia is fragmented and therefore the most open and receptive country in the peninsula, a kind of a nexus convenient for maintaining communications not only within the Balkans but with neighboring regions as well.

Composed of areas of different directions, geological composition, and morphological characteristics, Serbia is not a geographical unity in itself. Cvijić, however, described this fragmentation as a positive phenomenon because it fosters communication. Most important, because of its position, Serbia is “predestined to tie or link western and eastern Yugoslav lands and tribes.”¹⁰² Although this was an ambitious proposal in 1915 – one that was nevertheless achieved soon after the war – Cvijić commented on the structure and direction of the railroads in then still potential Yugoslavia. In his view, a combination of longitudinal, northwest-to-southeast, and transversal lines, between the coast and interior, was required to connect the (as yet non-existing) country.

Neglecting the European and global dimensions of the war, Cvijić explained the conflict between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Serbia as a result of Serbia’s geographical position: “Because of the interests and aspirations of Central Europe, [Serbia’s] important geographical position is becoming more and more dangerous.”¹⁰³ Confrontation between Serbia

¹⁰⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi dinarskih južnih Slovena* (1914; repr., Belgrade: Slobodna knjiga, 1999), 3.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 48.

and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy appeared almost as a geographical inevitability as their expansionist projects targeted the same regions. According to an understanding that was not limited to the narrow circle of geographers but widespread among the Serbian elite, the Dual Monarchy wanted to crush its main regional opponent, Serbia, and Serbia could not fully develop its economic and cultural potentials while exposed to political and economic pressures from Vienna and Budapest. As long as it remained separated from the sea and as long as Serbs remain divided between various states, Serbia's position could not improve.

The regions outside the contemporary boundaries of Serbia were the focus of the work, and Cvijić went further toward creating a geographical narrative about Yugoslav national space. However, *Jedinstvo* was primarily a study of the region that Cvijić saw as the ethnic core of the Yugoslavs – the Dinaric littoral and mountains. Thus, somewhat ironically, the publication that referred to the Yugoslav unity in its title completely neglected large portions of Yugoslavs. As was the case with *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine*, territories most vehemently claimed by Serbia at that moment were at stake. The Austro-Hungarian Yugoslav territories “spread from the western boundaries of Serbia and Montenegro to the Alps north of Ljubljana, and mostly represent one geographical unit, the Dinaric lands.”¹⁰⁴ Consisting of the Dinaric mountainous and the Dinaric littoral zone, the Dinaric lands are the core and central region of Yugoslavs, and “on every map the geographical unit of the Dinaric lands catches the eye, since it, as a single [*jednostavna*] region which comprises both Montenegro and a significant portion of western Serbia, has a northwest-southeast direction, the Dinaric direction.”¹⁰⁵

Few issues had a more profound impact on the geographical narrative of Yugoslavia than the issue of the internal structure, cohesion, and unity of the Balkan Peninsula and the Yugoslav territories. Are Yugoslav lands a coherent geographical unit? The historical absence of large political formations in the Balkans that were not imposed from outside the peninsula, such as the Roman and Ottoman Empires, and their often ephemeral nature was explained in terms of a fragmented terrain which does not allow for the creation of sustainable political units.¹⁰⁶ The question that was never explicitly posed, but was an obvious outcome of a geographically-deterministic view of nature's influence on the state-building process was

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁶ Jovan Cvijić, “Geografske osnove makedonskog pitanja,” in *Govori i članci*, vol. 1-2 (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921), 183, translated from Cvijić, *Questions balkaniques* (Paris: Attinger Frères, 1916); Anton Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 14 (1928): 107-21, esp. 107; Filip Lukas, “Rasporedaj stanovništa u Dalmaciji prema prirodnim i gospodarskim prilikama,” in *Sveslavenski zbornik: spomenica o tisućugodišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, ed. Nikola Andrić (Zagreb: Zajednica slavenskih društava, 1930), 359.

whether Yugoslavia, as an autochthonous Balkan political and cultural enterprise, was sustainable. If the unification in December 1918 was the fulfillment of a centuries-old dream of the ethnic, cultural, and political unity of the Yugoslav “tribes,” the question was whether it was accomplished against the nature and geography or with its help. Cvijić contended that the geographical fragmentation exerted a positive influence on the Yugoslav unity by providing a much-needed complementarity:

Two zones of the Dinaric lands have different natural conditions and different production, [they are] therefore economically so different that they complement each other and are directed to the exchange of economic and livestock products. Furthermore, the unity of the Dinaric lands represents a hinterland of the Adriatic Sea, and is geographically and economically closely connected to the coast from Trieste to Skadar [Shkodra].¹⁰⁷

The complementarity principle does not refer only to these two regions, both of which are Dinaric; it extends to the Pannonian Plain, which is “a granary of the mountainous lands, and is ethnographically closely connected with them.”¹⁰⁸ In *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine* Cvijić described the Austro-Hungarian claims on Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Berlin Congress in 1878 and the argument that Austro-Hungarian territories in Dalmatia required a hinterland as a precondition for economic development as unsubstantiated. Yet he approached the issue of littoral-hinterland relations using the same discourse but from a different perspective: in the light of the Italian territorial claims on the eastern Adriatic shores, he argued that the littoral was essential for consolidating and developing the hinterland – above all, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Cvijić counted the Pannonian region, including the parts north of the Drava that historically belonged to Hungary, among the Yugoslav lands on the grounds of ethnic and geomorphological principle, and described it as a region inseparably connected to the Dinaric area and complementary with it. Just as Filip Lukas before him,¹⁰⁹ Cvijić described the northern parts of Dinaric mountain system, especially in Bosnia, as slopes gradually descending toward the north, in opposition to the stark and sudden descent toward the coast:

Northeast of these high areas arise long, flattened slopes of mountains, then lower areas that descend toward the Pannonian Plain; however, to the southwest are much shorter but suddenly declined areas, which as a rule steeply . . . descend to the Dinaric-mountainous

¹⁰⁷ Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi*, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Filip Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije: antropogeografska studija* (Dubrovnik: Degiulli i dr., 1906), 23; Lukas, “Raspoređaj stanovništva u Dalmaciji,” 359; Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina u geopolitičkom pogledu* (Sarajevo: “Nova tiskara” Vršek i dr., 1942), 59; cf. Ivo Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja: geopolitička* (1918; repr., Zagreb: Consilium, 1995), 12.

zone.¹¹⁰

The Pannonian Plain, closely connected to the Dinaric region, the core of the Yugoslav population, could thus implicitly be claimed for a still potential Yugoslav state. Cvijić pointed that “the Pannonian Plain [to the north of the Dinaric mountainous zone] morphologically belongs to the Pannonian Basin, but its southern part is transportation-wise and geographically, economically, and ethnographically intimately linked to the Dinaric lands.”¹¹¹ As the granary of the Dinaric lands, it forms a single economic unit with Bosnia and northern Serbia.

“The geographical and historical destiny of the Pannonian Basin” connects it with the Dinaric area.¹¹² The ethnographical link is also strong, as the neighboring peoples came down from the surrounding mountains and inhabited the rim of the basin, and therefore only the Alföld or the Great Hungarian Plain in eastern Hungary “represents the region of compact Hungarian people.”¹¹³ The Pannonian Basin is thus a morphological but not an ethnographical unit. *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi* is a rare example of emphasizing the reverse direction of communications across the northern boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula, from the south to the north. Cvijić otherwise stressed the permeability of the Balkans’ northern boundaries, which was a result of the absence of significant natural barriers, in the context of foreign, mostly Central European influences reaching the Balkans from the north and northwest. Because of these influences, Serbia could not have remained as culturally conservative as other isolated or geographically closed countries.¹¹⁴ However, at the beginning of the First World War cultural influences from Central Europe were either downplayed or interpreted in terms of aggressive foreign policy and military invasion. At the same time, Cvijić raised the issue of the northbound migration of the South Slavs. Though these migrations were of low intensity, they reached well into the Pannonian Basin and, in the case of the Burgenland Croats, even close to Vienna.¹¹⁵

The aspect of Cvijić’s anthropogeographical writing that has received most attention, both by his contemporaries and later commentators, was the examination of ethnopsychological types in the Balkans. Cvijić relied on two methods in examining and systemizing the ethnopsychological characteristics of the population, which he considered an ethnographical domain within anthropogeographical research. The “direct method,” which proved to be most useful, was a straightforward observation in the field. Additionally, he employed the “indirect

¹¹⁰ Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi*, 7.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

method,” which included historical study and analysis of various ethnographical material. Cvijić’s primary expertise in geomorphology was manifested in the fact that in the early phase of the study of psychological traits he developed a “method of ethnological profiles,” “Similar to geological and geomorphological profile that represents geological composition and forms of terrain. By choosing a characteristic direction for a psychic profile and linking one’s observations and other experiences to that direction, the observer can find those spiritual and moral [forms] that are specific for given regions.”¹¹⁶ Yugoslavs or the “western South Slavs” share certain physical and especially psychological characteristics. According to these traits, “Yugoslavs differ, not only from foreign peoples, but from the related and similar Bulgarians. While a Serb and a Croat cannot be told apart according to physical characteristics and look, everyone is able to tell apart Bulgarians.”¹¹⁷

Cvijić believed he identified the basic shared psychological characteristics of the Dinaric population: sensitivity, spirituality, kindness and honesty, developed sense for justice and fairness, “exaggerated, tense sensitivity to honor, pride, reputation,” intelligence, quick understanding, cheerful spirit and proclivity to humor, warrior tendencies and abilities, mysticism, vivid imagination, poetic spirit, “frequent occurrence of sensitive and affectionate people or temperamental people, the violent types,” and particularly strongly developed national historical awareness.¹¹⁸ Although Serbs mostly belonged to the pre-modern patriarchal culture that might seem primitive to observers from Central or Western Europe, Cvijić insisted that it was an elaborate cultural form that should not be seen as primitive. Additionally, an inherent democratic affinity of Serbs was a result of a uniformed and almost classless structure of their society in the period when the establishment of the modern Serbian state begun, following the uprising in 1804.¹¹⁹

At the beginning of the First World War Cvijić classified Yugoslav psychical types into four groups according to regions where they were prevalent: the mountainous, the littoral, the Pannonian, and the Dinaric-mountainous type.¹²⁰ He, however, elaborated only on the Dinaric-

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 20.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 61-62.

¹²⁰ Although the notion of ethnic psychical types resembles the *Völkerpsychologie* of Wilhelm Wundt and Karl Lamprecht’s emphasis on the psychological character of nation on history, Cvijić did not position his understanding of ethnopsychology regarding others’ works, neither in the 1914 *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi* nor in the 1918 *La Péninsule balkanique*. See Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, 10 vols. (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1900-1920); Karl Lamprecht, *What is History? Five Lectures on the Modern Science of History* (London: Macmillan, 1905). A Croatian-Yugoslav philosopher dealing with ethnopsychology was more explicit in emphasizing Wundt’s importance. See Vladimir Dvorniković, *Wilhelm Wundt i njegovo značenje* (Zagreb, 1920).

mountainous type in detail. Serbs comprise two-thirds of the population belonging to this type, which stretches northwards to the rivers Kupa, Sava, and Danube. “In no other zone are people so closely connected to, and fused with, the nature,” and with the members of this group “everything is autochthonous, stronger, deeply national, authentic [*venačeto*].”¹²¹ Every Serb is brought up with the notion of Serbia as a country with a mission:

In every Serb since his birth two-three crystal-clear thoughts are implemented, and he wants his freedom and independence, freedom for all his lands, for those [lands] that he knows through songs and other historical traditions were part of his state, or that poor rayah [*sirotinja raja*] live in them. They should be liberated with blood, continuous bravery, and endless sacrifice.¹²²

Two significant ideas are becoming more and more common in Serbia, Cvijić argued: “The idea of Serbia’s great mission and a task set by destiny, also a great task, to bring down two unmodern states: Turkey and Austria. Both tasks are connected to the contemporary ideas that rule the world. The idea of the mission of Serbia has been expanded into a Yugoslav mission.”¹²³

The contemporary similarities among Yugoslavs were partially a result of negligible “tribal” and dialectal differences in the time of their arrival to the Balkans. The similar environment they inhabited influenced them: “The simple Yugoslav mass settled in the Dinaric geographical unit, mostly in the Dinaric-mountainous zone, which has similar geographical characteristics from Ljubljana to Skadar; these exerted almost the same influence on the masses and created similar conditions of life.”¹²⁴ Cvijić’s favorite research topic, the Karst – a type of rugged terrain characteristic for many parts of the Balkan Peninsula – formed the population in a uniformed fashion, by forcing people to engage in a fierce struggle against the rough and inhospitable nature.¹²⁵ Though Karst is widely spread throughout the Yugoslav lands – indeed, is a dominant terrain form in many regions – Cvijić neglected the fact that it is not to be found in large parts of Serbia proper, including Šumadija, whose population he later identified as the

¹²¹ Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi*, 29.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 35.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹²⁵ Ivo Rubić later made a similar point, which was frequently repeated at the turn of the twentieth century, but less so by the 1930s. He argued in an even more deterministic tone: “Where the nature is meager, people are more diligent than [in areas] where it is richer. Where the climate is harsh, people can work more than [in areas] where it is too hot. That is why the inhabitants of temperate and northern zones are more diligent than those at the Equator. That is why the culture travelled from the [Meso]potamian and Mediterranean parts of the earth to the northern parts, as geographer A[lfred] Hettner proved.” Ivo Rubić, *Nova Njemačka* (Split: Hrvatska štamparija Gradske štedionice, 1931), 235.

best representative of the Dinaric ethnopsychological type and the finest embodiment of the Yugoslavs.

The decisive factor in achieving the ethnic unity of Yugoslavs, however, was not the environment but migrations. Cvijić coined the term “metanastasic movements” (*metanastazička kretanja*, from *μετανάστασις*, Greek for changing the place of living¹²⁶) to describe a number of usually large-scale migrations within and from the Balkan Peninsula.¹²⁷ If no other factor contributed as much to assimilation of Yugoslavs, then within the issue of migrations a special place belongs to the Dinaric zone, the Yugoslav ethnic core from where the most important migration streams originated. In the process encompassing migrations of numerous groups on various scale that was primarily caused by the Ottoman invasions in the early modern period, some Serbs moved far to the west and, in front of them, so did Croats, a number of which even reached Burgenland. “As a result of these migrations, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes significantly intermingled, got to know each other and got accustomed to each other. Serbs entered the other two Yugoslav tribes as cement and influenced the development of aspirations for independence and individuality [*samosvojnost*].”¹²⁸ The ethnic unity was thus a starting point for achieving cultural and, eventually, political unity, and the similar environmental influences and large-scale migrations facilitated it.

2.4. Finalizing the canon: *La Péninsule balkanique*

As the First World War was ending, a number of countries was created – in the case of Poland, recreated – on the ruins of imperial systems in East-Central Europe. Seen as the victory of the principle of nationalism and the national state (although none of these states were ethnically homogeneous, so the ethnic tensions persisted), the autumn of 1918 was by no means relevant only for Yugoslavs. The process of redrawing the political map of East-Central Europe begun before the end of the war and was sanctioned and finalized in a series of long and strenuous peace negotiations. The engagement of geographers and other scientists in

¹²⁶ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 113; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:164.

¹²⁷ Cvijić’s emphasis on migrations points to “German” influences; not only of Friedrich Ratzel but of Ratzel’s mentor, Moritz Wagner as well. According to Livingstone, “migration, isolation, space, and environmental determinism were all part and parcel of the Wagnerian scheme of things. And it was precisely these themes that dramatically surfaced in Ratzel’s new anthropogeography.” Additionally, Ratzel described Wagner’s *Migrationsgesetz* as “the [most] fundamental law of world history.” Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 199–200.

¹²⁸ Cvijić, *Jedinstvo i psihički tipovi*, 25.

preparations for the Paris Peace Conference, and at the conference itself, is examined in the following chapter that analyzes the dual, scientific and political, role of Yugoslav geographers. The rest of this chapter approaches 1918 as a period vital for creating the foundations for further geographical narration of interwar Yugoslavia.

From the perspective of the history of geography, the “Yugoslav autumn” of 1918 is important because of Cvijić’s *La Péninsule balkanique*. Certain aspects of the immediate context of Cvijić’s capital work are fairly well known. Cvijić wrote it while in emigration in Paris in 1917-1918, where Vidal de la Blache invited him.¹²⁹ It was originally written in French, published by a prestigious publishing company, Armand Collin, and translated into Serbo-Croatian in two expanded volumes – first in 1922 and the second only in 1931, after Cvijić’s death.¹³⁰ The book was the most important narrative on the new state, showing to the western readership, rather than to the Yugoslav audience, that the South Slavic territories constitute a geographical and cultural unit, and that Yugoslavs are deserving and capable of ruling over themselves according to the principles of the national self-determination.

Additionally, as the correspondence of Jovan Cvijić reveals, the unprecedented reach and reception of Cvijić’s work for the first time included Yugoslav geography in a global scientific network. Although he communicated with a number of foreign colleagues since the early 1890s, the majority of his correspondence was always domestic – with Serbian and other South Slavic scientists, intellectuals, and numerous local informers who sent him their geographical observations. However, in 1918 the correspondence with foreign scientists suddenly intensified. This was primarily because since 1916, after a brief stay in London, Cvijić lived in France, where he met many French and British colleagues and intellectuals supporting the war efforts of the Entente. Whereas he previously contributed to German-speaking geography, after 1914 and especially in 1918 we find him in the company of West European and North American geographers. The sudden inclusion in a larger international network raises the question whether this inclusion was limited only to Cvijić or whether other Yugoslav geographers operated within it as well, and how lasting and deep was this inclusion.

¹²⁹ In July 1916, Vidal de la Blache invited Cvijić to start giving lectures the following year. Ljubica Cvijić, “Dnevnik,” in Jovan Cvijić, *Sabrana dela*, vol. 1, *Karst: geografska monografija; Novi rezultati u glacijalnoj eposi Balkanskoga poluostrvo*, ed. Mihailo Maletić and Dragutin Ranković (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 180. However, Ljubinka Trgovčević states that the invitation came from the dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Sorbonne. “Initially, [Cvijić] was invited to teach for a semester; however, the invitation was later prolonged so his lectures lasted until May 1919.” See Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” 191. Given that Vidal had retired from the Sorbonne in 1909, the official invitation most likely came from the dean, rather than Vidal himself.

¹³⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: osnovi antropogeografije*, 2 vols (Belgrade, 1922-1931).

From October to December 1918, Cvijić received letters and notes of appreciation from individuals and institutions to which he had sent copies of *La Péninsule balkanique*.¹³¹ The list of recipients is not exhaustive as it includes only people and institutions which replied and whose letters have been preserved, so it is very likely that the reach of Cvijić's book was wider. The book was sent to addresses in Washington, New York, Chicago, and Ithaca; Paris, Grenoble, and Montpellier; Geneva and Neuchatel; London; Quebec; and Prague. Among the recipients, fellow scientists and academic institutions on the one, and political figures and institutions on the other hand, appear balanced. The book was sent to the United States Geological Survey, the John Crerar Library, the Smithsonian, Cornell University, the American Geographical Society, the British Museum, the Royal Society, Institute de France, Comité parlementaire d'action à l'étranger, French Ministry for armament and war industry, the Belgian Minister of Justice Emile Vandervelde, and the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour.

However, the replies and thank-you notes imply that some of the mentioned recipients most probably did not read the book. Many recipients courteously but superficially praised its scientific merit and potential practical value in turbulent times. Admittedly, it is unlikely that diplomats who were presented with other similar works would engage with scientific argumentation in detail. As the following chapter shows, only segments of Cvijić's vast scientific production were actually used at the Paris Peace Conference, while the majority of scientific argumentation remained known to a relatively small circle of experts. However, the letters of two prominent contemporary geographers, American Isaiah Bowman and French Emmanuel de Martonne, to Cvijić (and in de Martonne's case, to Cvijić's widow as well¹³²) reveal that they were acquainted with *La Péninsule balkanique* and Cvijić's overall work more in depth. Bowman and de Martonne arranged translation and publication of some of Cvijić's works.¹³³ Bowman even paid "several hundred dollars to Jovan Cvijić, for instance, for a piece on the Balkan peoples and an ethnographic chart."¹³⁴ If the sudden global reach of Cvijić's work

¹³¹ Arhiv SANU, 14460-IV-a, "Pisma, razglednice, dopisnice."

¹³² Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-104, Emmanuel de Martonne to Ljubica Cvijić, February 17, 1930; Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-105, Emmanuel de Martonne to Ljubica Cvijić, July 15, 1930; Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-106, Emmanuel de Martonne to Ljubica Cvijić, June 30, 1932; Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-107, Emmanuel de Martonne to Ljubica Cvijić, July 15, 1932.

¹³³ Isaiah Bowman helped Cvijić publish articles on geographical distribution of the Balkan peoples and zones of civilization in *Geographical Review*. He was possibly involved in publishing the three-part article of the psychology of Yugoslavs in *The Slavonic and East European Review* as well. Letters of Erdeljanović and De Martonne to Ljubica Cvijić in the early 1930s referred to a French translation (by Yves Chataigneau, French geographer, diplomat, General Governor of Algiers in 1944-1948, and ambassador to Moscow in 1949-1954) of Cvijić's work of Karst.

¹³⁴ These works were Cvijić, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples"; and Cvijić, "The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula." Geoffrey J. Martin, *The Life and Thought of Isaiah Bowman* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1980), 63, quoted in Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 251.

in 1918 proved to be ephemeral with diplomats and political leaders, it was deeper and longer lasting with academics.

Other Yugoslav geographers active in the interwar period were unable to repeat Cvijić's international reputation and inclusion in the global scientific networks, at least not to the same extent. This was not (only) a result of Cvijić's unique scientific qualities, as has often been implied, but (also) of the contemporary context, convenient timing, and perceived political and diplomatic usefulness of his work. After the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920, Yugoslav geographers continued their research of the Yugoslav territories and retreated to narrower national and regional scientific framework.

The German-speaking geographical tradition had been dominant already before the First World War, and in Zagreb its dominance continued during the war as well, since there was no break in 1914-1918 as in Belgrade (and the University in Ljubljana was founded only in 1919). The other, newly established or reconfigured East-Central European network, which was best exemplified in a series of Congresses of Slavic Geographers and Ethnologists initiated by Cvijić himself, was largely marked by pan-Slavic and anti-German sentiments and good diplomatic relations rather than substantial scientific cooperation among geographers from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia – but also Bulgaria.¹³⁵

While Cvijić published many of his works on physical geography in German and a smaller number in French, his anthropological works, when written in a foreign language, were published in French.¹³⁶ Not surprisingly, since they all implicitly or explicitly argued against the Austro-Hungarian and German expansionist *Drang nach Osten* – or rather *Südosten* – and tried to present Serbia's case and potential territorial demands to the international, primarily West European, readership. In that sense, the publication of *La Péninsule balkanique* is not as unique part of Cvijić's opus as is often claimed, rather the best-known example of a larger intellectual and scientific process. Additionally, at the end of the First World War, Cvijić did not produce an entirely original work, since he had been developing the structure and the methodological approach for quite some time. While most of later studies on Cvijić neglected the larger context, earliest reviewers were aware of the fact that many parts of the book had

¹³⁵ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, "Pred prvi kongres slovenskih geografa i etnografa," in *Geografska nauka i nastava*, 60.

¹³⁶ The list of monographs and syntheses written primarily for international readership prior to *La Péninsule balkanique* included but was not limited to Jovan Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpski problem* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1908); Cvijić, *Questions balkaniques* (Paris, Neuchatel: Attinger Frères, 1916); and Cvijić, *Les mouvements métanastasiques dans la Péninsule des Balkans* (Paris, 1917).

been previously published in a different form.¹³⁷ *La Péninsule balkanique* was not just a collection of Cvijić's lectures in which he gave "a definite form to his thoughts."¹³⁸ Rather, in the lectures he gave at the Sorbonne, Cvijić systemized and crystallized the above-examined ideas that he had been developing since the late 1890s. Through these lectures, the anthropogeographical canon as Cvijić articulated it was at the same time expanded, elaborated more in detail, and refined. The main novelties of *La Péninsule balkanique* were its scope, the synthetic nature of the work, and the fact that in 1918, Cvijić's main task was to provide scientific support for the establishment of Yugoslavia and its yet unrecognized boundaries. Cvijić included to his narrative the South Slavic territories from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that were partly absent from his earlier works, and brought together previously loosely connected treatises, systematized case studies, and more subtle conceptualization.

In light of the attempts to present Cvijić – and consequently the whole Belgrade school of geography – as closer to Paul Vidal de la Blache's "possibilism" than to Friedrich Ratzel's "determinism," his lectures at the Sorbonne seem crucial. Besides stressing the impact of the academic environment and exposure to French geographical tradition on creating *La Péninsule balkanique*, another approach might be employed: we should try to imagine the response of the students and faculty who attended Cvijić's lectures at the Sorbonne. Rather than tendentious and forced qualifications of Cvijić as a geographical possibilist in a purely Vidalian manner, Lucien Febvre's assessment of Cvijić's understanding of the relationship between the environment and people as inconsistent and deterministic should be pointed out.¹³⁹ Did students of geography at the Sorbonne also recognize Cvijić's anthropogeography as deterministic and, in essence, "German," or did they find a pronounced ethnographical dimension of Cvijić's work related and translatable to Vidal's concept of *genres de vie* (ways of life)? The question cannot be unambiguously answered, but it points to the multifaceted nature of Cvijić's work and the complexity of his geographical ideas.

In *La Péninsule balkanique*, Cvijić defined the Eurasian character, characteristics of union and permeation (*osobine spajanja i prožimanja*), and characteristics of isolation and

¹³⁷ Clive Day, review of *La Péninsule Balkanique: Géographie Humaine*, by Jovan Cvijić, *Political Science Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1920): 143. Day was a member of the Inquiry, taskforce of American experts, including geographers, who were charged with gathering information used in formulation of the postwar policies of the United States toward Europe. His "responsibilities spread from the Balkans to Austria to Western Europe, and he even contributed a report having to do with the commerce of the Dutch East Indies." See Lawrence E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 40. In this capacity, he was bound to be acquainted with Cvijić and his work.

¹³⁸ Arhiv SANU, 14460-VII-a-56, Jovan Erdeljanović to Ljubica Cvijić, November 1, 1930.

¹³⁹ Lucien Febvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History* (1925; repr., London: Kegan Paul, 2003), 234-35 and 284. Citations refer to the Kegan Paul edition.

separation (*osobine izolovanja i odvajanja*) as main geographical characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula.¹⁴⁰ The Balkans is not merely in-between Europe and Asia but functions as a bridge actively connecting them and has, under dual influences, acquired characteristics of both, which was clearly manifested coexistence of various cultures. Geographical characteristics of union and permeation are fostered by the permeation from the periphery, valleys and longitudinal communications, and mountainous passes and transversal communications. Because of them, the Balkans functions as a sort of a trap – the further toward the south of the peninsula a people enters, the more difficult it becomes to leave, and only large and powerful groups can retain their characteristics upon their arrival to the peninsula.¹⁴¹

Characteristics of union and permeation, crucial for the ethnic, cultural and, eventually, political unity of Yugoslavs are primarily dependent on the longitudinal communications which in the Balkan Peninsula stretch along the valleys running from the northwest to the southeast. The dominant among these communications connects all three Yugoslav “tribes.” Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade are thus linked by river valleys of the Sava and the Danube, and Belgrade is further connected with the Aegean port of Thessaloniki through the Morava-Vardar valley. Cvijić repeatedly stressed the centrality of the Morava-Vardar valley, which gives Serbia a pivotal role in the Balkans. Opposite of the longitudinal communications are transversal communications, mostly stretching in the north to south or the northeast to southwest direction. Transversal communications connect the Adriatic and the Ionian coasts with the continental interior. High mountain chains and general fragmentation of terrain made these lines of communication, especially between the Adriatic coast and hinterland, more difficult to master.

Regardless of the direction of communication, the communication and, subsequently, the unity of the Balkans as a geographical region and Yugoslavs as an ethnic community is dependent on the valleys. Rivers, however, have an ambiguous role as their valleys facilitate communication, but even small rivers, if their banks are marshy, can obstruct communication more than mountain ridges, which are not necessarily obstructive, especially if shepherds used to crossing them inhabit both sides of the mountain. Mountain massifs with multiple ridges and high plains are the greatest obstacle to communication and the main geographical reasons for the geographical characteristics of isolation and separation. Cvijić in fact echoed the debate over the “relative values of ‘wet’ and ‘dry’ boundaries” that began in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1918), chap. 1-3.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁴² Richard Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography: a Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past* (Lancaster, PA: The Association of American Geographers, 1939), 57.

Cvijić described as exaggerated the claim – later embraced by Filip Lukas, Anton Melik, and the majority of Yugoslav geographers – that the fragmentation of terrain “as a specific characteristic of the Balkan Peninsula” is “the reason for [the existence of] a large number of ethnic phenomena and political events.”¹⁴³ Yet, his attempt to dismiss such an understanding of the influence of the environment on the Balkan history, in fact, reinforced the very idea. Even when pointing to the role of social factors such as the level of development or “civilization” in creating fragmented cultural landscapes, Cvijić provided examples and rationale for the isolation effect of the fragmentation of terrain. “It seems,” he argued, “that the fragmentation of terrain was a particular cause of regional ethnographic diversity in the Balkans which can be observed within one Balkan people,”¹⁴⁴ namely the Yugoslavs. Unlike in Western Europe, Cvijić noted, geographical regions in the Balkans are not coterminous with the historical and social units. As well as most other Yugoslav geographers in the first half of the twentieth century, Cvijić never reached a final verdict on the geographical unity either of the Balkans or of Yugoslavia. As the following chapters show, throughout the interwar period the emphasis of the geographical writing on Yugoslavia kept shifting from descriptions of a solid geographical unity to dismissal of the very existence of the country because it was geographically unsustainable.

In the continental block of the Balkans, both forces of union and permeation and of isolation and separation were at work at the same time. Large portions of the Balkans, including much of Yugoslavia, are more dependent on land routes than on the sea, as the Adriatic and the Black Sea do not penetrate in-land as much as the Aegean Sea does. Within the continental block, Cvijić observed three distinct regions: eastern or the Balkan region in the full sense of the meaning; central or the Morava-Vardar region; and western or the Dinaric-Pindus region, while within the latter, the Dinaric Karst region comprises the mountainous region, hinterland, and the littoral.

The tone of *La Péninsule balkanique* is to a certain degree determinist, as Cvijić strongly emphasized the geographical influence on individual people and human groups. He specified three types of geographical influences: direct influences of the geographical environment; indirect influences of the geographical environment; and geographical characteristics that influence the migration of human groups.¹⁴⁵ Direct influences, such as the influence of terrain,

¹⁴³ Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique*, 32.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 81-85.

climate, and atmospheric phenomena, influence human physiology and psychology. Indirect influences are more difficult to detect. These are “all the natural sources of a territorial unit that man utilizes”¹⁴⁶ – riches of the land in general, which determine the material life in detail and which are visible in the types of settlements, buildings, occupations, economy and way of life, interpersonal communication, etc. The interplay of the characteristics of union and permeation on the one hand, and of isolation and separation on the other, affects the migrations and gives an answer to the question where a given people will develop its state and be most active. The characteristics of terrain influencing the migrations “often determine the direction in which the territorial power [of a people] and desire to cross into neighboring areas will be developed,” and influence the spread of civilizations, historical developments and “territorial history” of a group.¹⁴⁷

In Cvijić’s view, the ethnographic and anthropogeographical phenomena in the Balkans were heavily influenced by historical events, zones of civilizations, and migration of peoples and ethnic groups – all of which are dependent on geographical factors. He identified four zones of civilization: the old Balkan or modified Byzantine civilization, Turkish-Oriental influences, Mediterranean-Italian influences (a category which was in the Serbo-Croatian translation observed in a wider context of Western influences), and the patriarchal regime.¹⁴⁸ The first two point to the Eurasian characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula, but Cvijić warned that the Peninsula should not be considered “oriental” or belonging to the Middle East. Western influences came from two directions. The older Mediterranean direction was manifested in a relatively confined area along the seacoast. Since the eighteenth century, Central European influences have intensified and affected the lowlands in the north of the Peninsula. The patriarchal regime, which Cvijić focused on, covers large parts of the Balkan Peninsula and most of Yugoslavia. Despite maintaining relations to other neighboring cultural zones, the patriarchal regime is mostly autochthonous. Cvijić, however, argued that one

should not consider the patriarchal regime of the peninsula a regime without civilization. On the contrary, the population whose mode of life it is distinguished itself by moral conceptions of a high order and by other evidence of civilization. Its particular philosophy of life, its social and economic organization, and its well-developed institutions, its art and poetry are all of indisputable merit.¹⁴⁹

Civilizations spreading through transversal communication lines between the coast and interior,

¹⁴⁶ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 83; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:114.

¹⁴⁷ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 84; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:124.

¹⁴⁸ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 100-111; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:142-60. With minor adjustments, the chapter was published as Jovan Cvijić, “The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula.”

¹⁴⁹ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 109; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:154.

and those dependent only on these communication lines, could not infiltrate the whole peninsula and were destined to remain confined to the narrow littoral area. At the same time, this argument could be used to counter the Italian territorial claims on the eastern Adriatic coast and to support the Yugoslav claims that the South Slavic country in the Balkans could be organized as a coherent and lasting unit since Yugoslavia controlled both directions of communication.

Migrations were the strongest unifying factor in Cvijić's anthropogeographical vision of the Balkans and Yugoslavia. Cvijić had previously written considerably on the metanastasic movements in the Balkans, but in 1918 he expanded the scope of the examined metanastasic area. It was no longer just the mountainous Dinaric region but all territories inhabited by "Serbo-Croats." The point was made clearer in the Serbo-Croatian translation: because of these migrations, "since the end of the fourteenth century, throughout the Turkish era, and up to this date, almost all the population in the area between the Veles Gorge on the Vardar and the Zagreb highlands was shuffled."¹⁵⁰ This was a continuous metanastasic region, as opposed to non-metanastasic regions with little or no newcomers, such as parts of Bulgaria, northern Croatia, Slovenia, and southern Macedonia. These migrations were caused by direct military threats, economic problems, or even climate change. Because of migrations, the migrating population experienced assimilation to the new environmental and geographical conditions; ethnic and social assimilation; and changes occurring due to what he called "ethnobiological processes" – intermarriage between the old population and newcomers that primarily occurred among the members of the same religion.¹⁵¹ All of the aforementioned results of migrations were, according to Cvijić, interconnected.

The metanastasic migrations facilitated encounters between Serbs and Croats, and made possible the previously virtually non-existent communication between Serbs and Slovenes:

Our national unity is not only a result of the original kinship of our tribes; it does not rest only on a common Serbo-Croatian literary language and our literature, as is usually believed. It was preceded by a long period of ethnic and ethno-biological assimilation and amalgamation in the Turkish and Venetian period. Because of this, the national unity has deeper foundations, real national foundations, and in the metanastasic region, it is in particular deeper than the present situation would suggest.¹⁵²

Together with terrain, layout of the zones of civilizations, and early medieval history, metanastasic migrations thus decisively influenced the geographical distribution of the Balkan peoples. While differentiating metanastasic and ametanastasic areas within Yugoslavia, Cvijić

¹⁵⁰ Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:163.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1:223.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 1:246.

pointed to the entire Yugoslav territory as a metanastasic region because migrations within the metanastasic zone had to have repercussions on the neighboring ametanastasic zones, including northern Croatia and Slovenia. However, the archetypical metanastasic region is the Dinaric region, which is at the center of Cvijić's attention throughout *La Péninsule balkanique*. It has been a contested space of Croatian and Serbian nationalist projects – especially Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dalmatia – as well as an iconic national landscape. Centers of the early medieval Croatian and Serbian states were in the Dinaric region, and the Croatian, Serbian, as well as many Yugoslav nationalists praised the psychological traits of the local population as the purest manifestations of the respective national spirits.

Just as mass migrations over the centuries brought about the unity of Yugoslavs, certain geomorphologic characteristics – primarily the prevalence of Karst – pointed to the unity of landscape, and the mountainous Karst area and its highlander population were constructed as the epitome of Yugoslavia. More explicitly than in the French original, when talking about the northern boundaries of the Yugoslav territories in the Serbo-Croatian translation, Cvijić argued: “The peoples cannot be demarcated on the basis of geomorphological boundaries. Ethnographic boundary prevails over the geographic one. However, in this case geographical and ethnographical boundaries are almost coextensive. The whole Karst region is inhabited by Slovenes.”¹⁵³ Since the psychological traits and the absence of Karst separate Bulgarians from the rest of the South Slavs, the Slavs that Cvijić talked about were in fact Yugoslavs. Karst belongs to the Balkan Peninsula, but above all to Yugoslavs.¹⁵⁴ In 1919, on the pages of *The Geographical Journal* Cvijić engaged in a short but fierce debate with the Italian geographer Giovanni Roncagli over the Italian-Yugoslav boundary and the principles upon which it should be determined. Cvijić reasserted his point that “the Karst and the Dinaric system are integral parts of the Balkan Peninsula, and that the natural boundaries of a peninsula like that of Italy cannot be sought for on the eastern side of the Adriatic.”¹⁵⁵

The most controversial and enduring part of Cvijić's anthropogeographical opus and *La Péninsule balkanique* in particular has been the ethnopsychological characterization and the establishment of a hierarchy of psychological types among the South Slavs.¹⁵⁶ In his opinion,

¹⁵³ Ibid., 1:266. In the original, Cvijić mentioned “Italianized Slavs” (*Slaves italianisés*). See Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 168.

¹⁵⁴ Jovan Cvijić, *Das Karstphänomen: Versuch einer morphologischen Monographie* (Vienna: Hölzel, 1893).

¹⁵⁵ Jovan Cvijić and [Giovanni] Roncagli, “Physical and Strategic Geography of the Adriatic,” *The Geographical Journal* 54, no. 1 (1919): 66.

¹⁵⁶ Among others, Baskar, Čolović, Žanić, and Živković described fragments of what can be viewed as “late echoes” of the interwar anthropogeographical discourse on the hierarchy of ethnopsychological types and

“the geographical environment influences not only the general historic development, the layout of various civilizations, migrations, ethnic divisions, location and type of settlements, but it also – directly or indirectly – influences the psychological characteristics of the population.”¹⁵⁷ He saw the examination of the psychological characteristics of the population and its relations to geographical conditions as an important task of anthropogeography, and thus joined the ranks of a significant number of European – particularly East-Central European – anthropogeographers that embraced ethnopsychology as a research category.¹⁵⁸

By employing methods of direct and indirect observation in his research, Cvijić concluded that the general anthropological differences among Yugoslavs are only marginal, or a result of research errors. Although Yugoslav “tribes” had experienced separate historical developments, “besides the language, the fundamental psychological traits of Serbo-Croats [*sic*] and Slovenes are the same.”¹⁵⁹ Cvijić believed that direct observation could give more precise results in the Balkans than it could in Western Europe, because the South Slavs have not yet been made uniform under the influences of civilization. Their psychological traits were plainer, clearer, and “easier to read.” He used the method of direct observation on his numerous field researches, where his expertise and scientific authority, as well as the perceived value of *La Péninsule balkanique* and his other works, lay. However, it was a cause of many imprecise and romanticized generalizations. Indirect observation – reading of the psychological structures of a people from its history, literature, folklore etc. – was the prevalent approach in contemporary ethnopsychology, including Vladimir Dvorniković’s 1939 *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* (the characterology of Yugoslavs), the most comprehensive continuation of Cvijić’s ethnopsychological work.¹⁶⁰ The fact that ethnopsychology blurred the boundaries between science and literature did not escape the attention of contemporary commentators.

iconic national landscapes in the late Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav societies, namely in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. See Bojan Baskar, “Within or without? Changing Attitudes toward the Balkans in Slovenia,” *Ethnologia balkanica* 7 (2003): 198-206; Ivan Čolović, *Politics of Identity in Serbia* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Čolović, *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002); Čolović, *The Balkans: the Terror of Culture; Essays in Political Anthropology* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011); Ivo Žanić, “The Symbolic Identity of Croatia in the *Triangle Crossroads-Bulwark-Bridge*,” in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pål Kolstø (London: Hurst, 2005), 35-76; Marko Živković, “Violent Highlanders and Peaceful Lowlanders: Uses and Abuses of Ethno-Geography in the Balkans from Versailles to Dayton,” *Replika* 2 (1997): 107-19; Živković, *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginery in Time of Milošević* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Katarina Luketić, *Balkan: od geografije do fantazije* (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2013), 125-130.

¹⁵⁷ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 263; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 2:1.

¹⁵⁸ Rainer Diriwächter, “*Völkerpsychologie*: The Synthesis That Never Was,” *Culture & Psychology* 10, no. 1 (2004): 85-109.

¹⁵⁹ Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, 272; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 2:10.

¹⁶⁰ Vladimir Dvorniković, *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* (Belgrade: Kosmos, 1939).

Borivoje Ž. Milojević referred to the French geographer Jules Sion¹⁶¹ when stating that “in spiritual characteristics exhibited by the population of specific regions, [Cvijić] finds geographical, economic, and social influences. He ‘claims for geography a domain which seems so far to have been a domain of novelists.’”¹⁶²

Cvijić distinguished four psychological types among the South Slavs, including the Bulgarians. The Dinaric type thus comprised those living in the Dinaric region; the Central type, the population of the Morava-Vardar valley and western Bulgaria; the East Balkan type, the population of the lower Danube plain, Thrace, and the Maritza valley; and the Pannonian type, the Yugoslav population north of the Sava and Danube, mostly outside the geographical boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula. No other part of the geographical canon formed by Cvijić received so much attention. The ethnopsychology of the Yugoslav lands was a prominent topic in the Yugoslav press, especially in the 1930s, after the Serbo-Croatian translation of the second volume of *Balkansko poluostrvo* appeared in 1931, and made the very concept of the national character and the situation in Yugoslavia known to a wider readership.¹⁶³

According to Karl Kaser, “whether coincidentally or not, it seems that the numbers 1 to 4 represent a hierarchy. Number 1 is the type mostly appreciated by Cvijić, and number 4 is valued much less.”¹⁶⁴ Kaser has stressed that Cvijić wrote at the height of the Yugoslav movement, a fact reflected in his works, where “he proclaimed the ethnic unity of the South Slavs, including the Bulgarians, while he differentiated culturally defined types, varieties, and groups in one nation. This was his first guideline. The other was his Serbian perspective.”¹⁶⁵ But Kaser exaggerated the issue of the unity of all South Slavs, including Bulgarians, whom Cvijić on many occasions clearly differentiated from Yugoslavs because of the geomorphology of the area they inhabit and their psychological characteristics. In 1902, before Serbo-Bulgarian hostility was (re)awoken in the Second Balkan War and the First World War, Cvijić wrote about

¹⁶¹ See Hugh Clout, “Professional patronage and the formation of French geographical knowledge. A bio-bibliographical exploration of one hundred non-metropolitan regional monographs, 1893-1969,” *Cybergeog: European Journal of Geography*, Epistémologie, Histoire de la Géographie, Didactique, article 549, (October 17, 2011), assessed February 18, 2013, doi:10.4000/cybergeog.24203.

¹⁶² Milojević, “O naučnom radu Jovana Cvijića,” 12.

¹⁶³ “Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena I,” *Politika*, October 26, 1931; and “Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena II,” *Politika*, October 27, 1931; “Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena (knj. 1), *Trgovački glasnik*, December 5, 1931; and Pavle Vujević, “Značaj Jovana Cvijića za rad na geografiji posle njegove smrti,” *Pravda*, January 16, 1934.

¹⁶⁴ Karl Kaser, “Anthropology and the Balkanization of the Balkans: Jovan Cvijić and Dinko Tomašić,” *Ethnologia Balkanica* 2 (1998): 91.

¹⁶⁵ Karl Kaser, “Peoples of the Mountains, Peoples of the Plains: Space and Ethnographic Representation,” in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 224-25.

the shifting ethnical boundaries and stated that the “ethnographical disturbances” between Bulgarians and Serbs are difficult to establish. This is because “these two very related peoples in the border regions so unnoticeably merge one into the other that . . . not even now can it be said when the Serbian stops and Bulgarian begins.”¹⁶⁶ According to Cvijić, going through the Balkan Peninsula from the Adriatic toward the Black Sea, “an observer will notice, besides some shared similarities among the South Slavs, a certain spiritual quality characteristic for Bulgarians, which separates them in important ways from all the other South Slavs.”¹⁶⁷ All the characteristics of “western South Slavs” (a term designating Yugoslavs) were best exemplified in the Dinaric type, and Cvijić did not fail to emphasize that Serbs accounted for three quarters of this type.¹⁶⁸

Additionally, the hierarchy of psychological types is closely connected to the hierarchy of iconic national landscapes. Cvijić described Dinaric people as brave but sensitive, democratic (although autocratic behavior, he warned, was not unknown among them), and intelligent. Such psychological and cultural characteristics developed in response to the environment, thus illustrating the relationship between physical and cultural landscapes. The existence of varieties within ethnopsychological types corresponds to the multiplicity of natural regions, caused by fragmented terrain, but ethnopsychological types themselves transcend these particularities and can be conceived as a higher unity, although not identical to the nation. Yugoslavs consisted of three psychological types – the Dinaric, Central Balkan, and Pannonian type – which, however, did not fully correspond to the three “tribes” – Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

The methodological emphasis on direct observation of the primitive and therefore “directly readable” Yugoslav population points to yet another important topic – the (a)temporality of anthropogeographical discourse in interwar Yugoslavia, which is also applicable to some Yugoslav geographers other than Cvijić. On the one hand, anthropogeography was developed partially as complementary to history, approaching Yugoslav histories from a geographical perspective. On the other hand, despite being embedded in historicity and operating with historical categories, many anthropogeographical findings on the relationship between space and the nation or national identity relied on the representation of people, including ethnic communities, as essentialized and atemporal groups. Wars, for instance, were absent from *La Péninsule balkanique*, although Serbia waged wars almost continuously from 1912 to 1918. Instead, Cvijić presented never-ending skirmishes against the

¹⁶⁶ Cvijić, *Antropogeografski problemi*, 179.

¹⁶⁷ Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 2:14.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:17.

Ottomans, but also among the Balkan groups, thus exemplifying the courage and roughness of the Balkan and especially the Dinaric population. And although Cvijić described and classified the settlements in the Balkan Peninsula, urban and modern phenomena interested him primarily (or only) as effecting structural changes – disintegrating *zadruga*, the extended families – to traditional Yugoslav society, which was implied to be otherwise pure and always the same.

2.5. The boundaries and the internal composition of Yugoslavia

Although Cvijić occasionally engaged with issues of political geography, he cannot be described as a political geographer in sense of belonging to this specific scientific field.¹⁶⁹ Cvijić as a politically-engaged geographer should be distinguished from Cvijić as a scientist practicing political geography, which scholars sometimes neglect. Here my focus is on several smaller works Cvijić published during a period when border changes occurred as a result of the two Balkan Wars, the First World War, and the establishment of the Yugoslav state. In these texts, Cvijić repeated his arguments regarding the Serbian and Yugoslav boundaries that were the foundations of the geographical narration of interwar Yugoslavia and modified his understanding of the boundaries in accordance with the contemporary political changes and aspirations of the Serbian and, after 1918, the Yugoslav state. None of Cvijić's works had "political geography" in their title, but some at least implicitly examined issues such as geographical and political location or boundaries.

In 1914, during a short break that Serbia enjoyed between the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War, Cvijić summarized the territorial expansion of the Serbian state since the early nineteenth century.¹⁷⁰ He was not the only Serbian geographer to write a geography of Serbia within its newly acquired boundaries: in 1913, Jevto Dedijer published a voluminous work, *Nova Srbija* (New Serbia), in which he described the new territories in the south.¹⁷¹ Cvijić emphasized that during a century of expansion, Serbia's geographical-political

¹⁶⁹ Freeman's qualification of Cvijić as a "reluctant political geographer" is problematic as it at the same time seems to confuse political with politicized geography and diminishes Cvijić's political agenda, by presenting his work as "reluctant" response to the political events instead of a conscious enterprise. See T.W. Freeman, "Jovan Cvijić, a Reluctant Political Geographer," in Freeman, *The Geographer's Craft* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), 72-100.

¹⁷⁰ Jovan Cvijić, "Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije," *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 3, no. 3-4 (1914): 1-23.

¹⁷¹ Jevto Dedijer, *Nova Srbija* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1913).

and ethnographic structure had changed significantly:

The character of all past territorial changes can be described as an expansion in stages, particularly toward the south, conquest of regions of our glorious past and the ever more intense engagement and merging of south-Morava and Vardar Serbs with the Dinaric Serbs of Karadjordje's¹⁷² Serbia.¹⁷³

The early Serbian state of the nineteenth century, Cvijić claimed, could have either perished or expanded, primarily to the south.¹⁷⁴ By 1914, Serbia had successfully followed Ratzel's law of expansion. Territorially small, but controlling a vital communication line between Central Europe, the Aegean Sea, and Asia Minor, Serbia was an annoyance to its large Central European neighbor, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Though aware of the historical significance of the decline of Ottoman power and the rise of the Russian Empire for political developments in the Balkans, Cvijić still singled out Serbian national awareness as a decisive factor contributing to the gaining of independence and expansion of Serbia.¹⁷⁵ The Serbian state was presented as an autochthonous enterprise, as a part of a victorious historical-geographical narrative: Serbs "created a state and the beginnings of culture upon a national foundation, new and different."¹⁷⁶

Serbia was a state with a mission – a mission to expand. The modern history of Serbia was, in Cvijić's view, a realization of this mission. Initially a small state, Serbia grew to encompass more and more Serbs. Many Serbian politicians and intellectuals hoped it would one day include all Serbs, and approached the establishment of Yugoslavia with that goal in mind.¹⁷⁷ In 1833, after the first territorial expansion, the Serbian state grew to 37,740 square kilometers, but Cvijić warned that expansion does not automatically mean an improvement of geographical position. This echoed Ratzel's warning that territorial size, although of vital importance, is not the only factor determining the power of the state. During expansion, old and newly-incorporated populations "amalgamated" into a new form of national culture and spirit. Democratic struggle was one of the key characteristics of the Serbian population: "Democratic tendencies are natural in a people of such a homogeneous social structure, a people of farmers and cattle breeders, in which there were neither social classes nor significant differences in wealth."¹⁷⁸

If the territorial changes to Serbia in 1833 were of little consequence, those occurring

¹⁷² Karadjordje was the leader of the First Serbian Uprising against the Ottomans between 1804 and 1813, which began in central parts of Serbia.

¹⁷³ Cvijić, "Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije," 1.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 1.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁷ Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 20.

¹⁷⁸ Cvijić, "Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije," 6.

as a result of the Berlin Congress in 1878 had a tremendous impact. This was an important turning point regarding both the geographical position and the ethnic composition of Serbia. Not only was a large part of the Serbian ethnic corpus now united within the state's 48,300 square kilometers of territory, but a turn toward the south became pronounced. As the state expanded, Cvijić insisted, so did the libertarian and democratic spirit of the Serbian people. However, the more Serbia grew in size, the more it wanted to expand further:

Reaching to the central region and drawing closer to the core of the Balkans, where the transversal and longitudinal communications of the Balkan Peninsula converge and from where the shortest way to the Aegean and the Adriatic Sea leads, Serbia had to be tempted to go even further for geographical and economic reasons...¹⁷⁹

Only with the expansion after the two Balkan Wars in 1912-1913, and the size of 87,800 square kilometers, did Serbia acquire a “fully central position in the Balkan Peninsula, because it stretches from the Danube to the surroundings of Thessaloniki.”¹⁸⁰ This map of Serbia was soon redrawn by the First World War and the subsequent establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in December 1918. The centrality of the Morava and Vardar river valley, which Cvijić saw as the backbone of Serbia and the whole Balkan Peninsula, remained unchanged. The valley was a unifying factor and “because of this centralizing effect, Serbia will become a unity, a country from one piece.”¹⁸¹

After the First World War, Cvijić assessed the open northern boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula as both beneficial and detrimental. Before the war, the openness of the northern boundaries was primarily perceived in the positive light of cultural communication and transfers. More than any other Balkan state, Cvijić argued, Serbia was connected with “cultured Europe” by cultural, economic, and various other interests.¹⁸² Interestingly, there was little or no communication between the Hungarians and Serbs; there had been some communications, but in the past, and even then through the mediation of the Hungarian Serbs of Vojvodina.¹⁸³ Referring to the Pannonian Plain, Cvijić found it interesting and significant that “a basin, a plain, culturally and economically foreign and repulsive, isolates and obstructs cultural penetration from the north almost more than high mountains that separate states and peoples.”¹⁸⁴ Rather than the boundary with the Hungarians, the “real cultural boundary of Serbia in the last decades has been the one with Austria, especially lower Austria with Vienna, and the Czech

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 14.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁸² Ibid., 17.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 18-19.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 18.

lands with Prague, from which we received a lot, and which were quite useful for us, above all regarding the [development of] material culture.”¹⁸⁵ Whereas the Serbian cultural boundary with the Hungarians was determined by physical geography – the Pannonian Plain – the cultural boundaries, or rather, cultural communication, with Vienna and Prague transcended physical geography.

The direction of cultural influences and the direction of the geopolitical development of Serbia as Cvijić presented them appear mutually opposed. While the state developed by receiving political and social impulses from the West, it expanded to the south. Yet Cvijić was careful not to imply any kind of Serbian *Drang nach Osten*. After all, Serbia – and, by association, Yugoslavia – nourished a vision of itself as a vital barrier against the German *Drang*.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁸⁶ Bogumil Vošnjak, *A Bulwark against Germany: The Fight of the Slovenes, the Western Branch of the Yugoslavs, for National Existence* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1917).

Chapter 3

GEOGRAPHICAL NARRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA AFTER 1918

This chapter examines the involvement of Yugoslav geographers in the process of constructing the newly-created state of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in scientific geographical works. The focus is on the period between the last days of the First World War, when it became clear that the Central Powers would be defeated and that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would disintegrate, and the mid-1920s, when Yugoslav borders and the country's internal arrangement seemed settled.

Although Yugoslav geographers participated in the frantic deliberations on the future of Europe at the end of the First World War, they had little or no impact on larger developments. Though aware of socio-political changes on a larger scale that inevitably influenced the situation in Yugoslavia they above all focused on the situation in the nascent Yugoslavia. Again, Jovan Cvijić is a well-known example of a scientist who actively supported the political projects of his country, and various scholars have documented his contribution.¹ This chapter expands the scope of the existing studies on Cvijić by examining the role of contemporary Yugoslav geographers other than Cvijić himself in the process of constructing Yugoslavia; it approaches the geographical narration of Yugoslavia as a longer process that not only continued but, in fact, intensified after the publication of Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* in 1918. Most importantly, the centers of this project of geographical narrating of Yugoslavia were in Ljubljana and Zagreb rather than in Belgrade.

In order to do this, it is necessary to challenge a narrow focus on the actors at the Paris Peace Conference. I will briefly analyze the extent to which the experts comprising the Historical-Ethnographic Section (*Historijsko-etnografska sekcija*) of the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes actually contributed to the creation of the political boundaries of Yugoslavia. In addition, I will point to the existence of a significant, yet so far completely neglected corpus of geographical works that reified the new country through

¹ The most detailed account remains Ljubinka Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 173-231. Trgovčević has since revisited the issue of the involvement of Cvijić and other Serbian and Yugoslav intellectuals in the creation of Yugoslavia. See Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić o ujedinjenju Jugoslovena (1914-1918)," in *Naučno delo Jovana Cvijića: Povodom pedesetogodišnjice njegove smrti*, ed. Radomir Lukić et al. (Belgrade: SANU, 1982), 457-463; Trgovčević, *Naučnici Srbije i stvaranje jugoslovenske države, 1914-1920* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga; Srpska književna zadruga: 1986); and Trgovčević, "South Slav Intellectuals and the Creation of Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst, 2003), 222-237.

geographical description. This corpus was not created in direct connection to the Paris Peace Conference, although it was similar to Cvijić's geographical writing on Yugoslav territories analyzed in the previous chapter. Unlike Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique*, these geographies of Yugoslavia were a domestic – Yugoslav – rather than an international enterprise, both in sense of the place where they were written and the audience they targeted.

3.1. Reassessing the role of Yugoslav geographers: narration instead of creation

A number of studies that have not focused directly on the scientists participating in the work of the Historical-Ethnographic Section have nevertheless been receptive to the role of experts in formulating the attitudes and especially the territorial demands presented by the Yugoslav delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.² Such is the case with several comprehensive studies of the Yugoslav participation at the conference.³ Although dated, the accounts of Ivo Lederer and Andrej Mitrović remain the most detailed.⁴ A discrepancy regarding the precise composition of the Historical-Ethnographic Section in the works of Lederer, Mitrović, and Ljubinka Trgovčević arises from the somewhat chaotic atmosphere in Paris and the fact that many members of the delegation changed in a short period.⁵ Mitrović

² One of the larger problems that arose early in the conference was the question of whom did the delegation represent. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, although proclaimed in Belgrade on December 1, 1918, was not recognized by the allies, so initially the delegation was treated as the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbia only. Some allied countries, predominantly Italy, objected to the recognition because the Slovenes and Croats were subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, an enemy and defeated state. Additionally, as was the case with the name of the new country itself, Serbian members of the delegation objected to the label "Yugoslav," since it was seen as a negation of Serbia's identity, sovereignty, and war efforts. However, the delegation was commonly referred to as "Yugoslav," and the name is used here for the purposes of clarity.

³ Ivo John Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference: A Study in Frontiersmaking* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); Andrej Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira 1919-1920* (Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije, 1969); and Dejan Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010). Margaret MacMillan writes about the Yugoslav delegation but does not mention its expert members in *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002). Somewhat surprisingly, given that Cvijić was in contact with the American geographer Isaiah Bowman, the leader of the Inquiry – the preparatory commission for the peace conference – and that the United States acted as informal supporters of Yugoslav cause, at least in 1919, Gelfand mentions neither Cvijić nor any other Yugoslav expert. He did, however, elaborate on the profile and difficulties of the experts involved in the work of the Inquiry. See Lawrence E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), ch. 2.

⁴ The third, but chronologically earliest, account is a collection of minutes from the Sessions of the Delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes at the Paris Peace Conference 1919-1920, which focuses on the political delegation, which had a decisive role in creating policies – though only in agreement with the government in Belgrade. See Bogdan Krizman and Bogumil Hrabak, eds., *Zapisnici sa sednica delegacije Kraljevine SHS na mirovnoj konferenciji u Parizu 1919-1920* (Belgrade: Institut društvenih nauka, 1960).

⁵ Ljubinka Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 203.

produced a slightly more detailed list of the experts in the Historical-Ethnographic Section, which in the spring of 1919 included, besides Cvijić, other names mentioned in this dissertation: ethnologists Niko Županić and Tihomir Đorđević; historian Ferdo Šišić; and geographers Milan Šenoa and Nikola Žić.⁶ Despite the slight discrepancy regarding the composition of the Section, the otherwise mostly complementary narratives of Lederer and Mitrović agree on the importance of having a scientist of Cvijić's pedigree presiding over the Historical-Ethnographic Section:

Among numerous Yugoslav experts, Jovan Cvijić was the figure who in the eyes of the Western cultured public represented the highest scientific authority, for whom the members of other delegations, especially experts of the great powers – and in particular the American [experts] – had a sincere and deep respect, and for whose words the Yugoslav political delegates cared. Cvijić acquired a European scientific reputation much before 1919; when he developed his influential work at the Peace Conference, Cvijić had a quarter century filled with European scientific recognition behind him. Therefore, the fifty-four-year-old scientist was valuable for his delegation at the Peace Conference.⁷

Mitrović presented Cvijić's proposal on the boundaries of Yugoslavia. Cvijić's conception, according to Mitrović, "is a result of the individual reflection of ideas [*preživljavanje ideja*], his own interpretations, own geographical and ethnographical knowledge and his own experience of the terrain over which the boundary was drawn. . . . As if the crags of the Dinaric rocks and the ethnic mixtures of the Pannonian plains, regions that the tireless scholar traversed on his own feet and whose landscapes, population, and ethnic-demographic situation he continuously carried in him, were manifested in it."⁸ Such an exaggerated emphasis on Cvijić is problematic for several reasons. It simplistically reduces Yugoslav geography to the work and activity of one person and presents the employment of geographical knowledge and scientific authority at the Paris Peace Conference as the "finest hour" instead of the beginning of Yugoslav geography in the full sense. Above all, it confuses the impetus that the peace conference doubtlessly gave to the nascent Yugoslav geography with the tangible results of the employment of geography for political purposes, primarily manifested in the drawing of the boundaries of the new state, which were limited.

At the Paris Peace Conference Cvijić repeated his remarks on the quality of plains, rivers, and mountains as geographical boundaries, mentioned in the previous chapter. Uninhabited mountain ridges were pointed out as the optimal type of boundary, followed by

314. ⁶ Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira*, 213; cf. Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*,

⁷ Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira*, 69.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

rivers, especially those with marshy banks as they obstructed passage. But the ethnic or, as Cvijić called them, “ethnographic” boundaries, though complementary to the geographical ones, are of greater importance, he claimed. If one had to choose between the natural and ethnic boundaries, one should opt for the ethnic, although Cvijić was aware that it is often difficult – if not impossible – to draw a boundary based on the ethnic principle that would be satisfactory for all sides in East-Central Europe. Cvijić considered a plebiscite to be a convenient and just solution for determining the boundaries in ethnically mixed areas.

Later, in 1920, Cvijić was appointed the Yugoslav representative at the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission that prepared the plebiscite in Carinthia/Koruška.⁹ The appointment was appropriate, given his expertise, reputation, and stance on plebiscites. Despite Yugoslav agitation and Cvijić’s consistent obstruction of regulations that would allow a rise in Austrian influence in the region,¹⁰ as well as the fact that the population of the contested area was predominantly Slavic – although many of them were “*deutschfreundliche Slowenen*”¹¹ (German-friendly Slovenes) – on October 10, 1920 the majority of the population chose Austria (22,025 votes) over Yugoslavia (15,279 votes).¹² However, since Cvijić had resigned at the end of September due to illness, he was not present in Carinthia at the time. This was his last engagement with the boundary issues of Yugoslavia.¹³

Officially, the Yugoslav delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920 insisted on the application of the “principle of nationalities.” The Yugoslav delegation, as well as the public opinion, believed that the best possible boundaries could be attained on the grounds of ethnicity, as there were hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs living in the contested areas. Additionally, the principle of nationality was in accordance with the policy of the American

⁹ Arhiv SANU, 14460, III-G-b-1-90. For a comparison of the argumentation of Jovan Cvijić and Emmanuel de Martonne regarding Carinthia and whether it forms a part of the Balkans (implying it should be ceded to Yugoslavia) or *Mitteuropa* (to Austria), see Emmanuelle Boulineau, “Les géographes et les frontières austro-slovènes des Alpes orientales en 1919-1920. Entre la Mitteleuropa et les Balkans,” *Revue de géographie alpine* 89, no. 4 (2001): 173-184.

¹⁰ The disputed area in Carinthia was divided into two parts – zone A in the south and zone B in the north. The former was governed until the plebiscite by Yugoslavia and the latter by Austria. A plebiscite was to take place first in zone A and, if the population voted for Yugoslavia, later in zone B. As this was not the case, the plebiscite in zone B was not held. See Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 226. Despite the provisions of the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria, according to which the demarcation line between the two zones was to be eliminated so as to allow communication, during the summer of 1920 Cvijić stalled with the implementation of this provision as he and the government in Belgrade feared that the influx of Austrian agitators and potential voters could influence the outcome of the plebiscite. Arhiv SANU, 14460, III-F-6-21; Arhiv SANU, 14460, III-F-6-22, and Arhiv SANU, 14460, III-F-6-41.

¹¹ Jovan Cvijić, “Koruški plebiscit,” *Nova Evropa* 1, no. 1 (1920): 25-30; Cvijić, “Koruški plebiscit,” in *Govori i članci*, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Napredak, 1921), 189.

¹² Anton Melik, *Slovenija: geografski opis*, vol. 1, *splošni del*, pt. 1 (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1936), 667.

¹³ Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 200.

president, Woodrow Wilson, who was considered one of the most important international supporters of the Yugoslav cause. On many occasions, however, the Yugoslav delegation presented more ambitious – and, correspondingly, more unfeasible – territorial claims on strategic or economic grounds, thus negating their own proclaimed fundamental principle.

As was the practice with geographical works, the political delegates in Paris used multiple lines of argumentation to their advantage. Historical argumentation was used to stress that a disputed area had once belonged to one of the Yugoslav “tribes,” and often to describe the disputed region as a center of the first, medieval, state, or as a center of the nation’s cultural life.¹⁴ The importance of Dalmatia for Croats, and of Old Serbia for Serbs, as well as of Banat as the Serbian cultural center was stressed. Historical argumentation was closely connected to ethnic argumentation, which presented the contemporary ethnic structure of the population. Often, all interested parties equally convincingly used the economic and strategic argumentation. Both Italians and Yugoslavs thus claimed the Adriatic ports Trieste/Trst and Fiume/Rijeka on the grounds of economic necessity. Although in many cases contradictory to the principle of nationalities, the Yugoslav delegation resorted to these types of argumentation as frequently as any other delegation at the conference.

Of all the boundaries that Yugoslavia shared with neighboring countries, only the one with Greece was unproblematic. Regarding the boundaries with other neighboring countries, the Yugoslav delegation argued that Albania should remain an independent country within its 1913 boundaries, in order to prevent Italy from gaining a stronghold for future expansion in the Balkans, although Shkōder/Skadar was at one point claimed for Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav delegation asked for the territorial expansion of the old Serbian-Bulgarian boundary along its whole length. Furthermore, it demanded central and western Banat, including that the center of Timișoara/Temešvar be ceded to Yugoslavia rather than Rumania; it asked for the regions of Bačka, Baranja, Medjimurje, and Prekmurje from Hungary. The Yugoslav delegation also demanded Lower Styria and large parts of Carinthia from Austria, and initially asked for territories east of the previous boundary between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Italy, including Trieste and the whole of Istria.¹⁵ The proposed demarcation with Italy proved to be the least realistic. The boundaries that were claimed with Austria, Italy, Rumania, and to a lesser degree Bulgaria and Hungary, were heavily debated and repeatedly modified, mostly by the Yugoslav delegation reducing its claims. This was usually done at the incentive of the Western

¹⁴ For instance, the Slovene historian Ljudmil Hauptmann described Carinthia, where the early medieval Slovene state originated, as a perfect geographical unity. See Ljudmil Hauptmann, “Priroda in zgodovina v razvoju Jugoslavije,” *Njiva* 2, no. 7 (1922): 115.

¹⁵ Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 96-103.

Allies, who had to take into consideration the aspirations of other countries as well, and suggested that more modest claims would be a better starting position in negotiations.

However, the role of experts in the Yugoslav delegation is more pertinent for assessing the overall contribution of geographers to the process of creating Yugoslavia than the precise territorial claims. Lederer made some valuable observations on the relationship between the political and scientific authority, but failed to elaborate on them in this direction. The question of the balance between scientific accuracy and political utility was frequently raised in the context of a salient conflict among the top members of the political delegation, especially between the Serb Nikola Pašić and the Croat Ante Trumbić.¹⁶ The fact that the delegation was torn between the wish to present its case as thoroughly as possible and the need to react quickly made this problem explicit.

When Trumbić stated that the political delegates “are not sufficiently informed about this matter . . . and could not make a definitive judgment without such expert opinion on our ethnographic frontiers,” he was not genuinely interested in the opinion of experts, but wanted rather to counter Pašić’s views.¹⁷ In the opinion of two leading Serbian members of the delegation, Nikola Pašić and Milenko Vesnić, engaging in long scientific debates would take too much time, which the delegation was already lacking. According to Pašić, “the delegates were political personages who should have been well acquainted with the views of such experts as Cvijić, whose findings on [the] Balkan ethnography had already been published in his various writings. To depend on the experts at this point would have been tantamount to avoiding political responsibility.”¹⁸ Additionally, Vesnić stressed the political nature of the conference and declared that he did not wish to avoid political responsibility by protecting himself “with someone else’s opinion.”¹⁹ While the boundaries should be proposed on the basis of ethnographic facts, Vesnić argued, “it goes without saying that these frontiers must be [drawn] . . . so as to assure a peaceful existence for the new state,” and the map depicting them should be devoid of “lengthy academic explanations.”²⁰

The prevailing attitude among the top delegation members favoring political over scientific reasoning was clear to Cvijić as well, as he asked “the delegates to consult the

¹⁶ Besides Lederer and Mitrović, other scholars examined their relations as a backdrop against which Yugoslavia’s borders and future political development were set. See MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, ch. 9, esp. 113-14; and particularly Djokić, *Nikola Pašić and Ante Trumbić*.

¹⁷ Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 126.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 126; cf. Krizman and Hrabak, eds., *Zapisnici sa sednica delegacije Kraljevine SHS*, 29-31.

¹⁹ Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 127.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

ethnographic section before editing the final memoranda.”²¹ Together with his colleagues, Cvijić “evidently feared that their opinions would mostly be disregarded.”²² The fact that Cvijić, as president of the Historical-Ethnographical Section was invited to attend only six meetings of the Political Delegation suggests that the fear was not unreasonable.²³ Additionally, the president of the delegation, Pašić, although not an expert in the field, was well informed about the history, geography, and ethnography of the Balkans, and prepared the memorandum on the boundary with Bulgaria himself.²⁴ The conclusions and proposals of the expert sections were not binding; they were only supposed to help the plenipotentiaries to come to a final decision.²⁵ Trgovčević has rightly stressed that the political delegates formulated the political arguments and made all the decisions, and that the members of the sections were “consulted only in the situations when their knowledge was indispensable.”²⁶

Since the often conflicting views on what Yugoslav boundaries should look like were developed by people occupying various positions and with various political affiliations – the overwhelming majority of whom were not professional geographers – it is necessary to look beyond the narrow circle of experts present in Paris. Despite Cvijić’s domestic and international prestige, geographers played only a limited role in creating Yugoslavia’s boundaries, and their opinions were often subject to higher political aims. This, however, is not to say that the contribution of geographers at the Paris Peace Conference was negligible.

On the contrary, none of the demands and negotiations of specific sections of the boundary could be articulated without detailed data concerning the ethnic composition of the population in contested areas; without precise, versatile maps depicting the distribution of ethnic groups, physical landscape, and communication routes; and without empirical knowledge of both terrain and population, where Cvijić indeed was irreplaceable. But the Yugoslav delegation did not know when precisely it would be called to present its case, or which section of the boundary would be discussed, until shortly before the session. Therefore, the primary value of the scientific contributions was not their employment by the political delegates appearing before the Council of Four, but the fact that the Historical-Ethnographic Section distributed its work through backchannels to members of other delegations, especially fellow experts from countries sympathetic to the Yugoslav cause, such as France and the United

²¹ Ibid., 128.

²² Ibid., 128.

²³ Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” 203.

²⁴ Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 125. See *The Serbo-Bulgarian Relations and the Question of the Rectification of the Frontier*, Paris, 1919. Memorandum submitted to the Peace Conference.

²⁵ Mitrović, *Jugoslavija na konferenciji mira*, 22.

²⁶ Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 200-201.

States.

From this perspective, members of the section appear as collaborators in a scientific workshop of sorts, which to a certain degree was involved in a political decision-making process, rather than as direct creators of the country. The role of Cvijić and other experts, as well as of most of members of the Yugoslav delegation is comparable to that of the Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs and the second person in the hierarchy of the Czechoslovak delegation, Edvard Beneš. According to Zeman and Klimek, “he understood that, so as to get his way, it was more important to work with the secretaries than with their masters. Beneš knew that the most powerful men at the conference were also the busiest, and that their secretaries prepared the papers, which were often nodded through.”²⁷ Already since the early days of the First World War, Cvijić collaborated with the Serbian government and maintained on its behalf intensive communications with lower-tier politicians and scientists in London and Paris, whom he regularly briefed on the political and ethnographical situation in the Balkans.²⁸ This was a period when he consolidated his geographical narrative of Yugoslavia in *La Péninsule balkanique* and when geographical ideas were put into practice at the conference. However, an exclusive focus on the role of geographers on the international level – that is, in Paris – obscures the complementary development of geographical ideas on a domestic level, which is the focus of the rest of the chapter.

3.2. Geographical narratives from the “periphery”

While keeping in mind the work of scientists at the Paris Peace Conference, it is necessary to examine the work of geographers in Yugoslavia, who during the same period reflected on Yugoslav unity from a geographical perspective and filled the void created by Cvijić’s absence from the country and the fact that *La Péninsule balkanique* was not yet accessible to a readership in Yugoslavia. Some geographers had published texts in favor of establishing Yugoslavia already prior to December 1918, and their writing on Yugoslavia after December 1918 discursively constructed the country as a natural and ethnic unit. The role of geographers in Ljubljana and Zagreb in the aforementioned process thus became pronounced.

²⁷ Zbyněk Zeman and Antonín Klimek, *The Life of Edvard Beneš, 1884-1948: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 39.

²⁸ Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Politička delatnost Jovana Cvijića u Londonu 1915. godine,” *Istorijski časopis* 20 (1973): 385-396; and Trgovčević, “Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu,” *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 173-231.

The focus should be shifted from geographers' role in creating Yugoslavia, which seems to imply some sort of a direct involvement of the work of the Historical-Ethnographic Section and consequently, in drawing Yugoslavia's boundaries, to a longer-lasting process of geographical narration instead. Narration understood in this way includes geographers' activities and publications in the context of the Paris Peace Conference but, mainly, publications created outside the confines of the relatively short conference. As Lederer warned, neither Yugoslavia – nor Czechoslovakia – were created by the benevolence of the victorious Entente powers at Versailles, because “by January 1919 the reality of the Yugoslav union was not questioned by the Allies, despite their temporary refusal to extend it diplomatic recognition.”²⁹ Rather than as creators, geographers should be approached as narrators of the state, nation, and national identities. Many of the examined narrative strategies and methodological approaches employed in the geographical narration of Yugoslavia in the early days of its existence will be revisited in an analysis of the geographical narration of national spaces within Yugoslavia, primarily in Croatia and Slovenia.

There were no books on geography of the Yugoslav-inhabited territories prior to publication of Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* in 1918, although Cvijić's geography of Yugoslav-inhabited territories had long been in preparation. This is, of course, not surprising, given that the country itself did not exist until December 1, 1918. Despite a fairly long history of the idea of Yugoslavism, which stressed mutual similarities among the South Slavs and hoped for cultural and, eventually, political unification,³⁰ the actual possibility of unification entered the (Serbian) political vocabulary only with the Niš Declaration of December 7, 1914, which proclaimed the liberation and unification of all the Yugoslavs as the Serbian war goal.³¹

However, the number of geographical works on Yugoslavia changed in just a couple of years following the establishment of the new state. By the mid-1920s, geographers from Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana published comparable and complementary overviews of the geography of Yugoslavia. They became an influential form for solidifying the country and reinforcing the predominant contemporary view of cultural relations between its constituent regions. This was a first but not a unique example of a sudden proliferation of geographical works in the Yugoslav twentieth century. Tectonic shifts such as the reemergence of Yugoslavia

²⁹ Lederer, *Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference*, 119.

³⁰ Dennison Rusinow, “The Yugoslav Idea before Yugoslavia,” in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918-1992*, ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 11-26.

³¹ Milorad Ekmečić, however, described the unification of Yugoslavia as Serbian “permanent goal.” See Ekmečić, *Ratni ciljevi Srbije 1914*. (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1973), 80-112; cf. Andrej Mitrović, *Serbia's Great War, 1914-1918* (London: Hurst & Co., 2007), 85-101.

in 1945 and its dissolution in the early 1990s called for new series on the geographical construction of the new political entities.³² The works of geographers in the early days of Yugoslavia are particularly important, as they were almost immediate reactions to an unprecedented event: the creation of Yugoslavia. In this context, their works should be seen as attempts at “translating major social and political upheavals into coherent narratives.”³³

Linguistic barriers, especially between Slovenes on the one side, and Serbs and Croats on the other, were overcome through the publication of major geographies of Yugoslavia in Belgrade (though, admittedly, first in Paris), Ljubljana, and Zagreb, in all the variants of the “Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian” language. The specific “tribal” interests were thus satisfied. Around ten million Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, as well as two million inhabitants of the country with other ethnic affiliations³⁴ (provided they were literate and understood Serbo-Croatian or Slovenian), could engage in a virtual journey through the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, thus acquiring an image of their new homeland. Importantly, Yugoslavia was not narrated exclusively from the center – represented by Cvijić and the circle of his students and coworkers in Belgrade – in a manner resembling the centralist form of governing established by the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921.³⁵ Nevertheless, the center of the nascent network of Yugoslav geographers heavily influenced the form and content of the narrative, as Yugoslav geographers embraced most of Cvijić’s ideas and findings. The canon of geographical writing on Yugoslavia was thus enlarged and Cvijić’s paradigm, both physical geographical and anthropogeographical, was further strengthened.

However, *La Péninsule balkanique* played an ambiguous role in the early days of Yugoslavia. Although immediately accepted as a classic – even before its translation into Serbo-Croatian – and referred to by many other geographies of Yugoslavia, Cvijić’s work was only of limited use to other Yugoslav geographers. This was primarily because it had little to say about Yugoslavia itself, the country that had not existed at the time the book was published. While the title of the French original referred only to the Balkans, the Serbo-Croatian translation

³² Many of the prominent interwar geographers examined in this dissertation continued their work in socialist Yugoslavia and some of them wrote syntheses of the geography of Yugoslavia. Anton Melik, for instance, published a new version of his geography of Yugoslavia after the Second World War. It was first published in Slovene and then translated into Croatian. See Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1948); and Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljopisni pregled* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952); Borivoje Ž. Milojević, *O položaju i granicama Jugoslavije: predavanje održano na Kolarčevom narodnom univerzitetu* (Belgrade: Kolarčev narodni univerzitet, 1948).

³³ Susan Schulten, *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 136.

³⁴ Pavle Vujević, “Rezultat popisa stanovništva u našoj državi,” *Glasnik Geografskog društva*, no. 7-8 (1922): 344-348.

³⁵ Alex N. Dragnich, *The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Political System* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983), 20-27.

was given an extended title: “the Balkan Peninsula and the Yugoslav lands,” rather than the Yugoslav state. The Yugoslavia that Cvijić wrote about was an abstract anticipated entity; it had no set boundaries, and only an approximate number of inhabitants. Furthermore, the lack of precise data and the emphasis on ethnography partially ran against the encyclopedic approach and statistically-oriented human and political geography practiced at the University of Zagreb. Above all, it was of limited use in schools.

Croat and Slovene geographers borrowed the underlying principles of the unity of Yugoslav territory and population from Cvijić, but close reading of publications by Dugački, Ilešič, Kranjec, Lukas, Melik, Šenoa, and others, shows significant mutual referencing among Yugoslav geographers – besides Cvijić. Geographers from the “margins” – affiliated to the academic centers in Ljubljana and Zagreb – in fact took the lead in the geographical construction of Yugoslavia and produced geographical accounts, even if they never became as influential as Cvijić’s. Especially between 1918 and 1922, the “peripheral” perspective was in this sense central to the geographical narration of the new country.

Of course, geographical overviews are not the only, or the most obvious, type of publications employed in nation-building projects. Historiography has usually played the central role in the process of narrating the nation.³⁶ But so far in this dissertation, the unprecedented public prominence and political engagement of geography have been repeatedly underlined: geographies of a given national space – either Yugoslav, as was the case in the early 1920s, or the national space of specific Yugoslav nations or “tribes,” most prominently Croatia and Slovenia – treated this space as a coherent natural, cultural, political, and economic entity. Such an approach was not the invention of Yugoslav geographers; Vidal de la Blache thus famously described France in his 1903 *Tableau de la géographie de la France*. According to Marie-Claire Robic, even “the order of treatment of the various regions in the descriptive part of the book and their importance seem to be a direct function of their role in the making of France as a territorial unit.”³⁷ For Vidal, geographical differences within France make it “a miniature of the world,” and its “originality lies not so much in its diversity, its nuances as in its fusion of diverse entities.”³⁸ As will be shown, many Yugoslav geographers used the same,

³⁶ Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds. *Nationalizing the Past: Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-25; Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas, and Andrew Mycock, eds., *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media, and the Arts* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Book, 2008), 14.

³⁷ Marie Claire-Robic, “National Identity in Vidal’s *Tableau de la géographie de la France*: From Political Geography to Human Geography,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

or at least a very similar, principle to describe Yugoslavia.

The primary objective was to “naturalize” Yugoslavia. The new country had to be explained and its existence justified in “natural” as well as “cultural” (including political) terms. This had to be done not only to international diplomats and to policy-makers, as Cvijić had attempted with *La Péninsule balkanique*, but to Yugoslavs themselves – at least to those literate among them³⁹ – who previously had only a limited access to the literature on their own regions and historical-political units, let alone on regions belonging to different, and often mutually hostile, states. According to Anton Melik’s comment on the situation regarding geographies of Yugoslavia in Slovenia, people “impatiently looked for opportunities to learn about various parts of our kingdom, about which teaching in Austrian schools did not give even the slightest notion.”⁴⁰ The situation was very different in Serbian schools, where since the late nineteenth century a great emphasis has been put on other South Slavic lands and peoples. This was a part of the nationalist project; while Slovenes were mostly neglected, Croats received much attention, but were predominantly described as western or Catholic Serbs rather than a separate ethnic group.⁴¹

All works on Yugoslavia after 1918 were politically pertinent, even if their authors did not firmly believe in or support the unity of Yugoslavs. Geographies of Yugoslavia were not mere descriptions of the existing situation – inventories of the new state – but a means of discursive construction, of asserting the Yugoslav political project by showing its viability and sustainability. Yugoslav geographers proved to be more active than historians, who elsewhere took the lead in formulating nationalist projects. They could also compete with literature and art, disciplines in which the internal differences among the South Slavic “tribes” could easily emerge.⁴²

³⁹ The rate of illiteracy varied greatly between regions and between genders. In 1921 the rate of illiteracy in Slovenia was only 8.85 percent; in Banat, Bačka, and Baranja 23.31 percent; in Croatia-Slavonia 32.15 percent; in Dalmatia 49.48 percent; in Serbia 65.43 percent; in Montenegro 67.02 percent; in Bosnia and Herzegovina 67.02 percent; and in Macedonia as much as 83.86 percent. During the interwar period illiteracy only slightly decreased. See Ljubodrag Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1997), 1:44. Regarding the literacy of women, according to the 1931 census (conducted after the country was divided into nine *banovina* mostly named after rivers), in Dravska banovina 94.2 percent of women (older than 10) were literate; in the city of Belgrade 84.7 percent; in Savska banovina 64.9 percent; in Dunavska banovina 60.5 percent; in Primorska banovina 30.2 percent; in Drinska banovina 19 percent; in Zetska banovina 17.1 percent; in Moravska banovina 16.3 percent; in Vardarska banovina 14.5; and in Vrbaska banovina 14.2 percent. Dimić, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 1:56n50.

⁴⁰ Anton Melik, review of *Naša država: zemljepisni pregled s statističnimi tabelami*, by Karel Capuder, *Ljubljanski zvon* 40, no. 4 (1920): 247.

⁴¹ Charles Jelavich, “Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?,” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983): 601-619; Jelavich, *South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and Yugoslav Union before 1914* (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1990).

⁴² Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in*

These geographical works were not feats of isolated individuals acting on their own accord. On the contrary, in most cases, these were state-sponsored and state-approved enterprises. The direct financial support that Cvijić received from the Serbian government in exile for publication of *La Péninsule balkanique* is just the most blatant example of state support, but the examples of Lukas and Melik point to the same phenomenon.⁴³ Close relations between various levels of government and scientists and authors in general was a widespread phenomenon, although Lukas' anti-state sentiments between the late 1920s and 1941 may suggest otherwise. In addition, it is important to note that censorship was a common practice in interwar Yugoslavia.⁴⁴ On a principled level, as Igor Tchoukarine has pointed out regarding the association *Jadranska straža* (Adriatic Guard), "support for the Karađorđević dynasty was the sine qua non condition for an association to publish or even exist during King Alexander's dictatorship (1929-1934)."⁴⁵

Geographers' complex role was clearly manifested in the multiple functions of geographical publications. Geographies of Yugoslavia were primarily understood as serious scientific works – though aiming at an audience beyond expert circles – that were supposed to acknowledge and follow the prevailing contemporary disciplinary trends and to be aware of the recent scientific findings. Their authors were perceived as recognized and established scholars (as will be shown, besides Filip Lukas, Anton Melik was an exception, as he wrote his major work on geography of Yugoslavia several years before acquiring a doctorate and assuming a position within academia), and who had proved themselves as "patriots" or were at least sympathetic to the Yugoslav cause. Melik described researching, teaching, and writing geography as a patriotic act, arguing that some disciplines are more dependent on laboratories and contacts with other international scientists, while others are connected to the "land and space." These can be studied only at national universities because they require, besides expertise, "love for [one's] people and homeland as the primary motivation."⁴⁶ Geography, of course, belonged to the latter category. Additionally, these works should be accessible and comprehensible – useful for political education – to the wider audience. Interestingly, the purpose of educating the public was occasionally made explicit in prefaces or introductions to geographical publications, but was rarely acknowledged in reviews or commentaries by other

Yugoslavia (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁴³ Ljubinka Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu," *Istorijski časopis* 22 (1975): 190.

⁴⁴ Ivana Dobrivojević, "Cenzura u doba šestojanuarskog režima kralja Aleksandra," *Istorija 20. veka*, no. 2 (2005): 51-69.

⁴⁵ Igor Tchoukarine, "The Contested Adriatic Sea: The Adriatic Guard and Identity Politics in Interwar Yugoslavia," *Austrian History Yearbook* 42 (2011): 38.

⁴⁶ Anton Melik, "Ob desetletnici univerze v Ljubljani," *Ljubljanski zvon* 49, no. 6 (1929): 387.

geographers, who often assumed the role of the only or at least principal readers of such works.

As geographies of Yugoslavia appeared in many forms, it is difficult to classify them unambiguously. The core category consisted of single-author monographs. The fact that this dissertation primarily focuses on this category is partially due to their size, as it allowed geographers to elaborate on methodological and philosophical tenets of the discipline as well as to write on the geography of Yugoslavia itself. Additionally, major geographical monographs are especially convenient for research, as significant parallels can be drawn between the scientific and political trajectories of their authors, and the changes in content. Monographs formed the backbone of the geographical canon on Yugoslavia, which was in turn partially organized around Cvijić's writings.

While monographs could reach a relatively large readership,⁴⁷ smaller geographical works on Yugoslavia in the form of articles are more ambiguous in this regard. Some articles were published in the professional journals that were examined in chapter one. They aimed primarily at other geographers, scientists from related disciplines, or teachers throughout the country. Occasionally, such articles exhibited a high level of sophistication and research focus, and in the case of articles produced in the context of the Third Congress of the Slavic geographers and ethnologists, held in Yugoslavia in 1930, they nicely illustrate the interconnectedness of politics and science.⁴⁸ Articles dealing explicitly with Yugoslavia can be found throughout the interwar period. On the other hand, the monographs on the geography of Yugoslavia were mostly published in the early 1920s, after which a noticeable shift occurred in the works of Croatian and, to a lesser extent, Slovenian geographers toward geographies of their respective national territories.

But there is also a significant number of yet smaller texts, which reached the widest readership: articles in the daily press and especially in cultural-political magazines such as *Čas*, *Ljubljanski zvon*, *Misel in delo*, *Hrvatska revija*, *Nova Evropa*, etc., which were frequently written by professional geographers. For instance, Filip Lukas became particularly skilled in publishing such pieces in the 1930s, although these should be observed within the context of the geographical narration of Croatia rather than Yugoslavia. The existence of these multiple forms in which geographies of Yugoslavia can be found, and their different functions point to the process of the "translation" of geographical ideas, that is, the ability of geographers to

⁴⁷ The imprint in contemporary publications did not contain the data regarding the number of copies printed so a precise comparison and assessment of the expectations and the size of the targeted audience cannot be established.

⁴⁸ Suzana Leček and Tihana Petrović Leš, "Država i znanost: jugoslavenstvo na III. slavenskom kongresu geografa i etnografa 1930. godine," *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 23, no. 1 (2011): 149-182.

modify the narrative for different types of readers and present a single geographical idea in several forms. I will later show just how important the process of translation was in balancing between the perceived roles of an impartial scientist and a partial political actor.

All the cases of geographical works on Yugoslavia presented here functioned to a certain extent on a dual level. On the one hand, they narrated Yugoslavia while, on the other, the interest in the respective national territories of the geographers who authored them was often easily discernible. The changing relationship between the Yugoslav and “tribal,” or particular national, level of narration can be compared to the question of the relationship between Yugoslav and “tribal” cultural levels observed by Andrew Wachtel, which marked all the attempts to create a Yugoslav national identity based on a shared culture. Wachtel has described three possible forms of the cultural unification of Yugoslavs. According to the first, “an existing culture (most likely Serbian) could be chosen as the standard.” In the second, which he calls the multicultural model, “a new culture could be created that would combine the elements of the existing ‘tribal’ cultures.” According to the third, “a culture could be created that was not based on existing tribal cultures at all – the supranational model. In the interwar period, all three models coexisted, but the latter two were dominant.”⁴⁹ Translated into terms of geographical narratives on Yugoslavia, however, the conflict was between the first and the second option, with a seeming prevalence of the “multicultural” model. Filip Lukas and Anton Melik both wrote on the geography of Yugoslavia as well as of their respective lands or national spaces.

Cvijić’s *La Péninsule balkanique*, although also dealing with the areas beyond the Yugoslav territories, was primarily preoccupied with the vaguely defined Serbian national space within a future Yugoslavia. In *Yugoslavia as Economic Territory* (1919), as well as in the *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (1922), Lukas used Yugoslavia as a backdrop against which he narrated Croatia and, more narrowly, his native Dalmatia. This regional focus was not exclusively due to sentimental reasons, but political reasons as well, as Dalmatia at the time was claimed both by Italian irredentists – though more in theory than in practice, as Italian reluctance to enforce the Treaty of London by occupying it in 1919 and 1920 showed – and Serbian nationalists, including Cvijić. Melik gave a detailed geographical description of Slovenia in his two-volume *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*.⁵⁰ However, the chapter dedicated to Slovenia was comparable in size and detail to chapters on other major geographical units. Melik and other Slovenian geographers were not as concerned with

⁴⁹ Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 81.

⁵⁰ Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*, 2:1-91.

delineating Slovene national space within Yugoslavia, as much as with delineating it against Austria and Italy. Lukas soon abandoned the Yugoslav level and dedicated himself to the geographical treatment of the Croatian national cause; Melik moved toward Slovenian topics but remained active at both levels; while Cvijić seems to have understood the Serbian and Yugoslav national space as interchangeable categories.

3.3. The absence of geographical narratives on Yugoslavia among the Serbian geographers

The emphasis on “peripheral” perspectives in the multilayered geographical narration of Yugoslavia after 1918 opens up important questions. First, why the Serbian geographers besides Cvijić did not publish geographies of Yugoslavia comparable to those published by Croatian and Slovenian authors after 1918? Second, if there were, as will shortly be shown, geographical narratives specifically on Croatia and Slovenia – that is, Croatian and Slovenian national territories – why were there no corresponding geographical works on the Serbian lands in the interwar period? The importance of this phenomenon can hardly be overstated. The issue is at least partially connected to Cvijić’s authority and the perceived political predominance of the Serbs – *srpska hegemonija*, in the words of the political opposition – in Yugoslavia.

Did Serbian geographers and the Serbian public believe such works were unnecessary? Cvijić’s considerable authority must have had a detrimental effect in this regard. On his numerous research trips, he effectively examined all parts of what was understood as the Serbian national space, including territories outside the contemporary confines – that is, the old political and administrative boundaries of Serbia proper – and published abundantly on them. Only *La Péninsule balkanique*, however, came close to a monograph encompassing all the Serbian territories, but it, as stated above, functioned on two, sometimes barely distinguishable, levels – Serbian and Yugoslav. The Yugoslav level was emphasized because of its political value in the given moment, while the Serbian level was in fact more strongly represented in the narrative itself.

Another answer refers to the issue of the perception of Yugoslavia by Serbian elites as an extension of the prewar Serbia, or of a union of purportedly equal Yugoslav “tribes.”⁵¹ If this definitional quagmire was visible in the case of Cvijić, his disciples and successors in

⁵¹ Banac, *National Question in Yugoslavia*, 115-40.

Belgrade and Skopje expressed a relatively “orthodox” view on the unity of Yugoslavia, and were politically less explicit. The publications and teaching of Borivoje Milojević and Pavle Vujević in Belgrade as well as Petar Jovanović and Vojislav Radovanović in Skopje give little reason to believe that they subscribed to a view of Yugoslavia as a mere extension of Serbia.

Yet another possible answer is that geographers restrained themselves from writing monographs on the Serbian national lands because they themselves – together with the nationalist ideologues – were uncertain of its precise boundaries. However, this fails to explain the existence of corresponding works in Croatia and Slovenia. Less so for the Slovenian national territories, because there the main demarcation issues concerned peoples who were clearly distinguishable culturally – Austrian Germans and Italians – rather than the culturally similar Yugoslavs, but the Croatian national lands were in direct conflict with the national lands of another Yugoslav “tribe” – the Serbs. Neither Slovenian nor Croatian geographers had problems with writing monographs on their respective lands despite such ambiguities.

The most plausible explanation for the absence of geographical monographs on Serbia in the interwar period seems to be that to the Serbian intelligentsia, including geographers, the process of constructing the national space – of setting its boundaries with other national territories – did not appear as pressing as it did to their Croatian and Slovenian counterparts. The difference can be explained in terms of the position of power, whether political or scientific: Serbia, together with the substantial although fragmented geographical corpus on it, became a part of Yugoslavia with the tradition of an independent state which had grown territorially over time and incorporated an ever larger number of Serbs within its boundaries. This state tradition was incomparable not only to that of Slovenia, but also of Croatia. Besides the negation of their national identity by the unitarist Yugoslavism, geographers from Croatia and Slovenia faced foreign – Austrian and Italian – claims on parts of their perceived national territories as well as conflicts regarding territorial claims within Yugoslavia (in the case of Serbs and Croats, the most pronounced but not the only examples have been Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia). Unsurprisingly, Croatian and Slovenian geographers were more eager to assert their national spaces as geographical – as well as ethnic, cultural, or historical – units. Also, from the perspective of Serbian nationalists (regardless of whether they were geographers or not), the demarcation of the Serbian national lands as a combination of ethnic and historical territories could mean settling for less than the maximal desirable territory.

Of course, this is not to say that Serbian geographers during the interwar period were completely uninterested in Yugoslavia as a research unit. They supported Yugoslav unity and wrote about the country. The professor of anthropogeography (although he was interested in

geomorphology as well) in Belgrade, Borivoje Ž. Milojević, especially after Cvijić's death, came closest to the role of geographical narrator of Yugoslavia in his school textbooks,⁵² and occasional articles dealing with the political geography of Yugoslavia.⁵³ However, there was no systematic production of geographical works comparable in size, form, and purpose to the geographies of Yugoslavia published by geographers in Ljubljana and Zagreb in the early days of Yugoslavia. Two phases are thus discernible in the history of the geographical narration of Yugoslavia: the culmination of Cvijić's geographical canon with *La Péninsule balkanique* in 1918, from a Serbian perspective, and its immediate continuation, from the "peripheral" perspective of Croatian and Slovenian geographers. Serbian geographers shared pro-Yugoslav attitudes and were institutionally relatively consolidated, endowed with significant authority inherited from Cvijić, and were active in research and publishing, but did not play a primary role in the scientific construction of Yugoslavia.

3.4. Expansion and modification of Cvijić's geography of Yugoslavia after 1918

In 1921, a year before the Serbo-Croatian translation of the first volume of *La Péninsule balkanique* appeared, Jovan Cvijić wrote an article entitled "Granice i sklop naše zemlje" (Boundaries and composition of our country). The symbolism was appropriate as the article opened the first postwar issue of *Glasnik geografskog društva* (Bulletin of the Geographical Society in Belgrade) – the first published after the unification of Yugoslavia.⁵⁴ As *La Péninsule balkanique* had been published in 1918, in this article Cvijić focused on developments that had occurred in the meanwhile, primarily the negotiation of the boundaries. At the Paris Peace Conference, natural and ethnographical boundaries were confronted, but economic and communication interests were taken into consideration as well. However, Cvijić pointed that the latter interests were not taken into consideration in the Yugoslav case, as neither

⁵² Borivoje Ž. Milojević, *Antropogeografija za šesti razred* (Belgrade: Rajković i Ćurković, 1923); Milojević, *Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca: za osmi razred* (Belgrade: Rajković i Ćurković, 1923); Milojević, *Balkansko poluostrvo i Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca za četvrti razred srednjih škola* (Belgrade: Rajković i Ćurković, 1924); Milojević, *Naše susede: slovenske i glavne kulturne zemlje: za više razrede srednjih škola* (Belgrade: Rajković i Ćurković, 1929).

⁵³ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, *Naša domovina* (Belgrade: Rajković i Ćurković, 1923); Milojević, "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes: Administrative Division in Relation to Natural Regions," *Geographical Review* 15, no. 1 (1925): 70-83; Milojević, *Jedinstvo naših zemalja: geografsko-politički članci* (Belgrade: Davidović, 1928); Milojević, *Geografija Jugoslavije: predavanja* (Belgrade, 1930); Milojević, "Naši krajevi i naša zemlja," *Letopis Matice srpske* 110, no. 3 (1936): 285-312.

⁵⁴ Jovan Cvijić, "Granice i sklop naše zemlje," *Glasnik geografskog društva* 4, no. 5 (1921): 1-17.

Fiume/Rijeka nor Shköder/Skadar, two localities decisive for the state's development, were ceded to it.

If one had to choose between the natural and ethnographic boundaries, Cvijić repeatedly argued, one should opt for the ethnographic principle. Demarcation based on ethnographic boundaries is relatively easy to accomplish in Western Europe, but in the transitional areas, especially in the case of countries created on the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the principle can be applied only with great difficulty. It comes as a surprise that a celebrated author of ethnographic maps such as Cvijić⁵⁵ warned that

the ethnographic maps are as a rule chauvinist and those who made them as a rule count the transitional areas as belonging to the nation to which they themselves belong. In professional circles, such maps are distrusted, but there are many uninformed people who are confused [by such maps].⁵⁶

Such a cynical attitude was most likely shaped by Cvijić's experience at the Paris Peace Conference and his exposure to a large number of maps of contested areas in various parts of Europe. However, the relationship between the natural-geographical and ethnographic principle in determining boundaries was not as straightforward as it might seem. A strict application of the ethnographic principle, in Cvijić's view, often results in the absurd shape of boundaries. "Without a great necessity," he argued, "large geographic and economic units or natural regions should not be split, even if the ethnographic principle is violated."⁵⁷

Simultaneously with the heated debate over the viability of the boundaries of Weimar Germany in the 1920s, when nationalist geographers saw the shape of "crippled" Germany as an impediment to its ability to defend itself,⁵⁸ Cvijić approached the issue of the natural boundaries of Yugoslavia from the perspective of a hypothetical military conflict. Written at a specific moment when the Italian threat loomed large, he dismissed the idea of the Adriatic Sea

⁵⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cvijić made a series of maps depicting the geographical spread of cultural and ethnic communities in the Balkans, and particularly in Macedonia, which aimed to scientifically prove that Macedonia – or "South Serbia," as Serbs called it, since it was a part of the Serbian historical and national (ethnic and cultural) territory – should belong to Serbia. See Henry R. Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951), 146-53 and 161-66; George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 236-37. Some Yugoslav geographers emphasized the role of Cvijić's associate, cartographer Antonije Lazić, and called him the coauthor of Cvijić's works, without whom Cvijić's works would not have been possible. Josip Roglič, "Antonije Lazić," *Geografski glasnik* 28 (1966): 138-139.

⁵⁶ Cvijić, "Granice i sklop naše zemlje," 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁸ Guntram H. Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda, 1918-1945* (London: Routledge, 1997), 60-62.

as a natural boundary.⁵⁹ The Adriatic is too narrow, with centuries-long cultural and economic communications that connected the opposing shores, while the Italian territorial possessions on the eastern coast secured them “favorable attack bases.”⁶⁰ With the experience of the Paris Peace Conference, Cvijić was qualified to comment on the advantages and disadvantages of insisting on the natural boundaries. They are a double-edged sword, he warned, and pointed to the Italian territorial claims. However, Cvijić failed to recognize that the Italian and Yugoslav claims were based on a similar reasoning: “Since the sea is ours, Italians say, the basins of the rivers that flow from the Balkan Peninsula into the Adriatic Sea are also ours. The natural boundary of Italy is therefore the Dinaric watershed of those rivers.”⁶¹ Against such apparent “misuses,” Cvijić insisted that “the principle of the natural boundaries should be adopted only if continuously controlled [counterbalanced] by the ethnographic principle. . . . A natural boundary of a state is the first good natural boundary that separates one people from another – a sea, a river, or a mountain.”⁶²

Large segments of Yugoslavia’s boundaries, Cvijić believed, qualified as natural – especially with Bulgaria, the Djerdap gorge toward Romania, even the Karawank Mountains and parts of the flow of the river Drava toward Austria. Elsewhere, even small extensions of Yugoslav territory would create more natural and ethnographically more precise boundaries. In fact, Cvijić argued that the Yugoslav boundaries were in accordance with the ethnographic situation more than the boundaries of any other country established or expanded after the break-up of the Dual Monarchy. Where that was not the case, such as in Banat – where 10,000 Serbs now lived in Romania – Cvijić pointed to the artificial character of that segment of boundary. However, because of poor communication with the seas (either the Adriatic or the Aegean Sea), Cvijić saw the Yugoslav boundaries as unsustainable in the long run. He did not explicate what precisely could have been done to change the situation. As so many other Yugoslav

⁵⁹ Although published in 1921, the article seems to have been written before November 1920, when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and the Italian Kingdom signed the Treaty of Rapallo, which temporarily settled the serious territorial conflict on the east Adriatic coast.

⁶⁰ Cvijić, “Granice i sklop naše zemlje,” 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 2. Some of his earlier comments add to the confusion regarding the balance between natural and ethnic boundaries. In 1913, before Serbia gained a sea outlet as a consequence of Yugoslav unification, Cvijić stated that “for economic emancipation, which is so necessary for Serbia and which no one can deny, it is essential for [Serbia] to have an outlet to the Adriatic Sea and therefore a piece of the Albanian coastline: but this needs to be done in a way that Serbia takes only those territories inhabited by Albanians that are essential for her. It is, after all, from a geographical perspective, the conquest of foreign territory, a conquest as a consequence of a war and the victims it causes, but it is motivated by a higher economic interest, a life necessity. . . . Maybe it would be best to call this case an *anti-ethnographic necessity*.” Jovan Cvijić, “Anti-etnografske nužnosti,” in *Govori i članci*, vol. 5 (Belgrade: SANU, 1989), 20. Emphasis in the original.

geographers, Cvijić offered no concrete solution; even if he had, the experience of the Paris Peace Conference suggests that the proposed solutions would have had little effect.

Besides the external boundaries, the internal composition of the Serbian state had dramatically changed during the century of Serbia's territorial growth and with the establishment of Yugoslavia. By stating that "our state no longer has the simple character of before the Great War," Cvijić also pointed to his understanding of the relation between the pre-1918 Serbia and the new state. As with many other Serbian intellectuals – and some representatives of the great powers in Paris – Cvijić seems to have seen the new state primarily as an extension of the pre-war Serbia.⁶³ According to Trgovčević, three phases are discernible in the development of Cvijić's attitude toward the Yugoslav issue. In the first phase, Cvijić was a Serbian "patriot" in a narrow sense. In the second phase, starting with the turn of the century, he understood the Yugoslav idea in the framework of the unification of the Serbs and the annexation of other Yugoslavs to the Serbian state. Only in the third phase, during the First World War, did he develop "completely" Yugoslav attitudes.⁶⁴ However, some authors challenged the assessment of the latter phase as "completely" Yugoslav, and instead recognized his contemporary attitudes as primarily Serbian rather than Yugoslav nationalist.⁶⁵

While usually dividing the country into three – Pannonian, Dinaric, and Littoral – parts, in 1921 Cvijić argued that "the largest part of our country," its core, is composed of Serbia which "grew into the Balkan Peninsula" through expansion, and Croatia-Slavonia which is geographically connected to parts of the Slovenian lands. This central part of Yugoslavia thus stretched from Ptuj in the northwest to the Vardar in the southeast. The other parts of the country were much more isolated and Cvijić stated that "certain parts of our country are not naturally well connected, and the country is not a geographical unit. This is the characteristic of all countries arising or expanding from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy."⁶⁶ Yugoslavia was as geographically fragmented as Germany, Cvijić argued, and various regionalisms and general instability were only to be expected.

The fragmentation of terrain and climate caused the fragmentation of the economy. Farming is prevalent in some regions and cattle breeding in others, while still other regions

⁶³ For instance, in Cvijić's opinion, Nikola Pašić "never understood" the question of Serbia's unification with the Croats and Slovenes. Trgovčević, "Jovan Cvijić u Prvom svetskom ratu," 230.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁶⁵ See also Konrad Clewing and Edvin Pezo, "Jovan Cvijić als Historiker und Nationsbildner. Zu Ertrag und Grenzen seines anthropogeographischen Ansatzes zur Migrationsgeschichte," in *Beruf und Berufung: Geschichtswissenschaft und Nationsbildung in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Markus Krzoska and Hans-Christian (Münster: LIT, 2005), 280-81.

⁶⁶ Cvijić, "Granice i sklop naše zemlje," 10.

were highly undeveloped. Cvijić stressed Belgrade's central position at the crossroads of several important communication routes. But Cvijić also proposed a number of railroad corridors that should be built, rebuilt, or expanded in order to facilitate better communication between all parts of the new country. The emphasis on – or at least awareness of – economic issues sharply separates this 1921 article from his earlier works. Instead of a teleological narrative of continuous territorial expansion and the building of the Serbian nation-state through the inclusion of an ever-larger number of Serbs, the need to (re)build infrastructure and establish minimal cohesion in the newly-created country was now addressed. Instead of the national spirit, Cvijić singled out strategic and economic interests out as the forces that would bring about national unity. This “turn,” however, should not be read as a sign of abandoning the metaphysical notion of the nation. Although it was a relatively marginal part of Cvijić's overall opus, such an example of a pronounced interest in economic issues cautions us against establishing simplistic scientific profiles of geographers.⁶⁷ Rather, it points, on the one hand, to geographers' ability to adapt to and address the changing socio-political and economic situation and, on the other, to the dynamic nature of their scientific and socio-politic attitudes and preferences.

Cvijić wrote little on the geography of Yugoslavia after this article – in fact, after the establishment of Yugoslavia in general. However, as the highest authority on geography, he participated in the publication of the *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka* (National Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Encyclopedia), an ambitious collective enterprise with Yugoslav characteristics published in four volumes between 1925 and 1929.⁶⁸ Alongside Jovan Žujović, who opened the entry on “the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes” with a geological overview, and the legal scholar and historian Slobodan Jovanović, who closed it with a short history of the establishment of Yugoslavia in the context of the First World War, Cvijić wrote on the geography of Yugoslavia.⁶⁹ His entry recapitulated the ideas and remarks published in the 1914 “Geografski i kulturni položaj Srbije” rather than those from *La Péninsule balkanique*. He presented Yugoslavia as a culmination of Serbia's expansionist mission and stressed its central position in the Balkans. Instead of metanastasic movements, he again

⁶⁷ Cvijić did not elaborate on economic structures and processes as separate issues but occasionally incorporated them in his anthropogeography, and was interested in the influence the physical environment exerts on economy. See Obren Blagojević, “Ekonomski elementi u Cvijićevim delima,” in *Naučno delo Jovana Cvijića: Povodom pedesetogodišnjice njegove smrti*, ed. Radimir Lukić et al. (Belgrade: SANU, 1982), 251-264.

⁶⁸ Stanoje Stanojević, ed., *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka*, 4 vols. (Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod, 1925-1929).

⁶⁹ *Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka*, s.v. “Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca,” (Zagreb: Bibliografski zavod, 1925), 2:478-489.

dwelled on the optimization of the transportation network as a precondition for strengthening the country. Interestingly, the only work Cvijić mentioned in a short bibliography beside his own was Anton Melik's *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*.⁷⁰

The publication of Serbo-Croatian translations of his main work, *La Péninsule balkanique*, in 1922 and 1931, together with recognition of the significance of that particular book and his overall work, created the appearance of Cvijić's longer-lasting involvement in the Yugoslav project, which was not really the case – at least not directly. Instead, in the period between the end of the First World War and the mid-1920s, several other Yugoslav geographers took the lead in narrating Yugoslavia.

3.5. Early works of Filip Lukas: The Yugoslav phase of a Croatian nationalist

In the 1930s, Filip Lukas acquired the image of a “Croatian national ideologue”⁷¹ and “the spiritual leader of the whole of the Croatian people.”⁷² However, his role in formulating the Croatian national identity in a pronouncedly nationalist tone is at odds not only with the recollections of his former students who remembered Lukas as an Italophile sympathetic to the Yugoslav idea, but also with his geographical works from the early days of Yugoslavia.⁷³ Lukas' transformation from a restrained supporter of Yugoslav unity into an anti-Yugoslav Croatian nationalist was by no means unique. Because of state repression, Serbian centralism and hegemony, the unresolved national question, and the economic problems the country faced, the initial enthusiasm gave way to disappointment with the Yugoslav state soon after its establishment.⁷⁴ This was not a specifically Croatian phenomenon, although it was especially pronounced among the Croatian intellectual elite. During the first decade of Yugoslavia's

⁷⁰ Melik also contributed to *Narodna enciklopedija*, where he wrote on the geography of Slovenia, mostly entries on towns.

⁷¹ Jere Jareb, *Pola stoljeća hrvatske politike: povodom Mačekove autobiografije* (Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995), 93. Quoted in Višeslav Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata u hrvatskom seljačkom pokretu i nacionalističkom i ustaškom pokretu, 1935-1945” (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2011), 378.

⁷² Radovan Latković, “Hrvatski srednješkolci i Matica Hrvatska,” *Omladina* 1 (1936): 22. Quoted in Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata,” 378.

⁷³ Josip Horvat, *Živjeti u Hrvatskoj: 1900-1941; zapisci iz nepovrata* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1984), 31; Quoted in Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata,” 379.

⁷⁴ For instance, Milan Rojc, the editor of *The Yugoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea* (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919) in which Lukas also published, and who was a fervent supporter of Yugoslav unity and a member of the unitarist Democratic Party since its establishment in 1919, wrote a fairly critical text on the unfavorable situation in Croatia caused by the Belgrade regime in as early as 1921. See Rojc, “Prilike u Hrvatskoj,” *Nova Evropa* 2, no. 2 (1921): 46-71.

existence, the dissatisfaction grew so rapidly that even some of the regime's most vocal opponents welcomed the proclamation of the royal dictatorship in 1929 as an opportunity to rectify at least some of the accumulated problems.⁷⁵ The development of Lukas' attitudes toward Yugoslavia was somewhat more complex and significantly more radical.

Contextualizing Lukas' political trajectory is necessary for an analysis of several geographical works written between 1919 and the mid-1920s, which appear drastically inconsistent with his later and better-known publications. Bearing in mind the relatively widespread initial enthusiasm for Yugoslav unification, the fact that in 1919 Lukas supported Yugoslav unity is not surprising. More surprising and more significant from the point of view of the history of Yugoslav geography is the fact that he employed the same geographical argumentation and reasoning for two completely opposing political ends. One was to "naturalize" Yugoslavia (in 1919 specifically to counter Italian territorial claims and present his native Dalmatia as a constitutive part of Yugoslavia which is itself a coherent geographical unit), and the other, starting in the mid-1920s, to deconstruct Yugoslavia as a natural geographical unit and to "naturalize" Croatia or the Croatian lands instead.

Filip Lukas was born in Kaštel Stari near Split in 1871. He attended gymnasium school in Zara/Zadar and Split, and the seminary between 1892 and 1896, after which he was ordained and served as a priest. He studied geography and history in Graz and Vienna, where he graduated in 1906. Among the geographers examined in this dissertation, Lukas was the only one without a doctoral degree, as he studied to become a teacher. Thus in a comparative perspective, from the beginning of his career Lukas stood out somewhat from other prominent contemporary geographers, and this ambiguous position regarding his relationship with mainstream academia marked his professional trajectory. He taught at gymnasiums in Dubrovnik and Sušak (at the time a town next to Rijeka/Fiume, today part of it), before moving to Zagreb in 1911. Lukas spent most of his career, the period between 1920 and 1945, teaching at the Economic-Commercial School, which would later become the Faculty of Economy in Zagreb. In 1928, Lukas was elected president of the oldest and largest cultural association in Croatia, the Matica hrvatska, which he led until 1945. Under his leadership, the association was consolidated and grew to an unprecedented level. Lukas' marginal position within academia and his employment of the resources of the Matica hrvatska, through which he disseminated his

⁷⁵ The leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Vladko Maček, famously stated that the *lajbek* (a vest), which was wrongly buttoned up in 1918, was now unbuttoned and can be buttoned up properly. The experience of dictatorship soon proved him wrong. See Ljubo Boban, "Iz historije odnosa između Vl. Mačeka i dvora u vrijeme šestojanuarskog režima," *Historijski zbornik* 18 (1965): 64-6; Christian Axboe Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs: Identity in King Aleksandar's Yugoslavia* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 83.

geographical perspective on the national question in Yugoslavia, will be a focus of chapter five.

On one of three occasions when Lukas wrote on economic geography – which is a seemingly small number given his decades-long career as a teacher of economic geography – he espoused not only a fairly deterministic understanding of the nature’s influence on human groups but also presented himself as a supporter of the Yugoslav unity. One of these cases was his 1919 contribution to a state-sponsored publication supporting Yugoslav territorial claims on the eastern Adriatic shores.⁷⁶ This was just one among a number of publications with a dual – political and scientific – character published during or in the context of the Paris Peace Conference, in order to support the Yugoslav territorial claims. Lukas’ prominent place in the ranks of anti-Yugoslav intellectuals in the period starting in the late 1920s makes this text important for understanding his political trajectory. For decades, in many of his philippics, he kept repeating that there is nothing natural about Yugoslavia. The country was, he argued, composed of separate and mutually opposed natural-geographical and geopolitical units, and its eastern and western parts had experienced a divergent historical development. Moreover, the national spirits of its already fully-formed nations, which were created in a historical connection to the land, were mutually antagonistic. However, in several texts published between 1919 and 1924, we find him “naturalizing” Yugoslavia.

Although the title, “Yougoslavia [*sic*] as Economic Territory,” referred to the whole country, Yugoslavia served primarily as a backdrop for the geographical narration of the Adriatic Littoral – more precisely, Istria and Dalmatia. Even in a predominantly pro-Yugoslav text such as this, it was clear that Lukas was above all interested in the Croatian national territory and Dalmatia in particular, which was linked to his own origins and previous scientific focus.⁷⁷ Lukas presented Yugoslavia as a geographical and political entity mostly in statistical terms, which was a common practice. In the early days of Yugoslavia, before its boundaries were settled and before it acquired a constitution that stipulated the administrative-territorial division of the country, the data regarding the number of inhabitants, the size of the territory (within the desired boundaries which were not necessarily achieved), the gross tonnage of imports and exports, structure of industrial and agricultural production, etc. constituted the most tangible marker of Yugoslavia’s existence. However, this data was largely composed from the

⁷⁶ Filip Lukas, “Yougoslavia as Economic Territory,” in *The Yougoslavian Littoral on the Adriatic Sea*, ed. Milan Rojc (Zagreb: Government Press, 1919), 45-68. According to Lukas’ later recollections, it was originally published in French. See Lukas, “Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske,” pt. 2, *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 6, no. 1-2 (1956): 26n5.

⁷⁷ Filip Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije: antropogeografska studija* (Dubrovnik: Degiulli i dr., 1906); and *Jadran u geomorfološkom, klimatološkom i trgovačko-gospodarstvenom pogledu* (Rijeka, 1911).

pre-war censuses of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, countries that no longer existed, so Lukas' account also lacked precision, just as Cvijić's did.

Lukas began with one of the most pressing issues of the time: Yugoslavia's boundary to Italy and the peninsula-region of Istria. In 1919, Yugoslav – primarily Slovenian and Croatian, as they were most affected by the redrawing of the map of the region – claims to Istria were countered by Italian threats of enforcing the Secret Treaty of London from April 1915 by any means, and faced disinterest from the victorious Allies. Lukas's text and the whole publication aimed at an international readership, just as Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* had a year before. According to Lukas, “not only the ethnographical principle, but also the geographical one speak for the Slavs,”⁷⁸ because Istria belongs to a space stretching “from the Soča [Isonzo] . . . to the Bojana, [where] Jugoslavs [*sic*] live in one uninterrupted chain.”⁷⁹ As if warning the Italians that their territorial claims on the eastern Adriatic coast would prove disastrous for their national interest, Lukas reminded them of the case of the Ancient Rome. In his interpretation, by stepping beyond its natural boundaries of the Apennine Peninsula, Ancient Rome lost its distinctive “national” character for centuries to come. To counter the argument that Istria has been “Italian” (that is, Venetian) for centuries, Lukas insisted that Venetians conquered only a narrow coastal strip, and that “this expansion, not being justified geographically, stopped of itself.”⁸⁰ Therefore, not just the will of the local – predominantly Slavic – population, but geography itself opposed the Italian claims.

Nuances reveal to what extent Lukas was able to intertwine the scientific discourse and political conclusions. Lukas twice evoked a geographical “law of resistance,” which he borrowed from Ratzel, to whom he often referred. In 1919 it had been were “remnants of the *declining* nations” – that is, Italians in Istria – that took refuge in mountains or along the coast, pressed by the younger and biologically stronger Slavs: Croats and Slovenes.⁸¹ But according to Lukas' later interpretation of the law from 1930, the *older* population of a region had retreated to the mountains and the coast in the face of the advancing newcomers: the older Croatian inhabitants had been retreating toward the Adriatic coast and islands since the Middle Ages, and the newly-arriving Serbs inhabited the now deserted areas in the hinterland.⁸² A similar “geographical law” was thus employed to counter Italian territorial claims by stressing Croatian

⁷⁸ Lukas, “Yougoslavia as Economic Territory,” 47.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸¹ Lukas, “Yougoslavia as Economic Territory,” 47. Emphasis added.

⁸² Filip Lukas, “Raspoređaj stanovništva u Dalmaciji prema prirodnim i gospodarskim prilikama,” in *Sveslavenski zbornik: spomenica o tisućugodišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, ed. Nikola Andrić (Zagreb: Zajednica slavenskih društava, 1930), 373.

biological or “racial” and cultural strength, and helped to establish the primacy of Croats over Serbs in Dalmatia, in order to fend off claims that Dalmatia forms a part of the Serbian national space.

The Yugoslav claims to Istria were formulated upon a combination of ethnographical and geographical rather than historical principles. As Istria lies to the east of the Danzig-Trieste line that, according to Lukas, divides the European continent into an eastern, continental part, and a western part “with a multiform coast-line,” he pointed out that it is naturally connected to the rest of the South Slavic territories rather than the Apennine Peninsula. The ethnographical boundary coincides with a boundary between different geological structures, he argued. Additionally, from a geographical point of view, it does not make sense to separate islands and the mainland, as the 1915 Treaty of London and proposals at the Paris Peace Conference envisioned, since together they form a natural unity. Against Italian “brutal ideas of conquest,”⁸³ Lukas optimistically and somewhat naïvely stated that “the boundary which separates Italy from Yugoslavia [*sic*] is situated in the centre of the Adriatic along its axis,”⁸⁴ and added that even “the direction of the commerce on the Mediterranean lies in its axis, that is, along the length and not the width of it.”⁸⁵

The ambiguous role of the Adriatic Sea as, at the same time, a connector and a separator is another example of geographical discourse that Lukas used for different political ends. He countered the ideas of Italian geographers who saw the Adriatic as an internal Italian sea by relativizing the role of the sea as a connector. According to him, “To be sure, the sea does not connect only the two opposite coasts of one sea, rather all the coasts in the world, but that is only a connection of commerce and traffic, whereas other, stronger reasons, must be decisive for a political connection.”⁸⁶ In a text on Yugoslavia as an economic territory, commerce and traffic were thus presented as secondary interests, subordinate to cultural, ethnic, and, presumably, geostrategic, interests. By the late 1930s, however, he would see the Adriatic as Croatia’s main link to the West. Across the Adriatic Sea, the most important marker of the Croatian affiliation to the West – Roman Catholicism – had been acquired and maintained, together with cultural, economic, and social influences. Admittedly, even when presenting the Adriatic as a connector bringing the two coasts closer together, Lukas insisted that, because of the structure of the terrain, the eastern coast always had closer connections with its hinterland – with which it forms a natural unit – than with the Italian shores opposite.

⁸³ Ibid., 66.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 62.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 48.

In describing the cohesiveness of Yugoslavia as a natural unit, Lukas abided by the established geographical canon articulated by Cvijić: “The territory inhabited by the Yougoslavs [*sic*] has the peculiarity of not forming such a unity as that of France or England, but of consisting of several small provinces. Only the Servian [*sic*] territory, extending along the two rivers, the Morava and the Vardar, may be defined as the Morava-Vardar state.”⁸⁷ What is the unity of Yugoslavia built upon then, if not upon the terrain? In contrast to statements that would later bring him prominence within the Croatian nationalist movement, in 1919 Lukas claimed, “Ethnically there is no difference between the Yougoslavs [*sic*]. In spite of the mixing with other races, a uniform type, called the Dinaric race, formed the peculiarities such as tall stature and brachycephalic skulls.”⁸⁸ The prevalence of the Dinaric race in Dalmatia and Istria was another argument against the Italian claims. Confusion between, and interchangeable usage of, the ethnic, cultural, and biological categories is not surprising. Despite many calls to differentiate between them, throughout the interwar period they remained closely interlinked.⁸⁹

Lukas, however, had some difficulty presenting Yugoslavia as an economic territory. Instead of a unifying narrative, he offered only statistics and contrasted the ample unused natural wealth of the country with numerous examples of Yugoslavia’s backwardness. The optimism manifested in the belief that the finally united Yougoslavs would be able to overcome numerous problems, characteristic to the public discourse of the period, was only cautiously expressed. As he would later do in the Croatian case, Lukas emphasized the importance of Yugoslavia for the whole of Europe. Echoing the official stance of the Yugoslav government and delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Lukas concluded that Europe cannot allow itself to neglect the Italian aspirations on the eastern Adriatic, as only a stable and strong Yugoslavia, strategically placed on the boundary of the Slavic, Teutonic, and Romance races, can halt the revisionism of the defeated Central Powers.

Decades later, while living abroad, Lukas was reminded of this text. In the context of the accusations and arguments among the Croatian political émigrés, his fellow nationalist emigrants questioned his political consistency, and implied that he had advocated Yugoslav national unity in this work. Lukas decisively, although not entirely convincingly, refuted the allegations, saying that “such ideas were then presented in all scientific works, as the national

⁸⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁸⁹ The difference was often pointed out by those authors who themselves mostly did not adhere to it. For the most articulate elaboration on the conceptual difference, see Stjepan Ratković, *Što je narod: rasa, pleme, narodnost, nacija?* (Zagreb, 1935).

unity was determined only on the grounds of language,” which he soon realized to be an erroneous approach.⁹⁰ Moreover, none of the contributors to the volume, he concluded, could have even imagined how poorly Croatia would be treated in Yugoslavia.

Together with “Yugoslavia as Economic Territory” and a later *Ekonomska geografija* (Economic geography), his comprehensive and politically-laden work, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Geography of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), published in 1922, has also gone mostly unnoticed in the few existing studies that directly or indirectly dealt with Lukas.⁹¹ Yet this publication is not only indicative of the development of Lukas’ political beliefs and his attitudes toward Yugoslavia during the interwar period, but it also represents one of the finest examples of geographical publications constructing Yugoslavia. Above all, it is noteworthy that such an undeniably politically sensitive task was delegated to Lukas.

Traces of Cvijić’s influence and direct references to his works are visible in *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, yet in many aspects Lukas went further than Cvijić. Lukas had the opportunity not only to use Cvijić’s *La Péninsule balkanique* as a source of information, concepts, and conclusions, but also to build his own geographical narrative upon it – similarly to how he would later restructure his narrative against it.⁹² However, he took the discourse in a somewhat different direction by referring to works by other European geographers and by including relatively extensive statistical data regarding the population and economy of Yugoslavia, which were obviously unavailable to Cvijić, who wrote before the country was created. Thus Lukas’ 1922 work did not essentially challenge the geographical canon articulated by Cvijić, as most of Lukas’ later works would. Instead, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* effectively reinforced Cvijić’s geographical narrative of Yugoslavia, while adding a Croatian perspective and a focus on economic issues to it.

Lukas included numerous references to geographers and anthropologists besides Cvijić.

⁹⁰ See Lukas, “Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske,” pt. 2, *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 6, no. 1-2 (1956): 28n5.

⁹¹ Malden Klemenčić, “Geopolitika u Lukasovim radovima,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 38-56; Stanko Žuljić, “Prilozi F. Lukasa iz političke geografije,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas*, 80-107; Višeslav Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata u hrvatskom seljačkom pokretu i nacionalističkom i ustaškom pokretu, 1935-1945”; Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009); Aralica, “Matica hrvatska u političkom životu Hrvatske 1935.-1945,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 41, no. 2 (2009): 447-482.

⁹² Since both *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* and the Serbo-Croatian translation of the first volume of *La Péninsule balkanique* (*Balkansko poluostrvo*, vol. 1) were published in 1922, it is questionable whether Lukas had the Serbo-Croatian translation of its first volume at his disposal, and if he had, to what extent could he rely on it, given the different structure and focus of the two books.

This is especially visible as regards the Dinaric race. While accepting Cvijić's view on geographical location and spread of the Dinaric type, and the notion of the Dinaric race as the core of the Yugoslav people, Lukas moved away from ethnopsychological issues toward physical anthropology, but only to reframe the racial issue in terms of relations between the people and the land. However, by referring to William Ripley⁹³ and Eugène Pittard⁹⁴ (whose work, as will be shown, later proved very useful to Lukas in arguing against Yugoslav unity), Lukas did not abandon Cvijić's romantic nationalist description of the Dinaric population.

In the early 1920s, he was quite specific in assessing the "racial unity" of Yugoslavs. According to Lukas, when they arrived in the Balkans, Yugoslavs represented one physical type but they soon

started to adopt physical characteristics of older inhabitants. Herein language should be separated from physical characteristics, as while the newcomers preserved their language, they more or less assumed the physical characteristics of the old population. Precisely because of the many influences and various peoples that they encountered here and with which they mixed, our people does not represent a unique type. Under the great physical and cultural influence of the Romance and Germanic peoples, the Slovenes became the most separated from the other South Slavs. . . ⁹⁵

The Dinaric race is not spread evenly throughout the whole Yugoslav territory, and there are anthropological differences among Yugoslavs in different regions, especially as foreign influences are more visible among Slovenes, northern Croats, and eastern Serbs. So, more than race, language bound the Yugoslavs together in Lukas' opinion in 1922, as "our people maintained linguistic unity with minor differences and transitional dialects from the earliest period up to the current date."⁹⁶ Despite this, Lukas observed a spiritual duality among Yugoslavs, which was the result of environmental conditions, historical development, and the influence of foreign cultures – even more than of anthropological factors.⁹⁷

If in 1922 this duality was only hinted at, it would later become one of the central points of Lukas' geographical writing about the Croatian national space and identity, as he tried to present the separateness of Serbs and Croats as a historical and geographical inevitability arising from the opposed nature of their history, culture, and geography. Throughout his career, Lukas approached many historical, geographical, political, economic, and cultural phenomena through the prism of duality, but in 1922, his usage of the concept was still relatively restrained. Nevertheless, he followed Cvijić's lead and argued that Yugoslavia belonged at the same time

⁹³ William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899).

⁹⁴ Eugène Pittard, *Les Peuples des Balkans: Esquisses anthropologiques* (Paris: Attinger Frères, 1916).

⁹⁵ Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 83.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

to the Balkans (and thus to the Mediterranean world) and Central Europe. The location of the regions of Banat, Bačka, and Baranja – parts of the central Danube basin – is also dualistic in nature, he argued. Though closely connected to the central Danube region, they “draw their national energy from the Balkan Peninsula, where the source and core of our people are located.”⁹⁸ On the other hand, the fact that after the mid-1920s Yugoslav geographers mostly neglected these regions, which were claimed by Hungarian irredentists, shows that the Hungarian threat ceased to be perceived as serious.

While in agreement with the geographical canon on Yugoslavia when claiming that the country is “a transitional area between Central Europe and the Mediterranean basin,”⁹⁹ Lukas emphasized the issue of fragmentation of the Balkan Peninsula more than Cvijić:

Even those parts of our homeland which are at the Balkan Peninsula, do not represent either in their natural-geographical or in cultural-developmental conditions some uniformed unit, but are divided into smaller units and natural individualities. Each of them was a foundation and origin of political formations, but all the [forces] of separation (=differentiation) and separate historical-cultural development gave way to the stronger [forces] of amalgamation (=integration), which were powered by shared ethnic characteristics and the general location of the land. Aspirations for unity are not recent with us; they are to be found in one form or another throughout our history, since the earliest days.¹⁰⁰

Besides the internal fragmentation, the destiny of Yugoslavia was additionally determined by its in-between position – by the number and size of its neighbors with different ethnic and cultural-social characteristics. Slavic, Romance, Germanic, and Turanian influences encounter each other and collide on the territory of Yugoslavia, Lukas argued, which made the creation of a single Yugoslav national type difficult. Physical-geographical and anthropogeographical forms are mutually dependent:

It would be hopeless to [try to] determine some unique individuality of our state in the climatic, hydrographic, or orographic sense. Such [a unity] does not exist at all, because in the relief and the climatic aspect not only do imperceptible transitions into neighboring lands exist, but also within our lands specific regions of diverse, or indeed contrary, natural conditions stand out. In spite of all this, a natural condition of our lands can be presented and a common definition can be given.

Our country rests on the unity of smaller units, into which people have over time culturally-historically grown. Such cultural-natural regions (*Landschaft*), besides their idiosyncratic characteristics, manifest numerous characteristics, which they share with other units, and where characteristics separate them, they are nonetheless directed to each other by their location and life. Our country is made from these natural-cultural

⁹⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 5-6; cf. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:246.

components.¹⁰¹

In the early 1920s, Lukas was relatively optimistic regarding Yugoslavia's chances. Admittedly, he claimed that the "history of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes does not have a single direction, nor does it have many internal connections . . . but no contradictory interests and conflicts are to be found within [Yugoslavia]."¹⁰² As with so many other contemporary commentators, he concluded by professing a belief in Yugoslavia's potential for economic – and, implicitly, political – development.

The decisive impact that geography exerts on the creation and sustainability of political units was visible, Lukas argued, in the Alpine areas of Yugoslavia. The relief of the territories Slovenes inhabit had hindered their historical development, as the interplay of mountains and valleys, together with the proximity of strong influences from Central Europe, the Pannonia, and Italy "did not offer geographical conditions for development of a stronger political entity."¹⁰³ Slovenian geographers mostly agreed with such an understanding, but also developed their own – Slovenian – perspective on the geography of Yugoslavia. As will be shown, they not only acknowledged the in-between position of Slovenian territories, but also heavily emphasized its importance for the creation of Slovene identity.

Having written the geography of Yugoslavia, Lukas (re)turned his attention to an ambitious project. His 1923 two-volume *Ekonomska geografija* (Economic geography) was one of the most versatile geographical works written in interwar Yugoslavia. Lukas had already published such a textbook in 1915.¹⁰⁴ As in 1915, the idea for a monograph on economic geography again did not come from Lukas himself but from the authorities in Zagreb.¹⁰⁵ In a 1920 letter to Cvijić, Lukas stated that the "local government" had commissioned him to write an economic geography of the country, and he asked Cvijić for some publications unavailable to him.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, at a time when Cvijić already maintained contacts with most of the other Yugoslav geographers and when Lukas had already published geographical works, this was the first (and probably the last) instance of communication between the two of them.

The new edition of *Ekonomska geografija* partially retained the structure of the first edition but had to be thoroughly revised because of the dramatic global political and economic changes caused by the First World War. Writing with students of economy and geography, as

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁰² Ibid., 91.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 87.

¹⁰⁴ Filip Lukas, *Gospodarska geografija za trgovačke akademije* (Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, 1915).

¹⁰⁵ Lukas, "Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske," pt. 2, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Arhiv SANU, 13484-693, Filip Lukas to Jovan Cvijić, March 26, 1920.

well as a wider readership in mind, Lukas displayed an unusual breadth of knowledge. Starting, as was the standard practice in geographical writing, with general geography (*opća geografija*), by giving an overview of world geography based on selected phenomena, Lukas wrote on astronomic geography and branches of physical geography before moving to anthropogeography and economic geography, including the geography of transportation. The account of general geography was followed by a regional geographical description of the whole world, with a strong emphasis on economic issues.

Lukas presented an extensive bibliography list, which was a relatively uncommon feature in works by Yugoslav geographers.¹⁰⁷ Although he often referred to a number of German and French authors and scientific works, in no other work did Lukas appear as knowledgeable about the contemporary international geographical canon as in *Ekonomska geografija*. In his later works, Lukas referred to a smaller number of authors – such as the Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard and, noticeably, Friedrich Ratzel – whose ideas, he believed, directly corroborated his arguments. Additionally, with time he became self-referential, repeating his main arguments in publication after publication. The names of geographers on the reference list are relevant for the analysis of a later phase in Lukas' work, when he turned to political geography and geopolitics, as they point to the conclusion that his scientific profile was fully developed by the early 1920s, and that he was less acquainted with the works of interwar geography. His frequent and influential geographical answers to the problems of the late 1930s and early 1940s were thus mostly founded upon the corpus of works published by the mid-1920s.

An articulate introduction to *Ekonomska geografija* reveals Lukas' – not unusual at the time – deterministic understanding of geography and, importantly, the fact that he embraced the idea of struggle for space as an important historical motivation.¹⁰⁸ *Länderkunde*, the “science of regions,” was among the central interests of geography as Lukas expounded it in

¹⁰⁷ A surprisingly large number of the listed works was published after the First World War, which points to the conclusion that Lukas closely followed the contemporary scientific production in the field, even if he used some of the books only for the statistical data, and that he could acquire them in a time of economic instability and the disruption of the previous institutional-scientific networks. Although Lukas spoke English and Italian as well, almost all the listed works were in German, which additionally reveals the importance of the German *Kulturkreis* for Yugoslav science. The list includes some of the best-known (mostly German) geographers of the time, such as Emmanuel de Martonne, Jean Brunhes, Friedrich Ratzel, Norbert Krebs, Rudolf Kjellén, Alfred Hettner (on whose regional geographical studies Lukas drew heavily), Alexander Supan, Karl Haushofer, Otto Maull, and a number of experts on economic and political geography. See Lukas, *Ekonomska geografija*, 1:xiii-xvi; and 2:vii-viii.

¹⁰⁸ He had begun his career with an environmentalist thesis on the influence of nature on the population of Dalmatia. See Filip Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije: anthropogeografska studija* (Dubrovnik: Degiulli i dr., 1906).

1923-1924. And if his later works clearly reveal a preference for political (as well as politicized) geography, in the early 1920s Lukas decisively stated that “the conclusions reached by economic geography are more lasting than those given by political geography” because economic geography, as a bridge between the natural and spiritual sciences, observes processes in a *longue durée* perspective.¹⁰⁹

The knowledge of recent disciplinary developments and the structure, coherence, and thoroughness of the two volumes of *Ekonomska geografija* points to Lukas as a skilled and professional academic who was not only able to compete with his colleagues but, in fact, surpass many of them. The absence of what Ivo Rubić aptly described as “metaphysics,” characteristic of Lukas’ later writings, adds to such an impression.¹¹⁰ This image of Lukas should be kept in mind, especially when his detachment from the mainstream academic geographical network in Zagreb and in Yugoslavia in general, the implicitly discernible attitude of other geographers toward him as too political and insufficiently objective and rigorous a scientist, and his turn toward political (and politicized) geography in the 1930s are examined in chapter five. However, given the scientific value of *Ekonomska geografija*, the fact that the few studies dealing with Lukas have disregarded this work is particularly surprising. These studies have mostly analyzed his works starting with the 1925 “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,”¹¹¹ and focused exclusively on the explicitly political aspect of Lukas’ publications.¹¹²

Although not as thoroughly as in the earlier “Yugoslavia as Economic Territory” and his major work on Yugoslavia, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, in the second volume of *Ekonomska geografija* Lukas again wrote briefly about Yugoslavia. Since he had written on Yugoslavia before, and since it was just one of the numerous European and Asian countries described in the volume, Lukas summarized and repeated the central elements of his geographical vision of Yugoslavia from his previous works. However, he also for the first time introduced concepts and topics that would become the core of his nationalist Croatian and anti-Yugoslav geographies. As a short repetition and summary of his previous writings, the

¹⁰⁹ Filip Lukas, *Ekonomska geografija* (Zagreb, 1923), 1:12.

¹¹⁰ Ivo Rubić, review of “Geografska osnovica hrvatskog naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice Hrvatske o tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, by Filip Lukas, *Geografski vestnik* 2 (1926): 49.

¹¹¹ Filip Lukas, “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: Hrvatskome narodu, njegovima prošlim naraštajima na spomen, sadašnjima i budućim na pobudu; O tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, vol. 1, ed. Frane Bulić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925), 21-91.

¹¹² Among the contributors to the 1995 edited volume on Lukas, only Mladen Švab mentioned *Ekonomska geografija*. According to Švab, “some reviewers believed it to be equal to the best contemporary economic geography by Zeehden. It got a flattering evaluation by A. Vaillant in the journal *La Géographie*.” Mladen Švab, “Filip Lukas,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 22. Vaillant’s review was, in fact, hardly flattering, although he acknowledged the book’s breadth and its usefulness for a wider audience. See A. Vaillant, review of *Ekonomska geografija*, vol. 1, by Filip Lukas, *La Géographie* 40, no. 3 (1923): 384.

overview of Yugoslavia in *Ekonomska geografija* may therefore seem to be a marginal part of Lukas' opus, easily overseen, as it has been hitherto. But when observed against the backdrop of the development of Lukas' political ideas, and especially his attitude toward the unity of Yugoslav people(s) and territories, it marks a turning point: Lukas' future writings would denounce and refute Yugoslavia as an "unnatural" entity and emphasize the cultural and geographical separateness of Croats and Serbs.

The geographical overview of Yugoslavia in *Ekonomska geografija* closed a short but important period in Lukas' career as a scientist and prominent "nationally conscious intellectual" when he joined the ranks of other Yugoslav geographers in constituting the new country through geographical description. Fine details, however, do not allow for a clear division between the phases in Lukas' scientific and political trajectory. To the standard trope regarding the fragmentation of physical terrain which fostered development only on a smaller – regional, "tribal," or individual national – level, Lukas in 1924 for the first time added a discrete yet noticeable remark on the centrifugal forces at work in Yugoslavia, which would become one of the main characteristics of his later works:

Differences in the relief of surface, direction of the mountains, fragmentation of the systems, lack of a common center, and openness of most of the boundaries add to the differences in location, so it is understandable that centrifugal forces have been stronger than centripetal, and that through history several smaller or larger entities sprouted and autonomously developed on the territory of Yugoslavia, often with no mutual contact, and that various cultural forms could have been inserted from abroad. The line separating Western and Eastern forms of civilization runs precisely through the middle of our lands, and while the Romance influence came tangentially from the sea, at the fringes of the Adriatic, the German [influence] advanced into the Alpine and Pannonian lands.¹¹³

Yet, he stated that this duality of Yugoslavia is not a result of a willful action of the people – that is, a conscious attempt to construct separate cultures – but a result of geography. He thus implied that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, though not entirely culturally assimilated, were in favor of the unity and that their will and action overcame geographical obstacles and carried out the unification.

This short overview of the geography of Yugoslavia with a special emphasis on economy introduced another topic Lukas would later frequently revisit, but would never crystallize a coherent view on – race, or more precisely, the relationship between race and culture. Having come to the Balkans, the South Slavs (Lukas again referred primarily to Croats in Dalmatia) became to a certain extent spiritually and culturally Romanized. In his belief, this

¹¹³ Filip Lukas, *Ekonomska geografija* (Zagreb, 1924), 2:29.

was a “general result of drowning a lower in a higher culture,” but the physically – Lukas in fact implied racially – healthier and stronger South Slavs “retained many autochthonous national characteristics” due to their “life energy.”¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, if Yugoslavs are racially similar, they have become culturally different:

Physical similarity is greater, they even form a special type – the Dinaric race – but culture, not race, makes constructive entities, and [culture] has differentiated the South Slavs and created out of them several types with a special spiritual content and the direction of will. All of these types look for the realization of their spiritual synthesis and see in it the purpose of their fights, because only time can erase grooves sculptured for centuries [*jer vjekovima izvajano brazdo samo vjekovi izbrisati mogu*]. Races and languages are more easily lost than culture.¹¹⁵

The fact that readers acquainted with both Lukas’ earlier and his later works would easily recognize familiar narrative strategies, main points, and conclusions in his 1924 *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* makes this work particularly interesting. *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* undoubtedly belongs to the category of publications constructing Yugoslavia, yet there are similarities to his later explicitly anti-Yugoslav texts, in which Lukas insisted that Croatia – and not Yugoslavia – was a historical, cultural, and geographical unit. Therefore, to focus on Lukas’ works starting with the 1925 “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” I believe, is not only a selective reading but also an approach that misses possibly the most striking characteristic of Lukas’ geographical opus. Namely, the fact that he was able to put his scientific approach – with only minor modifications of methodology and content, as elaborated in chapter five – into the service of two diametrically opposed political projects, which was a unique development among geographers in interwar Yugoslavia.



■	Non-scientific monograph
□	Scientific monograph
●	Article in non-scientific journal
○	Article in scientific journal

Figure 3.1. A comparison of the type of publications by Filip Lukas and Anton Melik in the period between 1906 and 1945. While Lukas’s earlier works were more “scientific,” in his most prolific period from the mid-1920s to the late 1930s, the majority of his works were published in non-scientific publications, primarily the cultural-political journal of the Matica hrvatska, *Hrvatska revija*. The situation with Melik was opposite; his early works were published in non-scientific journals, but once he took over the position at the University of Ljubljana, the majority of his works were published in professional and scientific publications, especially as he became the editor of *Geografski vestnik*.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 2:33.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 2:33.

3.6. Anton Melik: between a Yugoslav and a Slovenian perspective

In 1921, a year before the Serbo-Croatian translation of the first volume of Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* appeared, thus making becoming available to a wider readership in Yugoslavia, a Slovene, Anton Melik, published the first volume of his ambitious geography of Yugoslavia. Thirty-one-year-old Melik already had a list of publications dealing with Yugoslavia behind him. As the editor of a cultural-political magazine, *Ljubljanski zvon*, he published, under the pseudonym of Anton Loboda, some of his earliest texts in which he addressed the unification of the South Slavs and the establishment of Yugoslavia from a geographical perspective.¹¹⁶

Melik was among the Yugoslav geographers who rose to prominence during the interwar period, but who were still in the process of their scientific formation at the time of Yugoslav unification; they entered the stage of professional geography only after Yugoslavia was established and its boundaries settled. Therefore, most of them could not initially compete with well-established scientists, especially not with Cvijić. However, already in 1919-1920, before writing a geography of Yugoslavia, Melik published a two-volume *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev* (History of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes).¹¹⁷ Contemporary commentators emphasized the fact that it was the first such work,¹¹⁸ although some criticized it for its too strong focus on diplomatic, political, and state history.¹¹⁹ It was nonetheless a remarkable feat and a clear sign of Melik's attitude toward Yugoslav unity and the new country.

Melik's *Zgodovina* was symptomatic for several reasons. On the one hand, it showed Melik's ability to present both a historical and geographical narrative on a truly Yugoslav level, with which both Cvijić and Lukas struggled. Whereas in their geographies of Yugoslavia, Cvijić and Lukas eventually narrowed the narration of Yugoslavia to the regions they were mostly interested in (Serbian or Croatian national territories; primarily the Dinaric area), Melik achieved and maintained a balance between the constitutive "tribes" and regions of Yugoslavia.

¹¹⁶ Anton Loboda, "Misli o slovanskih narodnostnih problemih," *Ljubljanski zvon* 38, no. 1 (1918): 64-73; Loboda, "Narod, ki nastaja," *Ljubljanski zvon* 38, no. 8 (1918): 476-484; Loboda, "Vprašanje narodno mešanih ozemlj," *Ljubljanski zvon* 38, no. 11 (1918): 637-650; Loboda, "Nacijonalna država proti historični," *Ljubljanski zvon* 38, no. 11 (1918): 788-797; Loboda, "O našem notarnjepolitičnem stanju," *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 1 (1919): 19-30; Loboda, "Narodno osvobojenje in naša civilizacija," *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 2 (1919): 144-151; Loboda, "Die Südgrenze der deutschen Steiermark," *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 6 (1919): 378-379; Loboda, "Moderna politična načela in naši obmejni spori," *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 6 (1919): 352-357 and 420-424-

¹¹⁷ Anton Melik, *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*, 2 vols. (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1919-1920).

¹¹⁸ Milko Kos, review of *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*, vol.1, by Anton Melik, *Ljubljanski zvon* 40, no. 1 (1920): 52-53; and Kos, review of *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*, vol.2, by Anton Melik, *Ljubljanski zvon* 40, no. 8 (1920): 500-1.

¹¹⁹ Voje, "Anton Melik – zgodovinopisec in avtor zgodovinskih učbenikov," *Geografski vestnik* 62 (1990): 54.

He did not favor Slovenia in writing his geography of Yugoslavia but, in fact, came closest to the structure resembling what Wachtel called the multicultural model that equally combined elements belonging to the three “tribes,” only in the form of geographical writing. In *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* he described not only the three “tribal” or national groups considered to comprise Yugoslavia – Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes – but regions of Slovenia, Istria, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Vojvodina, northern and southern Serbia, and southern Macedonia. Melik fulfilled the implicit purpose of geographical works: describing the newly-created state – to get to know other peoples (“tribes”) and regions of the new homeland, among whom there had been relatively little communication before the unification.

On the other hand, Melik’s professional trajectory and the fact that he first published a historical and then a geographical work on Yugoslavia is an illustrative example of the disciplinary intertwining of geography and history in Yugoslavia which would partially persist throughout the interwar period. It was paradigmatic for the nature of geography as a scientific discipline in Zagreb and Ljubljana more than in Belgrade. While under Cvijić’s influence geology, geography, and ethnography in Belgrade were intertwined to the point where they could barely be distinguished, in Zagreb since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, geography and history – which had been fully established as an academic discipline at the time when geography was incorporated into academia – formed a closely-connected pair. Not only were geography and history often studied together, but also some of the most prominent historians and geographers of the time had an ambiguous scientific profile. Vjekoslav Klaić,¹²⁰ for instance, began his career at the University of Zagreb teaching geography before permanently deciding for history, and Filip Lukas was also trained in both disciplines, as was visible in his heavily historical perspective on geography.

Such was the case with many Slovenian geographers as well, both those studying in Vienna before the establishment of the University of Ljubljana in 1919, and those studying in Ljubljana afterwards, where the trend continued. Melik’s story is thus not exceptional, rather the most blatant example given the size and significance of his publication record. More unusual is the fact that Melik’s early works were created independently from institutionalized academia. In 1919, when the first volume of his history of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was published, the University of Ljubljana had just been established and had not yet started functioning properly. Additionally, Melik wrote both volumes of his geography of Yugoslavia as a student in

¹²⁰ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Prirodni zemljopis Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1878); Klaić, *Opis zemalja u kojima obitavaju Hrvati* (Zagreb: Društvo Sv. Jeronima, 1880).

Ljubljana, although he already had a teacher's degree in history and geography from the University of Vienna.

Though both *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev* and *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* construct Yugoslavia as a historical and geographical reality, they can be seen as linked only to a certain extent. Geographical issues are mostly absent from *Zgodovina*, except for a brief but indicative introduction in which Melik elaborated on the importance of the geographical position of Yugoslavia. In an attempt to set the spatial framework for the history of Yugoslavs and the influence of geography on history, he argued that the absolute and relative geographical and, consecutively, political position – that is, position in relation to the neighboring countries and cultures – were important factors in the course of Yugoslav history prior to the establishment of the country itself.¹²¹ Just as virtually all other Yugoslav geographers, Melik emphasized the fragmentation of the terrain in the Balkans as the main obstacle to Yugoslav unity through history, stating that the terrain of the Balkan Peninsula does not foster the political unity of the people inhabiting it.¹²² It only allows for the establishment of political organizations within smaller regions, which meant that the Balkans was for most of its history ruled by powers with centers outside the peninsula itself.

If *Zgodovina* was a rare example of a synthesis of Yugoslav history – or rather “prehistory” as it covered the period leading to the establishment of Yugoslavia – so soon after the unification, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* was part of a larger process of narrating Yugoslavia in geographical terms that culminated, but did not end, with Cvijić. *La Péninsule balkanique* or *Balkansko poluostrvo* was available to Melik as a template, but Melik went further. When writing the second volume, published in 1923, he clearly borrowed from *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* by Lukas¹²³ and consulted Ivo Juras' textbook *Zemljopis Jugoslavije, Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Geography of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes).¹²⁴ However, in several key aspects – besides the Yugoslav level of narration that did not particularly emphasize the author's respective ethnic group – Melik's publications stand out among the other comparable works.

Even in comparison with Lukas' *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, Melik

¹²¹ Melik, *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*, 1:12.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 1:8.

¹²³ Filip Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1922). This is especially visible in the part on the religious groups in Yugoslavia as well as in a number of phrasings throughout the text. Melik, *Jugoslavija*, 167-175; cf. Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 95-99).

¹²⁴ Ivo Juras, *Zemljopis Jugoslavije, Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Zagreb: Hrvatski štamparski zavod, 1922).

produced by far the most comprehensive and detailed account of the geography of Yugoslavia, with the whole first volume (426 pages)¹²⁵ dedicated to physical geography, climate, flora and fauna, population, and economy. Readers acquainted with the works of Cvijić or Lukas must have noticed a conspicuous absence of romanticized descriptions of the people and the land, as well as of metaphysical deliberations on the rootedness of the people in the environment, which were standard elements in their anthropogeographical works. Melik's narrative was dry and positivist in the fullest sense, with the first volume appearing as a natural inventory of Yugoslavia rather than a description aiming to explain – or justify – and naturalize the existence of the country.

However, despite its early date of publication, Melik's geography of Yugoslavia was not the first work of its kind in Slovenia. Already in 1919 another Slovenian historian and geographer, Karel (or Karl) Capuder (1879-1960), published the first account of Yugoslavia's geography in the Slovene language.¹²⁶ Some of Capuder's shortcomings were symptomatic for most of the earliest geographies of Yugoslavia. No Yugoslav geographer besides Cvijić had travelled extensively through the new country. Lacking field experience, they depended on secondary accounts, and therefore occasionally used erroneous geographical names, especially if they relied on sources in several different languages. They relied on numerical representation because the numerical representation of the new state seem to be easily comprehensible and instructive for readers across the country, and statistical data was among rare things Yugoslav geographers could say about Yugoslavia with a relative certainty. This certainty was, however, mostly fictional as until the first postwar census in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1921, geographers could only rely on a combination of the prewar censuses from several states, conducted within different boundaries and not counting demographic or economic changes caused by the war. With little emphasis on the integrative forces in Yugoslavia's history, geography, culture, or economy, early works such as Capuder's as well as a number of later shorter and informative overviews of Yugoslavia, seem to have taken the country for granted and described it. However, even such descriptions had a significant role of continuously reminding the inhabitants of Yugoslavia that their new country was not only a political and cultural, but a "natural" entity as well.

Unlike the aforementioned works of Cvijić and Lukas, Melik's *Jugoslavija* contained

¹²⁵ The number of pages refers to the second and enlarged edition of the first volume from 1924. See Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni, statistični in gospodarski pregled*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Ljubljana: Tiskovna zadruga, 1924). For comparison, the whole *La Péninsule balkanique* had 520 pages, not including the maps.

¹²⁶ Karel Capuder, *Naša država: zemljepisni pregled s statističnimi tabelami* (Maribor: Tiskarna sv. Cirila, 1919).

little politically-laden discourse and implications. The professor of geography at the University of Ljubljana at the time, Artur Gavazzi, nevertheless found some. Despite recognizing it as “the most serious” among the existing syntheses of geography of Yugoslavia, he criticized Melik’s work for its inadequate treatment of physical geography, especially the mountains (he objected to the endless listing of their names and height with no elaboration or description).¹²⁷ Gavazzi particularly objected to the statement that Yugoslavia was the creation of “just one people, that is Yugoslavs, which is undergoing the process of national formation from three ethnic components: Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene.”¹²⁸ In a uniquely explicit comment from an otherwise seemingly apolitical geographer, Gavazzi said that such a conclusion “is perhaps understandable to politicians, but as I do not understand politics, I cannot understand this thesis. In my opinion there is not one Yugoslav nationality but a whole five of them: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and – no offense – Macedonian, which will exist until it decides.”¹²⁹

The comment, however, reveals more about the commentator than about Melik’s work itself. It reveals Gavazzi’s idiosyncratic understanding of the national question in Yugoslavia – one which was at odds with contemporary political reality and the official discourse – and, interestingly, that he was possibly not familiar with other works on Yugoslavia’s geography, as all of them claimed the same as Melik. Another review, by ethnologist Emilo Cvetić, had a condescending tone. Cvetić stated that “Melik’s work can serve as an initial orientation on the geography of our lands. I believe it could be a foundation for building the scientific geography of Yugoslavia.”¹³⁰ It turned out that Cvetić was wrong, as the period of intense “building of the scientific geography of Yugoslavia” on a larger scale was relatively short, and Melik’s book remained among the finest geographies of Yugoslavia, rather than a mere foundation for future works.

It is not entirely surprising that the first volume of Melik’s *Jugoslavija*, appearing so

¹²⁷ Interestingly, although criticized by Gavazzi for shortcomings in analyzing geomorphology, Melik in turn criticized Capuder for dedicating disproportionately too much space in a relatively short work to geomorphological issues. Melik, review of *Naša država*, 247.

¹²⁸ Melik, *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*, 1: 154.

¹²⁹ It remains unclear to whom was Gavazzi apologizing, and between which options, in Gavazzi’s view, could Macedonians decide – between the Serbian or Bulgarian identity, or for their own national identity. See Artur Gavazzi, review of *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*, vol. 1, by Anton Melik, *Ljubljanski zvon* 41 (1921): 695. Additionally, Gavazzi denied the claim that Catholics in south Dalmatia consider themselves Serbs – he said that this was possible in 1 out of 1,000 cases – and pointed out that, contrary to Melik’s writing, Bunjevci and Šokci officially declare themselves as Croats. *Ibid.*, 696. Unfortunately, it remains unknown what Gavazzi thought of *Balkansko poluostrvo* and numerous similar claims by his close colleague and friend, Cvijić.

¹³⁰ Emilo Cvetić, review of *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*, vol. 1, by Anton Melik, *Glasnik srpskog geografskog društva* 5, no. 6 (1921): 170-171.

soon after the settling of Yugoslavia's boundaries, primarily served as an inventory of the country. The difference between the two volumes can be explained in terms of the difference between general and regional geography, which Cvijić summarized in the introductory address he gave when he was appointed to a chair in geography in Belgrade in 1893. In Cvijić's words, "physical geography and anthropology comprise *general geography*. Opposed to it was the geography of individual countries, *special geography* [*specijalna geografija*], which, having smaller or larger localities for its object, also deals with issues of physical geography and anthropogeography, and aims to combine them in a single general picture."¹³¹ In the interwar period, one of Cvijić's successors at the University of Belgrade, Borivoje Ž. Milojević, elaborated on the difference more subtly. Trying to popularize regional geography – then formulated and strongly promoted by a German geographer Alfred Hettner¹³² – and to establish it as the dominant methodological approach in Yugoslavia, Milojević argued:

Regional geography examines the geographical characteristics of a single region, with a particular interest in establishing a relationship between them. As is known, these characteristics are: composition and structure of the terrain; contemporary erosive forces that affect the relief . . . climatic and hydrological conditions; plants and animals; economic and transport situation; settlements and the population density etc. These characteristics are not examined separately, but as phenomena depending on each other, influencing each other, and giving a characteristic appearance and life to the region.¹³³

While the first volume of Melik's *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* represents general geography, "examining specific geographical objects, their types and spread,"¹³⁴ the second offered a description of natural-historical regions of Yugoslavia in the manner of regional geography, but again without an explicit political agenda.

Melik and Lukas encountered the same problem – how to define units or regions for examination? They both opted, with some variations, for the existing historical-administrative divisions. Melik argued that "in regional description it will initially be best to remain with the current territorial-political units; in introducing the new terminology on the basis of morphological similarities – which must remain in accordance with the Serbian and Croatian [terminology] – we should be careful to avoid any confusion with those old names that signify already steady historical-geographical notions."¹³⁵ Some of these indeed were natural units, but

¹³¹ Jovan Cvijić, "Današnje stanje geografske nauke: uvodno predavanje iz geografije," in *Antropogeografski spisi*, ed. Milislav Lutovac (Belgrade: SANU, 1987), 333. Emphasis in the original.

¹³² Alfred Hettner, *Gründzüge der Länderkunde*, vol. 1, *Europa* (Leipzig: Otto Spamer, 1907). See also Hans-Dietrich Schultz, *Die deutschsprachige Geographie von 1800 bis 1970: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ihrer Methodologie* (Berlin: Geographisches Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, 1980), 123-81.

¹³³ Borivoje Ž. Milojević, *Regionalna geografija: predavanja* (Belgrade, 1931), 1.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹³⁵ Melik, review of *Naša država*, 247.

that was not the primary criterion in defining them.

Lukas and Melik set the boundaries of examined territory differently. Lukas' *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Sloveneaca* respected the contemporary political boundaries of Yugoslavia as defined by the international treaties, while Melik, in fact, did not present an overview of the geography of Yugoslavia *sensu stricto* but, like Cvijić, of a larger territory that was understood as the Yugoslav national space. Though the notion of irredentism in the Yugoslav context is regularly associated with territorial claims by Yugoslav neighbors, primarily Italy, Melik and his work definitely match the description of irredentism. Alongside Istria, Slovenia appears in three forms – “free,” “Austrian,” and “Italian” – and Melik did not miss an opportunity to stress the ethnic composition of the population not only in these regions, but also in other contested areas such as Bačka, Baranja, and Banat, claimed by Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia, especially when Yugoslavs represented even a remotely significant minority. Another point of comparison is the question of Yugoslavia's unity. Lukas asserted the unity, while in both volumes of Melik's *Jugoslavija* the sense of unity is achieved primarily by delineation of the national space, enumeration of physical-geographical phenomena, and description of the regions of Yugoslavia.

Melik disregarded the internal unifying forces such as national awareness and the will of the people, or the role of major communication routes, so prominent in the writings of Cvijić and Lukas. However, a dry and dense geographical synthesis such as *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled* obviously appealed to the readership. The first volume had been sold out by the time the second one appeared in press, and was reprinted in an enlarged form.¹³⁶ Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* eventually reached both international diplomats and a domestic audience, while the works by Lukas (with an exception of *Yugoslavia as Economic Territory*) and Melik aimed at Yugoslav readers and a handful of foreign experts speaking Serbo-Croatian or Slovene. Undeservedly, the contemporary reception of Lukas' geography of Yugoslavia seems to have been the smallest. In the context of interwar Yugoslavia, both Lukas and Melik eventually became better known for their geographical works on Croatia and Slovenia.

3.7. Geographical narratives of Slovenia within Yugoslavia

Almost a decade before publishing his largest and most important work from the

¹³⁶ Melik, preface to *Jugoslavija: zemljepisni pregled*.

interwar period, the two-volume *Slovenija: geografski opis* (Slovenia: geographical overview), Anton Melik had for the first time written a short text on geography of Slovenia in 1927. *Slovenačka*, an edited volume in which Melik's chapter on geography of Slovenia appeared was specifically prepared for the readership in Serbia (and potentially a wider Serbo-Croatian-speaking readership outside Serbia).¹³⁷ As stated in the preface, it was a book on Slovenes – their past and present, their geography, history, and culture – written, importantly, by Slovenes themselves, a fact which was particularly emphasized.¹³⁸ However, it had to be translated from Slovenian into Serbo-Croatian. The translation was necessary since the linguistic similarity among the South Slavs was a proclaimed official policy rather than something Yugoslav readers could easily corroborate.

In his geographical overview in *Slovenačka*, Melik emphasized tropes that would become central to his geographical vision of Slovenia. In-betweenness was, according to Melik, the most important characteristic of Slovenian lands, as

important geographical regions of Europe adjoin here, various parts of the continent meet, economic routes intersect, and main European races interact. Slovenia is a pronounced boundary and a transitional region. This characteristic is manifested in its current cultural and political fate, and its faithful reflection has been the history of Slovenian territories up to date.¹³⁹

Melik described Slovenia as located between the Alps, Pannonia, the Dinaric system, the valley of Friuli (in northeastern Italy), and the Adriatic Sea. This text was also among the earliest and rare cases when Melik explicitly referred to geopolitics. From a geopolitical perspective, he stated, “taking into consideration that natural areas are expressed in political individualities,” it becomes clear that the Slovenian lands are influenced by the political organizations of Upper Italy from the west, of Central Europe from the north, of the Pannonian Plain from the east, and of the Balkans from the southeast.¹⁴⁰ The intensity of these influences has varied over time, as

¹³⁷ The volume was edited by a geographer (Melik) and a historian (Kos), which further points to the importance of geography and geographers in the nation-building project. Anton Melik and Milko Kos, eds., *Slovenačka*, trans. Dušan Hinić (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1927). *Slovenačka* was not the only such publication: in 1924 and 1930, whole issues of the Zagreb-based pro-Yugoslav journal *Nova Evropa* were dedicated to Slovenia. See *Nova Evropa* 10, no. 7-8 (1924) 177-240 and *Nova Evropa* 22, no. 5 (1930): 257-329. The 1930 issue featured a very short overview of the geography of Slovenia by a lawyer Rudolf Andrejka, of a quality and sophistication uncomparable to Melik's work.

¹³⁸ Preface to *Slovenačka*, iii. However, the Slovenian journalist and publicist Božidar Borko believed it would have been better had Serbian authors written it, as they could focus on issues Serbian readers are more interested in, “which is important in popular publications.” See Božidar Borko, review of *Slovenačka*, by Anton Melik and Milko Kos, *Ljubljanski zvon* 48, no. 1 (1928): 55.

¹³⁹ Anton Melik, “Geografski pregled,” in *Slovenačka*, ed. Anton Melik and Milko Kos (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1927), 5.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

the political strength of neighboring areas increased or decreased.

The lands inhabited by Slovenes are not only a boundary between different political systems, but between the main European “races” as well. Despite numerous calls to distinguish between political, linguistic, ethnic, and racial communities,¹⁴¹ Melik interpreted linguistic groups as races and argued that the Slovenian lands are at the intersection of the Romance, Germanic, Slavic, and even the Mongolian race, represented by Hungarians. Essentially repeating Cvijić’s conclusion regarding the influences of foreign neighboring cultures, Melik pointed out that “being at the intersection of three, that is, four races had to have important consequences for the formation of cultural structure of the people.”¹⁴² Throughout history, however, communication was weakest with the southeast, and the fewest cultural influences came from Croatia, although some border-regions maintained lively contacts.

Melik employed the trope of the fragmentation of terrain, mentioned so many times in the context of Yugoslavia, in the context of Slovenia as well. Slovenian territories, he argued, do not form a unique natural region. First, in the early Middle Ages, the Klagenfurt/Celovec valley was the geographical center of Slovenian territories, but it could not have exerted political control over other territories. “As a consequence of strong geographical fragmentation, certain smaller political territories have developed”; one of them, the Ljubljana valley, which remained ethnically Slovenian, became the political and cultural center of Slovenian lands.¹⁴³

Only the outcome of the First World War allowed the Slovenes to join with Serbs and Croats in one state, “but this fateful moment also showed the gravity of the geopolitical position of Slovenian territories,” manifested above all in their in-between position.¹⁴⁴ Melik assessed the creation of Yugoslavia in exclusively positive terms. It was not just the realization of a centuries-old national dream that came with the end of foreign rule, but the new country also provided an economic framework necessary for the development of Slovenian industry. For, Slovenia appears as industrialized only when compared to other regions of Yugoslavia, whereas it used to be among the least industrialized areas of the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy.

Melik’s largest work from the interwar period was *Slovenija: geografski opis* (Slovenia: a geographical overview), published in 1935-1936. In several aspects, it was comparable to *Zemljopis Hrvatske* (Geography of Croatia), edited by Zvonimir Dugački and published in 1943. First, both works focused on particular national territories within Yugoslavia, rather than

¹⁴¹ For instance, Lukas insisted on this differentiation, although occasionally he used the categories interchangeably as well. See Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 67.

¹⁴² Melik, “Geografski pregled,” 7.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

Yugoslavia itself. The main difference in this regard, however, refers to the time of publication and the current political context. *Slovenija* was published at a time when Yugoslavia existed and it was not an anti-Yugoslav work – on the contrary. The geographical narration of the Slovenian territories that it contained was completely congruent with the geographical narration of Yugoslavia, and Slovenia appeared as one of the constitutive geographical and ethnical parts of Yugoslavia, rather than a separate geographical and ethnical entity. *Zemljopis Hrvatske*, on the other hand, was published after Yugoslavia had temporarily dissolved in April 1941. One of its purposes was to assert Croatia in its “historical boundaries” – including Bosnia and Hercegovina – as a natural unit separated from other units and peoples in the Balkans, primarily from Serbia and Serbs.

Second, both works were among the principal publications of the Slovenska matica and the Matica hrvatska for their respective seventieth and one hundredth anniversaries. It was an obvious sign that geography joined history and literature as a nation-building discipline.¹⁴⁵ While the “geographical turn” of the Matica hrvatska – manifested in an increased interest in and emphasis on geography – was primarily due to the influence of Filip Lukas, its president from 1928 to 1945, there were no such tendencies in the Slovenska matica. At the time he wrote *Slovenija*, Melik held no prominent position within the Slovenska matica comparable to that of Lukas (although Melik would serve as president of the Slovenska matica between 1950 and his death in 1966). The fact that the book was one of the commemorative publications additionally speaks of the perceived importance of geography for the national project, regardless of the public prominence of the author. Precisely because of Melik’s example, Lukas’ affiliation with the Matica hrvatska cannot be taken as an exclusive reason for the importance ascribed to geography in Croatia – although it definitely was among the contributing factors. Third, both works, ambitiously envisioned, were in the end published in two parts or volumes on general geography only, while the planned volumes on regional geography remained unpublished.¹⁴⁶

Melik explained the fact that there were no – or just a couple of very short – geographies of Slovenia thus:

Until recently, it was the custom to give geographical descriptions of the political units, lands, or countries. Slovenia was not a political unit, a land, or a country. In the recent

¹⁴⁵ The Matica hrvatska was established in 1842 under the name of the Matica ilirska, which was changed in 1874 to the Matica hrvatska. The Slovenska matica was established in 1864. See Jakša Ravlič, *Matica hrvatska 1842-1962*. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1963) and Francè Bernik, *Slovenska matica: 1864-1964; zbornik razprav in člankov* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1964).

¹⁴⁶ Melik later published the regional geographical volume on Slovenia in four books. Anton Melik, *Slovenija: geografski opis*, vol. 2, *Opis slovenskih pokrajin*, 4 pts. (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1954-1960).

period, geography has called for the geographical descriptions to rely on the natural units, on areas that differ from the neighboring [areas] in certain common natural features. Slovenia cannot be described as a natural unit, and therefore these considerations did not prompt a description. A better formulation of this call [would be that] the description [should] be based on geographic units containing various natural and anthropogeographical [characteristics].¹⁴⁷

In *Slovenija*, as in his earlier *Jugoslavija* and *Slovenačka*, the first fundamental characteristic of the Slovene lands that Melik pointed out was their in-between position. The importance of geographical boundaries, intersections, and transitions has been clearly manifested in anthropogeography as “Slovenia is a significant junction in the migrations of people and cultural and political influences, as well as of economic and transportation routes,” especially in the direction between Pannonia, Friuli, and, further along, Italy.¹⁴⁸

The second fundamental geographical characteristic of Slovenia was – as in the case of Yugoslavia at large or Croatia in particular – fragmentation of the terrain. The geographical structure of Slovenia, Melik pointed out, is not convenient for the creation of larger political entities.¹⁴⁹ In the Middle Ages, geographical fragmentation was coupled with a specific political and socio-economic system that also prevented unification – accompanied by feudalism and dynastic conflicts. It is mostly due to geographical conditions that an independent Slovenian state comprising all of the Slovenian territories did not exist. However, Melik pointed to the large territorial extent of the earliest Slovenian state, which comprised most of the eastern Alps, the basin of the Drava and the Mura, and argued that the “Alpine Slavs” inhabited an area stretching to the northeast into Pannonia toward the Balaton Lake.¹⁵⁰ Slovene irredentism or the struggle for the liberation of the Slovenes under Austrian and Italian rule existed; but in comparison to Croatian and Serbian territorial claims, it had the disadvantage of being directed against stronger outside political entities, and was not an internal Yugoslav question.

In the Slovenian lands, Melik argued, the strongest and decisive cultural influences, including Christianity and the Church organization, used to come from the southwest, from the Apennine Peninsula. However, “precisely on this side, the Slovenian national boundary [*narodna slovenska meja*] is definitely, as nowhere else, based on strong natural foundations, on the sea coast at the Gulf of Trieste, and on the boundary between the Karst and the hills at

¹⁴⁷ Anton Melik, *Slovenija: geografski opis*, vol. 1, *splošni del*, 2 pt. (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1935-36), 1: vi.

¹⁴⁸ Melik, *Slovenija*, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 6; cf. Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 14 (1928): 107-21.

¹⁵⁰ Melik, *Slovenija*, 348-9.

the Soča [Isonzo] and the Nadiža [Natisone] on one side, and the Friuli valley [*Furlansko nižino*] on the other, and has been on this natural boundary continuously for almost a thousand years.”¹⁵¹ Since antiquity, the influences coming from the Apennine Peninsula have waned. Regarding the boundary to the southeast, Melik argued that the “separation of the Slovene lands from the Serbo-Croat lands, which happened very early on, was unnatural not only from the ethnic aspect, but also from the perspective of the physical characteristics of our land.”¹⁵² Upon their arrival in the eastern Alps and western Balkans, the earliest “Slovenes” – or rather, the Alpine Slavs – could not have been distinguished from the other South Slavs. Repeating the arguments he had published in *Ljubljanski zvon* at the end of the First World War, Melik again identified political factors as responsible for the separation, especially of the linguistically similar northern Croats and Slovenes, since the early Middle Ages.¹⁵³

Only with Yugoslav unification were the natural conditions harmonized with the political and ethnical situation, despite the fact that parts of the Slovenian lands remained “unliberated.”¹⁵⁴ Slovenia needed Yugoslavia just as much as Yugoslavia needed Slovenia. Melik saw the two entities as mutually dependent, and believed the development of one to condition the development of the other. For, Yugoslavia can be involved with Central Europe only through Slovenia, and “free Slovenia can be preserved and ensured only if it relies on the strong Yugoslav national dynamics.”¹⁵⁵ Ljudmil Hauptmann (1884-1968), another Slovene scholar who studied geography and history, had similar views on the role of the Slovene territories for Yugoslavia’s relations with neighboring areas.¹⁵⁶ Though it was clear that Hauptmann was above all a historian, he occasionally offered a geographical perspective on historical developments. These examples, however, speak more of the difficulties he encountered in “bridging the divide” between geography and history.¹⁵⁷

In 1922, Hauptmann observed that between the Baltic and Adriatic Sea there were six states, five of which had the same shape – a “body with a thin protrusion projecting or hanging far into the foreign [state]. It is therefore a distinguishable geographical type.”¹⁵⁸ These territorial protrusions were offensive tools of states, in the service of imperialist projects that

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 360.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Hauptmann studied in Graz, where he was born, and got his PhD there in 1907. He started teaching medieval history at the University of Ljubljana in 1920, and moved to the University of Zagreb in 1926.

¹⁵⁷ Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁵⁸ Ljudmil Hauptmann, “Priroda in zgodovina v razvoju Jugoslavije,” *Njiva* 2, no. 7 (1922): 113.

caused instability. With the exception of Hungary, Hauptmann believed, the creators of post-war Europe “forced [territorial] combat forms, created angels of peace – with daggers in their hands,” in East-Central Europe.¹⁵⁹ Slovenia is one such protrusion, penetrating into the “one hundred million-strong German-Italian block.”¹⁶⁰ The Slovenian territories are thus an offensive tool of the Yugoslav state – its saber – which is a precarious role, because if “one waves [the saber], it can be broken; if one does not take care of it, it will be crushed by its neighbors.”¹⁶¹

In Melik’s view, neglected by the Austrian government, the economic and industrial position of Slovenia suddenly changed with the establishment of Yugoslavia.¹⁶² Slovenian territories became the industrially most developed parts of the new state. Melik emphasized this change as an example of how political geography can structurally influence not only economic and commercial practices but the modalities of the exploitation of nature and thus, implicitly, the very relations between man and nature.¹⁶³ In 1918, Slovenia became a part of a new political and economic framework together with regions that were significantly less industrialized. In comparison with the Czech lands, Slovenia was poorly industrialized, but now, in comparison with Serbian and Croatian territories, it became an industrial center. Slovenian products could hardly have competed in the north,

but with new boundaries and customs protection, the competition has suddenly been made easier and at the same time a market in a state of 250,000 square kilometers and twelve or fifteen million peoples has been opened. The Drava Banovina tried to adapt to the new situation as quickly as possible; new industrial companies were established, existing factories were expanded – almost all industrial sectors produce far beyond the needs of Slovenia, for the Croatian-Serbian market as well, and even some for export.¹⁶⁴

Given the relative lack of natural resources, raw materials were imported, processed in Slovenia, and “exported” to other parts of Yugoslavia. It should be noted that the same narrative was applicable to Zagreb. Once a sleepy provincial center of the Dual Monarchy, in Yugoslavia it became the financial and industrial center of Yugoslavia: “The unification and liberation of our people has influenced, in an economic sense, none of our cities as much as Zagreb. From a town with a predominantly bureaucratic character, which played no – not even a secondary – role in the economic life of the former monarchy, it became, so to say overnight, an economic

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 113.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 114.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 114.

¹⁶² Melik, *Slovenija*, 473.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 399.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 474.

center of a state of twelve million people.”¹⁶⁵

Besides economic development, Melik pointed to the liberation of Slovenes as the other main positive effect of Yugoslavia. This was an ambiguous point, however, as only 16,000 out of a total of 24,000 square kilometers inhabited by Slovenes (the Slovene national territory) belonged to Yugoslavia. One third of the territory and population thus remained under foreign rule, which Melik described as a “great national disaster.”¹⁶⁶ The fact that the unification of Yugoslavia did not bring about the complete unification of the Slovenes was manifested in the dual meaning of the name “Slovenia.” In a narrower sense, Slovenia represents a region of Yugoslavia. In 1929, two counties – Ljubljana and Maribor – were, with minimal modifications, united in the Dravska Banovina and Slovenes thus became the only Yugoslav “tribe” with its own unit in Yugoslavia. In a wider sense, Slovenia referred to a complex of the Slovene national territories – “all the land inhabited by Slovenes,” including Koruška/Carinthia and Primorje/Littoral, and where, in Melik’s opinion, Slovenes were at the time oppressed by foreign rule like few other ethnic minorities in contemporary Europe.¹⁶⁷

3.8. The Slovenian lands as a cultural circle

Anton Melik put a variation of the *Kulturkreislehre* into practice with an unusual and very “Slovenian” focus of research: hayracks (*Kozolec*, a vertical wooden contraption used for drying hay and other agricultural products).¹⁶⁸ *Kozolec* was one of the most iconic elements of the Slovenian cultural landscape:

Over a majority of the Slovenian territory, the hayrack is an important characteristic of the peasant household. In its characteristic form, usually at an easily noticeable position, it attracts the attention of foreigners travelling through our land. Those who study our cultural geography or deal with our regional geography [*krajinopisje*] cannot neglect the tightened hayracks of the Gorenjska region, spread out in the middle of the fields, on carefully cultivated plains, or in small patches of fields and meadows isolated in hills amongst the forest region.¹⁶⁹

The hayrack, an iconic trait of the Slovenian cultural landscape was, however, not to be found in all Slovenian regions. Melik was appreciative of the hayrack’s economic function and

¹⁶⁵ Ivo Belin, “Zagreb kao privredno središte Jugoslavije,” *Nova Evropa* 12, no. 11 (1925): 322.

¹⁶⁶ Melik, *Slovenija*, 14.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁶⁸ Anton Melik, *Kozolec na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Merkur, 1931).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

examined “what could be the reasons as to why this device of ours has in our territory only these narrowly-established borders, and that the neighboring regions in our vicinity do not know it.”¹⁷⁰ The precise borders of the area for which the hayrack was characteristic – and which therefore could be constructed as a *Kulturkreis* – were unattainable through geographical and ethnographical examination, Melik warned. “Identifying *Kulturkreise*,” Smith argues, “was an essential step in studying the relationship between culture and environment. In turn, this provided a clue to the inner workings of the cultures of particular *Kreise*. A *Kulturkreis* defined by trait similarities was a useful way of acknowledging the importance of the physical environment in shaping culture and simultaneously explaining why it did not always prevail.”¹⁷¹

Melik examined the hayrack’s different economic functions and forms, but was primarily interested in determining its geographical spread. Only by determining this, he believed, could its origins be studied. Although characteristic for other European cultural landscapes as well, the “Slovenian hayrack, which is in most cases equipped with a roof, is exceptional in comparison with other types of hayrack across Europe.”¹⁷² As was the case with some other cultural traits of the Slovenian lands, the hayrack was also noticeable in the areas inhabited by Germans, yet for Melik there was no doubt that, in this case, the *Kozolec* was of Slovenian origins.

Melik differentiated between the clenched, tied, “*na kozla*,” roofless, and leaned hayrack, with some variations. The tightened, or single straight-line, hayrack was the most widely spread in Slovenia. The Slovenian type of the hayrack could be found outside the contemporary Slovenian territories within Yugoslavia – that is, in disputed borderlands with Italy and Austria where a significant number of Slovenes lived, and which did not become part of Yugoslavia after 1919.¹⁷³ The area where the hayrack is to be found, Melik warned, does not correspond to the boundaries of the Slovenian ethnical territory. The boundaries of the territory in which the hayrack is spread and the ethnic boundary of the Slovenes do not match, and the hayrack area is smaller, with the exception of western Carinthia and eastern Tirol.¹⁷⁴ Intermarriages had a decisive role in the diffusion of the Slovenian type of the hayrack:

On the Croatian boundary on the upper river Kupa, it can be noticed that the Slovenian forms of the hayrack reach across the boundary as far as the matrimonial relations do. It is surprising how accurately the boundary of the hayrack corresponds to the former

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 1.

¹⁷¹ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 157.

¹⁷² Melik, *Kozolec na Slovenskem*, 8.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 47.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 48.

Styrian- and Carniolan-Croatian political boundary. I believe it can be interpreted only in the sense that the political boundary through the centuries formed a barrier across which there was very little substantial contact and mixing.¹⁷⁵

By comparing the archeological, linguistic, and historical information on the spread of the hayrack across Europe with the specific situation in the Slovenian territory Melik concluded that “on the ground of all this, it is visible that the hayrack emerged in Eurasia in several locations separately,” but not in other regions because of unfavorable climatic conditions.¹⁷⁶ Regarding Melik’s contributions to ethnography, in 1990, when Slovenia was moving toward independence and tried to reinforce an identity separate from that of other nations in Yugoslavia, Tone Cevc stated that “when we [Slovenes] are looking for confirmation of our identity, Melik’s excellent geographical-ethnographical study can help. It deserves to be republished in an edited volume which would bring the latest scientific knowledge on this important device that illustratively invigorates the Slovenian ethnic territory and connects it with the Central Alpine region, not only materially but also linguistically.”¹⁷⁷

By establishing a typology of hayracks, Melik was able to point to the “most Slovenian” type, the one that could not be found outside of the Slovenian lands. Although he did not name the zones in which a specific type was to be found cultural areas or circles, his method corresponds to the *Kulturkreislehre* of the German anthropogeography and ethnology. The occurrence of a cultural trait (in this case a hayrack, but the best known early example was Friedrich Ratzel’s study on the spread of bow and spear in Africa)¹⁷⁸ in the geographical area is examined and according to its prevalence, different zones are established. In Melik’s case, hayrack became the iconic element of Slovenian landscape that indicated – but still could not precisely define – the boundaries of the Slovenian lands that were not identical to the contemporary political borders. If the hayrack could not fully make the Slovenian lands into a *Kulturkreis* – “an area dominated by an integrated array of cultural traits”¹⁷⁹ – then it at least pointed to a significant level of cohesion and uniformity of the Slovenian cultural landscape.

Milovan Gavazzi positively commented on Melik’s work on the hayrack. However, he regretted that Melik had not paid more attention to the spatial arrangement of specific forms of hayrack, linguistic differences in nomenclature, and its characteristic traits, and that he had not

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 86-87.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 99.

¹⁷⁷ Tone Cevc, “Prispevek Antona Melika slovenski etnologiji,” *Geografski vestnik* 62 (1990): 62.

¹⁷⁸ Friedrich Ratzel, “Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Verbreitung des Bogens und des Speeres in indo-afrikanischen Volkerkreise,” *Berichten des Konigl. Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1893): 147-82.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture*, 149.

provided a map that would indicate areas in Europe and whole Eurasia where these are identified, in order to show the fragmentation of various forms of hayrack, and, especially, the discontinuity between the Alpine and north European area (the Baltic and Belarus).¹⁸⁰ Emphasizing the study of the geographic spread and historical development of the hayrack as a cultural trait, Gavazzi's connection to the *Kulturkreislehre* – rather than the related but somewhat different American concept of cultural zone – in the interwar period was manifested once again.

¹⁸⁰ Milovan Gavazzi, review of *Kozolec na Slovenskem*, by Anton Melik, *Narodna starina* 10, no. 26 (1931): 290.

Chapter 4

RECEPTION OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS IN YUGOSLAVIA

No other branch of geography was involved in the political debates of interwar Yugoslavia as much as geopolitics. No Yugoslav geographer from the period could be described exclusively as a geopolitician, yet a significant number of them at one point or another embraced the philosophical, methodological, and conceptual apparatus of contemporary political geography and geopolitics to address issues troubling Yugoslavia – whether the internal national question or its position vis-à-vis its neighbors and the larger political constellations of power. The close links to German-speaking academia and the perceived strength of contemporary German geopolitical thought indicate a need to examine the production of geopolitical knowledge in interwar Yugoslavia in relation to the German context, while not disregarding the influence of other European geographical traditions. A small number of the existing studies on geopolitics in interwar Yugoslavia have focused primarily on individual authors or specific works.¹ These studies have mostly failed to approach the discipline as a network within which transfers of ideas constantly occur. Although the authors of some recent studies have pointed to the position of interwar Yugoslav “geopoliticians” in the history of geography and geopolitics, a more nuanced and detailed analysis is still lacking.²

This chapter analyzes various works – articles in professional journals and cultural-political journals, edited volumes, and monographs – that dealt with geopolitical issues or employed geopolitical methods to address the political situation in Yugoslavia. The chapter examines the relations of Yugoslav geopolitical production with the dominant centers of geopolitical thought in Europe, primarily Germany and France. The study of transfers of ideas, their “translations” to, and interpretation in, the Yugoslav context opens the way to a more detailed analysis of three central geopolitical concepts: the space (including the size of a country or national territory), the shape (including the boundaries), and the position of a geographical

¹ Mladen Klemenčić, “Geopolitika u Lukasovim radovima,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 38-56; Stanko Žuljić, “Prilozi F. Lukasa iz političke geografije,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 80-107; Momčilo Subotić, “Geopolitička aktualnost Cvijićevog spisa ‘Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpski problem,’” *Politička revija* 3, no. 2 (2004): 97-110.

² Mladen Klemenčić and Nenad Pokos, “Ivo Pilar i politička geografija,” in *Prilozi za proučavanje života i djela dra Ive Pilara*, eds. Srećko Lipovčan and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2001-2002), 1:39-49.

unit. The underlying thread of the chapter is the question of why the concepts of space, shape, and position gained such an importance, and what was their “added value” in comparison to the existing historical narratives of the nation(s). Was it a mere academic fashion or was the geopolitical discourse seen as somehow especially appropriate for the Yugoslav context?

4.1. Development of political geography and geopolitics since the late nineteenth century

Until the 1980s, geopolitics had a notorious reputation among scholars.³ The term denoted non-scientific politicization and was generally avoided, although numerous politicians and intellectuals, especially in the United States, in fact dealt with geopolitics. The renewed interest in the history of the discipline was connected to developments in the wider history of science. The rigid dichotomy between the “real” and “quasi” science has been abandoned and the understanding of geopolitics – including the geopolitical tradition associated with Nazi Germany – has changed.⁴ Regarding this change, Klaus Kost pointed out that “the history of German geography ascribes the aberrations of the discipline from 1900-1945, especially during the National Socialist period, mainly to the negative influence of geopolitics.”⁵ He warned that rather than being an innovation, geopolitics reinforced and perpetuated “patterns of thinking which have been a component of the German geography since the end of the 19th century and only made possible the rise of geopolitics.”⁶ Many geographers easily and quickly embraced geopolitics because of its non-conflicting nature in relation to other intellectual fields. The possibilities of maneuvering with vaguely defined concepts and the lack of methodological scrutiny that allowed the discipline’s close association with political programs is at the center of interest in this chapter.

The amount of literature on the similar yet different concepts of political geography and geopolitics – especially the German tradition in the first half of the twentieth century – is so large that even an overview of the main protagonists and ideas would fill volumes. Still, the

³ Jürgen Osterhammel, “Die Wiederkehr des Raumes: Geopolitik, Geohistorie und historische Geographie,” *Neue Politische Literatur* 43, no. 3 (1998): 374-75.

⁴ David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 245-46.

⁵ Klaus Kost, “The Conception of Politics in Political Geography and Geopolitics in Germany until 1945,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1989): 369.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 369.

genealogy of geopolitics cannot be neglected when talking about Yugoslav interwar geography as it was one of the dominant paradigms in circulation in both the scientific and general public spheres in the country. Geopolitical thinking, though not necessarily called that, existed before and beyond its heyday in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century.⁷ Yet the influence of political geographers like Isaiah Bowman (1878-1950), American political geographer who had a decisive role in forming the US policy at the peace conferences in 1919 and 1945 under presidents Wilson and Truman,⁸ or the British geographer Halford Mackinder (1861-1947), famous for his concept of “heartlands” and “rimlands,”⁹ on Yugoslav interwar geographers was limited. For that reason, this chapter focuses on the reception and modification of German – and only to a certain degree French – geopolitical tradition by Yugoslav geographers.

The name of Friedrich Ratzel was inherently connected to the establishment of political geography in Germany. While drawing straightforward lines connecting Ratzel and the Nazi ideology – and, consequently, unprecedented atrocities committed in its name – should be avoided, persistence and presence of certain concepts developed by Ratzel in the German politics up to 1945 cannot be neglected.¹⁰ Examining Ratzel’s best-known concept, *Lebensraum* (living space), Woodruff Smith has argued: “*Lebensraum* possessed an aura of scientific respectability which it derived from the high academic reputations of its originator and some of its twentieth century proponents. At the same time, *Lebensraum* fit very neatly after 1918 into the ideological framework of the German right and of popular conservative literature.”¹¹ Interestingly, many of his successors, including those in Yugoslavia, tended to overlook Ratzel’s emphasis on cohabitation within the same spatial framework rather than glorification of racial or ethnic community.¹²

⁷ Michael Heffernan, “Fin de siècle, fin du monde? On the origins of European geopolitics, 1890-1920,” in *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought*, ed. Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 2000), 27-51.

⁸ Neil Smith, “Political Geographers of the Past: Isaiah Bowman: Political Geography and geopolitics,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1984): 69-76; Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt’s Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

⁹ Halford J. Mackinder, “The Geographical Pivot of History,” *The Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (1904): 421-437; Gerard Kearns, *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ Through a comparative analysis of two related yet opposed concepts – *Weltpolitik* and *Lebensraum* – Woodruff Smith pointed to the controversial link between the scientifically-supported expansionist ideology of the Second Reich and attempts to amalgamate them during the Third Reich. Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹¹ Woodruff D. Smith, “Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum,” *German Studies Review* 3, no. 1 (1980): 51-52.

¹² Mark Bassin, “Imperialism and the Nation State in Friedrich Ratzel’s Political Geography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 11, no. 4 (1987): 473-495; Bassin, “Race Contra Space: The Conflict between German *Geopolitik* and National Socialism,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1987): 115-134; David T. Murphy, *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918-1933* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University

As a product of radical nationalist politics and theoretical patterns developed within the nineteenth-century liberal social sciences, Ratzel approached *Lebensraum* as a “uniform factor underlying biological change and the relationship between living species and their environments.”¹³ Though he was not a fully-fledged determinist as often depicted, Ratzel did consider environment to be the most important factor shaping cultural and social forms. Yet “a culture was not a mere response to the physical environment in which a group lived. *Völker* could interpret and alter their environments on the basis of capabilities implicit in their cultures.”¹⁴ The environment does not determine the culture – it limits the number of possibilities for its development.

Ratzel combined his earlier emphasis on migrations with the notion of the pursuit of living space, which he saw as a precondition for the sustainability of a community. According to Smith, Ratzel introduced a novelty: “The groups in which humans conduct the search are not, however, species like other organisms, but rather the *Völker* into which humankind is divided. The means that allows a people to acquire new *Lebensraum* is its culture.”¹⁵ The quest for extending the living space is “a universal, empirically observable, and fundamentally important property of life.”¹⁶ Ratzel’s political geography was concerned with the relationship between the nature and human groups, cultural and political entities associated primarily with the state. The *Volk* and the state were at the core of the vocabulary of Ratzel’s political geography, which dealt, above all, with the power-states. Only though “the correct estimation of the geographical bases of political power” could the power be achieved.¹⁷

Ratzel himself never actually used the term geopolitics. Ratzel’s student, Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922) devised and was the first to use the term. Kjellén facilitated the “translation” of Ratzel’s ideas to the post-1918 German predicament. By doing so, he made Ratzel’s politically laden ideas appealing not only to Germans, but also to numerous conservative and revisionist intellectuals and scientists throughout East-Central Europe, including those in Yugoslavia. Kost succinctly summarized the political program of geopolitics: “In domestic policy the supremacy of the elites and the preservation of the corporatist society, which has to be defended against

Press, 1997), 11; Livingstone, *Geographical Tradition*, 201, 245-46.

¹³ Smith, “Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of *Lebensraum*,” 52.

¹⁴ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 220.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁷ Friedrich Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1897), iv; quoted in Kost, “Conception of Politics,” 371.

the democratic state and its changing representatives.”¹⁸ Additionally, in Germany “after 1918 the corporatist view survived in the theoretical and empirical studies of . . . geographers and geopoliticians. The differences are only marginal. Geopolitically arguing geographers, guided by geo-deterministic viewpoints, are quite common.”¹⁹ The situation in Yugoslavia was similar. Although a comprehensive study of corporatism in interwar Yugoslavia is still missing, the concept was appealing not only to Filip Lukas – and not only to geographers and geopoliticians – but to a larger number of Yugoslav intellectuals.

The evolution of political geography into geopolitics began with Kjellén. However, the relationship between the two concepts remained blurred throughout the interwar period. Some geographers saw them as interchangeable while others insisted that the dynamic and active role of geopolitics differentiated it from the merely descriptive and “static” political geography. The issue was debated in Yugoslavia as well. Lukas followed Haushofer’s differentiation “between the static category of power-state in political geography and the dynamic but earthbound policy of geopolitics.”²⁰ In the late 1920s, writing on one of his favorite topics – the relation of the national question and geopolitics – he commented on the difference between the two related disciplines, clearly favoring geopolitics:

Political geography, as established by Ratzel and somewhat elaborated by [Otto] Maull, is a science of the geographical being and the form of the state, and a science of the state in its dependence on the natural and cultural landscapes. [Karl] Haushofer thus defined geopolitics: geopolitics is a science of the state in its natural living environment, as dependent and conditioned by historical movements. It can be seen from this definition that geopolitics is a natural as much as a spiritual science; it is applied political geography.²¹

Geopolitics examines the relation between the space and political strength. It does not inquire about how the space acts, Lukas warned, but only about the “direction” of development and dynamic power.

In the late 1930s, Lukas again stressed the difference between descriptive political geography and action- and future-orientated geopolitics. Unlike political geography, geopolitics “does not study the state only according to its location, form, and boundaries; ethnic, economic, and transportation situation, but its task is to point out how all these moments served spatially-conditioned politics.”²² Rather than as an idiographic discipline, Lukas saw geopolitics, if

¹⁸ Kost, “Conception of Politics,” 376.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 376.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 374.

²¹ Filip Lukas, “Naš narodni problem s geopolitičkog gledišta,” *Hrvatska revija* 2, no. 8 (1929): 84.

²² Filip Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” *Hrvatska revija* 11, no. 5 (1938): 225.

rigorously applied, as a nomothetic discipline that could “express not only what exists in present, but also what can – according to the space, location, and internal powers in the state and nation – be expected in the future.”²³

Although geopolitics was one of the most influential geographical paradigms in the interwar period, geopoliticians – even the German geographers who set the pace of development of the discipline, including Karl Haushofer (1869-1946)²⁴ – did not agree upon its definition. The ambiguity was transferred to Yugoslavia as an inherent element of the “paradigm.” Lukas mostly relied on Haushofer’s understanding of geopolitics but was at the same time still embedded in the older, Ratzel’s and Kjellén’s paradigms. For instance, Lukas stated that “geopolitics is both a natural and a spiritual science whose problematic begins with the question whether the natural conditions – the space, land, position, and boundaries – are sufficient for a healthy development of the people and the state, and which of these conditions needs to be changed with as little invested energy as possible.”²⁵ Regardless of this definitional ambiguity, by the late 1930s Lukas’ targeted readership was already fairly acquainted with the concept of geopolitics – and not only through his works.

Geographers in Yugoslavia understood just how fragile the newly created state was, and many of them were directly engaged in presenting the three central categories – the space, the shape, and the boundaries – of Yugoslavia as “natural” and sustainable. At the same time, a number of Croatian geographers (while Lukas was the most exposed representative of this trend, he was not the only one) started developing an anti-Yugoslav attitude that became noticeable in the geopolitical treatment of Yugoslavia in their works. They understood that the Croatian state, although it had continuously existed for over a millennium, was not independent and definitely not a power. For this reason, the geopolitical visions of Filip Lukas and several other Croatian geopolitically orientated geographers primarily dealt with the categories such as national culture and national spirit. Although Lukas often mentioned the state in geopolitical

²³ Ibid., 225. In the mid-1990s, a commentator on Ivo Pilar’s *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja: geopolitička studija*, Petar Vučić, repeated such an understanding of geopolitics, with a similar political agenda, claiming: “Geopolitics is not only a black, irrational nationalist and hegemonic and, therefore, negative social doctrine that only serves hegemony as a justification for grabbing and conquering other’s territories. It is, above all, a ‘positive’ science, that geopolitically raises the awareness of a people and facilitates its geopolitical self-realization: who [the people] is, of what kind and magnitude its strength is, what are its main weaknesses and advantages, who are its main enemies, and what is its geopolitical capacity, what are its geopolitical interests and intentions, as well as all other its geopolitical characteristics. Accordingly, geopolitics shows the way to a people and chances to preserve its interest and resolve its national question.” Petar Vučić, preface to Ivo Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja: geopolitička studija* (Zagreb: Consilium, 1995), v.

²⁴ Henning Heske, “Karl Haushofer: His Role in German Geopolitics and in Nazi Politics,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1987): 136.

²⁵ Quoted in Nikola Peršić, preface to *Država kao oblik života*, by Rudolf Kjellén (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943), xxi.

works since the mid-1920s, these would be better described as the geopolitics of the national culture rather than of the national state.

The emphasis on the state as a geopolitical category was more pronounced during the period between 1941 and 1945 when the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*) existed – although as a puppet-state of the Axis powers – but even then, the importance of the national culture did not fade. Precisely because of the weakness of the contemporary Croatian state, the categories of national and cultural territory remained fundamental for the geopolitical discourse. This was mostly because they referred to the territories once or currently inhabited by the Croats, bearing traits of Croatian culture – material culture, language, or simply the national feelings – or the territories that belonged to the Croatian state through history.

4.2. Improving the geographical literacy of the nation

Geopoliticians saw the geographical education of the nation as one of their main tasks. The Matica played a prominent role in this process. During the presidency of Filip Lukas, between 1928 and 1945, geographical visions of the Croatian nation became more important than ever before. The trend, however, was not specifically Croatian. Within Yugoslavia, the educational aims of geopolitics were arguably best articulated in Croatia, but the geographical associations in Belgrade and Ljubljana, alongside the professional geographers working at the universities or high schools – who formed the backbone of geographical associations – played a comparable role. Following David Harvey's claim that the "attachment to a certain conception of space and time is a political decision, and the historical geography of space and time reveals it so to be,"²⁶ the nature of the geographical language constructed and used in interwar Yugoslavia, which conveyed the political conceptions of time and space, must be examined.

The works and ideas of the most renowned geopolitician of the interwar period, Karl Haushofer, as well as of his spiritual fathers, Ratzel and Penck, were well known to Yugoslav geographers and parts of the general public. Haushofer's *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, launched in 1924, was mentioned in professional publications in Yugoslavia less frequently than some older and more established periodicals such as *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* and *Geographischer Anzeiger-Blätter für den geographischen Unterricht*. Nevertheless, it

²⁶ David Harvey, "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 3 (1990): 432.

gathered the attention of many Yugoslav geographers with articles concerning the southeastern boundaries of the German *Volks-* and *Kulturboden* and as a forum where the philosophical and methodological foundations of this new and appealing discipline were articulated.

According to John H. Paterson, Haushofer envisioned geopoliticians as educators – “not of an intellectual or party elite, but of a *nation*. The aim was to educate the nation’s space-consciousness, and the methods were adapted to this end. They wrote for a general readership.”²⁷ The *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* was “sold on news-stands and occasionally printed contributions from, for example, soldiers serving abroad.”²⁸ The case of the *Matica hrvatska* under Lukas was somewhat comparable. Influencing geographic literacy was one of the most pressing tasks for geopoliticians in Yugoslavia, and especially Lukas. He offered a new perspective and addressed particular Croatian social and political circumstances by using geopolitical discourse, thus consolidating rather than challenging the political, social, and cultural self-perception of the Croatian conservative and rightwing political movements.

Certain further parallels regarding the mission of educating the population beyond a narrow scientific circle can be drawn between *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* and journals such as the Zagreb-based *Hrvatska revija* (published by the *Matica hrvatska*), or even the Ljubljana-based *Misel in delo–kulturna in socijalna revija* and *Čas–Znanstvena revija ‘Leonove družbe’*. *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* was, strictly speaking, not a scientific journal. One of its most important traits was its relatively wide and easy accessibility, uncharacteristic for most established scientific journals. In the early 1930s, the plan was to increase its circulation from 3,000 to 4,000 copies, and circulation rose to 7,500 copies by the early 1940s.²⁹ Haushofer “propagandized tirelessly for geopolitical ideas, broadcasting regularly on the radio and flooding Germany with Geopolitical books and articles.”³⁰ Many political-geographical and geopolitical works in Yugoslavia were published in non-academic journals. *Hrvatska revija*, started in 1928, played a special role in increasing geographical literacy in Croatia. Together with the geographical and geopolitically inclined monographs published by *Matica hrvatska*, the volume and focus on spatial aspects of the Croatian nation as well as the clear political implications of articles published in *Hrvatska revija* reveal how beneficial the position outside the primary circle of established academia for reaching a wider population could be.

²⁷ J.H. Paterson, “German Geopolitics Reassessed,” *Political Geography Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1987): 111. Emphasis in the original.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁹ Heske, “Karl Haushofer,” 139-40; David T. Murphy, “Hitler’s Geostrategist?: The Myth of Karl Haushofer and the ‘Institut für Geopolitik.’” *The Historian* 76, no. 1 (2014): 23.

³⁰ Murphy, “Hitler’s Geostrategist,” 15.

However, the impact of German geopoliticians both on policy-makers and on the wider audience in Germany has been questioned, and they are no longer considered to have had a decisive influence.³¹ Similarly, for instance, to claim that Ivo Pilar, Milan Šufflay, or Filip Lukas directly influenced the geopolitical visions of the Croatian fascist regime – although they raised issues that would become prominent during the Second World War – would be overstressing the argument. Although it is difficult to establish the precise number of copies of cultural-political journals in circulation in interwar Yugoslavia – many of which were short-lived³² – it is unlikely that they could have addressed a genuinely wide readership.

During the interwar period, German geopoliticians hoped that “geopolitics would educate the general public in the necessary political thought, in order to prevent an incorrect view of the world political situation, which Haushofer and his colleagues saw as the reason for the German disaster in World War I.”³³ Similarly, Lukas wanted to educate the Croatian public so Croats would understand their sensitive geopolitical position in a transitional zone between the East and the West, so they could tell their friends from their enemies. His intention mirrored Albrecht Penck’s famous statement “knowledge is power, geographical knowledge is world-power” (*Wissen ist Macht, geographisches Wissen ist Weltmacht*),³⁴ albeit on a significantly smaller scale and with no pretensions to world-power. Other Yugoslav geographers shared the understanding of the importance of geographical knowledge for the sustainability of the nation and its future development.

Even children in Yugoslavia were affected by the project of raising geopolitical literacy. A uniquely illustrative example was a series of articles on the geography of Yugoslavia and its neighbors published on the pages of a Slovenian magazine for children and youth, *Zvonček* (Little Bell), in 1931 and 1932. A Slovene geographer Roman Savnik (1902-1987) warned that the main culprits for the German defeat in the First World War were German schoolteachers, because German youth had “for years and years listened only to the praise of their own people, [while] they have seen and known nothing about the foreign lands.”³⁵ Savnik urged his young readers to get to know the strengths and deficiencies of their own country and of its neighbors – Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Romania. Adjusted to the age of the audience, Savnik’s articles were encyclopedic overviews with basic information and,

³¹ Murphy, *Heroic Earth*.

³² Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije: 1918-1988* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 1:329-30.

³³ Heske, “Karl Haushofer,” 137.

³⁴ Albrecht Penck, “Der Krieg und das Studium der Geographie,” pts. 1 and 2, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, no. 3(1916): 158-76, no. 4 (1916): 222-48; here 227.

³⁵ Roman Savnik, “Jugoslavija in njene sosede: 1. Albanija,” *Zvoček* 33, no. 1 (1931): 6.

occasionally, impressions from the author's travels through the countries mentioned. But, especially in the case of Italy, there was a pervasive implication of a relationship between geography (particularly size, location, and economic strength of the country) and power. With an effective illustration, relations between the size of the territory and the size of the population of each country in relation to Yugoslavia were presented.

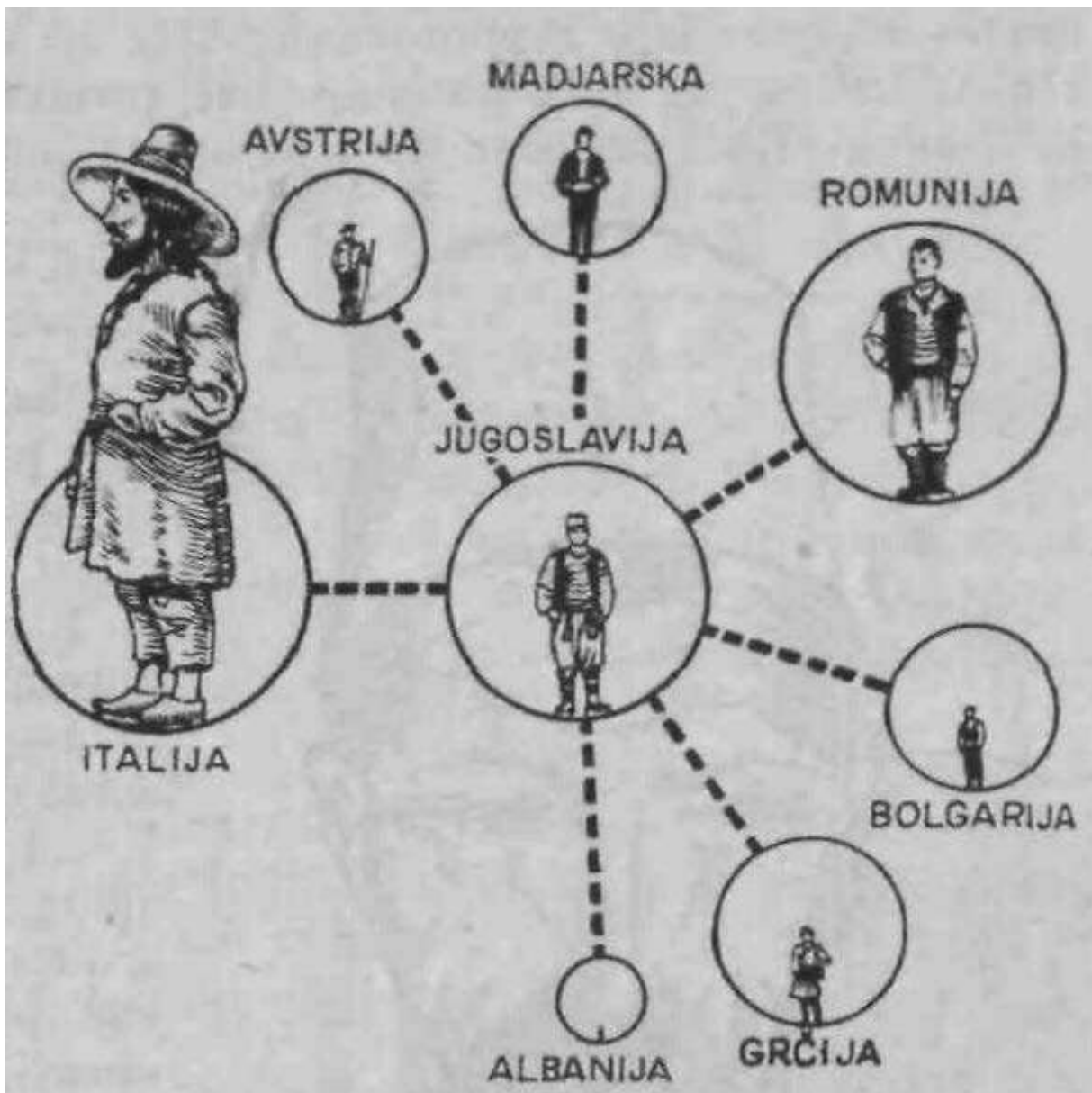


Figure 4.1. While adjusted to the readership of the magazine *Zvonček* (children and youth), the illustration nonetheless depicts relations between some of the central issues of contemporary political geography and geopolitics: geographical location, size of territory, and population. All three categories are depicted relative to Yugoslavia. Taken from Roman Savnik, "Jugoslavija in njene sosede: 1. Albanija." *Zvonček* 33, no. 1 (1931): 7.

Most Yugoslav geographers agreed that the Balkan peoples, although small and peripheral, have to be aware of global political tendencies, particularly because they occupied a transitional area where all large political struggles would eventually be manifested in full force. The perceived importance of such a geopolitical position produced a sense of involvement in larger processes, which could even be described as delusions of self-importance.³⁶ Yugoslav geographers frequently mentioned the Adriatic Sea and the Morava-Vardar valley as the main communication routes connecting the body of Europe with Asia Minor in the context of Yugoslavia's importance for global, or at least European, affairs. The great powers, they argued, especially those with colonial possessions in Asia and Africa, should be considerate toward Yugoslavia as it was not only one of the guarantors of the Versailles system, but a factor of regional and even global stability. At the same time, political forces opposing the centralist regime in Yugoslavia employed the same line of reasoning. For instance, they believed that stability in Croatia, which could be achieved by acquiring more autonomy, was a precondition for the stability of larger geographical units. It was in the interest of the great powers to, if not directly support, than at least empathize with the Croatian cause.

In the opinion of Nikola Peršić, an associate of Lukas, geopolitics should provide a useful education in practical politics. In 1943, amidst the Second World War, in an introduction to the Croatian translation of Rudolf Kjellén's classic *Der Staat als Lebensform*, Peršić stated:

In any case, this work will come in handy primarily for the younger Croatian intelligentsia for their education in political reasoning, to understand the concept, form, and functions of the state, and to assess the global geopolitical problems maturely. The entire world is a stage, and the connectedness of most remote events became more than obvious in this horrible war.³⁷

The sense of involvement in larger processes that was already felt during the First World War became again acute in the Second World War. This time, however, there was even less of a possibility for the active politics that Lukas and Peršić called for. After April 1941, Italy and the Third Reich divided the Slovenian lands between themselves, the *Wehrmacht* occupied Serbia and Bulgarian army Macedonia, and the Independent State of Croatia was dependent on the goodwill of its Axis sponsors, and was successfully challenged by the domestic Partisan

³⁶ Especially illustrative was Jovan Cvijić's appeal to European powers to support Serbia in the 1908 crisis over the Austro-Hungarian official annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lest a war between the two countries destabilized the whole continent. The events on June and July 1914, after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo that triggered the First World War, proved him right. See Jovan Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine i srpski problem* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1908). On the other hand, Filip Lukas argued that Croatia's mission as a bridge between the East and West was in the interest of European culture. See Lukas, "Naš narodni problem s geopolitičkog gledišta," 94.

³⁷ Peršić, preface to *Država kao oblik života*, xxii.

resistance movement.

Yet, whereas political, cultural, and scientific life in Slovenia and Serbia was mostly repressed during the Second World War, some of the cultural and scientific institutions in the Independent State of Croatia continued to work with little or no disruptions during most of the war. Two institutions of greatest importance for this study, which continued or even expanded their enterprises in this period, were the University of Zagreb and Matica hrvatska. Višeslav Aralica has shown in detail the development of the Matica in the last years of the first Yugoslavia, including the ambivalent relations with the autonomous Banovina Hrvatska (1939-1941) and relations between the Matica and the Ustasha regime (1941-1945).³⁸

During the Second World War, the publishing enterprise of the Matica hrvatska expanded: between April 1941 and May 1945, the Matica hrvatska published one hundred and twenty-two titles.³⁹ Of course, only a small fragment of this number referred to geographical or ethnological works. Besides *Zemljopis Hrvatske* (Geography of Croatia),⁴⁰ which was remarkable for its scope and the collaboration of a large number of intellectuals and scientists of various political affiliations, several translations of foreign works reinforce the picture of the Matica hrvatska as one of the most important centers of production of geopolitical knowledge in Yugoslavia and later in the Independent State of Croatia. Not only a center of geopolitical production, for that matter, but a wider inter-related complex of political geography and theory of the state. Wilhelm Mühlmann's *Rat i mir: uvođenje u političku etnologiju* (War and peace: a guide to political ethnology),⁴¹ Carl Schmitt's *Pojam politike i ostale rasprave* (The concept of politics and other essays),⁴² Rudolf Kjellén's geopolitical classic *Država kao oblik života: suvremena teorija o državi* (State as a form of life: contemporary theory of the state),⁴³ and Gordon East's *Poviestni zemljopis Europe* (Historical geography of Europe)⁴⁴ were translated

³⁸ Višeslav Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁰ Zvonimir Dugački, ed. *Zemljopis Hrvatske: opći dio*, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1942).

⁴¹ Wilhelm Mühlmann, *Rat i mir: uvođenje u političku etnologiju* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943); the original was Mühlmann, *Krieg und Frieden: Ein Leitfaden der politischen Ethnologie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1940).

⁴² Carl Schmitt, *Pojam politike i ostale rasprave* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943); the original was Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*, 4th ed. (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1933).

⁴³ Rudolf Kjellén, *Država kao oblik života: suvremena teorija o državi* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943); the original was Kjellén, *Der Staat als Lebensform* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1917), but the translator, Fran Magjarević, also consulted the Swedish original from 1916.

⁴⁴ Gordon East, *Poviestni zemljopis Europe* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1944); the original was East, *An Historical Geography of Europe* (London: Methuen, 1935). Besides the titles mentioned, works by Friedrich Meinecke, Ortega y Gasset, Adolf Weber, Lucien Febvre, John Maynard Keynes, and others authors were either published or translated and edited but not published. See Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 143-47.

and published. Besides these, one of the most influential contemporary treatises on geopolitics, Otto Maull's *Što je geopolitika* (What is geopolitics), was published by a different publisher.⁴⁵

Aralica emphasizes the role of Zlatko Gašparović (1913-1995) in Matica's publications during the Second World War. As a translator and editor of one of Matica's series of publications, "Prosvjetno-politička knjižnica" (Educational-political library), Gašparović translated and wrote the introduction to Carl Schmitt's *Pojam politike*.⁴⁶ In 1938-1939, he studied at the London School of Economics where he was, according to Aralica, very likely to have attended the lectures of the geographer William Gordon East (1902-1998). Gašparović was responsible for the 1944 translation of East's *An Historical Geography of Europe*, which Alan Baker described as "a sweeping geographical synthesis not only of political and territorial history but also of economic and social change."⁴⁷

There were two interventions in East's book: Josip Horvat's supplement, "Zemljopisni uvjeti hrvatske države" (Geographical conditions of the Croatian state) and Tijas Mortiga's supplement on Dubrovnik.⁴⁸ Bearing in mind prevalent contemporary political attitudes, it comes as no surprise that the historian and journalist Josip Horvat (1896-1968) used the opportunity to reinforce the line of division between Serbs and Croats. In doing so, he was not innovative – rather, he repeated many of the points previously made by Ivo Pilar and especially Lukas, which fell on fertile ground with many right-wing Croatian intellectuals. In a historical rather than a geographical discourse – which was a narrative strategy partially characteristic for Lukas as well – Horvat stressed that the "delineation between the eastern and western part of the Roman Empire occurred not as a result of a war or struggle, but completely freely, on the basis of political experience and an assessment of geographical and cultural facts."⁴⁹ In a somewhat dramatic tone, Horvat continued by saying:

The subsequent historical development of this area confirmed the accuracy of the opinions of [the emperor] Theodosius' experts for demarcation. Among all the political cyclones that swept through this area, Theodosius' boundary emerged as a constant after

⁴⁵ Otto Maull, *Što je geopolitika?* (Zagreb: Rad, 1941); the original was Maull, *Das Wesen der Geopolitik* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1936).

⁴⁶ Aralica claims that Gašparović's introduction was descriptive and did not show signs of sympathy for Schmitt's ideas – rather, he interpreted it "as part of the critique of the modern era." According to Aralica, this was yet another manifestation of the mitigation of Matica's political radicalism in the second part of the war which would end in an – unconvincing – refutation of his extreme nationalism and affiliation with the fascist regime at the end of the war. Aralica, *Matica Hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 169.

⁴⁷ Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 176.

⁴⁸ Josip Horvat, "Zemljopisni uvjeti hrvatske države," in East, *Poviestni zemljopis Europe*, supplement A-G, between pp. 148-49. Horvat was a historian and journalist, said to have been close to liberal ideas and a member of the Free Masons; Tijas Mortiga, "Dubrovnik," in East, *Poviestni zemljopis Europe*, 159-60.

⁴⁹ Horvat, "Zemljopisni uvjeti hrvatske države," A.

all the earthquakes, repeatedly confirming that, regarding the delineation of a region, the laws of the nature cannot be modified without detrimental [effects].⁵⁰

Most Croatian nationalists saw the river Drina as a multifold boundary, which efficiently divided Serbs and Croats as well as two worlds. It was seen as more than an imaginary line confined to the realm of symbolic geography, and the non-geographer Horvat embraced the logic of “naturalizing” the boundaries of the Croatian national space. Following Lukas’ lead, he pointed that the mountains west to the Drina are a natural part and continuation of the Alps, which is obvious from their orientation and geological composition. “According to geologists Kossmat, Kober, Nopce, and Nowack, according to its geological composition and tectonics these mountains belong to the Alpine orogeny,⁵¹ and in tectonic-stratigraphic aspect fully correspond to the eastern Alps.”⁵² Therefore, the laws of the nature as well as the will of the people once again spoke against unity of Serbs and Croats.

Ironically, in reaffirming the Croatian individuality, Horvat repeated some of Cvijić’s observations and conclusions on the impact of the environment on people, especially on the formation of cultural and ethnic communities and their innate characteristics. The mountains exerted a decisive influence on the local population, making it extremely conservative and hostile to changes due to the isolation. Horvat did not go into details regarding the ethnopsychology, but his text bore unmistakable marks of the influence of Cvijić’s works, which were understood as one of the foundations of the Great-Serbian nationalist ideology. Several motifs that Horvat employed also point to Lukas’ influence: the notions of Croatia as a transitional area, its position between the East and the West, the North and the South, and the historical task that such a position brings. Atop of this was a dual – maritime and continental – orientation of the Croatian national space, formed under a triple climatic and geomorphologic composition: the Adriatic littoral, the Balkan mountains, and the Pannonian plains. This reveals to what extent Lukas’ geographical visions of the Croatian nation influenced people of outside a narrow circle of professional geographers and shows that his ideas became accepted as a dominant narrative linking science and politics.

Translations of the works of Mühlmann and Kjellén were especially interesting regarding the issue of geopolitical literacy of the Croatian intelligentsia. Filip Lukas was not, at least not directly, involved in the mentioned publications. Nevertheless, they represent a continuation of the direction of geographical thinking that Lukas had been developing since the

⁵⁰ Ibid., A.

⁵¹ Orogeny is the process of mountain formation.

⁵² Ibid., B.

mid-1920s (although some of its basic elements were visible in his earliest works from the beginning of the century), and which became the dominant geographical narrative of the Croatian nation within the *Matica hrvatska*, but also in a wider public sphere.⁵³ Mühlmann's political ethnology and Kjellén's geopolitics were similar in many aspects, which are worth examining in the Croatian and Yugoslav context.

The introduction by Nikola Peršić, one of Lukas' closest associates at the Economic-Commercial School in Zagreb, reveals to what extent the Croatian interwar geographers accepted Kjellén's ideas. When published in Croatian in 1943, Kjellén's classic was hardly a novelty to many of its readers in Croatia or in the other parts of then nonexistent Yugoslavia. Professional geographers were at least superficially familiar with it, which was visible in a number of overviews of the development of political geography and geopolitics, but so was the intelligentsia in general. Through references to him and his ideas appeared in press and especially in prominent "cultural-political" journals such as *Hrvatska revija*, *Nova Evropa*, *Čas*, or *Misel in delo*, an even larger section of population came in touch with Kjellén's interpretation of geopolitics. A relatively wide-spread knowledge of the German language among the educated population and close connections to the German "cultural circle" inherited from the Habsburg period – including the tradition of studying in Austria and Germany – further contributed to Kjellén's prominence in the Yugoslav and especially Croatian public sphere well before 1943.

Since Kjellén dealt with a relatively high level of abstraction in his works – and in 1916/1917 had not anticipated the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, let alone the creation of a composite South Slavic state – he was of little direct use for geographical-cum-political confrontations in Yugoslavia. A specific form of relations between Yugoslav and foreign geographical traditions is revealed in full in the case of Kjellén as well as Ratzel. Such works provided a theoretical and methodological framework and conceptual vocabulary, rather than observations and conclusions about a specific region. As will be shown, by relying upon the foundations created by prominent figures like Ratzel and Kjellén, the local geographers "translated" them to address the Yugoslav – or Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian – situation, made their own observations, and drew their own conclusions. Such was the case with Kjellén, whose most attentive readers in Yugoslavia were the Croats Ivo Pilar and Filip Lukas.

The work of the anthropologist and ethnographer, Wilhelm Mühlmann (1904-1988),

⁵³ Aralica also correctly concludes that the publication of Kjellén's work was influenced by Lukas. Aralica describes this connection as "probable," but it was in fact beyond any doubt, and this was not the only example of Lukas' influence on the geographical discourse. Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 138.

who was at the time a docent teaching *Völkerkunde* and *Völkerpsychologie* at the University of Berlin, was less known to a Yugoslav professional and general audience. Still, some of his ideas resonated with numerous intellectuals who saw the war as a necessary evil that could cleanse and reinvigorate the decadent Western civilization. Mühlmann combined studies of race, ethnology, and sociology; in the work *Rat i mir* (War and Peace), he linked the psychological characteristics of “natural” (primitive) and “cultural” (developed, primarily Western) peoples, in a manner that could be compared to Adolf Bastian’s concept of *Grundgedanken* (elementary thoughts).⁵⁴ According to Mühlmann, “all fantasies of a happy and peaceful condition of nature, where all people are brothers, originate with Rousseau, that prototype of all half-educated people and the enemy of science.”⁵⁵ Refuting the idea of an inherent conflict between the fighting-political and spiritual-cultural principles, Mühlmann not only praised the spiritual warrior type but also, based on an examination of “primitive” people, argued that “war with foreign communities represents a normal condition, while on the contrary, peace is only an exceptional situation defined by a specific agreement.”⁵⁶ Lukas had made a similar argument almost two decades earlier: “Unconditional pacifism is counter-historical because history is created only through action and fight; it is immoral, because by suffocating the awareness and will in the face of peril among the masses, it kills strength and virtue – and thus destroys all the higher morality of life.”⁵⁷ Voicing the concerns of many intellectuals who had experienced the instability of interwar Germany – an experience that they shared with their peers throughout Europe – Mühlmann concluded, “A decisive victory ends crises. In contrast, an indecisive war prolongs the crises across the formal end of the war and allows them to thrive longer; it is in fact a manifestation of helplessness.”⁵⁸

The Croatian ethnographer Mirko Kus-Nikolajev (1896-1961),⁵⁹ curator at the Ethnographic museum in Zagreb, where he briefly worked with Milovan Gavazzi, wrote the introduction to Mühlmann’s book. The introduction offers a valuable insight into the reception of radical political ideas with a pronounced scientific background among a younger (younger than Lukas but older than Gašparović, for instance) generation of Croatian scientists that were

⁵⁴ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 204.

⁵⁵ Mühlmann, *Rat i mir*, 3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵⁷ Filip Lukas, “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: Hrvatskome narodu, njegovima prošlim naraštajima na spomen, sadašnjima i budućim na pobudu; O tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, ed. Frane Bulić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925), 49-50.

⁵⁸ Mühlmann, *Rat i mir*, 192.

⁵⁹ Reana Senjković, “Forgotten: Mirko Kus-Nikolajev: A Contribution to an Early Theory on Folklore Visual Art Expression,” *Narodna umjetnost* 37, no. 1 (2000): 177-196.

connected to the Matica hrvatska.⁶⁰ Race – though in a primary focus of only a handful of Yugoslav scientists⁶¹ – was one of the central concepts in contemporary German anthropogeography and, as might be expected, anthropology.⁶² It was not Kus-Nikolajev's primary field of interest, yet he described Mühlmann's work as a welcome incorporation of racial issues within a sociologically-inclined (he especially stressed this aspect) anthropology. "The environmental world," Kus-Nikolajev argued, "finds its strongest systematic expression in the cultural horizon of a given race."⁶³

Kus-Nikolajev praised Mühlmann's approach that examined geophysical and anthropological factors, social environment and the latest psychological ideas regarding the subconscious by placing the society and the personality in an accurate perspective. Already the First World War shattered beliefs of many ethnologists in the unified human kind and perpetual moral ascent of man. Now was the time to go further, and the examination of contemporary primitive cultures could help to get rid of the idea that the primitive peoples are ahistorical, that their culture has always been the same and that it is changing only now through an encounter with Western man. "That presumption is incorrect," Kus-Nikolajev argued, much in the line of the diffusionists who had challenged the unilinear development of the human kind; "primitive peoples have their history just as we do, but we are mostly ignorant of it."⁶⁴ At the same time, Kus-Nikolajev was skeptical of the methodological and theoretical foundations of the *Kulturkreislehre* (*teorija kulturnih krugova*).⁶⁵ If many cultural traits are so ephemeral, he claimed that one should then be careful when establishing cultural connections and dependent relations as well as constructing cultural circles. Despite this caveat, he did not refute the culture-historical paradigm. On the contrary, he employed it in his works on folk ornaments.⁶⁶

The relative diversity of foreign scientific works that the Matica hrvatska translated and published in the late 1930s and the early 1940s should not be seen as a random or incoherent publishing program, but as a manifestation of a variety of often competing anthropogeographical trends that the intellectuals and scientists involved in the work of the

⁶⁰ Mirko Kus-Nikolajev, preface to *Rat i mir: uvodjenje u političku etnologiju*, by Wilhelm Mühlmann (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943), iii-xv.

⁶¹ For instance, the Slovenian anthropologist Božo Škerlj (1908-1961) and the Serbian ethnologist and physician Branimir Maleš were among the rare scientists who focused on physical-anthropological studies of race.

⁶² This, however, was not the case in the United States, where Franz Boas set a different direction for anthropology. American anthropologists successfully challenged racial stereotypes and established a relativist approach to the study of culture. See Roger Sanjek, "Boas, Franz," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2010), 88-91.

⁶³ Kus-Nikolajev, preface to *Rat i mir*, vii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii.

⁶⁶ Senjković, "Forgotten: Mirko Kus-Nikolajev," 178.

Matica hrvatska followed. Despite Lukas' influence, there was no singular scientific approach that was perceived as uniquely appropriate for the nationalist cause, just as there was no one single understanding of the nation – rather a number of related and complementary approaches, many of which were subsumed under the broad category of geopolitics.

4.3. Search for the natural boundaries of Yugoslavia

The redrawing of the political map of Europe and its overseas territories after the First World War gave a strong impetus to the development of geopolitics. Germany remained one of the centers of this process, but this time German intellectuals, including geographers, were dealing with the significantly shrunken power-basis of their state. Guntram Herb has revealed the deep involvement of a large number of German geographers – some of whom were specialists in seemingly “apolitical” branches of geography such as geomorphology – in contesting the Versailles boundaries during the Weimar Republic.⁶⁷ Herb has argued that the extent of the greater German nation was set in the period immediately after the Great War – not, as might be expected, during the development of German nationalism since the mid-nineteenth century or after the establishment of the Nazi regime. In a cartographic sense, after 1918 the German nation was rarely depicted on linguistic or ethnological maps but more frequently on geopolitical maps, which focused on economic and military issues, and on ethnic-cultural maps. The “map campaign” of the 1920s brought together “*völkisch* activists advocating the supremacy of Germans” and “geographers – experts on territorial aspects of the German nation.”⁶⁸ According to Herb, “imbued with scientific respectability, cartographic representations were the only means to convey a clear image of the boundaries of German national territory. As a result, the discourse of German self-determination became thoroughly cartographic.”⁶⁹

Herb's work points to one of the specificities of Yugoslav geography – the relative lack of cartographic representations. According to him, “defining the limits of a nation without the help of graphic images is difficult, if not impossible. Even if references are made to natural

⁶⁷ Guntram H. Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda, 1918-1945* (London, New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

landscape features, the message is rarely clear or unambiguous.”⁷⁰ Ethnographic maps were a powerful instrument at the Paris Peace Conference 1919 as well as in scientific and popular discourses throughout Europe after the Great War. Yet, as mentioned before, maps played a surprisingly marginal role in Yugoslavia. The absence of detailed mapping was not the result of a lack of expertise, but primarily of the high prices of map-making and a small market.⁷¹ Thus, when talking about the involvement of geographers in the nation-building project(s) in interwar Yugoslavia, Martin Brückner’s parenthetical and rhetorical question as to whether “there is no nation without a map or geography *text*”⁷² (he implied the answer is no) can be seen as pointing to two constitutive elements of the geographical narration of the nation. For, if there was a relative shortage of maps, nationalist narratives in Yugoslavia surely did not lack geographical textual description.

Understanding the state as a living organism comprising people and land, German geographers emphasized the need to “bring political boundaries into agreement with the natural environment.”⁷³ The concepts of geo-organic unity, the negative definition of territory (stressing that the current territory is insufficient and needs to be enlarged and shaped in a way that would make defense easier), and the *Volks-* and *Kulturboden* were introduced. Albrecht Penck combined the older concept of *Volksboden*, which indicated a territory inhabited by members of the ethnic group, with *Kulturboden*, which indicated a territory where the cultural traits of a group can be observed, and which in the east reached further than the *Volksboden*.⁷⁴ Initially grounded in the cultural landscape, the *Volksboden* concept moved toward the *Blut und Boden* concept.⁷⁵

Since the early nineteenth century, geographers had shown an interest in natural boundaries and units. In the words of Richard Hartshorne, “for a time, such definite natural boundaries appeared to be provided by drainage basins sharply separated by the ‘network of

⁷⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁷¹ For instance, the creators of all the maps of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes that Roman Savnik reviewed in 1925 were Yugoslavs. Roman Savnik, “Pregled doslej izdanih jugoslovanskih zemljevidov Države SHS in Balkanskega polotoka,” *Geografski vestnik* 1 (1925): 148-59.

⁷² Martin Brückner, “Lessons in Geography: Maps, Spellers, and Other Grammars of Nationalism in the Early Republic,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (1999): 341, emphasis in the original; cf. Schulten, *Geographical Imagination in America*, 19.

⁷³ Herb, *Under the Map of Germany*, 51.

⁷⁴ Hans-Dietrich Schultz, “‘Ein wachsendes Volk braucht Raum’. Albrecht Penck als politischer Geograph,” in *1810–2010: 200 Jahre Geographie in Berlin an der Universität zu Berlin (ab 1810), Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (ab 1828), Universität Berlin (ab 1946), Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (ab 1949)*, ed. Bernhard Nitz, Hans-Dietrich Schultz, and Marlies Schultz, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Geographisches Institut der Humboldt-Universität, 2011), 99-153.

⁷⁵ Herb, *Under the Map of Germany*, 138.

mountains', and, of course, by the seas. As increased knowledge of the actual conditions of the earth's surface made this theory untenable, the problem of finding 'natural boundaries' for such 'natural units' of area became much more difficult."⁷⁶ Attempts to determine the natural boundaries of Yugoslavia as a natural unit were, with varying success, in the focus of many geographical works on Yugoslavia.

The French historian and linguist Emile Haumant (1895-1942) embraced the dominant political-geographical narrative of Yugoslavia. Just as with the contribution of Yves Chataigneau,⁷⁷ Haumant's contribution to the debate on the "naturalness" and sustainability of Yugoslavia as a geographic unit was particularly welcomed because he, as a foreigner – and a professor at the Sorbonne, no less – lent additional authority to the whole project for the naturalization of Yugoslavia. Haumant responded to claims that Yugoslavia's shape is too long and insufficiently wide, that its boundaries are arbitrary and disproportionate, and that it lacks cohesion. He wanted to "show that the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is not a mere ethnographic concept; that it contains reasons to continue to exist in its structure; that its natural condition is unity rather than disunity; that its boundaries, which could have been better, are nevertheless equal to that of many other states – in a word, that [Yugoslavia] is not an unstable combination nor an ethnographic monster that frightens Europe."⁷⁸

Haumant's text shows he was an attentive reader of Cvijić. It is important to notice that Haumant focused on the space, shape, and location of Yugoslavia. This suggests that these "German" concepts, as Svetozar Ilešić would later present them, had a certain appeal for French academics as well (although Haumant himself was not a trained geographer). Beside the notion of the patriarchal civilization or "regime,"⁷⁹ Haumant accepted Cvijić's assessment of the openness of the peninsula, but also drew a parallel with the other parts of Europe: "The Alps and the Pyrenees in the middle, they separate the land in compartments none of which is wide enough or sufficiently well-positioned to rule the peninsula. How to create a unity out of this chaos?"⁸⁰ All the rulers of the Balkan Peninsula – Greeks, Romans, Celts, Goths, Avars, Bulgarians, Byzantines, and Ottomans – had never fully united it: "The Balkan Peninsula is so poorly made for unity that it was never united, if nothing else not by the foreign conquerors

⁷⁶ Hartshorne, *Nature of Geography*, 44-45.

⁷⁷ Yves Chataigneau, "La Yougoslavie," *Annales de Géographie* 30, no. 164 (1921): 81-110.

⁷⁸ Emile Haumant, "La constitution géographique de la Yougoslavie," in *Bulićev zbornik: naučni prilozii posvećeni Frani Buliću prigodom LXXV. godišnjice njegova života od učenika i prijatelja*, ed. M. Abramčić and V. Hoffiller (Zagreb-Split: Narodne novine, 1924), *Ibid.*, 647.

⁷⁹ Jovan Cvijić, "The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula," *Geographical Review* 5, no. 6 (1918): 480.

⁸⁰ Haumant, "La constitution géographique de la Yougoslavie," 647.

who wanted to quickly subjugate it. If they disappeared, the littoral and sub-peninsulas would keep living their lives while in the interior a fight between the plains of the East and massifs of the West begins anew.”⁸¹

However, that was not the case with Yugoslavia. Despite all the differences in physical and cultural landscape and climate, Haumant observed common motifs and built his geographical narrative on them. Not a professional geographer, he employed a more poetic discourse – which was nonetheless closely related to geomorphology – to describe Yugoslavia’s position and composition. Yugoslavia was thus a mountainous “citadel” whose contrasts and disorder easily disturb the observer. Between white rocks to the west and golden plains to the north, Yugoslavia is green, but becomes barren and white toward the south again. Yet, among the tamed lowlands of the north and wild mountains of the south, Haumant perceived a method in this madness. Within this labyrinth, there are valleys that overflow one into the other, and urban centers have been formed in these valleys. The most important of these was Belgrade; in the sixty-kilometer radius around it the rivers Drava, Sava, Tisa, and Morava flow into the Danube and “form another Île-de-France.”⁸²

The function of Belgrade as the Yugoslav Île-de-France was not the only similarity with France. In a way, the French, “spoilt by nature” with the solid natural boundaries that France enjoyed, had to be reminded of the less fortunate cases. It is certain, Haumant argued, that,

open toward the north, like France, orientated, like France, toward a sea in the south and another in the northwest, Yugoslavia has a unity that provides a common axis from one sea to the other to a homogenous population. The reasons why the Yugoslav community developed slower need to be looked for – let us put the Turks aside – in the contrary influences upstream and downstream, and in mountains as barriers that slow down relations in the interior, and in breaches in the boundaries that, by exposing plains to invasions, periodically forced the population to flee its natural centers. The treaties from 1919 have not closed those breaches. . . . It is possible that a retreat of Yugoslavia will ensue, but the contrary is possible as well, we would say even likely, if there were no doubts in cohesion of spirit and heart that geography prepares but does not succeed in creating, and which is a necessary condition for the success of peoples.⁸³

Haumant’s comparison did more than just stress the importance of Belgrade as the capital of the new country. In a period when the internal arrangement of the state was hotly debated and

⁸¹ Ibid., 648.

⁸² Ibid., 649. However, the strategic importance of Belgrade was contrasted with the economic and cultural role of Zagreb. Milan Ćurčin, editor of *Nova Evropa*, stated: “That today Zagreb, as it already is, is our most beautiful, richest, and culturally most advanced city – the ‘most metropolitan’ city, as people here would say – that, beside foreigners passing through our country, we can all see, if we observe without prejudice and objectively.” At the same time, Ćurčin argued that Zagreb is not and should not attempt to become the political center of the country, and drew parallels between the relationship between Belgrade and Zagreb with that of Rome and Milan. See Ć, “Uloga Zagreba u novoj državi,” *Nova Evropa* 12, no. 11 (1925): 317-18.

⁸³ Haumant, “La constitution géographique de la Yougoslavie,” 653.

numerous proposals against the centralism established by the Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 were proposed, its affirmative tone and reference to the successful experience of the centralization of France can be read in an explicitly political key, as support for the endeavors of the central government.

In Haumant's vision, it was neither the natural boundaries – which Haumant, having accepted the dominant interpretation, presents as almost nonexistent – nor the national spirit, often invoked as the key factor in bringing the fragmented and separate regions together, but the communication routes – above all river valleys – that formed a structural backbone of the country. Still, these valleys were at the same time a threat. The French scholar was apparently not entirely convinced in the finality of the German and Austrian defeat in the Great War. Anticipating the renewal of their interest in the Danube region, he warned of the German “geographical imperative” of expansion toward the southeast: “Nothing guarantees that Yugoslavia will never again have to defend itself from the offensive return of a reconstituted ‘Mittel-Europa’ [*sic*].”⁸⁴

Haumant offered little support for his claims besides good wishes and a hope that the internal cohesion in Yugoslavia will be strengthened enough to counter the detrimental effects of geography. Besides showing support for the elites of the victorious Western powers – in this case France, which was Yugoslavia's main political partner and advocate of its interests – this work points to interrelated transfers. Though the first generation of Yugoslav geographers, including Cvijić, was heavily indebted to the German geography of the late nineteenth century, some crucial elements of Yugoslav geographical self-perception, such as the notion of openness, were formed under the influences of Vidal de la Blache and the French Possibilist School.⁸⁵ In turn, the French geographers, including Vidal himself, accepted some of Cvijić's ideas – primarily those less “Ratzelian” – and many of his observations regarding the geography of the Balkans, as the application of their methodology in the Yugoslav context reinforced their own scientific paradigms.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 650.

⁸⁵ Marie-Claire Robic, “National Identity in Vidal's *Tableau de la géographie de la France: From Political Geography to Human Geography*,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 58-70.

4.4. Ivo Pilar and the beginnings of geopolitics in Croatia

Although pinpointing a “father of geopolitics” in the Yugoslav context is difficult because many geographers, historians, and politicians employed geopolitical tropes, several names can be singled out. Jovan Cvijić and Filip Lukas, for instance, linked the natural landscape and political phenomena. In Slovenia, Anton Melik did the same (for instance, there were only minimal differences between the works on the boundaries of Yugoslavia by Cvijić and Melik),⁸⁶ and Silvo Kranjec and Svetozar Ilešič both showed an interest in the relations between political geography and geopolitics. But no geographer in Ljubljana and Belgrade was primarily or exclusively a political geographer or geopolitician. In Zagreb, the primacy is rightfully attributed to Ivo Pilar.

Though not a geographer by education (he studied and practiced law), Ivo Pilar (1874-1933) introduced political geography to Croatia. He was the first to employ political geography to respond to the political predicament of Croatia during the First World War and as a part of the first Yugoslavia. Political geographical thinking was present in most of his works, but he authored just one entirely political-geographical monograph. In his 1918 *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja* (Political geography of the Croatian lands), he paved the way for the later development of the political-geographical and geopolitical thinking of many right-wing Croatian intellectuals, especially those who disliked or actively opposed Yugoslavia.

The influence that Pilar exerted in the interwar period is not surprising, as he translated the political attitudes of many of his contemporaries into a simple and straightforward natural-geographical law: Croatia is a geographical fact – Yugoslavia is not. As will be shown, there was a direct link between much of Lukas’ geopolitical vision of Croatian nationhood and Pilar’s work. As with Lukas, some of Pilar’s ideas were revitalized in the context of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the rise of nationalism in Croatia during the 1990s.⁸⁷ Such re-readings of Pilar and Lukas have interesting histories of their own; here they are invoked to examine the genealogy of political geography not only in interwar Croatia but in the whole of Yugoslavia as well.

It is symptomatic that in a voluminous collection of essays on Pilar⁸⁸ – all of which

⁸⁶ Cvijić, “Granice i sklop naše zemlje,” *Glasnik geografskog društva* 4, no. 5 (1921): 1-17, cf. Anton Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 14 (1928): 107-121.

⁸⁷ Ivo Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja: geopolitička* (1918; repr., Zagreb: Consilium, 1995); Pilar, *Uvijek iznova Srbija* (1933; repr., Zagreb: Consilium, 1997).

⁸⁸ Srećko Lipovčan and Zlatko Matijević, eds., *Prilozi za proučavanje života i djela dra Ive Pilara* (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2001-2002).

mentioned his pioneering role in political geography in Croatia – his actual political geographical work received relatively little attention. Mladen Klemenčić and Nenad Pokos positioned Pilar's political-geographical ideas in a wider intellectual and scientific perspective.⁸⁹ They established chronological relations rather than examined concrete transfers of ideas and methodological approaches with, for instance, Ratzel's works, but they correctly argued that "Pilar's political geography falls . . . at the end of the initial phase of the professional development [of political geography]. Echoes of the works of pioneers of political geography must have reached Pilar. Although there is no direct reference to Ratzel, Mackinder, or any other pioneers in his *Politički zemljopis*, Pilar was acquainted with the very notion of the discipline as well as its content. The fact that he gave an indicative subtitle to his treatise – 'geopolitical study' – attests to it."⁹⁰

However, as Lukas' differentiation between dynamic geopolitics and static and descriptive political geography showed, Klemenčić and Pokos are wrong when claiming that Pilar's work (published in 1918) "appeared in time where there was still no conceptual and value difference between political geography and geopolitics."⁹¹ Their essentially correct conclusion that Pilar should be placed in the context of political geography as well of geopolitics, although his contribution in the field was, "according to modern standards, primarily of a geopolitical nature,"⁹² partially misses the point. While Klemenčić and Pokos correctly dismiss a seeming difference between more neutral political geography and propagandist geopolitics as outdated, they neglect the difference stressed by Pilar's contemporaries: the difference between mostly descriptive (especially in a historical sense) political geography and geopolitics aiming to shape political actions.

Pilar's ideas affected Croatian politics, but he had difficulties with transcending the confinements of discourse of the older school of political geography. Rather than actually proposing political actions, Pilar's work reveals a reactionary political attitude that emphasized the virtues of the no-longer existent Dual Monarchy. Not only was the Habsburg Empire the best guarantor of the Croatian historical and political rights, but it was also a unique geographical framework able to bring and hold together the Croatian lands, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was the central point of Pilar's geopolitical vision of Croatia.

⁸⁹ Mladen Klemenčić and Nenad Pokos, "Ivo Pilar i politička geografija," in *Prilozi za proučavanje života i djela dra Ive Pilara*, eds. Srećko Lipovčan and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2001-2002), 1:39-49.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 44.

The importance of Pilar's work lies in his examination of the Croatian lands as a whole.⁹³ Pilar described the notion of Croatian lands as an "aggregate of historical-political provinces in the south of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that were once constitutive part of the Croatian state, and where Croats still live as a majority or at least as a significant part of the population."⁹⁴ Croatia is thus comprised of Croatia Proper, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Istria. In a deterministic tone, Pilar stated:

Geographical position determines with which peoples and cultures a given people communicates, from which direction it is influenced, by whom and to what extent, and to which political impulses it is subjected. The physical characteristics of the land where an individual is born are decisive for his future destiny.⁹⁵

Despite such sweeping claims, Pilar never really elaborated on the relations between the man and the environment in the way Ratzel or even Cvijić and Lukas did. Neither Pilar's nor Lukas' understanding of the relation between the environment and cultural and psychological phenomena was, in fact, far from Cvijić's ethnopsychology.

For Pilar, the in-betweenness of the Balkan Peninsula was the key for understanding Croatia: "The border position of the Croatian people on a boundary between the Balkans and Central Europe is a cultural-political factor of the greatest importance."⁹⁶ Croatia is at the same time a part of Central Europe and the Balkans; its northern part, between the Drava, Danube, Sava, and Kupa, is the southernmost part of Central Europe, and the Croatian littoral is the westernmost part of the Balkans. Pilar quoted the author of one of the rare earlier geographies of Croatia, the historian and geographer Vjekoslav Klaić (1849-1928), according to whom, "Croatia separates and joins two different worlds, it separates the Western world from the Southeastern one, and can mediate between Western and Eastern culture."⁹⁷ This example demonstrates that the omnipresent tropes of in-betweenness and a bridge or a mediator between cultures were constructed well before the interwar period, when they became especially abundantly used.⁹⁸ The importance of the interwar period for their final articulation lies in the fact that the changed political context after 1918 brought the perceived cultural "Others" – Serbs

⁹³ Pilar complained that no summary description of the Croatian lands existed prior to his book, but Klemenčić and Pokos pointed to several earlier works on Croatia as a whole. *Ibid.*, 44.

⁹⁴ Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, 5.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁷ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Prirodni zemljopis Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1878), 18, cf. Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, 5-6.

⁹⁸ Ivo Žanić examines the genealogy and usage of the tropes of crossroads, bulwark, and bridge in a much longer historical perspective. He, however, focuses only on the symbolic geography as developed in the literature and political discourse. Ivo Žanić, "The Symbolic Identity of Croatia in the *Triangle Crossroads-Bulwark-Bridge*," in *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Pål Kolstø (London: Hurst, 2005), 35-76.

and Croats, as purported representatives of the East and the West – together within the same state, which resulted in the intensified usage of the tropes.

Pilar argued that while mountains separate the Apennine and the Pyrenean Peninsula from the main body of Europe, the Balkan Peninsula is barely separated at all. In the first two peninsulas, therefore, political and anthropological unity developed. In the same year when Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* was published, in which Cvijić emphasized the openness of the Balkans toward the north as a main factor of its political, cultural, and economic development, Pilar presented the same argument. Pilar stated, "From Boka Kotorska to Varna a large mountain massif stretches and splits the Balkan [Peninsula] in two halves, northern and southern, which are separated by a natural mountainous boundary. For that reason the Balkans was never anthropologically, nor politically or culturally united."⁹⁹ Just as Lukas will later keep reminding his readership, Pilar argued that the Balkans could not be united from within. If it could be united at all, only an external force could achieve it, as the Roman or the Ottoman Empire had done before. In the contemporary context, Pilar's comments on the fragmentation of the Balkans implied that Yugoslavia, which occupied a significant portion of the peninsula, could not effectively or sustainably be united and ruled by Serbia.

Pilar's assessment of the quality of rivers as relatively weak boundaries also remarkably resembles Cvijić's conclusions. There was, however, a highly significant difference: the Drina, which flows between Bosnia and Serbia. Cvijić downplayed its separating effect, partially because it runs through the heart of what he saw as the Serbian lands (comprising both Serbia and Bosnia), and such an obstacle in the natural landscape would have repercussions on the unity of the national cultural landscape.¹⁰⁰ Pilar, on the contrary, emphasized the Drina as a natural boundary separating different ethnic groups and cultural landscapes: Serbs from Croats and the East from the West. Echoing Cvijić, Pilar stated:

It cannot be denied that rivers are natural boundaries that clearly separate political and geographical units. But it immediately needs to be added that rivers themselves are boundaries of weakness separating strength. A river is a strong separating boundary only when flowing through a deep canyon, such as for instance the Drina and the Kupa [are] in its first third. On the other hand, rivers that flow through plains and have broad and flat basins on both of their banks, do not form separating political boundaries, but on the contrary, join both banks in one unit.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Cvijić, *Aneksija Bosne i Hercegovine*. For instance, even after the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000, the Serbian nationalist politician Vojislav Koštunica used the metaphor of the Drina as the "backbone of the Serbian people," clearly pointing to a completely different interpretation. However, Serbian geographers from the interwar period did not explicitly ascribe such a meaning to the Drina.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

The Drina is an excellent example of how political discourse can employ an element of the physical landscape and ascribe to it a set of meanings, which eventually become seemingly unrelated to their original geographical context and remain widely used for decades.¹⁰² Lukas, as the next chapter will show, was one of the most prominent intellectuals who embraced the trope of the boundary on the Drina as a vital element of Croatian nationhood and statehood.

In Pilar's vision, the Croatian lands are delineated predominantly by rivers. Only the Drina and Kupa are "reliable boundaries," while "all other boundaries of the Croatian lands, approximately nine-tenths of it, are weak, ineffective, open boundaries that open the way to cultural-political influences, either settler or military invasions."¹⁰³ On the southeastern boundary of the Croatian lands (approximately between Herzegovina and Montenegro), the less mountainous Croatian side appealed to the population of the more mountainous eastern side. Since the "plains always appeal to the highlanders more than the mountains to the people from the plains" and given that "a stone always rolls downhill, never uphill," the southeastern boundaries of the Croatian lands are not just open but are in fact inviting the immigration from the adjoining areas.¹⁰⁴ For Croats, on the other hand, that part of the mountain range was an obstacle to further expansion.

The Croatian lands in Pilar's definition are predominantly mountainous: seventy-two percent of this area is mountainous and twenty-eight percent is comprised of plains, but the mountains are fragmented as well, divided by the rivers Drina and Kupa. One mountain chain belongs to the Alps and the other to the Balkans. This was an arbitrary classification, and not perpetuated by later developers of the narrative such as Lukas. However, Pilar's triple division of the Croatian lands that was a result of a specific configuration of the physical landscape was subsequently adopted in later geopolitical works. The Dinaric Alps stand amidst the Croatian lands as an "almost impenetrable boundary between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia" and a watershed between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea basins. The three parts of the Croatian lands differ not only geographically (geomorphologically) but climatically and economically as well. The first part consists of plains stretching between the rivers Sava and Drava in the north. The second part comprises most of the mountainous areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which rise in height toward the south. The third part is Dalmatia, under which Pilar also counted Istria, islands, and the northern littoral.

Pilar's observations regarding the slopes of Bosnia-Herzegovina rising toward the south

¹⁰² Mario Mimica, *Drina nije kriva: članci, polemike, studije* (Split: Matica hrvatska), 1997.

¹⁰³ Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

offer a new perspective on the genealogy of geopolitical ideas in Croatia and Yugoslavia in general. Pilar's role as the father of geopolitics in Croatia is generally accepted, and his 1918 work on the political geography of Croatia was indeed the first of its kind. Klemenčić and Pokos correctly observed that Lukas was the first to continue and elaborate on Pilar's ideas, and that Lukas "reflected on Croatia in a geopolitical manner and systematically used the concept of geopolitics in his works."¹⁰⁵ However, the fact that Pilar relied on Vjekoslav Klaić and Lukas calls for a more nuanced examination of intellectual transfers.

In 1906, Lukas wrote on the inclination of mountains in Bosnia-Herzegovina that are gradually rising toward the south.¹⁰⁶ In his interpretation, this was the geomorphologic explanation of why the influences from the "continent" – that is, the Croatian interior – were more easily diffused in the littoral, and why the coastal influences, associated with Italy, had difficulties penetrating the hinterland. The final consequence of the rising inclination toward the south, according to both Lukas and Pilar, was that the littoral undoubtedly belonged to the Croatian cultural and political sphere. We thus see Ivo Pilar "borrowing" as well as "inventing," and Filip Lukas was both the original source of some of the geographical ideas and the agent who, in turn, expanded and fine-tuned some of Pilar's concepts.

Whereas Lukas would later present the national spirit as the unifying force that transcends geographical and cultural fragmentation of the Croatian national territory, Pilar in 1918 remained primarily descriptive and simply observed the fragmentation, and was hesitant to point to a unifying force:

The Croatian lands, so unfavorably positioned on the boundary between the two worlds, are divided geographically and orographically¹⁰⁷ into three parts, each with its own geographical background, and each with its pronounced climatic, natural-historical and economic ways of life. At the same time, these lands are exposed to three different but constant political and cultural influences, so constant that despite all the changes of political and national individualities . . . they remained essentially the same because they are conditioned by the geographical position and shape of the Croatian lands as well as of the Croatian neighbors. The sum of these moments of political, social, religious, and cultural nature is the modern division created for the Croatian lands . . . under which the Croatian people has gravely suffered for five centuries and which until today it has not been able to overcome.¹⁰⁸

However, the Croatian lands, as Pilar described them, did not correspond to the contemporary political reality of the Croatian nation. As in many other cases (the Serbian, Slovenian, or

¹⁰⁵ Klemenčić and Pokos, "Ivo Pilar i politička geografija," 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ Filip Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije: anthropogeografska studija* (Dubrovnik: Degiulli i dr., 1906), 23.

¹⁰⁷ Orography is a branch of physical geography examining mountains.

¹⁰⁸ Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja*, 16.

German lands were previously mentioned), the concept of the Croatian lands or Croatian national territory referred to an area larger than contemporary Croatia itself. What was colloquially called Croatia were in fact Austro-Hungarian provinces – Pilar insisted on calling them kingdoms, which they *de jure* were – Croatia-Slavonia and – in some cases – Dalmatia. In the first Yugoslavia, Croatia did not exist as a territorial unit until the establishment of Banovina Hrvatska in 1939. Although the name was widely used, the older regional and historical notions were not completely abandoned. In any case, the Croatian lands signified a larger territory. They were a combination of historical – areas that were once part of the Croatian kingdom – and ethnographic, cultural, or ethnic factors – that is, areas where Croats were a majority or at least a significant minority, or where Croatian cultural traits were still present, even if few or no Croats lived there.

Pilar famously compared the shape of contemporary Croatia – without Bosnia and Herzegovina – to a “sprawling sausage” (*raskrečena kobasica*).¹⁰⁹ A land thus configured, he warned, could never properly develop. The void between two prongs (Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia) had to be filled – by Bosnia and Herzegovina. The former are only a shell, while the latter is the real core of the Croatian lands.¹¹⁰

4.5. Embracing the Geopolitik

According to Lukas’ differentiation between political geography and geopolitics, the Ljubljana-based geographer and historian Silvo Kranjec (1892-1976), well acquainted with works of the prominent contemporary geopoliticians, was also a political geographer rather than a geopolitician. In his 1926 article “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije” (Geopolitical description of Yugoslavia), Kranjec summarized Ratzel’s and Kjellén’s ideas as well as the consensus among Yugoslav geographers regarding Yugoslavia’s position, internal structure, and, implicitly, its long-term sustainability.¹¹¹ The article was primarily descriptive and Kranjec neglected many internal – political, economic, and social – as well as external problems that Yugoslavia faced at the time. Furthermore, he treated boundaries as static categories seemingly independent from political or economic processes.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 25.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 25-26.

¹¹¹ Silvo Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” *Geografski vestnik* 2, no. 1 (1926): 8-16.

Relying on the classifications of Friedrich Ratzel, Hermann Wagner, and Otto Maull, Kranjec argued that Yugoslavia “belongs to mid-sized states, which are according to Ratzel those with 0.2-5 million square kilometers or 10-100 million inhabitants or, according to Wagner’s typology, to mid-sized and moderately inhabited.”¹¹² Kranjec addressed all three elements of “geopolitical trinity” – space (manifested in size), shape, and position. The shape of the state’s territory signified whether the state was geographically unified or divided in loosely related parts. Mirroring the contemporary obsession with the shape of the state’s boundaries in German geography,¹¹³ Kranjec claimed that “the optimal form of surface and therefore also of political space is the circle: primitive political formations usually have this form and it is generally said that the territorial development of states shows a tendency toward rounding. Western and partially Central Europe largely achieved this in the last century, while the other parts of Central and Eastern Europe [divided into] national states gained an unsatisfactory shape after the war.”¹¹⁴

Kranjec described the shape of Yugoslavia as a flattened ellipse. The main political and transportation corridor follows the rivers Sava, Danube, Morava, and Vardar, on which Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, and Skopje lie. Because of the orientation of the mountains, there are no transversal corridors, and therefore the geographical center of the country – close to Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia – does not play an important transportation role. Following the example of Austrian geographer Alexander Supan,¹¹⁵ Kranjec presented the indentation of boundaries – that is, deviation from the ideal shape of a circle – in mathematical terms: the higher the index number, the more irregular the boundary lines and, consequently, “the more unpleasant the shape of the state.”¹¹⁶ Yugoslavia fared quite well in comparison to other European countries. The Yugoslav index was 2.6, the Belgian 2.3, the Swiss 2.4, the Czechoslovak 3, the Swedish 4.2, the Irish 7.4, and the Norwegian 11.3.¹¹⁷

Another concept of Supan’s that Kranjec embraced – which Filip Lukas had already presented in 1922 – was the “quotient of pressure.”¹¹⁸ The number of inhabitants of neighboring countries is divided by the number of inhabitants of a given country.¹¹⁹ Index for interwar

¹¹² Ibid., 9.

¹¹³ Herb, *Under the Map of Germany*, chap. 4.

¹¹⁴ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 10.

¹¹⁵ Alexander Supan, *Leitlinien der allgemeine politische Geographie: Naturlehre der Staates* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1922).

¹¹⁶ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 10.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁸ Filip Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Zagreb, 1922), 12.

¹¹⁹ Supan, *Leitlinien der allgemeine politische Geographie*, 75.

Hungary was 6, for Yugoslavia 6.6, for Czechoslovakia 8.6, and for Romania 11.¹²⁰ Kranjec – surprisingly, given the poor relations between the two countries – even entertained the possibility of a union between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Such a country, he pointed out, would be the eighth largest in Europe; in comparison with its neighbors, second in territorial size only to Turkey, in population only to Italy, and with the quotient of pressure of only five.¹²¹ While Kranjec used the quotient of pressure to express the relations between neighboring countries, Croatian geographer Ivo Rubić described it as an internal pressure: “Overpopulation causes the quotient of pressure, because of which a country wages aggressive wars and expands its territory.”¹²²

Importantly, the heterogeneity of Yugoslavia’s physical landscape was not a problem for Kranjec. Almost all countries – especially the smaller ones, and Russia among the large ones – are heterogeneous, he pointed out. Many countries have a cellular structure. So do Yugoslavia and the Balkan Peninsula, because there is no pronounced central region in the peninsula, one that could conquer the other regions and form a political unit. “Such a physical structure of the territory was fatal for the Slavs that inhabited it,” Kranjec concluded.¹²³ Interestingly, a reference to the “triangle” reveals that Kranjec relied on Lukas rather than on Cvijić, when dividing Yugoslavia into three parts: the Sava-Danube basin in the north, the Morava-Vardar basin in the east, and the Dinaric triangle in the middle.¹²⁴

Kranjec linked the writings of the French linguist and historian, Emile Haumant, discussed above, with those of Norbert Krebs (1876-1947), an Austrian specialist in geography of the Balkans who, as Penck’s successor, started teaching at the University of Berlin in 1931.¹²⁵ Krebs pointed that although Belgrade is not in the geographical center of the state but positioned on the northeastern end of the triangle (whose hypotenuses is on the Adriatic coast), it is located at the vital junction of main transportation routes and is equally distanced from Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Skopje.¹²⁶ While Krebs compared the Dinaric mountains with the French Massif

¹²⁰ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 13-14. Lukas, also referring to Supan, presented somewhat different numbers. According to him, the quotient of pressure for Yugoslavia was 6.3; cf. Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 12.

¹²¹ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 14.

¹²² Ivo Rubić, *Nova Njemačka* (Split: Hrvatska štamparija Gradske štedionice, 1931), 234.

¹²³ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 14.

¹²⁴ Ibid., cf. Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 7, 87.

¹²⁵ Elisabeth Lichtenberger, “Die Entwicklung der Geographie als Wissenschaft im Spiegel der Institutionspolitik und Biographieforschung: Vom Großstaat der k.u.k. Monarchie zum Kleinstaat der Zweiten Republik,” in *Mensch, Raum, Umwelt: Entwicklungen und Perspektiven der Geographie in Österreich*, ed. Robert Musil and Christian Staudacher (Vienna: Österreichische Geographische Gesellschaft, 2009), 34.

¹²⁶ Norbert Krebs, *Beiträge zur Geographie Serbiens und Rasciens* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn, 1922), 27-28.

Central (and described it as “an area of retreat in a time of distress”),¹²⁷ Haumant, as mentioned above, drew a parallel between the region around Belgrade and Île-de-France.¹²⁸ To assess the “unsustainable” Yugoslav boundaries – especially those on the northwest, which were most sensitive for Slovenes – Kranjec invoked Otto Maull’s definition of structural boundaries. According to Maull, structural boundaries are based on physical or anthropogeographical structures.¹²⁹ The 1920 Rapallo Treaty, which regulated Yugoslav borders with Italy, did not create such boundaries, Kranjec warned, and this was bound to cause problems in relations between the two neighboring states.

In the aforementioned preface to the Croatian translation of Kjellén’s *Der Staat als Lebensform*, Peršić exhibited detailed knowledge of the development of geopolitics in the first half of the twentieth century. He praised Kjellén’s versatility; as a historian, geographer, economist, politician, and theoretician of the state, Kjellén insisted that geopolitics does not deal with the earth itself, but only with politically organized space – the state.¹³⁰ Among the prominent geopoliticians of the time Peršić listed Erich Obst, Robert Sieger, Otto Maull, Hermann Lautensach, Walter Vogel, Richard Hennig, Artur Dix, and – as he called him – the “pure geographer” Albrecht Penck. Despite a strong German influence, Peršić was also acquainted with works of Anglophone geopoliticians such as Isaiah Bowman, James Fairgrieve, Charles Fawcett, and Halford Mackinder, as well as the French tradition of political geography. Still, Peršić paid special attention to Haushofer’s contribution.¹³¹

Peršić thus summarized the difference between the German and French strain:

The German school, established by F[riedrich] Ratzel, teaches that the state is founded upon an organic connection of people with the soil, and that the two most important factors are location (*Lage*) and space (*Raum*), while the French school, arising from the work of Vidal de la Blanche [*sic*] and Jean Brunhes, considers man as the most important geographical factor because man gradually adapts to the natural elements.¹³²

Peršić obviously had a broad overview of contemporary geopolitical writing, which is perhaps surprising given that he did not publish any geopolitical works himself. Besides the critique of

¹²⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹²⁸ Emile Haumant, “La constitution géographique de la Yougoslavie,” in *Bulićev zbornik: naučni prilozi posvećeni Frani Buliću prigodom LXXV. godišnjice njegova života od učenika i prijatelja*, ed. M. Abramić and V. Hoffiller (Zagreb-Split: Narodne novine, 1924), 647-654.

¹²⁹ Otto Maull, *Politische Geographie* (Berlin: Borntraeger, 1925), 141.

¹³⁰ Nikola Peršić, preface to *Država kao oblik života*, by Rudolf Kjellén (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1943), xiii.

¹³¹ Peršić nevertheless noted that some of the articles in Haushofer’s *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* tend to be superficial and lack scientific merit. He was particularly skeptical of the articles on geopolitics and labor service, geopolitics and radio, geopolitics in elementary schools, etc. Peršić, preface to *Država kao oblik života*, xvii.

¹³² Ibid., xviii.

Geopolitik by the French geographers Albert Demangeon and Jacques Ancel, Peršić singled out the works of Bowman, Fawcett, and Mackinder as examples of good geopolitical writing, and Ernest H. Short's *A Handbook of Geo-politics* as lacking and erroneous, which in Peršić's opinion was primarily visible in his treatment of (by that time already nonexistent) Yugoslavia.¹³³

4.6. Filip Lukas and the geopolitical similarities of Croatia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland

Although primarily interested in Croatia and its position within Yugoslavia, Filip Lukas employed political geography to comment on political developments in the wider region. Lukas started comparing the geopolitical position of Croatia (and Yugoslavia), Czechoslovakia, and Poland in the mid-1920s,¹³⁴ but initially did not closely examine them. In the late 1930s, a couple of his articles in *Hrvatska revija* dealt with Poland and Czechoslovakia, which were, together with Austria, geopolitically the most sensitive regions in Europe at the time. While Lukas focused on the precarious Polish and Czechoslovakian relations with the Third Reich, he made his opposing sentiments toward Poles and Czechs – and, in addition, Slovaks – very clear. By examining the geopolitical situation in the “transitional zone,” as he described East-Central Europe, Lukas compared the Polish and Czechoslovak position with that of Yugoslavia.

In the 1938 article “Geopolitički položaj poljske države” (The Geopolitical position of the Polish state), Lukas repeated his standard rhetorical devices, applied many times previously to writings on Yugoslavia. He provided a tentative definition of geopolitics, lamented on a geopolitically precarious position at the civilizational boundary, on the national spirit, on quality of the political and natural boundaries, and future developments that could be expected on the basis of these factors. Lukas also repeated one of the central points of his own geopolitics: a fragmented natural landscape, such as the one in the Balkans, could not facilitate long-lasting political units. If that was the case with Yugoslavia, the same logic, however, did not apply to Croatia. Croatia was also fragmented, Lukas noticed, but the national spirit transcended the fragmentation of the terrain. He again pointed to the difference between geopolitics and political

¹³³ Ibid., xix.

¹³⁴ Filip Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: Hrvatskome narodu, njegovima prošlim naraštajima na spomen, sadašnjima i budućim na pobudu; O tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, ed. Frane Bulić (Zagreb: Tipografija, 1925), 63.

geography: “Geopolitics, unlike political geography, does not study the state only according to its position, shape and boundaries, ethnic, economic, and transportation situation, but its task is to show how these moments serve a spatially-orientated policy.”¹³⁵ While elsewhere he described the transitional zone in East-Central Europe as marked by the Danzig-Trieste and Vistula-Dniester lines,¹³⁶ when writing about Poland in 1938, Lukas narrowed the transitional zone down to a single geographical line. In Europe, there is

a demarcation line that goes through the middle of the Polish state. Except for Southern Europe, which consists of three large peninsulas, the rest of Europe is divided into two parts by history, culture, and separate development. A line stretching from the Kvarner bay [in front of Rijeka] and through Zagreb, Vienna, Krakow, to Königsberg, separates Europe into two completely developmentally and culturally different parts. On this line, two worlds – the East and the West – have met; here ends the fully Western culture and Western humanity, which have gradually weakened while approaching the East in the transitional zone. . . . West of this line the relief of European landmass is so intersected by mountains and valleys that numerous European peoples have developed in this area, many states have been established, and national individualities differentiated and thus facilitated multifold cultural creation and action. East of this line, especially in eastern Poland, because of the monotone terrain, no differentiation either in culture or national specificities occurred, so only large nations and spacious states have been created. On the aforementioned line, not only do the two spiritual worlds meet, but also two possibilities of development.¹³⁷

This was possibly the finest definition of the transitional zone in East-Central Europe and the intersection of physical and cultural landscapes that Lukas offered. It was also a common trope in contemporary European geography. It is highly unlikely that Lukas ever read Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918) – Lukas would definitely not subscribe to his revolutionary Marxism – but he mirrored Plekhanov’s geographic determinist interpretation of Russian history.¹³⁸ Abundant unused space and uniformed terrain, Plekhanov argued, served as a “valve . . . defending the old order from explosion.”¹³⁹ Instead of changing or abandoning the dysfunctional socio-economic system (Plekhanov referred to imperial Russia), it is simply replicated elsewhere and the system is thus perpetuated.

Similar forces were in action in Poland. Generally, Lukas observed many similarities between Croats and Poles – this was undoubtedly part of the reason why he was so keen on Poles. Just as Croatia, Poland is part of both the Eastern and the Western world but

¹³⁵ Filip Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” *Hrvatska revija* 11, no. 5 (1938), 225.

¹³⁶ Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” 25.

¹³⁷ Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” 225.

¹³⁸ Mark Bassin, “Geographical Determinism in Fin-de-siècle Marxism: Georgii Plekhanov and the Environmental Basis of Russian History,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 1 (1992): 3-22.

¹³⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 14.

by the will of the spirit, the Western world transgressed this European transitional zone with its influence and crossed into the Eastern part, thus making Poland a representative of the West. Poland has played this role to this day. It is important that the Croatian people performed a similar role on the southern part of this axis [from Königsberg to Rijeka].¹⁴⁰

Lukas evoked the concept of *antemurale christianitatis* – the bulwark of Christianity¹⁴¹ – to emphasize the similarities, including the shared destiny of the two peoples: “Destiny, Western orientation, and environmental laws have imposed the same historical tasks and ways in which to fulfill them since the earliest times.”¹⁴²

On the other hand, the main difference between Croatia and Poland was the fact that Poland, unlike Croatia, was not only a cultural and a spiritual unit, but also a distinct geographical individuality. Poland’s geographical composition was different from that of its neighbors, primarily Germany and Russia. Poland is less diverse than Germany, and more so than Russia (term often used interchangeably with the Soviet Union at the time); the river Vistula forms the backbone of the country, whose climate, Lukas argued, is also different from climates of the neighboring countries. Even more than in the case of Croatia, the Polish geopolitical situation was marked by its position between two large neighbors: “On those sides where there is the strongest political pressure, the [Polish] boundaries are open, drawn according to the current balance of political power, so the Polish state has always been most labile there.”¹⁴³

Lukas’ readership must have clearly understood the parallel with Croatia, as well as his distinctive approach to the organic relation between the land, people, and culture, even if he did not explicitly point it out. Poland is not and should not be a country of “amalgamation” of two cultures – not “an arithmetic mean of two opposite cultures and environmental given”¹⁴⁴ – but a county of two coexisting cultures. That Lukas accommodated for the Eastern cultural aspects of the Polish nationhood should be read in the light of his unwillingness to completely and unambiguously position Croatia within the West in the late 1930s. While he would soon insist on the Western affiliation of Croatian culture in order to emphasize the separateness of Croats from Serbs, in the period immediately before the Second World War, influenced by the discourse on Western decadence, he feared that it would lead to a complete loss of a distinct

¹⁴⁰ Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” 225-26.

¹⁴¹ Fran Binički, *Predziđe kršćanstva: povijest katoličke Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Društvo Sv. Jeronima, 1924).

¹⁴² Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” 226.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 227.

Croatian national identity.¹⁴⁵

While in 1938 he deemed the Polish affiliation to the West as positive, in 1929, in the case of Croatia he had seen it as a partially negative development, potentially detrimental to the national cause. His ambiguity toward the notion of the West was manifested in his changes of opinion over a relatively short time. Although Lukas argued that Croatia accepted the Western cultural elements and fulfilled its historical, political, and social development “in the Western spirit,” at least in 1929, he was not yet ready to pinpoint it decisively on a cultural map. He claimed, “If we are connected with the West, we are an antithesis of the East, and if we are rooted linguistically and racially in the East, we are an antithesis of the West,” and emphasized Croatian self-awareness.¹⁴⁶ Because of this self-awareness, the Croats critically and selectively accepted Western influences, but were not willing to refute the Eastern indigenous influences.

Because the core of their national territory had moved only slightly, Lukas called the Poles the “most autochthonous of all the Slavic peoples.”¹⁴⁷ Initially, the core of the Polish state was even more to the west, but the Germans had pushed it toward the east for centuries. The openness toward the west proved to be especially ambiguous as the “cultural flow” and the sense of political organization came from that direction, but so did a strong political pressure with it. Poles defended their faith from Western (Protestant) and Eastern (Orthodox) influences. Not surprisingly, this was of great importance for Lukas, who linked the structure of terrain and cultural traits, including religion. The defense of Catholicism and Piłsudski’s conservative and nationalist turn – rather than his socialist beginnings – made Lukas praise the role of Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) in recreating the Polish state. “His spirit still lives in the Polish people,” he stated, “and determines, even after his death, the destiny of the state. A new type of Polish man, such as we see today, has been created according to [Piłsudski].”¹⁴⁸

Symptomatic for Lukas, he was more concerned with the past than the present or the future. In 1938, he could not assess the contemporary Polish predicament more precisely than to conclude, “The Polish state inherited many problems that remain to be solved.”¹⁴⁹ He was,

¹⁴⁵ As with many other Croatian, especially conservative, intellectuals, Lukas was acquainted with Oswald Spengler’s work *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, which he occasionally referenced. Lukas was also influenced by the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, and in the late 1930s often referred to his *The Revolt of the Masses*. Filip Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost*, vol. 1, *Problem hrvatske kulture* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1938), 81-90.

¹⁴⁶ Hrvatski državni arhiv, MH 1567, 2.2. Zapisnici sjednica, 2.2.7.1. Glavna skupština (1901.-1936.), box 44, “Govor predsjednika dra. Filipa Lukasa održan na Skupštini Matice hrvatske 23. lipnja 1929.” (Speech given by the President Filip Lukas at the General Assembly of Matica hrvatska on June 23, 1929), 7-8.

¹⁴⁷ Lukas, “Geopolitički položaj poljske države,” 228.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 230.

however, optimistic regarding the success of Polish politicians in solving these problems. Since many people better informed than Lukas misjudged the situation in Europe in 1938 as well, this example should not be taken as an illustration of his inability to anticipate political developments in Europe. Additionally, the text was supposed to be delivered as a radio lecture, which further illustrates the permeation of geopolitics in the public sphere.¹⁵⁰ The text shows that Lukas, despite characterizing his own works as geopolitical – thus supposedly aiming to influence political action – in fact remained well within the boundaries of what he himself saw as the more descriptive political geography of the older generation.

As much as he sympathized with the Poles, Lukas had a distinct dislike for the Czechs. If the Poles shared many characteristics with the Croats, the Czechs were more similar to the Serbs. He not only perceived the Czechs as an anti-Catholic people but also could not forget what he saw as the lack of Czech support for the Croatian political struggle in the Dual Monarchy. Above all, in the newly established Czechoslovak state, he argued, Czechs oppressed Slovaks. For Lukas' readership, the parallel to Yugoslavia must have been clear.

In articles from late 1938 and 1939, Lukas explicated his position toward Czechs. Opposing rising against the naming of a street in the center of Zagreb after the recently-deceased Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937), Lukas stated that streets and squares should bear the names of people who in one way or another had benefited the city or the nation – and insisted that Masaryk was not one of them.¹⁵¹ He pointed out that Masaryk had built a centralist state in which the Czech majority always had the last word according to the “democratic principle.” Although Lukas recognized Masaryk's merit as a scholar, he denied that Masaryk had any influence on Croatian spiritual and cultural development.¹⁵² “In our scientific development,” he warned, “we Croats were more strongly influenced by the Western peoples, especially the French and Germans, and the influences of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, Herder, Comte, Descartes, Gumplowitz [*sic*], Spencer, Le Bon, and others on our cultural development were far stronger and longer lasting.”¹⁵³

Two incidents of Masaryk's involvement in Croatian politics before 1918 – the high treason trials in Zagreb and the Friedjung trial in Vienna in 1909 – though mostly positive, were

¹⁵⁰ For an account of Haushofer's radio broadcasts, see Murphy, “Hitler's Geostrategist,” 20.

¹⁵¹ Filip Lukas, “Masaryk prema Hrvatima,” *Hrvatska revija* 11, no. 11 (1938): 574-581.

¹⁵² In 1930, as president of the Matica hrvatska, Lukas attended the ceremony in honor of Masaryk's eightieth birthday at the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb. See Marijan Lipovac, “Proslava 80. rođendana Tomaša Masaryka u Hrvatskoj 1930. Godine,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 35, no. 2 (2003): 609.

¹⁵³ Lukas, “Masaryk prema Hrvatima,” 574.

only one side of the story, Lukas warned.¹⁵⁴ As a professor of philosophy, logics, and sociology at the University of Prague, Masaryk directly influenced a significant number of Croatian students in the mid-1890s, who had been expelled from the University of Zagreb and continued their education in Bohemia. Even Croatian realism was mostly created in Prague. The problem was that “because of Masaryk’s teaching that a people is not constituted by external historical and geographical moments, nor religious ones, but a unique will and task . . . the Croatian realist youth began to abandon the historical state right¹⁵⁵ and to ask for unique connections with Serbs on the basis of natural law.”¹⁵⁶ The consequences were multifold. The Croatian political scene became fragmented and “the Serbian minority acquired a leading role in Croatia.”¹⁵⁷ Stjepan Radić, the founder and long-time leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (with which Lukas came into conflict in the late 1930s, as will be shown in the next chapter), was one of Masaryk’s students.

Lukas believed that by creating Czechoslovakia Masaryk denied the Wilsonian right to self-determination, upon which Czechoslovakia itself was built, to its German minority: “Immediately [after] establishing the new state, a latent conflict with Germans began, which developed into an active conflict as Germany rose [to power] and ended in a way that could only have been predicted.”¹⁵⁸ Like Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia was doomed to fail from the beginning because of geopolitical reasons:

The fundamental mistake of Czech politics was its disregard for geopolitical laws, according to which the Sudetenland can exist as an independent factor politically only when linked to other peoples of the central Danube region, as their scholar Palacký genially perceived and stated. Moreover, no nation of the former Monarchy had fewer

¹⁵⁴ During the annexation crisis over Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, fifty-three members of the Serbian Independent Party – a member of the then ruling Croatian-Serbian Coalition in the Croatian Parliament – were charged and convicted for high treason on the grounds of evidence that was soon proven to be falsified. Lukas implied that Masaryk had come to Zagreb for no reason, as the Serb prisoners’ “ribs were not broken, soles not burnt, they were not beaten and killed in prison and thrown through windows, to make it seem as if they committed suicide, but freely received guests . . . in prison and even roasted suckling pigs and held feasts.” He clearly pointed to contemporary practice of dealing with the political opposition by the Yugoslav police. *Ibid.*, 575.

¹⁵⁵ The “historical state right” was the ideological central point of the Croatian Party of Rights, established by Ante Starčević in 1861. It emphasized the unbroken historical existence of the Croatian state since the early Middle Ages. According to it, Croatia was not conquered either by the Hungarians or the Habsburgs but willingly entered larger political units while retaining its statehood. Since the Habsburgs failed to meet the terms of contract, Starčević argued, Croatia was no longer legally bound to accept the Habsburg rulers and could (should) proclaim independence. In the first Yugoslavia, Croatia lost the most important markers of its statehood – parliament and the viceroy (*ban*) – and on these grounds, among other things, the supporters of the Croatian Party of Party refuted the Yugoslav state. Lukas was a supporter of the party, but had had an ambiguous attitude toward radicalization (the Ustasas established a fascist puppet state, the Independent State of Croatia, in April 1941) since the late 1930s and especially during the Second World War. His political position will be elaborated more thoroughly in chapter five.

¹⁵⁶ Lukas, “Masaryk prema Hrvatima,” 576.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 576.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 577.

reasons to wish for the collapse of Austria than the Czechs had, because almost all other peoples on their peripheries, across the borders, had their compatriots, on which [they could] rely in case of war and the break-up of the Monarchy. The Czechs remained as a peninsula amidst Germans, and could independently exist only if the Germans, their strongest neighbors, would forever remain weak. . . . As Germany has recently grown stronger, and as in its proximity, in the Sudetenland, it has a large number of its compatriots that have lived here since time immemorial and have merged with the land, both conditions worked against the Czech aspirations – the strength and the national principle of self-determination – and thus that fatal ending came about, which could not have been prevented given the circumstances.¹⁵⁹

Above all, between Serbs and Croats, Lukas argued, Masaryk always chose Serbs. Not only did Masaryk did not support the Croatian cause during the First World War, but he in fact actively worked against Croatian interests. In Lukas' view, Masaryk wanted to reduce the role of Croats, who continuously had their independent state, culture, and history for a thousand years, to the role and position of the Slovaks in relation to the Czechs.¹⁶⁰ Masaryk supported the Serbian hegemony and neglected all the hardships Croats experienced in Yugoslavia. Masaryk – Lukas implied – simply disliked Croats. Not entirely convincingly, Lukas said that Croats, however, did not exult over the Czech defeat. If Masaryk wanted Croats to disappear, Croats did not wish for a “failure of the Czech people, but wished it would continue its national, political, and cultural life on its national territory. . . . In days of great disillusion and disappointments, [the Czechs] should remember the deep thoughts of the Italian philosopher [Vincenzo] Gioberti that Christian peoples ail but do not die.”¹⁶¹

As proof of Masaryk's malevolent intentions against Croatia, Lukas presented two maps. One was created in the context of envisioning the postwar boundaries by Czech politicians at the beginning of the First World War. In Lukas' interpretation, the map showed that Czech politicians envisioned the disappearance of Croatia from the map of Europe. In this vision of the postwar redrawing of borders, Croatia would simply become a part of Greater Serbia. While that really was one of scenarios discussed in various European capitals during the First World War, Lukas particularly resented what he saw as a betrayal by the leader of a people that should have been sympathetic to Croatian political aspirations.¹⁶²

The other map depicted a proposed territorial link between Czechoslovakia and

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 580.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 578.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 581.

¹⁶² Filip Lukas, “Kako su češki političari zamišljali uređenje srednje Europe,” in *Za hrvatsku samosvojnost: zakoni zemlje-krvi-duha: eseji, govori, članci*, vol. 2, *Hrvatski narod i hrvatska državna misao* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1944), 252.

Yugoslavia.¹⁶³ According to Lukas, this map was the key evidence of Masaryk's attitude toward Croats. The map was based on an earlier British map; the future Czech state was drawn on it, together with a corridor that was supposed to link it to the South Slavic territory around Varaždin in northern Croatia. Masaryk's handwritten *in margine* comment, stating that "the corridor that connects the Czech lands with Serbocroatia [*sic*] containing many Croatian colonies, on the south are the Slovenes, would completely belong to Serbia, or partially to the Czech [state] and partially to Serbia" enraged Lukas.¹⁶⁴

In his articulation of this corridor at the Paris Peace Conference, Jovan Cvijić argued that the western parts of Hungary were "initially Slavonic. In the north, on the right banks of the Danube lived Czechoslovak tribes, which reached up to Lake Balaton. Here they came in contact with the South Slavic tribes, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs."¹⁶⁵ The arrival of Hungarians to the Pannonian Plain in the tenth century disrupted the territorial link, which previously implied cultural and spiritual contacts. However, the separateness was not complete; for centuries, Croatian population – forming "Yugoslav settlements on the German-Hungarian boundary"¹⁶⁶ – maintained the connection between the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs.

The names of the territorial units were of the greatest concern for Lukas. How could a corridor connect the Czech state with "Serbocroatia," Lukas insisted, since the map was made during the First World War, when Croatia had still existed as a state, unless Masaryk refuted the very idea of Croatia as a political – and, of course, cultural, geographical, and historical – entity? Lukas mentioned another map showing Slovenia as a part of the Czech state and interpreted it as a manifestation of Czech ambitions for reaching the sea, but did not publish it. "Masaryk was depicted as a realistic politician by his audience and biographers," Lukas concluded, "and here it is visible that he was a megalomaniac, imperialist, and utopian."¹⁶⁷

The fact that Lukas so triumphantly "revealed" these plans and maps in the late 1930s is surprising since at least some of them had previously been published and known to Yugoslav geographers. Already in 1922, the Slovenian historian, geographer, and politician Karel Capuder (1879-1960) referred to it as a "known corridor between Czechoslovakia and our

¹⁶³ Filip Lukas, "Dvije geografske karte još iz vremena rata, na kojima se vidi, kako su češki političari zamišljali uređenje srednje Evrope," *Hrvatska revija* 12, no. 1 (1939): 51-52; Lukas, "Poradi historijske istine," *Hrvatska revija* 12, no. 10 (1939): 548.

¹⁶⁴ Lukas, *Hrvatski narod i hrvatska državna misao*, 252.

¹⁶⁵ Arhiv SANU, 14460-III-G-a-19, "Koridor, 1. dio: Etnografski pregled zapadne Ugarske" (Corridor, part 1: Ethnographic overview of western Hungary).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Filip Lukas, "Česi prema borbi Hrvata za samoodređenje," in *Za hrvatsku samosvojnost: zakoni zemlje-krvi-duha: eseji, govori, članci*, vol. 2, *Hrvatski narod i hrvatska državna misao* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1944), 257.

country.”¹⁶⁸ Thanks to Capuder, the aforementioned Silvo Kranjec knew about it, and, through him, so could have other Slovenian and Yugoslav geographers, since he mentioned it in his 1926 article in *Geografski vestnik*.¹⁶⁹ Lukas’ “revelation” might point to the extent to which he was unacquainted with contemporary geographical production in Yugoslavia – or at least outside Zagreb and Croatia – and additionally emphasizes his position outside mainstream or academic geography.

Peter Haslinger has presented another variant of the same map in *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880-1938*, but with “Yugoslavia,” rather than “Serbocroatia,” written on it. Still other versions of the map could also have been known to Lukas, but they would not have served the purpose of unmasking Masaryk’s alleged anti-Croatian sentiments as effectively as the one negating Croatian historical and cultural individuality. Haslinger has placed the map drawn by Czech exiles in the context of a postwar anti-German alliance. While it is not entirely clear to which state the hypothetical corridor separating Austria and Hungary would belong to, it was envisioned primarily as part of a larger encirclement of Germany that was supposed to be comprised of Poland, the future Czechoslovak and Yugoslav states, and Italy.¹⁷⁰ The corridor, “intended to correct a misfortune inflicted on the Slavs some 1,026 years earlier, when the Magyar intrusion, along the Danube to the Carpathians, severed the connections between the South Slav tribes and their relations in the west,”¹⁷¹ remained unrealized and has been reduced to an obscure footnote in Yugoslav historiography.

4.7. Anton Melik and the geopolitics of Slovenia and Yugoslavia

Anton Melik was less interested in political geography than Filip Lukas, but he also engaged with political geographical issues. Melik’s engagement is specific as he, in one way or another, twice participated in the debate over Yugoslavia’s boundaries. At the end of the First World War, as the editor of the Ljubljana-based cultural magazine *Ljubljanski zvon*, he

¹⁶⁸ Karel Capuder, “Problem strategične meje,” *Čas: znanstvena revija “Leonove družbe”* 16, no. 4 (1922): 267.

¹⁶⁹ Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije,” 12.

¹⁷⁰ Peter Haslinger, *Nation und Territorium im tschechischen politischen Diskurs 1880-1938* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010), map 10; D. Perman, *The Shaping of the Czechoslovak State: Diplomatic History of the Boundaries of Czechoslovakia, 1914-1920* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 146-50.

¹⁷¹ Zbyněk Zeman and Antonín Klimek, *The Life of Edvard Beneš, 1884-1948: Czechoslovakia in Peace and War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 45.

combined a historical and geographical perspective to discuss the issue of Yugoslav boundaries; this combination hinted at his future scientific development. After 1945, as a fully-established geographer, he was an especially prolific author of geographical works dealing with Yugoslavia's northern and northwestern boundaries. His works on Trieste/Trst were immediately published in foreign languages. Like Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique* from 1918, but with a significantly smaller appeal to his fellow geographers, they aimed at international policy-makers rather than a domestic readership.¹⁷²

The notion of geopolitics was mostly absent from his writings and he scarcely used the term political geography either. Melik, however, was highly interested in the issue of boundaries, and in dealing with them he embraced and repeated many contemporary tropes developed in the field of political geography, German *Geopolitik*, and Cvijić's politically-minded anthropogeography. In 1919, at a time when the Yugoslav state had already been established but its boundaries were still disputed, under the pseudonym of Anton Loboda, Melik wrote a short but symptomatic text, "Moderna politična načela in naši obmejni spori" (Modern political principles and our border struggle).¹⁷³ As with virtually all of his contemporaries, Melik focused on and welcomed the Wilsonian principle of self-determination. But the victory of the national principle produced many border conflicts. Slovenes, he pointed out, had problems on three sides – with Italians, Germans (rather, with Austria), and Hungary. Unable to solve their problems alone – in fact lacking the power to back up their territorial claims – Yugoslavs expected a "just verdict" from the victorious powers. The disappointment, Melik believed, would have been smaller (and it was great), had the territorial demands been smaller (and they were great).¹⁷⁴

Fiume/Rijeka, Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica, Klagenfurt/Celovec, Villach/Beljak, and Istria were at stake. Melik dismissed even the possibility of discussing the future of Maribor/Marburg, which Austria claimed on the grounds of its significant German-speaking population – so convinced was he of its Slovenian character. Melik accepted only the national affiliation of the rural population, rather than the population of the cities themselves, as an appropriate factor for drawing boundaries. The city is a "higher form of civilization," he argued,

¹⁷² Anton Melik, *The Development of the Yugoslav Railways and Their Gravitation Toward Trieste* (Belgrade, 1945); Melik, *Trieste and Littoral: A Short Geographical Outline* (Ljubljana: Research Institute, Section for Frontier Questions, 1946); Melik, *Trieste and Northern Yugoslavia* (Ljubljana: Research Institute, Section for Frontier Questions, 1946).

¹⁷³ Anton Loboda (Anton Melik), "Moderna politična načela in naši obmejni spori," *Ljubljanski zvon* 39, no. 6 (1919): 352-357 and 420-424.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 352.

and therefore favored by the Western powers as a marker of the national belonging of a wider region. The countryside was Slovenian, while many cities in Slovenia were predominantly inhabited by Germans. However, the German character of cities was artificial, Melik insisted, created during the centuries-long German¹⁷⁵ rule.¹⁷⁶ Melik and, according to him, the whole Slovenian and Yugoslav public, were aware that a precise and just boundary could hardly have been drawn. Therefore, he argued, “the state boundary has to search for the geographically most justified line across the national boundary.”¹⁷⁷ Economic interests should be taken into consideration, especially Slovenian access to the sea at Trieste and Rijeka/Fiume. Similarly to Cvijić, Melik warned that the economic-geographic argument is a double-edged sword, as all involved parties can use it equally convincingly.¹⁷⁸

Somewhat unexpectedly, Melik commented on the calls for introducing Bolshevism as a solution to the border question. He claimed that the idea did not arise with the Slovenian socialists but with the nationalists, who were not interested in social revolution but looked for a force that would be able to stop Italian imperialism.¹⁷⁹ Melik was not an anti-revolutionary – on the contrary – but in 1919 he was reserved about the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat:

The question whether today we can accomplish social justice and the socialist society of the future by means of the social revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat remains unanswered, both theoretically and practically. . . . In a social-political aspect, the theory of social revolution definitely does not seem to be wrong to me, and I am well aware of the positive aspects of its ideology.¹⁸⁰

The agency in a potential social revolution was problematic. The industrial workers from the urban centers were the “armada of the revolution,” and the urban centers were nationally alien (German). Melik presented national and class consciousness in collision, as “an organization of socialist national states on [the principle of the] local self-government would draw the whole Carinthian [*Koruška*] and Styrian [*Štajerska*] civilizational sphere around Maribor and the Drava to Germany [Austria].”¹⁸¹ A solution of the Slovenian national question should not be expected from the socialist national-political principles. Instead, in 1919 Melik called for patience. Somewhat ironically, it was precisely the “socialist national-political principle” –

¹⁷⁵ Melik frequently used “German” and “Austrian” as synonyms, which sometimes obscured his point.

¹⁷⁶ Loboda, “Moderna politična načela,” 353.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 420.

backed by the victorious Partisan army in 1945 – that brought at least a partial solution for Slovenian national aspirations and an enlarged Slovenian territory.¹⁸²

During the interwar period, Melik revisited the issue of boundaries a couple of times, but in a less politically heated context. In 1928, after becoming a docent at the University of Ljubljana, Melik revisited one of Cvijić's central points – the boundary between the Balkan Peninsula and the main body of Europe.¹⁸³ Melik closely followed Cvijić's approach and, besides some details omitted by Cvijić's template, developed few new ideas. Still, he approached the issue of boundaries through a – for him rare – geopolitical perspective. Explicitly referring to the German geographer Herman Lautensach,¹⁸⁴ Melik opened the article by stating that the geographical position is “destiny” – especially in the case of the Balkans and Yugoslavia.¹⁸⁵ His assessment of geography of the Balkans perpetuated Cvijić's geographical canon. In the north, the peninsula has no natural boundaries; instead, it is well connected to the rest of the continent. The peninsula grows narrower toward the south, and the Aegean, the Adriatic, and the Ionian Sea link the shores opposite rather than separate them. There are no significant plains in the center of the peninsula but, especially in the west, the impervious mountains facilitate isolation and “political atomization,” while only in the east are there some larger valleys, and therefore larger states – including Serbia – have emerged there. There are many mountain obstacles but two major communications cut through them: the Morava-Vardar and Morava-Nišava-Maritsa river valleys.

Melik, just like other Yugoslav geographers, did not reflect much on the paradoxical relations between the forces of internal isolation and external communication. If the outside influences could easily reach the Balkans across its open boundaries, what precisely were the modalities of the permeation of these foreign influences throughout the peninsula given its internal fragmentation, excluding a small number of cardinal communication routes? Melik argued:

The absence of the conditions of isolation in the grand style, the position along the large natural communication routes between the centers of different cultures and larger

¹⁸² Trieste, Villach, and Klagenfurt were not incorporated into socialist Yugoslavia, but most parts of the Slovenian-inhabited territories in the northwest were. After the Second World War Melik retained his position at the University of Ljubljana, but also became the president of the Slovenska matica (1950-1966) – the central cultural association in Slovenia, parallel to the Matica hrvatska in Zagreb and the Matica srpska in Novi Sad – and served as a representative in the Slovenian parliament. See Ivan Gams, “Melik in njegov čas,” *Geografski vestnik* 62 (1990): 22.

¹⁸³ Anton Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” *Glasnik geografskog društva*, no. 14 (1928): 107-121.

¹⁸⁴ Herman Lautensach, *Allgemeine Geographie: zur Einführung in die Länderkunde* (Gotha: Perthes, 1926).

¹⁸⁵ Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” 107.

natural units, the unusual fragmentation of the surface, those are the geographical foundations of our national history, which was always full of changes and [was] almost always a reflection of the large political and cultural events on the fringes, or at least in the vicinity, of our national territory.¹⁸⁶

If in his earlier works, the conflict was between natural and ethnographic boundaries, now the opposing principles were historical-political and geographical boundaries on the one hand and ethno-political boundaries on the other. Melik in fact summarized the opening preamble of Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique*. Precise delineation of the Balkan Peninsula was – and remains to this day – a difficult, if not a futile task.¹⁸⁷

The precise definition of the northern boundary was especially problematic. Melik, as did many other geographers, offered various solutions but settled for none. The Danube and the Sava were rather obvious choices, but the part of the boundary between the Sava and the Adriatic Sea troubled all geographers.¹⁸⁸ Melik considered the line from the Sava to the Kupa (at Sisak) toward the Adriatic Sea, but he warned that this line cuts through the Dinaric massif. The alternative line is from the Sava to Ljubljana, and then between the Dinaric massif and the Alps toward the bay of Trieste. However, all these lines, he concluded, are “artificial boundaries.”¹⁸⁹

The Pannonian Plain north of the Balkans seems to be one of the finest and most compact natural regions of Europe. The political relations between the two regions have always been close: whoever ruled over the Pannonia, also attempted to rule the Balkans – and vice versa.¹⁹⁰ Yet despite its seeming unity, Melik reminded his readers that the Pannonian Plain was not always politically united:

The natural unity of the Pannonian Plain is of poor geopolitical quality. It is an important lesson for those [Hungarian irredentists] who consider the modern political fragmentation of the plains as unnatural and, because of it, do not believe in its longevity. The position in the middle of Central Europe and at the border of the Balkan Peninsula and Western Europe does not provide sufficient isolation, and this is the only real geopolitical characterization of the Pannonian Plain.¹⁹¹

It is interesting that Melik still emphasized the relations between the Balkans and the Pannonia

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 108.

¹⁸⁷ The very definition of the Balkans has been challenged, often by people refuting the notion of “Balkan culture”. Since the peninsula’s northern boundary is longer than its two other sides, it is argued that it does not qualify as a peninsula at all. See Dragutin Feletar, “Zablude nepostojećeg poluotoka,” *Meridijani*, 17, no. 141 (2010): 90-93.

¹⁸⁸ Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, 1:5-8; cf. Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Zagreb, 1922), 3-4n1.

¹⁸⁹ Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” 108.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 110.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 111.

in the late 1920s, when, unlike in the early 1920s – when the former Emperor and King Karl unsuccessfully attempted to regain power in Hungary and restore the power of the House of Habsburgs – there was little or no direct threat from the north. “With the establishment of Yugoslavia,” he claimed, “the Balkans went on the offensive against the Pannonian Plain and acquired the boundaries necessary for the assembly of the Vardar-Morava and the Sava-Danube regions.”¹⁹² Melik’s deconstruction of the Pannonian “naturalness” was in fact part of the process of the “naturalization” of Yugoslavia and its contested boundaries.

Melik’s argument clearly aimed at repeated Hungarian calls for rectifying the “unnatural” new boundaries and for revising the 1920 Treaty of Trianon by which Hungary lost two-thirds of its prewar territory. Although there was relatively little mention of the boundaries toward Hungary in interwar Yugoslav geographical discourse, instances like this serve as a reminder that the preoccupation with natural boundaries and their translation into political boundaries was not characteristic only for Yugoslavia. Besides the German debate on boundaries, Hungarian geography experienced a comparable development – but the very survival of the nation seemed to be at stake in Hungary.¹⁹³

As did most other Slovenes, Melik found Yugoslavia’s northwestern boundary to be the most pressing issue. He explained the Slovenian in-betweenness in a historical perspective. In the region between Kvarner (in the northern Adriatic Sea), the Bay of Trieste, and the upper flow of the river Sava,

ran the boundaries of the political formations of the Balkan Peninsula (for example, the Roman province of Dalmatia) and the Alps (the province of Noricum), and here reached the political influence of upper Italy (the province of Venice) and from the east, from the Pannonian Plains (the province of Pannonia). In Slovenia, therefore, we are not only on the boundary between the Balkans and Central Europe, but also on the boundary of the Apennine Peninsula and at the same time at the very important northern transportation connection of the Adriatic Sea and, moreover, on the western edge of the Pannonian Plain. Here the geopolitical situation is therefore somewhat more complicated than at other sectors of the boundary between the Balkans and the continent, because here the political will of the mentioned four natural regions has always converged. Therefore, Slovenian territory remained until today on a very important ethnic boundary, as few other parts of Europe; up to this point Slavdom reaches with the Slovenes, from the north with the Germans comes Germandom, from the west with the Italians the Romance, and in the northeast, we have Hungarians as representatives of the Mongolian group.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Ibid., 113.

¹⁹³ Balázs Ablonczy, *Pál Teleki (1874-1941): The Life of a Controversial Hungarian Politician* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monography, 2006, chap. 4; Ferenc Gyuris, “Human Geography, Cartography, and Statistics: A Toolkit for Geopolitical Goals in Hungary until World War II,” *Hungarian Cultural Studies: e-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Associations* 7 (2014): 214-241.

¹⁹⁴ Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” 114-15.

This was a rare elaboration of the otherwise simplistic dichotomy usually confined to the East and the West, but the conclusion was the same. The nation's historical – political and particularly cultural – fragmentation was caused by a geographical position in-between neighboring natural regions that were, as a rule, governed by more powerful political entities.

Melik elaborated on an implicit (and, in fact, reversed) Hegelian motif. Since the Middle Ages, he argued, and especially since the early modern period, “in continental Europe cultural development [was] so geographically distributed that culture intensifies from the east toward the west, so that the more western a people is, the more cultured they are.”¹⁹⁵ Countries of the “central region” such as Germany, Russia, or even France, are more or less defensive toward the west and offensive toward the east. Unfortunately, Melik's text, which is to a certain extent comparable to Lukas' notion of the orientation of the national spirit, tells us little regarding the specific influences under which Melik devised his ideas. The tone of the contemporary geopolitical thinking of Karl Haushofer, however, can be discerned: activity – primarily political – is associated with the east, and passivity with the west.

Thus, there are two types of peoples or nations, different in their genesis and dependence on geography. The older peoples, in the west, are “mechanical products of history,” while the younger peoples, in the east, are founded upon national consciousness. The latter were confronted with unclear national boundaries, and after the Great War, plebiscite – rather than the census – was applied through the region as a solution. Melik exaggerated the argument as census was more often used to determine the boundaries, but he was particularly affected by the outcome of the Carinthian plebiscite in 1920.¹⁹⁶ In Klagenfurt/Celovec, Melik stated, in 1910 lived 49,000 Slovenes and 23,000 Germans, but only 15,279 people voted for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes while 22,025 opted for Austria.¹⁹⁷ Melik interpreted this as a result of a centuries-long assimilation, and insisted that the very concept of a plebiscite has proved to be unfavorable to all small nations. Had the plebiscite question been about nationality, rather than the state, Melik believed, the outcome would have been different.

Yugoslav and Slovene geographers in particular were concerned about the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938. Immediately after the *Anschluss*, in March, in a direct geographical response aiming primarily at a non-professional readership, Melik addressed the issue of redrawing the

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 115.

¹⁹⁶ Oto Luthar, ed., *The Land Between: A History of Slovenia* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 379-81.

¹⁹⁷ Melik, “Meja med Balkanskim polotokom in evropskim trupom,” 119.

map of Europe and Germany's newly acquired boundary with Yugoslavia.¹⁹⁸ Austria, once a neutral zone between Yugoslavia and the Third Reich, had ceased to exist, and a significant number of Slovenes outside Yugoslavia now lived in Germany. The new situation, Melik warned, called for a new negotiation of their position. The Slovenian geopolitical position had also dramatically changed. Suddenly sharing a boundary with Germany, Slovenia's role as the bridge to the Adriatic was more pronounced than ever. "At a time when we have become the neighbor of a large state that stretches from the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea," he warned, "a need to clarify our position at one of the most prominent sectors of the new German boundary . . . is imposed upon us."¹⁹⁹ Unlike in earlier texts – which aimed at a professional, or at least geographically more "literate" readership – Melik described the importance of Slovenian territories as a transitional area by invoking historical examples since the Great Migration of Peoples rather than the quality of the physical landscape.

Although the geographical and political position of a country can be interrelated, Melik pointed to a difference between them. German *Geopolitik* was wrong in seeing them as necessarily mutually connected. The historical development of the Slovenian lands, Melik believed, disproved the German thesis:

The geographical position of the Slovenian territory has not changed, since the natural characteristics of a region do not change at a pace that is directly noticeable by human observation. But the political position of our lands has changed – changed often and greatly. The political position is not the same as the natural-geographical position. This is precisely one of the mistakes, delusions, committed by the German sort of geopolitics that attributes a determinant role only to natural factors, because if it was truly the case, we should have in certain regions, such as larger valleys or compact plains, at all times the same states, and in transitional areas, such as Slovenia, at all times the influences orientated and operating in the same way, and therefore a connection to the same political units. In fact, the role of our country was different in different periods, and dominant political influences did not come from the same direction. In other words: in addition to nature and the position of the country, political position is important, [as well as] political dynamics. . . . Our natural conditions, then, create certain benefits, certain possibilities – which possibilities are exploited in various periods and in which directions the transitional benefits are exploited, [it all] depends on the political position and the constellation of political dynamics.²⁰⁰

While criticizing German *Geopolitik*, Melik in fact adopted most of its vocabulary and basic concepts. If the German territorial claims – for instance, in the region surrounding Maribor – were in his opinion unfounded, he could nevertheless describe the geopolitical position of

¹⁹⁸ Anton Melik, "Ob združitvi Avstrije z Nemčijo," *Misel in delo – kulturna in socialna revija* 4, no. 2-3 (1938): 47-52.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

Slovenia as a whole by employing the very same discourse that substantiated the German territorial claims.²⁰¹

In early 1941, just before Yugoslavia disintegrated under the dual pressure of the invading armies of neighboring countries and internal discontent, Melik published the article “Političnogeografske osnove Jugoslavije” (Political-geographical foundations of Yugoslavia).²⁰² In the article, he once again stressed the triple character of Yugoslavia. For most of its territory, Yugoslavia belonged to the Balkan Peninsula. The country occupied mostly western and some central parts of the peninsula, but because of the importance of the Morava-Vardar valley, the center of the whole peninsula was in Yugoslavia. Therefore “Yugoslavia has the basis [to be] the central and leading Balkan state.”²⁰³ Via the Adriatic littoral, the country was part of a larger Mediterranean world and it had a vital role in global transport and trade. In addition, through the Pannonian Plain and the southeastern Alps, Yugoslavia was a part of Central Europe as well.

Although the largest and central part of the country was in the Balkans, Melik warned that the size of the parts or the natural regions of Yugoslavia should not be equated with their overall importance. He pointed that the northern parts, including the Slovenian lands, are the most important for Yugoslavia. The areas north of the Danube and Sava comprise only twenty-six percent of Yugoslavia’s territory but thirty-five percent of its population, and the overwhelming majority of its industry is located there. Additionally, while there were thirty railroad connections to Central Europe, only three lead toward other Balkan countries – one to Bulgaria and two to Greece.²⁰⁴ Melik thoroughly paid attention to the transport issues, primarily trains, and the other manifestations of modernization.²⁰⁵ He thus responded to Ratzel’s

²⁰¹ Ivo Rubić similarly elaborated on the relationship between the absolute and the relative geographical position. The absolute position is influenced by geographical latitude and longitude, which determine climate conditions, and climate itself influences the type of soil and its fertility, plant and animal diversity, and, above all, the way of human life. The relative position is dependent on relations with neighboring countries. The optimal position, Rubić believed, is that of insular countries; less ideal is the position of peripheral and peninsular countries; and the worst is that of continental countries. Nevertheless, a continental position can be beneficial in communication and cultural aspects, but it can lead to losing one’s cultural “individuality” (notice the similarity to Lukas’ vocabulary), especially if the surrounding countries are culturally strong, demographically superior, and richer. On the grounds of such a conceptualization, Rubić concluded that among the large states in Europe, geographical position of Germany is the worst. See Rubić, *Nova Njemačka*, 231-32.

²⁰² Anton Melik, “Političnogeografske osnove Jugoslavije,” *Misel in delo: kulturna in socialna revija* 7, no. 2-3 (1941): 36-39.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁰⁵ Anton Melik, “Razvoj železnic na ozemlju Jugoslavije,” *Geografski vestnik* 14 (1938): 118-134. Besides him, studies on the railways in Yugoslavia were published by Franjo Baš, “Nove železnice v Jugoslaviji,” *Geografski vestnik* 1, no. 2 (1925): 136-139; Baš, “Železnice v Jugoslaviji,” *Geografski vestnik* 5-6 (1929/1930): 174-176; and Milan Šenoa, “Naše željeznice,” *Hrvatski geografski glasnik* 2 (1930): 159-164.

incorporation of transport as one of the central points of political geography. He repeated Silvo Kranjec's assessment of the geographical center of the country, which was somewhere between Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Užice in Serbia, but stressed that this region was highly isolated and thus of little significance for communication. The real center, not only in a political but also in a transportation sense, was Belgrade – “the key to the Balkans.”²⁰⁶

By early 1941, it was clear which states played a pivotal role in East-Central Europe. Melik placed the relations between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union in a historical perspective and argued that the imperial Austrian-Russian as much as Nazi-Bolshevik relations determined the dynamics of the whole region:

One thing in this is beyond doubt: the fact that on the northern boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula the clasped territories of two great nations begin remains the basis for the assumption that in the near future the adjacency of both large northern political entities will be of fundamental importance for the destiny of the Balkan peoples. What will the future relations between them be, this question needs to be put aside, and with it the fundamental problem, how will the Balkan Peninsula, which is wide open on the northern side, regulate its relations with them.²⁰⁷

While Melik correctly identified the key actors in the region, his predictions for the political development proved to be wrong, because relations between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, just as relations between Yugoslavia and the Third Reich, could not have been “put aside.”

4.8. Challenging the geopolitical paradigm

Geopolitics was on everyone's lips in the 1930s, and most Yugoslav geographers had at least a superficial knowledge of the contemporary geopolitical literature. As discussed, the generation of Cvijić and Lukas was trained in Ratzelian geography, including Ratzel's political geographical paradigm. Younger generations that studied after the First World War – and studied more frequently at Yugoslav universities – inherited the Ratzelian paradigm but were at the same time thoroughly acquainted with contemporary geographical authors, including geopoliticians. Still, few Yugoslav geographers were as well informed about German geopolitics as Svetozar Ilešič (1907-1985), who became docent at the University of Ljubljana in 1940. Although Ilešič mostly abandoned political-geographical topics after the Second World

²⁰⁶ Melik, “Političnogeografske osnove Jugoslavije,” 37.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 39.

War, in the late 1930s he attentively followed German geopolitical production, especially concerning the boundary between the Third Reich and Yugoslavia. He rebutted *Geopolitik* because it saturated the public and professional discourse with a paradigm linked to the politics of the National Socialism, which directly threatened Slovenia, and challenged the fundamental tenets of geopolitics that many Yugoslav geographers embraced.

Ilešič initially delivered his article “Osnove in cilji geopolitike” (Foundations and aims of geopolitics) as a lecture at the People’s University in Ljubljana in March 1939.²⁰⁸ By that time, the Third Reich and Yugoslavia had shared a boundary for exactly a year. Aggressive German politics raised fears about the future, which were visible not only in the pages of the journal *Misel in delo – kulturna in socialna revija* (Thought and deed – cultural and social review), where his comments on *Geopolitik* were eventually published, but in the press across the country. Geopolitics, Ilešič stated, was the phrase of the day, yet its meaning and connection to political geography remained relatively unknown. Although the two terms were used as synonyms “for convenience,” he warned that “we have to understand geopolitics as a separate scientific branch, which is closer to politics than to geography.”²⁰⁹

Ilešič differentiated between “good” – or at least less bad – and “bad” geopolitics. In accordance with the dominant contemporary view, Ilešič argued that the genealogy of such a development began with Ratzel. Although the geopolitics of the late 1930s – “pseudoscience with a pronounced popularization and propagandist note, and pronounced tendentious publicist writing on a level that could be most accurately characterized as journalism”²¹⁰ – clearly served the Great German goals of National Socialist ideology, Ilešič stressed that its forefathers were neither superficial nor uncritical scientists. In his 1897 *Politische Geographie*, Ratzel described the state in terms of a connection between the people and the land, as a process influenced primarily by the position (*Lage*) and the space (*Raum*), and manifested in a search for the living space (*Lebensraum*).²¹¹ Another key figure of the early development of geopolitics, Kjellén, added the spatial perspective to the science of the state, which he envisioned as divided into five subfields: geopolitics, ecopolitics, ethnopolitics (or demopolitics), sociopolitics, and cratopolitics (dealing with the modalities of ruling), through which he studied the political life of modern states.²¹² Ilešič did not elaborate on the political implications of the first phase of the

²⁰⁸ Svetozar Ilešič, “Osnove in cilji geopolitike,” *Misel in delo – kulturna in socialna revija* 5, no. 6-7 (1939): 194-210.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 194.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 195.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 198, cf. Lukas, “Naš narodni problem s geopolitičnog gledišta,” 82.

development of geopolitics. If, as he argued, the insistence on the space, shape, and natural boundaries of the state was methodologically erroneous, it was not inherently connected with any political program.

According to a standard classification, Haushofer marked the second, and Maull the third phase of development of *Geopolitik*, but Ilešič paid little attention to precise differences between these two authors and the phases they marked. He considered the new generation of geographers interested in politics that emerged after the First World War as, directly or indirectly, Ratzel's students. They believed that Germany had lost the war because of the lack of understanding of geopolitical laws and "took up the task not only to try to diligently study these laws and actions, particularly regarding German territory, but also to popularize them, inform [the population] about them and make them into guidelines for the future national and state policies."²¹³ Journals like *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, and *Macht und Erde* were instrumental in this endeavor. In his view, the "solid political-geographical views of Ratzel and Kjellén" were gradually corrupted in a process that culminated in an ever-growing number of claims on territory bordering on Germany in all directions, including on the borders with Yugoslavia.²¹⁴ Contemporary geopolitics emphasized the concepts of *Volksboden* (territory where Germans and German-speaking population lives) and *Kulturboden* (territory, or rather cultural landscape, shaped by German cultural influences), which were used together in order to substantiate Germany's territorial claims.²¹⁵

Oto Maull was pointed to as a geographer who was somehow particularly involved in distancing geopolitics from "impartial scientific branch," meaning political geography. Ilešič accepted Maull's differentiation between political geography as a discipline studying the relationship between the state and the land, or the state as an organism rooted in the land, and geopolitics as a discipline articulating the new territorial demands of the state and improving its ethnical, transportation, and economic organization. "Geopolitics is therefore in relation to geography," Ilešič wrote, "what a physician is in relation to a biologist, and a mining engineer in relation to a geologist."²¹⁶

The most problematic aspect of German geopolitics, according to Ilešič, was its excessive environmental determinism. In his critique, he embraced the position of the French

²¹³ Ilešič, "Osnove in cilji geopolitike," 200.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 201-2.

²¹⁵ In fact, in 1939 Ilešič succinctly observed nationalist geopolitical strategies that Guntram Herb examined much later. See Herb, *Under the Map of Germany*.

²¹⁶ Ilešič, "Osnove in cilji geopolitike," 202.

geographical school of possibilism, established by Paul Vidal de la Blache. “The original sin was committed already by Ratzel, who worked at the time when the focus of the geographical science moved toward the natural [-scientific] side,”²¹⁷ but Ilešič believed that French geographers soon corrected the sin of determinism:

Opposing the exclusive geographical determinism, according to which a cultural region is almost completely created by . . . natural conditions, [de la Blache] devised a more realistic principle of geographical possibilism, which argues that nature only offers such and such conditions, and that man can use them according to his own consideration and abilities: sometimes he uses them completely, other times partially, or does not use them at all, because he cannot or does not know how to. . . . The history of human kind thus pushes the geographical natural factors to the background; [natural factors] block the triumph of civilization, which is at the same time the triumph over physical geography.²¹⁸

Ilešič was also acquainted with a more historical and sociological elaboration of Vidal’s possibilism by Lucien Febvre.²¹⁹ Interestingly, while Ilešič stressed the role of Febvre in showing that man and the development of the human society are not slaves to geographical laws, he did not even register Febvre’s rather negative comments on Cvijić and his deterministic approach. Although Ilešič dismissed some of the central tenets of Yugoslav interwar anthropogeography that had originated in German geography, such as the insistence on natural boundaries, he did not elaborate on this genealogy and the fact that Yugoslav geography, despite frequently paying lip service to the French Possibilist School, was deeply embedded precisely in this determinist reasoning.

The largest break with the previous engagement of Yugoslav geography in political issues was Ilešič’s claim that the “introduction and forcing of the notion of the so-called natural boundary was an especially grave error of geographical determinism.”²²⁰ There is no such thing as a natural boundary, Ilešič declared. He referred to French geographers, although they in fact did not abandon the concept, but rather downplayed its significance. Geographical regions, Ilešič insisted, are not sharply separated but gradually merge into each other. The concept of natural boundaries had been applicable, he pointed out, to older, “primitive” societies more dependent on the environment and unable to conquer nature – or to uninhabited, “uncivilized,” and difficult to reach areas of the modern world. Even in those cases, the issue was about wide border zones, forests, swamps, or deserts, rather than clear-cut boundaries. “All other

²¹⁷ Ibid., 206.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 207.

²¹⁹ Lucien Febvre, *La Terre et l'évolution humaine: Introduction géographique à l'histoire* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1922).

²²⁰ Ilešič, “Osnove in cilji geopolitike,” 208.

geographical lines,” Ilešič concluded, “that are today glorified as good natural bases for political boundaries, are more or less nonsense.”²²¹

Even mountainous boundaries – though mostly effective – are not real obstacles for many shepherds, and the Alps are at the same time divided between cultural and physical landscapes and a unit in their own right. Ilešič warned that even Germans themselves do not use the concept of natural boundaries consistently; they insist that the whole Rhine area – both banks of the Rhine – is German, but at the same time did not allow application of that principle to Polish rule over the whole Vistula area. In this way, they actually “recognized the French principle of political boundaries, that is, the principle that boundaries are only an unstable framework, a dynamic area where shaping the relations, perspectives, and influences of man rather than nature are decisive.”²²²

Ilešič’s claim that German geographers subordinated the psychological and idealist principle of the nation to the territorial, however, points to a selective reading of the contemporary German geopolitical discourse. Much of German geopolitics, in fact, emphasized the link between the spirit and the land, sometimes in the *Blut und Boden* manner.²²³ It was particularly visible in Willy Hellpach’s concept of *geopsyche*, which Filip Lukas adopted and “translated” to the Yugoslav, and especially the Croatian setting.²²⁴ In any case, Ilešič saw the very concept of natural boundaries, employed by so many of his colleagues, as “absurd.”²²⁵

Much of political geography and anthropogeography in interwar Yugoslavia not only embraced this absurd concept but built one of its central endeavors – constructing Yugoslav and particular national spaces within Yugoslavia as a coherent natural region – upon this concept. Ilešič did not name the Yugoslav geographers who accepted this erroneous approach, but he specifically criticized the concept of the quotient of pressure that was, as mentioned

²²¹ Ibid., 208.

²²² Ibid., 209.

²²³ Hans-Dietrich Schultz, *Die deutschsprachige Geographie von 1800 bis 1970: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ihrer Methodologie* (Berlin: Geographisches Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, 1980), 202-16.

²²⁴ Willy Hellpach, *Geopsyche: die Menschenseele unter dem Einfluß von Wetter und Klima, Boden und Landschaft*, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1939); cf. Filip Lukas, “Smjernice i elementi u razvoju hrvatskoga naroda,” *Hrvatska revija* 5, no. 6 (1932): 345-58.

²²⁵ Ilešič, “Osnove in cilji geopolitike,” 209. Ilešič’s dismissal of the concept of natural boundaries is reminiscent of the debate among German geographers in the first half of the nineteenth century, when August Leopold Bucher launched a “thorough attack on the use of ‘natural boundaries’ and ‘natural regions’ in the works of his contemporaries. Utilizing anatomy and physiology as analogies – though recognizing that the analogies were not complete – he arrived at the negative conclusion that geographers need not attempt in any way to divide the earth into areal parts except for special purposes; rather that they should study it in terms of classified phenomena, i.e., systematic geography.” See Richard Hartshorne, *The Nature of Geography: a Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past* (Lancaster, PA: The Association of American Geographers, 1939), 86-87.

above, used by Filip Lukas, Silvo Kranjec, and Ivo Rubić.²²⁶ If in the mid-1920s Silvo Kranjec uncritically accepted methods of depicting the relations between nations and states in an earlier phase of development of *Geopolitik*, by 1939 the development of the discipline – particularly its connections to the National Socialist regime in Germany²²⁷ – made Ilešič much more critical. The quotient of pressure, which compared the number of inhabitants of neighboring countries, obscured a number of factors not detectable on a map or in statistics that equally influenced the development of the states.

Ilešič refuted the central issue of contemporary political geography – a belief that it could become a nomothetic science, which examines natural laws, and is able to anticipate the development of human societies: “Political geography, that is, geopolitics, cannot be mathematics or physics, but a science that deals with living life and living organisms, which are obviously unpredictable and can never be confined to chains of generally valid laws.”²²⁸ He called for the development of a specifically Yugoslav philosophy of geography, which would differ from those of Yugoslavia’s western and northern neighbors. However, he was alone in his calls and did not offer any guidelines as to which direction this Yugoslav philosophy of geography should take.

In early 1941, immediately before the German invasion of Yugoslavia and the short April War – and now as a docent at the University of Ljubljana teaching mathematical and maritime geography²²⁹ – Ilešič once again wrote on German *Geopolitik*, this time focusing primarily on the concept of space (*Raum*).²³⁰ By extensively writing on the concept of *Raum* in his highly influential work *Politische Geographie*, Ratzel opened the way to perceiving political entities through the prism of the space from which these entities emerged and upon which they are dependent:

On this basis, a kind of practical political-geographical science, which was given the name of geopolitics, was domesticated all too soon, and its purpose – according to the

²²⁶ Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*; Kranjec, “Geopolitičen oris Jugoslavije”; Rubić, *Nova Njemačka*.

²²⁷ Although Ilešič – as well as some of the interwar geographers and the majority of the post-1945 intellectuals in general – established a dichotomy of “good” and “bad” geopolitics, since the 1980s historians of geography have successfully challenged such a division. Various authors have pointed out that soon after Hitler came to power in 1933 there was, in fact, a significant falling out among most geopoliticians, including Haushofer, and the regime’s political actions regarding even fundamental issues, such as Germany’s relationship with the USSR. Klaus Kost, “The Conception of Politics in Political Geography and Geopolitics in Germany until 1945”; Murphy, *The Heroic Earth*.

²²⁸ Ilešič, “Osnove in cilji geopolitike,” 210.

²²⁹ *Seznam predavanj na Univerzi kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani za zimski semester 1940/1941*. (Ljubljana: Univerza kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani, 1940), 5.

²³⁰ Svetozar Ilešič, “Sodobna politika ‘prostora,’” *Misel in delo – kulturna in socijalna revija* 7, no. 2-3 (1941): 39-43.

definition of one of its main founders and a political-geographical adviser to the contemporary German leadership, the well-known Karl Haushofer – is precisely to direct the engagement of political power in space as wisely as possible, that is, to examine the possibilities and needs of the development of political forms (the state) regarding the space.²³¹

The journey of the concept from academia to the press, radio, and German foreign policy was short. *Raum* became one of the favorite catch phrases of the German press, so much so that Ilešič described its prominence as an “invasion of the term ‘space.’”²³² He supported concerns about the misuses and abuses of the term voiced by some – rare – German geographers.²³³

Ilešič criticized some of the best-known contemporary concepts such as *Raumordnung*, connected to the systematic examination of German(ic) space in order to devise a better economic and social arrangement, and *Wirtschaftsraum*, which was, ideally, an economically autarchic area that did not necessarily correspond to natural or ethnic units. Since the modern world was economically so tightly connected, Ilešič argued that pointing to such delineated areas is highly problematic. Furthermore, the *Lebensraum*

certainly represents a very stretchable, cleverly concealed aspiration of domination over the neighboring [regions], even over the more remote areas. All those outer areas are often counted as the living space of a nation, with which such a politically and economically expansive nation engages only indirectly, and holds those markets for its products, or controls the local production with its capital.²³⁴

Ilešič was especially concerned because Slovenia and some other parts of northern Yugoslavia were counted as parts of the German *Lebensraum* by the *Atlas des deutschen Lebensraumes in Mitteleuropa*, edited by the aforementioned Norbert Krebs, a prominent German specialist in the geography of the Balkans.²³⁵ Ilešič’s concerns were not exaggerated, as the break-up of Yugoslavia after the short April War showed, but the Third Reich did not annex all the areas that were seen as belonging to the German *Lebensraum*. In agreement with its main partner, fascist Italy, the two Axis powers divided the Slovenian lands, and Ljubljana, where Ilešič kept his position at the university, belonged to Italy.²³⁶

²³¹ Ibid., 39.

²³² Ibid., 40.

²³³ Heinrich Schmitthenner, “Sinn und Wert des Wortes Raum in der geographischen Literatur von Heute,” *Geographische Zeitschrift* 45, no. 2 (1939): 41-51.

²³⁴ Ilešič, “Sodobna politika ‘prostora,’” 42.

²³⁵ Norbert Krebs, ed., *Atlas des deutschen Lebensraumes in Mitteleuropa* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1937).

²³⁶ Luthar, ed., *The Land Between*, 419.

Chapter 5

GEOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA

The idea of Yugoslav unity and its realization in the form of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes – after 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – had zealous supporters as well as opponents. In light of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s and the dismissal of the Yugoslav idea, interest in the opponents of the monarchic and socialist Yugoslavia has grown. Different attitudes toward the Yugoslav idea and the Yugoslav state among the three titular national groups in the interwar period have been thoroughly studied. Among the three constitutive groups, the dissatisfaction of the Croats was especially pronounced, although Dejan Djokić has pointed to the dangers of equating national and political affiliations during the interwar period, and reminds us that a more nuanced interpretation of the national and political question in interwar Yugoslavia is not only necessary but attainable as well.¹

If voices opposing Yugoslav unity and the Yugoslav state were numerous and loud in the public and political sphere, they were more restrained in academia and the sciences. The political and socio-economic profiles of scientists partially explain this. As civil servants, they depended on the state and the constantly negotiated distribution of scarce resources that the government provided. Refusal to take part in at least a minimal promulgation of the state policy regarding the similarity between – if not unity of – Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, could have detrimental consequences in this regard. As intellectuals, many of them genuinely subscribed to the project of cultural and political unification of the South Slavs developed by their predecessors in the nineteenth century. As scientists, in a period when positivism shaped the philosophical and methodological tenets of their professions, they often insisted on the “objective” and inherently “apolitical” nature of their work, thus maintaining distance from – and occasionally even showing contempt for – political issues, although they personally expressed sympathies for certain political programs. This, of course, does not mean that there were no opponents of the Yugoslav idea among the faculty members. Indeed, this seems to have been more often the case in Zagreb than in Belgrade and Ljubljana. As was shown in chapter one in the case of Ivo Rubić and his failed attempt to get a position at the University of Zagreb

¹ Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Djokić, “Nationalism, Myth and Reinterpretation of History: The Neglected Case of Interwar Yugoslavia,” *European History Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (2012): 71-95.

in the late 1930s, “excessive” support for the Yugoslav state and the lack of a Croatian national awareness could hinder one’s career prospects at the University of Zagreb.²

If Yugoslav geographers in academic centers had a different understanding of the national question or diverging views on the preferred internal arrangement of the country – not to mention different disciplinary interests and profiles – no geographer was as clear and determined in dismissing the historical, geographical, cultural, and political unity of the Yugoslavs as Filip Lukas. His in-between position as a mediator between the core of academia and the public sphere significantly helped him to promulgate his political-geographical views. However, Lukas should not be seen as entirely independent from the (Yugoslav) state. From 1920 to 1945, he taught at the Economic-Commercial School in Zagreb, and despite frequent complaints that the state deliberately neglected the *Matica hrvatska* by withdrawing financial support, which it granted to Serbian and pro-Yugoslav associations, Lukas nevertheless maintained relations with at least the local government.³

This chapter focuses on the geographical works with political implications written by Lukas between 1925, when he published his, in several ways programmatic, text “*Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda*” (Geographical foundation of the Croatian people) and 1945, when he fled Zagreb, never to return. In this period, Lukas formulated a unique anti-Yugoslav narrative based on his understanding of the Croatian nation as a spatial – in addition to a historical – category, which was appealing to many “nationally conscious” or explicitly nationalist Croatian intellectuals. Furthermore, building upon some recent scholarly observations, the chapter analyzes the gradual radicalization of Lukas’ discourse in the context of an intra-Croatian conflict between Croatian nationalists (including Lukas and the circle around the *Matica hrvatska*) and the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS, *Hrvatska seljačka stranka*) as well as in the context of the better-known Serbo-Croatian conflict. Most importantly, the chapter points to the scientific – disciplinary – foundations of this conflict, which were as

² Središnji arhiv Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Central Archives of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb), Sjednički zapisnici 1939-40, Zapisnik V. redovne sjednice Savjeta Filozofskog fakulteta, održane 17. travnja 1940. u 8 sati prije podne, 6. Pitanje natjecanja dra. Ive Rubića za sveučilišnu docenturu s obzirom na zaključak Savjeta od 3. VII. 1935. o njegovoj privatnoj docenturi (Minutes from the fifth regular session of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy, held on April 17, 1949 at 8am; 6. The issue of the application of Dr. Ivo Rubić for the position of university docent in the light of the Council’s decision from July 3, 1935 regarding his position of a private docent).

³ During and after the interwar period Lukas frequently pointed to the lack of financial support from the government for the *Matica*. Filip Lukas, “Ideološke smjernice u radu Matice hrvatske,” *Hrvatska revija* 13, no. 2 (1940): 57-63; Lukas, “Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske, dio 2,” *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 6, no. 1-2 (1956): 20-43. This issue was also raised in the annual reports of the *Matica*’s secretaries and treasurers.

important as the political foundations.

The issue of race might seem conspicuously absent from the chapter. This is because some recent works have documented the racial ideology in interwar Yugoslavia, including Lukas' contributions to the racial debate, in detail.⁴ Although doubtlessly important, race was not central to Lukas' discourse. Lukas was just one of numerous participants in the racial debate, and the recent strong research emphasis on race has been at the expense of some of the vital geographical issues that Lukas elaborated. By the late 1930s and the Second World War, his discourse started moving closer to the *Blut und Boden* ideology.⁵ Certain tropes Lukas used resembled the infamous ideology, but even when he emphasized "blood," the "soil" nevertheless remained the decisive element in the process of creating and preserving the Croatian nation. This was a manifestation of his adherence to an older, Ratzelian paradigm of political geography and anthropogeography in general. Political, historical, cultural, and, to a lesser degree, economic geography, with elements of physical geography, linked all Lukas' publications from 1906 to 1945 more than racial issues. Since virtually all contemporary Yugoslav geographers dealt with these issues, these – rather than race – allow for a comparison of the geographical network in Yugoslavia in its entirety.

5.1. Filip Lukas and the project of naturalizing Croatia

The circumstances of the life of Filip Lukas are as symptomatic of the history of Croatia in the first half of the twentieth century as his geographical vision of Croatia was influential in shaping Croatian identity during the interwar period and the Second World War among conservative and right-wing circles. Lukas is one of the prominent intellectuals who have

⁴ Nevenko Bartulin, "The Ideology of Nation and Race: The Croatian Ustasha Regime and its Policies Toward Minorities in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945" (PhD diss., University of New South Wales, 2006); Bartulin, "The NDH as a 'Central European Bulwark against Italian Imperialism': An Assessment of Croatian-Italian Relations within the German 'New Order,'" *Review of Croatian History* 3 (2007): 49-74; Bartulin, "The Ideal Nordic-Dinaric Racial Type: Racial Anthropology in the Independent State of Croatia," *Review of Croatian History* 5 (2009): 189-219; Bartulin, "The Anti-Yugoslavist Narrative on Croatian Ethnolinguistic and Racial Identity, 1900-1941," *East Central Europe* 39, no. 2-3 (2012): 331-356; Bartulin, "Intellectual Discourse on Race and Culture in Croatia, 1900-1945," *Review of Croatian History* 8 (2012): 185-205; Bartulin, *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia: Origins and Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Višeslav Aralica, "Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata u hrvatskom seljačkom pokretu i nacionalističkom i ustaškom pokretu, 1935-1945" (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2011); Rory Yeomans, "On 'Yugoslav Barbarians' and Croatian Gentlemen Scholars: Nationalist Ideology and Racial Anthropology in Interwar Yugoslavia," in *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeastern Europe, 1900-1940*, ed. Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 83-122.

⁵ Although of older origin, the concept became one of the central tenets of National Socialism through Richard Walter Darré's *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (Munich: Lehmann, 1930).

remained known only to a limited circle of scholars and members of the Croatian nationalist intelligentsia that looked to him for inspiration. (The two categories, it should be noted, sometimes overlap.) Yet, Lukas as a geographer has not been systematically and thoroughly studied, especially not from the perspective of the history of science and geography in particular, although he appears as an unavoidable figure in Croatian as well as Yugoslav intellectual and scientific history.

I will show that his position in the Matica hrvatska – Lukas was its president between 1928 and 1945 – was a crucial factor contributing to the wide reach of his geographical and political ideas. If we understand Lukas' position as being at the intersection of the tentative spheres of core or mainstream academia or "elite science" (see figure 1.1) – to which he belonged by virtue of his education, professorship at the Economic-Commercial School, and publications – and of the public (including the political) sphere, Lukas emerges as a unique link between the two. More precisely, in the terms of Bruno Latour, Lukas appears not as an "intermediary" who "transports meaning or force without transformation," but as a "mediator" who can "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry."⁶ The prestige and "infrastructure" that the Matica hrvatska provided – various types of publications and opportunities for public appearance – were invaluable assets that Lukas abundantly employed in fulfilling the role of mediator. Lukas authored diverse publications: school textbooks, scientific monographs, articles in journals and magazines. Many other geographers, including Anton Melik and Borivoje Ž. Milojević, had a similar profile and acted as mediators. However, with the exception of Jovan Cvijić, the results of their dual embedment were not as noticeable and influential as that of Lukas.

Lukas belonged to a generation of Croatian intellectuals close to the Party of (the Croatian State) Rights (*Stranka prava*) that matured at a time where there was a significant shift in the party's politics and politics in Croatia in general. After a number of secessions and reconfigurations since the late nineteenth century, a segment of the party abandoned its initial anti-Serbian edge, started supporting the unification of the South Slavs, and even welcomed the establishment of Yugoslavia, although the enthusiasm of most soon diminished.⁷ *Stranka prava* divided into a number of heir factions, one of which transformed into a radical nationalist movement, which formed the backbone of the fascist regime in the Independent State of Croatia

⁶ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 39.

⁷ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 351-59.

between 1941 and 1945.⁸ Lukas was initially close to the faction led by Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo, which favored the unification of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Just as his esteemed friend Trumbić, (Supilo had died in 1917, before the unification of Yugoslavia) and many other intellectuals, Lukas became disillusioned with the new country. His publications, however, do not show a turning point as dramatic or as early as has been suggested, rather a gradual process spanning several years.⁹ Having dismissed the Yugoslav stance of the nineteenth-century Croatian Catholic bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer as illusionary, Lukas started referring to Ante Starčević, the cofounder of the original Stranka prava, as a preferable political role model.¹⁰

Lukas fled Zagreb in the face of the advancing Partisans on May 6, 1945, first to Klagenfurt and then, in 1949, to Rome, where he died in 1958. He was tried in absentia by the communist-controlled government in November 1945, found guilty of “actions and propaganda in favor of the occupier and its collaborators by means of spreading national and religious intolerance, justifying the German occupation, and denouncing the National-liberation struggle,” and sentenced to execution by firing squad.¹¹ The indictment focused on three publications. First, in a published speech that was delivered to the board of the Matica hrvatska in April 1941, soon after the Independent State of Croatia (NDH, *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*) was established, Lukas emphasized the Matica’s role in defying the interwar Belgrade regime and praised the new Ustasha regime and its leader, Ante Pavelić. Second, the court found that Lukas “tendentiously expounded alleged differences between Croats and Serbs, expressed his opinion regarding the non-Slavic origins of the Croats, attempted to dissuade Croats from the association with other Slavic peoples” in his collected works published in 1944,¹² and in 1942. In another speech he also “glorified the achievement of the NDH and expressed ‘loyalty and gratefulness to the Poglavnik’ Ante Pavelić.”¹³ Third, in 1943 Lukas edited *Naša domovina*, which, besides containing a photograph of Pavelić, praised the accomplishments of the Ustasha, and agitated the public in favor of the NDH and conducted propaganda in favor of the occupiers.¹⁴

To date, Lukas and his work remain scarcely and sporadically researched. In the 1990s,

⁸ Bogdan Krizman, *Ante Pavelić i ustaše* (Zagreb: Globus, 1978).

⁹ Dubravko Jelčić, “Zasluge Filipa Lukasa,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić, (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 29.

¹⁰ Filip Lukas, *Dr. Ante Starčević: o 40. godišnjici smrti* (Zagreb: Pramatica, 1936).

¹¹ Jere Jareb, “Filip Lukas bio je osuđen na smrt u studenome 1945,” *Kolo* 8, no. 3 (1998): 7-8.

¹² Jareb correctly observed that instead of the aforementioned three volumes, only two volumes were published, and that all the texts in them had already been published before 1941. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

historians, geographers, and some of his fellow political emigrants reminded the Croatian public of Lukas. They saw it as an attempt to rectify the unjust *damnatio memoriae* imposed on him by the communist regime. Although approaching Lukas from various perspectives, the authors of several articles in the daily press and in a collection of papers from a conference dedicated to Lukas agreed on certain points.¹⁵ Above all, they revised Lukas' relationship to the Ustasha regime between April 1941 and May 1945. Lukas was, they argued, an innocent victim of the post-1945 political persecution, who left the country politically "uncompromised,"¹⁶ a Croatian patriot who fought for Croatian independence and never wrote derogatively about the Serbs, and even explicitly warned against the perils of nationalism. He was described as not having been close to the ruling structures of the NDH. His disagreement with some of the actions of the Ustasha regime, such as ceding the littoral territories to fascist Italy, which Lukas believed to be a fatal geopolitical error, or the reserved relations between the Poglavnik, Ante Pavelić, and the Matica hrvatska led by Lukas, have been emphasized to present Lukas almost as an internal dissident or even an opponent – albeit a mild one – of the regime.¹⁷ Several authors stressed Lukas' ability to distinguish between the Croatian state and the fascist regime, never doubting the former and always being critical toward the latter, which allegedly caused "the Matica hrvatska and its president [to be] continuously persecuted and threatened" even in the NDH.¹⁸

Lukas himself, as well as later commentators, described the political implications of his work as pro-Croatian rather than anti-Serbian.¹⁹ His aim, they argued, was to assert Croatia's historical, cultural, and political individuality and defend it against the oppression of the hegemonic Serbian regime in interwar Yugoslavia. This is, for the most part, a correct observation. Lukas' writing, especially in the later period, dealt almost exclusively with Croatia

¹⁵ Mladen Švab, "Hrvat bečke škole," *Nedjeljna Dalmacija*, May 26, 1991: 18; Josip Ante Soldo, "Prof. Filip Lukas (1871-1958)," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 43, no. 2-3 (1993): 193-211; Milan Hodžić, ed., *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945.: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994.* (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995); Filip Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost*, ed. Dubravko Jeličić (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 1997).

¹⁶ Vinko Nikolić, "Prof. Filip Lukas: ličnost za galeriju velikana," in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945.: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994.*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁸ Nikolić, "Prof. Filip Lukas," 16; Jelčić, "Zasluge Filipa Lukasa," 32; Mario Mimica, "Ecce homo . . . Ecce malevolus," in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945.: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994.*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 139.

¹⁹ Filip Lukas, "Da li je Jugoslavija nastala na temelju narodnog samoopredjeljenja," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 2, no. 1 (1952): 33-48; Lukas, "Narodno jedinstvo II – bilansa narodnog jedinstva između Hrvata i Srba u toku povijesti," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 4, no. 2 (1954): 106-116; Lukas, "Narodno jedinstvo III – bilansa narodnog jedinstva između Hrvata i Srba u toku povijesti," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 4, no. 3 (1954): 237-248.

and although, as will be shown, on several occasions he pointed to Serbs inhabiting the “Croatian lands” as foreign elements, he mostly stopped there. Nevertheless, such readings of Lukas at the same time tend to neglect the proximity of Lukas’ discourse to that of the Ustasha regime – and the influence Lukas exerted on a broad spectrum of Croatian nationalists during the 1930s – as well as their cohabitation. Although Lukas cannot be described as a fascist, the label of “fellow traveler” – primarily used to describe intellectuals sympathetic to the Soviet regime who, however, were not members of the communist party and who, although critical of certain governmental policies, profited from their support for the government – seems appropriate.²⁰

An argument frequently employed in revisionist studies on Lukas which is of particular importance for the examination of Lukas’ work in this chapter, is the one that insists on the objective scientific character of his publications. It was argued that his “work was permeated with great patriotism, but never exceeded the boundaries of scientific truth.”²¹ Although Lukas was among the foremost contemporary geopoliticians in Croatia – in fact, in the entire Yugoslavia – he is said not to have followed German *Geopolitik*, “especially not in the manner in which the Nazis understood it, as a foundation for their expansionist politics.”²² Instead, “he wanted to find in the natural conditions a foundation for the political development of the Croatian people, not counting on the conquest of territories belonging to others.”²³

The comment of the historian who first revealed the sentence from 1945 is particularly illustrative, as it couples revisionism with an antiquated belief in the separation of politics and science. Thus, according to Jere Jareb, “two volumes of the encyclopedic handbook *Naša domovina* are in fact a strictly scientific work. The finest experts in Croatian science and culture collaborated on it. Because of its scientific merits, the edited volume *Naša domovina* deserves a reprint. There is no propaganda in it.”²⁴ Mario Mimica especially vigorously pointed to this separation in a comparison of Lukas and Cvijić. According to Mimica, although Cvijić was only six years older than Lukas, he was able to complete his education sooner because of the support he received, and had put himself in the service of daily politics “at the expense of

²⁰ David Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers: Intellectual Friends of Communism*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

²¹ Stanko Žuljić, “Prilozi F. Lukasa iz političke geografije,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 106-7.

²² Josip Ante Soldo, “Dvije sastavnice nacionalne ideje Filipa Lukasa,” in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 60.

²³ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁴ Jareb, “Filip Lukas,” 6.

science.” Lukas, on the other hand, was “not pampered even by ‘his’ NDH, precisely because of his truthfulness and objectivity, upon which Lukas’ entire work is based.”²⁵ And while “Cvijić mostly disseminated his malicious theses through professional geographical publications, although they were in fact political pamphlets, Professor Lukas strictly separated scientific from political and clerical work, and never tried to publish his famous speeches delivered at the Matica hrvatska as scientific works, although they had such merit.”²⁶ Yet, despite insisting on the separation of the scientific and the political, the majority of studies on Lukas from the 1990s eventually – if unwittingly – linked the two dimensions of Lukas’ work.

Several recent studies – though not focusing specifically on Lukas, but rather touching upon him in the wider context of the Croatian nationalist intellectual elite or racial discourse – have been more receptive to the political nature of science and examined the encounter on the blurred lines between the science and the politics.²⁷ Another study not specifically on Lukas, but on the Matica hrvatska that he presided over between 1928 and 1945, at least partially dispelled the notion of Lukas’ opposition to the Ustasha regime.²⁸ Lukas certainly had some reservations regarding the Ustasha regime and was critical of some of its political actions, and there was some friction between the Matica hrvatska and the regime. But Lukas’ prestige as a national ideologue nevertheless remained considerable and the Matica hrvatska was a unique cultural association in the sense that its size and enterprises – particularly the number of its publications – increased during the critical period of the Second World War.²⁹

This chapter shows that “Lukas the geographer” and “Lukas the nationalist ideologue” are inseparable parts of a whole. Only by dismissing the illusion of “pure” science, somehow clearly delineated from the sphere of politics, can we examine Lukas’ opus and its role in

²⁵ Mimica, “Ecce homo . . . Ecce malevolus,” 139.

²⁶ Ibid., 152.

²⁷ One of the authors mentioned, Višeslav Aralica, nevertheless wrote about “the need to study that dangerous link between ideology and science, two inherent value concepts which, as a rule, should not overlap.” See Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata,” 49. For Lukas, see *ibid.*, 378-408; Nevenko Bartulin, “Ideology of Nation and Race”; Bartulin, “NDH as a ‘Central European Bulwark’”; Bartulin, “Ideal Nordic-Dinaric Racial Type”; Bartulin, “Anti-Yugoslavist Narrative”; Bartulin, “Intellectual Discourse on Race and Culture”; Bartulin, *Racial Idea*.

²⁸ Višeslav Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009).

²⁹ In 1942 the Matica was strengthened by the acquisition of Tipografija, the largest printing house in Croatia previously owned by the Jewish Schulhof family, which enabled it to further increase the number of its publications, despite the on-going war (one of the problems it faced, for instance, was the shortage of paper). The high point of Matica’s publishing enterprise was, somewhat unexpectedly, in the second phase of the war. Aralica states that the most successful year was 1944, when thirty-three titles were published in 113,000 copies. In comparison, in 1942, thirty titles were published in 116,000 copies, but the printing of some of them was actually done only in 1943. Between April 1941 and May 1945, the Matica hrvatska published one hundred and twenty-two titles. Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 125-9 and 179-80.

changing the understanding of Croatian nationhood and Croatia's relations to other South Slavic peoples. Similarly, I argue that Lukas' overall opus cannot be clearly divided into two larger sections – one dealing with geography, and the other with Croatian cultural history and advocating Croatian uniqueness and independence – as has been suggested.³⁰ For, these two categories are inseparably connected given that Lukas' understanding of Croatian history was inherently embedded in geography. Even on those rare occasions when Lukas did not explicitly mention geography, it nevertheless emerged as a fundamental element of his conceptualization of Croatian individuality.

5.1.1. The fragmentation paradox

Most geographical narratives on Yugoslavia raised the same, seemingly simple, geographical question: Are the territories inhabited by Yugoslavs or Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes a coherent geographical entity or not? The question was central for Lukas' Croatian nationalist and anti-Yugoslav geographical narrative as well. For this reason, as a thread linking Lukas' thinking from the earliest to latest publications, the issue of the fragmentation of the terrain as a determining factor in the historical and cultural development of Croats and the neighboring peoples deserves special attention. Melik, for instance, made observations on the geographical fragmentations of Yugoslavia as frequently as Lukas, but he never drew such far-reaching and politically-laden conclusions.

This paradox refers to the fact that Lukas dismissed the notion of Yugoslav unity on the grounds of the geographical fragmentation of Yugoslav territories, while he did not attribute the same effect to the fragmentation of the Croatian lands that he had also observed. If neither Yugoslav nor Croatian lands were coherent geographical units, what were the reasons that, in Lukas' view, the fragmentation of Croatia could be overcome, while that of Yugoslavia could not? The elaboration of this issue in Lukas' works represents, in a way, a search for a unifying force. Lukas did not give a straightforward and consistent answer. Instead, he pointed to national spirit, blood – in a racial sense – and culture in a historical perspective as dominant unifying factors.

Starting with his earliest works, Lukas argued in a clearly geographically determinist

³⁰ Mladen Švab, "Filip Lukas," in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 22.

tone that the configuration of terrain in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula “pronouncedly individualizes peoples and determines the direction of their history.”³¹ This “law” was applicable to territories inhabited by Croats as well as by the larger South Slavic community:

The decisive factor for [the Croatian] people and development lies in the fact that we do not have a unique geographical unit, demarcated by natural boundaries which would allow our internal concentration unspoiled by significant foreign influences, but the [Croatian] lands are divided by a central mountain massif, and each [of the individual Croatian lands] is connected to foreign lands of the same structure.³²

By the mid-1920s, when he started developing an anti-Yugoslav geographical narrative, he stressed the causal connection between geographical, cultural, and, consequently, the political union of Yugoslav lands and peoples by stating, “there is no question about a single geographical framework as a unit, least of all about a single people and a unique national development. There are several entirely independent geographical individualities with their geopolitical directions.”³³ Lukas fought against what he saw as hegemonic attempts – including those by Cvijić – to assimilate Croatian culture into Serbian. The fragmentation of the Dinaric mountain bloc is the reason why both Serbs and Croats had their own “natural spaces” for creating their states and for their separate political development. In Lukas’ view, the unitarist policies that tried to reduce Slovenes and especially Croats – but not Serbs – to the level of mere Yugoslav “tribes,”³⁴ to erase the differences between them, and to amalgamate them into a single entity, were contrary to the will of the people, the centuries-long separate political and cultural development, as well as geographical forces that facilitated this differentiation.

Four years later, in 1929, Lukas again contemplated the fragmentation of Croatian territory, which he found was composed of four larger parts: the Dinaric-Balkan system, the Alpine system, the Pannonian basin, and the Adriatic Sea. Geography forged the destiny of Croatia, he claimed: “Out of this deconcentration of Croatian lands and the lack of a single space of concentration, an important law emerges – that in our [historical] development we can always observe a defensive character of our state.”³⁵ Just as contemporary political geographers and geopoliticians in Germany, Lukas did not believe this defensiveness to be an irrelevant

³¹ Filip Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije* (Dubrovnik: Degiulli i dr., 1906), 9.

³² Filip Lukas, “Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda,” in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: Hrvatskome narodu, njegovima prošlim naraštajima na spomen, sadašnjima i budućim na pobudu; O tisućoj godišnjici hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, vol. 1, ed. Frane Bulić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925), 27.

³³ Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 71n33.

³⁴ Even pro-Yugoslav-oriented authors recognized Cvijić’s hierarchy of peoples in the Balkans: he considered Bulgarians and Serbs as peoples (*narodi*), but Croats and Slovenes as tribes (*plemena*). See Ivan Krmpotić, *Cvijićevo “Balkansko poluostrvo” i naš narodni problem* (Zagreb, 1923), 13-15.

³⁵ Filip Lukas, “Naš narodni problem s geopolitičkog gledišta,” *Hrvatska revija* 2, no. 2 (1929): 88.

characteristic. In the early days of the royal dictatorship in Yugoslavia, proclaimed on January 6, 1929, which aimed at eradicating internal differences and which made Yugoslav unity the official state policy, Lukas argued that Croatia's very existence was threatened. "In its position, space, and the types of boundaries, our homeland hides great insufficiencies, which have decisively affected our state, national and political development," he warned, adding sinisterly, "Our lands do not represent a geographical unity which could, by virtue of being bound by natural boundaries, bring about the security of our survival."³⁶

But the issue of the fragmentation of Croatia was again to be replaced by that of Yugoslavia. Lukas' discourse sharpened after the capitulation and disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and the subsequent establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, which, at least on paper, encompassed most of the Croatian lands. Repeating his point on the separateness of Serbs and Croats as a geographically conditioned fact, he described the structure of the Balkans thus:

In its plastic, intersected by a large number of mountain chains . . . spacious ravines were created, and because of the river flows, wide valleys were built, [and] so numerous regions came to being, where a large number of peoples could settle, coalesce with the land, harmonize themselves with the laws of the land, and build their home and state organization. In the Balkans, there is no single central area to which all parts of [the peninsula] could gravitate, and from where spiritual and political energies could flow in order to establish the national unity and to organize a united state. No Balkan people has ever succeeded in uniting the whole peninsula in a single state entity, let alone to merge all heterogeneous elements and to amalgamate them into a single nation. A unique and independent culture for all the peoples could not have been created here.³⁷

The description of the Croatian experience in the first Yugoslavia as "unnatural" does not support the assessment of Lukas' work as "strictly scientific." As will shortly be shown, Lukas seemingly overcame the fragmentation paradox in his later works published during the Second World War. However, instead of devising an alternative methodological approach or presenting new findings, Lukas simply declared the NDH to be a natural unity. It was still composed of several regions but he described them as complementary and made no mention of internal fragmentation.

³⁶ Filip Lukas, "Osebnost hrvatske kulture: govoreno na glavnoj skupštini Matice Hrvatske 23. lipnja o.g." *Hrvatska revija* 2, no. 8 (1929): 449.

³⁷ Filip Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina u geopolitičkom pogledu* (Sarajevo: "Nova tiskara" Vrčak i dr., 1942), 53.

5.1.2. Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda: *a break with pro-Yugoslav sentiments*

In 1925, a new phase in Lukas' political-scientific trajectory is said to have begun. The works he would be best known for were published during this period. His support for Yugoslav unity ended and every piece of writing or public appearance until his death was in one way or another in the service of the Croatian nationalist project.³⁸ However, this phase, spanning more than three decades from the mid-1920s to the late 1950s, should not be seen as uniform or as a linear development of his political attitudes. The precise political agenda of Lukas' work and the scientific argumentation he employed changed over time. The different answers that Lukas offered to questions regarding Croatia's geopolitical position and its cultural affiliation in the late 1920s and the late 1930s should not be underestimated, even if they eventually led to the same conclusion. The conclusion, or a dominant narrative that Lukas repeated over and over again, either in the form of monographs, public speeches (including on the radio), or of short responses in various journals and magazines, was that Croatia represents a cultural individuality. Its uniqueness is based on a specific historical development, which was determined by the geographical conditions of the territories that Croats have inhabited since the early Middle Ages.

Lukas systematically used the argument of Croatia's cultural individuality and uniqueness to counter the idea of Yugoslav ethnic and cultural unity. Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, he insisted, are three fully-formed and individual peoples (Lukas rarely used the term "nation" – *nacija* – and preferred "people" – *narod*). Most importantly, geography played a significant, if not central, role in facilitating this differentiation. By refuting Yugoslavia's *raison d'être* – the ethnic and cultural similarity of the three "tribes" – Lukas in fact questioned the existence of Yugoslavia itself. During the existence of the NDH in 1941-1945, and especially during his time as an émigré in Klagenfurt and Rome afterwards, Lukas tried to present himself as having been opposed to Yugoslavia if not "always," then at least for a very long time.³⁹ However, in the 1920s and 1930s he only implicitly challenged Yugoslavia, partly because his anti-Yugoslav attitude only gradually radicalized, and partly because for a long

³⁸ According to Mladen Švab, "out of almost two hundred works on political people and situations in Croatia, a turning point in development of Lukas' ideas was the article *Strossmayer i hrvatstvo* (1924, 1926), in which he dismisses any Yugoslav idea and firmly stands on the Croatian standing point." See Švab, "Filip Lukas," 23; cf. Filip Lukas, *Strossmayer i hrvatstvo: spomenspis prigodom otkrića spomenika* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1926).

³⁹ Filip Lukas, "Da li je Jugoslavija nastala na temelju narodnog samoopredjeljenja," 33-48; Lukas, "Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske, dio 2," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 6, no. 1-2 (1956): 20-43.

time during the interwar period such statements could hardly have been widely publicly disseminated and could have easily had grave consequences.⁴⁰ In this sense, during most of the interwar period, his attitudes toward Yugoslav cultural unity, on the one hand, and toward Yugoslavia as a state, on the other, should be differentiated: Lukas was much quicker to dismiss the historical, cultural, and geographical unity of Yugoslavs than Yugoslavia itself.

Several of the above-mentioned commentators on Lukas's work have singled out his 1925 text, "Geografska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda" (Geographical foundation of the Croatian people), as an especially important work in which he combined his thoughts on the Croatian land, people, and culture into a single narrative. This is essentially correct, although a number of later works were equally revealing regarding the development of his scientific and political predilections. As this was the first work in which Lukas abundantly and intensively focused on the nation and national culture in relation to the natural environment, it can be viewed as a programmatic text, of interest for the history of geography as much as for the history of Croatian nationalism. He had already expounded his deterministic and organic views on the nation in earlier works, but elaborated on the relationship between the people and the land at length only in "Geografska osnovica."

Lukas began by stating that the history of a people is built upon the symbiosis of land and man. Anthropogeography "is nothing other than an introduction to history," as it studies connections between the natural environment and social and political activities.⁴¹ In anthropogeography, he argued, geography and history merge:

The history of a people is inseparable from [the people's] geographical foundations, and remains connected to it with a thousand links, so that without it the life, soul, and the thinking of a people cannot be understood. That is a certain geographical suggestion, provided by the earth by its location, climate, the form of the terrain, life course, and various external connections.⁴²

This mutual connection between the geographical foundation and the people is visible on "every

⁴⁰ In the 1930s, some vocal opponents of the "Belgrade regime" in Croatia were assassinated. For instance, Milan Šufflay, one of the earliest geopolitical thinkers in Croatia, was killed on the orders of the Belgrade government in 1931. See Bosiljka Janjatović, *Politički teror u Hrvatskoj, 1918.-1935.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2002), 296-307. Some authors doubt that Ivo Pilar, the "founder" of geopolitics in Croatia, actually committed suicide in 1933 and imply that his death might also be politically motivated, although there is no evidence to support the claim. See Željko Holjevac, "Problem Pilarove smrti," in *Prilozi za proučavanje života i djela dra Ive Pilara*, ed. Srećko Lipovčan and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2001-2002), 1:233-38. Lukas too claimed that there was an attempt on his life in the early 1930s, which was prevented by pure luck. Filip Lukas, "Neke moje uspomene iz Matice hrvatske," *Hrvatska revija*, n.s., 6, no. 1 (1956): 33.

⁴¹ Lukas, "Geografska osnovica," 22.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 23.

single piece of the Croatian land.”⁴³ Three “objective facts,” as he called them, relevant to the creation of a people are language, the state, and race. For explaining the relation of people and the state, Lukas referred to Kjellén, stating that “the people are the life, growth, organism; the state is a purposeful creation; it is organization.”⁴⁴ However, peoples cannot be as clearly separated as states; instead, there are “transitional zones in which linguistic and cultural mixture, common to both groups, is created.”⁴⁵

In Lukas’ view, nothing influences the life, development, and culture of a people as much as geographical location. The absolute geographical location does not change over time, but the relative location does, and it is dependent on historical circumstances, peoples inhabiting the given area, and their level of culture. According to Lukas, “We are in a large part of our development a function of the place where we were born; a function of the place where we live; and generally the result of a function of location on that piece of earth. Geography is thus clearly transformed into history.”⁴⁶

Given his observation that the “decisive factor for our people and development lies in the fact that we do not have a unique geographical unit,”⁴⁷ it is not surprising that in Lukas’ view, Croatia did not necessarily have to become Croatia, nor did the Croatian people have to become nationally homogenous. Croatia could have remained divided into regional units such as Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Istria, and Banovina instead.⁴⁸ The fact that this did not happen, that unification was achieved, “is a merit of people, their history and tradition that amalgamated the pieces, which united them, and on the basis of the kinship of the people inhabiting the area, a spiritual and emotional synthesis was created.”⁴⁹ However, history and tradition seem to be “easy” solutions that could have worked against Croatian unity as well as in its favor. Precisely because of such recurring remarks, and a “geographical suggestion,” which imply human agency in reacting to the natural conditions and overcoming them, it is difficult to describe Lukas unambiguously as a fully-fledged environmental determinist.

⁴³ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 66.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁸ This points to the territorial extent of the “Croatian lands” in Lukas’ understanding. He was less explicit in delineating the Croatian historical and ethnic territories than, for instance, Ivo Pilar and Milan Šufflay. In 1918, Pilar clearly stated that the Croatian lands are composed of Croatia Proper, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Istria. A majority, not only of geographers, but also of but nationally-conscious Croats in general shared such an understanding of the notion of the Croatian lands. See Ivo Pilar, *Politički zemljopis hrvatskih zemalja: geopolitička studija* (1918; repr., Zagreb: Consilium, 1995), 5.

⁴⁹ Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 24.

Similarly to Jules Michelet in the case of France, Lukas saw Croatia in terms of a “diversity transcended through its center.”⁵⁰ Zagreb as the national center played an important role in bringing about the national unity, as Zagreb and central Croatia tied the “fragmented and spiritually unconnected parts of Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia and Herzegovina” together. Lukas pointed out that a nation requires a strong cultural center, which radiates toward the periphery and articulates it – a role similar to that of the intelligentsia, which articulates the national spirit of the Croatian peasants and, subsequently, presents it back to peasants as an archetypal image.⁵¹ Importantly, distance was not an obstacle for the creation of the national consciousness because of regional centers that functioned as intermediaries; the nation could thus be divided into regions sharing a culture with a different intensity. The issue of the center corresponds to Lukas’ elitist and antidemocratic understanding of the nation.⁵² Although he stated that “a people is a collectivity of all nationally-conscious individuals, regardless of the class [*stalež*],” and described peasants as the group most embedded in the land and tradition, Lukas viewed the “masses” as a little more than a biological reservoir supplying “potential energy,” which required the guidance of “intellectual individuals that carry out tasks of the mass.”⁵³

Herein lays a nuanced difference between the notions of nation and people. The nation, “as all great symbols of culture, is an internalized possession of a small number of people, and therefore certain circles have always lived, worked, felt, and died in the name of the people.”⁵⁴ The nation is above race, state, and geography, and does not necessarily have to overlap with the spread of the language. The main bearers of the national awareness are creative individuals – the intellectual rather than the hereditary elite. Contrary to Cvijić and virtually all Yugoslav ethnologists, including those in Croatia, who considered peasants and shepherds to be the most nationally conscious and autochthonous group, Lukas believed that the national consciousness was strongest with the urban intelligentsia, then with merchants and craftsmen, and “in free countries” – possibly implying that Yugoslavia was not one of them – with teachers.

⁵⁰ Paul Claval, “From Michelet to Braudel: Personality, Identity and Organization of France,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 43.

⁵¹ Filip Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost: vol. 1: problem hrvatske kulture* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1938), 90.

⁵² Josip Ante Soldo implied that Lukas’ understanding of the mass (*gomila*) was primarily directed against Marxist views on society and warned that it “was not a fascist interpretation of the historical development.” Lukas was undoubtedly anti-Marxists, but as the left political scene in the first Yugoslavia was severely weakened by the state repression, unlike the HSS, it was not in the position to communicate its platform to wider audience and Soldo’s reading of Lukas’ attitudes therefore seems anachronistic. See Josip Ante Soldo, “Prof. Filip Lukas (1871-1958).” *Hrvatska revija* 43, no. 2-3 (1993): 200.

⁵³ Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

Additionally, national consciousness was pronounced among conservatives and liberals, but mostly absent with social democrats and communists.

Lukas praised the role of feudalism as a cultural legacy. Together with Catholicism, feudalism brought stability and order and drew Croats closer to the West: “With us in the West, within the feudal system there were no religious or cultural differences among the classes, but there were legal differences, however, [as] everyone had limited boundaries of their action and knew their rights and duties.”⁵⁵ Moreover, among the several psychological types that Lukas observed among Croats, he emphasized the Zagorci, inhabitants of northern Croatia, and the positive role of feudalism and the Catholic Church, which taught them order and improved their life condition. As a result, “conservatism is the basic note in their view of life.”⁵⁶

Even more important than the difference between the people and the nation (*narod* and *nacija*) was the difference between these two concepts and race. There are no racially homogenous peoples, Lukas repeatedly warned, as did the majority of authors writing on race.⁵⁷ He maintained that while the peoples are psychological-cultural collectivities that include individuals connected by free will and consciousness, races are natural-scientific concepts. Among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Dinaric race is prevalent. However, “It is not our Slavic race,” Lukas warned, “but one of the five major European racial types,” and is thus neither Serbian nor Croatian.⁵⁸ Although he often emphasized “blood” as one of the important factors contributing to the national formation and identity, Lukas’ geographical perspective was not entirely compatible with the *Völkisch* understanding of the nation as a community bound by blood and kinship. Somewhat similarly to Ratzel, Lukas observed and emphasized the “racial mixing that produced new ethnic blends” that took place in the Balkans over centuries.⁵⁹ The racial profile of the Croats has changed significantly since their arrival at the Dinaric littoral in the early Middle Ages.

Lukas could not stress enough that Croatia was located on a transitional zone between the east and west, the north and south. Because of this location, there is a noticeable dualism within Croatia, as there are “two completely different climatic and cultural-historical zones,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 82.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 67; William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899), 56; Hans Günther, *The Racial Elements of European History* (London: Methuen, 1927), 8; Günther, *Rassenkunde Europas: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rassengeschichte der Hauptvölker indogermanischer Sprache* (Munich: Lehmann, 1929), 7-13; Eugène Pittard, *Race and History: An Ethnological Introduction to History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 17-18, 85.

⁵⁸ Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 67.

⁵⁹ David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 202.

which throughout history often developed in diverging directions, and have very rarely converged.”⁶⁰ This duality is responsible for, at the same time, the continental and maritime orientation of Croatia. Whereas the conflict between the East and West would become one of the central points in his later works, in the mid-1920s Lukas observed Croatian dualism primarily in a religious context. This location in the transitional zone resulted in a struggle between “universal Latinity and the particularistic national language of the Church.”⁶¹

Lukas argued that Croats had little communication with Serbs until the “catastrophe of the battle of Kosovo” in 1389, and pointed out that the assimilation role of Hungarians was small – and that their cultural role was nonexistent. He emphasized the Adriatic as a space of connection and communication rather than separation; this was a major link to the centers of Western civilization and a direction of the radiation of Western Christianity, which Lukas – himself a priest – emphasized as one of the foundations of Croatian national identity. The whole littoral from Sušak in the north to Kotor in the south, Lukas argued, forms a geographical unit because of the uniformity of the sea and the morphology of the coast, uniformed flora and climate, similar ways of life, and the ethnic composition of the population. In later publications, however, Lukas employed a different approach and started stressing the littoral’s “inherent connection” with its hinterland.

“Geografijska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda” is one of rare occasions when Lukas explicitly challenged the ideas of Jovan Cvijić. Even later, when his discourse – especially regarding his racial and geopolitical views on Croatian nationhood – sharpened and obviously went against Cvijić’s narrative, Lukas rarely attacked Cvijić’s interpretation of the Dinaric race as explicitly as he had in 1925. Interestingly, Lukas dismissed Cvijić’s ideas only in the form of an extensive footnote.⁶² A Swiss anthropologist, Eugène Pittard – whose findings became Lukas’ primary tool in the fight against Serbian pretensions to the Croatian territories (by means of proclaiming the Dinaric race to be Serbian) – was for the first time mentioned in this work. Lukas argued, referring to Pittard, that the Dinaric race is most common in the Croatian-inhabited territories. Pittard would soon state that the Serbs were racially closer to the Bulgarians than to the Dinaric race, whose core region was in southern Croatia. According to Pittard, “As for the Croats, although they may have been quartered ‘north of the Carpathians’ along with the Serbs, and although they may have moved off at the same time that the Serbs

⁶⁰ Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica,” 26.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 70-77n33.

did, they certainly do not belong to the same race.”⁶³

As an anthropogeographical work, Lukas found Cvijić’s *Balkansko poluostrvo* well written, but when Cvijić “touches upon anthropology, of which he is not an expert, there are imprecise and unsubstantiated claims, and claims occasionally written with a clear political tendency. By reading the anthropological part one gets the impression that it aimed at creating an ethnobiological foundation for justifying obvious political tendencies and, on the grounds of racial superiority, to motivate such developments in the country.”⁶⁴ Lukas pointed out that Cvijić mentioned only two “peoples” among the South Slavs – Bulgarians and Serbs – while for the Croats and Slovenes he used the term “tribe,” thus implying that the Croats have not realized their political-cultural individuality but have “remained on natural-biological local foundations as a part of the Serbian ethnic entity.”⁶⁵

Lukas responded to Cvijić’s anthropology with a historical-geographical argumentation: “There is no question about a single geographical framework as a unit, least of all about a single people and a unique national development. There are several entirely independent geographical individualities with their individual geopolitical directions.”⁶⁶ Because of the fragmentation of the Dinaric bloc, Serbs and Croats established their states and developed politically and culturally in different natural areas. In the early 1930s, Lukas repeated almost the same argument, again questioning Cvijić’s expertise regarding the Dinaric race and pointing to Pittard’s conclusions that the core of the Dinaric race is not in the Raška region in Serbia but in the Dinaric mountain chain, which is inhabited mostly by Croats. He insisted that the race cannot be equated with the nation because the former is a biological and the latter a cultural-social concept.⁶⁷ Lukas’ critique was essentially methodological: Cvijić used biology to draw un-biological, political conclusions.

The emphasis on “metanastasic” movements of population and the role of migrating Serbs in the process of assimilation of the South Slavs in the Balkans, one of central points of Cvijić’s work, was challenged by Lukas on the grounds of the origin of population, ethno-biological processes, and cultural-social influences. Migrations are not a historical phenomenon

⁶³ Eugène Pittard, *Race and History: An Ethnological Introduction to History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 287. Pittard stated that Serbs were “a valiant nation whose future may be truly great,” but Lukas could not have known this as in “Geografijska osnovica” he referred to Pittard’s earlier work, *Les Peuples des Balkans: Esquisses anthropologiques dans la Péninsule des Balkans, spécialement dans la Dobroudja* (Paris and Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères, 1916; Geneve: E. Leroux, 1920), and would likely neglect the remark.

⁶⁴ Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica,” 70n33.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 71n33.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 71n33.

⁶⁷ Filip Lukas, “O načelnoj i naučnoj dosljednosti,” *Hrvatska revija* 5, no. 4 (1932): 276-7.

characteristic only for Serbs, Lukas warned, since all the South Slavs have migrated, before and after the Ottoman invasions. Commenting on the period following the arrival in the new homeland in the Balkans, Lukas argued, “A lower culture can either destroy or adapt to a higher culture, but can never assimilate it.”⁶⁸ Newcomers who did not embrace the higher cultural forms could “in their primitivism separately exist, with no influence upon [the older population], as is the case even today in Dalmatian Zagora [hinterland] and the Littoral. Until today both groups have gone their own way and retained their cultural forms.”⁶⁹ The arriving Serbs, mostly “primitive” shepherds, who arrived after the Croats, thus could not have assimilated the local population that was formed through historical mixtures of “Romans” and Croats. Instead, they came to form a separate group with no bearing on the region that therefore, contrary to what Cvijić implied, cannot be described as Serbian.

Lukas was adamant in portraying Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as “three cultural-historical entities, three national awarenesses, three completely built and differentiated national types, and thus three real national realities.”⁷⁰ He believed that Yugoslavism was a program that failed both in political and cultural sense but nevertheless

could serve as a larger state framework for all the Slavic peoples in the south, and, like Switzerland and Belgium, offer these peoples a possibility for their cultural, economic, and national development, and mainly [serve as] a common outward bulwark. The Yugoslav name permeated the foreign literature, and its great advantage is that the state can be called by a single name, instead of by a long formula. Politically, this overall framework can be of a priceless value, because it is far better to have all three peoples untied within it with same rights and self-rule, than to stay outside it and [work in favor of foreigners], unintentionally and against its will, against the survival of its brothers. This is especially necessary given that we, all three peoples, and particularly Croats and Serbs, are so intermingled, that any separation that would satisfy all is impossible, so tearing apart [Yugoslavia] would cause hatred and never-ending fights, used by foreigners to weaken all the parties involved.⁷¹

Not surprisingly, Lukas and later commentators portraying him as a dedicated nationally-conscious scientist who later outgrew the initial pro-Yugoslav fallacy, have neglected these closing remarks. Most importantly, these remarks speak against an abrupt break with the idea of Yugoslav unity and the sudden “correction” of Lukas’ political attitudes. The state and cultural unity, in his view, belonged to different levels. At least in 1925, Lukas did not believe that insisting on the cultural separateness of Croats from Serbs (and Slovenes, although that issue was not politically pressing) and insisting on the political autonomy of Croatia was

⁶⁸ Lukas, “Geografska osnovica,” 75n33.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 75n33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

contradictory to the existence of Yugoslavia itself, since the country served Croatian purposes as well.

The reception of Lukas' ideas in "Geografijska osnovica" in an unlikely context further illustrates the ambiguity of its political implications. In a 1931 article in the pronouncedly pro-Yugoslav journal *Nova Evropa*,⁷² Aleksandar Donković, without directly referring to Lukas, used a phrase and concept of the intrinsic connection between the people and the land that was identical to the one Lukas developed in "Geografijska osnovica." However, Donković did not evoke the synergy of the people and the land (*narod i zemlja*) to emphasize Croatia's individuality but, on the contrary, to make a point regarding the Yugoslav unity:

External living conditions directly and indirectly influence the form of the national type or its ethnology; physical geographical environment directly affects the physical and psychical characteristics of individuals and thus contributes to the physical appearance and temperament of the people itself; while, on the other side, nature influences the type of diet and the economic activity of a people, and its cultural and political condition.⁷³

The formula *narod i zemlja* and environmental determinism were thus suitable tools in strengthening opposite political agendas. Nevertheless, "Geografijska osnovica" definitely showed in which directions Lukas' geographical deliberations of Croatian culture and nationhood would develop in the following period.

5.1.3. *Toward a conservative geographical vision of the Croatian nation*

For more than a decade after "Geografijska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda" Lukas did not write larger texts of comparable importance but published his ideas in smaller articles and reaction pieces instead. A significant career development at least partially influenced this: he became president of the Matica hrvatska in 1928. His publications were no longer just works of a scholar (albeit without a doctorate) but works of a prominent "public worker" as well, who now spoke through the organs of the Matica hrvatska such as its journal, *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian Review), launched in 1928. Lukas' presidential addresses at the Matica's council, for instance, were published in *Hrvatska revija* and thus could reach a wider audience. Over time, his speeches became increasingly politically laden, and eventually caused an unprecedented

⁷² Marko Nedić and Vesna Matović, eds., *Nova Evropa 1920-1941: zbornik radova* (Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2010).

⁷³ Aleksandar Donković, "Naša orijentacija u Srednjoj Evropi: geopolitička i etnopolitička objašnjenja," *Nova Evropa* 23, no. 5 (1931): 329.

reaction by the Zagreb authorities – the introduction of the commissariat or the forced management of the Matica by the government of the autonomous Banovina Hrvatska in January 1941.⁷⁴

Many speeches and publications by Lukas were very much alike: a mixture of geographical determinism, historical argumentation, philosophy, deliberations on the importance of culture for preserving the national spirit, and commentaries on daily politics.⁷⁵ Yet their precise topical and geographical focus was different, and this change often reveals the most pressing contemporary political issues in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Lukas understood the interests and self-image of his audience and frequently spoke about the Matica's mission, emphasizing the role of the nationally-conscious intellectual elite. In his first presidential address, in 1928, Lukas outlined his program. Referring to Oswald Spengler, José Ortega y Gasset, and Leopold von Ranke in particular, Lukas interpreted history in terms of a struggle between the universal and the individual, and concluded that “the history of mankind does not exist as an entity in itself, but is a product of national individualities.”⁷⁶

By praising conservatism, Lukas described the elite as a “disseminator of progress.” Its task is to “sacrifice itself [for the common good], to burn, to light to the others, to instruct the masses in order, solidarity, patriotism, and mutual assistance, to show the lower classes the right ways, and to procure resources to elevate [the masses] to its level and to organize them, and thus to create balance in the society.”⁷⁷ The Matica's council members must have received such a self-congratulatory statement well. Lukas added that there is no one single elite but several of them, because “the village” had its own elite as well. It seems that at the time he was not concerned that the representatives of the rural elite could endanger the role and position of the urban intellectual elite that he addressed and represented. However, precisely that would happen.

Although running along the same lines as his first address, Lukas' second presidential address had a more pronounced geographical tone. Half a year into the royal dictatorship, which was introduced on January 6, 1929, Lukas stated that the fact that Croatia has no formidable natural boundaries and does not constitute a geographical unit threatened the very survival of

⁷⁴ Jakša Ravlić, *Matica hrvatska, 1842-1962* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1963), 194-5; Filip Hameršak, “Komesarijat u Matici hrvatskoj: od juridičkoga spora do političkoga pravorijeka,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 35, no. 3 (2003): 835-858; Višeslav Aralica, “Matica hrvatska u političkom životu Hrvatske 1935.-1945.,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 41, no. 2 (2009): 447-482.

⁷⁵ This was also observed in Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata,” 382.

⁷⁶ Filip Lukas, “Povijest i napredak kulture: govor što ga je držao na glavnoj skupštini Matice hrvatske predsjednik Filip Lukas,” *Hrvatska revija* 1, no. 1-2 (1928): 96.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

Croatia. Geographical location and fragmentation of terrain were once again singled out as decisive factors in the historical development of the nation. The speech was delivered almost exactly a year after the assassination of deputies from the Croatian Peasant Party in the Belgrade parliament on June 20, 1928, which profoundly shook the political life of the country (two deputies died instantly, while the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić, died in early August, and another two deputies were wounded). In the address, Lukas paid considerable attention to geopolitical issues; together with other publications from the same year, it reveals that Lukas introduced geopolitics into his standard repertoire at the end of the 1920s.⁷⁸

Croatia, as Lukas explained to the Matica's council members, belongs to four geographical areas: the Pannonia, Dalmatia, the Dinaric system, which is the origin of "our race," and the Alpine branches. It is a bridge between the continent and the sea, and between two distinct types of European culture and historical development. While Belgrade is embedded in the Balkans, and Ljubljana, as "a purely Western city," in the Alpine lands, Zagreb, as the center of the Croatian lands, stands "between [these] two cities, on the Sava – the link between all three parts [of Yugoslavia] – [and] unites both large types of European culture not only by its location but by its spirit."⁷⁹ Zagreb is thus "a bridge between the East and the West,"⁸⁰ where a "conciliatory compromise between peoples, races, cultures, and religions" takes place, and where "the blade of opposing forces is blunted."⁸¹ The different geopolitical and cultural rootedness of the three national centers additionally underlined the fact that there is no – and can be no – Yugoslav culture, only the separate cultures of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, "each more or less autochthonous."⁸²

The year 1929 stands out in the chronology of the development of Lukas' views of Croatia's position and role as a bridge. In the early elaborations of the "bridge" trope, Lukas insisted on Croatia's dual affiliation, while in later works, especially during the Second World War, he was adamant about Croatia's exclusively Western character. His earlier stance, however, appears more intricate. Croatia takes part in both worlds, he argued: in the West culturally, and in the East racially, and its history has oscillated between these two spheres. This dichotomy between the East and West, between the racial and the cultural identity of Croats marked most of Lukas' writings during the 1930s, and he did not see the dichotomy as problematic. In 1929, he embraced the dichotomy, stating:

⁷⁸ Filip Lukas, "Osebnost hrvatske kulture," 450.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 453.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 454.

No other people in Europe, although Poles and Hungarians often claim it for themselves, is such a bridge between the two worlds as we are. Poles and Hungarians come into the framework of Western culture, and only by geographical accident did they find themselves within the reach of the Eastern world, while Croats are closely connected to both parts by their spirit and will: to the one side by language and race, and to the other by spirit and culture.⁸³

According to Lukas, Croats can be neither entirely Western nor entirely Eastern people. Although arguing that Croats accepted the Western cultural elements and fulfilled their historical, political, and social development in the Western spirit, at least in 1929, he was not yet ready decisively to pinpoint Croatia's position. In his view, "if we are connected with the West, we are an antithesis of the East, and if we are rooted linguistically and racially in the East, we are an antithesis of the West," which should emphasize Croatian self-awareness. Because of it, Croats critically and only selectively accepted Western influences, but were not willing to refute the Eastern inherent influences either.⁸⁴

Geographical location determined the Croatian historical and cultural mission. If, according to Cvijić, the mission of Serbia was territorial expansion in the Balkans to the point of incorporating all Serbs within one state, Lukas envisioned something more metaphorical for Croats. Their mission, for which they were uniquely suited, was to serve as a bridge between the East and the West, and to unite the two worlds. Therefore, the survival of the Croats was not only in the best interest of Yugoslavia, but of European culture in general. Additionally, Croats must not entirely embrace either the East or the West because their task is to synthesize them.⁸⁵

It is important to note that in the late 1920s and for most of the 1930s, Lukas distinguished the concepts of race, people or nation, linguistic and ethnic kinship, which he would later often subsume under one category – either of the people/nation or of the race. Lukas had no doubt that Croats and Serbs are linguistically related and that Croats are racially Eastern (in the sense that the core of the Croatian people is to be found in the Dinaric massif), but he insisted that the main constituting element of nationhood – culture – made Croats a Western people.

The Croatian geopolitical mission was especially strongly emphasized in the 1931 geopolitical text, "Balkan."⁸⁶ It is an illustrative example of the appropriation of basic tenets of

⁸³ Ibid., 454.

⁸⁴ Hrvatski državni arhiv, MH 1567, 2.2. Zapisnici sjednica, 2.2.7.1. Glavna skupština (1901.-1936.), box 44, "Govor predsjednika dra. Filipa Lukasa održan na Skupštini Matice hrvatske 23. lipnja 1929." (Speech given by the President Filip Lukas at the General Assembly of the Matica hrvatska on June 23, 1929), 7-8.

⁸⁵ Filip Lukas, "Naš narodni problem s geopolitičkog gledišta," 94.

⁸⁶ Filip Lukas, "Balkan," *Hrvatska revija* 4, no. 2 (1931): 112-122.

Cvijić's anthropogeographical discourse – its major findings as well as its vocabulary – in order to counter the political project associated with Cvijić's work. Lukas largely accepted Cvijić's definition of the boundaries of the Balkans, and repeated that, unlike the other two south European peninsulas, the Balkans is open toward both Asia Minor and the body of Europe. The northwestern part of the Balkans is geopolitically, historically, and culturally closely connected to Central Europe and the Danube basin (a conclusion that Lukas did not reach in earlier works when he believed it was necessary to defend the northern parts of Croatia from Hungarian revisionist claims).⁸⁷ On the other hand, the Adriatic part is more closely connected to the Apennine Peninsula, and Thracia more closely to Constantinople and Asia than to Europe.

However, the Balkans is neither Asian, nor European, nor a mere mixture, but an area with “own forces, people, and aspirations. Nothing in the Balkans is permanent besides the land and changes, nothing steady but changes.”⁸⁸ Lukas believed the Balkans to be fragmented and undergoing a process of continuous mutation, since “races, languages, religions, culture, peoples, and states are here so separated, that they give a chaotic and unfinished, unsettled, and adventurous impression, which is manifested in constant tensions, political, religious, and cultural. There is almost nothing static here.”⁸⁹ His understanding of the Balkans corresponds to the paradoxical methodology found in writings on the Balkans that Maria Todorova has described: the Balkans is at the same time a place where (some) things never change and where there is always something – usually sinister – happening.⁹⁰

Unlike so many contemporary intellectuals “in the West” and a considerable number of intellectuals in Yugoslavia, especially among the Croatian nationalists, Lukas had no problems with the notion of “the Balkans.” A part of the Croatian lands that Lukas described as a “Balkan triangle” was undoubtedly in the Balkans. He kept repeating that the East was the origin of the racial or biological strength of the Croats as well as of their language, but that this did not diminish Croatian historical and cultural affiliation to the West. This is not to say that he and other Croatian geographers and geopoliticians (Milan Šufflay and Ivo Pilar especially stand out with their “Orientalism”) did not ascribe a wide set of negative connotations to the notion of the East. On the contrary, they all saw the Orthodox East as backward and inferior to the West. But as the example of Lukas shows, despite these negative connotations, the multiple levels of

⁸⁷ Filip Lukas, *Geografija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Zagreb: St. Kugli, 1922).

⁸⁸ Lukas, “Balkan,” 114.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁹⁰ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Todorova, “The Trap of Backwardness: Modernity, Temporality, and the Study of Eastern European Nationalism,” *Slavic Review* 64, no. 1 (2005): 140-164.

the meaning of the Balkans – geomorphological, geopolitical, historical, cultural (including linguistic), and racial or biological – during the interwar period could have been seemingly separated in ways which would not later be possible. Above all, because of the partial belonging of the Croatian lands to the Balkans, Lukas in most of his writings employed a seemingly “value-neutral” notion of the Balkans.

The Croatian mission – this time compared to that of the territories on the Rhine and the Vistula – is to negotiate this pernicious position, because “drowning in the West would be at the expense of the autochthonous national characteristics; and joining the East would strengthen our physical power and instincts, but would weaken our spiritual forces.”⁹¹ The issue of cultural and racial dichotomy among the Croats thus remained unresolved.

Lukas was clearly preoccupied with geopolitical deliberations on the nation and culture in the early 1930s, as he continued to develop the ideas outlined in “Balkan.” Croatia’s in-betweenness was a manifestation of a struggle between the individualistic and universalistic principles, which were, for Lukas, always at least implicitly connected to religious issues and the fact that for a long time the vernacular was used in Church services in Catholic Croatia. As on so many occasions before, Lukas grounded this dichotomy in geographical terms, stating:

The Croatian lands are situated in a transitional part of Europe, and they encompass the southern part of this transitional zone, which stretches from the Adriatic at Rijeka toward Vienna-Cracow-Königsberg. This line divides Europe into two halves unequal in size, Eastern and Western, and it is significant mostly because it in general divides the Western world, a common cultural creation of the Germanic and Romance [peoples] from the Eastern spirit, represented mostly in the Slavs.⁹²

The main issue was how to negotiate these two seemingly opposed levels. Culturally and, of course, religiously belonging to the “universalist” West, Croats have maintained their individuality because they are a synthesis of, and a bridge between, the East and the West. Although an “Eastern people,” Croats received no lasting cultural stimuli from the East and if they “did not have a strong originality, they would doubtlessly have been as lost in the West as the Slovenes.”⁹³

Lukas nicely illustrated the interplay of the universal and particular or individualistic principle on the example of his gymnasium professor and role model, Don Frane Bulić (1846-1934). In an intimate obituary, Lukas said that “two important characteristics: Roman universalism, later strengthened by Christian universalism, and the national particularism of

⁹¹ Lukas, “Balkan,” 122.

⁹² Filip Lukas, “Smjernice i elementi u razvoju hrvatskoga naroda,” *Hrvatska revija* 5, no. 6 (1932): 345.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 350.

Croatian individuality permeated Bulić's psyche and became constitutive elements of his character. . . . These two principles, otherwise in a seeming antithesis, with Bulić stood in harmony, I would almost say in symbiosis."⁹⁴ Given that Lukas described Bulić in a manner in which he usually described Croatia, and that he believed Bulić to be one of the most illustrious Croats, it is not an exaggeration to say that in this case Lukas equated the "geo-psychological" characteristics of Bulić to those of Croatia itself. Moreover, it is very likely that such a description of Bulić in fact represented Lukas' own self-image. Racially belonging to the East but culturally to the West, Bulić and Lukas – as symbols of Croatia – did not "drown" in the West but preserved their national characteristics while maintaining a Western affiliation.

The fight against the Eastern invasions have been taking place in the Croatian lands, just as in the area around the Vistula – and this is a part of the reason, together with religion and perceived conservatism, why Lukas was so fond of the Poles, as opposed to the Czechs. Lukas found the Croatian dissatisfaction with their fate understandable, given that the collision of various cultures and the "geopsyche" is manifested in Croatian collective identity. The term "geopsyche" entered Lukas' vocabulary in 1932 and he would use it – not entirely consistently and never having thoroughly developed it – in the years to come to describe the effects of geographical location, internal geographical fragmentation, diverse historical development, and the effects of exposure to different foreign cultural influences on the Croatian people. The German psychologist Willy Hellpach (1877-1955) first developed the concept in *Die geopsychischen Erscheinungen: Wetter, Klima und Landschaft in ihrem Einfluss auf das Seelenleben*, and Lukas embraced the term from him.⁹⁵

The concept of geopsyche occupied a prominent place in his discourse and, in fact, nicely summarized Lukas' methodological and philosophical preferences. For, Lukas' geopolitics (although, unlike Klemenčić,⁹⁶ I believe this label can be used only conditionally, as Lukas' "geopolitics" was strictly retroactively – that is, historically – descriptive and lacked "prognosis," which Lukas himself singled as a distinctive characteristic of geopolitics⁹⁷) was more about national culture and spirit than the state. Lukas, of course, often referred to the state,

⁹⁴ Filip Lukas, "Kulturnohistorijska i biološka osnovica Bulićeve ličnosti," *Hrvatska revija* 7, no. 10 (1934): 532.

⁹⁵ Willy Hellpach, *Die geopsychischen Erscheinungen: Wetter, Klima und Landschaft in ihrem Einfluss auf das Seelenleben* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1911). Starting with the fourth edition in 1935, the title was changed to *Geopsyche: die Menschenseele unter dem Einfluß von Wetter und Klima, Boden und Landschaft* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1935).

⁹⁶ Mladen Klemenčić, "Geopolitika u Lukasovim radovima," in *Zbornik prof. Filip Lukas: predsjednik Matice hrvatske 1928.-1945: radovi sa simpozija u Kaštel Starom 29. travnja 1994*, ed. Milan Hodžić (Kaštela: Matica hrvatska, 1995), 42.

⁹⁷ Lukas, "Naš narodni problem s geopolitičkog gledišta," 84.

but in the interwar period, a Croatian state was a historical notion rather than an existing category. Additionally, Lukas himself and the state he talked about both lacked a “power-basis,” a notion central to contemporary geopolitical discourse.

Lukas distinguished between five types of geopsyche among Croats: the Eastern; Western; Danube; Balkan; and the “fifth category of people, who did not succumb to foreign influences and attractions – although they maintained a Western cultural orientation – but built their own ‘I’ and national program on purely autochthonous characteristics and national tendencies.”⁹⁸ Interestingly, he did not entertain the possibility of overlap between the Eastern and the Balkan, or between the Western and the Danube geopsyches, although these combinations appear obvious. The concept of geopsyche, as Lukas used it, resembles Cvijić’s ethnopsychological types as elaborated in chapter two. Both concepts focused on the psychological characteristics of the population and were related to what Cvijić called the zones of civilization. But while Cvijić’s concept emphasized biological and anthropological aspects, sometimes on the micro-scale examined by ethnographical field research, Lukas relied on binary relations between the East and the West, framed in geopolitical and historical terms.

5.2. Defining Croatian historical and cultural uniqueness in geographical terms

Already in his earliest works, Lukas made it clear that the people (*narod*) was a category at the center of his attention. Even if he frequently focused on entities of a “higher order” such as the East and the West, he never lost interest in *narod*. By the end of the 1930s, the deliberations on the interplay of universal and individual principles, so noticeable at the beginning of the decade, were abandoned. Instead, Lukas took a more radical nationalist stance and dismissed the Slavic – and, of course, particularly the South Slavic – unity. He challenged the concept of humanity as a historical entity: “Just as there is no humanity as a subject of history, but only a sum of the peoples, there is no Slavdom as a single historical creative force, but there are only differentiated Slavic peoples, each with its psyche and its tasks.”⁹⁹ In many aspects, Lukas’ beliefs fit Anthony D. Smith’s description of the core doctrine of nationalism. According to Smith, it holds that “humanity is divided into nations, each with its own character,

⁹⁸ According to Lukas, the last category was represented by the founders of the Party of Rights, Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik. See Lukas, “Smjernice i elementi u razvoju hrvatskoga naroda,” 351.

⁹⁹ Filip Lukas, “Za hrvatsku kulturnu cjelovitost,” *Hrvatska revija* 10, no. 2 (1937): 61.

history and destiny,” that “the nation is the sole source of political power,” that “loyalty to the nation takes precedence over other loyalties,” that “to be free, human beings must belong to a nation,” that “nations require maximum autonomy and self-expression,” and that “global peace and justice can only be built on the basis of a plurality of free nations.”¹⁰⁰

If previous elaborations on the multifold Croatian geopsyches were related to Cvijić’s ethnopsychological types, by abandoning the scheme consisting of five geopsyches (the Eastern, the Western, the Pannonian, the Balkan, and the “autochthonous”) for a scheme comprising only three geopsyches – the Mediterranean, the Pannonian-Alpine, and the patriarchal – the similarity became only more pronounced.¹⁰¹ The first two geopsyches were formed under foreign influences, and just as in Cvijić’s work, the third, autochthonous was renamed patriarchal to signify the “purest type of our people.”¹⁰²

The suggestion that Lukas’ opus can be divided into two larger sections – one dealing with geography, and the other with Croatian cultural history, which advocated Croatian uniqueness and independence – seems applicable in the case of one of Lukas’ major works, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost* (Croatian national originality; although the term *samobitnost* also refers to independence, uniqueness, and autochthonous character).¹⁰³ As the title suggests, Lukas dealt with cultural-historical issues with seemingly little explicit geographical argumentation. The absence of an explicitly discernible geographical thinking, however, is misleading in the case of Lukas, as the standard mixture of geographical, geopolitical, historical, racial, and philosophical reasoning employed by him does not allow for such a clear distinction. As with many other publications examined in this dissertation, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost* was not an entirely new and unique work but rather a synthesis of earlier works and ideas, as well as an origin of Lukas’ subsequent works. This is a reminder that individual geographical ideas should be observed in their historical development and in a wider context.

When examined against the backdrop of previous and following publications, most of the issues elaborated in *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost* appear familiar. Lukas elaborated on the definition of culture and its relationship to the nation and environment. He asserted the Dinaric race as Croatian rather than Serbian, pointed to the importance of embracing Western Christianity for Croatian national development, as well as to the importance of filtering, that is,

¹⁰⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (London: Routledge, 2009), 61.

¹⁰¹ Cvijić elaborated on the patriarchal regime as the autochthonous and most widely spread among the Yugoslavs. See Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje: osnovi antropogeografije* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1922), 1:154-60.

¹⁰² Lukas, “Za hrvatsku kulturnu cjelovitost,” 64.

¹⁰³ Švab, “Filip Lukas,” 22.

accepting or refuting foreign cultural influences, and, of course, wrote about the historical separateness of Serbs and Croats conditioned by the environment. A major novelty was the radicalization of his anti-democratic attitudes that, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, were directed against the Croatian Peasant Party. Later in this chapter, I will examine this conflict not only as a political struggle between the HSS and the Croatian nationalists, as has been suggested, but as a disciplinary conflict pitching geography – especially political geography and geopolitics as understood and practiced by Lukas – against ethnology, which was closely involved in formulating the ideology of the Croatian Peasant movement.

Lukas emphasized Croatian individuality because nations – not humanity in general – make history. Four factors contribute to building a national community: territorial unity, spiritual unity, shared ethnobiological relations, and differentiation of the community into individuals and classes. Lukas recalled Hildebrandt Böhm's argument that culture cannot be imagined separately from the people, "because the people is the origin and root of every culture," and explicitly described culture as dynamic and historical, in the sense that it develops and changes over time.¹⁰⁴

Besides quoting Alfred Hettner's definition of culture as "an aggregate of all spiritual and material goods of a people and its sense of organization"¹⁰⁵ – which, in turn, resembled Ratzel's view of culture as an aggregate of traits – Lukas was interested in the ways in which the Croatian national culture came to being. Filtering – accepting or refusing – foreign cultural influences thus became a decisive element in the process of developing culture: "Out of a permanent acceptance of the foreign, its metamorphoses, and out of our own new creation, what we call our Croatian culture emerged."¹⁰⁶ Croatian national culture thus came into being through a process of selective synthesis. The Croatian national spirit "absorbed what was in agreement with the national spirit, and refuted what was foreign to it."¹⁰⁷ According to Lukas, "no people became a cultural people by itself," and he argued:

A people is generally more capable for culture, its character is more plastic, and suitable for progress, if it can absorb and process more foreign culture and not lose its uniqueness. A priori refutation of everything foreign, which some advocates of utopist autochthonous development [*samoniklost*] ask for, would not mean any national strength, it would rather be a sign of cultural inferiority and the inability to learn from the others. Only those foreign [elements] are harmful, which are contrary to one's own national individuality and that destroy it, rather than enrich it. . . . *The historical worthiness of each people consists primarily of what it is capable of giving to others,*

¹⁰⁴ Filip Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost*, 22.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

*and its creative strength [consists] of what it can adopt from the other without harming its originality.*¹⁰⁸

In a similar manner, Ratzel had argued that “once an innovation has been adopted by a particular people, it becomes part of the aggregation that constitutes their culture. What determines whether an innovation is retained or dropped in a culture is mainly its effectiveness in helping a *Volk* confront the environment in which its members live.”¹⁰⁹ For a weak culture, absorbing foreign cultural traits would cause disintegration rather than improvement. The strength of Croatian culture, Lukas implied, was manifested in its resilience through centuries of foreign rule and cultural assimilation.

In the light of the Oriental, Western, Roman, Hellenic, Italian, German, French, Slavic, and other influences over a millennium, one could easily mistake the Croats for an “unclear mixture.” This was not the case, he argued, because the Croatian people – actually, the Croatian national spirit – did not absorb just any influence like a sponge.¹¹⁰ Lukas believed that

of all the Slavic peoples in the south, the Croats showed the strongest resistant power in accepting others’ [influence], because while accepting it they remained indigenous creators and builders of their own spiritual, cultural kind. The Slovenes, for instance, have completely drowned in the Western sphere, and have not left a single strong mark in a thousand years. Serbs, on the other hand, it is true, have preserved much of their primitive [elements], but are chronologically and dynamically behind us in cultural production, and they received impetus from the Western spirit only recently.¹¹¹

While Lukas elaborated on the Croatian cultural uniqueness, in 1938 he was still careful not to determine the Croatian cultural position in absolute terms. At the same time, Lukas saw Croatian culture as belonging to the West, which separated Croats from their main “Other” – Serbs – but was also unwilling to forfeit Croatian differences in comparison to the West, as he believed that Slovenes, Poles, and Czechs had done to their disadvantage.

The Dinaric race, “dominant among Croats,” which developed in the Croatian lands, has also crystallized through mixtures of the newly-arriving Slavic – that is, Croatian – population with the older population. Lukas pointed out that “no significant blood relations exist . . . with Serbs, who otherwise speak the same language as Croats,” because having settled in a “different ethnobiological environment, Serbs mixed with other peoples and acquired a

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 49. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁰⁹ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 146.

¹¹⁰ Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost*, 49.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 49-50.

different biological type,” which the findings of Eugène Pittard confirm.¹¹² Again, “geographical and social environment, racial components, historical-cultural development, influence of foreign cultures, all these built every people differently and these distinctions differentiated peoples . . . so every people in its specific characteristics represents a different biological and psychological type.”¹¹³ Serbs and Croats should therefore continue on their separate ways, as they have throughout history:

Here, the Croatian and Serbian people created their own states on different foundations, in different territories, and under different legal and social regulations. In the past, their developments never converged toward each other but away from each other. One [group] developed toward the Aegean basin, and the other toward the Adriatic Sea; one was influenced by the Byzantine cultural development and the other, within the West, by Rome. Never in history did an idea occur that they should merge and form a common state; they stood apart like two worlds facing each other, not hostile but indifferent and separate. Their national and state beings looked in different directions – one toward the East and the other toward the West.¹¹⁴

No event and process in Croatian history, in Lukas’ understanding, was as important as embracing Christianity. Mentioning no names, Lukas attacked those who argued that by embracing Christianity, Croats had lost their authentic culture. In his opinion, “By doing so, not only did [the Croats] not lose the alleged high culture, which some only babble about, but cannot point to a single monument of this high culture to substantiate their claims, but [they] only then began to develop their culture in a more perfect form.”¹¹⁵ The statement that Lukas had already previously formulated was, by the late 1930s, aimed against the claims of the HSS and the intellectuals sympathizing with it.

Against the concept of two cultures in Croatia – the peasant and the urban cosmopolitan culture – that was embedded in the ideology of the Croatian Peasant Movement, Lukas insisted that there is only one culture, the Croatian national culture. “Peasant primary culture” and higher forms of culture coexist, but they are not manifestations of two national entities. Oblivious to the fact that he himself had been doing it for a decade, Lukas warned that no single group or class, regardless of its size and authenticity – in this case peasants – can be proclaimed as the “subject” of national and cultural development. A people is divided into classes, but “together they represent the totality of national being and the same national spirit is manifested in everyone: in some stronger, in others weaker, depending on their different cognitive and

¹¹² Ibid., 32.

¹¹³ Ibid., 57.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 66.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 38.

spiritual powers.”¹¹⁶ Croatia needed a national intelligentsia and Lukas believed that Croatian peasants would recognize and appreciate it. The leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party, however, did not recognize the need for an urban intelligentsia represented by Lukas, the *Matica hrvatska*, and numerous Croatian nationalist intellectuals, and instead believed that the peasants, which they represented, should have the main role.

5.3. Reasserting Croatian individuality during the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945

In comparison to the late 1920s and 1930s, when Lukas published a lot and was an active participant in many public and political debates, the Second World War was a relatively calm period regarding Lukas’ publications and public appearances, which is surprising given his enthusiasm for the Independent State of Croatia. Despite the war, the activities of the *Matica hrvatska* did not diminish; on the contrary, the role of the *Matica* became even more pronounced. Lukas, however, was not entirely idle during the war. He was preoccupied with work on the voluminous encyclopedic edition, *Naša domovina* (Our homeland), which would be singled out in the indictment against him in 1945, and contributed to another large publication, *Zemljopis Hrvatske* (Geography of Croatia), edited by his younger colleague, Zvonimir Dugački, and published on the occasion of the centennial of the *Matica hrvatska* in 1942.

The Independent State of Croatia (NDH, *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*) proclaimed on April 10, 1941, brought together most of the Croatian lands – at least on paper. Until early May 1945, when the Partisans liberated Zagreb, it was dependent on the will of its Axis sponsors to whom it had to cede parts of its territories.¹¹⁷ Above all, the domestic resistance movement continuously challenged it. Already before the war, parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina claimed by both Croatian and Serbian nationalists were the main addition to the territory of the autonomous Banovina Hrvatska (created in August 1939 and governed by the HSS government), which were soon incorporated into the NDH. The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the central issues in the discourse of the Ustasha regime, and, as such, it received special scholarly treatment. Lukas’ text on the geopolitics of Bosnia and

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 84.

¹¹⁷ Bogdan Krizman, *Pavelić između Hitlera i Mussolinija* (Zagreb: Globus, 1980).

Herzegovina was initially published in the edited volume *Poviest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine* (History of the Croatian lands Bosnia and Herzegovina), before being published separately.¹¹⁸

A trend toward a sharpening of the discourse, visible in Lukas' publications already during the 1930s, continued after April 1941. The content of his works remained mostly unchanged but, somewhat counterintuitively, Lukas did not reach conclusions as "radical" as might be expected given the contemporary political atmosphere. Lukas emphasized the interconnectedness of the people (*narod*), race, land, and the state more strongly than ever before. A people needs a state, and in an attempt to build the state, the people "grows more and more together with its space, so it becomes its homeland, that is, a symbol of the national spirit which has through centuries manifested itself in the people through spiritual and material creation. The people carries the soul of its land in it."¹¹⁹ Although he received his geographical education under the significant influence of Friedrich Ratzel, and although he had referred to Ratzel for decades, Lukas emphasized Ratzel's concept of *Lebensraum* – or, in Croatian, *životni prostor* (living space) – only in 1942. It is at the same time a geographical and a biological concept – because the values of a people are manifested in a given space through their blood and race. According to Lukas, "The struggle of man with nature, their mutual permeation, formation of the race, the people, and the state in space and their gradual development in new forms – that is history in the sense of geopolitics."¹²⁰ The given natural conditions were thus connected to the ways in which people arrange their relationship with nature.

If during the first Yugoslavia the historical legacy of the Croatian state was suppressed, with the proclamation of the NDH, Lukas saw the state as more important than ever. The people and the state are "the most important creations of the human spirit and both are connected to racial, that is, ethnic characteristics."¹²¹ On the boundaries of the state, the vitality of the people and state is manifested, as they advance or retreat. Already in 1906, in his earliest publication, Lukas had divided Croatian history into three large periods on the grounds of the geographical (or rather geopolitical) orientation of the Croatian state. The first phase, immediately after the arrival of the Croats in the Balkans, was "purely continental." The second phase, described by Lukas as a "maritime-continental offensive," when the Croats realized the political importance

¹¹⁸ Krunoslav Draganović et al., *Poviest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine: od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463.*, vol. 1 (Sarajevo: "Napredak," 1942).

¹¹⁹ Filip Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina u geopolitičkom pogledu* (Sarajevo: "Nova tiskara" Vrčak i dr., 1942), 41.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹²¹ Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 43.

of the sea, corresponded to the period of greatest power and territorial extent of the Croatian state during the Middle Ages. Forced into retreat from the Littoral since the late Middle Ages, the power of the Croatian state rapidly declined, and Lukas therefore described the third phase as a “decadent” continental one.¹²² He did not specify whether the decadent continental phase lasted into the twentieth century or if the unification of Croatian continental and maritime lands within one state changed the situation. In any case, the continental phase of Croatian “geo-history” marked by waning political power was the longest one, and such a classification provides an insight into Lukas’ understanding of the importance of the sea – which was not effectively reflected in the politics of either the Kingdom of Yugoslavia or the NDH.

Together with the sea, Bosnia and Herzegovina was another crucial geographical factor in Croatian history. However, through a combination of “immigration of the foreign element” to Bosnia and Herzegovina and emigration of the old Croatian population from it, Bosnia and Herzegovina lost its “previous exclusively Croatian ethnic character” and became an “agglomeration of various elements” instead.¹²³ Lukas embraced Cvijić’s notion of migrations of Serbian populations, but used it to assert the primacy of Croats in the Dinaric area. Given the direction from which the first South Slavs arrived in the Balkans, only Croats could have settled in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina as it was on their – not the Serbs’ – way to the Adriatic littoral, where they established their first state.¹²⁴ Prior to arrival of the foreign element (Serbs), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lukas claimed, was inhabited by either a Catholic or a Muslim Croatian population, which was, together with the rest of population of the Dinaric bloc, “linguistically and racially, the best preserved core of the Croatian people.”¹²⁵

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Croatian nationalists counted the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina as Croats of a different religion, just as Serbian nationalists counted them as Serbs. The ideologue of Croatian nationalism and the cofounder of the Stranka prava, Ante Starčević (1823-1896), famously stated that the “Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina have nothing to do with the Turkish, Muslim race [*pasmina*]; they are of the Croatian race . . . the oldest and purest nobility in Europe.”¹²⁶ Lukas, however – despite emphasizing the role and political ideas of Starčević since the mid-1920 – was relatively restrained in such qualifications.

¹²² Lukas, *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije*, 11.

¹²³ Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 46.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁶ Ante Starčević, *Izabrani spisi: otac domovine govori*, ed. Blaž Jurišić (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1943), 430, quoted in Ivo Goldstein, “Ustaška ideologija o Hrvatima muslimanske vjere i odgovor u časopisu ‘Handžar,’” *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 38 (2006): 261.

He, for instance, hinted at Bosnian Muslims being Croats in “Geografijska osnovica hrvatskoga naroda” in 1925,¹²⁷ but expressed clear views on Bosnian Muslims as Croats in line with the Ustasha ideology only after the establishment of the NDH.¹²⁸ Such restraint is not surprising given the emphasis he placed on religion – Roman Catholicism – in articulating and preserving the Croatian national identity through the centuries.

Lukas insisted not only that Bosnia and Herzegovina is “central among the Croatian lands,”¹²⁹ but also that it is geographically connected to the West and other Croatian lands rather than Serbia in the east. The geomorphological structure of Serbia and the flow of its rivers direct its territory toward the Aegean basin, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with Dalmatia, is directed toward the Adriatic Sea. When the Roman Empire was split into two parts in 395 AD, the demarcation line that ran along the Drina “was not drawn as a consequence of some victory, and therefore was not imposed by the opponent, but was drawn on the basis of natural conditions and [as an] optimal solution for the Balkan problem.”¹³⁰ It is especially interesting – or rather, perplexing – that the year 395 was frequently mentioned in the contemporary discourse, because no cultural divide existed between the two halves of the empire at the time, just an administrative one. It was especially irrelevant for the relations between the South Slavs when they came to the Balkans. The divide between Croats and Serbs, particularly in Lukas’ understanding, which was highly receptive to religious issues, occurred much later, and the division in 395 played no role in this process. The space in question was seen as inherently divided, regardless of the particular context, and Lukas implied that the Roman action simply recognized this division. Upon their arrival, Serbs and Croats became “functions of the space,” as Lukas put it, as they internalized this division and built their later development upon it.

An important change in Lukas’ geopolitical vision of Croatia appeared regarding its geopolitical and cultural location. The difference between Eastern Europe, which is mostly a uniformed plain, and Western Europe, which is mostly mountainous and fragmented, and every part of which, “be it plain and mountainous, has its unique and different characteristics in the nature of land and peoples inhabiting it” was repeatedly described.¹³¹ If expansion in Western Europe, despite the structure of the terrain, was relatively easy, it was still easier in the east. However, because of this, the assimilation of peoples in Eastern Europe was easier as well,

¹²⁷ Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica,” 50.

¹²⁸ Nevenko Bartulin, “Ideology of Nation and Race”; Bartulin, *Racial Idea*.

¹²⁹ Lukas, “Geografijska osnovica,” 76.

¹³⁰ Lukas, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, 56.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

while in Western Europe “each people knew how to preserve bits of its uniqueness and individuality.”¹³² Lukas again identified the boundary between the two parts of Europe as a line stretching between Fiume/Sušak, Vienna, Cracow, and Königsberg. But there was another boundary, running along the Vistula and the Dniester between Königsberg and Odessa, which separated the large Russian plain from the rest of Eastern Europe:

The eastern area comprises in its physical, climatic, and cultural-historical characteristics as well as in the racial composition of its population a world unto itself, which somewhat resembles the neighboring Asian regions. This is continental Europe, which in the above-mentioned characteristics stands opposed to maritime Europe in the west, where the relief is different, the horizontal indentation of coastlines is different, but above all, those factors conditioned different state and cultural conditions for the population.¹³³

Croatia (as well as the whole of Yugoslavia) occupies a part of this vast transitional area, where the “two worlds meet: now merging and leveling, now conflicting and rejecting [each other],” and it is exposed to ethnic influences from the east, and cultural and political ones from the west, which caused the dualism of its cultural-historical development.¹³⁴

Because of the asymmetric configuration of the Dinaric mountains, Bosnia and Herzegovina can develop only in communication with other parts of the Croatian territory: “The stepped structure of the land [*stepenasta građa zemlje*] and decreasing altitude toward the north, toward which the Bosnian rivers flow, make Bosnia in ethnographical, political, and economic aspects a connection between littoral areas and the flat Danube plain.”¹³⁵ Lukas warned that the anthropogeographical boundary of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the west is not the Adriatic Sea, but the ridge of the Dinaric system, and that the coastline area in its morphological characteristics as well as the spiritual characteristics of the population forms a separate region. The boundary in the north is the Sava, which does not separate Bosnia and Slavonia, but rather brings them together. Lukas described Slavonia as an extension of the Bosnian space, particularly given that the same people – Croats – inhabit both areas. The boundary to the east, however, was a completely different story. There, the Drina “does not link its banks but overwhelmingly has an obstructive character, and is a natural divisive boundary between Bosnia and Serbia.”¹³⁶

In 1942, his text “Zemljopisni i geopolitički položaj” (Geographical and geopolitical

¹³² Ibid., 48.

¹³³ Ibid., 48-9.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 50.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 59.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 62.

position of Croatia) opened an ambitious publication, a two-volume general geography of Croatia, edited by Lukas' younger colleague at the Economic-Commercial School, who had transferred to the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1936 – Zvonimir Dugački (1903-1974).¹³⁷ *Zemljopis Hrvatske* was one of the publications planned for the centennial of the Matica hrvatska in 1942. However, just as was the case with other envisioned books, its publication encountered problems and was delayed.¹³⁸ The book – as its topic, size, and symbolic importance show – was a major geographical narrative of the Croatian nation. Additionally, this publication points to the role of the Matica hrvatska in the process of creating and disseminating such works. Although Lukas was not the editor of, but a contributor to, *Zemljopis Hrvatske*, the fact that a comprehensive geography of Croatia was planned as a representative publication, and the choice of the editor, suggest the level of Lukas' influence.

“Zemljopisni i geopolitički položaj” was among Lukas' last geographical works. It was a short synthesis and, in a way, a finalized version of Lukas' geographical and geopolitical vision of the Croatian territories and nation that he had been developing in this direction for almost two decades. Among a number of repetitions, one of Lukas' conclusions stands out in particular. Having emphasized the geographical fragmentation of the Balkan Peninsula as well as of the Croatian lands since 1906 and the publication of his *Utjecaj prirodne okoline na stanovništvo Dalmacije*, during the Second World War Lukas mitigated his previous stance regarding the fragmentation of the Croatian lands. This shift cannot be observed outside the context of the establishment of the NDH. In his address at the annual assembly of the Matica hrvatska in early 1942, Lukas stated that the NDH “has finally been accomplished, but not through a conquest of another's land, but through the liberation of our own [land] on a historical and ethnical foundation, even if still not in its full extent.”¹³⁹

The historical, cultural, and geographical separateness of the Serbs and Croats did not disappear from Lukas' works with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia. On the contrary, it only intensified once the Croatian state that Lukas wished for was achieved. The fact that German-controlled Serbia and the NDH were now delineated, however, did not mean

¹³⁷ Filip Lukas, “Zemljopisni i geopolitički položaj,” in *Zemljopis Hrvatske: opći dio*, ed. Zvonimir Dugački (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1942), 1:7-35. Despite the imprint information, the book was actually published in 1943. See Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 159. Interestingly, just as the 1935-1936 *Slovenija: zemljepisni pregled* by Anton Melik, *Zemljopis Hrvatske* also remained unfinished. The two volumes (just as in Melik's case) are in fact two parts of an envisioned first volume, dealing with the general geography of Croatia, while the next volume was supposed to focus on regional geography.

¹³⁸ Aralica, *Matica hrvatska u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*, 159.

¹³⁹ Filip Lukas, “Rad Matice hrvatske za hrvatsku narodnost i državnu misao,” *Hrvatska revija* 15, no. 5 (1942): 236.

that Serbs – the main “Other” of Croatian nationalists – stopped being perceived as any less of a threat, especially given the inability of the Ustasha regime to exert control over much of its Serb-inhabited territories, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁴⁰

Lukas now described Croatia as a coherent natural region, although it is at the same time a Balkan, an Alpine, and a Pannonian country. It is comprised of two large regions: the Pannonian plain in the north and the Dinaric system in the south, which is further divided into an internal zone; the high Karst or central massif; and an outer or Dalmatian-Istrian zone. A decisive characteristic of the Croatian state was that it occupied almost the entire Dinaric area. Lukas again emphasized the separateness from Serbia: “the Dinaric area is a geographical and geopolitical entity for itself, not only because the natural boundaries at the Drina separate it from the central Balkan region, but also because there are strong isolating forces between them.”¹⁴¹

Though mostly absent from Lukas’ earlier works, the Drina came to play a central role in his narrative of Croatia, as well as in the nationalist imagology during the Second World War in general. The Drina, according to Lukas, is “a clearly dividing border river between the Black Sea–Aegean Sea and the Adriatic region, and its eastern, Serbian side, is out of the question [as a means of] transportation toward the Adriatic, to which, on the other hand, Bosnia is exclusively directed. Thus the Drina is not a connecting transportation line, but its narrow riverbed and [gorges] create a natural separating boundary between the Croatian state and Serbia.”¹⁴²

The perceived importance of the Drina as a natural and cultural boundary between Croatia and Serbia as well as between “two worlds” can be observed in the context of Fredrik Barth’s elaboration of the relationship between ethnic boundaries and ethnic contents.¹⁴³ Barth connected the ethnic content to culture and the ethnic boundary to identity, as identity is constructed through differentiation between “them” and “us” across the boundary. Since 1918, throughout the interwar period, and during the Second World War, boundaries have remained a highly sensitive issue, primarily because they were threatened. As a boundary invested with multiple layers of meaning, the Drina was thus constructed as a vital component of Croatian identity.

¹⁴⁰ Marko Attila Hoare, *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler’s Bosnia: The Partisans and Chetniks, 1941-1943* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁴¹ Filip Lukas, “Zemljopisni i geopolitički položaj,” 8.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁴³ Fredrik Barth, “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 9-38.

During the Second World War, Lukas edited the two-volume work *Naša domovina* (Our homeland), which made the importance of geography for the narration of the Croatian nation uniquely and explicitly clear. This ambitious and voluminous work was not supposed to be just a geographical account, but rather to address Croatian culture, history, and national identity from a variety of perspectives in an encyclopedic manner. Influenced by the political and scientific profile of its editor and contributors, *Naša domovina* struck a balance between physical geography and anthropogeography, and political and cultural history, thus again pointing to Lukas' understanding of geography as an "introduction to history" and the intrinsic connections between the land – a subject of geography – and the people, a subject of history. *Naša domovina* is directly comparable to the bulk of geographical works from the interwar period, as it represents a continuation of, rather than a break with, discursive strategies regarding the national issues of Yugoslav geography in the period 1918-1941.

The volume opened with a concise "Geopolitical Foundations of the Independent State of Croatia" by Lukas. Rather than between the civilizational categories of the East and West, as was previously his standard narrative strategy, Lukas positioned the NDH between two larger natural regions – the Danube region and the Adriatic Sea. Between them emerges the "mountainous part of the Croatian lands as a natural fortress."¹⁴⁴ The metaphor of the fortress resembles an earlier remark by Norbert Krebs, who described the Dinaric mountain chain as "an area of retreat in the time of distress,"¹⁴⁵ which appeared especially appropriate in wartime. The central, geopolitically most important area is a mountain ridge connecting the Pannonian Plain and the Adriatic, joining them in a coherent unit.¹⁴⁶ Correspondingly, there are two major geomorphological regions of Croatia: the Pannonian part, between the rivers Sava, Drava, and the Danube, in the north, and the Balkan part in the south. However, if climate and the "way of life" are taken into consideration as well, the Balkan part can be further divided into a continental and a littoral part, which means that Croatia consists of three parts: the Adriatic, the Balkan, and the Pannonian.

Lukas stressed that the political and cultural orientation of the Balkan Peninsula had been receptive to the East-West dichotomy since Roman times, and claimed that the increasing differences between Rome and Byzantium had marked the newly-arriving peoples. Serbs and

¹⁴⁴ Filip Lukas, "Geopolitička osnova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske," in *Naša domovina, svezak 1: hrvatska zemlja-hrvatski narod, hrvatska poviest-hrvatska znanost*, ed. Filip Lukas (Zagreb: Glavni ustaški stan, 1943), 3. Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁵ Norbert Krebs, *Beiträge zur Geographie Serbiens und Rasciens* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn, 1922), 28.

¹⁴⁶ Lukas, "Geopolitička osnova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske," 1:3.

Croats thus became parts of the East and the West, respectively, because of the area they occupied and inhabited. The cultural influences they received after the migration, rather than some inherent cultural traits, determined their cultural belonging: “The people was in tune with the land it inhabited, and from this organic relationship they acquired a homeland, and the land got man, who would cultivate and transform it in accordance with his racial characteristics.”¹⁴⁷

Lukas elaborated on the sustainability – and naturalness – of the Croatian territory that was gathered within the NDH in 1941-1945. The Pannonian part – again targeted by Hungarian nationalists, after a seeming standstill since the early 1920s – according to Lukas, has always been more closely connected to its Balkan hinterland than to the rest of the Pannonian Basin, and is in harmony with Bosnia, whose steeps rise toward the south. In the east, the gorges of the Drina “clearly” demarcate northern Croatia from Serbia. Milan Šufflay and, to a degree, Ivo Pilar previously developed the notion of the boundary on the Drina.¹⁴⁸ Šufflay also viewed the conflict between the East and the West in a *longue durée* perspective. Just as those of Lukas, Šufflay’s arguments were often historical rather than geographical. In his interpretation, the civilization border predated the arrival of the South Slavs; their historical development after their arrival simply corroborated the pre-existing boundary.¹⁴⁹ Lukas was among the more prominent intellectuals who embraced the trope of the border on the Drina as a vital element of Croatian nationhood and statehood, but, as Ivo Goldstein points out, they could not resolve the issue of the strong presence of Islam in Bosnia, which was according to such a delineation within the boundaries of the Western world.¹⁵⁰

Taking into account the ethnic composition and uninterrupted spread of the population, its shared racial traits (which he mentioned without actually elaborating on them), historical development and economy, Lukas concluded that “in the geopolitical sense, the Croatian lands form an autonomous whole, all parts of which are connected and directed one toward another, and mutually complement each other.” He thus established the Independent State of Croatia as a viable geomorphological, geopolitical, and “geo-cultural” unit.¹⁵¹

Other contributors to *Naša domovina* stressed Croatia’s transitory role between Europe and the Middle East, and its position convenient for accessing the Mediterranean Sea from

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 1:5.

¹⁴⁸ Milan Šufflay, *Hrvatska u svijetlu svjetske historije i politike* (Zagreb, 1928).

¹⁴⁹ Milan Šufflay, “Esej o Vjekoslavu Klaiću: značajke hrvatske nacije,” in *Hrvatska u svijetlu svjetske historije i politike*, 37-41.

¹⁵⁰ Ivo Goldstein, “Granica na Drini – značenje i razvoj mitologema,” in *Historijski mitovi na Balkanu*, ed. Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2003), 109-38.

¹⁵¹ Lukas, “Geopolitička osnova,” 1:6.

Central Europe. A general geographical survey of Croatia by Oto Oppitz, however, was not explicitly concerned with establishing the unity of the Croatian lands. His descriptions of terrain, climate, hydrology, flora, and wildlife all point to a diversity and, in some cases, even stark oppositions within Croatia; it is primarily a typology and an inventory of the physical landscape of Croatia, resembling many geographical works on Yugoslavia from the early 1920s.¹⁵² Oppitz was a physical geographer. In *Naša domovina*, he wrote a precise and detailed geographical account; it was a “real,” perceptible, and measurable foundation for a narrative about Croatia, which nonetheless served the same function as Lukas’ “metaphysical” geopolitical and geo-cultural narrative.

It is symptomatic of the immediate context of time when *Naša domovina* was published that the boundaries, political or geomorphologic, besides the argument regarding the Drina – were barely mentioned. This was not the case with the majority of works from the interwar period, which had at least touched upon – if not emphasized – the boundaries with the neighboring countries, geographical or ethnic areas. The context in which *Naša domovina* operated was, however, significantly different. The first Yugoslavia was counted among the victors of the First World War due to Serbia’s war efforts. Still, its borders were threatened, although it had pretensions to territories belonging to other, neighboring states. In this manner, Yugoslavia joined the ranks of victorious countries with strong irredentist movements, dissatisfied with their current borders, like Italy or even Romania. It had rather precisely defined territorial demands, primarily in the northwest, even if they were unfeasible. The “Independent” State of Croatia, on the other hand, was dependent on its sponsors – Germany and Italy.¹⁵³ Its territorial demands were weighted against the demands of other dependent countries, such as Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, or even Germany and Italy themselves. This position was manifested in *Naša domovina* in two connected ways. Firstly, there was little or no mention of the Croatian territory that was ceded to its allies, just a list of treaties regulating the borders after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in April 1941.¹⁵⁴ Secondly, there was little mention of the desired state boundaries, which was a frequently elaborated issue in interwar Yugoslavia. The division of the country into Italian and German zones of influence, which severely limited the regime’s control over its own territory and blatantly contradicted the notion of its independence, was also not mentioned. *Naša domovina* thus depicted Croatia as a natural unity because of the

¹⁵² Oto Oppitz, “Zemljopis Nezavisne Države Hrvatske,” in *Naša domovina*, 1:7-18. In a comparable publication, *Zemljopis Hrvatske*, Oppitz wrote a geomorphological account of the Independent State of Croatia. See Oppitz, “Obličje površine,” in *Zemljopis Hrvatske*, 1:81-147.

¹⁵³ Krizman, *Pavelić između Hitlera i Mussolinija*.

¹⁵⁴ Oto Oppitz, “Zemljopis,” in *Naša domovina*, 1:7.

characteristics of its physical landscape, which was combined with an exaggerated emphasis on the ethnic unity of the population. Croatia's precise territorial extent, however, was somewhat more ambiguous, and Lukas was eager to demarcate Croatia primarily, if not only, in relation to its most important "Other."

A section of *Naša domovina* on the Croatian land, comprising texts on geopolitics, geography – including flora and fauna – geophysics, geology, and geodesy (including cartography), is followed by parts on the Croatian people, covering ethnography, demography, language, and emigration; Croatian history; Croatian culture, and, at the end, an overview of the political history of Croats. Not all segments of the book, however, were equally "nationally conscious." But even the geophysics, geology, and geodesy, presented as purely scientific disciplines and seemingly devoid of any political implication, had a value and a place within the narrative structure that developed as follows: geopolitical position – physical landscape – its influences on cultural landscape – cultural landscape – national culture – people or nation. It is important to note that all these elements were considered closely linked.

5.4. The scientific dimension of the political conflict between the Croatian Peasant Movement and the Croatian nationalists

Some recent studies of Croatian nationalist intellectuals in the late 1930s and during the Second World War have pointed to the Matica hrvatska as one of the centers around which Croatian nationalists gathered, not only in opposition to the Belgrade government, but also to the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS, *Hrvatska seljačka stranka*).¹⁵⁵ Although in 1935 the leader of the HSS, Vladko Maček, praised the Matica's role in preserving the national consciousness during the years of the royal dictatorship, a rift between the two groups soon emerged. On the one hand, with much help from ethnologists, the ideology of the Peasant Movement intensively emphasized the role of the peasantry while, on the other, among Croatian nationalists in the mid-1930s, support for "nationalism related to the nationalist totalitarian movements and ideologies of interwar Europe," became visible.¹⁵⁶

As shown in the first part of the chapter, in the late 1930s Filip Lukas made a series of

¹⁵⁵ Višeslav Aralica, "Matica hrvatska u političkom životu Hrvatske"; Stipe Kljajić, "Intelektualni i društveni angažman Stjepana Zimmermanna između dva svjetska rata (1918.-1941.)," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 43, no. 2 (2011): 551-576.

¹⁵⁶ Aralica, "Matica hrvatska u političkom životu Hrvatske," 452.

remarks on the different roles that the urban intelligentsia and peasantry played in the process of cultural formation and nation-building. His emphasis on urban culture and the subordinate role of rural peasant culture directly challenged the narrative of the Peasant Movement. By 1938, the rift became manifested in mutual attacks in publications. The *Matica hrvatska* was linked to other centers of Croatian nationalism, such as several journals, by “the oppositional status regarding the strongest Croatian party, the only true political representative of the Croatian people, and by an inclination to modern European nationalist authoritarian movements and, related to this, anti-liberalism and anti-Marxism.”¹⁵⁷

After two decades of popular dissatisfaction, in August 1939 the Belgrade government agreed to establish the Banovina Hrvatska in an attempt to solve the “Croatian question.”¹⁵⁸ Banovina Hrvatska was comprised of the previously-existing Savska Banovina and Primorska Banovina, with the addition of some predominantly Croatian-inhabited counties from other banovinas. Although seen as an important breakthrough and an accomplishment of the HSS, the Croatian nationalists did not welcome the establishment of an autonomous Croatian unit within Yugoslavia. In fact, they even refuted the Banovina Hrvatska as a damaging compromise signaling that the HSS had abandoned a fully independent Croatian state as its political aim.

In 1939 the *Matica hrvatska* published *Narod i zemlja Hrvata* (Croatian people and land) by Mladen Lorković, who would become a prominent NDH official, as a summary of the nationalists’ attitudes toward the establishment of the Banovina Hrvatska.¹⁵⁹ In the opinion of Lorković, the main problem with the August 1939 agreement was that it left a considerable number of Croats outside the boundaries of the Banovina Hrvatska.¹⁶⁰ Although the title of the work referred to the spatial dimension of the Croatian nation, there was relatively little geographical argumentation in it. This is not surprising given that Lorković was a lawyer rather than a geographer, but it was at odds with a strong contemporary emphasis on geography – and especially geopolitics – among Croatian (as well as other European) nationalists. However, in such a politically engaged work arguing in favor of extended Croatian boundaries, geography was abundantly used, but only in order to map the spread of the Croatian population outside the boundaries of the Banovina Hrvatska and, more importantly, as a mere background where the history of the Croatian people has taken place. Despite some political agreements, Lorković was not a scientific fellow traveler of Lukas. In fact, *Narod i zemlja Hrvata* was a step back in comparison to the more complex geopolitical and geo-cultural narrative that Lukas had

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 458.

¹⁵⁸ Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise*, chap. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Mladen Lorković, *Narod i zemlja Hrvata* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1939).

¹⁶⁰ Aralica, “Matica hrvatska u političkom životu Hrvatske,” 458.

developed since the mid-1920s, in which geography and history were always intrinsically connected.

On December 29, 1940, Lukas delivered yet another annual presidential address in which he repeated standard tropes on the Croatian geopolitical location, the organic structure of the Croatian nation and different roles in the nation-building process, and referred to the unavoidable Pittard.¹⁶¹ Given the gradual worsening of relations between the HSS and the Matica hrvatska since the mid-1930s, it is clear that the address itself was not the cause as much as an excuse for introducing the commissariat and the mandatory management to the Matica. It is important to note that such a development was the result of intra-Croatian political conflict, and had nothing to do with Lukas' position toward Serbs and Yugoslavia. The HSS-run government of the Banovina Hrvatska imposed a new leadership on the Matica on January 11, 1941, but it lasted only until April 11, 1941, when the government of the newly established NDH (proclaimed just a day before) restored the old leadership headed by Lukas.¹⁶²

A brief overview of a relatively well-known episode from the late 1930s is necessary, as it serves the purpose of proposing a reading that has been hinted at, but not elaborated on. Namely, that the relationship between the HSS and Croatian nationalists such as Lukas was not just a political and ideological conflict over which social class – and, subsequently, its political representatives – would have the decisive role in formulating Croatian cultural identity and national policies, but at the same time a scientific – disciplinary – conflict as well. It was the culmination of a process of the increasingly incompatible development of geography and ethnology that was specific to Zagreb but, interestingly, not to Belgrade or Ljubljana. This rift was partially due to the opposing political affiliation of the prominent figures of the two disciplines, as well as to the aforementioned duality in the institutional-academic structures in Zagreb. It was also connected to contemporary developments elsewhere in Europe, especially the strengthening of authoritarian and antidemocratic nationalist ideas.

¹⁶¹ Filip Lukas, "Povezanost Matice hrvatske sa hrvatskim kulturnim stvaranjem: govor na glavnoj godišnjoj skupštini dne 29. prosinca 1940.," in *Za hrvatsku samosvojnost: zakoni zemlje-krvi-duha: eseji, govori, članci*, vol. 2, *Ličnosti, stvaranja, pokreti* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1944), 176-84.

¹⁶² Filip Hameršak, "Komesarijat u Matici hrvatskoj: od juridičkoga spora do političkoga pravorijeka," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 35, no. 3 (2003): 835-858; Filip Lukas, "O komesarijatu u Matici Hrvatskoj," in *Za hrvatsku samosvojnost: zakoni zemlje-krvi-duha: eseji, govori, članci*, vol. 2, *Ličnosti, stvaranja, pokreti* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1944), 184-92.

5.5. *Ethnological against geopolitical perspective*

In Croatia, the development of ethnological research with an interest in geography, comparable to that in Serbia, can be observed since the end of the nineteenth century. In 1897 – a year after Cvijić’s *Uputstva*¹⁶³ – Antun Radić published a text titled “Osnova za sabiranje i proučavanje građe o narodnom životu” (The foundation of the collection and study of material on folk life), which is considered to be the beginning of systematic ethnological research in Croatia.¹⁶⁴ Radić (1868-1919) was also directly involved in starting and publishing *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (Collection on the folk life and customs of the South Slavs) in 1896, a journal in which research based on his “Osnova” had been presented.¹⁶⁵ Untrained members of the local community rather than outsiders, such as professional anthropologists, often conducted the research. At the same time, Antun Radić, together with his better-known brother Stjepan (1871-1928), was a founder and leader of the Croatian Peasant Party.¹⁶⁶ In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, after Antun’s death, support for the party grew until in the 1930s it became the prime political representative of the Croatian people. During the 1930s, a new generation of ethnologists close to the peasant movement, who had little, or at least a different kind of regard for geography, revitalized the politically-pregnant ethnological ideas of Antun Radić.

For the HSS and many other nationalists – although not necessarily for Lukas – “the rural landscape, which expresses continuity, holds special significance in national discourse because it links the nation to the land as well as to the shared past. This is most forcefully expressed in the image of the peasant living in harmony with the land. The peasant welds the nation to its idyllic or primordial past and hearkens back to a time when life was pure and community meant a ‘morally valued way of life’, not just a geographic setting.”¹⁶⁷ Furthermore,

¹⁶³ Jovan Cvijić, *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* (Belgrade, 1896).

¹⁶⁴ Antun Radić, “Osnova za sabiranje i proučavanje građe o narodnom životu,” *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* 2 (1897): 1-88.

¹⁶⁵ Jasna Čapo Žmegač, “Antun Radić i suvremena etnološka istraživanja” (Antun Radić and the Contemporary Ethnological Research), *Narodna umjetnost* 34, no. 2 (1997): 26-27.

¹⁶⁶ The party changed its name several times, which reflected the changes in its political program. In 1904, it was established as the Croatian People’s Peasant Party (HPSS, *Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka*). In the context of the failed negotiations regarding the internal arrangement of the country, in 1920 it was renamed the Croatian Republican Peasant Party (HRSS, *Hrvatska republikanska seljačka stranka*), and in 1925, when the decision was made to abandon the practice of political abstinence and to start actively participating in the work of the Parliament, it was renamed the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS, *Hrvatska Seljačka stranka*). See Hrvoje Matković, *Povijest Hrvatske seljačke stranke* (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1999).

¹⁶⁷ John Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographic Mediation of State and Society* (Boston, MA: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 232, quoted in Guntram H. Herb, “National Identity and Territory,” in *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory, and Scale*, ed. Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 18.

“these idyllic origins of the nation are presented as a bulwark against the disruptive forces of modernity, as a source of inner strength.”¹⁶⁸

Focused primarily on the material cultural traits and their geographical spread rather than the environmental influences on human groups, ethnologists such as Milovan Gavazzi were instrumental in reintroducing Antun Radić’s ethnographical ideas to the core of the ideology of the Croatian Peasant Party during the 1930s. Borrowing from Jules Michelet, Antun Radić developed a hypothesis of two cultures in Croatia: the culture of “gentlemen” and the culture of peasants.¹⁶⁹ Even before establishing the political party, Radić had turned to ethnology in order to transform Croatian peasants into political subjects.¹⁷⁰ He believed that the two cultures were mutually opposed, and that urban culture wanted to destroy peasant culture. The political goal of the peasant movement, however, was not to urbanize or “Westernize” the peasantry, but rather to make urbanites into peasants.¹⁷¹

After a moderate revival of political life after the death of King Alexander in 1934, “advocates of the peasant ideology in the 1930s considered themselves as followers of Antun Radić’s teaching. . . . But it is important to note that their interpretation of Radić’s theory was significantly simplified.”¹⁷² The main organizer of this revival was Rudolf Herceg, who played a pivotal role in the association *Seljačka sloga* (peasant concord), cultural organization of the Croatian Peasant Party, which was invested with the task of formulating the movement’s ideology and maintaining continuous contacts with the peasant population through cultural events. Organizationally and functionally, the *Seljačka sloga* was not significantly different from the *Matica hrvatska* led by Filip Lukas, although it had a different political profile and agenda.

The role of the *Seljačka sloga* in forming a Croatian identity based on the peasant culture was ambiguous. With the help of ethnologists, the association even made lists of folk songs and dances that regional folklore groups were supposed to perform, thus neglecting the “authentic” peasant culture that did not correspond to the imagined archetypical picture. Aralica pointedly illustrates the symbiosis of the *Seljačka sloga* and professional ethnologists. In particular, the ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi (1895-1992), son of the geographer Artur Gavazzi, elaborated a

¹⁶⁸ Herb, “National Identity and Territory,” 18.

¹⁶⁹ Radić, “Osnova za sabiranje i proučavanje,” 1-8.

¹⁷⁰ Aleksandra Muraj, “Teorijsko-metodološke zamisli Antuna Radića i njihov utjecaj na etnološki rad u Hrvatskoj,” *Etnološka tribina* 6-7 (1984): 31-36; Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, “Hipoteza Antuna Radića o dvije kulture i hrvatska etnologija,” *Narodna umjetnost* 34, no. 2 (1997): 35-44.

¹⁷¹ Višeslav Aralica, “Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata,” 22-23.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 74.

scientific background of the peasant ideology. Milovan Gavazzi did so partially on the foundations set by Antun Radić, but partly also in accordance to the contemporary ethnologist theory and research practice. Interestingly, although Radić was older and an outsider to institutionalized academia at the time when ethnology was still in the early phase of its disciplinary consolidation, his conceptions have been recognized as more progressive and “modern” than Gavazzi’s.¹⁷³

Milovan Gavazzi was the first and the most pronounced advocate of the culture-historical method in Croatia, who, during his long career, had a decisive role in shaping both Croatian and Yugoslav ethnology. Already in 1928 – the same year when he took over the recently established chair of ethnology at the University of Zagreb – in the article “Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata” (Cultural analysis of ethnography of Croats), Gavazzi made his focus on the historical development and geographical spread of cultural traits clear. In the following decades, when he operated within the same methodological framework, Gavazzi elaborated on his approach and emphasized the complementarity of ethnological research in a historical (“genetic”) and geographical perspective. Cultural-geographical research (*kulturnogeografska istraživanja*) focused on cultural zones or areals, while cultural-genetic research (*kulturnogenetička istraživanja*) focused on cultural layers.¹⁷⁴

According to his early methodological classification, an ethnologic unit (*etnološki individuum*) could be studied either in a descriptive, comparative, or genetic manner. The descriptive approach focuses on learning the facts – cultural content and its spread; the comparative, as the name suggests, compares an ethnographic unit with analogous phenomena elsewhere; and the genetic approach “reveals the directions and ways (through history) in which the ethnological content of such an individuality has been created, developed, and changed, how it grew richer – or how it was impoverished or even extinguished.”¹⁷⁵ Gavazzi clearly favored the genetic approach, the methodology of which corresponded to the culture-historical method.

Croats, Gavazzi explained, are an ethnographic unit, united by the awareness of belonging to the same community, by religion (except for the Croatian Muslims and a small number of other denominations), and some ethnographic-cultural factors. Yet, Gavazzi warned, Croats share a large number of ethnographic-cultural elements with other peoples as well.

¹⁷³ Jasna Čapo Žmegač, “Two Scientific Paradigms in Croatian Ethnology: Antun Radić and Milovan Gavazzi,” *Narodna umjetnost* 32, no. 1 (1995): 25.

¹⁷⁴ Milovan Gavazzi, *Vrela i sudbine narodnih tradicija* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1978).

¹⁷⁵ Milovan Gavazzi, “Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata,” *Narodna starina* 7 (1928): 115.

Therefore, the “task of an analysis of the ethnography of Croats is to explain all its elements according to their development, age, or provenance, and to present the results genetically.”¹⁷⁶ Gavazzi’s classification of cultural elements was closely related to Cvijić’s zones of civilization. Based on the examination of a wide variety of material and non-material cultural traits, Gavazzi differentiated between the old-Slavic or old-Croatian; Paleobalkan; Mediterranean; Alpine; Pannonian; Central Asian or Oriental cultural layers; and the modern (urban) culture of the higher social strata. Gavazzi accounted for a larger variety of cultural traits than Cvijić had, but did not even attempt precisely to determine boundaries of these cultural layers, although it is unlikely that such a map would be significantly different from Cvijić’s.¹⁷⁷

Gavazzi’s ideas have so far been observed almost exclusively in the context of ethnology. Not surprisingly, given the impact he exerted on Yugoslav ethnology over most of the twentieth century. Yet, the close links between ethnology and anthropogeography in the interwar period – not only in Yugoslavia – do not allow for such a clear-cut division. Except in the philosophical and methodological aspect mentioned, the two disciplines were to a certain extent joined in the study program of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb as well.¹⁷⁸ Another link is the engagement of the two disciplines in the political conflicts in late 1930s and early 1940s Croatia, when the conclusions that Gavazzi drew from the application of the culture-historical method and the concept of cultural circles were opposed to Lukas’ interpretation of Croatian cultural individuality on geographical foundations.

According to Gavazzi, Croats, having lived in constant contact with Serbs throughout the centuries, received – or rather exchanged – some cultural elements from them. Such an explicit confirmation of the links between Croats and Serbs was at odds with the idea of the almost-perennial separateness of the two peoples that Lukas so vigorously advocated. Despite recognizing the coexistence of multiple cultural layers, Gavazzi offered his understanding of how historical and geographical fragmentation of Croatia was transcended:

The cultural inventory of the ethnography of the Croats cannot therefore be understood as a conglomerate with no internal links, with cultural elements of various provenances randomly scattered everywhere. First, because together with the exchange of goods with a majority of the presented cultural spheres, their influences spread here as well, and

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 116.

¹⁷⁷ It might be partially symptomatic for his understanding of the relations between geography and ethnology that Gavazzi did not produce maps showing the spatial arrangement of either cultural traits or cultural layers.

¹⁷⁸ Suzana Leček and Tihana Petrović Leš, *Znanost i svjetonazor: etnologija i prosvjetna politika Banovine Hrvatske 1939.-1941.* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, Hrvatski institut za povijest; Slavonski Brod: Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2010), 56-57.

were obviously manifested mostly in the contact zones, and weakened or completely extinguished when moving away from [the contact zones] – hence they are not in a full sense generally spread. And second, because alongside all these peripheral and general layers that are shared with other cultures outside the Croatian area, a fundamental traditional layer of old-Croatian ethnographic elements as dominant emerges everywhere and with no exception, strongly and most obviously, which ties everything together in one unit and manifests itself vividly and beyond geographical, natural, and in general, living, political and various other differences among the specific territories that Croats occupied.¹⁷⁹

Gavazzi's conclusion, although seemingly strengthening the Croatian national cause, stressed the links of Croatian culture with the culture of other Slavic peoples, which was incompatible with Lukas' ideas. By the late 1930s, Lukas refuted all the similarities – besides those too obvious to ignore, such as language – of Croatian culture not only with Serbs, but also with Russians.¹⁸⁰

Aralica has pointed out Gavazzi's employment of the culture-historical or diffusionist method. Although aware that Gavazzi came into contact with the culture-historical model as a student in Prague, Aralica nevertheless at one point implied that the creation of the method could be attributed to Gavazzi. Thus 1986, the year when Gavazzi's longtime colleague, Branimir Bratanić (1910-1986), died, marked an "approximate end of the unquestionable domination of the paradigm that Gavazzi conceived already in the late 1920s, and thoroughly developed during the 1930s, and which is in the ethnologic literature called 'culture-historical' or 'diffusionist.'"¹⁸¹ As was shown in chapter one, the method was neither new nor conceived by Gavazzi himself; as was demonstrated in an analysis of the role of ethnology in Cvijić's anthropogeography, the culture-historical method had been to some degree represented in Yugoslav anthropogeographical tradition(s) since the turn of the century, even before it was adopted by ethnologists. The reason for this partially lies in the fact that ethnology became institutionally fully-fledged discipline in Yugoslavia after anthropogeography. The culture-historical method found its way into Yugoslav academia from German-speaking universities, primarily via Vienna, and was transformed from an approach examining the exotic "Other" to a study of European – although peripheral – peoples and cultures.

Writing about Gavazzi, Jasna Čapo Žmegač mentioned his links – an intellectual debt – to the German-born American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942). According to her interpretation, Boas influenced Gavazzi into embracing the culture-historic method.¹⁸² Given

¹⁷⁹ Gavazzi, "Kulturna analiza etnografije Hrvata," 143.

¹⁸⁰ Lukas, *Hrvatska narodna samobitnost*, 31.

¹⁸¹ Aralica, "Konstrukcija identiteta Hrvata," 97.

¹⁸² Čapo Žmegač, "Two Scientific Paradigms in Croatian Ethnology," 25.

the time-span of Gavazzi's career (and the fact that Čapo was more interested in Gavazzi's later works, published after the Second World War), a debt to Boas and American social anthropology is entirely plausible. However, it can hardly be substantiated in the context of the interwar period, not least because no references to Boas exist in Gavazzi's works from that period. Čapo Žmegač focused on the concept of cultural areas which, she argues, "Gavazzi adopted from the anthropological lexis of the discipline in the first half of the century (cf. Franz Boas, Clark Wissler)."¹⁸³ She found evidence to support her claim in Gavazzi's mature works, written well after the Second World War, when Gavazzi was definitely acquainted with Boas' work. The evidence, however, is not necessarily applicable to his early works from the interwar period, when, despite Boas' success in promulgating relativist cultural anthropology,¹⁸⁴ the entire Yugoslav science was still heavily influenced by and dependent on the German ethnographical and anthropogeographical tradition.

Milovan Gavazzi did not contribute to *Naša domovina* edited by Lukas. Instead, another ethnologist, Marijan Stojković, wrote the chapter on ethnology of Croatia.¹⁸⁵ Stojković differentiated between ethnology, which he identified with German *Völkerkunde* doing research on "foreign" and "exotic" peoples and culture, and ethnography or *narodoznanstvo* (science of the people), which he identified with the German concept of *Volkskunde*. Stojković counted Bosnian Muslims as Croats, alongside parts of the Evangelical and Orthodox population of the NDH, and drew extended boundaries for the Croatian ethnic territories, reaching into Styria in the northwest, the Mura and Drava in the north, and the Drina in the east.¹⁸⁶ Though he explicitly described Croats as a "Western people,"¹⁸⁷ Stojković nevertheless followed Gavazzi's lead in emphasizing the old-Croatian culture and cultural exchange with neighboring peoples – but made little or no mention of either Slavs in general or Serbs in particular.¹⁸⁸

Gavazzi, however, was one of the contributors to *Zemljopis hrvatske*, edited by Zvonimir Dugački, which Lukas opened with his geopolitics of Croatia; he wrote "Etnografski sastav" (Ethnographical composition).¹⁸⁹ The fact that two opposing views on Croatian geography, history, and culture, with significantly different political implications, are to be

¹⁸³ Ibid., 26.

¹⁸⁴ K.W. Butzer, "Anthropology and Human Geography," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009), 1:148-51.

¹⁸⁵ Marijan Stojković, "Etnografija," in *Naša domovina*, ed. Filip Lukas (Zagreb: Glavni ustaški stan, 1943), 1:79-112.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 1:81-2.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 1:86.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 1:84.

¹⁸⁹ Milovan Gavazzi, "Etnografski sastav," in *Zemljopis hrvatske*, ed. Zvonimir Dugački (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1942), 2:639-73.

found together – one opening and the other closing the two-volume edition – might seem perplexing. It points to the conclusion that Lukas' geopolitical vision of Croatia, although greatly influential in the 1930s and during the Second World War, did not establish a monopoly as an interpretative approach to the Croatian past and present, even among the “nationally conscious” intellectuals. The tension between Lukas' anthropogeographical or geopolitical and Gavazzi's ethnological perspective of the Croatian nation and relations within Yugoslavia was not the only such example from the 1930s.

Another scientific conflict from the interwar period deserves special attention for its longevity and its recurring employment as an interpretative model for understanding ethnic as well as cultural and social tensions in both royalist and socialist Yugoslavia. Although it has hitherto been observed through the prism of Serbo-Croatian nationalist confrontations, it was relevant for the intra-Croatian conflict in the 1930s as well, and is an example of converging political and scientific issues. The debate between Jovan Cvijić and Croatian sociologist Dinko Tomašić (1902-1975) is among the few relatively well-known scientific-cum-political confrontations from interwar Yugoslavia. Scholars writing either on Cvijić or on Yugoslav nationalism have repeatedly written of the rejection of Cvijić's hierarchy of ethnopsychological types by Tomašić, who offered a radically different view. Jozo Tomasevich was the first to compare their different understandings of the patterns of peasant culture in the mid-1950s.¹⁹⁰ Since then, a number of authors have revisited the opposing views of Cvijić and Tomašić on the cultural and social structure of the Balkan Peninsula and its peoples – primarily the South Slavs, but Serbs and Croats in particular.¹⁹¹

As discussed in chapter two, Cvijić observed four psychical types in the Balkans: the Dinaric type that inhabited the Dinaric Alps; the Central type, occupying the Morava and Vardar valleys and parts of western Bulgaria; the East Balkan type, which included the majority of Bulgarians; and the Pannonian type in the northern plains. Contemporaries, as well as later scholars, interpreted this classification as a hierarchy. Cvijić presented the Dinaric type, which

¹⁹⁰ Jozo Tomašević, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1955), 192-97.

¹⁹¹ See Xavier Bougarel, “Yugoslav Wars: The ‘Revenge of the Countryside’ Between Sociological Reality and Nationalist Myth,” *East European Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1999): 157-175; Cathie Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans: Nationalism and the Destruction of Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002), 96-107; Karl Kaser, “Anthropology and the Balkanization of the Balkans: Jovan Cvijić and Dinko Tomašić,” *Ethnologia Balkanica* 2 (1998): 89-99; Karl Kaser, “Peoples of the Mountains, Peoples of the Plains: Space and Ethnographic Representation,” in *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe*, ed. Nancy M. Wingfield (New York: Bergham Books, 2003), 216-230; and Marko Živković, *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginery in Time of Milošević* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 80; Katarina Luketić, *Balkan: od geografije do fantazije* (Zagreb: Algoritam, 2013), 125-130.

he believed was best represented by Serbs, in the most favorable light. Brave, proud, democratic – although somewhat ill-tempered – nationally conscious, and with a sense for action, including political action, this population was pointed to as Yugoslavia's finest. However, different interpretations exist regarding the bottom of the hierarchy. Karl Kaser claimed it was the Pannonian type, identified as Croats, but Marko Živković has correctly pointed to Cvijić's contempt for the East Balkan type for its despised meek and submissive "rayah mentality," and suggested that the East Balkan type, identified as Bulgarians, was presented in the worst light.¹⁹²

According to Cvijić, faced with an inhospitable, mostly mountainous, environment, the scarcity of arable land and its overall low quality, the Dinaric population had no option but to develop into a resistant and resourceful people, although an uneven distribution of work throughout the year and between the genders often resulted in idleness, mostly among the men, who were prone to idealistic inspirations. Centuries of fighting against foreign – primarily Ottoman – occupiers made them fierce warriors who valued honor and bravery above anything else. Due to a deeply rooted national awareness and democratic spirit among the Dinaric population, combined with a history of resistance – contrasted with the submissive character of the other three types resulting from the centuries-long oppression by the Ottomans or western feudalism – made the Dinaric type most suitable to assuming the political leadership among the South Slavs.

In the late 1930s, Dinko Tomašić published a series of texts on the cultural, social, and political structures of Croatian and wider Yugoslav society.¹⁹³ Although politically close to the Croatian Peasant Party, the sociologist Tomašić did not play a role in formulating the ideology of the HSS comparable to that of the ethnologist Gavazzi. Tomašić voiced his belief in the irreconcilable nature ways of life of lowlanders and highlanders – a difference that he observed as geographically and culturally conditioned. Tomašić partially accepted Cvijić's classification and description of the Dinaric type, but he drew the opposite conclusions. In sharp contrast to Cvijić's idealization, Tomašić saw the Dinaric highlanders as aggressive, tyrannical, backward,

¹⁹² Živković, *Serbian Dreambook*, 82.

¹⁹³ Dinko Tomašić, "Zadružna i plemenska kultura kao sastavni elementi hrvatske narodne kulture," *Obzor* May 15, 1936, 1-2; Tomašić, "Plemenska kultura i njeni današnji ostaci," pts. 1 and 2, *Mjesečnik* 62, no. 1 (1936): 1-9; no. 2 (1936): 49-58; Tomašić, *Kritika rasne interpretacije političke istorije Hrvata i Srba* (Ljubljana: Jugoslovenska tiskarna, 1937); Tomašić, "Zadružna kultura i Hrvatski seljački pogled," *Pregled* (Sarajevo) 13, no. 7-8 (1937):489-491; Tomašić, "Politička misao u Srbiji," *Mjesečnik* 65, no. 5-6 (1939): 246-258; Tomašić, "Sociology in Yugoslavia," *American Journal of Sociology* 47, no. 1 (1941): 53-69; Tomašić, "Personality Development in the Zadruga Society," *Psychiatry* 5, no. 2 (1942): 229-261; Tomašić, "Personality Development of the Dinaric Warriors," *Psychiatry* 8, no. 4 (1945): 449-493; Tomašić, *Personality and Culture in East European Policy* (New York: George W. Stewart, 1948).

emotionally unstable, and egotistic, describing them in terms of a personality disorder.

The Dinaric mentality was not capable of a peaceful and democratic life. After the Second World War, he pinpointed it as the main reason why the first Yugoslavia failed, and why the socialist Yugoslavia, which was still undergoing the process of internal and international construction at the time Tomašić wrote his best-known work, *Personality and Culture in Eastern European Politics*, in 1948, was doomed to fail as well. The Balkan outlaws and robbers, highly esteemed in the Dinaric culture, became leaders and permeated politics, army, and the police. “Dinaric traits were transferred from the tribal level to the state level,”¹⁹⁴ he warned:

Insecurity of life and property, despotic local and state organization, exposure to hostile and arbitrary family environments, and to a family discipline constantly alternating between the extremes of harshness and of indulgence, favor the development of a malevolent, deceitful and disorderly view of the universe, and an emotionally unbalanced, violent, rebellious and power-seeking personality, together with tense interpersonal and cultural relationships, and extreme political instability. This herdsman-brigand-warrior-police ideal furnished a program for the conquerors of urban centers and of the surrounding peasantry.¹⁹⁵

Tomašić preferred the Zadruga culture to the Dinaric one. Although he never clearly defined the geographical scope of Zadruga, he believed its finest examples to be peasants of the Pannonian plain in the north of the Balkan Peninsula. In his elaboration, they were Croats, likely to be supporters – or the targeted audience – of the HSS:

The contrasting type of personality formation accentuated the humanistic values of Zadruga society. The wide diffusion of political power, personal freedom and economic security, combined with exposure to a happy family life and a mild, but reasonable, just and firm family discipline, favored an optimistic, peaceful, just and well-ordered conception of the world, an emotionally well-balanced, nonviolent and power-indifferent personality, and smooth and harmonious interpersonal and intellectual relations.¹⁹⁶

After emigrating to the United States in 1941, Tomašić tried to expand his idea to a wider East European context, but his argument remained focused on Yugoslavia and more specifically Croatia. At the beginning of the Cold War he included Yugoslav partisans and communists in his elaboration, claiming that not only many members of interwar Yugoslavia’s regime, but also the fascist collaborators such as Chetniks and Ustasha – as well as the antifascist Partisans – predominantly belonged to the same Dinaric culture. This served as an explanation for atrocities committed during the war by all sides on the territory of Yugoslavia, but also revealed

¹⁹⁴ Tomašić, *Personality and Culture*, 104.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

the author's anticommunist attitudes. Tomašić joined the ranks of numerous Central-East European emigrants who proposed various solutions to the turbulent situation in the region during the war and immediately after it. As many others, he proved to be out of touch with reality: in 1948 he underestimated the communist power and support in Yugoslavia, and even proposed a "planned transfer of minorities on a voluntary basis" (namely, of Serbs from Croatia) as a means of pacifying Eastern Europe – at the time when the policy of "fraternity and unity" among the Yugoslav peoples had been established.¹⁹⁷

Tomašić's visions of a stable Eastern Europe must have had some appeal to the contemporary American readership, as it fit the niche of anticommunist and generally anti-totalitarian literature emerging after the Second World War. In his 1948 book, Tomašić amplified many of his previous positions but also made them less connected to Cvijić. He repeatedly stressed the egalitarian and democratic nature of the lowlanders' Zadruga society as opposed to the totalitarian tendencies of the tribal highlander society. Interestingly, Tomašić was ambiguous regarding the benefits of capitalism. After all, it was the rise of capitalism that initiated the dissolution of many Zadrugas, which inflicted heavy damage to the idyllic social, cultural, economic, and political environment of the Pannonian – primarily Croatian – peasants.¹⁹⁸ If the Dinaric culture produced self-centered personalities, focused on acquiring personal wealth and reputation, the Zadruga culture was not formed around family ties but around common possessions – as there were no or very little private possessions – and valued conformity.

Another reading of the Cvijić-Tomašić debate is possible, one which emphasizes its scientific background, questions the dichotomous Serbian-Croatian, anti- and pro-Yugoslav, or unitarist and separatist understandings of interwar Yugoslavia, and pays attention to intricate relations between geography and ethnology in Croatia and its connections with the polarization of the Croatian political sphere. The Tomašić-Cvijić debate has been partially over-stretched, as it reinforces the image of inherent Serbo-Croatian national incompatibility, while, in fact, it can just as easily be interpreted as a struggle of competing visions of the Croatian nation, similar to the conflict between Lukas' and Gavazzi's ideas.

Lukas' ideas can just as easily be observed in the context of the Cvijić-Tomašić debate. As has been repeatedly pointed out, a comparison of Cvijić's and Lukas' visions of the Balkan ethnopsychological types reveals differences originating in their opposing political attitudes as well as some crucial similarities. While the writings of Tomašić began as a direct response to

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 235-236.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 189.

Cvijić's appraisal of the Dinaric "patriarchal civilization," they can at the same time be positioned within the context of political struggle in Croatia itself, as a manifestation of a disciplinary rift between geography and ethnology. Tomašić's works in fact argued against Cvijić's hierarchy just as much as against Lukas' favoritism of the Dinaric type, which he saw as predominantly Croatian. The plains of northern Croatia thus appear opposed to mountainous central and southern Croatia, which Lukas and many other right-wing intellectuals emphasized, partially because the Dalmatian hinterland was the cradle of Croatian statehood in the early Middle Ages and a source of the nation's biological or racial strength.

Furthermore, it is worth recalling that there was no direct confrontation between Cvijić and Tomašić. Cvijić died in 1927 and by the time Tomašić started publishing his texts in the late 1930s, he had long been "canonized," recognized by Yugoslav as well as international scientists as the highest authority in the Balkan geography, both human and physical. The second volume of the Serbo-Croatian translation of *La Péninsule balkanique*, entirely dedicated to an ethnopsychological survey of the South Slavic lands, was published posthumously, in 1931, and edited by ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, one of Cvijić's "disciples" responsible for the wide reception of Cvijić's ideas. Cvijić's methodology, the elaboration of environmental influences on cultural and social developments, and visions of the ethnopsychological territorial divisions within the South Slavic lands made their way into numerous empirical regional case studies. Therefore, Tomašić did not challenge only Cvijić's ideas but rather the whole anthropogeographical school that perpetuated them, as well as mainstream Yugoslav nationalism. It is almost ironic that Lukas was part of this group against which Tomašić positioned himself, but it is not surprising, given that Lukas' understanding of the central role of the Dinaric region and population as inherently Croatian was a mirror image rather than a refutation of Cvijić's ideas.

It seems that the main casualty in the struggle between political geography or geopolitics and ethnology as disciplines and their proponents as politically engaged intellectuals in Croatia was mainstream anthropogeography, connected to the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. Lukas' interpretative model could not win a decisive victory over the ethnological paradigm that stressed the peasant culture, but it managed to marginalize anthropogeographers teaching at the Faculty of Philosophy, some of whom avoided the implications of the political turmoil in Yugoslavia, even further. Again, the dual institutional structure of geography in Zagreb can provide an explanation. Anthropogeographers and geographers with an interest in political geography in Ljubljana, such as Anton Melik, Valter Bohinec, Svetozar Ilešič, Roman Savnik, Silvo Kranjec, or Jože Rus did not have a contender as radical – and as institutionally embedded

– as Lukas. The cases of Belgrade and Skopje were comparable to Ljubljana, with an important aside note that there, because of the influence of Jovan Cvijić, anthropogeography was methodologically strongly reliant on ethnography. Furthermore, Belgrade ethnologists such as Tihomir Đorđević and Jovan Erdeljanović, though relatively unreceptive to geographical issues, did not feel ethnology was as threatened by geography as Milovan Gavazzi did.

In Zagreb, as in many other parts of Europe, the geopolitical paradigm in a nationalist tone rose to unprecedented prominence during the 1930s and the early 1940s, but fell into disregard almost immediately after the Second World War. Although the careers of almost all the geographers in Zagreb besides Lukas continued after 1945, in other parts of Yugoslavia the “normalization” of the scientific process under a new political regime was not marked by such a dramatic paradigm shift.

CONCLUSION

The previous five chapters have presented the views of various geographers on Yugoslavia's past, present, and future, on Yugoslav cultural and political unity, and on geographical conditions that, according to the interpretation of some geographers, facilitated it, and in the views of others, obstructed it. They positioned interwar Yugoslavia and its constitutive parts – ethnic communities and regions – on a multilayered map, which comprised more than just a scale and coordinates. North, south, east, and west were not the only reference points on this complex map, as geographers located Yugoslavia relative to cultural notions of the East and West, to backwardness and modernity, to different economic, cultural, and social forms, to maritime and continental “directions,” or to mountainous and lowland landscapes. Everyone agreed on Yugoslavia's in-betweenness, but not necessarily on between *what* it was positioned, whether it was a beneficial or pernicious position, and which characteristics arising from this situation were predominant. An unambiguous answer to this question was not found either in royalist or in socialist Yugoslavia. The inability to answer this question corresponded to Yugoslavia's struggle with its identity/ies, but it also might also explain why, through its different appearances, Yugoslavia (and its successor states) was occasionally able to reinvent itself. Since this search intensified several times during the “Yugoslav century,” the 1920s and 1930s were not exceptional. However, the interwar period saw an unprecedented and never-repeated surge in attempts to define where and what Yugoslavia was – and geographers were central figures in this enterprise. Enjoying a socially-recognized scientific authority, which in most cases grew parallel to their institutional development, they negotiated the roles of apolitical – or rather, supra-political – scientists and nationally conscious public figures.

Contrary to practice thus far, this dissertation approached geography in interwar Yugoslavia as a scientific field much larger than Jovan Cvijić and the narrow circle of his students and colleagues in Belgrade. In interwar Yugoslavia, scientific geography was taught at the Faculties of Philosophy at the Universities of Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana – and at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which during this period was institutionally subordinated to Belgrade. Individual geographers and centers of academic geography had much in common: shared professional training – especially in Vienna, under professors Penck, Suess, and Tomaschek; mutual contacts; and a similar understanding of what geography is and how it could be employed to explain the past and the present, and possibly even offer guidance for the future. As with all intellectuals in Yugoslavia, many geographers were preoccupied with the new

political situation – the recently created South Slavic state and the struggles for its internal and external strengthening. Some geographers showed an explicit interest in contemporary political issues and actively engaged with politics, while others positioned themselves as regards political issues in publications that did not explicitly deal with Yugoslavia.

While these cohesive factors brought the three academic centers together, certain methodological and conceptual tenets were characteristic for each of the centers specifically. The “Belgrade school of anthropology” placed a strong emphasis on ethnography, and linked examination of the physical landscape with cultural landscapes. In Ljubljana, the profile of academic geography was more complex, as the presence of the Croatian geographer Artur Gavazzi, who dealt almost exclusively with physical geography, marked most of the 1920s. Gavazzi’s successor, Anton Melik and his colleagues praised the approach of Jovan Cvijić, but took different paths in their own research and writing, and covered a larger number of topics on a Yugoslav and Slovenian scale. The situation in Zagreb was complicated by the fact that the circle around Filip Lukas, who taught at the Economic-Commercial School and presided over the Matica hrvatska between 1928 and 1945, overshadowed geography at the Faculty of Philosophy. Cvijić and Melik, for instance, occupied positions between mainstream academia and the public or political sphere similar to that of Lukas, but no geographer in interwar Yugoslavia was able to make use of the infrastructure outside mainstream academia or “elite science” and serve as a “mediator” as successfully and persistently as Lukas.

The importance of the Matica hrvatska for disseminating Lukas’ nationalist visions of the Croatian land and people and his understanding of relations between regions and nations in Yugoslavia (he insisted that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were three fully formed and different nations), cannot be overstated. The journal *Hrvatska revija* and various monographs published by the Matica hrvatska allowed Lukas to reach a wider readership and “geopolitically educate” the Croatian nation. Geographers who operated exclusively in the confinement of the elite or mainstream science primarily aimed at a narrow professional readership. Cvijić, Ilešič, Kranjec, Lukas, Melik, and Rubić “scientifically” addressed contemporary political issues. At one point or another, they all employed the vocabulary, and conceptual and methodological apparatus of professional geography to show that the Yugoslav-inhabited lands formed an inherent geographical entity, and to assess the nature of geopolitical or cultural relations between Yugoslavia, its neighboring countries, and wider surroundings. If geography in interwar Yugoslavia was composed of distinctive geographical traditions, they nevertheless often converged in matters of methodology and certain findings, but also tended to reach opposing, politically implicit conclusions.

Cvijić's *La Péninsule balkanique*, published in Paris some half a year before the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established, has for almost a century been the only geographical work registered by scholars and the public in the context of creating Yugoslavia. *La Péninsule balkanique* was doubtlessly a scholarly work of great importance, although not as methodologically and conceptually refined as has often been presented. It was the result of decades-long research experience of one of highest authorities in geography of the Balkans, which was praised for having been immensely useful at the Paris Peace Conference. However, the very nature and dynamics of the Paris Peace Conference often did not allow for an in-depth scientific debate on territorial demands, as diplomats rather than geographers and other experts drew the map of post-1918 Europe.

Soon after the publication of *La Péninsule balkanique*, a number of geographers from Croatia and Slovenia wrote geographical overviews of Yugoslavia. Many of these works were written and published before the Serbo-Croatian translation of the first volume of *La Péninsule balkanique* appeared in 1922. If *La Péninsule balkanique* was renowned among diplomats and foreign scientists, it was relatively unavailable to the readership in Yugoslavia, which had difficulties procuring foodstuff and coal, let alone a book published in Paris – and in French, which was less widely spoken than German in the Croatian and Slovenian lands. None of these works became as renowned as *La Péninsule balkanique*, but in a period when Yugoslavia was internally and externally shaped, they were the only accessible geographies of Yugoslavia to the Yugoslav audience.

By the time the first volume of *Balkansko poluostrvo* was printed, works by Croatian and Slovene authors such as Karel Capuder, Ivo Juras, Anton Melik, Milan Šenoa, and, Filip Lukas had already constructed the image of Yugoslavia as a coherent and complementary union of geographical regions. These works often followed lines of narration similar to those of Cvijić, but contained little or no direct reference to his seminal work. Instead, Croatian and Slovene geographers referenced each other. Although the internal and external configuration of Yugoslavia was far from complete, they wrote from a position in which the establishment of the country was a *fait accompli*, which was a perspective radically different from Cvijić's. Some of the works lacked scientific sophistication, as they primarily relied on the employment of statistics (often unreliable and outdated) and an enumeration of mountains, rivers, and cities. Yet they served a function: they described Yugoslavia to Yugoslavs. As the titles of these publications frequently pointed out, these were truly overviews of the new country, rarely engaging in the metaphysical deliberations that can be found in some of Cvijić's earlier and most of Lukas' later works.

To varying degrees, many contemporary Yugoslav geographers subscribed to environmental determinism. In a historical perspective, they believed the fragmentation of the physical landscape inhabited by the Yugoslavs was one of the main reasons why the South Slavs, who might have formed an “undifferentiated mass” when they first arrived in the Balkans, experienced separate developments in the centuries to come. Foreign political entities with centers outside the Balkans, such as the Roman, the Habsburg, or the Ottoman Empire, could have conquered the peninsula, but the terrain did not allow for an autochthonous unification by a political entity whose center was within the Balkans. The unification of 1918 thus seems to have been achieved despite geography, but, especially in the period immediately after the unification, no geographer explicitly reached this conclusion.

Almost all the geographers examined struggled with assessing the fragmentation of the terrain and the impact it exerted on relations between ethnic communities. In addition to the “will of the people” and a shared cultural heritage (whether language, folklore, or mentality), many geographers presented transportation routes and interlinked elements of physical landscape, such as rivers and mountains, as the backbone and the unifying factor of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia, they argued, was not a perfect natural unit delineated by stable natural boundaries, but it was nevertheless a finely-tuned geographical entity comprised of complementary regions, whose population – although economically underdeveloped – was at a high level of cultural development, deserved and was able to rule itself, according to the principle of self-determination.

To recall of the metaphor of the mule, the train, and the office, mentioned in the introduction, Cvijić pointed to longitudinal valleys, especially the continuous Sava-Morava-Vardar routes, the prevalence of the Karst, and metanastasic movements as the main unifying factors. In addition to this, Melik hinted at modernity, including faster transportation and the principles of democracy and self-determination as elements that would help transcend historical and geographical fragmentation. Most contemporary Yugoslav geographers, including Lukas, never settled for one unifying factor as dominant. Lukas thus presented a complex and occasionally conflicting system of unifying factors, including religious and “biological” (racial) factors, economic complementarity, historical ties, relations between the Western and the Eastern civilizations, and the structure of the Dinaric mountains that rise toward the south, thus enabling communication of the Littoral with the hinterland.

An analysis of geographical traditions and individual geographical works shows that Melik was among those rare Yugoslav geographers who managed to produce a genuinely Yugoslav narrative, which did not favor his respective region and ethnic group – Slovenia and

the Slovenes – in description, but paid comparable attention to all regions of Yugoslavia. The scope of Cvijić's research and writing was significantly wider, but his narrative of Yugoslavia bore signs of the contemporary Serbian political agenda, and he was primarily interested in the Serb-inhabited territories. The situation was similar with Lukas: in several publications from the early 1920s, he approached Yugoslavia through the Croatian littoral areas that Italy threatened to annex, while he neglected other regions, some of which were equally threatened, partly because he was incomparably less knowledgeable about them.

The case of Filip Lukas reveals that the scientific methodology and narrative approach that aimed at constructing the image of Yugoslavia as a coherent geographical unit immediately after 1918 could have been employed, with small but crucial modifications, in deconstructing the unity of peoples and regions of Yugoslavia in the following period. Lukas emphasized the natural boundaries, the principle of complementarity – particularly of the maritime and continental areas, and of mountainous and lowland regions – shared culture, biological (racial) characteristics, mentality, and the national awareness of the population in a brief phase when he constructed Yugoslavia as an anthropogeographical unit, as well as in a phase starting in the mid-1920s, when he began deconstructing Yugoslavia. He fought against Great Serbian pretensions toward what he saw as Croatian cultural and historical space in Cvijić's works not by refuting Cvijić's conceptualization or research methodology, but by embracing it and, this time, by putting a Croatian label on it.

If anthropogeography, a branch of geography studying relations between people and their natural environment, was much better known to the general public than physical geography, geopolitics – its small but politically explicit segment – made a particularly strong impact on an understanding of Yugoslavia's external and internal problems. In professional journals, scientific monographs, political-cultural magazines, the daily press, and on the radio, the spatial dimension of politics was continuously emphasized. Although no professional geographer dedicated himself exclusively to geopolitics, few of the geographers examined resisted the appeal of geopolitical discourse. Since the late nineteenth century, many politicians, geographers, and intellectuals in general not only believed that politics aimed at acquiring more space, thus increasing the state's power, but also that politics was directly dependent on geographical qualities – such as the size, shape, position, number of people, economic structure, etc. – of the political entities in question. After the First World War, when environmental determinism started to become increasingly challenged, this belief only intensified. In East-Central Europe in particular, the reasons for the outcome of the Great War as well as projections of the future political developments were looked for in geography.

Geographers in Yugoslavia had a difficult task: to assess – and even anticipate, according to those who believed human or political geography could become a nomothetic science, studying natural “laws” – Yugoslavia’s relations with neighboring countries, especially those with territorial claims on “Yugoslav” lands, and relations within Yugoslavia. Yugoslav geographers were little receptive to the issue of state power, which German geopoliticians strongly emphasized, because Yugoslavia’s comparative weakness was clearly manifested. However, other motifs of *Geopolitik*, such as natural boundaries, the shape of the state, relations between the size of the territory and population, rootedness of a people in the land, and the boundaries of conflicting civilizations, were frequent topics. If Yugoslav geographers perceived the anthropogeographical structure of the Balkans as unique in Europe, geopolitics offered a comparative perspective, as it pointed to parallels between Yugoslavia, its past and future allies and enemies. Geopolitics, they believed, could help in detecting the strengths and weaknesses of the state. Thus as regards the unitarist form of government, the “fusion of diverse entities,”¹ an orientation toward two seas but also a continental character despite it, and the position and role of Belgrade, Yugoslavia resembled France. This was a welcome comparison, promising a bright future for the new state. However, many geopolitical works opposed the very idea of Yugoslav unity.

Intellectuals, politicians, and geographers in Serbia and Slovenia also resorted to geopolitical interpretative models, but Croatian right-wing intellectuals and geographers were particularly persistent. Unlike in Serbia and Slovenia, geopolitical discourse in Croatia was explicitly anti-Yugoslav, and such an attitude only intensified during the interwar period, culminating during the Second World War. With the help of the infrastructure provided by the Matica hrvatska, Filip Lukas consolidated this narrative. The fragmented terrain and the fact that a boundary between the Eastern and the Western civilizations runs through the central parts of Yugoslavia caused the different historical development of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Coming to the Balkans, to the fringes of the Pannonian Basin and the Alps, these groups were historically formed under the influence of the land they inhabited. They might have been undifferentiated Slavic “tribes” in the early Middle Ages, but since Serbs occupied territories that had already been part of the “Eastern world,” and Croats and Slovenes territories already belonging to the “Western world,” geography directed their history in different directions. However, by introducing cultural history and physical anthropology, Lukas developed a

¹ Marie Claire-Robic, “National Identity in Vidal’s *Tableau de la géographie de la France*: From Political Geography to Human Geography,” in *Geography and National Identity*, ed. David Hooson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 61.

complex narrative that occasionally seemingly challenged the East-West dichotomy. Serbs belong to the East, Slovenes to the West, he claimed, but Croats, while racially and linguistically Eastern, are culturally and historically Western people. During most of the interwar period, he believed their mission was to connect the two worlds, but toward the Second World War, the Western characteristics were increasingly emphasized.

The relations between Filip Lukas and the *Matica hrvatska*, on the one hand, and the Croatian Peasant Movement – the dominant political force in Croatia during the 1930s – on the other, reminds us that geographers' national affiliation was not the only identification indicating their position in a scientific-and-political confrontation. Lukas' opposition to Cvijić is (all too) easily reduced to Serbian-Croatian nationalist tensions in the first Yugoslavia, but the tensions between the loosely-connected Croatian “nationalists” and the peasant movement in the case of Lukas and Milovan Gavazzi reveal a more complex picture. The scientific issues in the background shaped the question of which political option would represent and lead the Croatian people and establish its vision of Croatian nationhood as dominant. Lukas' geopolitical vision was at odds with the understanding of the peasant movement, which was influenced by the ethnology of Gavazzi and some of his colleagues. Lukas observed Croatian culture in a superorganic manner, as an expression of the national spirit inextricably linked to the land. Croatian cultural and historical space was thus clearly delineated from Serbian, because geopolitical “directions” through history made Croats a culturally (but not racially) Western, and Serbs an Eastern people. Ethnologists, on the other hand, kept pointing to numerous shared cultural elements, which did not allow for a clear delineation between the South Slavs, and placed peasantry, instead of an urban, nationally-conscious intelligentsia, at the center of the Croatian nation.

Most elements of the geographical debates in the 1920s and 1930s were specific only to interwar Yugoslavia. After 1945, the reception of Cvijić oscillated between suspicion, refutation, and rediscovery; Melik and many other geographers examined here continued their careers in a different political climate, and in most cases moved away from the anthropogeographical paradigms that had been prevalent in the interwar period; Lukas was completely forgotten. Although geography retained and even improved its academic position, its political engagement in socialist Yugoslavia was diminished. It no longer played such a prominent role in addressing politically and culturally sensitive issues – above all, the national question. Such a trajectory was the result of attempts by the communist regime to suppress the national question more than of an internal development or a paradigm-shift within the discipline itself. Even the significant change of scale of Yugoslav foreign policy in the Cold War context

and its global aspirations within the Non-Aligned Movement, in which Yugoslavia was one of the main pillars, did not affect a corresponding shift within Yugoslav geography. Its heyday, when competing political programs referenced geographical works, and when geographers such as Cvijić, Lukas, Melik, Milojević and others frequently appeared in complex capacities as “objective” yet politically-engaged scientists in the press and on the radio, were over.

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