

The Politics of Remembrance of the First World War and Monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina

AMRA ČUSTO

INTRODUCTION

The First World War was a conflict that left behind a huge number of dead, great destruction, and a world that was never the same again. It defined and shaped our recent past to a significant extent. The collective memory of this event in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the last hundred years was constantly changed and recreated in response to socio-political circumstances, adapted to the content of promoted collective identities, and complicated by multiple, mostly (tri)national views. In the period from 1918 to 1941, it was closely linked to the Yugoslav idea and the creation of the first South Slavic state.

During the war, a significant share of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, served in its military as part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments—291,498, or slightly more than 16% of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Some 38,000 were killed and 51,815 wounded (Šehić 2007: 247). It should be noted that some Bosnians and Herzegovinians also served in the Serbian army volunteer units (recruited as defectors from the Austro-Hungarian army as prisoners of war).

The suffering, the difficult individual fates of men and women, the high number of prisoners of war, the struggle to survive, and the trying life behind the front all played an important role in reflecting on the memory of the war. After 1995, there were only two notable books about the memory of the members of Bosnia-Herzegovina's units and their role in the war (Schachinger 1996; Blašković 2000).

FIRST ENCOUNTER AND NEW SYMBOLS

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy caused major tectonic upheavals, and for the former *Landesangehörigen* of that empire, this meant that, in addition to their harsh wartime experiences, they were faced with completely new socio-political circumstances and numerous new difficulties. The political reality after December 1, 1918, was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS). There were many dilemmas, with the question of how to apply the national principle—recognised as crucial in the formation of new states after the First World War and the collapse of the great monarchies—to the assembled South Slavs soon proving to be of utmost importance.

In the aftermath of an exhausting war, with a chaotic situation on the field in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and documented cases of violence and repression by the Serbian army against the non-Serb population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, along with issues of consolidating the new government, it seemed that there was still goodwill for integration into the Yugoslav state at the end of 1918 (Omerović 2009: 183–214). After the Serbian army entered Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sarajevo on November 6, 1918, the daily press reported on it with enthusiasm, odes, thanks, and greetings to the Serbian army and its military leaders, creating a festive atmosphere before and after the act of unification, in reality the common life of a tri-ethnic nation - Serbs, Croats and Slovenes - had already begun. The existence of certain doubts about the new political reality, particularly the Serbian army and its attitude towards and treatment of the non-Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly the Muslims, can be read in the welcoming speeches by politicians Šerif Arnautović and Nikola Mandić to the Serbian army after it entered Sarajevo on November 6. On that occasion, Arnautović said to Colonel Nedić:

On my behalf, but also on behalf of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I thank the Serbian army for its fraternal attitude, stressing that at the beginning there was uncertainty and fear among the Muslims as to how the Serbian army would treat their population, but today, the Muslims are happy to see that the Serbian army came in a brotherly manner without any intention of revenge (*Narodno jedinstvo*, November 13, 1918).

On the same occasion, Nikola Mandić expressed his gratitude to the Serbian army and his willingness to sincerely work on behalf of the Croats towards unification into an independent Yugoslav state.

With the consolidation of power, they found themselves in a new political framework, which called for the unification of peoples with different historical experiences, whose development and life unfolded in different states and empires, and eventually led to their participation on the opposing sides of the war (of the victors and of the defeated party). The life of first Yugoslavia began with the unification, the “close encounter” of South Slavic peoples, and at the same time with the construction of a culture of remembrance and an official narrative not only about the First World War but also about the more distant past of the newly formed state union. From the outset, it was clear that this process would be fraught with challenges since the issue arose as to how to build a common memory in a country with many different pasts and myths. This was the key question in understanding the importance of developing ways to create awareness of collective identity based on participation in common memory, constructed and mediated through the use of common rituals and symbols (Assmann 2005: 163).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the construction of collective official memory was particularly complex due to the existence of three dominant national groups (Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks), which in the forty years between 1878 and 1918 had already lived under two states (the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) and now found themselves in a third, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—each harbouring different narratives and memories of the traumatic past.

In order for the ideology of the Yugoslav state to be reflected in the public space and in the creation of new identities, issues related to the selection of ceremonies, national holidays, the erection of monuments and everything related to the symbolic construction of an official narrative and a desirable memory for all societies were important. The first signs of conflict in this effort, the “issue of memory” of historical events in Sarajevo, appeared very early, just one year after the

creation of the state, and concerned the choice of the date to be taken as the day of the liberation of Sarajevo. The question of whether this should be October 29, when all ties with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were broken, or November 6, when Serbian troops entered Sarajevo, was formulated in a debate. The position of the Serbian press was that the Serbian army brought freedom and liberated Sarajevo, which was in complete contradiction to what the Croatian and Bosnian press wrote about it (Mladenović 1988).

The need to shape national memory around common content while forgetting other content from the past gave rise to entirely new practices of remembrance (Gillis 2006). In Sarajevo, same as throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, this was reflected in the changing of street names, and in some cases, even names of places, in order to quickly remove from public space anything marked as foreign and unpopular. This process of overcoming old symbols was seen as an expression of a new patriotism and loyalty to the new state. Minutes of a 1919 session of the Sarajevo City Assembly describe a long discussion about new street names. A proposal was circulated to change the names of a large number of streets, all in accordance with the need to “nationalise” the city. The Karađorđević dynasty was supposed to play a homogenising role in the construction of a desirable monolithic culture of remembrance in the kingdom, so the cities of Bosnia-Herzegovina were to be symbolically linked to the dynasty, and as a result, Petar I Karađorđević, Regent Aleksandar Karađorđević and his wife Marija Karađorđević were all given their streets. The new street names reflected the new state policy of remembrance and the need to rid Sarajevo of traces of the “old feudal system” (HAS 1919). As some city representatives, including socialists, pointed out, street names connected with the heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina, such as the older toponyms important for the identity and development of the city, were also changed. The memory of the day when the Serbian troops entered Sarajevo in 1918 was preserved by the street named November 6. Things were similar in other cities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, such as Banja Luka, Mostar, Tuzla, and others, which all received new street names in accordance with the new national imagery (Petar I, Petar II, Prince Pavle, Tsar Dušan, Miloš Obilić, etc.). The new names promoted the established value system, confirming that city streets and squares served as spaces for the projection of images of the past, thereby materialising collective identities (see Radović 2013).

In the period following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its values, the new state of the Kingdom of SCS found itself in transition, in the process of building a collective identity. This process was twofold: on the one hand, it meant establishing a new relationship with the past, while on the other, it represented a divergence in which the symbols and monuments of the “former” Austro-Hungarian society were no longer tolerated. The new politics of remembrance had to step up to the task of building unity and togetherness, and so the articulation of the new culture of remembrance began with the removal of everything that hindered the construction of the Yugoslav society and identity. Thus, as early as November 1918, the representatives of the People’s Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo issued an order to all authorities, offices, and institutions to remove all coats of arms, statues, pictures, and symbols reminding of the old regime (ABiH, November 1918).

This instruction demonstrates the importance of the coats of arms, flags, and monuments as symbols of civil religion with which one should identify, and which convey a political or ideological message and legitimise political and state authority (Sulejmanagić 2019). At the same time, it was deemed important for identity building in the young country, so after December 1, 1918, and the proclamation of the Kingdom of SCS, the country soon acquired its first national symbols. The flag—a tricolour with blue, white, and red horizontal stripes—and the coat of arms were symbols in which Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were to “see” their homeland, liberated and united, identify with it, and recognise their future in it based on fraternal harmony (see Jareb 2010). Enterprising individuals who saw an opportunity for commercial business in the political change and the new culture or remembrance contributed to these first creations of new symbolic and social values, and so in the early days of the state formation, advertisements appeared in Sarajevo newspapers offering for sale

pictures of Petar Mrkonjić—his majesty King Petar I, extremely convenient to remain in our homes and buildings as a dear memory of our Supreme Ruler from the time of His march for our liberation in the Bosnian Krajina (*Narodno jedinstvo*, December 18, 1918)

and all this for a price expressed in crowns, a currency of the recently vanished Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. However, much more wisdom, effort, and compromise than mere entrepreneurial spirit were needed on the thorny path of building a unique Yugoslav culture of remembrance.

The decision of the People's Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to remove statues and symbols was only the first in the line of important decisions concerning the fate of monuments erected during the Austro-Hungarian period, and their removal proceeded very quickly. Among the removed monuments, the most famous was Spomenik umorstva (The Murder Memorial), by Hungarian sculptor Eugen Bory, dedicated to Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie and erected in 1917, exactly on the third anniversary of the assassination, with a ceremonial and religious programme, on the spot where they were killed by Gavrilo Princip's shots. Spomenik okajanja (The Atonement Monument), as it was called, consisted of three parts: a pedestal with a niche containing a smaller sculpture of the Pieta – Virgin Mary with Jesus, a medallion with the figures of Franz Ferdinand and Sophie, and tall columns with their crowns represented. It survived for just over a year and was dismantled at the end of 1918.¹ At the same time, the plaque with the date of the assassination (June 28, 1914) and the text: "The heir to the throne Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Duchess Sophie von Hohenberg perished at this crossroads in martyrdom by the hands of a murderer" (*Sarajevski list* 162, June 26, 1917), was removed from the façade of the building facing the monument.

This monument could not survive the creation of the Kingdom of SCS and the building of a new society. In the ongoing dynamic relationship between the past and the creation of memory, the official narrative of the assassination changed completely and became an event of great national importance. The Young Bosnians (*Mladobosanci*) and the assassins were written in "golden letters" into the history of the creation of the South Slavic state. Its members were declared revolutionaries, fighters for liberation and unification, with Gavrilo Princip and other participants in the assassination portrayed as martyrs who fell for freedom. The act of assassinating Franz Ferdinand and Sophie was reinterpreted as the beginning, the announcement of freedom that was eventually won in the war. This is why their movement was portrayed as a fight against the occupier, as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was described.

1 After dismantling, parts of the monument ended up in Zemaljski muzej (Landes Museum) in Sarajevo, and some time later the medallion with the figures of Ferdinand and Sophie was stored in Umjetnička galerija BiH (Art Gallery of Bosnia-Herzegovina), while the Pieta – the sculpture of Virgin Mary with Jesus, was stored in the Institute for Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of Canton Sarajevo. The original part of the monument standing in its original place is a stone bench facing the place where the monument used to stand (Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Sarajevo, Evidencioni karton Spomenik Umorstva).



Fig. 1: Pietà, the original part of The Murder Memorial (photo: A. Čusto).



Fig. 2: The original place of The Murder Memorial (on the left) (photo: A. Čusto).

The memory of Young Bosnians and the assassins was inseparable from the celebrations and commemorations. The memorial plaque dedicated to Gavrilo Princip meant not only a change in the interpretation of his act, but also a change in the spatial identity and “visual language” of the historical zero point in Sarajevo, so strongly associated with the First World War. The memorial plaque was placed on February 2, 1930 by the Odbor narodne odbrane (National Defence Committee), with the inscription that the act of Gavrilo Princip heralded freedom on the Vidovdan of 1914. The unveiling of the

commemorative plaque was met with great interest by the foreign public. The solemn ceremony was attended by foreign journalists, some of whom surprised the hosts with numerous unpleasant questions about Serbia's responsibility for the war, the assassins as conspirators, their links to Serbia, etc. According to reports about the situation in Drinska Banovina, members of the local National Defence Committee tried to change the perception of the memorial plaque for Gavrilo Princip, especially the British journalist Philip Pembroke Stephens, correspondent of the *Daily Express*, who was accused of having come into contact with some members of the Croatian emigration because of his unpleasant questions (Rodinis 2009: 98-9). The hosts' remarks, however, did not have much impact on the coverage in the foreign press and were later described as provocation and incitement to hatred against the Yugoslav state (Rodinis 2009: 102).



Fig. 3: The original concrete bench of The Murder Memorial (photo: A. Čusto).

The memorial plaque erected for Gavrilo Princip in 1930 was to be just one of many that were repeatedly replaced as states and systems, collective cultures of memory, and attitudes toward the assassination changed. Young Bosnia, Gavrilo Princip, and the assassination are still subject to different interpretations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and are the cause of numerous conflicts of memory. It is important to note that, apart from citizens and guests of the National Defence Committee, none of the official government representatives attended this first memorial plaque ceremony, which could be interpreted as distancing, even if only formal, from the construction of memory using the act of assassination. It is my impression that this was motivated by the desire

to avoid any kind of incitement on the part of the international community to review Serbia's connection to Young Bosnia and its responsibility for the outbreak of the war. Whether the non-attendance of official government representatives at the mounting of the plaque in Sarajevo, and the scant coverage of this event in the local press, supports the argument that from the 1930s the Vidovdan myth reverted to its original meaning, exclusively related to the Battle of Kosovo, and that the assassins ceased to be an important element of this narrative, remains to be questioned further (Marković 2014).

However, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Young Bosnians had already been associated with the immortal heroes of Vidovdan, and the collective memory of assassination participants was continuously developed and built by numerous associations, such as Narodna odbrana (National Defence), a Serbian national association, which, despite the achieved goal of unification, even after 1918 continued to operate intensively towards further strengthening of nationalism (Newman 2018). In order to keep nationalism alive, National Defence was joined by various other organisations, especially Serbian army veterans, members of Sokol Societies), and cultural and educational societies, supported by parts of the political elite. This practice and various developed forms of cultivating the memory of war and Young Bosnians were also used in national skirmishes and reckonings, especially in the period of constant political turmoil and mutual accusations, clearly demonstrating the importance and sensitivity of collective memory. Members of the Sokol Society, great champions of state nationalism, and the Karadorđević dynasty stood out as guardians of the memory of Princip and his comrades in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Activities of Sokol Society organisations were directed at young people in order to inculcate the value of sacrifice for the motherland, the people, and Yugoslavia. They were presented to Bosnian youth as a “sacred source of moral strength, as the most sacred pilgrimage” (Rodinić 2010: 186).

Accordingly, Young Bosnians had a special place in the culture and practices of remembrance. Those who survived were given the epithet of “national workers,” while the dead became lofty ideals that had fallen for freedom. This satisfied the narrative of national heroes, important in the quest for political unity, in which heroes are politicised in order to reinforce the idea on which the nation-state was founded (Musabegović 2008: 73). Therefore, as part of the celebrations of the 550th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Sarajevo in 1939, the fallen Young Bosnians were given a memorial chapel at the Koševo cemetery with the text *Blago tome ko dovijek živi – imao se rašta i roditi* (Blessed be who lives forever—he had reason to be born), followed by

the names: Gavriilo Princip, Nedeljko Čabrinović, Danilo Ilić, Trifko Grabež, Veljko Čurbilović, Mihajlo-Miško Jovanović, Mitar Kerović, Neđo Kerović, Jakov Milović, Marko Perin, and Bogdan Žerajić. This is a quotation from *Gorski vijenac* by Petar Petrović Njegoš, which articulated romantic national principles in a special way, through an epic narrative about national freedom promoting the cult of heroes and patriotism. As their “brothers” were all those who were punished and died in the so-called High Treason Trials, organised during the war by the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia on a symbolic level, the Young Bosnians were all those who were suspected or recognised as supporters of the idea of uniting the South Slavs and siding with Serbia, especially the Serbs. They were punished and widely persecuted.



Fig. 4: Today’s inscription of the memorial plaque of the assassination (photo: A. Čusto).

A monument dedicated to the convicts of the 1915/16 Banja Luka High Treason Trial was erected and unveiled in 1933 in the Orthodox cemetery of St. Pantaleon in Banja Luka. This was a monumental memorial with a cross and a plaque at the base bearing the inscription: *Javite Srbiji da je volim* (“Tell Serbia that I love her”), the last words of Dragoljub Kesić, a victim of the treason trial in Banja Luka. At a time when the Yugoslav idea was losing its strength, appeal, and acceptance, when it no longer meant the same thing as it did before 1918, when it

became compromised by daily political life, it was important for the creators of the official policy of remembrance in Belgrade to highlight in national history all those who once died and were associated with the idea of the state. Thus, pre-war Muslim members of Young Bosnia, Avdo Sumbul and Behdžet Muteveliđ, also known as activists of the Muslim cultural and educational society “Gajret” and advocates of the unification of South Slavs and the role of Serbia as Piedmont of the Balkans, were on the list of names written in golden letters into the Yugoslav past. As part of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Gajret Society (1928), in the year of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of liberation and unification, their bones were transferred from the Romanian town of Arad and buried in the centre of Sarajevo, next to the Ali Pasha Mosque, with a mausoleum (*turbet*) later built in their honour. The return of their bones and the ceremonial reburial demonstrated the use of the dead to homogenise and symbolically unite everyone into a single nation. This is an example of an emotional funerary ritual that strengthens the dominant ideology when “the national community of the living relies on the national community of the dead” (Kuljić 2014: 62).

The choice of the *turbet* was no accident. In the Islamic tradition, it is the closest thing to a mausoleum, as the burial place for more prominent Muslims. It pointed to religious identity, but also suggested the great merits of Avdo Sumbul and Behdžet Muteveliđ, paying them special respect. Whether these merits were presented in accordance with the vision of all those who supported the movement and idea of uniting South Slavs under the leadership of Serbia, or the transformed Serbo-centric ideology of the proclaimed Yugoslav state imposed after 1918 and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, especially in public discourse and the culture of remembrance, remains an important unresolved question.

MEMORY AS THE SEED OF DISCORD

The new remembrance practices were centred around selected dates from the past and, in particular, the mythological pattern of Vidovdan. Efforts were made to create a narrative about Vidovdan as an event that was not only fateful but also an important link for all those who found themselves in the Kingdom of SCS. It was chosen as the largest national holiday and placed in the annual cycle of holidays to enable the “integration across dates” of the entire community (Kuljić 2006: 172).

Remembering victims, building monuments, and organising commemorations constitute, in a paradigmatic sense, a memory that forms and strengthens the community. Vidovdan was also proclaimed a day of remembrance for the fallen members of the Serbian army and the most important national holiday. Vidovdan commemorations were held throughout the country for those who died for liberation and unity, with solemn memorial services held in all churches and places of worship. Since 1929, the authorities intensified the use of the Vidovdan mythology. They tried to get all religious communities to take part in the central celebrations of this day in order to demonstrate unity (Čolović 2016: 308). In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this meant programmes with official protocol, solemn speeches highlighting Vidovdan and the struggle of the Serbian people and volunteers from these regions for freedom and unity, with special emphasis on the long road from Kosovo to the painful freedom (Rodinis 2009: 257). Public celebrations of this date were marked by the hoisting of state flags on public institution buildings, the presence of state officials and government representatives, and religious commemorations in Orthodox and Catholic churches and Jewish temples (Sephardic and Ashkenazi). However, the shining hope of unity in the state of South Slavs was shattered inter alia by the fact that Bosniak Muslims were often omitted from these Vidovdan memorials (*Narodno jedinstvo*, June 29, 1935).

Serbian national history, national heroes, and the battles of the Serbian army took on a nation-building significance. They were interpreted through the symbolism of the Kosovo myth where the regent and later king Aleksandar Karađorđević played an active role in creating that memory (Jezernik 2018: 136). Creating such a narrative meant excluding from the collective memory all those who died on the other side of the First World War, in the Austro-Hungarian army. Their numbers were not insignificant in the South Slavic Kingdom. By excluding them from official memory, a clear message was sent that the Yugoslav state was bound to the victorious Serbian army as one of the foundations of national unity (Manojlović Pintar 2014: 142). This lack of understanding, and lack of equal empathy for all victims, meant that the memory of numerous “others” was completely marginalised. The complex legacy of war, as well as the insistence on collective memory based on the use of publicly mediated history in public discourse, on holidays, celebrations, monuments, and commemorations primarily linked to Serbian history and the Serbian army tradition, along with the choice of Vidovdan as the pivotal point of national ideology, lacked integrative potential and could not be accepted unreservedly

by all. Celebrating and creating traditions rooted in medieval Serbian history, Serbian uprisings, past Balkan wars, and the First World War in Bosnia-Herzegovina was problematic for a large number of non-Serbs, particularly Bosniaks, precisely because the attachment to the Kosovo cycle and mythology marked them as apostates, traitors to Christianity, and pointed to the conversion guilt of those Slavs who accepted Islam (see: Kazaz 2015: 25–39). Surviving soldiers from the former Austro-Hungarian army had to settle for amnesty rather than a place in collective memory, because they did not fit into the concept of remembrance of the victorious Serbian army. The memory of all those who died and fought on the side of Austro-Hungarians was not state-building. It was not suitable “material” for the Yugoslav collective identity, which created an additional gap in the memory of the war. Those who served in the Austro-Hungarian army were mostly seen as fighters against liberation and unification, and only a handful of war veterans’ associations tried to bridge the gap in the legacy of war, but without questioning the primacy of the Serbian army’s victory or the more exclusive rights or sacrifices of the Serbian military veterans (Newman 2018).

Exclusion from the collective memory, i.e. the impossibility of integration into the existing concept of the war narrative, combined with their unequal position in society in comparison to Serbian army veterans, certainly created a feeling of being left out and forgotten, resulting in the Austro-Hungarian army veterans’ need to create parallel memories about the war. Many surviving soldiers from the defeated Austro-Hungarian army, veterans with disabilities, and family members of the fallen were not given opportunities to remember and express their memory of their war comrades or closest relatives. The result was that “from a separate memory grew an increasingly strong sense of a separate identity” (Ježernik 2018: 145). Polarised memories divided the proclaimed Yugoslav nation and led to growing political tensions and disagreements over the organisation of the state.

Solidarity with those who fought on the Austro-Hungarian side, namely the officers and many ordinary soldiers who had experienced a terrible war and human suffering, could not be expressed in the public discourse and space because this would result in a cacophony of collective memory. Considering the official memory of the bearers of victory and war glory, such monuments were not erected on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina because they were seen as politically incorrect and inappropriate. Remembrance in the form of established monuments to fallen soldiers, military cemeteries, and commemoration and remembrance days introduced by the Austro-Hungarian

Monarchy had to be halted in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the end of the war, all countries involved in the war, including the Kingdom of SCS, undertook to maintain military cemeteries. However, after 1918, the military cemeteries where soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, including locals, were buried, were mostly forgotten and neglected. One of these cemeteries was Vojničko groblje Lav (Lion's Cemetery)² in Sarajevo (Čusto, 2013).

The Lion Cemetery was established in 1916/17 as a result of the need and desire to bury the dead soldiers, the fallen, and those who died of war wounds in one place. The Lion Military Cemetery was founded at the order of the last leader of the country, Stjepan Sarkotić, and should be seen in the context of a time when, as a result of war events of unprecedented proportions, a culture of remembrance centred on the war, soldiers, and war victims emerged in the wider European area. This was a time when monuments and memorials were used to commemorate the great global conflict while also creating a heroic image of those who sacrificed their lives for the homeland, the state, with the goal of building an official image of the past and homogenising a certain community. In this sense, this cemetery should have had special significance as a place of remembrance, where commemorative ceremonies would be held to celebrate the cult of the fallen soldiers, those who gave their lives for the Dual Monarchy: "For the Emperor and the Fatherland"—the propaganda slogan used to motivate soldiers during the war. This slogan was almost the only possible unifying factor of the multinational empire, which was declining at the fronts and in the face of national aspirations.

Along with the construction of the Lion Military Cemetery, the construction of a monument to the fallen soldiers began. The sculptor Josef Urbania, from the Vienna Academy of Arts, was chosen as the author of the monument. He decided that the monument should take the form of a large sleeping lion, a symbol of strength, courage,

2 The Lion Cemetery is part of a wider cemetery complex located in the area of Koševo. It represents one of Sarajevo's older cemeteries, first established as the New Military Cemetery during the First World War, for the fallen soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army. Its later names were Soldier's Cemetery, Officer's Cemetery, and Partisan's Cemetery. During the Second World War fallen soldiers of the German army were buried in this cemetery. After the liberation in 1945, citizens of Sarajevo, members of the anti-fascist movement, killed in the final days of the Independent State of Croatia, were also buried there. This cemetery was thus a place where those who fought on opposite sides of the wars were buried next to each other. The cemetery was used until the mid-1960s. However, during the siege of Sarajevo from 1992 to 1995, the cemetery was used again due to the lack of space for burials. This is the only multi-confessional, multi-ethnic cemetery in the city that is not divided into separate plots for different religious and ethnic groups.

and resurrection in Christian symbolism. Government representatives paid great attention to the creation of the cemetery and the construction of the monument. The cemetery was visited by Field Marshal Duke Friedrich in the middle of 1916 and his visit was reported on by the daily newspapers of the time:

His Imperial and Royal Highness visited several graves and toured the works on the Hero's Monument, which, as is known, is being built by order of the Land's leader and the commanding general. The author of the monument, the sculptor Urbanić, gave the high-ranking guest, who showed great interest in the monument, all the desired clarifications. The Duke gave recognition for the beautiful appearance of the cemetery to the military cemetery's warden, Lieutenant Colonel Stuchly. (*Bosnische Post* 138, June 18, 1916)

Each grave was laid out in the same way to symbolise the equality of all fallen soldiers: a flat mound, grass, and a black wooden cross with a tin plate bearing the name of the deceased, the military formation in which he served, date of death, and his religion (*Sarajevski list* 264, XL/1917, p. 4). However, only one year after the opening of the cemetery on November 1, 1917, and the establishment of the Day of Remembrance for fallen soldiers (November 3), the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed and the Sarajevo Military Cemetery became irrelevant due to new political circumstances. The Dying Lion sculpture reached the end of the war with scaffolding and workmen, partly because the sculptor himself delayed his departure to the front (ALU 2007).

In the Yugoslav state community, the military cemetery and the Dying Lion monument did not fit in the process of developing a new state identity, where there was no place for those who had died as Austro-Hungarian soldiers in the First World War. The fact that it housed the remains of Germans, Slovaks, and Czechs, along with many local Croats, Bosniaks, Serbs, and other victims of war, did not help either. The military cemetery with the monument to the Dying Lion became a marginalised place of remembrance. The money for the decoration of the military cemetery and the construction of the monument, collected in 1917 through specially organised actions, mainly in Sarajevo and Mostar, was handed over to the state government in 1919, which meant that the importance of this cemetery was completely discarded (*Sarajevski list* 147, June 5, 1916). However, the episode involving the design of the cemetery and monument to soldiers in Sarajevo was not finished. Discussion about the military cemetery and the Dying Lion monument continued for years, providing a vivid example of how and to what extent socio-political changes in

society influence the interpretation and redefinition of places, memories, and attitudes towards the past.³ As for the Dying Lion, despite the frequent practice in our country of demolishing monuments with each new government, it fortunately remains one of the rare exceptions that has survived all the challenges of time and can still be found in the cemetery that bears its name.⁴

Already during the war years, the Austro-Hungarian Empire tried to establish military celebrations and commemorations as events or rituals that would demonstrate the “readiness for arms” of everyone in the empire and thereby homogenise the state (Vogel 2006). The First World War, as a traumatic event, became such an important point of collective and individual memory that the construction of monuments to the fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers, and Franz Josef, very quickly reflected memorialisation processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The peculiarity of monuments dedicated to fallen soldiers is that they were part of the specially designed monuments, the so-called *Wehrmann in Eisen* (Knights in Iron), which were also erected in other parts of the Monarchy during the war years and which, in addition to their commemorative role, had a humanitarian purpose. They were made of wood, smaller and larger, pieces of various shapes, and had metal wedges and nails hammered into their wooden bases, the sale of

3 In the newly shaped culture of memory, with a new attitude towards the Austro-Hungarian period and creation of new military traditions, today this cemetery hosts ceremonies organized to commemorate the Battle of Monte Meleta in 1916 and the participation and contribution of the Second Bosniak Regiment to this battle. In the creation of today's Bosniak military tradition, it is often forgotten that regiments from Bosnia-Herzegovina were composed of soldiers from all ethnic groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not just Bosniaks.

4 In the discussion in the 1960s about the arrangement of the Partisan Cemetery (as the cemetery was called from 1945 to 1992) and the preservation of the Dying Lion, the arguments of those who dealt with monuments and heritage in the city were respected. “This is an age-old motif, a symbol of courage, of military service usually placed on soldiers’ cemeteries [...], which the Austrians simply took over and placed on the Sarajevo military cemetery where, by the way, local sons are buried (500–600 Muslim soldiers), those who lost their lives during the war either in Arad casemates or in various regiments or hussar companies. According to all this, there is no reason not to have an old sculpture from Koševo in the new Partisan Cemetery, which, as we can see, has international symbolism and which can therefore also be ours. [...] The special reasons that impose on us the preservation of this sculpture as a specific and artistically valuable monument lie in the fact that it belongs to a completely finished historical epoch, that it is the work of our compatriot Czech, and especially that this monument, when arranged, can be a valuable element in the new landscape architecture which we don’t have in the city yet” (Bejtić 1966) During the siege of Sarajevo in 1992–95 the Dying Lion was directly hit by shells several times. After the siege, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural-Historical and Natural Heritage of Canton Sarajevo undertook activities to save this monument, and in 2003, in cooperation with the Sarajevo Academy of Fine Arts and fellow conservators from Slovenia, the restoration and conservation of the Dying Lion was completed.



Fig. 5: Dying Lion and the monument to soldiers fallen during the occupation campaign (photo: A. Čusto).

which raised money for war orphans and widows (Baotić 2018). The nails, placed in a specific pattern, formed a picture, a figure of a soldier, or some other representation, such as a coat of arms, shield, cross, etc. Because of the use of metal nails, these monuments to soldiers were called “knights in iron.” The most famous of these monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina were erected in 1915 and 1916: the “Bosnian Warrior” in Ključ and the “Iron Knight” in Banja Luka and Sarajevo. Little information has been preserved about them, with old postcards depicting these “knights” being the only remaining trace of their existence. A major research challenge was to find the exact location where this monument was placed due to the lack of documentation. By comparing the proportions parts of the building in the background on old postcards, details, and decorations, we can say with great precision that Sarajevo’s “Iron Knight” was placed on the site of today’s *Vječna vatra*

(Eternal Fire) monument in Titova Street.⁵ The “Sarajevo Knight” is known to have been authored by Czech sculptor Franz Zelezny, and it bore the inscription: “For our emperor, for our homeland, we gave our lives in angry fight, brotherly mercy, care, and effort, we give our poor children” (Huseinović, Babić 2004).

These monuments were completely different in purpose and form from those of Franz Josef, also erected during the war. Whereas the former had a humanitarian purpose, commemorating soldiers who had fallen on the various battlefields and fronts of the First World War; and were partly created in interaction with the citizen, The way in which these monuments were designed, i.e. through interaction and with participation of citizens in their creation, as well as their humanitarian mission, from today’s perspective represents a very modern principle of reflection and action in the construction of memory. The latter monuments were large figurative representations of the emperor, standing in uniform, as those erected in smaller Bosnian towns of Sanski Most (1915) and Livno (1916), in public spaces without large squares or monumental buildings, which was a clear demonstration of the symbolic presence of the Austro-Hungarian state and the Habsburg dynasty in these areas. Due to political change, the establishment of a new state at the end of 1918, and the need to develop a different politics of remembrance with different monuments and commemorations, the lifespan of these monuments, as well as those built somewhat earlier, was very short. Throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Bosanski Brod, Gračanica, Maglaj, Doboj, etc., there were monuments dedicated to Austro-Hungarian soldiers who died during the occupation of 1878.

The need to define and establish a new relationship with the past and everything connected to the failed monarchy, as well as to establish a new culture of remembrance of the First World War, was reflected in the removal of monuments. Such monuments could be found in just a few military cemeteries in Slovenia, mostly in isolated cemeteries (Jezernik 2018: 140), such as the monument representing a carved archer and a surviving Bosniak at the military cemetery in Bovec, erected on a site where some 400 soldiers recruited from Bosnia-Herzegovina rest together with others from all parts of the former Monarchy. The author of the monument is Czech sculptor Ladislav Kofranek and it is dedicated to the fallen soldiers of the 4th Bosnian Infantry Regiment who gave their lives on the Rombon Massif (Schachinger 1996: 296).

5 I thank my colleague, architect and historian, Amer Sulejmanagić for reconnoitring the location of Sarajevo’s “Iron Knight.”

Every social and political change, especially when it occurs under traumatic conditions such as wars, results and manifests itself in the construction of new monuments. The new monumental figures signal the redefinition of the past and the establishment of new values. After the end of the war and the establishment of the Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), due to the fact that a significant portion of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina stood on the side of the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire, this process was marked not by the intensive construction of monuments dedicated to fallen soldiers, but by the construction of so-called dynastic monuments dedicated to Karadžorđevićs, Petar I and Aleksandar I.

One of the few monuments erected in memory of the fallen Serbian soldiers is still standing in Trebinje. It was erected as part of the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary since the end of the war in the central part of the town in 1938, at the initiative of poet Jovan Dučić, who not only came up with the idea but also with the appearance of the monument. In the same year, near the Church of St. Peter and Paul the Apostles in Doboj, a monument with a memorial ossuary of Serbian citizens who died in the camp was established in 1915, demonstrating that the commemoration of the “round” anniversary of

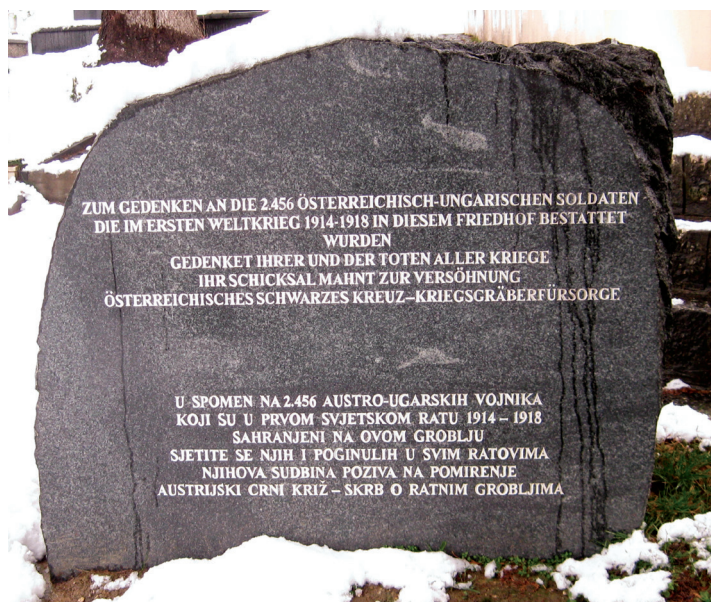


Fig. 6: Memorial to soldiers fallen during the First World War (photo A. Čusto).

the end of the war was followed by the erection of several memorials in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the presentation of the new state and the staging of key new symbols continued to focus on the monuments to the two kings from the ruling dynasty in an attempt to spread the message of their enormous merits for the state's creation and existence. A new symbolic order was established by replacing the Habsburgs with the Karadževićs, portrayed as liberators and unifiers who, after many centuries, had finally fulfilled the historic mission of establishing a "popular" government. Dynastic monuments erected in Bosnia-Herzegovina were no exception to the numerous monuments erected throughout Yugoslav territories. These monuments to Petar I and Aleksandar I were supposed to stimulate the birth and development of national Yugoslavism and a monolithic culture of remembrance; however, they stood on very "shaky legs" from the very early days of the state.

Bijeljina, Bosanska Krupa, Jajce, Bugojno, Travnik, Foča, Livno, and Banja Luka are Bosnian towns with monuments to Petar I. In some cases, these monuments were erected in the same place where Franz Josef once stood (usually the central square or main street, even on the same pedestal), as in the case of Livno (Šimpraga 2015). It illustrates the pragmatism of symbolic substitution as well as the effort to convey a new message. The erection of these monuments was initiated by local authorities, advocates of Yugoslav nationalism, as well as those linked to the Serbian cause and culture, such as Mustafa Mulalić, who is believed to have initiated the erection of the monument to Petar in Livno in 1924.⁶ Although this information has not been confirmed by additional research, it is possible that Mustafa Mulalić, as a member of the Muslim pro-regime intelligentsia and someone who advocated and worked to strengthen national (Serbian) sentiments, was one of those who actively worked to erect the monument to Karadžević (Jahić 2012). The fact that Mulalić later became a deputy of the Yugoslav People's Party (Jugoslovenska narodna stranka) in the 1930s and one of the Muslims in Draža Mihailović's headquarters during the Second World War supports the assumption that Mulalić was hired to erect the monument in Livno.

The use of the Middle Ages in the construction of identity in the context of the Karadžević dynasty and Yugoslavia was seen in 1925 at celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the coronation of King Tomislav. Although this was an event from the Croatian national

6 <https://livideo.info/zla-sudbina-spomenika-kraljevima> (visited June 24, 2019)

calendar, its content was adapted to the narrative of Yugoslav national unity. The commemoration of this jubilee in Sarajevo resulted in festive celebrations with a fabricated narrative about the unification of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes into one powerful state headed by King Aleksandar, the heir of the same blood and same people as King Tomislav (Matijević 2004: 1140). Although Tomislav holds an exceptional symbolic significance in the Croatian national gathering, in this jubilee celebration, he played a role in integrative Yugoslavism. By associating Tomislav with Aleksandar, an important link was created between the medieval and modern rulers at the head of a tri-ethnic nation, forming a continuity that was highly important in the effort to form a national ideology. The central commemoration of the anniversary of Tomislav's coronation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo in September 1925, with no expense spared to manifest the unity of Serbs and Croats, and it was supported by appropriate festive speeches and slogans, such as the one written on the Šeher-ćehaja bridge in four-metre tall letters and numbers T(omislav) 925–A(leksandar) 1925 (Matijević 2004: 1139). This message very clearly referred to the efforts of all those living in Yugoslavia to “merge into one organism, one soul,” not only through the common past but also through the present, under Karađorđević leadership.

The result of the celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of Tomislav's coronation in Livno was the erection of a monument to King Tomislav in 1926, which, like the entire commemoration of this event, should be seen in the context of the mid-1920s in the Kingdom of SCS, before the introduction of the January 6 dictatorship, when it was still possible to establish special national cultural contents and institutions, and when there was not yet such a strong and expressive insistence on integrative Yugoslavism. The obelisk is 9.25 meters high, indicating the year of the coronation. It features a medallion with a relief of King Tomislav on a horse draped in a mantle. The inscription on the monument reads: “In commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of the first Croatian king Tomislav 925–1925, built by the Croats from the village and town of Livno” (see Figures 8 and 9).

In the confusion of constantly changing collective identities, politics of memory, and their interpretation, this event offers different national points of view. The town of Duvno, where Tomislav's coronation is said to have taken place, was renamed Tomislavgrad in 1928, in later additions of content, especially in times of political and national turmoil and conflict between Croats and Serbs. It was presented as being named after Croatian King Tomislav, deliberately omitting the fact that Aleksandar Karađorđević's son was named after



Fig. 7: Monument to Croatian King Tomislav in Livno (photo: A. Čusto).



Fig. 8: Bas relief oval plaque on the monument King Tomislav in Livno (photo: A. Čusto).



Fig. 9: Inscription of the monument King Tomislav in Livno (photo: A. Čusto).

King Tomislav, meaning that Duvno changed its name at the initiative of the local population in honour of the new-born prince of the house of Karadžorđević, which at the time was supposed to serve as a

demonstration of the fraternal relationship between Serbs and Croats (Ivanković 2006). From the perspective of today's political modernity, the question of who the town was named after, Prince Tomislav Karađorđević or the medieval Croatian King Tomislav, is never asked.

The Karađorđević dynasty received monuments in the form of statues and busts of Petar and Aleksandar in numerous smaller towns and cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the larger, more monumental ones was made in Bijeljina in 1937 by Sreten Stojanović, while others were made by Yugoslav and other sculptors such as Lojze Dolinar, Frano Kršinić, and Rudolf Valdec. However, the sculptor who was most often engaged in the construction of these monuments in Bosnia-Herzegovina was Ivan Ekert (Manojlović Pintar 2014: 365). Ekert was the author of the monument to Petar I erected in the Bosnian town of Varcar Vakuf in 1924. On that occasion, Varcar Vakuf, together with the monument, was given the name of Mrkonjić Grad, after the name used by Petar in the 1875 uprising. The Bosnian uprising of 1875 was another important historical event, another zero point in the creation of the Serbian national culture of remembrance, in which the active participation of Petar I under the name of Petar Mrkonjić had a specific meaning, one that fitted into the narrative of strength and courage of the first of the Yugoslav kings in the fight against the centuries-old oppressors of the people—the “Turks”— and his dedication to the formation of a state. The monuments to Aleksandar in the centre of Tuzla and Visoko by Sreten Stojanović and Lojze Dolinar are also evidence of the connection between the people and the dynasty (Begović 2015: 2). It was also common practice to erect commemorative plaques or busts in the buildings of state institutions, especially after the 1934 assassination. As a visible sign of deep gratitude, Kolo srpskih sestara (Circle of Serbian Sisters) unveiled a memorial plaque to the Martyr King with ceremonies and speeches paying homage to the King and reminding future generations of “the great deeds of the Knight King Aleksandar I the Unifier” (*Narodno jedinstvo*, April 13, 1935).

In an effort to establish and maintain the continuity of the official memory, special attention was paid to young people, who were to be educated in the “spirit of unity of country and people, in order to follow the legacy of protecting Yugoslavia, which our chivalrous king left us on his deathbed” (HAS 1935). The involvement of young people in commemorative ceremonies or special programmes was achieved in various ways, for example, by sculpting numerous commemorative busts of Aleksandar in Sarajevo. Students from secondary schools, technical schools, and schools of arts and crafts copied the bust of Aleksandar originally made by the sculptor Iva Despić. One

bust made by students was placed in the main administration building in Sarajevo (*Narodno jedinstvo*, September 6, 1935).

In addition to the monuments, other events were organised to present the rulers as central figures and to personify the strength of the state with the goal of building a narrative about the great role of the Karađorđević dynasty in Yugoslavia. Visits by members of the royal family to some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, celebrations of the birthdays of King Aleksandar I and later of, celebrations of the Day of Unity or of the liberation of cities in the First World War, were reported with appropriate texts and illustrated with numerous photographs in *Narodno jedinstvo*, the official newsletter of Drinska Banovina, published in Sarajevo. There was a constant emphasis on the symbolic power of Karađorđevićs in the culture of remembrance; at the same time, national and political struggles on the public scene highlighted numerous obstacles and the lack of national unity. Through youth education, cultural societies influenced the construction of collective identities and engaged their numerous branches throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina in the implementation of various remembrance practices. Active participation of young people was ensured through programmes dedicated to important dates in the national calendar, including the celebrations of the birthdays of Kings Aleksandar and Petar II, with ceremonial academies where biographies of members of the Karađorđević dynasty were read. National content was highlighted in recitals and musical programmes (*Prosvjeta* 1927; *Gajret* 1933).

Sokol Societies and their festivals were indispensable in organising events aimed at strengthening state nationalism. The burning and carrying of a torch from Sarajevo to Topola as a sign of gratitude to King Petar I was a demonstration of efforts to build loyalty and commitment to the Karađorđević dynasty.

On the 2nd of June, as a prelude to the festival, a ceremony was held to burn and carry a torch of gratitude to the Blessed King Petar the Great Liberator from Sarajevo to Topola in a relay. On the occasion of this ceremony, the entire city was decorated with national flags, and the buildings in the street where the torch of gratitude was carried were festively illuminated and decorated with carpets. In the streets through which the torch passed, huge masses of people stood in lines. (Rodinis 2010: 420)

Popular participation in these and similar programmes, which “communicated patriotism and unity of the nation” in a particular way, highlights the absence of focused major displays of dissatisfaction or opposition to such ceremonies in the public sphere in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only occasionally was it officially recorded that certain

representatives of the Catholic Church expressed their dissatisfaction with the influence of Sokol Societies on the development of Croatian youth. Certain Catholic religious teachers were accused of encouraging discussions among youth in Sarajevo schools about whether King Aleksandar was— “ours or yours”? (Rodinis 2010: 180).

And while the carrying of the torch was associated with Petar, after Aleksandar’s assassination, a special bond between the king and the people was fostered through organised pilgrimages to Oplenac, the late king’s resting place. State officials, members of various associations and societies from Bosnia-Herzegovina, mainly of Serbian origin, joined the processions that visited the crypt of the Karađorđević Foundation as a holy place.

Your grave and the graves of Your ancestors, as well as this holy place at the foot of which Karađorđe shook up the mighty empire which made the whole of Europe tremble, where he ignited the flame of vengeance for Kosovo and from where the celebrated cannon of Karađorđe thundered, announcing freedom, serve as a stimulus to preserve what was acquired through enormous sacrifices and as a source of strength for our people in the most difficult times. [...] Beneath these flags crowned with glory, which silently observe the graves of their Leaders and testify to their greatness and glorious efforts, generations will be inspired by a heroic love for freedom, people, and will learn the value of liberty, the greatness of sacrifice required by the Motherland, and the temptations destiny has intended for us. (*Narodno jedinstvo*, January 30, 1935)

The reports in this newspaper about the visits of various associations from Bosnia-Herzegovina and their pledge made in Oplenac are an emotional message, a presentation of the commemorative practice related to Aleksandar’s grave, which sent a strong symbolic message of unity framed in the national narrative about the Kosovo myth, vengeance for Kosovo, participation of Karađorđevićs in the First World War, the creation of the liberation tradition, the state, and sacrifice for the fatherland. In addition, it indicates the importance of a selected person’s death in the culture of remembrance, as well as funeral rituals in remembrance techniques used in the establishment of a community’s collective identity (Kuljić 2014: 59).

One of the last great ideas for the construction of a monumental memorial to Petar I was related to Sarajevo. The debate about it lasted a long time and was closely connected to the design of the central part of the city square. In 1934, the square was named Petar I Karađorđević Square, and the same year, a call was issued for its design and the construction of a monument (Čusto 2011: 229–238). The call aroused great interest among artists and architects in Yugoslavia. Twenty-seven

works were submitted, and the Commission selected the work by architect Josip Pičman and sculptor Frano Kršinić (Mutnjaković 1981: XIX-XX). However, the realisation of this idea was slowed down due to a lack of funds, and so, in order not to lag behind smaller cities, where the official commemoration policy was partly implemented through the erection of a monument to King Petar, representatives of the City Assembly decided to obtain funds for this initiative through a large loan in 1935 (HAS 1935).

The idea to build a Sokol House in Sarajevo (by architects Lavo-slav Pavlin and Milivoje Radovanović) in honour of Aleksandar went hand in hand with the initiative to erect the monument. The building was built in 1935 and became a place where young members of the Sokol Society were educated in the spirit of the ideology of the Yugoslav state under Karađorđević. Buildings of the Sokol School were erected in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as were monuments to Karađorđevićs. They were places where cadets were taught about national patriotism, one in which Petar and Aleksandar had a central place.

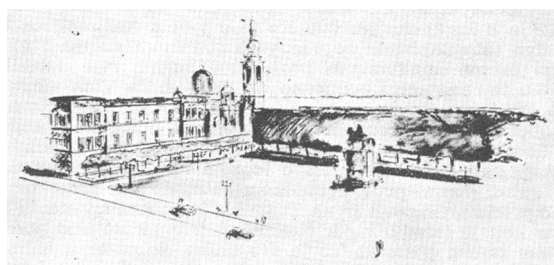


Fig. 10: A sketch with the design of the square and the monument to Petar I (Andrija Mutnjaković (ed.), 'Josip Pičman 1904-1936', *Čovjek i prostor* 29 (1981), Vol. 4-5, No. 337-338, XIX.).

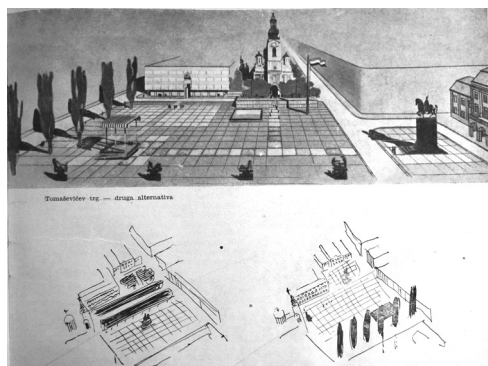


Fig. 11: Alternative design of the square and the monument to Petar I.

The monument to Petar had a different fate than the Sokol House in Sarajevo, which was successfully constructed. In late 1940 and early 1941, parts of the equestrian statue were delivered to Sarajevo, and the construction of the pedestal and the installation of the monument began. But with the outbreak of the Second World War, the removal of monuments to Karađorđević's from public places in Sarajevo and other places in Bosnia-Herzegovina began. The demolition of these monuments in 1941 testifies not only to the fact that wars and major political changes are highly challenging for monuments but also to the region's frequent memory metamorphoses. As part of the creation of new cultures of memory in Bosnia-Herzegovina, some of these monuments to Petar I were restored in the 1990s. The monument in Bijeljina was restored in 1993; the one in Mrkonjić Grad was rebuilt in 1990, demolished in 1995, and again rebuilt in 1996.

CONCLUSION

After the establishment of the state in 1918, the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was just beginning to learn about the regions and life of other South Slavic peoples. Except for the pre-election activities of political parties, the population mostly remained on the fringes of contemporary social developments. Together with their urban compatriots and others who found themselves in the new Kingdom of SCS, later Yugoslavia, these members of different ethnic groups had different religious identities and individual and collective memories, making their relationship with the Yugoslav idea quite complex and riddled with many different views, relations, variations, and formulas. The imagined idea of an integrative Yugoslavism was implemented through the construction of a collective culture of memory and identity based on a dominant narrative constructed around the significance of the Serbian army, the Battle of Kosovo, demonstrations of loyalty to the Karađorđević dynasty, erection of monuments in their honour, the commemoration of Vidovdan memorials, the Day of Liberation, and so on, in an attempt to create a common national feeling and symbolism across the entire Yugoslav territory. In this effort, motivated by the need to strengthen the centralized state, there was little sensitivity to the different layers of identity, diverse memories, and the complex legacy of war in all those gathered under one state. Despite this, and despite the constant political turmoil in the country, there seems to have been no serious opposition in Bosnia-Herzegovina's public discourse,

and the dominant tendencies in the politics of memory were followed in a state that existed for just over two decades.

REFERENCES

- Advertisement – Picture of Petar Mrkonjić; *Narodno jedinstvo*, December 18, 1918.
- Akademija likovnih umjetnosti Sarajevo (ALU). *Umirući Lav, konzervatorski projekat*, Sarajevo, 2007.
- Andrija Mutnjaković, ed. 1981. Josip Pičman 1904–1936; *Čovjek i prostor* 29, vol. 4–5, No. 337–338, I–XXXII.
- Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABiH). Fond Narodne vlade za BiH, box 2, no. 13622, Prezidijal, November 1918.
- Assmann, Jan. 2005. *Kulturno pamćenje. Pismo, sjećanje i politički identitet u ranim visokim kulturama*. Zenica: Vrijeme.
- Baotić, Andrea. 2018. *Skulptura u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske uprave 1878–1918* (doctoral thesis). University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
- Begović, Senad. 2015. *Spomeničko naslijeđe na području grada Tuzle*, https://bastina.ba/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/sadrzaj_2015_20150108_spomenicko-nasljee-na-podrucju-grada-tuzle.pdf, accessed February 28, 2023.
- Bejtić, Alija. Skulptura Lava u Koševu; *Oslobodjenje*, May 18, 1966.
- Blašković, Pero. 2000. *Sa Bošnjacima u Svjetskom ratu*. Vienna – Lovran: Gesellschaft bosnischer Akademiker in Österreich – Cambi.
- Čolović, Ivan. 2016. *Smrt na Kosovu polju. Istorija kosovskog mita*. Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Čusto, Amra. 2011. Spomenici i identiteti na primjeru sarajevskog Trga oslobođenja; Husnija Kamberović, ed. *Identitet Bosne i Hercegovine kroz historiju – Zbornik radova 2*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, pp. 229–238.
- Čusto, Amra. 2013. *Uloga spomenika u Sarajevu u izgradnji kolektivnog sjećanja na period 1941–1945. i 1992–1995. – komparativna analiza*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju – Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-historijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa.
- (Gajret 1933) *Gajret – Glasnik kulturno-prosvjetnog društva “Gajret”*, Sarajevo.
- Gillis, John R. (2006). ‘Pamćenje i identitet, povijest jednog odnosa’, in: *Kultura pamćenja i historija*, Brkljačić, Maja and Prlenda, Sandra (eds.), Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, pp. 169–197.
- Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (HAS). Zapisnik sa sjednice gradske skupštine, January 10, 1919.
- Zapisnik sa sjednice gradskog vijeća, February 7, 1935.

- Hodočašća i zavjeti na Oplencu; *Narodno jedinstvo*, January 30, 1935.
- <https://lvideo.info/zla-sudbina-spomenika-kraljevima/> (visited June, 24 2019)
- Huseinović, Ismet, and Džemaludin Babić, eds. 2004. *Svjetlost Evrope u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Baybook.
- Ivanković, Ante. 2006. *Zemljopisni nazivi duvanjskog područja (naselja, planine, vode, mikrotponimi)*, <http://mandino-selo.com/wp/zemljopisni-nazivi-duvanjskog-podrucja-tomislavgrad/> (visited June, 27 2019)
- Jahić, Adnan. 2012. Zbivanja u BiH 1941. godine prema Hronici Mustafe Mulalića; *Bosna i Hercegovina 1941: novi pogledi, Zbornik radova*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, pp. 169–185.
- Jareb, Mario. 2010. *Hrvatski nacionalni simboli*, Zagreb: Alfa – Hrvatski institut za povijest.
- Jezernik, Božidar. 2018. *Jugoslavija zemlja snova*, Belgrade: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Kantonalni zavod za zaštitu kulturno-istorijskog i prirodnog naslijeđa Sarajevo. Evidencioni karton Spomenik Umorstva.
- Evidencioni karton Spomen-ploča Gavrilu Principu.
- Kazaz, Enver. 2015. Utopija nacionalne slobode, osmanofobni diskurs u Njegoševom Gorskom vijencu; *Njegoševi dani – Zbornik radova*, Nikšić: Univerzitet Crne Gore Filozofski fakultet, pp. 25–39.
- Kuljić, Todor. 2006. *Kultura sećanja. Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti*, Belgrade: Čigoja štampa.
- Tanatopolitika. Sociološkoistorijska analiza političke upotrebe smrti*, Belgrade: Čigoja štampa.
- Manojlović Pintar, Olga. 2014. *Arheologija sećanja. Spomenici i identiteti u Srbiji 1918–1989*, Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju; Čigoja štampa.
- Marković, Slobodan G. 2014. Coping with the Memory of Gavrilo Princip and the Symbolism of Vidovdan in Serbia and Yugoslavia; *The South Slav Journal*, vol 34, No. 1-2, pp. 26 –57.
- Matijević, Zlatko. 2004. Ministar Pavle Radić na “Napretkovoj” proslavi tisućgodišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva u Sarajevu 1925. godine; *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 36, No. 3, 1127–1149.
- Mladenović, B. 1988. Štampa BiH o dočeku srpske vojske novembra 1918. godine; *Zbornik radova. Naučni skup Srbija 1918. godine i stvaranje jugoslovenske države*, vol. 7. Belgrade.
- Musabegović, Senadin. 2008. *Rat, konstrukcija totalitarnog tijela*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost.
- Muslimani i Hrvati kod pukovnika Nedića; *Narodno jedinstvo*, November 13, 1918.
- Newman, John Paul. 2018. *Jugoslavija u senci rata: ratni veteran i stvaranje nove države, 1903–1945*. Belgrade: Službeni glasnik.
- Omerović, Enes S. 2009. Elementi represije u radu Narodnog vijeća Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Narodne vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu; *Historijska traganja* 3, pp. 183–214.

Otkrivanje biste blažnopočivšeg kralja Aleksandra i Ujedinitelja; *Narodno jedinstvo*, September, 6 1935.

Otkrivanje memorijalne ploče kralju mučeniku; *Narodno jedinstvo*, April 13, 1935.

Prosvjeta. 1927. *Dvadeset i pet godina Prosvjete 1902–1927*, Sarajevo: Društvo Prosvjeta.

Radović, Srđan. 2013. *Grad kao tekst*. Belgrade: Biblioteka XX veka.

Ratničko groblje na Koševu; *Sarajevski list* 264, XL/1917, p. 4.

Rodinis, Andrej, ed. 2009. *Grada za proučavanje političkih, kulturnih i socijalno-ekonomskih pitanja iz prošlosti BiH (XIX i XX vijek), Izvještaji o situaciji u Drinskoj banovini, knjiga 1 (1929–1931)*. Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine.

ed. 2010. *Grada za proučavanje političkih, kulturnih i socijalno-ekonomskih pitanja iz prošlosti BiH (XIX i XX vijek), Izvještaj o situaciji u Drinskoj banovini, knjiga 2 (1932–35)*. Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine.

Schachinger, Werner. 1996. *Bošnjaci dolaze! Elitene trupe u K.u.K. armiji 1879–1918. godine*. Lovran: Cambi.

Šehić, Zijad. 2007. *U smrt za cara i domovinu: Bosanci i Hercegovci u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije 1878–1918*. Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing.

Šimpraga, Saša. 2015. Sjećanje u sjeni srušenih spomenika. <http://pogledaj.to/art/sjecanje-u-sjeni-srusenih-spomenika>, visited June, 24, 2019.

Spomenik okajanja; *Sarajevski list* 162, June 26, 1917.

Sulejmanagić, Amer. 2019. Simboli građanske religije – kako se određuju i koriste – primjer Bosne i Hercegovine; *Zbornik Historijskog muzeja* 13, pp. 75–103.

Vidovdanski pomeni; *Narodno jedinstvo*, June 29, 1935.

Visoki posjet Vojničkom groblju; *Bosnishe Post* 138, June 18, 1916.

Vogel, Jakob. 2006. Vojne proslave u Njemačkoj i Francuskoj kao nacionalni ritual 1871–1914. godine; Maja Brkljačić and Sandra Prlenda, eds. *Kultura pamćenja i historija*, Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, pp. 151–168.

Za spomenik našim vojnicima u Sarajevu; *Sarajevski list* 147, 5 June, 1916.