

СТАТЬИ

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**Nineteenth-century ideas  
of Serbian “linguistic” nationhood and statehood**

*A divided nation: Serbian people in the first half of the 19th century  
(general overview)*

In the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the historical Serbian territories were divided among two states, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish possessions on the Balkan Peninsula consisted of several *pašaluks*, the largest administrative-territorial units in the Ottoman Empire; the most important for future Serbian history was the *Beogradski Pašaluk* which was administratively subdivided into twelve *nahijas*, or districts. The central and principal part of the *Beogradski Pašaluk* was the region of *Šumadija* ‘Woodland’, where two insurrections against the Turks took place in the years 1804–1815; in the subsequent decades this *pašaluk* became the core of independent Serbia and later on — of Yugoslavia.

The *Beogradski Pašaluk* was surrounded by the Niški, Leskovački, Novopazarski, Sjenički and Zvornički *Pašaluks*, where the Serbs (defined below) were a majority. The Serbs lived also in the Hercegovачki, Bosanski and Skadarski *Pašaluks* which did not border directly on the *Beogradski Pašaluk*. The Orthodox Christians of *de facto* independent (from 1688) Montenegro declared themselves to be a part of the Serbian nation as well. Montenegro was only nominally incorporated into the Turkish administrative system with the governor or *paša*, appointed by an Imperial Council, or *Divan* [Petrovich 1976, see the map on p. 20; Ranke 1973, see the map on p. 8].

It is important to note that the Serbian population was exclusively Orthodox Slavic in the *Beogradski Pašaluk* only, whilst in all other *pašaluks* the Orthodox Slavs lived together with the South Slavic Muslims, Roman Catholic Croats, and Orthodox Bulgarians, as well as with both Roman Catholic and Muslim Albanians.

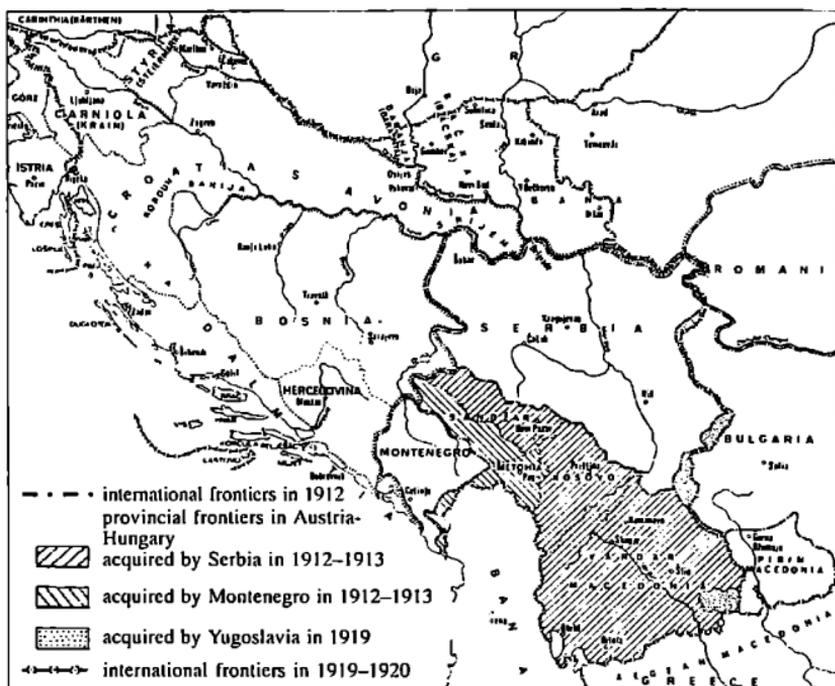


Fig. 1. Constituent areas of historical Yugoslavia

Because of this distribution of Serbs, some historians have considered *Serbia proper* to consist only of the territory of Beogradski Pašaluk. Free Serbia during the First Insurrection (1804-1813) had about 500,000 inhabitants. It is suggested that in the mid-19th century there were, in the aggregate, approximately 2,000,000 Serbs under Ottoman administration [Đorđević 1956].

Like the other subordinated Christians within the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs (according to the Serbian church, the South Slavic Orthodox Christian population who spoke the Serbo-Croatian language [Velimirović 1915]) lived mainly in villages and were occupied with farming and cattle breeding. The Croats (according to the Croatian church, the South Slavic Roman Catholic population who spoke the Serbo-Croatian language, see [Čirković 1994]) from Bosnia and Herzegovina held the same social status as the Serbs. Both the Serbs and the Croats within Turkey belonged to the subordinated social strata named the *raja* (the serfs).

During the Ottoman period, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a symbol of ethnic and religious mixture; it was a symbol of co-existence of peoples

in South Eastern Europe in that time. In the first half of the 19th century, the Muslims slightly outnumbered the Christian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the Serbs substantially outnumbered the Croats in the same province. According to French records from 1809, around 700,000 Christians lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Orthodox were in a majority in western Bosnia and eastern Herzegovina, whilst the Catholics predominated in western Herzegovina [Istorija srpskog naroda 1981–1986 V(1), 10–12].

The privileged administrative, legal and social status of the Muslims in contrast to the Christians became, apart from their religious diversity, the main source of conflicts and animosities among these three national (religious) groups. According to the Ottoman law, only the Muslims as "Mohamed's people" could get a state office. In addition, the Muslims, contrary to the Christians, did not pay an extra state-tax, the *harač*.

In the mid-19th century, a smaller number of Serbs lived under the Habsburg Monarchy (Austria-Hungary from 1867). They were settled in the areas of Hungary and Croatia under civil administration and in the military border region. This region was established on the Habsburg Monarchy's border with Turkey in the mid-16th century and divided into eleven military regiments. When the Habsburg Monarchy gained the former Venetian lands of Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska at the Vienna Congress of 1815, the number of Serbian residents within the Habsburg Monarchy increased significantly: in 1792 there were 667,247 Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy, while in 1847 the Serbian population in both civil Hungary and Croatia and the military border region reached the number of 896,902. The Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy enjoyed their historical rights based on the privileges given to them by several Habsburg emperors. These privileges granted them ecclesiastic and educational autonomy. The exact obligations of the Serbs in the military border region were fixed in 1807.

Within the Habsburg Monarchy, the cultural center for the Serbs before the mid-18th century was Vienna. It then shifted to Budapest because of intensified censorship in Vienna, and, in the end, it was transferred to Novi Sad in the early 19th century.

The religious life of the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy was concentrated in ancient monasteries and churches. The Serbian Orthodox church became a leading national institution preserving the national legend and historical memory of Serbian mediaeval statehood and the national language and letters.

This was of particular importance in such ethnically mixed areas as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia.

Faith was a crucial point of political ideology and national determination under the Ottoman Empire, see [Itzkowitz 1972; Inalcik 1973]. It was religion that attached the Balkan Muslims of South Slavic origin to the Turkish government, Turkish political ideology and Turkish state interests. It was because of their new religion that the South Slavic Muslims were given the disparaging name *Turks* by their Christian compatriots. Undoubtedly, the Islamization of certain part of South Slavic population was one of the most remarkable achievements of the Ottoman administration (for instance, national affiliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the Yugoslav census of 1981: 39,5% Muslims, 37,2% Serbs and 18,4% Croats).

The Serbs were a divided nation not only politically but also from the point of view of church jurisdiction: the *Ottoman Serbs* belonged to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, having lost their autonomous church organization, the *Pećka Patrijaršija* in 1766. Meanwhile, the *Austrian Serbs* developed their own national autonomous church organization, the *Karlovačka Mitropolija*, which was supervised by the government of Habsburg Monarchy.

The main task of the Serbian Orthodox clergy in both Turkey and the Habsburg Monarchy was to keep the nation from being converted to either Islam or Roman Catholicism. For this purpose, they created a theory according to which only the Orthodox members of the South Slavic community belonged to the Serbian nation. At the same time, the Serbian clergy proclaimed the Church Slavonic language and Old Cyrillic writing system as symbols of Serbian nationality. As is well known, the Serbian variant of the Church Slavonic language was originally called the *Slavonic-Serbian language* (*slaveno-serbski*) by the Serbs, and had been the literary language in mediaeval Serbia. However, *slaveno-serbski* had undergone significant changes from the 12th to the 18th century. Liturgical services were performed in Slavonic-Serbian, which was renamed *Church Slavonic* by the Church during the 18th century [Albin 1970].

Serbian Church Slavonic was influenced in the early 18th century by the Russian version of Church Slavonic as a result of the impact of Russian liturgical books which were used by the Serbian Orthodox clergy. The process of bringing together the two Church Slavonic recensions was initiated in 1727, when the Moscow Holy Synod sent up a mission to Karlovci in Srem, the location of the headquarters of the Serbian Orthodox church in the Habsburg Monarchy. The mission's main achievement appears to have been the adoption of a Russified version of Serbian Church Slavonic as the literary language of the Austrian Serbs.

When the mission completed its service in 1737 and went back to Moscow, the Serbian clergy maintained the attachment to Russian cultural and church traditions, as the only apparent way to keep the Austrian Serbs from Germanization, Magyarization, and conversion to Roman Catholicism.

The Cyrillic alphabet was of crucial importance to Serbs in the ethnically mixed areas. Cyrillic writings became a remarkable symbol of their national identification, especially in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia.

From the period of the Ottoman occupation of the Serbian people and lands in the 15th century, the essence of Serbian political ideology was national liberation and revival of national statehood. The national dream of a free and united Serbian state began to be realized in the early 19th century, with two Serbian insurrections against the Turks in 1804–1813 and 1815. The first political plans for revival of the mediæval Serbian state were drafted by Stevan Stratimirović, the Metropolitan of Karlovci, in 1805 [Đorđević 1956, 11–20]. This was followed by a plan in 1808 by Russia's Deputy in Serbia, K.K. Rodofinikin, and the Serbia's Secretary of the state Council, Ivan Jugović [Istorija srpskog naroda 1981–1986 V(1), map p. 91; Ljušić 1993b, 284–285; Ljušić 1995, 7–16; Lawrence 1977].

The Serbian state, re-established in 1815, got its first modern constitution in 1835. Its author, the Austrian Serb Dimitrije Davidović, took as a model the modern liberal-democratic constitutions of Belgium and Switzerland. For this reason, Davidović's constitution was referred to in Russia as a "French nursery-garden in Serbian woods" [Stojančević 1991, 270–280; Gavrilović 1926].

Prince Miloš Obrenović I (181–839/185–860) continued to develop a national ideology of revival of Serbian statehood. He designed a plan to enlarge the ancient state by incorporating all the lands of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by a Serbian majority. It referred particularly to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sandžak (Stari Ras) and Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) (more about his policy see in [Stojančević 1969; Vučković 1957]).

***In search of national identity: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's linguistic nationhood***

While Prince Miloš's schemes were primarily based on the "historical rights" of the Serbs, Serbian political thought got a new dimension during his rule: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić created a linguistic concept of national identification.

In his work *Srbi svi i svuda* ("Serbs All and Everywhere"), Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) intended to establish certain criteria for defining the Serbian nationality. Up to his times, Serbdom was identified

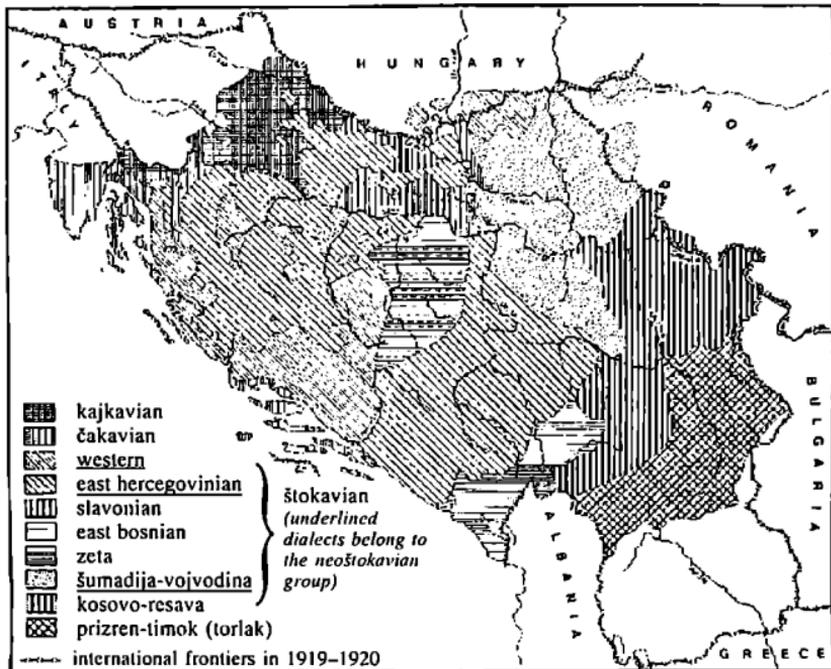


Fig. 2. Serbian and Croatian dialects

mainly as the Balkan community of Orthodox Christianity that used the Church Cyrillic letters and cultivated the historical-national myth of the Kosovo tragedy (1389) and the heroic legends connected with it. This traditional-conservative church approach to national identification could not satisfy the contemporary Serbian intelligentsia which was tremendously affected in the time of Karadžić by the modern German comprehension of national identification (Herder, Fichte) (about which see [Mandelkow 1982; Schenk 1969; Porter, Teich 1988; Walzel 1966; Beiser 1996]).

The German linguistic approach to the question of national identification led Karadžić to apply the same approach to the Serbian case. He chose the Štokavian (Штокавски) dialect as a cardinal indicator of Serbdom and named all South Slavs who spoke this dialect Serbian. In accordance with the German model, Karadžić did not pay any attention to religion in creating his system of national identity although he realized that the Serbs belonged to three different denominations. He regarded all Bosnians and Herzegovinians as Serbs because they spoke Štokavian, dividing them *into three groups* taking religion into consideration: the Serbs of *Greek* (Orthodox), *Roman* (Catholic) and *Turkish* (Islamic) "law" (creed) [Karadžić 1849, 6-7], compare [Cvijić 1906; 1922, 202-233].

Karadžić's treatment of the Croats who spoke the Štokavian dialect emerged as the most disputable question among historians and linguists. There are two possible answers to it: 1) Karadžić comprehended them as ethnic Croats; or 2) Štokavian-speaking Croats were in his opinion ethnic Serbs since they spoke a native Serbian dialect. I came to the conclusion that Karadžić considered them to be originally ethnic Croats, conceiving themselves as Serbs. Such conclusion emerges from Karadžić's statement that "all Štokavians of the Roman law (i.e., the Croats) will step by step have to call themselves by the name of Serbs; if they do not want to do so they would lose any national name" [Karadžić 1849, 6; 1814, 105]. Obviously, Karadžić did not treat the Croats as Štokavian-speaking Catholics, he treated the Štokavian-speaking Catholics as Catholic Serbs.

This conclusion is also suggested by Prof. Ivo Banac who wrote: "as early as 1814, for example, he (Karadžić. — V.S.) held that one of the Štokavian sub-dialects was characteristic of 'Roman Catholic Serbs'" [Banac 1984, 80]. The Croat authors are of the opinion that "He (Karadžić. — V.S.) also tries to negate the existence of any significant number of Croats, distorting historic and linguistic factors to prove his arguments. At this time, the Croats, along with the Bulgarians, were seen as the biggest obstacle to Serbian dominance in the Balkans" [Beljo, Bosnar, Bing, Ercegović Jambrović, Škrlin 1992, 17–18].

Karadžić found himself unable, however, to fix precisely the south-eastern ethnic borders of Serbian nation from the point of view of his model. He did not know how many Serbs lived in Albania and Macedonia. In 1834, he was informed by some merchants about the existence of 300 or so "Serbian" villages in western Macedonia. Nevertheless, he became very suspicious about the correctness of this information when he heard that the people from these villages spoke the "Slavic language", which could mean both Bulgarian and Serbian [Stojančević 1974, 74, 77]. He recognized the existence of "transitional zones" between the Štokavian dialect and the Bulgarian language in western Bulgaria (Torlak and Zagorje regions) but excluded Macedonia from the Štokavian-speaking zone [Karadžić 1909, 648]. Finally, Karadžić was only able to conclude that the Štokavian dialect was surely spoken on the territory between Timok River (on the present-day border between Serbia and Bulgaria) and the Šara Mountain (on the present-day state border between Serbia and Macedonia).

It is necessary to emphasize that Karadžić's ideas were in accordance with the theory developed by the leading 19th century philologists Pavel Josef Šafařík, Jan Kollár, Josef Dobrovsky, Jernej Kopitar and Franc Miklošič who claimed the genuine Slovene dialect was Kajkavian, native Croatian

dialect was Čakavian (and to a certain extent Kajkavian) and finally, that the Serbian genuine dialect was Štokavian [Šafařík 1955 (first edition 1842), 146–147]. It should be noted here that the Serbo-Croatian language is divided into three basic dialects, named after the form of the interrogative pronoun *what*: Kajkavian (what = *kaj*), Čakavian (what = *ča*), and Štokavian (what = *što*). At the time when Karadžić was writing his treatise, the Kajkavian dialect was spoken in northwestern parts of Croatia proper, Čakavian in the northern coast area and islands of eastern Adriatic shore and Štokavian in the area stretching from the Austrian Military Border in the northwest to Šara Mountain in the southeast. The last dialect is divided into three sub-dialects according to the pronunciation of the Proto-Slavic vowel *jat* [Dedijer 1975, 103; Jelavich 1983, 304–308].

Karadžić's concept of Serb "linguistic" nationhood had a significant impact on the 19th–20th century Serbian (and other) scholars. First, it had given impetus to the correction of the traditional picture of the Serbian ethnic territories in the Balkans created earlier. Second, the claim for the presence of a considerable amount of Serbian population in western Bulgaria was abandoned. Then, Dubrovnik's literary and cultural legacy became advocated as exclusively Serbian [Cvijić 1906, 43–44; 1922; Gravier 1919, 29–32; Radojčić 1927].

#### *A united nation: Ilija Garašanin's linguistic statehood*

Finally, the evolution of the Serbian national statehood's ideology got its ultimate shape after Ilija Garašanin (1812–1874) had combined "historical" and "national" rights of the Serbs by drafting a plan for consolidation of all Serbian lands and people within a single national state. His *Načertanije* ("Draft") became one of the most significant and influential works in the history of South-Slavic political thought, especially in Serbia. It greatly influenced the development of the Serbian national program and foreign policy in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Written in 1844 as a top-secret paper submitted only to Prince Alexander Karadorđević I (1842–1858), it became known in Austro-Hungarian diplomatic circles in 1888. The general public became familiar with the text in 1906. The *Načertanije* did not come to us in the original version and it can only be reconstructed on the basis of several transcripts. Different interpretations of Garašanin's ultimate idea of statehood arise because he did not succeed in finishing the copy of *Načertanije* that was delivered to Prince Alexander [MacKenzie 1985].

Garašanin was to a large extent inspired by three works written by his contemporaries in 1843 and 1844: *The Advice* (or: *Recommendations*) by the Polish Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861) a leader of the

Polish émigrés in Paris; *A Fragment of the History of Serbia* by the British author David Urkwart and *The Plan* by the Czech Francisco Zach. These authors championed the idea of creating a united South Slavic state under the leadership of Serbia, aimed at being a barrier to the Russian and Austrian political influence in the Balkans (see more about the political activities of Urkwart, Czartoryski and Zach in [Handelsman 1929; 1934; Pavlowitch 1961; Popov 1870; Batowsky 1937; 1939, 20–22]). This united Yugoslavia would stay, according to these projects, under French and British protection [Aleksić 1954].

However, Garašanin did not accept this program of uniting Serbia and the South Slav territories of the Habsburg Monarchy in a single, federal state; in fact, he advocated the creation of a single centralized Serbian national state whose boundaries would embrace a total Serbian national body and some of the Serbian historical lands (see discussion of this problem in [Jelenić 1918; 1923; Šišić 1937; Popović 1940; Stranjaković 1932, 268–274; Jovanović 1990, 343–375; 1933, 327; 1932, 101–104; Mitrović 1937, 297–300]).

In my opinion, there were two reasons why Garašanin designed a united *Serbian* national state rather than a *Yugoslav* one. Firstly, he favored the idea of an ethnically uniform state recommended by the German Romantics. Secondly, he believed that a multinational South Slavic state would easily be disintegrated because of possible frequent struggles between the different nations. In short, he thought that only an ethnically uniform state organization could be stable in principle.

Garašanin designed his plans in expectation that both the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy would be disintegrated in the immediate future. According to him, in the case of Austrian and Ottoman dismemberment the principal duty of Serbia was to collect the entire Serbian population and a certain number of Serbian historical lands into a single national state organization (obviously, the core of a united Serbian state would be the Principality of Serbia which had at that time an autonomous-tributary status within the Ottoman Empire).

I think that Garašanin projected Serbs rallying to a united state in two phases. In the first, Serbia would annex all the Serbian ethnic (national) and a few of the historical territories within the Ottoman Empire: Bosnia and Herzegovina, a part of western Bulgaria, Montenegro, Sandžak and, finally, Kosovo with Metohija<sup>1</sup>. The lands of the Habsburg Monarchy inhabited by the Serbs — Croatia, Slavonia, Srem, Bačka, Banat and Dalmatia — would undergo the same destiny in the second phase of Serbian re-unification. Such a time-schedule was made according to Garašanin's

estimation that first the Ottoman Empire and later on the Habsburg Monarchy would collapse.

In Yugoslav, as well as in international historiography, a great debate rages about the principles adopted by Garašanin in order to realize his idea. According to the first group of historians, the Serbian minister of inner affairs endeavored to make a Serbian national state supporting only the principle of historical state rights [Ljušić 1993a, 94–100; Bilandžić 1999, 29–30]. They argue that Garašanin took as a model-state the glorious Serbian mediaeval empire (which lasted from 1346 to 1371) [Ljušić 1993a, 94–100, 153; Šimunjić 1940 (reprint of 1992); Šidak 1973; 1988; Perović 1955]. For them, he did not consider the territories settled by Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy, but only those within the Ottoman Empire which did not have historical-state rights upon the prior territories [Đorđević 1979, 87–89; Záček 1963].

The historians from this group stress that in his considerations Garašanin always referred to the Serbian empire of Stefan Dušan (ruler of Serbia 1331–1355, proclaimed Emperor in 1346), whose state borders reached the River Drina in the west, the Rivers of Sava and Danube in the north, the Chalkidiki Peninsula in the east and the Albanian seacoast and the Gulf of Corinth in the south. This means that the territories of Croatia, Slavonia, Srem, Bačka, Banat and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which did not belong to the medieval Serbian empire, were not treated by Garašanin as historically Serbian lands.

However, their opponents claim that Garašanin advocated the making of a national state by implementation of both Serbian ethnic (national) and historical state rights [Banac 1984, 83–84; Beljo, Bosnar, Bing, Ercegović Jambrović, Škrlić 1992, 9–13]. Evidence for such an approach is found in the last chapter of the text, in which Garašanin urged Serbian patriotic propaganda through the national intelligence agencies established on the territories settled by the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as in western Bulgaria. According to the second group of historians, Garašanin obviously regarded these territories as part of a united Serbian state [Petrovitch 1976, 231–233; Agičić 1994, 25–26; MacKenzie 1985, 62–78].

In order to settle this problem one should take into consideration primarily the text of *Nučertanije*. It is quite obvious that Garašanin did not advocate the inclusion of Macedonia into a single Serbian national state, but favored the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The historians from the first group correctly interpreted Garašanin's idea that the modern (for his times) Serbia might continue to build up a great Serbian state — the process pursued by the Serbian medieval rulers but interrupted by the Turkish demolishing of Serbian statehood in 1459. However, these

historians did not properly understand Garašanin's notion of "the Great Serbia." *I believe that he did not want to direct Serbia's foreign policy toward the Aegean Sea and Ionian Sea* (i.e., Serbian territorial expansion toward the southern Balkans as it was the case with medieval Serbia). In fact, Garašanin turned his eyes toward the western Balkans and favored Serbia's extension beyond the Drina River. What was the reason for that?

After an extensive investigation, I came to the conclusion that Garašanin's ultimate aim was to unite all Serbs in South-Eastern Europe — without unification of all of the South Slavs. Practically, this meant that the Principality of Serbia should be enlarged, according to him, by a western portion of the Balkans but not by a southern one. He claimed the western Balkan territories settled by the Serbs rather than the southern ones where the "linguistic" Serbs had disappeared or were the minority. I think he could not support the policy of medieval Serbian state expansion southward because he advocated the German-Romanticists principle of establishing a single national state organization. It becomes clear that, if we compare the picture of Garašanin's united Serbian national state organization with Karadžić's picture of Serbian linguistic-national expansion, we would come to the conclusion that both of them spoke about the same territories. It allows a definite conclusion, that *the central ideological principle accepted by Garašanin in designing a Serbian united statehood was Karadžić's linguistic model of national identity.*

So, the true notion of "the Great Serbia" in Garašanin's *Načertanije* was nothing but a united "linguistic" Serbdom within single state borders. Obviously, Serbia's minister of the interior accepted Karadžić's linguistic concept of the nation and identified the Serbs with the Štokavian dialect-speaking South Slavic population. A similar opinion is supported by Prof. Ivo Banac who, however, disagrees with the idea that Garašanin's program urged annexation of Austrian territories settled by the Serbs: "Though by means of propaganda and through the agency of his intelligence service he sought to foster Serb national sentiment among the non-Orthodox 'linguistic' Serbs in the Habsburg South Slavic possessions, Garašanin ruled out expansion at Habsburg expense. He left this thrust in abeyance, again for reasons of practicality, and fixed Serbia's ambition upon Ottoman patrimony, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which he saw only the Serb populace" [Banac 1984, 84]. For this reason Garašanin excluded Macedonia from his concept of Serbian linguistic statehood. Basically, he adopted Karadžić's opinion that Štokavian-speakers did not exist in Macedonia and Albania (see documentary reports from that time [Венелин 1829, 1–5; Хитрово 1963, 241–242]).

On the other hand, he accepted Karadžić's claim that the entire population of Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged to Serbian linguistic nationhood and for that reason he included this province into the Serbian linguistic-national state organization. In addition, he understood Karadžić's "transitional zones" in western Bulgaria as the territories populated by Štokavian-speaking inhabitants. According to the same principle, the territories of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Bačka, Srem and Banat would compose Garašanin's "linguistic" Serbian state<sup>2</sup>. I am free to entitle such state by the name *Štokavia as well*.

In my opinion, the idea that Garašanin supported only the historical rights of the Serbs in creation of their national state should be rejected by historiography. The cases of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzégovina provide the best evidence to confirm my conclusion. The territory of Macedonia was a political center of Stefan Dušan's empire. The biggest Macedonian city, Skopje, was chosen to be a capital of the Serbian Empire and the Emperor Dusan was crowned and had an imperial court there. However, this historical Serbian land did not find its place in the state projected by Garašanin. On the other hand, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the province that never was a part of the Serbian medieval state, was incorporated into Garašanin's united Serbia. It was his solution of the problem that during the 19th century was the main "apple of discord" between the Serbs and the Croats [Čubrilović 1958]. However, Garašanin supported the principle of historical state rights of the Serbs as well, but only in his attitude to those territories where the speakers of Štokavian dialect already represented the majority at the time of writing of the *Načertanije*. It was the case for Serbia proper, Montenegro, Sandžak and Kosovo-Metohija. As for these four regions, the Serbian "historical" and "ethnic" rights overlapped in Garašanin's mind because all of them were a part of the Serbian medieval state and settled by "the Štokavians" at the time of Garašanin.

In regard to the Croats, Garašanin also followed Karadžić's model of linguistic Serbdom: he included into Serbian linguistic statehood all the Western Balkan territories settled by Štokavian-speaking Catholics, that is, by the ethnic Croats as a majority and ethnic Serbs that are in the minority there. This solution allowed Franjo Tuđman, a Croatian historian and the former President of Croatia (1990–2000), to emphasize that Karadžić laid down an ideological, while Garašanin established a political foundations for Serbian hegemony in the Balkans (but Tuđman was wrong when he wrote that Serbian foreign policy in the 19th century had as main target the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire under Serbia's leadership [Tuđman 1993, 22]). However, Garašanin did not include into a future Serbian state the territories inhabited by either Čakavian or Kajkavian

speakers. This is the real reason why Slovenia, Istria, a majority of east Adriatic Islands and north-western Croatia (around Zagreb) were not mentioned by him as potential parts of this state.

Garašanin's linguistic statehood was designed as an empire under the Serbian ruling dynasty. For him, the geographical position of the country, its natural and military resources and, above all, the common ethnic origin and language of its citizens were to guarantee the lasting existence of this empire [Ljušić 1993a, 76–87].

The majority of modern Croatian scholars saw in *Načertanije* a Serbian national-state program ultimately designed to create a great Serbia which would set up its political-economic hegemony in the Balkans (see, for instance, [Valentić 1961]). According to them, a powerful Serbia would be extremely intolerant of its non-Serbian citizens. In support of this opinion they allude to the fact that Garašanin chose "annexation" and "inclusion" rather than "unification" as the method of Serbia's state expansion. These authors believed that Garašanin was an ideological inspirer of the Serbian policy of state imperialism and national oppression in the Balkans that is being pursued today. For some of them, Garašanin's principal aim was to gain access to the Adriatic Sea for Serbia by annexation of the western Balkans [Agičić 1994, 26].

The facts show, however, that Garašanin advocated annexation of all Balkan territories settled by "linguistic" Serbs rather than unification of these lands with the Principality of Serbia. Undoubtedly, he favored a centralized inner state organization similar to that of the Principality of Serbia rather than a federation or confederation [Jelavich 1968]. But this could not mean in any way that Garašanin was projecting ethnic cleansing and even genocide upon the non-Serbian population in order to create an ethnically homogeneous Serbia (primarily Croatian authors saw in Garašanin's work the idea of ethnic cleansing and genocide, for example [Grnek, Gjidara, Šimac 1993; Agičić 1994, 24–25], contrary to Serbian historians, for example [Ljušić 1993a, 160–161]. This is simply impossible, because of the very fact that Garašanin's great Serbia would be composed of a Serbian ethnic body identified with the entire Štokavian-speaking population of the South Slavs and the (Kajkavian) Slovenes, and (Čakavian) Croats would not find their place in it [Трайков 1978, 144–149].

### *Conclusion*

The question of defining the nation, the national idea and goals, as well as that of the methods and means for their realization took a crucial place in the thinking of Serbian intellectuals and politicians in the 19th century.

Two projects of Serbian national liberation and unification were based on ideological constructions intended to consolidate all Serbs (in the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy) and to create a Serbian state. This became the chief subject of Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić's *Srbi svi i svuda* ("Serbs All and Everywhere") and Ilija Garašanin's *Načertanije* ("Draft").

The linguistic principle of a unified Serbian state after Serbian liberation from the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy, combined, to a certain extent, with the principle of historical state rights, is the keystone of I. Garašanin's arguments in *Načertanije*.

The paper presents both a linguistic model for Serbian national determination and a linguistic model for Serbian statehood. The most significant problem concerning *Srbi svi i svuda* and *Načertanije* is their interpretation and understanding in the historiographical traditions of different nations, especially among Serbian and Croatian historians. It provoked discussion and intellectual friction in the political ideology of the Balkan nations both prior to the dissolution of Yugoslavia (1991–1995) and after it.

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<sup>1</sup> Garašanin mentioned "Ancient Serbia" and "northern Albania". However, the former name relates to the territory of the first Serbian mediaeval state called "Raška" located on the present-day territory of Sandžak which was divided by Serbia and Montenegro after the First Balkan War 1912–1913. The latter name related to Kosovo and Metohija but not to the northern portion of present-day Albania.

<sup>2</sup> The Serbian historian Miroslav Đorđević agrees that Garašanin's programme of united Serbia was founded on Serbian historical (state) rights and these rights were only a pretext to unite all Serbs. I think that Đorđević was on the right path to conclude that Garašanin in fact drafted a united Serbia according to the Karadžić linguistic model of Serbdom [Đorđević 1979].

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### Идеи о языковых основах сербского национального самосознания и государственности в XIX в.

В статье анализируются и сопоставляются проекты объединения сербов и создания независимого сербского государства, предложенные Вуком Караджичем в работе *Срби сви и свуда* (досл. *Сербы все и повсюду*, т.е. 'Территория распространения сербов') и Илией Гарашанином в работе *Начертаније* ('Проект'). Подчеркивается, что в основе идей И. Гарашанина лежит языковой принцип определения понятия сербской нации, а также принцип исторического права на определенные территории.

Идеи В. Караджича и И. Гарашанина по-разному понимаются и трактуются в сербской и хорватской историографических традициях, что является причиной острых споров и дискуссий между сербскими и хорватскими историками как до распада Югославии, так и в настоящее время.