

# THE BALKAN PENINSULA OF JOVAN CVIJIĆ:

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEMPORARY  
TRENDS IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY



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CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY



GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE "JOVAN CVIJIĆ" SASA, BELGRADE  
CULTURAL CENTRE "VUK KARADŽIĆ", LOZNICA

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## FOREWORD

This publication is dedicated to the centenary of publishing of the most important work of Jovan Cvijić in the domain of human geography — *La péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* (1918). In order to honour this publication, the Geographical Institute “Jovan Cvijić” SASA from Belgrade and the Cultural Centre “Vuk Karadžić” from Loznica organized the International Conference “The Balkan Peninsula of Jovan Cvijić: Historical Background and Contemporary Trends in Human Geography”, which was held in Tršić (close to Loznica) on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> October 2018. Eminent scientists from Serbia and abroad represented their views regarding the anthropogeographical and ethnological issues thoroughly studied by Jovan Cvijić.

*La péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine* is a significant work where Jovan Cvijić synthesized all relevant results regarding the interactions between people and their natural surrounding which provided a unique, integrated representation of the Balkan Peninsula. Scientific contribution of this Cvijić’s work is manifold and cannot be measured only by the actuality of the results in the time when they were published, thus formulating the new concept of anthropogeography, but also by their universality that intrigues the scholarly sphere for a full hundred years. Since the first publication in French in 1918, through publication in Serbian in 1922 (book I) and 1931 (book II), there were several re-editions till nowadays. This monograph offers an inspiration and a valuable basis for understanding the evolution of all phenomena specific for the Balkan Peninsula, in their entirety and continuity, pointing to the current problems and issues, and predicting the subsequent headway of the “Balkan society”.

This publication offers to the readers various interpretations of different topics and issues that Cvijić opened in *La péninsule balkanique: géographie humaine*. In the authors’ comments, these views are sometimes criticized and sometimes glorified, but also re-actualized in the contemporary context.



*LA PÉNINSULE BALKANIQUE* BY JOVAN CVIJIĆ —  
BACKGROUND FOR GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH



## **LA PÉNINSULE BALKANIQUE BY JOVAN CVIJIĆ: PREPARATIONS FOR WRITING**

*Stevan M. Stanković<sup>1</sup>*

**Abstract:** The research of Jovan Cvijić is especially notable for the monograph *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* (*Balkan Peninsula: human geography*), first published in Paris in 1918 as a 540-page book. Its content was a result of years-long research of various geographic, ethnographic and historical phenomena, processes and events in the Balkan Peninsula. A detailed knowledge of the tectonics and morphology of the relief, karst terrains, traces of glaciation, abrasion and fluvial relief forms, as well as an original approach to anthropogeography, enabled him to shape a synthesis that presented this peninsula in Europe's South to the world in the best possible way. The reviews of the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* confirm its lasting value, which rests in Cvijić's original geographical (anthropogeographical) concepts, based on field research as the fundamental method in geography. The significance of the study is even greater if we bear in mind that it was written during World War I, when Cvijić, who was far from his homeland, did not have access to all the necessary information and literature. It seems that the author undertook systematic preparations for writing the *Balkan Peninsula*: before 1918, he published, both in Serbia and abroad, studies dealing with various geographical and ethnographical issues, building his own scientific attitude to the Balkan Peninsula. The book is still topical and frequently cited.

**Keywords:** Jovan Cvijić; Balkan Peninsula; geography; anthropogeography

### **Introduction**

The scientific work of Jovan Cvijić is rich, diverse, relevant and lasting. As a geographer who had received modern education, having completed his studies in Belgrade, he continued his development as a scientist in Vienna, where he defended his PhD thesis. Upon returning to Belgrade in 1893, he was appointed a full professor at the Great School, which was later transformed into the University of Belgrade (1905). He founded the Geographical Institute, the predecessor institution of today's Faculty of Geography, devised teaching programmes and established field and cabinet research. It seems that Jovan Cvijić chose the Balkan Peninsula as his chief research subject from the outset. Over time, he got to know it to the finest details. On the other hand, until his time, this territory was poorly known, usually designated as a *terra incognita*, and many names of Balkan geographic entities were referred to in the literature

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and maps in a way that did not correspond to the actual territory, population and events.

It is known that Jovan Cvijić spent two to three months a year doing field research in the Balkan Peninsula. Before the Balkan Wars and in the period between the Balkan Wars and World War I, “. . . he boldly embarked into distant research campaigns in Sofia and Constantinople, Skopje, Epirus and Thessaloniki, Herzegovina, Montenegro and, sometimes, on the poorly passable highland plateaus in the north of Albania. It was with special enthusiasm that Cvijić visited distant and isolated ethnic and religious groups, and secluded and vulnerable communities in Balkan towns. He competently identified centuries-old cultural layers, classifying the cultural strata as the boundaries between the influences of various civilizations and systematizing settlements according to types of population, the shape of the fireplace or the roof structure; he examined the relationship between humans and karst, and eventually defined the Dinaric type as the dominant type of the highland population in the modern Balkans. As the leading Serbian expert on ethnographic issues in the Balkans, Cvijić contributed his expertise to the overall progress of his nation and the protection of its national interests” (Bataković, 2013, pp.15–16).

Located at the crossroads of diverse cultures and civilizations, in an area that had for centuries been the setting for armed conflicts and continuous migrations, and a link between two continents, the Balkan Peninsula, with its complex natural features, settlements, population, human creations, cultural and historical events, was a territory suitable for geographical research. Having correctly understood and interpreted the Eurasian character of this territory marked by the well-indented coasts of several seas and a vast continental block, he highlighted multiple external influences, the elements of integration and permeation, isolation and separation, transit and contact, and stressed the specific character of these phenomena, processes and events, which had emerged there, to indigenously evolve and persist for centuries. He realized that many features of the Balkan Peninsula were directly related to its nature, geographical position, multiethnic and multiconfessional population, as well as historical and cultural events.

Jovan Cvijić was also familiar with numerous problems falling into the area of sociology, as highlighted by some prominent scholars from France, the country of sociology. He analyzed the formation, development, distribution and dissolution of social communities from the perspective of geographic space, ethnological features and sociological organization. He laid solid geographical and ethnographical foundations for the sociology of the Balkan Peninsula:

humans and nature, mutually determined and interconnected. In this respect, Cvijić defined the corresponding types and varieties of the population of the Balkan Peninsula by incorporating ethno-psychological characteristics into the basic model. He dedicated several dozen pages to this topic, in the form of a synthetic study within the book on the Balkan Peninsula. He approached such problems with utmost scrutiny, his wide education, realistic views and critical attitudes. He presented the established facts in his books and public speeches, not only to his students in Belgrade and the Sorbonne in Paris, but to the entire local, European and global cultural public.

It is not possible to determine whether and when Jovan Cvijić came to the idea to write a book on the Balkan Peninsula as a whole. When he accepted the invitation to lecture at the Sorbonne University in Paris in 1917 and 1918, he was writing the last pages of *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*, which was largely written during his stay in Neuchâtel in Switzerland, where he published the study *Questions balkaniques* [*Balkan Questions*] in 1916. The foreword to *La péninsule balkanique* was dated in May 1918 and the book was released in the autumn of 1918. Upon its release, reviews appeared in six French journals and the book was included among a standard set of textbooks for the Sorbonne students (Bataković, 2013). According to literature data, during his stay in Paris, he did not have all the necessary information and literature as a part of his written materials disappeared during World War I, when he left Serbia. After the Paris edition (1918), the book was translated into Serbian and multiple editions were published, first in Belgrade and Zagreb in 1922, and subsequently in 1931, 1966, 1987, 2011 and 2013 in Belgrade (Stanković, 2004).

### **Studies published before 1918**

It is a well-known fact that Jovan Cvijić published his studies in Serbia and abroad, in various languages. Most of them were dedicated to geological, tectonic, karst, glacial, limnological, ethnographical and anthropogeographical entities, phenomena, processes and events. As a student of the third year, he published *Prilog geografskoj terminologiji našoj* [*A Contribution to Our Geographical Terminology*, 1887/1888]. After the graduation, he undertook the systematic geographical study of Serbia and started publishing his results. Upon returning to Belgrade from Vienna, where he had defended his PhD thesis in 1892–1893, the Geographical Institute, the Serbian Royal Academy, and the Serbian Geographical Society provided the venue for his efforts to publicly present (either alone or accompanied by his colleagues) the body of knowledge



about Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula based on field research and available literature.

In order to achieve this, Cvijić started the journal *Pregled geografske, geološke i meteorološke literature o Balkanskom poluostrvu* [Review of Geographical, Geological and Meteorological Literature on the Balkan Peninsula] in 1804. Four issues including several dozen detailed analyses of papers published abroad were prepared under his editorship. He required his collaborators to find printed scholarly and technical papers on the Balkan Peninsula published abroad and to analyze them in detail, i.e. to present them to the students of the Geographical Seminar and to publish reviews in the mentioned series. Within years, almost the whole body of international literature on the Balkan Peninsula, from many scientific disciplines, became available to Serbian scholars. As he was involved in various duties and could not dedicate himself to field research in numerous rural settlements scattered throughout the Balkan Peninsula, Cvijić drafted *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* [Guidelines for the study of villages in Serbia and other Serbian lands, 1896], *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Guidelines for the study of villages in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1898], *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Staroj Srbiji i Makedoniji* [Guidelines for the study of villages in Old Serbia and Macedonia, 1898] and *Uputstva za ispitivanje naselja i psihičkih osobina* [Guidelines for the study of settlements and psychological traits, 1911]. Based on these guidelines, more than 700,000 inhabitants of Serbia responded to a survey that would remain unparalleled to this day and the findings about several hundred rural settlements were published (Stanković, 2016). It seems that along with the *Anthropogeographic Problems of the Balkan Peninsula* (1902), this was and has remained the foundation of Cvijić's original anthropogeographical school.

In this paper, we will mention several Cvijić's publications that are relevant for the study of the Balkan Peninsula. They were published in Serbia and abroad before 1918. Without the ambition and competence to analyze them, we present them to the interested audience to help them get an insight into his academic oeuvre, i.e. the body of knowledge on which Jovan Cvijić relied when preparing his lectures at the Sorbonne University and the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918).

### **Publications in the Serbian language**

Jovan Cvijić's research and technical studies in the Serbian language were published in the books and journals of the Serbian Royal Academy, the Serbian Geographical Society, the Serbian Geological Society, *Prosvetni glasnik*

(*Educational Gazette*) and other publications. The following studies stand out among his writings dealing with the Balkan Peninsula; some of them have only five to ten pages, whereas others have more than 1,270 pages: *Ka poznavanju krša Istočne Srbije* [*A Contribution to the Study of Karst in Eastern Serbia*, 1889], *Prekonoška pećina* [*Prekonoška Cave*, 1891], *Planine Balkanskog poluostrva* [*Mountains of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1891], *Srednja visina i površina Srbije i njenih oblasti* [*The Average Height and Surface Area of Serbia and Its Regions*, 1891], *Geografska ispitivanja u oblasti Kučaja* (*Geographical Investigations in the Kučaj Region*, 1893), *Prilozi za poznavanje Jadranskog primorja* [*Contributions to the Study of the Adriatic Littoral*, 1893], *Karst: geografska monografija* [*Karst: a geographical monograph*, 1895], *Pećine i podzemna hidrografija u Istočnoj Srbiji* [*Caves and Underground Hydrography in Eastern Serbia*, 1895], *Izvori, tresave i vodopadi u Istočnoj Srbiji* [*Springs, Peat Bogs and Waterfalls in Eastern Serbia*, 1896], *Tragovi starih glečera na Rili* [*Traces of Ancient Glaciers in Rila*, 1897], *Glacijalne i morfološke studije o planinama Bosne, Hercegovine i Crne Gore* [*Glacial and Morphological Studies of the Mountains of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro*, 1899], *Oblik Balkanskog poluostrva* [*Shape of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1899], *Karstna polja zapadne Bosne i Hercegovine* [*Karst Plains of Western Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 1900], *Glacijalna epoha na Balkanskom poluostrvu* [*Glacial Period in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1901], *Dužina reka i površine rečnih slivova u Srbiji* [*The Length of Rivers and the Surface Area of River Basins in Serbia*, 1902], *Struktura i podela planina Balkanskog poluostrva* [*The Structure and the Division of Mountains in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1902], *Geološki atlas Makedonije i Stare Srbije* [*Geological Atlas of Macedonia and Old Serbia*, 1902], *Jezeru Makedonije, Stare Srbije i Epira* [*Lakes of Macedonia, Old Serbia and Epirus*, 1902], *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskog poluostrva* [*Anthropogeographic Problems of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1902], *Kulturni pojasi Balkanskog poluostrva* [*Cultural Zones of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1902], *Novi rezultati o glacijalnoj epohi Balkanskog poluostrva* [*New Results Concerning the Glacial Period in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1903], *Balkanska, alpijska i karpatska glacijacija* [*Balkan, Alpine and Carpathian Glaciation*, 1903], *Geografski položaj i opšte geografske osobine Makedonije i Stare Srbije* [*Geographical Position and General Geographical Features of Macedonia and Old Serbia*, 1904], *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije s promatranjima u južnoj Bugarskoj, Trakiji, susednim delovima Male Azije, Tesaliji, Epiru i severnoj Albaniji* [*Fundamentals of Geography and Geology of Macedonia and Old Serbia with Observations in Southern Bulgaria, Thrace, the Neighbouring Parts of Asia Minor, Thessaly, Epirus and Northern Albania*, three volumes, 1906–1911], *Nekoliko promatranja o etnografiji makedonskih Slovena* (*Remarks on the Ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs*, 1906), *Jezerska*

*plastika Šumadije* [*Lake Morphology in Šumadija*, 1909], *Život diluvijalnog Eordejskog jezera* [*Life of the Diluvial Eordaia Lake*, 1910], *Aromuni ili Cincari u zapadnoj Makedoniji* [*Aromanians or Tzintzars in Western Macedonia*, 1911], *Suva planina i karst Valožja* [*Suva Planina Mountain and the Valožje Karst*, 1912].

### **Publications in foreign languages**

It is known that several Jovan Cvijić's studies originally published in Serbian were also published abroad, full or abridged. Some of his studies were originally published in international journals. Through these publications, he informed a wider European and international academic audience about the geographical features of the Balkan Peninsula, since international scholars could not normally read studies published in Serbian. We list several studies published in Austria, Germany, England, France, Switzerland and Italy prior to the book *La péninsule balkanique: Eine Besteigung des Schardagh* [*Climbing Mount Shar*, 1892], *Das Karstphänomen* [*Phenomenon of Karst*, 1893], *La grande grotte de Duboca* [*Great Cave of Dubočka*, 1895], *Les glaciers naturelles de Serbie* [*Natural Glaciers in Serbia*, 1897], *Brusque formation d'une doline en Serbie* [*Sudden Formation of a Sinkhole in Serbia*, 1897], *Das Rila-Gebirge und seine ehemalige Vergletscherung* [*Rila Mountain and Its Ancient Glaciation*, 1898], *L'époque glaciaire dans la péninsule des Balkans* [*Glacial Period in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1900], *Morphologische und glaziale Studien* [*Morphological and Glacial Studies*, 1900], *La forme de la péninsule de Balkan* [*Shape of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1900], *Die tektonischen Vorgänge in der Rhodopenmase* [*Tectonic Processes in the Rhodope Massive*, 1900, 1901], *Die dinarisch-albanische Scharung* [*Dinaric-Albanian Shar Mountain*, 1901], *Forschungsreisen auf der Balkan-Halbinsel* [*Research Trips in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1902], *Die Tektonik der Balkanhalbinsel* [*Tectonics of the Balkan Peninsula*, 1903], *Remarques sur ethnographie de la Macédonie* [*Remarks on Macedonian Ethnography*, 1906], *Remarks on the Ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs* (1906), *Beobachtungen über die Eiszeit auf der Balkanhalbinsel, in den Südkarpathen und auf dem mysischen Olimp* [*Observations about the Ice Age in the Balkan Peninsula, Southern Carpathians and the Mysian Olympus*, 1908], *Grundlinien der Geographie und Geologie von Mazedonien und Altserbien* [*Fundamentals of Geography and Geology of Macedonia and Old Serbia*, 1908], *Das pliozäne Flusstal im Süden des Balkans* [*Pliocene River Valley in the South of the Balkans*, 1906], *L'annexion de la Bosnie et la question serbe* [*The Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serb Problem*, 1909], *L'ancien lac Egéen* [*Ancient Aegean Lake*, 1911], *The Genesis of a Great Power Serbia, and the Balkan Scaque* (1912), *La Guerra balcanica et la Serbia* [*The Balkan War and*

*Serbia*, 1912], *Der Zugang Serbiens zur Adria* [*Serbia's Access to the Adriatic Sea*, 1912], *Questions balkaniques* [*Balkan Questions*, 1916], *L'époque glaciaire dans La péninsule balkanique* [*Glacial Period in the Balkan Peninsula*, 1917].

### **Cvijić's contribution to international science**

The aforementioned and other papers, communications at international conferences, lectures at the Sorbonne, the inauguration lecture at the Serbian Royal Academy and his complete academic oeuvre, which covers more than 10,600 pages, in books published in several languages, in Serbia and abroad, Jovan Cvijić laid the foundations for modern geography in Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula. On three occasions, he shifted the boundaries of international science and due to this, he has remained an exceptional scholar.

The first shift was his PhD thesis, defended and published it in Vienna. The thesis entitled *Das Karstphänomen, Versuch einer morphologischen Monographie* [*Karst Phenomenon: a tentative morphological monograph*, 1893, p. 114] was the first study of this kind, dealing with this topic, in the world (Stanković, 2015). Cvijić's theories about the morphology and hydrography of karst terrains are still held in high regard all over the world and some terms used by him are not translated, but are pronounced and written in their original form when used in research studies. Among other things, Derek Ford, a professor at the McMaster University of Hamilton who attended the conference dedicated to Cvijić and karst (Belgrade, 2005), highlights that, though Cvijić was not an Einstein, his influence on the development of the theory of karst and karst science in an international context has been huge. Cvijić created an intellectual framework within which this area of science has been evolving to this day. Ford is the author of a publication on karst that was written under the direct influence of John Cvijić. Therefore, the structure of the book and the way in which this geological phenomenon is presented is very recognizable. In the literature, it is also possible to find the opinion that Jovan Cvijić was superior to other researchers in terms of the knowledge and understanding of karst forms, phenomena and processes. Cvijić's analysis of the three hydrographic zones in karst areas inspired numerous French researchers to apply them in the study of karst terrains in their country.

The second major shift was his discovery of Pleistocene glaciation to the south of the Alps, though the glaciologists of the time believed that they could not be found in these areas. In the late XIX century, Jovan Cvijić found, explored, mapped and presented in his books the traces of Pleistocene glaciers, at first on

Mount Rila in Bulgaria (1897), and then on the highest mountains of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro (Belij, 2015).

“He also had the honour to be, among other things, the first to inform the European academic audience that the Balkan mountains had been exposed to glaciation during Pleistocene. One of his first extensive works on this issue was the study of Mount Rila in Bulgaria. The discovery of moraines was not the sole argument he used to corroborate the hypothesis that the mountain had been frozen in the past; he also drew attention to numerous cirques, polished rocky surfaces and other glacial forms, which indisputably indicated the former glaciation” (Šifrer, 1982, p.111). According to another analysis of Cvijić’s studies on glaciation in the Balkan Peninsula, “[e]verything we know today about the earlier glaciation in the Balkan Mountains is due to Cvijić’s research. Many researchers, geographers and geologists before him studied the highest mountain regions in the peninsula and all of them came to the conclusion that even during the most intensive glaciation, there had been no glaciers in the Balkan Peninsula. Cvijić’s exploration in this direction led to the opposite conclusion. All other traces of glaciation that were later found by other researchers are merely shreds, compared to the gigantic systematic Cvijić’s oeuvre. These discoveries by Jovan Cvijić do not merely have a huge local significance, but they also have a great theoretical value” (Daneš, 1927, pp. 29–30).

The third major shift was his book *Anthropogeographic Problems of the Balkan Peninsula*, through which he established a distinct research school in 1902, brought together many associates and enriched scientific literature with abundant data. It has been noted that “*Anthropogeographic Problems* are a fundamental work and a far-reaching programme. The book paved the way to the scientific research into the anthropogeographic and ethnological phenomena in the still insufficiently known Balkan Peninsula, and a whole series of monographs dealing with individual areas, initiated by this book, have been published until today, with interruptions only during the two world wars. Cvijić established his anthropogeographic school, which is a school of thought and an organization that can rarely be found in the world” (Filipović, 1957, p. 9, 14).

### **The significance of the publication** *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*

The geographical features of the Balkan Peninsula are determined by far-reaching, complex and evolutionary, direct, indirect and mutual relations of merging and permeation, of separation and isolation; by the relations between humans (human societies) and nature; by human habitats and settlements and

their types; by forced and economic migrations; by the adaptation of migrants to the new environment and the direction of migrations. Two types of geographical features of the Peninsula, namely, penetration–joining–permeation and isolation–separation, are the objective geographical characteristics that defined the region as a very important periphery for centres of power (Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire, Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy). From antiquity to modern times, this area has served as a link between the two worlds (*catena mundi*). The two main nodality (nodal gravity) points of the Balkan Peninsula — Belgrade and Istanbul, are located on the diametrically opposite edges of the Balkan Peninsula (Grčić, 2015). This leads to the conclusion that Jovan Cvijić was well aware that the Balkan Peninsula had a very complex geopolitical position, which had repeatedly caused waves of destabilization, because the geostrategic significance of the valleys of the Morava, Nišava and Vardar rivers, as the backbone of major roads (*Via militaris*, *Stanbul đol*, and presently Corridor 10), had always been crucial.

Through these and other studies, Jovan Cvijić was systematically developing himself and his scientific work. As a scientist whose original research focuses lied in the area of physical geography and were specifically related to the study of karst, he crossed on foot almost all parts of the Balkan Peninsula, though the conditions for field research were by no means favourable. Occasionally escorted by military squads and observed with suspicion by the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian authorities, he had to overcome numerous inconveniences, which were sometimes life-threatening. His PhD thesis (1893) opened new avenues for scientific research, just like his research into glaciology, which is still respected and cited, although Cvijić did not have access to the necessary equipment and accurate topographic maps. During his field research, he often encountered Serbian and other inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula, who had long been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, living in poverty and constantly striving for liberation.

In this regard, he noted that he was not interested in anything but the idea and striving to make people's lives happier. He explored almost all important aspects of their life, work, ethno-psychological characteristics, tradition and aspirations towards freedom. A significant part of his research was presented to the public in his studies of lasting value. This wide-ranging, detailed, lasting, systematic, multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, dialectical and materialistic knowledge of the Balkan Peninsula, based on the study of the local population's life, field research and the analysis of literature, was the source of the book *La péninsule balkanique* (VIII + 532 p.), a valuable and unique synthesis, a regional

geographic study of an area reaching 520,000 km<sup>2</sup> in size, which had been little known to Europe and the world (Stanković, 2018).

The significance of Jovan Cvijić's book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* is shown by numerous positive reviews: “Shortly after the publication, in the summer of 1918, and after a series of very praiseworthy reviews in French scholarly journals, *La péninsule balkanique* by Jovan Cvijić was the first scholarly study written by a scientist from Serbia to be included among the standard university textbooks at the Sorbonne in Paris. *La péninsule balkanique* was reviewed in several prestigious scholarly journals in France: in *Revue d'économie politique* (1919, pp. 346–347) by René Gonnard; in *Études* (1919, pp. 292–293) by Paul Dudon; in *La Géographie* (1919, pp. 443–444) by S. Reizler; in *Revue Historique* (1919, pp. 345–347) by P. Auerbach; in *Annales de géographie* (1919) and *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1919)” (Bataković, 2013, p. 14).

Particularly important is the positive review of Cvijić's study written by Jules Sion, a professor at the University of Montpellier, and published under the title *Un domaine nouveau de la géographie humaine [A New Field of Human Geography]*, 1919, pp. 21–37] in *Revue Universitaire*. Equally important is the review by Emmanuel de Martonne, a professor at the Sorbonne. According to him, *La péninsule balkanique* opens up new paths of science. “This is not just an investigation of the type of population and their lives in material and economic terms, but also a study of their psychological life. No one has ventured into this before, at least not so systematically and with such a broad approach. Cvijić has managed to identify distinct areas of influence and psychological types and trace them throughout the Balkan Peninsula” (de Martonne, 1927, p. 7).

In his introduction to Cvijić's book *Balkansko poluostrvo*, in 1987, Academician Radomir Lukić, offered the most accurate description of the knowledge and authority of its author, which had changed the perceptions of many Westerners about the Hellenic Peninsula, the Greek Peninsula, the Byzantine Peninsula, the Roman Peninsula, the Illyrian Peninsula, the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Turkey in Europe, the Empire of the Great Turk, *Catena Mundi*, *Catena del Mondo*, *Haemus*, *Balkanhalbinsel*, *Haemushalbinsel*, as this region — the boundaries of which had not been precisely known — had been called in the past.

“Writing a synthesis of knowledge in such a significant and broad field is undoubtedly a very difficult task, much more difficult than studying the isolated phenomena that make up the synthesis. A synthesis requires significant special talents possessed by few. First of all, it is necessary to encompass all relevant phenomena, and then to integrate them into a whole by establishing multiple

connections between them and determine the importance of each of them, identifying those that are decisive for the development of the whole. Naturally, in order to achieve this, it is necessary to master many fields of science, often very diverse, because it is essential to establish connections among nature, society and humans, which means that it is necessary to master appropriate natural, social and psychological-cultural sciences. All these abilities and all this knowledge can hardly be found in a single person. But this man also needs imagination, similar to the artistic talent, and empathy, and, of course, love for the subject of his synthesis, and, in spite of his love, objectivity, and even criticism” (Lukić, 1987, p. 7). Jovan Cvijić, whose work will be taught not only to the present, but also to the future generations, had all these characteristics and abilities.

### **Conclusion**

Relying on a detailed knowledge of the literature on the Balkan Peninsula, after extensive field research and a number of scholarly papers published in Serbia and abroad, Jovan Cvijić presented himself to the international scholarly audience with the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*, published in Paris in 1918. This important study was preceded by long-term preparations. Having thoroughly studied individual objects, phenomena and processes, he presented a comprehensive synthesis on the peninsula in Europe's south, covering an area of 520,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Even today, we have to acknowledge the fact that nobody before him and no one after him has written such a comprehensive study on this topic that covers the nature and the society, the population and settlements, cultural zones and cultural influences, migrations and the adaptation to new environments, as well as the elements of integration and permeation, separation and isolation, transit and contact in the Balkan Peninsula. The study was positively evaluated and accepted as a standard university textbook at the Sorbonne in Paris. As a point of contact between Europe and Asia, with a peculiar set of distinctive features, the Balkan Peninsula is still interesting for extensive geographic, anthropogeographic, demographic explorations, studies of settlements and migrations, as well as political studies. For many of them, the views of Jovan Cvijić presented in his book on the Balkan Peninsula, which is still topical and vital, will be a starting point.

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## THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA IN THE BOOK BALKAN PENINSULA AND THE SOUTH SLAVIC LANDS OF JOVAN CVIJIĆ (1918–2018)

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**Abstract:** The paper presents a real overview of the most important parts of the book *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije* [*Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography*] by Jovan Cvijić, where the situation in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia is reflected. We are especially exploring the migration metanastazic movements and the consequences for the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. We analyse the basic anthropological psychic types and ethnic groups (variants) in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. In the end, we draw conclusions from Jovan Cvijić's axiom for the independent political and cultural life of the Balkan peoples and bringing the Balkans together.

**Keywords:** Balkan Peninsula; Republic of Macedonia; migrations; ethnic groups; peoples

### Introduction

Jovan Cvijić (1865–1927) is the founder of the Serbian Geographical Society and Serbian Geography, president of the Serbian Royal Academy (today's SASA), professor and rector of the Belgrade University, honorary doctor at the Sorbonne University and Charles University in Prague, and other references. His research is dominated by papers from geomorphology, geology, anthropology and ethnography of the Balkan countries and regions that were under Austro-Hungary and Turkey.

For Macedonia, it is important that he directly visited and studied the social conditions and the population, while noting the uniqueness of the Macedonian people. Cvijić published his first objective remarks in the Vienna newspaper *Di Cite* in 1903, and in 1906 in Belgrade in the book *Nekoliko promatranja o etnografiji makedonskih Slovena* (*Remarks on the Ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs*).

He published the results of the thirty years of research on the Balkan Peninsula when he was a university professor at the Geographical Institute at the

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University of Belgrade and an honorary professor at Sorbonne, France, where he taught from 1917–1918. The original title of the book is *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)*. “After returning to Serbia,” Cvijić emphasizes, “I came across a translated first half of my book, translated by Borivoje Drobňaković, professor and curator at the Ethnographic Museum”, the period was printed in 1922. Cvijić did not reach to translate and supplement the second part of the book, although he worked until his death. The translation was made by his oldest student prof. Dr. Jovan Erdeljanović, ethnology professor at the University of Belgrade and prof. Dr. Borivoje Drobňaković, The second part of the book *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije [Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography]* was published in Belgrade in 1931.

The re-issuance of the Serbian translation of the book *Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands* was done in 1966, and covers an area of 583 pages. The book is divided into two books with multiple works and heads. In the first book *Geografsko okruženje i čovek [Geographical environment and man]* there are four parts and 18 chapters (343 pages), and in the second book *Psihičke osobine južnih Slovena [Psychological traits of South Slavs]* there are 5 sections and 18 chapters (313 pages).

From today’s distance, Cvijić’s books are a historical source for the geography of Republic of Macedonia, important for comparing the old with modern trends in social and human geography. The book *Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands*, which is the subject of our accents and comments, it provides information on many topics in geography, history, ethnography, sociology, demography, anthropology, architecture and psychology and the which should be analyzed extensively in a separate book. Cvijić’s in the book it examines and migration, urban and rural settlements, types of houses, material culture of the population, folk costume, household furniture, psychological types, etc.

### **The attractiveness of the monography for Republic of Macedonia**

*The territory of the Republic of Macedonia in the book Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands of Jovan Cvijić (1918–2018)*

In both books, there are a total of 9 works and 36 chapters dealing with the nature of Macedonia, population, migration, ethnography, type of settlements, types of houses, social and psychological changes and other characteristics (Cvijić, 1966).

From the aspect of actualization and important for Republic of Macedonia, in the first book *Geographical environment and man* (Cvijić, 1966), the first part “Main geographical features” (pp. 9–33), second chapter “Geographical features of joining and separation” (pp. 13–33) in the description “Valley and longitudinal roads” (pp. 15–17), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić’s conclusion that “Morava and Vardar can be transformed into an unbroken river road between the Danube and the Aegean Sea” (p. 16). This idea has not yet been realized for a hundred years. However, for the realization of the idea, a concrete project has been prepared, a river channel — a channel that will pass through the three countries concerned (Serbia, Macedonia and Greece). For the start, the most suitable concessionary country/state would be required to build the river channel.

2. Cvijić’s conclusion that “the most expressive valley Skopje–Ovče Pole–Štip–Radoviš–Strumica, which touches the Orphan Bay, until the construction of the railway in the valley of Vardar, was the main communication between the southern and central areas of the peninsula, which avoided the strains on the Vardar Gorges” (p. 16). Afterwards, Cvijić continues with the statement that with this “longitudinal Vardar valley is doubled”. The situation today has changed significantly, after a long time the Tabanovce–Skopje–Gevgelija highway was built, and in the final phase is the Miladinovci highway–Štip, then to continue the express road from Štip to Radoviš and from there to Strumica, to Valandovo and Dojran. So, the Cvijić conclusion for a short time will be a reality.

In the first book, in the second part, “Natural Areas” (pp. 35–87), the sixth chapter — “Continental Blocks” (pp. 41–87), in one of the three natural areas, is processed in the Central or Moravian-Vardar area, named such as the Vardar region or Macedonia (pp. 65–69), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić’s conclusion that this area is “composed of a series of basins along Vardar and its tributaries. It is bounded to the east with the Rhodope massif, to the west with the mountain ranges of Pind, the lower Struma in the east and the Crni Drim to the west, with the great western Macedonian lakes, the area is closely bound up with the valleys of Vardar and its tributaries” (pp. 65–66). In fact, Cvijić gives a description of the boundaries depicted by ethnographic Macedonia.

In the first book, in the third part, “Geographical Influences and Intervention of Social Elements” (pp. 89–190), in the 9<sup>th</sup> chapter – “Cultural Belts” (p. 113), in

the description Adjusted Byzantine or Old Balkan Civilization (pp. 115–118), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. In this connection, Cvijić concludes the following: “Macedonia has a chessboard look at a cultural point of view; border of various cultures where they are more in the eye and overlap with ethnographic borders” (p. 117). It also sets out the oases of the patriarchal regime “in western Macedonia, in the regions of Prespa, Mariovo, Poreče, Kičevo, Debar, Radika, and in eastern Macedonia in the massif Osogovo and the Maleš and Pijanec areas” (p. 116). In fact, what Cvijić noted a hundred years ago, due to a series of circumstances (wars, population displacement, migrations, etc.), today, in the mentioned areas, there is no patriarchal regime, and most of them are depopulation zones.

In the first book, part three, in the ten<sup>th</sup> chapter — “Metanastazic movements” (pp. 128–143), in the description for the Vardar-Moravian stream (pp. 133–137) and the Epirus-Arbanas areas (pp. 138–140), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić noted the following “Vardar-Moravian or Southern Streams were emigrants from the Vardar basin north to Demir Kapija (in the south of the Demir Kapija the population was very weak in the north), and especially migrants from western Macedonia, origin from Prilep, Bitola, Ohrid and Debar“ (p. 133). Further, he notes . . . “That current flowed mainly after the Vardar-Moravian valley and slowly spread, I uncover insignificant exceptions. There were no major migrations, some families and a group of families moved out, who changed their place of living by going north farther” (p. 134). In fact, Cvijić’s statement is radically changed today, namely, the political, military and economic conditions (in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then in the FNRJ/SFR Yugoslavia and since 1991 onwards in the independent Republic of Macedonia) caused major migration movements, mainly for the Macedonians towards the former Yugoslav republics, then to western European countries, the United States, Canada, Australia, with the scale of an exodus. Namely, migration movements — emigration of temporary or permanent eviction, towards the mentioned spaces, last for about a century. Today, it is estimated that some 540,000 Macedonians live in overseas countries. (Stojmilov, 2005, p. 90)

2. Cvijić, for the great Arbanic migrations (or Albanian), concluded: “In Turkish times, the Arbanite migrations started. Four main streams can be distinguished: Malisorska, Dukakaginska, Škumbia and Toska . . . . The Škumbia migration flow covered the population of central Arbanija (or Albania), and along the old Roman road Via Egnatia penetrated into western Macedonia, where the Arbanas

make up more isolated groups; except individually, did not enter the bare and summer-fevered valley of Vardar, as well as on the left bank of this river. Outside Via Egnatia north of Struga and Ohrid, the Arbanite shepherds crossed the Crni Drim and the high mountains and strengthened the Arbanic population in several mountainous areas around Debar . . . . They passed the Tetovo valley in the vicinity of Skopje to Kumanovo, and in broken groups and to Vardar” (pp. 139–140). What Cvijić was registering a hundred years ago has changed radically today. Namely, the Albanian movements continued not only internally — locally within the borders of the Republic of Macedonia, but also registered a strong external migration flow from the territory of AP Kosovo and Metohija (Serbia) and Albania to Macedonia. Thus, today there are Albanians in all the valleys of western Macedonia, and there are also in the Kumanovo, Veles and parts of the Ovče Pole. How much is their number cannot be said, since 2002 in the Republic of Macedonia. Macedonia has not realized a population census. A non-census-free country has been named a space that produces an anti-democratic process that threatens its future.

In addition to the Albanian movements, we generally note the migration movements:

- From Cvijić’s time to the present in the eastern part of the Republic of Macedonia. A large number of Turks emigrated to Macedonia, and a small number of Yörüks remained, and even fewer Turks.
- With the withdrawal of the border with Greece, the winter nomadic stocking from the mountains (Bistra, Korab, Šara, Galičica and Pelister) has disappeared towards Gevgelija, Voden and Thessaloniki, and today it does not exist at all.
- There are no Šopi or Torlaci in eastern Macedonia, all of them have settled in the cities. Toray this population declares itself Macedonians.
- Aromatic herdsmen from Šara and other mountain parts disappeared between the two world wars, and ten years after the Second World War and completely.
- From the Cvijić’s research to date there have been major changes in the relation village-city. Thus, since the Second World War until 2002 in the Republic of Macedonia 919,052 inhabitants from the villages moved to the cities (according to the census in 1948, the Republic of Macedonia had a total of 1,152,986 inhabitants, of which 838,530 rural, 72.6% and 314,456 urban population, 27.3 %, and in 2002, the Republic of Macedonia had 2,022,547 out of which 1,233,508 urban, 61.0% and 789,039 rural population 39.0%) (Stojmilov, 2005, p. 92). According to the latest census of the

population in the Republic of Macedonia since 2002, there are 1,774 settlements, of which 34 are urban and 1,740 villages. Out of the total number of rural settlements, 154 are displaced settlements (8.8%), 953 small settlements to 300 inhabitants (54.8%), 382 are settlements from 301 to 1,000 residents (22.0%) and 251 rural settlements with over 1,001 inhabitants (14.4%) (Dimitrov, 2009, p. 99–100).

In the first book, the fourth part of *The main ethnographic and sociological facts*, (pp. 191) in the 13<sup>th</sup> chapter — “The geographical distribution of the Balkan peoples” (pp. 193), in the description Population in the Continental Block (p. 201), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić noted that “during the Turkish administration the term “Bulgarian” lost its national significance and in spatial areas it was used as a class or economic name in the sense of “raja”, farmer, peasant and spread even outside the Bulgarian areas in Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohija, and even in the surroundings of Sarajevo in Bosnia, in Dalmatia and Croatia. By the name the Bulgarian was a simplest, and therefore the people from these areas named their simple folk songs as a Bushristica” (p. 203). Cvijić says that the name “Bulgarian” was first given by Greeks and Turks, and in connection with this continues: “The old ethnographic Bulgarian name lost its ethnographic meaning during the Turkish rule, and in most of the peninsula this name was marked by the village a population that lived under the toughest Chiflik regime. Due to the spread of the Bulgarian name in this sense, some old examiners and travellers, not knowing the special circumstances of the population, have fallen into wrongly counting the Bulgarian name as a national one. The ethnographic maps of that time, made according to these erroneous observations, greatly contributed to the main Balkan flutter between Serbs and Bulgarians, the Macedonian issue” (p. 203). What Cvijić was registering for the Macedonian question was completed with the division of ethnic Macedonia, and today this issue is being reopened, but now all the neighbours of the independent Republic of Macedonia are interested. Such aspirations of the neighbours can easily lead the small Republic of Macedonia to become an “apple of discord” and cause a “domino effect” with unforeseeable consequences. In the interest of the space, we will mention that in the other parts of the first book there are examples that treat the area of Macedonia (for dividing the country, occupations and ways of life, position and types of settlements — urban and rural settlements, types of houses, and for social and psychological changes). In many places, Cvijić points out that the Serbian character of Macedonia, but also speaks of other communities

(Greeks, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians, Turks), but also noted that there are other Southern Slavs.

In the second book *Psychological traits of South Slavs* (Cvijić, 1966), Part 3 “Central type” (pp. 437), in the 10<sup>th</sup> chapter “Specialized Styles of Feelings and Opinions” (pp. 449), in the description Influence of ethnic assemblies, we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić, mentions the formulation “Macedonian Slavs” (p. 450, 463) and concludes that “the Macedonian Slavs originated from a mixture of the Slavs and Aromuni” (p. 450), then notes that “the West Macedonian dialect is not systematically investigated in that direction” (p. 453), and in the description Legends and national consciousness mentions “an amorphous Slavic mass and a Balkan soul between Prilep, Thessaloniki and Places” (p. 461) , as well as the name Macedonians – “Macedonians in Belgrade had warehouses with cotton and a wool and through Belgrade traded with Pesht and Vienna” (p. 463).

2. Cvijić, a plastic description for the population, is given in the 11<sup>th</sup> chapter “Variety of the central type” (pp. 467), especially in the description of the West Macedonian dialect, emphasizes “the Western population in particular is faithful to the preservation of the old Slavic customs. Jacob and his costume are very archaic”. Similarly, he mentions a South Macedonian Variety, which has an “old South Slavic basis with very preserved archaicity in the language and social characteristics of which there are deposits of influences of the old Byzantine culture, the Turkish-Eastern and Greek-Lavantic life” (p. 474).

In the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter “Several ethnic groups” (pp. 478) have several descriptions for the specific groups: Bitola-Prilep group (p. 478), Mavrovo-Reka group (p. 482), Miacka group (p. 486), Prespansko-Kosturska group (p. 501), Struga-Ohrid group (p. 503), Debar group (p. 508) and Polog Group (p. 511), we emphasize and comment on the following:

1. Cvijić, on 33 pages (pp. 478–511), gives detailed descriptions of several ethnic groups in Macedonia, a description of the geographical stretching, characteristics of the population, costume, lifestyle, migration movements, and the share of the ethnic composition of the population. Thus, in the description of ethnic groups and ethnic belonging in the present-day Republic of Macedonia, mention is made of Serbs, Bulgarians, Slavs (Slavic population, old Balkan Slavs), Arbanassi and Aromuni.

From the descriptions of the ethnic groups, the boundaries of their stretching, that is, contours drawn in the ethnic map of the Balkan Peninsula since 1913 can



be drawn. In that ethnic map, in most of the ethnic Macedonia, the population is named as Macedonian Slavs. The question arises: Why has not the ethnic map of the Balkan Peninsula been put into the book?

He probably did not want to be compromised because at the end of 1918, the then Serbian government named him as the first expert on ethnographic borders, and in the beginning of 1919, he was appointed president of the Historical-Ethnographic Section of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the SCS at the Peace Conference in Paris. At this Conference, the new state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS) was formed, and the name of the “amorphous mass” concentrated in Macedonia in the ethnic group Macedonian Slavs, will cause a serious problem to the new country.

Answer to this question: Why does the second book of the *Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands* emerge from the press in 1922 and 1931? We get it from the preface of the book *Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands* of 1966, in which the preface of the second part of the the book *The Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Land*, published in Belgrade in 1931, and whose author is Jovan Erdeljanović. In the preface between the other we find the following:

- I changed some Cvijić’s announcements and data because they needed to correspond to current occasions and new scientific results.
- For the same reasons, I had to regard all of what Cvijić sensed, felt or believed on, based on his observations, on this occasion I added a clearer and certain expression. Therefore, I made the changes taking into account the Cvijić’s notions that he had after the First World War and who expressed them in his records of the time after that war.
- I also considered it a duty to correct it and by some coincidence not to miss, who did not carry Cvijić, to continue the Serbian edition of this second book, and he would have saved and corrected himself (because he did not have all the necessary scientific literature, the deliberately South Slavic). In the most important changes of this kind in the note I also presented the reasons from which the change was made.
- Among the manuscripts of Cvijić were found parts for six groups of the central Balkan type, to which Cvijić gave names: Prespa-Kostur, Struga-Ohrid, Debar, Polog, Sirinić-Mediac and the group of Vranjsko Pomorje. It is clear that Cvijić was preparing them to enter into his French act, because in many places more Serbian text was written in French translation (and whole sentences in French); but no doubt at the last hour he gave up his intention to enter it, of course

just because he saw that this part about the central type turned out to be more great in relation to the parts for other South Slavic psychic types. Therefore, it was most appropriate for these parts to be given a place in this book, so I examined them and, as far as possible, I adjusted them for printing. All that text was neither definite for printing nor for the shape of sentences, therefore it was necessary carefully, taking into account Cvijić's method of writing and expressing thoughts, to settle it, and despite that, a fair number of sentences were written in short form or only the main parts of the sentences were mentioned, so those sentences had to be supplemented, expanded and sometimes developed into two or three new sentences. In any case, I had to be careful and to keep the thought that Cvijić expressed or wanted to express, and in many cases I assumed that I would leave a sentence even slightly less rounded than to change the whole sense of Cvijić's words. So arranged and filled these parts I added at the end of the head for the central type — at the end because of that, however, it corresponds to those departments that were spotted with the hand of Cvijić himself (Cvijić, 1966, p. 565–566).

### **Conclusion**

The book by Jovan Cvijić, *Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands* is an important historical source for comparing the old with the contemporary trends in geography, history, ethnography, sociology, demography, anthropology, architecture, and the psychology of Republic of Macedonia.

The importance of the book for the Macedonian people and Republic of Macedonia is reflected in the objective attitude of the Soviet ethnologist Sergei A. Tokarev, who in the review of ethnographic researches in Macedonia of Cvijić recognized him “the exact objectivity and scientific well-intentioned conscience” (Čulibrk, 1973, p. 166). Namely, Cvijić was one of the first scientists in Serbia who in his papers presented the thesis about the uniqueness of the Macedonian people. In line with this, he marked the geographical and ethnographic map of 1913 with a special colour. That prompted Tokarev to positively evaluate Cvijić's contribution to solving the issue of nationality of the Macedonian Slavs: “He is one of the first to recognize the right of national independence to the Macedonian people and this is indisputably a great merit of the Serbian scientist” (Čulibrk, 1973, p. 166). However, Cvijić did not advocate this thesis when he defended Serbia's military objectives in the wars of 1912–1918 (Čubrilović, 1987; 2000, p. 88).

In his book, American George White (2000) claims that in the course of the fighting for Macedonia, Cvijić influenced the international public opinion that in a series of publications and ethnographic maps, Macedonians are actually “southern Serbs”.

Jovan Cvijić’s axiom for the independent political and cultural life of the Balkan peoples and the rapprochement of the Balkan community is accomplished through several periods, and in the near future, it may be fully realized. Namely, after the Paris Peace Conference from 1919 to 1941, the following countries existed in the Balkans: SCS/Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Kingdom of Greece, Kingdom of Romania, Kingdom of Albania, Kingdom of Bulgaria and Republic of Turkey (1923).

During the Second World War, the countries of the Balkans were divided between Germany, Italy and Bulgaria. Following the Second World War, the following states were established: FNRJ / SFR Yugoslavia (1945–1992), SR Bulgaria, (from 1944–1989) and Republic of Bulgaria (1990), Republic of Greece (1924–1935) and Kingdom of Greece (1935–1974) and then Republic of Greece (1975), the Republic of Romania (1947–1989), the Republic of Albania (1946–1990), the Republic of Turkey (1922).

Since 1991, the joint state of the SFRY has broken down first into five, then to six and at the end of seven separate state entities, the Republic of Slovenia (1991), the Republic of Macedonia (1991), the Republic of Croatia (1991), the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992) Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro, 1992–2006), then the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, and finally the Republic of Serbia (2006) and the Republic of Montenegro (2006).

Today, there are 11 countries in the Balkans: Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Albania, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Turkey. States are connected with modern roads, there are air links and economic progress.

The idea of creating a separate Balkan Federation is not realized, but the idea of a united Europe is gradually becoming a reality. Thus, in the European Community, the Balkan countries are the Republic of Greece (since 1981), the Republic of Slovenia (2004), the Republic of Romania (2007), the Republic of Bulgaria (2007) and the Republic of Croatia (2013). Jovan Cvijić’s axiom for the independent political and cultural life of the Balkan nations may be a reality in the European Union of nations and states.

We emphasize, the research of the work of Jovan Cvijić for Macedonia has not been completed yet. Our recommendation to scientific researchers is to engage in the preparation of a separate book on Cvijić and Macedonia, which would analyse all his papers in which territory of the Republic of Macedonia is being processed.

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## THE SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION OF JOVAN CVJIJIC TO SLOVENES AND TO THE SLOVENIAN GEOGRAPHY

*Damir Josipovič*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This contribution deals with the impact of Jovan Cvijić to the modern perception of the Slovene ethnicity, its geographical and spatial dimension including boundary setting in place and time, as well as huge impression of the leading Slovenian geographers with Cvijić's scientific breadth. First, it sets the today's Slovenian territory in regard of institutionalized education and emergence of geography as an independent discipline. Second, it defines the circumstances of linguistic merger of four distinct standardized vernaculars into one, clearly delimited against other non-Slavic neighbours. Third, it reviews the role of Cvijić in boundary setting process as well as defining population according to its psychological types. And finally, it appraises Cvijić's overall geographical imprint onto the Slovenian geographers.

**Keywords:** Jovan Cvijić; Slovenian geography; boundaries of Slovenia; Slovenes in Austro-Hungary; Slovenes in SHS Kingdom

### Introduction

The Slovenian geography was comparatively speaking rather a latecomer among the European national geographies. While having a research tradition stemming from the Enlightenment period, with pioneering works of Ioanes Weikhard Valvasor in XVII century, only in XVIII century Balthasar Hacquet and Sigmund Zois laid foundations to the ethnographic and natural-scientific research in geography. With that state of dispersed geographical knowledge, the so-called Slovenian predominantly peasant lands of the Habsburg Empire entered "the long" XIX century between the French revolution and WWI<sup>2</sup>. The new-born national ideas flourished all over the continent and culminated in the Wilson's principle on self-determination and the redrawn political map of Europe. Before that time geography was still part of philosophy, which gave rise to the ensuing inclusion into the later established Faculty of Letters in Ljubljana. Being only vaguely perceived and framed in the so-called "knowledge-of-

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<sup>2</sup> The notion of a *long* century may first be observed in the historic writings of Fernand Braudel on the sixteenth century, followed by Ilya Grigoryevich Ehrenburg on the nineteenth century, what eventually grasped Eric Hobsbawm in his renowned trilogy on the "Long Nineteenth Century" (see Guseinov, 2011).

nature” (*prirodoznanstvo*) and “knowledge-of-home” (*domoznanstvo*) and other “disciplines”, it was not until the formation of The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, when geography in Slovenia was finally recognised as an independent synthesis-based science by receiving the status of a department at the Philosophical faculty (Faculty of Letters) of the newly established University in Ljubljana (1918). The University consequently renamed itself into the King Alexander’s University in His Majesty’s gratitude<sup>3</sup> for allowing Slovenes getting the first modern university and for his merit (and the assistance of Jovan Cvijić as it shall be seen) of including the Slovene inhabited lands into the union of the three Yugoslav ethnicities (Baraga, 1965).

### **Historical perspective of the institutionalization of Slovene language**

Though semi-universities existed in Ljubljana already in XVII century, their access was reserved for the Latin- or German- speaking clergy and the gentry. The first full university in Ljubljana was actually established by the French in 1810 (*Écoles centrales*) but was soon (in 1813) disbanded after the Habsburgs regained control over the Illyrian Provinces (including Western Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Istria, Trieste, Croatian Littoral and Croatia south of the Sava river and Venetian Dalmatia), and re-established the Royal Lyceum of Ljubljana, again downgraded — into a semi-university.

Though short-termed, the Illyrian provinces ignited the resentment against the Habsburgs and enforced the confidence of the newly established local elite, previously lacked, for having the experience of formal and institutional use and merits of Carniolan language (as one of the four precedent variants of today’s standard Slovene language) (Josipovič, 2012). Apart of that, it triggered primarily foreign ethnographers for the research of less known Slavic dialects of the Inner Austrian provinces. Thus, the works of Berghaus first established the existence of the so-called Illyro-Serbs — a name encompassing all south Slavs from the Alps towards the Aegean Sea — in order to separate them from Bulgarians in the Eastern part of the Balkan peninsula. While pointing to the dichotomy between Germanic and Slavic languages in Carinthia, Berghaus (1846) only provisionally separated Slavic and Roman languages from the Alps to the Adriatic. Nevertheless, he was aware of linguistic differences between the Kajkavian, Čakavian, and Štokavian dialects, but instead of delimiting them

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<sup>3</sup> King Alexander received the most majestic reception in Ljubljana and other Slovenian parts (Bled etc.) during his visit from 26<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1920. Commentators agreed that Slovenes worshiped the King more than his fellow Serbs or Croats of both Maček or Radić (Baraga 1965, p. 111).

accordingly, he combined it applying the administrative boundaries (Josipovič, 2011a).

While Berghaus used sharp limits between ethnic groups as such, Czoernig was much more process-oriented. Karl Černik (Czoernig in the Austrian sources), a Czech in the Austrian Court was soon appointed statistician for military recruitment purposes. He introduced the so-called transitional zones in which he discovered sleek passages of one or another linguistic element transgressing or digressing one another (Josipovič, 2012). His preoccupation with the lustrous differences among the South Slavs was oriented foremost towards the actualizing of the old feudal boundary between Carniola and Styria on the “German” side and Croatia on the “Ugric” side, where the historic boundary of the Teutonic intrusion into the Balkans imposed the previously inexistent ethnic division (Josipovič, 2005). Therefore, his transitional areas made their way only in the politically undefined regions like Istria and Prekmurje (Trans-Mura Region). Since he was aware of the difference between the political and the linguistic boundary, he was forced to acknowledge the Slovene ethno-linguistic sphere deep into the territory of Croatia, all the way to Slavonia (Cvijić, 1966). Kajkavian Slovenes clearly denoted the Sloveno-Croats, while Štokavian and Čakavian population was labelled Serbo-Croats (Czoernig, 1855; Josipovič, 2011a). Here, the Croatian lands are clearly seen as the regional name without a separate linguistic component, what sets out the question on the germanising ambitions in Croatia, in the first phase through slovenization of western Croatia. Some twenty years earlier this could be done, before two major milestones emerged — first the famous Karadžić’s *Serbs all and everywhere* from 1826, and second, triggered by the first, Ljudevit Gaj’s “Danicza” reorientation from Slovene Kajkavian to the Štokavian of Dubrovnik variant in 1836 (Stančić, 1985; Cvijić, 1966). One way or the other, the Czoernig’s lead statistic counts of 1846 and 1851 laid the foundation for the first modern Austrian census of 1857 (Josipovič, 2011b).

After Berghaus and Czoernig laid the ethnographic boundaries, the “Slovenian ethnographic space” was irreversibly defined by another non-Slovene speaker, namely the great Peter Köstler<sup>4</sup>, deformed into *Kozler* by Carniolans, alluding to goats’ shepherd. The Kozler’s map epitomized the 1848 national movement for “Zedinjena Slovenija” (Unified Slovenia) and, though partially erroneous or misperceived, became the Slovenian political framework and the hallmark *sine qua non* for all future political actions of the Slovenian elite regardless of

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<sup>4</sup> Originally a Gotschee German from Kostel near Kočevje in southern Slovenia, he moved to Ljubljana and inter alia co-founded the modern brewery in 1864, later renamed into the famous “Union” brand (Bohinec, 1975).



ideological beliefs (Josipovič, 2011a). But why have this “foreign intervention” into the proto-Slovenian post-medieval strongly traditional patriarchal and pronouncedly premodern peasant society with petty bourgeoisie elite mainly devoted to Germanness, and Latin or roman-oriented clergy, along with many Italian settlers in Carniola, actually emerged? The answer should be sought in the rising mercantilism, where the need for a proxy of a vernacular language brought to the fore the pathways for the early capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 1974; Harvey, 1989).

Within such a setting it was not possible to expect other than simultaneous rise and transformation of plebeian culture into the representative one (Bianchi-Bandinelli, 1990). The invention of history, to paraphrase Hobsbawm, was only a question of time.

### **Jovan Cvijić’s interpretations of South Slavic languages and psychical types, and the place of Slovenes**

As announced in the introductory part, Jovan Cvijić was one of the key scientific figures to procure the inclusion of Slovenes into the first south Slav monarchy. Notwithstanding his political orientation and collaboration within the freemason movement that helped create the first Yugoslav Kingdom, his pursue for the pan-Slavic union came into true being only with his involvement into the Paris Peace conference (Slavič, 1921).

Here comes markedly into the effect the notion fore-fronted by Cvijić (1966) in his seminal work on the Balkan Peninsula: “The biggest share of the South Slavs lived for ages under the Turkish yoke; Croats and Slovenes were even longer under the dominance and influence of Germany and Hungary, very long the Pannonian Serbs as well. Under foreign rule it is not possible to participate successfully in the cultural production. No matter how strong the resistance to that despotism was and the works they could have achieved, these can never reflect their true genius” (p. 350–351).

Cvijić’s notion on South Slavs as one nation divided into several ethnic groups, including Bulgarians, significantly remodelled the foundations of the political (state) boundaries. Some deliberated these claims pretentious, at least as regards the question on repositioning the political boundaries. On the other hand, Cvijić’s position certainly went into the quest of broader definition of nations (Figure 1). With Slovenes, he systematically found many sympathies. The famous Slovenian psychologist, Anton Trstenjak, once claimed that Cvijić found that twin soul of Slovenes — Pannonian and Alpic, with subvariant of Mediterranean-karstic type in Soča and Vipava Valleys, Karst proper, Istria and



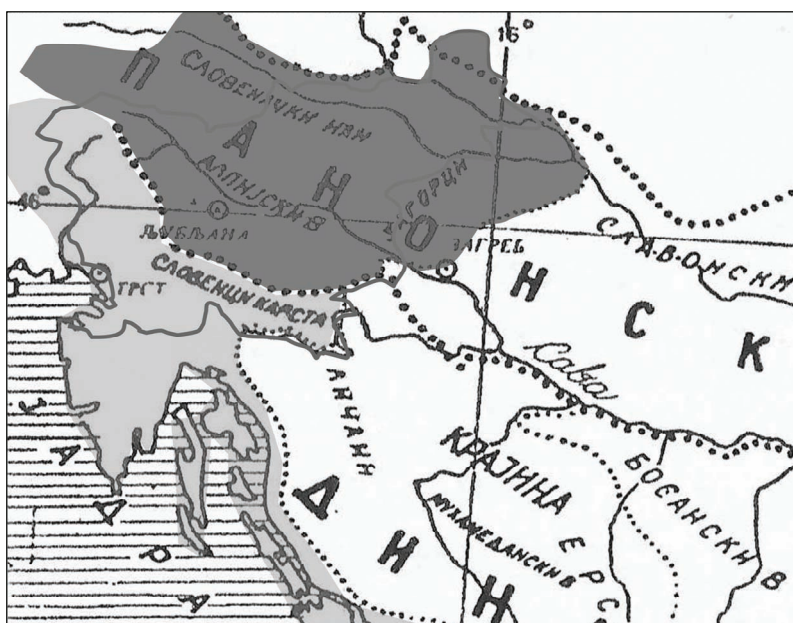


Figure 2: Rearranged Cvijić's map of psychological types on today's territory of Slovenia (dark gray area – Slovene or Alpine subtype within the Pannonian type; gray area – Slovenes of Karst, Adriatic subtype within the Dinaric type; gray line – Boundaries of Slovenia today) (Source: Cvijić, 1918, rearranged by the author)

During his visits to the Slovenian lands, Cvijić truly distinguished a great Slovenes' sympathy for Serbs and Croats. Serbia was even seen as a "Slovenian Piemont" (Cvijić, 1966, p. 561). In turn, Cvijić (1966) also shared some admiration to Slovenes, stating prophetically that: "Truly, they are almost without any historical memoirs, but they are completely overwhelmed by the Yugoslav idea and they are its most powerful support. Diligent, settled, strong, and methodical, they have a sense for organization. Similar traits can be found among them as those with Dinarics, but more refined. Basically, they are democrats. Due to all these traits, as well as their geographical position, they are predestined to play a very significant role in a contemporary Yugoslav state. Within it, they will figure as industrially the strongest and the most western-oriented group" (p. 562).

### **Involvement of Jovan Cvijić in defining the Yugoslav state boundaries**

Jovan Cvijić's involvement into the process of defining the new state boundaries of the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes resulted in a series of maps for the Commission on the state delimitation in Paris. It is no

secret that Cvijić decisively shaped the then Prince Regent Alexander's views on the national question (e.g. Axboe Nielsen, 2014, p. 22). Beside the proclaimed inseparability between Croats and Serbs, he strongly supported Serbo-Croat unity with Slovenes, as unique western South Slavs, opposed to Bulgarians, as culturally distinctly different. His major contribution considering the Slovene national question resolving at that time was the intensive work on justification of righteous boundary in Carinthia, especially in the Celovec (Klagenfurt) area. Having excellent connections with the central and Western Europe, foremost French and British scholars, he was in possession of all the necessary data, according to which he could prepare justifications for his claims. In his essential work used by the Commission at the peace talks in St. Germain *Frontiere septentrionale des Yougoslaves*, published in Paris in 1919, he convincingly presented the results of forced germanization of Celovec area from 1851 on. Using the demographic data of Karl Czoernig and juxtaposing it to the results of the 1910 census, he claimed that the whole Celovec basin should be contained in the newly formed Kingdom as one economic- and social-geographical unit. He convincingly dismissed the ambitions of the German/Austrian side to reduce the Carinthian Slovenes to mere shepherds of the northern slopes of Karawanken Mountains whereby no viable delimitation could be imposed elsewhere except following the mountain ridge.

The next important contribution was his persevering case of shifting river beds in plains. With the Danube case between Baja and Osijek, he laid foundations for a natural or commonly regulated course of rivers instead of obsolete and refurbished, manipulated, or otherwise altered cadastral boundaries. Such a principle was proposed to the Slovenian defence in front of the Arbitration tribunal in Hague against Croatia in 2010.

Another exceptionally important achievement of Jovan Cvijić at the St. Germain Peace Conference was the proposal on a guaranteed corridor<sup>5</sup> to the bulk of Slavic territories. In this way he acknowledged the need for inclusion of Gradišće (Burgenland) Croats into the new state. Moreover, this stance dramatically improved the position of the Yugoslav side being thus capable of securing the strategically important Prekmurje (Trans-Mura) region. That again clearly shows his inclusive orientation towards Slovenes but to Gradišće Croats as well. While at first the idea of securing some territory across the Mura River with Slavic population (Tót/Vend/Prekmurci) sounded futile, specifically by virtue of creating a stripe through Gradišće (Burgenland) to connect to

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<sup>5</sup> The idea on the corridor was initialized first by Sir Arthur Evans (1916), whereby the "balkanist" and archaeologist Evans was very well acquainted with the work of Cvijić, so the original contribution could be the one of Cvijić's.

Czechoslovakia and to enable contiguous Panslavic territory, it turned out as additional pressure to the Commission to allocate at least Prekmurje (without Porabje), if not the whole Gradišće, to the SHS Kingdom (Slavič, 1921). His ambitions were followed and upgraded also by Nikola Bjelovučić, who introduced two corridors toward north: Gradišće (Burgenland) to Czechoslovakia and Dobrudža (Dobruja) to the Soviet Union. The latter probably meant too eager an attempt without any chance to succeed given the strong support of the Romanian king by the evermore influential French. On the contrary, France did everything to curtail Hungary, but with the creation of greater Romania a fusion of disparate regions of unevenly developed areas seemingly survived.

One more case of Cvijić's geopolitical efforts is exemplified in his determination to use suitable natural boundaries wherever possible. He was a strong opponent to the Rapallo Treaty, where the SHS Kingdom lost its ethnographic territory in the Littoral against Italy. Here, the boundary shift was profoundly at the cost of Slovenes. Cvijić at that time maintained the position of watershed to reduce the Italian intrusion deeply into the hinterland east of Postojna. His argument was that the karstic landscape is not suitable for straightforward delimitation according to the course of high mountain ridges (in this case Hrušica, Javorniki and Snežnik). Instead, he proposed delimitation according to the watershed between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. However, this does not mean that he would not favour the Slovene position, on the contrary: according to his ethnographic map of the Balkan Peninsula, he clearly saw the Slovenes as a dominant ethnicity of the northern Istria. Here, the impact of Czoernig's transitional zones is obvious, since Cvijić introduced some twenty kilometres wide crosshatched portion between Umag and Sušak, predominantly south of today's boundary, where Slovenes are exchanging with Croats. Cvijić was very important also for his timely response to the events of rising fascism and Nazism. With his acknowledging and maintaining the unity of human species he overruled the persistence to impose the ill-defined superiority of the Arian race (Cvijić, 1969). There is one more thing to be studied about Cvijić. Namely his position towards the masonic movement and the creation of the first Yugoslav state where he played out his political life-role.

### **Conclusion — Cvijić's impact on the Slovenian geographers**

It was not until the Cvijić's direct involvement in the ethnographical analysis of northern boundaries that Slovenes got the scientific justification of the northern ethnic boundary course. Among many other things, Cvijić decisively influenced the father of the modern Slovenian geography, Anton Melik. Often referred to as

the greatest Slovenian geographer, he was strongly influenced by Jovan Cvijić's works. In his quintessential six-volume<sup>6</sup> work "Slovenija" he followed many of the methodological and theoretical steps proposed by Cvijić's complex interdisciplinary research. Moreover, he chiefly relied on the research and data of Cvijić when preparing another seminal work "Jugoslavija" in 1958. In this book, the highest share of all references is devoted to Jovan Cvijić. This clearly shows the impact Cvijić has left on the whole generations of the Slovenian geographers. The works of Melik (1958; 1963) represent the basis for the development of the modern geography in Slovenia, from physical geography, geomorphology and karstology, to many subdisciplines of human geography or anthropogeography all the way to political geography. Encyclopaedic knowledge of Jovan Cvijić followed by Anton Melik, and later on Svetozar Ilešič, spurred the ambitions of the next generation of Slovenian geographers like Jakob Medved, Vladimir Klemenčič, Darko Radinja, Igor Vrišer, Ivan Gams to mention only a few.

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<sup>6</sup> Prewar General Volume I in two parts (first part published in 1935, and 1936) was replaced by the newly written exhaustive General Volume I (published in 1963) to conclude the regional-geographic quadrilogy of Volume II (Slovene Alpine Area 1954, Styria with Prekmurje and Eastern Carinthia 1956, The Posavska Slovenia 1959, The Slovenian Littoral 1960).

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# CLIMATE REGIONALIZATION OF SERBIA AND (THE PART OF) THE BALKAN PENINSULA — FROM JOVAN CVIJIĆ TO GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS

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**Abstract:** The paper provides a chronological overview of the development of regional climatological research related to the territory of Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula in the period from the end of the XIX to the beginning of the XX century. The basic results of the selected papers are summarized, and those containing the maps of the climate regions are singled out. In this context, special attention is paid to the monograph of Jovan Cvijić *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)* from 1918, in which, as far as we know, the first map of the climate regions of the Balkan Peninsula is given. Studying the influence of geographical factors on the development of human communities in this monograph, Cvijić emphasized the important role of the geographical position of the peninsula, geomorphologic composition, as well as climate and vegetation. In addition, the paper gives an overview of Cvijić's scientific work in the field of climatology and the collection of climatic data from the field. Also, the most important publications are presented in which he applied the knowledge from this field in the function of geomorphological and anthropogeographical research.

**Keywords:** climate regionalization; Jovan Cvijić; Balkan Peninsula.

## Introduction

The climate of the Earth is influenced by a whole spectrum of climate factors. The consequence of their influence is the existence of abundance of different types of climates on Earth. To describe the structure of these types (and potentially explain their connection to the (inter)action of the climatic factors), it is necessary to classify them. According to Molga (1983), over 400 classifications and conceptions of the division of the Earth into different types and kinds of climate have been made up to present days. However, it is important to note that climatic classifications are becoming a climatic regionalization, only by application and representation in space. In the continuation of this paper, the focus will be on the climate regionalization carried out for the territory of Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula — beginning with the first one performed by Jovan Cvijić over a hundred years

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ago, and concluding with the latest ones, which were carried out with the help of geographic information systems.

### **Cvijić's work in the field of climatology**

Jovan Cvijić's scientific work in the field of physical geography is mainly related to geomorphological research (primarily karst and glaciation), and his work in the fields of climatology and hydrology is less known. Although a geomorphologist after vocation, he considered that climatology is of great importance for geomorphological studies (different decomposition and dissolution of rocks in different climates, determination of altitudes and glaciation limits, impact on the development of eolic erosion, influence on the hydrographic regime and the occurrence of fluvial erosion, etc.). On the other hand, climatology is related to geomorphology, because the influence of relief on climate types and their geographical distribution is significant.

Jovan Cvijić gained significant knowledge in climatology during his training at the University of Vienna. During the first year of studies (1889–90), he attended lectures in meteorology with a professor Julius Han, as evidenced by the notes from the lectures in the Legacy of Jovan Cvijić. In one of the volumes, there are notes of climatic elements (air temperature, air pressure, air circulation, precipitation, etc.) and their characteristics, notes on the effect of continentality on air temperature, notes on average annual air temperatures on Earth, etc.

From student days and on, the basis of Cvijić's scientific research and creativity was field research. Exploring numerous and varied physical geographical and anthropogeographical phenomena and processes, he paid great attention to the collection of data on the field, as evidenced by the notebooks as original and priceless material about his work. One of the examples of his field research is research in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro during the summer of 1897 (Figure 1). By inspecting the historical and archival material it can be stated that he, among other things, systematically performed instrumental measurements of air pressure (mmHg), temperature (°C) of air and water at the springs, rivers and lakes in this area. On the basis of these data, it is logical to conclude that he had reconstructed the glacier traces and consequently reconstructed the volume of the Pleistocene glaciation of the highest Dinaric mountains. This statement is confirmed by Cvijić's study (Cvijić, 1899) *Glacijalne i morfološke studije o planinama Bosne, Hercegovine i Crne Gore* [*Glacial and Morphological Studies of the Mountains of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro*], where in the same sequence, as during the field research, he exposed the collected field and expertly processed scientific material (Milivojević, 2017).

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Цено Турнење :  $B=708$   $t=29$  ; Rog Ravešarobe  
 Ryke :  $B=703$   $t=30$ .  
Мерења изред и на Турмиторју :  
 Турни До на 50-100 н. узлаг јунка :  $B=712$   $t=21$ .  
 Врло брзог невог Турвор Дога :  $B=675,5$   $t=24$  ; иста  
 испити. брже 6°.  
 Дога узлага (оккуп) Турвор Дога :  $B=670$   $t=24$ .  
 Вогени До (невог цела) :  $B=672$   $t=28$ .  
 Цено Турни До :  $B=670,75$   $t=28$ .  
 Убрзак на Турне :  $B=648$   $t=30,5$ .  
 Цено Турне :  $B=654$   $t=20$ .  
 На путу код Стојанови :  $B=621,25$   $t=29$   
 На Стојанов узлаг Погодова Дога :  $B=616$   $t=29$ .  
 Врло, Турнење код Срејанцем :  $B=611,5$   $t=27,5$   
 иста. брже 2°.  
 Турна на Укрко Капони :  $B=600$   $t=17,5$   
 Крвн танку моперску дега узлаг бенико Укрко  
 Језеро :  $B=625$   $t=26$ .  
 Турне моперску дега :  $B=626,5$   $t=26$ .  
 Мопера узлаг манум Укрком Језеро :  $B=628,5$   
 $t=29$ .  
 Манум Укрко Језеро :  $B=629$   $t=29$  ; иста. брже 16°.  
 Крвој-узлаг-ог манум Укр. Језеро :  $B=628,5$   $t=26$ .  
 Цено брвог Манум Језеро :  $B=628$   $t=25$ .  
 Бенико Укр. Језеро :  $B=631$   $t=25$  ; иста. брже 15,5°.  
 Цено брвог Крај бенико Укр. Језеро :  $B=630,75$   $t=27$ .  
 Иста. брже у брво Крај ценога бенико Укр. Јез. 5°  
 Врло Капони код Турнење :  $B=620,5$   $t=16$  ;  
 иста. брже 3°.  
 Сван Крвн узлаг Сумином :  $B=606$   $t=14$ .  
 Срејанца Мејетер Дога :  $B=612,5$   $t=13$ .  
 Најбети брво узлаг на северној страни Соха :  
 $B=587,5$   $t=14$ .  
 Узлаг узлаг Соха и Турнење :  $B=589,5$   $t=17$ .  
 Цено брвог невог Соха :  $B=591$   $t=17$ .

Figure 1: Measurements in the Durmitor area in 1897 (JC\_273\_156) (Source: Notebook of Jovan Cvijić, Museum of the City of Belgrade)

In addition to the reconstruction of the Pleistocene glaciation, the measured air pressure data were indirectly used to determine the altitude. Nevertheless, some of these estimates reveal certain shortcomings, that is, disagreements. An example is the elevation of Trnovac Lake (1513), determined by Cvijić at “about 1700 m” according to the measured air pressure of 638 mmHg (Milivojević, 2017).

### **Cvijić’s overviews of the importance and connection of climatology with other physical geographical disciplines**

Cvijić used the collected climatic data as well as the acquired knowledge for fundamental research both in the field of geomorphology and in the field of anthropogeography, as evidenced by numerous of his works and publications.

In the work *Karst i čovek [Karst and Man]* (Cvijić, 1925), in the segment called *Forests and Karst*, the development of vegetation in the karstic areas of the Balkan Peninsula Cvijić relates to the climatic features of this area. Thus, among other things, he also describes the climatic characteristics of the Dinaric karst in the Adriatic coast: “In addition, under the influence of the Mediterranean climate, the limestone is intensively heated, the moisture that contains the limestone and dispersed loosened matter quickly evaporates. Snow, after all, almost never appears on the Adriatic slopes of the karst. On these sides, there is bora wind, very strong wind that drains from the root even the old trees and prevents the growth of the other” (Cvijić, 1925, p. 10). Due to this influence, the formation of meadows and pastures is completely disabled. These influences hinder the development of forests, but they cannot completely prevent it. However, he stresses that in sheltered places where there is no grazing there are trees and that even forests are formed. He also concludes that alluvial sinkholes often occur when there are intense rains and snow melting.

During the field research, Cvijić also examined the sediments and various forms of the Balkan Peninsula, in order to bring them into a genetic link with the glacial climate and its fluctuation. He is the first researcher to discover in 1890 that on the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula there are morphological (cirques) and geological pieces of evidence (moraines) of Pleistocene glaciation. He first spotted them at Rila, then on high mountains in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia.

In the study *Glacijalne i morfološke studije o planinama Bosne, Hercegovine i Crne Gore [Glacial and Morphological Studies of the Mountains of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro]*, Cvijić (1899) also wrote about the intertwining of glacial and karst phenomena in the mountains in Bosnia, Herzegovina and

Montenegro, as well as the increase in the height of the glacial border from west to east in the Balkan Peninsula. Previously, after extensive field research, he made climatic differences between the western and eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula during the glacial epoch and presented the conclusions at a meeting of the Meteorological Society in Vienna in 1898. According to Cvijić's opinion, the glacial climate is the key to explain entire groups of phenomena and forms in the Balkan Peninsula, as evidenced in the study *Novi rezultati o glacijalnoj eposi Balkanskog poluostrva* [*New Results Concerning the Glacial Period in the Balkan Peninsula*] (Cvijić, 1903). He noticed the regional differences that were related to the different pronounced glacial climate of individual areas and singled out three climate fluctuations during the glacial epoch in the Balkan Peninsula. On the basis of glacial traces, he concluded that the glacial climate and climate fluctuations of the glacial epoch were more pronounced in the west of the peninsula in relation to the central and eastern parts. Also, in the publication *Geomorfologija* (knj. 1) [*Geomorphology, the first book*] Cvijić (1924) concludes: "The cause of the Balkan glaciation is also colder and humid climate, which was created from the beginning of the diluvium. But on the basis of a study in 1905 around Olympus, in Thessaly, later in other mountains, I had to conclude that many of the Balkan mountains would not cross the snow glacial border if there were no tectonic movements just before the glacial epoch" (Cvijić, 1924, p. 52).

In the study *Geografska ispitivanja u oblasti Kučaja* [*Geographical Investigations in the Kučaj Region*], Cvijić (1893) also recorded the data of systematic measurements of air and water temperature during the study of karst springs on Kučaj in 1890. These data were used in a more detailed hydrological analysis of karst springs.

After field research in the period 1906–1911, Cvijić publishes *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije s promatranjima u južnoj Bugarskoj, Trakiji, susednim delovima Male Azije, Tesaliji, Epiru i severnoj Albaniji* [*Fundamentals of Geography and Geology of Macedonia and Old Serbia with Observations in Southern Bulgaria, Thrace, the Neighbouring Parts of Asia Minor, Thessaly, Epirus and Northern Albania*, three volumes, 1906–1911]. This extensive study also includes analyses of the climatic characteristics of certain areas of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, analysing the Ohrid Lake he brings the moving of water into connection with winds, as well as the oscillation of the lake level due to climate changes. By examining the physical geographical characteristics in West Macedonia, he also wrote about the climatic characteristics in Bitola and Prespa basin. In the Bitola basin, there is also a

temperature inversion and this basin is pressed by the heavy fog over winter (“sinjak”) (Cvijić, 1911).

He also defines the climate of these basins as “excessive Central European”, but points out that it is more pronounced in the Bitola basin than in the Prespa and Ohrid basins, where lake influence is pronounced. He also stressed the Mediterranean climate impact in this area and marked Kiz-Dervent as a border. Studying the Kačanik gorge and Šara and Karadag, he also described the climatic characteristics, with the conclusion that the climate affects many phenomena. He concluded that north of the Kačanik gorge, Mediterranean influences are no less felt. Kosovo, Metohija and other basins north of Kačanik have a Central European climate (Cvijić, 1911). Investigating Šara, he also measured air temperature, moving from Kačanik to Ljuboten in 1890. Thus, in the book, he noted that in August 1890, at Veliki Ljuboten, the air temperature was 8 °C at 6 in the morning. He also described the climate of the Tetovo Basin as the middle between the southern or Macedonian basins and the northern or Old Serbian, which it is closer to (Cvijić, 1911).

In his capital books *Geomorfologija* (knj.1) [*Geomorphology, the first book*] Cvijić (1924) and *Geomorfologija* (knj. 2) [*Geomorphology, the second book*], he pointed to climatic characteristics as a significant factor in geomorphologic research. In the first book within geomorphological chronology, he also reconstructed climatic characteristics, as well as the ice age in Europe. In the second book, he pointed to the sun’s radiation and the precipitation as the first agent of destroying the rocks. In areas where the temperature falls below 0 degrees, the rocks break down mechanically more severely (Cvijić, 1926). In the segment on the development of the rivers and the riverbed, he also spoke about the relation of precipitation and discharge. He also clarified the terms such as the pluviometric index, which is obtained when the annual amount of the atmospheric deposits of a river basin is calculated on the pluviometric map and divided by the surface of the basin, and the runoff index (Cvijić, 1926). He concluded that the river regime depends on the pluviometric index and the runoff index. Also, he indicates a change in the amount of precipitation as one of the factors influencing the formation of river terraces.

In dealing with anthropogeographic research, Cvijić noted that the influence of natural factors is felt in all forms of human society, and thus noted the following: “However, the results of climatology are of the same importance for many groups of problems that are concerned with anthropogeography. This is called the geographical environment, the natural environment, and the climate is often the first place” (Vlahović, 1996, p. 94). He also compiled instructions for the

study of the settlements, in order to facilitate the collection and systematization of anthropogeographical and ethnological material from certain areas, but also to point out the problems between the natural environment and society. Thus, in the work *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Bosni i Hercegovini* [*Guidelines for the study of villages in Bosnia and Herzegovina*], among other things, he states: “In the framework of the position of villages, the following should be examined: is the village cold, colder in relation to the surrounding villages, or sheltered, with a mild climate? When does snow fall? How thick can it be? How long does it stay? Which winds blow in the village? Which direction, what is their name, which of them brings the rain, which is the strongest, the coldest? Did the village displace due to natural causes?” (Cvijić, 1996, p. 278). Cvijić also mentioned migrations from the Dinaric regions that are the direct consequences of the great droughts: “In 1774, about 1,000 families moved from Dalmatia to Bosnia and Hungary, and in 1890, for the same reason, mass migrations from Montenegro to Serbia were recorded” (Ducić, 2004, p. 65).

In the capital monograph *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* (1918), Cvijić dealt with certain parts of the peninsula from the aspect of the geomorphological composition, climate and the development of human societies and their civilizations. He pointed out the direct influence of the geographical environment (the effects of soil, atmospheric phenomena and climate) on the physiology and psychology of man and wrote: “Only they influence directly on people without mediation and participation of social factors” (Cvijić, 1918, p. 81). As a synthesis of the entire work in this field, in this monograph he made the first climatic regionalization of the Balkan Peninsula and made a cartographic presentation.

### **Historical overview of climate regionalization of Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula**

#### *Until 1918*

According to Milovanović (2010), one of the first representations of the climate of Serbia was given by Vladimir Karić in the work *Srbija — opis zemlje, naroda i države* [*Serbia — a description of the country, people and the state*], published in 1887. In this work, the climatography of Serbia is based on the observations and measurements made from 1856 to 1872 in several towns. The author points out that in Serbia, although it is a small country, there are quite a lot of climate inequalities (Karić, 1887). Unfortunately, this pioneering work in the field of climatological research in Serbia is deprived of cartographic representation.

The first cartographic representation of a certain climatic element was given by Pavle Vujević in 1912 by the construction of the spatial distribution of the January, that is, July isotherms in the Balkan Peninsula (Vujević, 1912). However, given that only these two isotherms are shown, here still one cannot speak of a map of the climate regions in the full sense of the word.

*Climate map in the monograph La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*

Acquired knowledge in the field of climatology, as well as numerous field research served Cvijić in 1918, in the monograph *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*, in the chapter *Climate, Soil and Vegetation*, to represent and describe the climatic characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula. In the introductory part, he explains the climate influences of the Balkans: “The Balkan Peninsula is located between the continental climate region of Central Europe, the area of the steppe climate in the East, and the Mediterranean climate in the South and the West. These climate types are extending from neighbouring areas to the Balkan Peninsula. Their distribution is less determined by latitude, more by morphological properties that help or prevent the spreading of climate factors. In addition, the large mountain massifs, especially the western ones, are characterized by several climatic features, which resemble the Alps” (Cvijić, 1918, p. 36). In the further text he describes the distribution of the Mediterranean and continental climate: “In addition to the Greek-Aegean region, the narrow Adriatic coast and the mentioned “bays” that penetrate from the South to the North, the rest of the peninsula belongs to the continental climate, with a climate type of Central Europe, or belongs to the climate of the steppe regions of southern Russia” (Cvijić, 1918, p. 36), and also distinguishes the areas of the valley climate: “Some of them, in the centre of the peninsula, well-sheltered from cold winds, have a mild climate: vines, chestnuts, walnuts and other fruit trees are better here than in other areas of the peninsula. It is similar in Serbia, in the basin of Župa north of Kopaonik, in the basins of Metohija, Tetovo, in Debrce near Ohrid, in some areas around the Lim and in Bulgaria in a series of sub-Balkan basins” (Cvijić, 1918, p. 37).

With this textual overview of climatic conditions and “climate” factors, Cvijić also gives a climatic map of the Balkan Peninsula (Figure 2). As far as the authors are concerned, this map of climatic zones represents the first cartographic presentation of the climate, that is, the climate regions of the Balkan Peninsula.

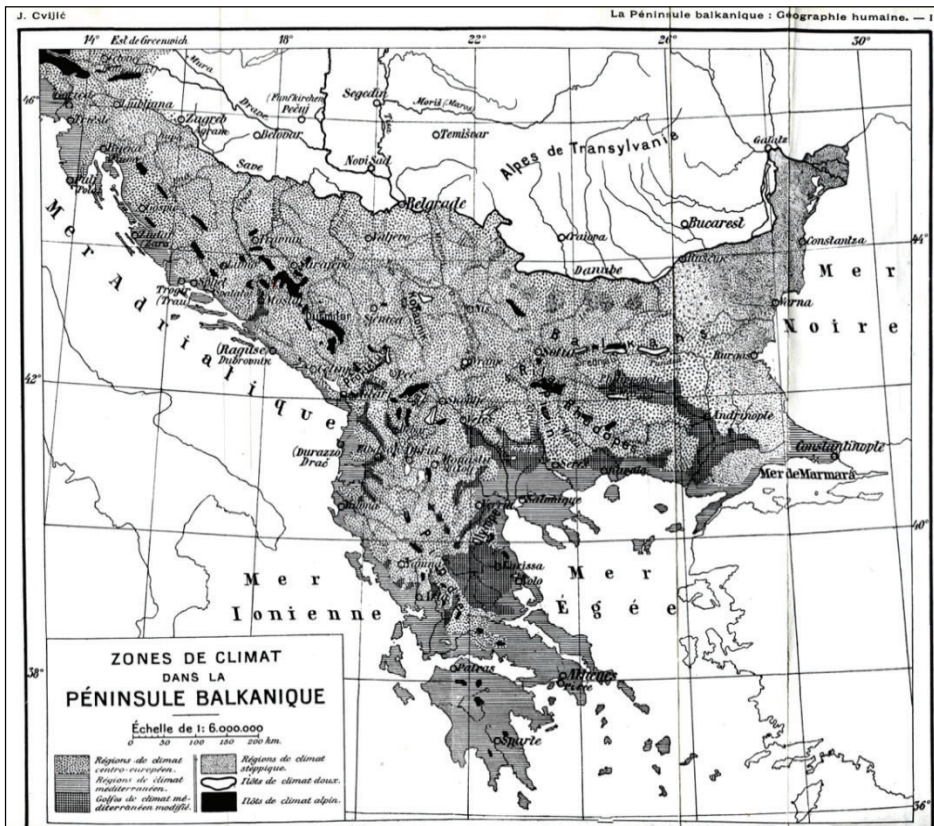


Figure 2: Cvijić's climate map in the monograph Balkan Peninsula (1918)

The map shows the distribution of the “Central European climate”, “Mediterranean climate”, “Bays with Mediterranean climate”, “Effects of the steppe climate”, “The mild climate areas” and “Alpine climate”, and in the accompanying text, based on the “geographical distribution of loose material covering the soil” and the observed type of vegetation there is a description of the spatial distribution of these climates, as well as factors (primarily geomorphologic) that determine them. Taking into account the size of the observed area, as well as the available climate data at that time, it is understandable that in this work, climate regionalization was not performed on the basis of quantitative values of climatic elements.



*Climate regionalization of the Balkan Peninsula since the second half of the XX century*

Based on the insight into the available scientific and professional literature, it can be noted that after the mentioned Cvijić's climate regionalization of the Balkan Peninsula, there was a big pause in this field of research.

This pause was interrupted by A. Obuljen in 1955 (and again in 1979) when he used the Thornthwaite classification to perform the climatic regionalization of the SFR Yugoslavia (Obuljen, 1955; Obuljen, 1979). However, Ducić and Radovanović (2005) pointed out the contradiction between the results obtained in the above two works and stated that in the first work from 1955, which was made for the needs of forestry, based on data from a relatively rare network of stations and insufficiently long set of observations, areas were singled out with an index of drought of 20–100%, while in the second work published in 1979 the values of the drought index are in the range 10–20%. The same authors state that Gams (1976) also applied the Thornthwaite climatic classification in the territory of SFR Yugoslavia.

The next climate regionalization of this territory was given by A. Milutinović in 1974. Using data on average monthly and average annual values of air temperature and precipitation in the period 1931–1960 “from about 400 meteorological stations, an average distance of about 30 km” (Milutinović, 1974), he applied the Koppen classification of the climate in the entire area of former Yugoslavia.

The work of S. Savić is similar to the previous one in which “based on data on average monthly and average annual air temperature and average monthly and average annual precipitation from 97 meteorological stations in the territory of the SFR Yugoslavia for the period 1925–1940 and 1946–1958” (Savić, 1979) he carried out a climatic regionalization of the territory of SFR Yugoslavia according to Koppen climate classification.

Very important and valuable work within the climate regionalization of Serbia is *Klimatsko rejoniranje SR Srbije* [*The Climate Regionalization of SR Serbia*] by T. Rakićević from 1980. Based on the analysis of data on most climatic elements from 80 meteorological stations in Serbia, the author identified three climate areas (continental, moderate continental and altered Mediterranean climate) and 29 climatic regions (Rakićević, 1980).

In this period, it is also important to point out the existence of the Atlas of the climate of the SFR Yugoslavia and the accompanying representations made by Ranković, Radićević, and Sokolović-Ilić (1981) and Sokolović-Ilić and Radićević (1984) on the basis of observations from 1931 to 1960. Although

climate regionalization of the SFR Yugoslavia (and Serbia within it) was not made in this unique and precious unit, all the elements that could serve for it were prepared (among other things, maps of mean monthly and mean annual values of air temperature and precipitation).

Borislav Kolić in the publication *Šumarska ekoklimatologija — sa osnovama fizike atmosfere* [*Forest eco-climatology — with the basics of atmospheric physics*], gave a macroclimate regionalization of central Serbia (Kolić, 1988). On the basis of air temperature data and precipitation data from 57 stations in Serbia (for the period 1931–1960), the author calculated the combined climatic elements (Lang's rain factor, Koerner thermodynamic coefficient, Fournier coefficient of pluviometric aggressiveness of the climate, De Martonne's aridity index) and based on them made macroclimate regionalization. A map of climatic regionalization according to Lang's bioclimatic classification is also shown. However, analyzing this climate regionalization of central Serbia, Ducić and Radovanović (2005) emphasize that the selection of climatic elements is primarily subordinate to phytoclimatic needs. They also point to ambiguities in the criteria for the selection of combined climatic elements, as well as the criteria for determining the thresholds for individual coefficients and the values of climatic elements within the presented units.

Analysis of the representation and interconnections of the most important climatic elements (temperature of air, precipitation, air pressure and wind) and climate modifiers (primarily II order) was given by Radovanović (2001) in the doctoral dissertation *Uticaj reljefa i atmosferske cirkulacije na diferencijaciju klimata u Srbiji* [*The Influence of Relief and Atmospheric Circulation on the Differentiation of the Climate in Serbia*]. It is important to point out that the work deals with an extremely extensive set of data (used material with 910 precipitation stations and 78 climatological stations) for the thirty-year period, from 1961 to 1990. The author did not single out the separate climatic regions, but in the maps he presented regional representation of the mean annual air temperatures and mean annual precipitation in Serbia. Based on the analysis of the data set, Ducić and Radovanović (2005) made a climate regionalization of Serbia, which was updated with the data for the period 1961–2010 in Milovanović, Radovanović, Stanojević, Pecelj, & Nikolić (2017).

In the last ten years, the use of geographic information systems and the application of modern (geo)statistical procedures on climate data that have been observed in the period until 2010 contributed to identify a large number of temperature and rainfall regions in Serbia. In this context, one should mention the doctoral dissertations of Stojavljević (2015), in which a large number of temperature and precipitation

regions is singled out, and Mihajlović (2018) who analyzed the distribution of climates in Serbia defined by Koppen or Thornthwaite classification. The climatic regionalization of Serbia based on Koppen climatic classification presented in Milovanović, Ducić, Radovanović, & Milivojević, M. (2017) has been one of the last made. Respecting the theoretical and methodological limitations that exist in this field of research, this paper gives the explanation of the set boundaries between different climate regions by processing a large data set (over 420 precipitation stations and over 60 climatological stations).

### **Conclusion**

The lack of sufficient data on climatic elements, from a “sufficient” number of “sufficiently” well and evenly distributed network of observation stations, represents/represented a crucial constraint in climatological research and particularly in representing the spatial distribution of the values of climatic elements, i.e. defining climate regions in a certain area. By re-establishing the network of observation stations (after the First and Second World War), the aforementioned restriction lost its previous character. However, thanks to extremely wide and quality education from various geographical disciplines and tireless creative work, Cvijić created the first map of the climatic regions of the Balkan Peninsula a hundred years ago.

After this fundamental work, which anticipated future work in this domain, a number of maps of the climate regions of Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula was published, based either on some formal and already adopted climatic classifications, or on experience and the knowledge that the authors of those maps had about the climate characteristics represented in Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula.

If the territory of Kosovo and Metohija is excluded, where after 1999 the network of meteorological stations has been almost completely devastated, the previously mentioned limitation regarding the existence of climatological data in the territory of Serbia and (the part of) the Balkan Peninsula practically no longer exists. By inspecting contemporary works in the field of climatology (and thus, regional climatology, that is, climatic regionalization), there is a need for mastering (geo) statistical procedures and techniques for processing a large number of quantitative data. Modern software within geographic information systems offers such opportunities. However, without proper knowledge of theoretical and methodological basics of domain disciplines, the reliance on a large number of quantitative data and their conditionally speaking reliable

processing cannot be a guarantee of quality and fruitful research in the field of climatology and other geographical disciplines.

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**GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL AND  
CULTURAL PROCESSES ON THE BALKAN PENINSULA**



## MAPPING NARRATIVES & MAKING POLITICS — DISCOURSES ON SPACE AND IDENTITY IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOVAN CVIJIĆ

*Johannes Mattes*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Life and work of Jovan Cvijić are embedded in the context of scientific nation building and ethnic geopolitics in pre- and post-war Europe. As one of the most powerful scientific consultants engaged with the demarcation of South-Eastern Europe's state borders at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920), Cvijić both introduced and combined physical, cultural, and social concepts of space to design a spatio-symbolic order of the “floating mass” of Balkan people in form of an own “Yugoslav civilization”. Written mainly in French, English and German, Cvijić's huge correspondence sent from changing locations on his fieldtrips to scholars all over the world became a meta-instrument for the determination of a fictional, representative topography. This specific spatial setting or mental map, which was generated through the circulation of letters, attached objects and scientific concepts, stood in stark contrast to his geopolitical image of Serbia as a state of transitional position and exposure. Under this aspect, Cvijić's letters dealt with multiple layers of topographical meaning, which were continuously reinterpreted and transformed in form of “spatial stories”. Disentangling these different layers of spatial reasoning and argumentation, the paper examines a selection of 23 letters written or received by Cvijić as a representation of physical, social or cultural space, but in particular as a space of representation, where modern discourses on geopolitics, geosciences, and identity interacted.

**Keywords:** correspondence; politics; space; Balkan Peninsula; Vienna

### Introduction

Science without any borders is unthinkable. Defining research questions, bordering fields of study and distinguishing between knowledge, pseudo or non-knowledge count among the most important scientific practices. In fact, epistemic practices of bordering gain importance in content-related, social and cultural dimensions of knowledge. Especially in science, processes of bordering or delimitating have to be understood as political activities.

“The whole Dinaric area has certainly produced some exceptionally heroic men, but it is the Serbs who attain the highest degree of heroism, on account of their consciousness of nationality and because history has given them a special mission as a state . . . . The lofty and far-stretching mountains and the grotesque

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forms of the great karst summits exercise a strong hold over the imagination of the people . . . . They are symbolic of the place and exercise a constructive influence over the inmost recesses of the spirit of the nation” (Cvijić, 1930, p. 383, 379).

This excerpt of Jovan Cvijić’s *Studies in Yugoslav Psychology*, published three years after his death, underlines his symbolic concept of space, which is closely connected to the idea of nationhood, collective narratives and questions of identity and demarcation.

Life and work of the geographer and geologist Cvijić — in later years the first rector of the University of Belgrade and president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences — are embedded in the context of scientific nation building and ethnic geopolitics in pre- and post-war Europe. Internationally known for his pioneering study of karst phenomena (1893), which was published in German by his academic teacher Albrecht Penck in Vienna, Cvijić is still regarded as one of the key figures in the history of geosciences in south-eastern Europe. But Cvijić was not only a scholar, highly distinguished by scientific societies in France, Great Britain and the United States; he was also engaged with highly political issues. According to the Yugoslavian historian Vasa Čubrilović (1987), there existed not a single scholar in Serbia that had such a militant position against the Habsburg Monarchy as Cvijić.

As one of the most powerful scientific consultants engaged with the demarcation of South-Eastern Europe’s state borders at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920), Cvijić both introduced and combined physical and cultural concepts of space to design a spatio-symbolic order of the “floating mass” of Balkan people in form of an own Yugoslav civilization (Cvijić, 1908; Grčić, 2016; Crampton, 2006). By introducing anthropomorphic images, Cvijić called Bosnia and Herzegovina the “heart of the Serbian people” (Cvijić, 1908) and understood Serbia as their head.

### **Correspondence**

Hardly any medium was as functional for the communication between scientists as the exchange of letters. Serving as a form of spatial mobility, correspondence expedited an exchange by linking concepts of different contexts and establishing common cultures of understanding.

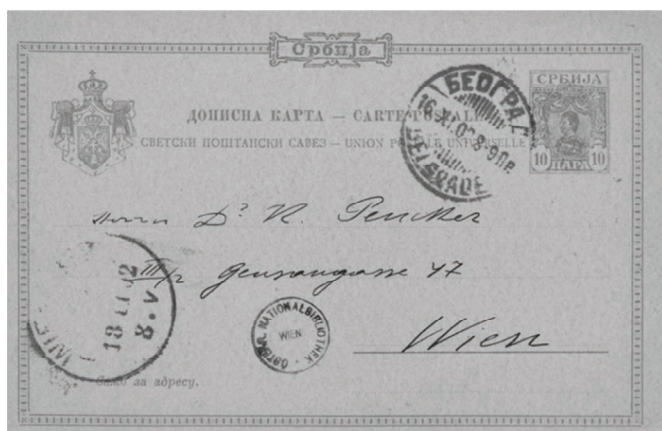


Figure 1. Addressed envelope sent from Jovan Cvijić to Karl Peucker (Belgrade, 11/16/1902), preserved in the Austrian National Library (Autogr. 625/79-5), Vienna.

In this context, it is assumed that topographical aspects of letter-based communication consist of different dimensions. Communication always takes place in a specific geographical setting. In particular, during travels, geographers or geologists were used to appropriate these areas and related them to each other through correspondence. Analyzing these settings, spatial structures of activities, which map the dominance of specific places, become visible. Furthermore, spatial settings can also be established through social practices related to a real topography. Contacts between scientific institutions, which channelled social space and established self-related spatial references between countries and even continents, are another interesting aspect (Klemun, 2012). In addition, letter-based communication is also used to reflect the spatial multi-dimensionality of its medium. For example, letters between two scholars can negotiate the dimensions of closeness and distance in their personal interaction.

Today, the archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts preserves the major part of Cvijić's correspondence. As Vidojko Jović and Mile Stanić (2015) describe in their article, the archive's collection contains more than 5,000 letters that Cvijić received from more than 1,500 different persons and institutions between 1893, when he has finished his studies in Vienna and his death in 1927. While a sixth of the addressers were domestic and European scholars, the major part of letters were sent by diplomats, politicians, managers or various academic institutions. With some scholars Cvijić had an intense correspondence, among them Albrecht Penck (58 letters from Penck are preserved in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Emmanuel de Martonne, geography professor in Paris (50 letters), Jiří Daneš, Czech geographer (42 letters), and Friedrich Katzer, geologist in Sarajevo (27 letters) (Jović & Stanić, 2015). The spatial

distribution of Cvijić's letters allows us an insight into this huge circulation of messages. Based on the number of letters, they connected Cvijić firstly with scholars of Austro-Hungarian Empire, — especially Vienna — secondly with scholars in France and thirdly with scholars from different parts of the Balkan Peninsula, creating a symbolic order of space, which I will refer to later.

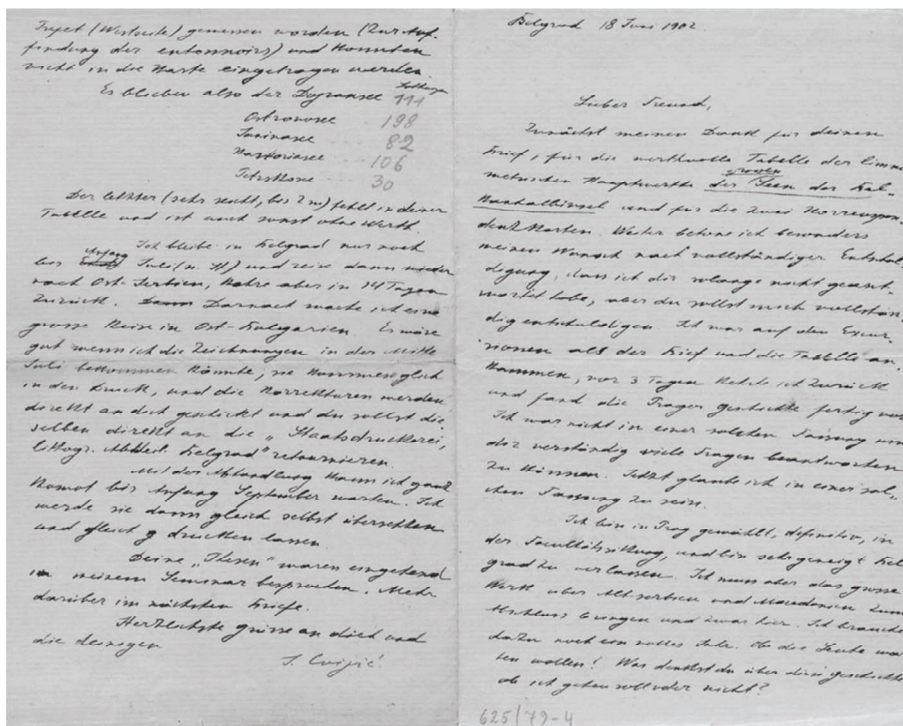


Figure 2. Letter sent from Jovan Cvijić to Karl Peucker (Belgrade, 6/18/1902), preserved in the Austrian National Library (Autogr. 625/79-4), Vienna<sup>2</sup>.

As primary sources, I picked out 23 unedited letters, which are chosen because of the density of spatial concepts and narratives. 17 of them are preserved in the Austrian National Library and were sent by Cvijić to the Viennese cartographer and geographer Karl Peucker between 1900 and 1908 (Fig. 1 and 2). During these years, Cvijić had a close collaboration with Peucker, who draw the maps for Cvijić's publications and became a close friend.

<sup>2</sup> Please see the appendix for a transcription of the letter shown in Figure 2 (in total 4 pages). Pages 2–3 are not included.

In addition, I analyzed 6 letters that were written to Cvijić by different European scholars, who maintained a close scientific exchange with each other, and were printed as images, but without transcription in the profound volume *Jovan Cvijić: Life, Work, Times* (Jović & Kostić, 2015, pp. 217–231). The letters of Cvijić's colleagues, among them Friedrich Katzer (Sarajevo), Emmanuel de Martonne (Paris), Jiří Daneš (Prague), Archibald Geikie (Edinburgh) and Albrecht Penck (Vienna), were written between 1896 and 1908 and allow us a reverse perspective with a focus on Cvijić as the recipient of messages.

Disentangling the different layers of spatial reasoning and argumentation, the paper examines Cvijić's letters as a representation of physical, social or cultural space, but in particular as a space of representation, where modern discourses on geopolitics, geosciences, and identity interacted. As the corpus of letters for this study is rather small, it does not allow a generalization of results, but give us an insight into the spatial concepts, with which Cvijić dealt between 1900 and World War I.

### **Spatial Narratives**

According to Michel de Certeau's concept of space as a practised place, Cvijić's symbolic understanding of place argued in his correspondence has to be distinguished from his idea of space (Certeau, 1984, pp. 122–130; Lefebvre, 1991). While Cvijić associated places with an order, dependency, stability, identity and orientation, space is constituted through direction vectors, questions of extension or recession, transformation in the notion of speed, time and duration across places and scales of knowledge. In the case of Cvijić, geological concepts cannot be divided from fieldwork, geographical observation and mapping he practised as a student or in later years as a professor in South-Eastern Europe.

In many ways, Cvijić's letters represent a form of spatial track, marking or inscribing spaces with meaning. According to Certeau's hypothesis, that each narration represents an itinerary, Cvijić's letters put a spatial syntax into practice. They are organizing space through movement, they are selecting and linking places with each other, they are creating geographies of practice. To summarize my argument, correspondence as a narrative practice plays a key role in organizing and arguing spatial concepts and borders.



Figure 3. The Viennese cartographer Karl Peucker (1858–1940) around 1925, published in “Geographischer Anzeiger” (Gotha, 1929, Tab. 29)

As useful categories for analyzing spatial narrations, Certeau proposed the French terms “parcours”, in English course or track, and “carte”, in English map. While the “parcours” corresponds to the spatial practice of walking or movement reporting on the activity of a person, the term “carte” corresponds to the practice of observation and survey and tells us the location of a person or an object. In case of Cvijić’s correspondence to the cartographer Karl Peucker (Fig. 3), the letters were additionally accompanied by maps or their proofs, which Cvijić’s ordered for his publications.

### **Parcours**

#### *Tracks to Vienna and on the Balkan Peninsula*

The “parcours”, which Cvijić describes in his letters, is mostly two-dimensional and bases on a clear spatial dichotomy. In nearly every letter he sent to Peucker, Cvijić enthusiastically reported on his plans to visit Vienna, especially during the wintertime, when he used the town as a place to work on his maps and papers on the Balkan Peninsula. Working on a subject from afar, Cvijić’s always described his routes to Vienna as single-directed and linear, while the narration of his excursion routes through the Balkan Peninsula seems topographically diffuse and describes his journeys as circles:

“In Belgrade, you will find nothing like this . . . I have such photos, which show some geologically interesting objects and I bring them with me to Vienna, where I will arrive soon”<sup>3</sup> (Cvijić, January 27, 1900).

“This evening, I’m heading to the Westbalkan and I’m expecting to be back towards the end of the month. Afterwards, I will travel immediately to Vienna”<sup>4</sup> (Cvijić, June 7, 1903a).

“Perhaps I will come to Vienna for 7–10 days in January. There, I could write my article on the tectonics and mountain ranges of the Balkan Peninsula”<sup>5</sup> (Cvijić, December 2, 1903b).

## Carte

### *Centre and Periphery*

In academic recruiting, the exchange of scholars is often predicated on an imaginary geography of scholarly centres and periphery: while talented students are sent to specialized centres, their graduates go back to the periphery, where they should lead their institution’s research into a new direction. Post-colonial studies had discussed the simplicity of the above-mentioned dichotomy, pointing out that the dualism of the centre-periphery concept denies the existence of local knowledge production and regional scientific centralism (Csáky et al., 2006; Pred, 1990).

Especially, the foundation of learned centres in different parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Balkan Peninsula formed a multiplicity of centres and peripheries, where the creation of national identities was enforced by developing an own scientific terminology and national language (Ash & Surman, 2012).

When Cvijić studied geography and geology at the University of Vienna from 1889 to 1893, he incorporated this spatial concept of centralism. Cvijić’s record of study underlines that the main topics of lessons in geography given by his teacher Albrecht Penck were circling terms: Central Europe (5 hours per week),

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<sup>3</sup> The original source is written in German: “In Belgrad ist nirgends etwas derartiges . . . anzutreffen. Ich habe solche Photographien, die einzelne, meist geologisch interessante Objekte darstellen und ich bringe einige nach Wien mit, wo ich bald eintreffen werde“.

<sup>4</sup> Original source: “Ich fahre heute Abends gegen Westbalkan hin [sic] und kehre Ende Monat zurück. Dann komme ich gleich nach Wien“.

<sup>5</sup> Original source: “Vielleicht komme ich im Jänner auf 7-10 Tage nach Wien und könnte den Aufsatz über die Tektonik und die Gebirgssysteme der Balkanhalbinsel schreiben“.

the Balkan Peninsula (5 hours per week), the Austro-Hungarian Empire (10 hours per week) and the Russian Empire (at least 5 hours per week) (University of Vienna, 1893). Due to the late XIX century's concept of nationhood, which should be proven through the idea of a long linguistic and religious unity, geographical phenomena were used to determine historical developments and political claims.

As Norman Henniges (2014, 2017) argues in his publications on the geographer Albrecht Penck, Cvijić, as well as Penck's other students, were forced to incorporate a specific practice of geographical and ethnographical observation that should be drilled during excursions. In spite of a growing distance between Cvijić and Penck in later years, Cvijić followed this specific practice of geographical and ethnographical observation throughout his life.

In his letters to Peucker, Cvijić described Vienna's central position for his research and especially its pleasant atmosphere:

“I often remember you, your workshop and my employment in Vienna, which allowed me to spend here the wintertime. Both, your lovable wife and mother-in-law are kept in my mind and I'm looking forward to seeing them again. (For sure, all German jokes on mothers-in-law must be made because of love and kindness)”<sup>6</sup> (Cvijić, April 21, 1902).

Similarly, Penck noticed on Cvijić's visits in Vienna:

“He followed the traces of Ice Age, never lost karst phenomena from sight. Every few years he would come to Vienna to smarten up, as he would say. We would spend hours talking about geographical problems of the Balkan Peninsula” (Penck, see Stanković, 2015, p. 32).

By copying the centre's practices of dominance, Cvijić tried to transform Serbia and especially Belgrade from a scientifically dependent territory to a centre. Accordingly, his evaluation of publications done by Viennese scholars changed quite dramatically in the following years:

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<sup>6</sup> Original source: “Ich erinnere mich oft an dich, dein [sic] Werkstatt und an meine Beschäftigung über Winter in demselben [sic], und zwar immer mit einer besonders angenehmen Behaglichkeit. Deine liebenswürdige Gattin und Schwiegermutter (ich bin durch Ihre Bekanntschaft zu der Ansicht gekommen, dass alle deutsche [sic] Witze über Schwiegermutter [sic] aus Liebe und Liebenswürdigkeit gemacht werden) bleiben nur in herzlichster Erinnerung und es wird mich sehr freuen sie wieder zu sehen“.

“[In the meanwhile], I received the monograph of A[lfred] Grund. Yesterday, I had the possibility to go through it. . . . In all, this book seems to be a product of a bloody student and a support of Penck’s idea how a ‘polje’ in a karst landscape is formed. This explanation stands in a severe contrast to my idea of karst formation”<sup>7</sup> (Cvijić, October 17, 1903c).

### *Language Issues and the Concept of Central Europe*

Due to the growing relevance of language issues in science, the use of German, French or English in scientific publications of the late XIX century provided not only a basis for communication, but also represented a cultural and scientific hegemony. Due to his gift for languages — Cvijić didn’t speak English, but he spoke fluently German, French and different Slavic languages, — he typically wrote and received letters in the first language of his colleagues. While Cvijić regularly adapted his language for his colleagues, he didn’t hesitate to send his Serbian publications abroad.

In December 1906, at the eve of the Bosnian Annexation crises, his colleague Friedrich Katzer wrote to Cvijić from Sarajevo: “My dearest friend, I send you my best thanks for your valuable dedication in our book and the rich instructions and scientific pleasure you provided me”. “. . . For sure, the Serbian literature will be very thankful for your solid work. I expect that you are going to introduce it in the world literature by publishing it entirely in German or French. If this wouldn’t be the case, I have to regret the loss for the international community. . . . To be honest: Due to my low knowledge of the Serbian language, it costs me some effort to work me through this 2-volume publication”<sup>8</sup> (Katzer, December 16, 1906).

Cvijić’s map of hegemony on the Balkan Peninsula based on a clear anthropogeographical dichotomy between Western Europe, Central Europe and

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<sup>7</sup> Original source: “Die Arbeit von A. grund [sic] habe ich bekommen und gestern durchgesehen. . . . Alles ist sehr studentisch und Entwicklung und Unterstützung der Ansicht von Penck über die Bildung der Karstpoljen, welche in starkem gegensatze [sic] zu meiner Ansicht steht“.

<sup>8</sup> The original letter was written in German: “Genehmigen Sie, hochgeehrter Freund meinen erneuerten innigsten Dank für Ihre überaus wertvolle Widmung und für die reiche Belehrung und wissenschaftlichen Genuss, den Sie mir dadurch bereitet haben“. “. . . und die serbische Literatur kann Ihnen fürwahr in höchstem Grade dankbar sein für die Bereicherung durch Ihr gediegenes Werk. Ich nehme an, dass Sie beabsichtigen, Ihre grosse Arbeit auch in die Weltliteratur einzuführen und das Werk vollständig in deutscher oder in französischer Sprache herauszugeben. Wäre dies nicht der Fall, so müsste der dadurch bedingte Verlust für die internationale Fachliteratur auf’s Tiefste bedauert werden. . . . Bei meiner immer noch mangelhaften Kenntnis des Serbischen hat es mich, offen gestanden, einige Mühe gekostet, mich durch das zweibändige Werk durchzuarbeiten“.



the Balkan, which he laid down in his study *Questions balkaniques* (Cvijić, 1916). For his contemporaries, this order was linked closely to a stereotypic civilizing hierarchy. Emerged around 1800, the semantic and topographic meaning of the term “Central Europe” changed over centuries quite dramatically. As the Bulgarian scholar Maria Todorova (2009) has argued in her recognized book *Imagining the Balkans*, the raise of the cultural prestige of the term “Central Europe” went hand in hand with the stigmatization of the Balkan area, which was identified with political instability, uncontrollable conflicts, backwardness and primitivism of its inhabitants. As trained in Vienna, Cvijić adopted this spatial concept and reported in his letter to Peucker in 1902:

“Actually, it’s not pleasant to live outside of Central Europe. In fact, I often yearn for Vienna. See you again at the next geological congress”<sup>9</sup> (Cvijić, March 20, 1903d).

In contrast, Cvijić’s symbolic map of Europe completely shaped during WWI. In 1918, Cvijić adopted the stereotypic concept of Western Europe as a hoard of civilization and science, while Central Europe, primarily the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was described as oppressor:

“But the civilization of Central Europe has been able only in a limited way to influence the mentality and the spirit of the Balkan peoples, particularly those of the independent Balkan states. In Serbia, the spirit of society is totally different. Numerous men have been trained in Western Europe, particularly in France, and the rest have also adopted Western ideas. The institutions, although based on national tradition and spirit, are more related to those of Western than to those of Central Europe” (Cvijić, 1918, p. 479).

### **Borders and Unity**

Without a doubt, the creation of borders counts among the most powerful spatial practices. As one of the key players for modelling south-eastern Europe's national borders after 1918, Cvijić understood borders as an instrument to inscribe national identity: “During all my geological and geomorphological researches, I had the vision of the unity of your people before my eyes” (Cvijić, see Čubrilović, 1987, p. 86). Determining nationality through language issues and mapping their distribution in a country, where no current standard language, but various mixtures of dialects exist, cartography was a highly political issue (Kamusella, 2012). In particular, Cvijić’s correspondence with the cartographer

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<sup>9</sup> Original source: “Es ist wirklich nicht angenehm ausserhalb von Central-Europa zu leben. Ich sehne mich wieder nach Wien. Auf Wiedersehen beim geologischen Kongress“.

Peucker and the circulation of map proofs became a key role for arguing different spatial concepts, which has to be adapted to national interests:

“Your map [of Macedonia] caused a lot of discussion. From a national point of view, nobody likes it”<sup>10</sup> (Cvijić, April 12, 1903e).

“Actually, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of the map [of Macedonia], the Serbian tribe should get a bigger extension to the south, over the whole Vilayet of Kosovo. And in addition, to the Aegean Sea — a huge, interwoven mass of Serbo-Bulgarian people”<sup>11</sup> (Cvijić, May 28, 1903f).

### Conclusion

To summarize my paper, for Cvijić space is something that has to be organized, categorized or mapped, to provide direction, dependency and guidance. Geographical or geological formations, representing places, cannot be seen apart from cultural or ethnographic formations, representing multiple spaces, whose floating, transitional and transforming extensions have to be examined, bordered and finally should get under control.

By adopting methods of observing natural phenomena for examining cultural issues, Cvijić especially thought in the dimensions of space and understood ethnic groups, languages and physical geography as spatial formations that are defined by processes of demarcation and scientific legitimation.

Sent from changing locations on his extensive field trips to scholars all over Europe, Cvijić’s huge correspondence became a meta-instrument for the determination of a symbolic topography. This specific spatial setting — consisting of different “parcours” and “cartes” — was generated through the circulation of letters, attached objects, and scientific concepts and stood in stark contrast to his geopolitical image of Serbia as a state of transitional position and exposure.

From this aspect, Cvijić’s letters dealt with multiple layers of spatial meaning, which were continuously reinterpreted and transformed in form of “spatial

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<sup>10</sup> Original source: “Deine Karte [von Mazedonien] hat einen grossen Anstoss angeregt. Es gefällt vom nationalen Standpunkte Niemanden [sic]“.

<sup>11</sup> Original source: “Es sollten aber wirklich in der zweiten Ausgabe der Karte [von Mazedonien] die Serben eine grössere Ausdehnung nach S[üden] erhalten: das ganze Kosovo Vilajet. Das übrige bis zum Ägäischen Meere — eine flottende serbo-bulgarische Volksmasse“.

stories”, communicating his itineraries and field trip observations to other scholars.

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## Appendix

### Transcription of the letter shown in Figure 2

“Belgrad, 18. Juni 1902

Lieber Freund,

Zunächst meinen Dank für deinen Brief, für die werthvolle Tabelle der limnometrischen Hauptwerke der grossen Seen der Balkanhalbinsel und für die zwei Korrespondentkarten. Weiters betone ich besonders meinen Wunsch nach vollständiger Entschuldigung, dass ich dir solange nicht geantwortet habe, aber du sollst mich vollständig entschuldigen. Ich war auf der Excursion als der Brief und die Tabelle ankamen [sic], vor 3 Tagen kehrte ich zurück und fand die Prager Geschichte fertig vor. Ich war nicht in einer solchen Fassung um dir verständig viele Fragen beantworten zu können. Jetzt glaube ich in einer solchen Fassung zu sein.

Ich bin in Prag gewählt, definitiv, in der Fakultätssitzung, und bin sehr geneigt Belgrad zu verlassen. Ich muss aber das ganze Werk über Altserbien und Mazedonien zum Abschluss bringen und zwar hier. Ich brauche dazu noch ein halbes Jahr. Ob die Leute warten wollen? Was denkst du über die Geschichte, ob ich gehen soll oder nicht? . . . [Seite 2–3 sind nicht transkribiert].

Ich bleibe in Belgrad nur noch bis Anfang Juli (u. St.) und reise dann wieder nach Ost-Serbien, kehre aber in 14 Tagen zurück. Darnach mache ich eine grosse Reise in Ost-Bulgarien. Es wäre gut wenn ich die Zeichnungen in der Mitte Juli bekommen könnte; sie kommen gleich in den Druck, und die Korrekturen werden direkt an dich geschickt und sollst die selben direkt an die “Staatsdruckerei, lithogr. Abteil. Belgrad“ retournieren.

Mit der Abhandlung kann ich ganz komot [sic] bis Anfang September warten. Ich werde sie dann gleich selbst übersetzen und gleich drucken lassen.

Deine “Thesen“ waren eingehend in meinem Seminar besprochen. Mehr dazu im nächsten Briefe.

Herzliche Grüsse an dich und die deinigen J. Cvijić“.

Translation from German to English:

“Belgrade, 6/18/1902

Dear friend,

first of all, my thanks for your letter, for the valuable table of the limnometric literature to the big lakes of the Balkan Peninsula and the two correspondence cards. Please excuse that I have not answered you for so a long time. I was on an excursion when I received your letter and the table. Three days ago, I came back and found out that the ‘story’ regarding my position in Prague came to an end. I was not in the shape to answer you so many questions. Now, I feel better.

I am appointed to the position [professorship] in Prague and was voted at the faculty meeting. I am very inclined to leave Belgrade, but first I have to finish my work on Old Serbia and Macedonia and I can do this only here. It takes half a year. Would they wait for me? What do you think about my appointment? Should I leave or not? ... [Pages 2-3 are not included in the transcription].

I will stay in Belgrade only until the beginning of July and then I will travel to East-Serbia, but I will be back in 14 days. Afterwards, I will undertake a long journey through East-Bulgaria. It would be fine when I get your drawings until the middle of July; they will get into print immediately, the proofs will be sent to you directly and you should send them back to the “State Printing Office, lithographic Department Belgrade”.

Concerning [my] paper, I can easily wait until the beginning of September. I will translate it immediately and send it to the printer.

Your “theses” were discussed profoundly in my seminar. I will give you more information in my next letter. My best wishes to you and your family J. Cvijić”.



# CVJIĆ'S CIVILISATION ZONES, LONGITUDINAL AND TRANSVERSAL ROADS AS A BASE OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL ROUTES

*Aleksandra Terzić<sup>1</sup>, Tanja Angelkova<sup>2</sup>, Marko D. Petrović<sup>1</sup>*

**Abstract:** Cvijić's observations concerning the problems of the geopolitical and socio-economic position of the Balkans, with particular emphasis on regional ties with the West and East, transversal and longitudinal roads, civilization zones, ethnological and psychological characteristics of the people, migration movements, etc. are even now of exceptional value and can be used for the explanation of contemporary issues in society. Herewith, we will try to indicate that the considerations on the importance of the cultural exchange, civilizational impacts and cultural transmission roads are present and discussed in the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)* of Jovan Cvijić. We also indicate that in a certain way, he gave the basis for defining contemporary cultural routes of South East Europe (the Balkans). In particular, comparative analysis of the distribution of Cvijić's civilization zones and transversal and longitudinal roads through which different civilizations made their impact with recently created Cultural corridors of South East Europe, some direct parallels can be extracted and commented. Furthermore, some issues related to the process of thematically defining and the inclusion of countries and certain historic sites to the cultural routes are also discussed.

**Keywords:** tourism geography; civilization zones; cultural routes; Balkans.

## Introduction

Anthropogeographical study of the Balkan peninsula, published by Jovan Cvijić in 1918 in France (*La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine*) was at the time, and still is, the most comprehensive and detailed description of the Balkan region. Cvijić's Balcanology and human geography provided a basis and a different model of the archaeological, ethnological and cultural studies, facing the "history of long duration". There exists a theoretical connection with Cvijić's anthropogeographical school and his cultural models (ethnographical and historiographical) (Palavestra, 2005), while geography as a science successfully addresses issues of spatial distribution of phenomena, as well as its presence in certain nations. Unlike his contemporaries, anthropologists who have directed their attention to the forms of material culture (economy, settlements, houses,

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roads and the like), in Cvijić's works for the first time we can find topics such as "metastasis currents", "civilization zones", psychological types, etc. (Grčić, 2003).

Civilization zones of the Balkan Peninsula represent Cvijić's interpretation of the effects that certain foreign civilizational factors had on the formation of social relations of the nations of the Balkan Peninsula at the time. In his study he analyses the characteristics of cultural impacts of different civilizations on the architecture, art, literature, religious and administration organization, social relations, taste and luxury of the higher social classes, etc. The distribution of various civilizations within the Balkans according to Cvijić, become a very important factor, in terms of the lifestyle of the population and it had a great influence on all the ethnographical and anthropogeographical phenomena of the peninsula. By pointing out to the specific directions to which historically determined cultural influences have been transmitted, outlining the relative value of the longitudinal and diagonal (transferral) roads, Cvijić underlines this important phenomenon and its social significance. However, he does not define the concept of civilization zones and influences, but describing it gives an outstanding contribution to the cultural studies that will emerge much later.

The emphasis of 'civilization' is often on a historic-cultural entity or congeries of peoples sharing a common geographic locus, common values and social institutions, outlining that the distinction between 'civilization' as the largest and highest socio-historical unit and 'culture' as something smaller, lower and subsumed under 'civilization' is productive for a meaningful explanation of the ubiquitous phenomenon of cultural appropriation and civilizational hybridization. Therefore, it can be said that a civilization is composed of constituent elements or 'cultures' which are interwoven with one another and are in constant interaction with those of the external world. These elements not only make up a civilization itself but are exactly what distinguishes one civilization from another (Wei, 2011). Some authors refer to civilizations as zones of prestige, directing attention to social activity and cultural variety, outlining that civilizations flourish or fade, each civilization zone having its centre, generating symbolic objects, tangible and intangible, embodied in physical artefacts that people travel to see (Collins, 2001).

The general concept of "civilization zones" and "cultural routes", "heritage routes" and "cultural itineraries" will be developed much later, and its universal values formally acknowledged through the Cultural Routes programme of the Council of Europe in 1987. Mentioned terms are considered as synonyms, used to define a unique complex of thematically linked heritage sites on the certain

geographical territory (Council of Europe, 2007). It is evident that the cultural heritage of Europe (especially Western Europe) is one of the oldest and most important tourism generators and has retained a central role in the European tourism industry to this day (Richards, 1996, 2007; Richards, Russo, & Grossman, 2008). On the other hand, the establishment of cultural routes as specific tourist product that relies on the thematically assembled heritage attractions, that are linked and networked in geographical terms and promoted as specific mean of proclaiming European unity and cultural diversity, preserving heritage by attracting thousands of tourists and providing economic gain to local communities is contemporary phenomena. Thematically oriented cultural routes are based on specific heritage sites and attractions, which by networking and interpretation achieve the high quality of tourist offer, marketing and preservation of cultural heritage and guaranty tourist experiences (Terzić, 2014). It was institutionalized by the establishment of the European institute for cultural routes in 1998. This initiative was welcomed on the international level at the World Heritage Conference “Routes as cultural heritage” (Madrid, 1994), which outlined the importance of the cultural route concept as an important step in the recognition of the diversity of human heritage (Terzić, 2014).

Since its creation in 1994, the International Committee on Cultural Routes of ICOMOS (CIIC-ICOMOS) proposed the following definition: “A heritage route is composed of tangible elements whose cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrates the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time” (<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/routes94.htm>). Its objective is to demonstrate in a visible way, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of different countries and cultures of Europe represented a shared cultural heritage. Cultural routes, as a type of cultural tourism product, encourage widespread community participation in cultural activities, whereby raising awareness of a common cultural heritage (UNWTO, 2015). European cultural route is „A cultural, educational heritage and tourism co-operation project aiming at the development and promotion of an itinerary or a series of itineraries based on a historic route, a cultural concept, figure or phenomenon with a transnational importance and significance for the understanding and respect of common European values” (Council of Europe, 2013, p. 3).

In his book Cvijić defines the geographical position of the Balkans between two centres of power — the Middle East and Europe. Settled in between, the Balkans had the role of the very important peripheral area, which in certain periods took the role of the diffusion centre that diffused the cultural, political and economic influences to the other peripheral areas. Based on its openness to the surrounding

territories, Balkan Peninsula had the role of transmission of the material and cultural products, using the existing communication routes through longitudinal and transferal roads (Cvijić, 1918a). Cvijić's longitudinal and diagonal (transversal) roads and communications are the base on which cultural influences of different civilizations were passed on. Jovan Cvijić was the first scientist that indicated to the importance of the mentioned communication lines between Central and Western Europe with the Balkans and Middle East (Grčić, 2008). Longitudinal roads are set in the north-south/southeast direction, lying in the large valleys where most attraction places are set. Such valleys enable the transport between Danube and Dinaric areas on one side and Aegean areas on the other. On those routes the "main historical Balkan events took place" and they are the places where the Roman and Byzantium civilization impact was rooted (Cvijić, 1918a). Diagonal or transferal roads lead from the Adriatic sea to the inner areas of the Balkans. One of the oldest and most significant ones was Via Egnatia, which functions as a connection of the Adriatic to the Morava-Vardar valley, and was increasingly important after the fall of Constantinople. During the empowerment of the Venetian and Dubrovnik republics, these communication roads became a commercial intermediary between Italy and the Balkans. Other West European connections date back to the era of the Crusades. The connection was maintained along coastal roads, by Moravian-Vardar communication and Via Egnatia.

### **Cvijić's civilization zones and contemporary cultural routes**

Cvijić noted the existence of several main cultural circles of the:

1. *Zone of the Old Balkan (Modified Byzantine) Civilization*. Thus modified, Byzantine civilization spread over the larger part of the peninsula, and became "Balkan civilization par excellence". "Byzantine civilization was pre-eminently the civilization of the cities and of the main longitudinal routes Constantinople–Belgrade and Saloniki–Belgrade" (Cvijić, 1918b, pp. 472–473). He adheres that under the Byzantine impulses within Serbia developed original cultural means, manifested in literature and legislation (Dušan's Code<sup>3</sup> from XIV century) but also in architecture as from XX till the middle of XIV century Serbian kings built magnificent endowments, monasteries Studenica, Gračanica, Dečane, Banjska, Sopoćane, Gradac, and in Macedonia Psača, Nagoričane, Metejič, and many others. Some of them can be compared to the most beautiful buildings of that time (Cvijić, 1922).

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<sup>3</sup> Document officially known as Law of the pious Emperor Stefan is a compilation of several legal systems that was enacted by Serbian emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan of Serbia in 1349.

2. *Turco-Oriental influences* “are numerous and widespread, penetrating the peninsula even before the Turkish invasion. Oriental influences are quite evident in the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek literature of the Middle Ages and in Serbian art of the same period. Very old Oriental motifs are to be met within the folklore and especially the folk songs and ornaments of the Balkan peoples. It can be traced in the style of harness and weapons, as well as in the type of cities and houses” (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 475). However, the Turco-oriental influences spread over the whole peninsula mainly during the Turkish rule, and became strongest among the Turkish population and Moslemized inhabitants.

3. *Zone of Western Civilization*. “Continuing to the influences of the former Roman civilization, the Balkan world was in the close contact to the West at the time of the Crusades, and the rule of the House of Anjou in Albania and of the Franks and the Latins on the Aegean Coast and Constantinople. Even more important was the influence of the city republics of Italy, particularly Venice and Genoa, which made itself felt along the whole Balkan littoral from the Adriatic to the Black Sea” (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 477). The Western civilization penetrated to the interior by the transversal routes from the Adriatic coast, but its impacts were limited to the narrow coastal strip of the Adriatic Sea, holding to the same Mediterranean house types, the manner of living and culinary practices. “The relationship of the Republic of Venice with the Serbian kingdom of Rashka in the middle ages have also left traces in the interior of the peninsula. The Western influences in the architecture of Serbian churches of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries are well known” (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 477), especially the impacts of the Italian renaissance on Raška artistic school. Recently established cultural route “Transromanica” links the European heritage of romanic epoch, connecting medieval romanic sites in Europe, including since 2007 several heritage sites in Serbia. Serbian artists used and assimilated romanic elements which can be seen in the most representative monumental architecture of “Raška school” — monasteries Žiča, Studenica, Gradac, Đurđevi Stupovi and Sopoćani, that became the part of this tourist cultural route (ICOMOS, 2018). “The new Central European civilization started to penetrate the peninsula, especially after the liberation of the Balkan countries, but while Western influences only reached the vast majority on the Balkan coasts, the effects of Central Europe (Austro-Hungarian Empire) felt deeper inland through longitudinal roads, going from North to South, using the opposite direction of penetration compared to earlier civilizations” (Cvijić, 1922, p. 105). Under this statement, Cvijić predominantly indicates the moving of the centre of power from Byzantium (Istanbul) to the newly established Austro-Hungarian Empire and Vienna (XIX century).

4. *The Patriarchal Regime*. It represents a sort of oasis where the old cultures rooted deeply in the way of life, basically because of its isolation of foreign influences. "It is particularly strong in the areas north of the Shar Mountain and the Balkan Range, except for the narrow Adriatic coast and northern plains of Serbia. Large patriarchal enclaves exist in the mountainous ramparts of the Sryedna Gora, Rhodopi Mountains and the Pindus as well as in the large part of Albania" (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 480). Its particular philosophy of life, its social and economic organization, and its well-developed institutions, its artistic expressions found in poetry and ornaments, as well as in gastronomy, are all of indisputable merit.

Strong cultural influences of various nations and cultures in the Balkans have caused not only mixing and adoption of certain cultural elements, but also contributed to the creation of entirely new cultural expressions resulting from the combination of folk practices in cultural creativity, material and immaterial. As certain intangible cultural heritage can be recognized as common for several nations, from the ethnographic elements adopted from other nations completely new cultural expressions may develop (Terzić, Petrović, & Jovičić Vuković, 2016).

### **Contemporary Cultural Tourist Routes within South East Europe**

Given today's geo-political considerations, the area of the Balkan Peninsula is treated primarily as a distinct geographic region of Europe, defined in regional aspect, the so-called South East Europe. However, it retained to the territory of the Balkan Peninsula (Okey, 2007; Terzić, Bjeljac, & Krivošejev, 2015), situated at the crossroad of civilizations and religions, being a mediator between the East and the West, the North and the South, bringing internal connections and influences, accompanied by common historical events (Terzić et al., 2015). In accordance with the contemporary trends, cultural corridors in above mentioned region have already been recognized, and certain branches of certified European cultural corridors of the Council of Europe pass through the Balkans, such as: *European route of Jewish heritage*, *Transromanika*, *European cemetery route*, *Iter Vitis route*, *The route of historic thermal places*, *The routes of the Olive Tree*, *The Art Nouveau Roads*, *The Way of the Roman Emperors and the Danube Wine Road*, *Atrium - the Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes of the 20th Century*, etc. (Terzić & Bjeljac, 2016). With the goal of promotion of cultural heritage of South East Europe, the initiative for the creation of SEE cultural corridors was created under the pilot project realized under the support of ICOMOS, Council of Europe, European Commission, UNESCO, etc. (2003–2008). The project for the development of the *Cultural Corridors of South East*

*Europe* is a practical implementation of the Varna Declaration, adopted at the Regional Forum “*Cultural Corridors of South East Europe*” (Varna, May 2005). Within the project several potential cultural routes within SEE were defined (Council of Europe, 2015; <http://seecorridors.eu/>; Terzić & Bjeljic, 2016):

1. The *Danube Road* is a waterway cultural corridor along the Danube River. The Danube Road, along with its riverside roads has been for hundreds of years conductors of cultural exchange (from Roman Limes, to Middle Ages, Crusades, Viking, Celtic and Slav settlement, trade communication between East and West). The Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route is tourist route established in 2015 by the initiative of the Danube competence centre that extends through four countries in the Middle and Lower Danube Region — Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania, encompassing 20 archaeological sites and 12 wine regions (UNWTO, 2015, p. 120). Cvijić also recognizes the significance of this river corridor with a single but strong statement: “Romans used all valleys and the main passages; they built the first longitudinal and diagonal roads. In this way, the Roman civilization infiltrated almost all over the peninsula, mostly in its north-western parts: it moved along the Sava and the Danube River... As an evidence of the Roman rule, numerous remains exist in the inner parts of the Peninsula: roads, forts, town walls, colonies... It is thought that Romans brought the culture of wine growing to the Fruška Gora and Smederevo surroundings” (Cvijić, 1918a, p. 87).

2. The *Diagonal Road* (Via Diagonalis, Via Militaris, Carigradski drum, Via de Ragusi) passes through South East Europe, connecting Europe to Asia. This cultural corridor is one of the most ancient arteries created in Roman times, of trans-continental, even world trade importance. Entering from Central Europe into Slovenia, it passes successively through Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria and Turkey, to continue to the Far East. It is related to the pilgrim roads in Europe, as it represented in the Middle Ages the way through which Catholicism entered to the Peninsula, and connects to the branches of pilgrim roads directed to Jerusalem, as well as the Crusades. “Old Constantinople Road” known as well as “Royal road” and “Moravian road” was the most important communication lines in the Middle Ages within the Balkans, and its predecessor was Roman military road — Via Militaris (Cvijić, 1918a, p. 21).

3. The *Eastern Trans-Balkan Road* crosses South East Europe in North-South direction. The corridor passes through Romania, Bulgaria and Greece and connects the Baltic Sea with the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea. The Eastern Trans-Balkan road is the spine of the monastery centres in South East Europe and exhibits the most distinctive achievements of the builders, woodcarvers,

painters in the unique churches of Moldavia, Maramureş, Bulgaria, Macedonia and the Rhodopi Mountains.

4. The cultural corridor *Sofia–Ohrid* passes through Bulgaria and FYR of Macedonia, connecting the monastery agglomerations around these two historic towns and the religious cultural area of Metohia in Serbia and Montenegro. The Sofia-Ohrid Road is a specific religious axis, conducting religious influences to the great pilgrim road Via Egnatia.

5. *Via Adriatica* spreads over the western coasts of Ionian and the Adriatic Sea, passing through Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania and Greece. It symbolizes the cultural exchange between Aegean, Roman, Byzantium, Dalmatian, Venetian and West-European Civilizations (Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque).

6. *Via Anatolia* is another cultural corridor, spreading along the three seas – the Sea of Marmara, the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea. Starting from the historical town Istanbul (Turkey), the direction follows the coasts of Asia Minor peninsula (Anadol, Anatolia) in Western Asia. Via Anatolia represents the evidence of the touch of the local population with the sea cultures of the ancient towns Troy, Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis and Xanthos-Letoon. It is also the part of the Anatolian Silk Road.

7. *Via Egnatia* is an ancient road, built during the Roman Empire, to facilitate the communication between Rome and Constantinople (present Istanbul), passing through Albania, FYR of Macedonia, Greece and Turkey. Cvijić (1918a, p. 78, 123) describes this road as: “First transversal road that was built by Romans was Via Egnatia, that went from Drač and surrounding areas along the valley of Skumbia and over Ohrid (Lichnidis) and Voden (Edessa) to Thessaloniki; from that point it went along the Aegean coast to Constantinople. In Byzantine and Ottoman rules this was the shortest way connecting Constantinople to its western balkan provinces and further to South Italy”. It is also an important path of penetration of Orthodox Christianity to the Balkans, and later of the Islamic domination.

8. *Via Pontica* is the cultural road, spreading over the west and south coasts of the Black Sea, passing from the Danube delta, reaching the foothills of the Caucasus, crossing Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey. It represents mutual influences between sea cultures of Greeks, Romans, Venetians, Genoese, with continental cultures of Skits, Thracians, Daces, Goths, Bulgarians and Slavs.

9. The *Western Trans-Balkan Road* crosses SEE in the North-South direction. The corridor has been uniting the territories from both sides of the Balkan range, passing through Romania, Bulgaria and Greece. Trans-Balkan Road connects Western and Central Europe with the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea, crossing consecutively the Danube Road, the Diagonal road, the Sofia–Ohrid Road and Via Egnatia. It is the actual axis of spreading of ancient Greek culture to the North, as a basis of modern European civilization.

### **Comparative Analysis**

It is evident that many of the above mentioned cultural routes and their geographical distributions can find the basic connections to the delimitations of the civilization zones and transmission (diagonal and longitudinal) roads defined by Cvijić (Figure 1). However, Cvijić does not indicate the exact linear routes of civilizational penetration, but indicated that it followed historical trade routes and roads (based on geographical limitations). Furthermore, he defines the zonal distribution (areal) of certain dominant cultural patterns seen in architectural styles, ways of life, ethnographical and other heritage assets present in the Balkan states of that time. The fact is that there is cultural overlapping of certain cultural patterns which resulted in the development of new national interpretation and adaptation to certain cultural impacts, and we must outline that such issues are highly dependent on historical, political and demographical changes in time. By direct comparison of the represented cultural zones which Cvijić defined, we can confirm the exact overlapping of the distribution of Mediterranean culture of Italian influences with the contemporary Cultural route “Via Adriatica”. It is characterized in urban settings and villages, Italian Mediterranean style of architecture and art. Cvijić refers to this road with words “from Dalmatian sides, roads of Dubrovnik, Kotor, Split and from the Neretva confluence, had great commercial and cultural importance, from Roman, over Middle Ages, until the end of XVIII century” (Cvijić, 1918a, p. 85). The other maritime culture route is “Via Anatolia” representing the mutual cultural exchange between Aegean (Greek), Mediterranean (Latin) and Asian (Persian) maritime cultures.





Figure 1. Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula and Cultural routes of the SEE (Source: Cvijić, 1918c, adaptation by authors).

The other exact overlapping is present in the spatial distribution of “Via Egnatia”, which is defined as passing through the direct areas of obvious old Balkan “modified Byzantine” cultural influences, which is also characteristic of the Sofia–Ohrid cultural corridor and Eastern Trans-Balkan Road. The contemporary cultural routes are consisted of the most representative heritage sites, mostly of the religious type. These routes are highly thematic as they are based on the existence of the unique Byzantine architectural and artistic styles present in all churches and monasteries that are included on these routes, but also evident in several archaeological sites and historic town centres. However, they are also transpassing the large areas of strong Turco–oriental influences. Such sites are also included to the contemporary route, for example town of Bitola as a representative or Islamic cultural style, but to a minor extent.

Central European influences are defined in Cvijić distribution of so-called Diagonal road (with numerous branches) which historically interconnected Vienna with Belgrade, Sofia and Constantinople. However, according to the long historical importance of this route in Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and modern times, it also contains the representative heritage sites of all historical periods. Cvijić indicates that as it connects towns and main trade centres, which tend to develop following European patterns in towns positioned directly on this route. The cultural influences that came along can be foreseen in new architectural European styles applied in the urban areas — neoclassicism, academism, art nouveau, modernism, secession, etc. This came with the trend of sending youth to be educated in European university centres in Vienna, Zurich, Munich, Paris, etc. Currently there are several international projects that consider creating the cultural route of art nouveau/secession. Council of Europe's Cultural route certificate was in 2014 awarded to Réseau Art Nouveau Network. The contemporary Diagonal route includes the sites that are representatives of various cultures and periods, which differ significantly from state to state, indicating that it is not a thematically oriented route. This is also the case considering the Western Trans-Balkan Route, which is representing a vast variety of cultural and historical assets from different periods from Ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine influences to the medieval forts and traditional architectural styles.

Similar to previous ones is the Danube Route, also defined by Cvijić as “one of the mastering corridors of Europe” (Cvijić, 1922, p. 11). It has always represented the main artery of civilizational and national passing, a waterway, trade route, strategic border, point of limitation and connection. The contemporary Danube cultural route is based mostly on impressive archaeological sites from Roman and Medieval periods (Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route; Fortresses along the Danube). However, it is also a place where the European prehistorical civilizations developed (a great number of prehistorical sites — Iron Age Danube Route). “Along the main maritime, then the river and continental roads of the Balkan Peninsula prehistoric civilizations moved, they went along the Danube, from its mouth to Central Europe” (Cvijić, 1918a, p. 87). Furthermore, it connects most European metropolis (capitals and ports), so it is also considered as actual conductor of the West European cultural, scientific and technological achievements to South East Europe in XIX century, etc.

Among contemporary cultural routes we cannot find any route with a strictly oriented Turkish-oriental theme, even though within the Balkans such influences are highly present — in architectural styles, gastronomy, crafts and customary

practices (intangible heritage). The same is evident for the Cvijić's so-called "Patriarchal zones" which give an outstanding potential in representing strong regional cultural differences between nations, based on strong ethnic-based cultural achievements (ethnographic evidence, reflected in tangible and intangible heritage) and as such transferred through migration flows, and created "ethnic enclaves" and "cultural oasis" in different European and non-European countries.

### **Conclusions**

Civilization zones of the Balkan Peninsula and their geographical distribution strictly defined and explained by Jovan Cvijić, represent the pioneering work in the recognition of the importance of the cultural aspects of socio-economic relations, ethnology and anthropology of the Balkan peoples. Moreover, his longitudinal and transversal roads, geographical delimitations of foreign cultural impacts and their role in shaping the social, artistic, ethnographical aspects of Balkan nations can be used as a base for defining contemporary cultural routes in this area. Cvijić also points out to the main aspects of the cultural routes: joint European identity, shared history, cultural diversity influenced by main civilizations impact, transnational importance, historical events, heritage recognition, local/regional traditions and expressions, etc. The creation of contemporary cultural routes is usually strictly defined and follows some defined principles and administrative procedures.

As there are no defined quantitative limits or qualitative measures, the routes can contain a diffusion of sites of various type, different spatial distribution and concentration within some countries, which should be avoided. There are also problems in the process of categorization and valorisation of heritage sites that should be included to the route as representatives of outstanding value. There are also some political issues that may delimitate participation of certain countries and sites to the cultural routes, or restrict some proposed themes. However, the growth and inclusion of sites are generally not limited, except in the cases when the creation of cultural routes is defined as "time-limited" and "partner defined" project. In such cases it can happen that some of the most representative heritage sites, or even whole countries, stay excluded from the cultural corridors, due to the lack of knowledge and research. In order to minimize possible mistakes, such initiatives should strive to multinational, interdisciplinary and multi-institutional approach, including public transparency, enabling open debate and participative approach, while avoiding becoming politically coloured acts. Therefore, in order to promote and recognize the outstanding value of the common heritage we share, using the evidence and traces that Cvijić gave us a

century ago, we should strive to research and indicate to our joint and shared cultural values that unfortunately have been underappreciated and deteriorated for a long time.

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## GEOPOLITICAL, CULTURAL AND CIVILIZATION PROCESSES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Mira Mandić<sup>1</sup>*

**Abstract:** The paper discusses the geographical-historical development of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of geopolitical, cultural and civilization impacts in late XIX and early XX centuries. The region is being assessed in regard to changes in ethical structure and spatial distribution of the population, including ethno-genesis, alterations of the population “mental map” and changes in the identity of the overall region resulting from different geopolitical, cultural and civilization impacts in the Balkans. The paper also studies consequences which the ethnical confrontations left on the settlement system, development and growth prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovinian (B&H) geospace. In addition, the relations among the state’s entities and modern geopolitical actors are discussed. The B&H region is ethnically and culturally heterogeneous and it has been characterized by clashes throughout history, so the paper addresses the state as a geopolitical and cultural knot and a civilization borderline on the modern European map where crises emerge and are being mitigated. Modern geopolitical, social-economic, demographic and cultural processes in the Balkans, which represent a periphery of the modern European development, result in the fact that all regional crises are focused in B&H. It is crucial to harmonize political interests and cultural disparities of specific ethnical groups in order to achieve stability in B&H and help the state find its own position within the region.

**Keywords:** Bosnia and Herzegovina; geopolitical processes; cultural and civilization processes; identity

### Introduction

From physical-geographical and cultural points of view, geographical area of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) belongs to the Western Balkans and it is conditionally the north-west border zone. From the ethnological, cultural and civilization perspectives, B&H is the point where West European, East European and Oriental impacts meet at the European continent; it is a civilization crossroad where different geopolitical impacts congregate, merge and intersect as they overpower one another. Hence, B&H, as the rest of the Balkan Peninsula, represents a politically instable area characterized by frequent political crises and ethnic conflicts which leave long-term negative consequences on the overall development.

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The complex composition of the Dinaric mountain range caused the formation of multiple enclosed micro-spatial units, which is why Cvijić's observation that "isolation and separation" are predominant features of the Balkans fully reflects the nature of B&H (Cvijić, 1991a). In B&H, "mergence and interference" are less evident when compared with the central Balkans. These aforementioned features are typical of the north peri-Pannonian basin and valleys of Sana, Una, Vrbas, Neretva, Bosna and Drina rivers, which connect the mountain area and the Adriatic Sea on one side and the Pannonian basin on the other, i.e. these rivers connect B&H with the Mediterranean and Central European cultural impacts. The Drina River is the east B&H borderline and it conditionally represents a political border which has, in modern course of history, divided the Serbian people into different political entities. Transversal roads are vital when it comes to connecting the enclosed Dinaric mountain range and the central Balkans, which represents the core of Serbian statehood and nationhood. The Dinaric mountain range is northwest-southeast oriented and the area has always preserved both Mediterranean-Roman impact from the south and central European-Germanic impact from the north. During the Ottoman rule, the patriarchal Slavic culture survived in the inland and the Islamized population occupied river valleys and ravines. It was the relief that complicated migrations, trade and cultural impacts so the result was the development of several different mental types and identities on a small area. Difficult communication and large differentiation of space represented a huge obstacle in the formation of a larger state and also affected political, economic and cultural development and integration (Cvijić, 1991a). Therefore, as Europe had already completed the process of formation of national states, the Balkans entered the XX century as a geopolitically size-degraded and nationally non-integrated space where peoples could not make their own political and national decisions. The Balkans has "in the course of history represented a link between worlds (*catena mundi*)". . . "and it has always been the borderline between worlds (*antimurale hristianitatis*) and different spheres of interest" (Grčić, 2017, p. 436). Even though it is a field of geopolitical conflicts, due to its poor integrity and statehood, the Balkans is, by multiple aspects, the "periphery" of Europe as Cvijić observed and B&H remains the periphery of the Balkans due to postponed positive development processes. A century after Cvijić's death, the peripheral nature of both Balkans and B&H remains the same. Despite many dynamic social circumstances, B&H is still neither the initiator of social processes nor does it have a full political sovereignty in its own geospace. This state of affairs is further aggravated by the open rivalry of the country's peoples who neither strive for unity nor accept "the concept of European regionalism" (Živković, 2011, p. 536).

B&H space was populated during the Neolithic. Ever since the Roman period, the geographical-historical development has been characterized by the selective evaluation of space, shifts between different state and legal systems, dynamic population migrations and mergence among nations, religions and cultures. For centuries, there have been many different borderlines: between the West and East Roman Empire in 375, western and eastern Christianity in 1054, the Ottoman Empire (Islam) and Christian Europe (from mid of XV to late XIX centuries), and finally the geopolitical competition between USA and other western countries on one side and the growing powers of Russia and China on the other during the process of modern globalization. Bosnia and Herzegovina had had the short medieval state independence as the country strongly relied on Serbia with whom it had shared historical tradition. Transversal roads had connected B&H with central Balkans and the state had had political, economic and cultural connections with the Serbian medieval state. In other words, B&H had been a part of the Serbian ethnic and political space, and occasionally part of its statehood. Ever since the Middle Ages, the Serbs have been the majority and Orthodoxy has been a major cultural determinant of B&H despite many migrations, cultural assimilations and artificial ethnic geneses which had been particularly strong during the Ottoman rule.

Different political and cultural factors have shaped the B&H space. Political life and the cultural identity of the space have been affected by consequences of the Great Schism, islamization during the Ottoman rule, political and ethnic processes initiated by Austrian-Hungarian occupation and all these events are roots of the recent ethno-genesis and ethnic clashes. The XIX century formation of national states in Europe and independence movements in the Balkans raised the national awareness of the B&H population. The matter of independence also brought to surface a massive divergence among cultural mentality and national goals of the country's peoples. Factors of historical development played a key role in shaping the cultural identity, national awareness, political goals and affiliations which further initiated ethnic clashes. It was the XX century events (WW II, 1992–1995 civil war) that only corroborated Ćorović's assertion that Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most complex region in the Balkans (Ćorović, 1925) and Cvijić's claim that "B&H is the core of the Serbian people without which there is no great Serbian state" and that „it is the most pertinent region where Serbian-Croatian matter should be solved" (Cvijić, 1991a, p. 171). Speaking of the tragedy of Bosnian religious opposition and division, Andrić said that "Division of peoples in Bosnia is a massive burden . . . and each attempt of one people to rule another is deeply sad and bloody" (Andrić, 2017, p. 3). Peoples in B&H have not yet learned any lesson from any of these statements.



## **Formation of the modern cultural and political map of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Changes in the Slavic and Christian identity of B&H started as soon as the country fell under the Ottoman rule. It marked the beginning of the process of islamization which later on permanently altered the cultural identity of both population and region and which was most intensive in XVI century (Vasić, 2005). The geographically relatively isolated microscopic relief units known for the Bogumil population were zones of constant clashes between West European (Catholic) and East European (Orthodox) churches; Cvijić referred to the population as “a wayward mass of people” (Cvijić, 1991b) who had no awareness of cultural affiliation and who easily adopted Islam. Due to social benefits and the division within the Christian church, they easily adopted Islam. There had been different social, safety, existential and social-class factors which had facilitated the spread of Islam and the cultural assimilation up to early XX century. Islamization of the Slavic Christian population (mainly Serbian Orthodox) took place at the time of the Ottoman occupation as three religions merged, pervaded and fought for domination. The result was de facto a cultural division in B&H, which later on enabled the constitution of the three national identities and the three cultural civilization circles. The awareness of the Serbian national identity had been awakened back in the Middle Ages primarily relying on Orthodoxy. The Croatian national identity was formed indirectly through the process of converting to Catholicism followed by Croatization which completed in XIX century. The ethnic genesis of the Muslim (Bosnian) identity took place gradually; it was first a religious reference after which it selectively went back in history by using a national mimicry only to develop a new ethnic genesis — Bosnians in late XX century.

In late XIX century, the Turkish power faded and Austria-Hungary intensively entered the political life of South Europe, the Balkans and B&H which made the country an “arena” for the clash of geopolitical ambitions of Austria-Hungary from the west and Russia from the east. The two states were the dominant economic and political powers and represented the two European civilizations (Catholic-Protestant and Orthodox) which came to the Balkans in search of allies and intensified the ethnic and political disagreements. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire opened the “Eastern Question”, which referred to the Ottoman legacy in Europe. In 1808, August Zeune, a German geographer, referred to the Ottoman-ruled countries as the Balkans. The name remained in use and it defined the region as a politically questionable, culturally conflictive and economically undeveloped margin of Europe. The *balkanization* was the term derived from the word Balkans in late XX century. In addition, it marked

negative social processes and events (civil wars, ethnic and religious intolerance, lack of democracy, disintegrations, etc.) connected with the Byzantine legacy. A selective approach to the history of Balkans ignores its attachment and contribution to the development of Europe and annuls the values of the East-European civilization, and it also sets a strong civilization borderline between the East and the West.

The South Slavs did not have an opportunity to form a large joint state based on the European remains of the Ottoman Empire. It was the West-European political circles who treated the West Balkans and its peoples as lacking statehood, political and economic knowledge and culture; in other words, they were observed as incompetent to manifest a political responsibility for a full political independence (Kraljačić, 2001). The great powers placed the Balkan peoples under a political patronage in order to reach their own geopolitical goals. The political status of B&H excluded independence, which resulted in the Austria-Hungarian “guardianship”, i.e. occupation of B&H after the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

The occupation of B&H was accelerated after the retreat of the Ottomans from the West Balkans and the German impact quickly spread south-eastward. The three largest ethnic and religious communities in B&H had different perceptions of the new situation. According to the first Austrian-Hungarian census in 1879, the B&H had the population of 1,158,440 people, out of which the Orthodox were 42.8 %, the Muslims were 38.7% and the Catholics 18% (Štastika miesta i pučanstva BiH, 1880). It was the occupation of B&H that obstructed the ambition of the Serbian population to unite with Serbia. Until the last days of its rule, Austria-Hungary had constantly weakened cultural and economic connections between the Serbs from both sides of the Drina River, which became a steadfast borderline supported by many military fortresses (Kraljačić, 2001). When it came to Catholic Croats, the occupation meant union with the Catholic state populated by their co-citizens who provided them with protection. The number of Catholics increased as around 200,000 Catholic immigrants of different nationalities came from different parts of Austria-Hungary.

The Muslims perceived the attenuation of the Turkish impact as a defeat, particularly after the 1908 B&H annexation. They were socially richer and more privileged than the Christians, and only 5% of the total Christian population owned their own land (Kraljačić, 2001). During the long Turkish rule, the Islamized Slavs culturally identified themselves with the Turks and their Islamic affiliation came before their Slavic origin and language. An emigration to Turkey, known as so-called migration of mudzahirs, began (Kraljačić, 2001).

Austria-Hungary gained loyalty of the Muslims by keeping the existing social situation and not running agrarian reforms as had been earlier agreed at the Congress of Berlin. In order to prevent national movements and cultural and political unitarization of B&H, Austria-Hungary promoted Muslim Slavs into a separate ethnos, the *Bosnians*; they produced a new *Bosnian* nation and created the *Bosnian* language based on linguistic localisms of the Serbian language. An attempt to make a Bosnian “melting pot” by focusing on the historic, cultural and linguistic specificities served Benjamin Kallay, the Austrian-Hungarian governor in B&H during the occupation, as a base for his program which promoted the ‘Bosnian’ identity in order to create cultural differences and prevent spreading the idea of the union of South Slavic peoples. The final goal was to eliminate the possibility of a South Slavic union. Kallay’s “program” has been a ground for the Muslims to base their national and cultural identity on for a whole century. In addition, they have been building their authentic, autochthonous and historical right to B&H through a selective approach to historical facts. The result is a long-lost aspiration of some Muslims to separate religious from national affiliation and to return to their original nation by declaring as either Serbs or Croats.

Kallay’s political program resulted in strong antagonism in the country and politically and culturally divided the three largest peoples in B&H. It was only Bosnian Muslims who abandoned their ethnic identity and adopted the Bosnian nation. The idea of Kallay’s policy to create the Bosnian nation latently survived the existence of both Yugoslav states and fully recovered during the B&H civil war. Muslims, first in ethnic and then in national sense, emerged from the nationally unbiased Muslims and Yugoslavs. In 1990s, they named themselves Bosnians which marked the completion of the Muslim’s political ethnic genesis. The new nation included the language. The Bosnian language was created during Kallay’s rule as a political means but it has the same function in the current attempts of Bosnians to use cultural assimilation in order to easily politically unitarize B&H, which is exactly why the Serbian language as the only linguistically acknowledged language in B&H is being suppressed.

Ethnic and cultural circumstances in B&H reflect the impact of geopolitical interests of great powers who are trying to conduct artificial ethnic genesis. Furthermore, the religious affiliation keeps dominating the national affiliation as cultural identities are being formed. Different cultural identities materialized in space have been manifested throughout the historical-geographical development of B&H. This cultural mosaic would have been a large cultural and development potential had it been located in a geo-space characterized by multi-ethnic tolerance and geopolitical stability. In case of B&H, it remains a stumbling-stone

and a cause for new political crises, ethnic and religious clashes, and destruction focusing on the material and religious heritage of other ethnic groups which we witnessed three times in XX century. Religious and national animosities are suitable for achieving political goals of great powers which show interest in the Balkans as they use Freud's "narcissism of minor differences".

WW II (1941–1945) and B&H civil war (1992–1995) during SFR Yugoslavia disintegration were extremely destructive; they permanently altered the numerical ratio and spatial distribution of ethnic groups and introduced new confrontations. These two events resulted in massive human losses and population migrations and weakened the demographic potential, exclusively in zones populated by the Serbian ethnos (Herzegovina, Krajina, Podrinje) in both wars. The Jews, who had made a large contribution to the development of urban commerce and social life ever since late XVI century, disappeared in the Holocaust in so-called "ISC" (the Independent State of Croatia). The number of other ethnic groups who came from Central Europe has been decreasing due to constant emigrations. In second half of XX century, the number of Serbian and Croatian population was reduced and the number of Muslims (Bosnian) increased only to reach 50.01% according to the 2013 population census (Table 1).

Table 1. Changes in ethnic structure in B&H from 1948 to 2013 in %

Year of census	Total population	Serbs	Muslims Bosnian 2013.	Croats	Yugoslavs
1961	3,279,948	42.9	25.7	21.7	8.4
1971	3,746,111	37.2	39.6	20.6	1.2
1981	4,124,256	32.0	39.5	18.4	7.9
1991	4,777,033	31.2	43.5	17.4	5.5
2013	3,531,159	30.8	50.0	15.4	Other 3.8

Source: Državni zavod za statistiku (1995); Agencija za statistiku (2017)

Historical facts and social circumstances determined the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in B&H. According to the 1991 population census, 4,377,000 people were distributed in 5,825 settlements. The Serbs constituted 32% of the total population. They were either relative or absolute majority in 57% of settlements with the population fewer than 100 people. These were tiny scattered settlements. The Muslims were the absolute majority in 50% of settlements with the population larger than 1,000 people and they were a relative majority in urban settlements and within the total population (Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995). Modern development processes, industrialization and urbanization set off population migrations and indirectly caused a strong ethnic heterogeneity in large urban settlements regardless of the ethnic structure of the surrounding areas. The percentage of unbiased Yugoslavs was largest in 1961, i.e. more than

8%. Their ratio was larger in urban than in rural patriarchal areas, and changes in the ratio indicated ethnic mimicry, growing national tensions and a declining sense of unity. “Having been the only ex-Yugoslav republic in which no constituent people had the absolute majority, B&H was the place where further disintegration of Yugoslavia might have been stopped” (Mandić, 2017, p. 576–577), if its nations had had agreed about the state organization and policy toward the Yugoslavia union. The Muslims and Croats chose the independence of B&H within the AVNOJ borders. Western powers decided to support the new state independence and to prevent the Serbs from B&H to join their mother country Serbia, which resulted in a civil war motivated by nationhood and religion, during which almost half the population changed their residence. It was the human losses and population emigrations that caused B&H to lose around 600,000 of its citizens. As far as the settlements are concerned, the anthropo-geographic destruction within the Serbian ethnic space covered 686 devastated settlements and 1,232 settlement from which the population was permanently deported, and the estimated human losses during the B&H civil war are 110,000 dead people (Pašalić, 2012). The elements of ethnocide and cultural genocide permanently altered the cultural identity of the region.

The ethnic-territorial population distribution from 1991 and the ratio of belligerent parties determined the ethnic line of delineation and the internal organization of B&H defined by the Peace Treaty in 1995 (The Dayton Peace Accord). The country is organized as a union of three constituent peoples — the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians. From the territorial-administrative point of view, it comprises of two entities — the Republic of Srpska (RS) and the B&H Federation (F B&H), which is divided into ten cantons; the Bosnians make the majority in seven cantons and the Croats in three. Ethnic territoriality is the foundation of the modern territorial-administrative organization of B&H at all levels of governance. The area of a former municipality of Brčko has an individual legal status functioning as the Brčko District. The District separates RS into west and east parts and it is a potential model for a unitary B&H but it also represents a neuralgic point. In RS, all three peoples are constituent, but it is not the case with the Serbs in F B&H.

As an attempt to preserve the political unity of B&H, the ethnic delineation was designed to follow the historical-ethnic borderline. When it comes to Serbian ethnic space, several Serbian territories were adjoined to F B&H (municipalities of Drvar, Grahovo, Glamoč, etc.) in order to meet the ratio of 51% F B&H and 49% RS territory. Due to the ethnic heterogeneity of the population, the line of delineation between the two entities separated a large number of municipalities and settlements which resulted in an irrational and inefficient territorial-

administrative organization of B&H. The consequences are too many local units of self-governance, the lack of urban cores, many weaknesses and limitations due to poor spatial-functional relations and connections, and the entire situation reflects the unsustainability of the model of the B&H spatial organization.

The end of the last century marked the end of the artificial ethnic genesis of the Muslim population and created the Bosnian nation, which started the final phase of the ethnic homogenization and territorialisation of the three major peoples in B&H. The conditionally defined ethnic areas, at which specific spatial identities were formed, were made official through the territorial-administrative division. It is the political and territorial-administrative organization of B&H and the opposed geopolitical and cultural interests of its nations that “keep causing latent and open clashes at different levels of authority and spatial organization” (Gnjato, 2017, p. 426).

When it comes to the internal organization of B&H, there are constant attempts from Bosnian political structures to form a unitary B&H. It is vital for the Serbian people to preserve the authority of RS and form special connections with their national homeland, Serbia. The Croats aspire to form a third entity which would mean the restructuring of the existing territorial-administrative organization. They have solid economic and cultural connections with Croatia and they follow its geopolitical commitments. The Bosnian population relies on the political and economic help from Turkey, which is trying to regain its geopolitical power in the Balkans (Tanasković, 2011). They have the political support from USA and economic aid from the Arabic countries. The ethnic-territorial population distribution and demographic processes in the Balkans enable the continuous penetration of the Islamic geopolitical and cultural impacts from Asia. The core of the Balkans, a former Serbian ethnic space (Cvijić, 1991b) keeps narrowing and it still presents a “seismic” area. Due to demographic processes and ethnic-territorial and ethnic-cultural transformations, the “Green Transversal” crosses the Balkans up to the north-west B&H border. The transversal lines crucial for the connection of the Serbian people are changing. Bosnia and Herzegovina is becoming an Islamic base on their way to Europe. Changes in the mental map of the population, the system of values and the switch to islamization and arabization make cultural differences even larger and it might have long-term geopolitical consequences for the political stability in the region.

## Conclusion

The modern geopolitical position of B&H, the law and state organization and the level of development are consequences of physical-geographical characteristics and historical-civilization processes in the Balkans and its wider region. The Balkans and B&H have regularly been the arena where great political and economic powers of Europe and Eurasia solved their disputes. The centuries old borderline between the Christian and Islamic world is characterized by belated development processes (geopolitical, ethnic-cultural, social-economic, etc.), which only deteriorates the development perspective, so nowadays B&H remains a political, economic and cultural periphery of the Balkan Peninsula (Southeast Europe) and Europe in general.

The XX century experience of B&H confirms the diametrical cultural and political orientation of its constituent peoples as they differently evaluate historic events, decisions and choice of political allies and “tutors”. The Croats are oriented toward Vatican and the West (Germany and USA), the Serbs look up to the East and Russia, and the Bosnians choose Turkey and Arabic countries. Naturally, nations strive for political, economic and cultural connections with their own members all over former Yugoslavia, which is why they all have different points of view regarding the current situation in the region and international cooperation and politics, such as NATO membership, etc. Hence, it is impossible to run a common foreign policy and build strong alliances, which is why B&H remains a place where different geopolitical interests intersect. The political and economic dependence on great powers puts B&H in a position of a protectorate and a political object where, through regional and partial interests, global processes are run, crises are produced and spheres of political impact are formed building new cultural and civilization borderlines. B&H is the location where the clash of civilizations takes place and the country’s constituent peoples participate on opposite sides. The mutual respect for the historical inheritance and cultural and ethnic specificities is a matter of civilization. It is crucial to define the minimum joint interest in order to reach stability and prosperity in B&H and the West Balkans region.

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## GENESIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONALIZATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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**Abstract:** The historical process of political-territorial and administrative organization of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) was marked by searching for the place and role of B&H in a wider geopolitical space. From the mid-nineteenth century to the present day, two empires, one kingdom and a socialist federal state, were replaced in the territory of B&H. B&H first appeared as an independent internationally recognized state only twenty years ago, although very specific in its arrangement. In the course of historical development, depending on the circumstances inside and outside the borders of B&H, in a completely specific way, adapting to the interests at the time, the division of the territory was carried out. Along with this process, the formation of regional city centres, which developed in interaction with its environment, was also underway, thus creating separate regional units. B&H has been and is still the subject of numerous administrative, political, economic, historical, natural, geographic, planned, domestic, military, international, under the bottom-up, top-down, scientific, research, academic regionalization, which were the result of the work of members of the academic community, local and international administration, and non-governmental organizations. During the XX century, the scientific interest has significantly increased in defining the term “regions” and the criteria of regionalization. In the territory of B&H several researchers have dealt with theoretical and methodological issues and the relation between regional geography towards other geographical disciplines and attempts to define regions.

**Keywords:** Bosnia and Herzegovina, regionalization

### Initial Consideration

The paper presents the genesis and evolution of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian borders, the processes of regional organization of the territory and the development of regional policies and approaches to regionalization. Following the past, the question arises as to how to observe the regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina both in present and in the future. The historical and geographical development of Bosnia and Herzegovina through the Middle Ages, the new age and the modern age is extremely dynamic and variable, which was influenced by the frequent shift of integration and disintegration processes which

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reflected in the expansion or reduction of the territory and borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Pejanović, 2007).

Attempts to regionalize Bosnia and Herzegovina could in principle be classified into two large groups. The first is the regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is administrative-territorial, and the second is the geographical regionalization of the territory. Scientific and professional contribution to the regionalization of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also mentioned. In the early 1990s, there was a civil war in the area of research, which ended with a series of peace agreements. The subsequent period brought news, changes, reorganization and a new beginning.

### **Administrative-territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina — a historical aspect**

The name “Bosnia” was officially mentioned for the first time in the X century, in the work of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus *On the management of the Empire* (De administrando imperio, lat.), cited as a small area — the chorion Bosone with inhabited places Desnek (Kraljeva Sutjeska) and Katera (Kotorac). “It is assumed that it was composed of small Slavic parishes connected in a loose territorial-political unit of unstable boundaries” (Lepirica, 2009, p. 53). According to the historical map of the medieval Bosnian state of author Marko Vego, the then Bosnia in the northeast was bordered by the ridges of Konjuh and Javor, Devetak in the east, the high Dinaric mountains Bjelašnica and Bitovnja in the south, Ljubuš and Cinčar in the southwest and Vitorog in the west (Vego, 1957). In the northwest it ran to the Vinačka gorge and to the north to the mountain massif of Vlašić, Vrandučka gorge and the woodland Tajan. The mentioned area represented a nucleus for the future territorial development of Bosnia.

During the reign of Ban Kulin (1180–1204), Bosnia acquires the first forms of statehood and autonomy. In the north and northeast, the boundaries move to the wide river flows of the Sava River and the lower Drina and to the south to Neretva. By joining the Donji Kraji, the Pliva and Zemljani parishes in the west, areas in the basins of Sana, Pliva, Vrbas, Vrbanje and Usora are included in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lepirica, 2009, p. 53). In the period of Hungarian dominance, which lasted until the end of the thirteenth century, Bosnia was divided into several areas, gravitating to different sides. After the arrival of the bishop Stjepan II Kotromanić to power (1322–1353), Bosnia spread territorially in the direction of the south and southwest. The second half of the 14th century was marked by intensive economic development, which also

influenced the development of medieval Bosnian towns (Bobovac, Blagaj, Borac, Visoki, Dobor, Kotor, etc.) During the time of Stephen Trvko I Kotromanić, full authority was established in the country. The Bosnian kingdom held itself until 1463. We can conclude that the medieval Bosnian borders were mostly of a natural character, represented by mountains and hills, river basins, lakes and the Adriatic Sea.



Figure 1. The historical map of the medieval Bosnian state and the territorial expansion of Bosnia (interpretation according to Vego, 1957)

After the arrival of the Ottomans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a new territorial organization of the government was established, which was based on respect for natural and geographical units. As the largest administrative-territorial unit of the Ottoman Empire, the Bosanski pashadom, or beglerbegluk or eyalet, was formed. The Bosnian beglerbegluk was founded by separating the Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Klis and Pakrac Sanjak from the Rumelia, Zvornik and Požega from the Budimski Beglerbegluk (Šabanović, 1982). The Karlovac peace, which was completed in 1699, determined, among other things, the borders of the Bosnian pashadom towards Austria and the Venetian Republic. "At the time of the first Serbian uprising in 1804, the Bosnian pashadom lost the transboundary area of "Zvornik Sandžak" (Lepirica, 2009, p. 53). After the breakup of the Serbian uprising in 1813, these regions were once again joined by the Bosnian

pashadom, whose composition remained intact until 1833, when they finally entered the composition of Serbia, ruled by Prince Miloš, as well as the greater part of the Stari Vlah area. At that time, the present eastern and northeastern river border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, which leads downstream over the Drina River, was formed. The Ottoman Empire was reformed during the rule of Omer-pasha Latas in 1852, divided into six regions (Sandžak): Bihać, Banja Luka, Herzegovina, Travnik, Zvornik and Sarajevo. The administrative-territorial division of the Bosnian eyalet was retained until July 1865, when the Decree of 1864 was enforced (Shaw, 1977). By another clause of the Imperial Regulation from July 1865, Bosnia and Herzegovina was divided into seven Sandžaks: the districts of Banja Luka, Bihać, Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Travnik, Zvornik and Novi Pazar. The Herzegovinian vilayet, based in Mostar, was formed in 1875 after the separation of Herzegovina from Bosnia. However, as early as 1877, the Herzegovinian vilayet was abolished and Herzegovina was re-merged with Bosnia. In 1877, the Novi Pazar Sandžak will be merged with the Kosovo Liberation Army by the Ottomans.

With the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian administration, after the Berlin Congress in 1878, the process of industrialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina began, and in this context, urbanization. The area of Bosanski vilayet was 51,200 km<sup>2</sup>, which coincides with the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. In the following years, there were dynamic changes in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which initiated the formation of new industrial centres such as Tuzla, Zenica and Doboje. At the beginning of the XX century, the Austro-Hungarian government, by its legislation, would place Tuzla instead of Zvornik as the centre of the district or region. The Austro-Hungarian authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the Ministry of Finance Act of 1878, formed six districts: Banja Luka, Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik and Zvornik.

### **The administrative-territorial division and regional organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the XX century**

During the XX century, various regional transformations took place on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Consequently, it was constantly seeking to find an ideal model of a territorial organization that would satisfy all the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, on the other hand, enable unimpeded development.

#### *The period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*

After the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the geospatial entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina first entered the Kingdom of

Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Since 1920, the state has changed its name to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. According to the Vidovdan Constitution in 1921, Yugoslavia was divided into areas, districts, counties and municipalities, where criteria for establishing regional boundaries were natural, economic and social conditions (Marković, 2006).

By the Law on the name and division of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into the administrative areas of 1929, the state was divided into nine provinces (banovinas): Drava, Savska, Vrbaska, Primorska, Drinska, Zetska, Dunavska, Moravska and Vardarska, and their headquarters were located in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Banja Luka, Split, Sarajevo, Cetinje, Novi Sad, Niš and Skopje. Special administrative units were made by the cities of Belgrade, Zemun and Pančevo (Marković, 2006). The territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina has entered the composition of four banovinas. Only the Vrbas banovina throughout its whole territory was located within the former Bosnia and Herzegovina. This administrative-territorial division of the Kingdom was held until August 26, 1939 (Petranović, 1980).

#### *Period after the Second World War*

In the first two decades of the development of the socialist authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a territorial organization with seven districts was established: Bihać, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Doboj, Travnik, Sarajevo and Mostar (Law on Administrative-Territorial Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1945). This division held itself from 1945 to 1949. The Law on Administrative and Territorial Division of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1949 established four areas: Banja Luka (with twenty counties), Mostarska (with fourteen counties), Sarajevska (with fifteen counties) and Tuzla (with eighteen counties) (Law on administrative-territorial division of NR Bosnia and Hercegovine in the area, 1949). These four regional entities had natural-geographic, historical, economic, traffic, cultural and demographic assumptions for self-sustainability in economic, social and cultural development. These areas were abolished in 1952. Since 1955, a new territorial organization has been introduced — the municipality. The last organization of the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina had fifteen provinces, and in 1966 the provinces were completely abolished (Law on the Territories of the Territories of SR of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1966). In the period until 1968, the central-level economy was strongly dominated by Federal Yugoslavia, especially in politics and instruments to encourage the development of less developed areas. In the following period, there were no significant changes, except that the number of municipalities

increased from hundred and six to hundred and nine, and Sarajevo was granted the status of a city by consolidating ten municipalities.

### **Scientific contribution to the regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the XX century**

In parallel with the administrative division of the territory, theoretical and methodological issues and attempts to define regional units in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina were subject of interest of numerous researchers. The first works related to the historical and geographical regionalization of the Balkan Peninsula, Bosnia and Herzegovina included, date back to the XIX century (the works of Vjekoslav Klajić from 1878). In the first half of the XX century works of Jovan Cvijić, Norbert Krebs and many others stand out.

#### *Cvijić's regionalization (Jovan Cvijić)*

Regionalization of Jovan Cvijić refers to the physical and geographical differentiation of the territory of the Balkan Peninsula south of the Sava and Danube rivers. Jovan Cvijić singles out fifteen “natural areas”. Several of these are located in the territory of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, within the Dinaric region: Planine, Humine and Rudine, and to the northeast of the Dinaric region the area of Bosnia is separated, within which are Posavina, Central Bosnia, Eastern Territories and Bosanska Krajina (Cvijić, 1922). Regionalization of Jovan Cvijić is the foundation of regional research of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Extracting regional units, recognizing the natural-geographic catarracts of space, at a time when the methodology of regionalization was at the very beginning of development, it is sufficient to conclude that Cvijić, when it comes to and the development of regional geography, has made a remarkable contribution. Concretely, when it comes to the separation of units in the territory of BiH, the only criticism that has been made relates to the affiliation of Central Bosnia. So today, undoubtedly, Central Bosnia is part of the Dinaric area.

Precisely using Cvijić's results, and the approach to regional research in the following period, numerous other researchers have contributed to this area of expertise.

#### *Krebs regionalization (Norbert Krebs)*

Krebs's regionalization refers to the anthropogeographical differentiation of the Balkan Peninsula south of the Kupa, Sava and Danube rivers. Krebs singled out twenty-five “anthropogeographical areas” for which the demarcation, according to the authors, also used natural boundaries. In the area of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, the following anthropogeographical areas are partly

distributed: Posavina, Turska Hrvatska, Sjeverna Bosna, Unutrašnja Bosna, Zapadna Bosna, Hercegovina, Travunija and Primorje (Krebs, 1929).

*Roglić regionalization (Josip Roglić)*

Roglić in his work *Prilog regionalnoj podjeli Jugoslavije* [Annex to the regional division of Yugoslavia] singled out the seven regions of Yugoslavia, of which four parts are parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the mountain core and mountain regions, the Croatian-Slavonic region, the North-Bosnian-Posavina region and the Primorje region (Roglić, 1955).

*Kanaet regionalization (Tvrтко Kanaet)*

Kanaet gave the first detailed regionalization in the paper *Privredno-geografske oblasti i područja Narodne Republike Bosne i Hercegovine* [Economic-geographical areas and areas of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina] from 1954. In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it sets out three economic and geographical areas and nine territories: the grain growing economic area (the Tuzla basin area and the area of Banja Luka), the mountainous livestock area (central economic area, the economic region of Eastern Bosnia, the economic region of Western Bosnia, the Bihać basin area, Karst fields of Western Bosnia, mountain pastures and the area of Viša Hercegovina) and the southern-cultures area (Kanaet, 1954).

*Ilešić regionalization (Svetozar Ilešić)*

Ilešić published a number of papers explaining his concept of regionalization. Working on the economic-functional regionalization of Yugoslavia, the author identified a total of twenty-nine macroregions, that is, groups of mesoregions in cases where the corresponding macro-regional centre was not formed and directed gravity towards him. In this context, the author distinguished five macro-regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of these five macro-regions, one is without a sufficiently prominent macro-regional centre, so it is designated as a group of mesoregions. These are the following macroregions with associated mesoregies: the Sarajevo-Zenica or Central Bosnia macroregion (the early Sarajevo mesoregional area, the Zenica industrial mesoregion, the submesoregic group of East Bosnia), the macroregion of Northeast Bosnia (Tuzla mesoregion, the Dobož mesoregion), the macroregion of the Northwestern Bosnia (Banja Luka or Donjovsaba mesoregion, Prijedor or Sana mesoregion, Jajce or Srednji Vrbas mesoregion), Mostar or Herzegovina macroregion (Mostar-jablanica or Srednja Herzegovina mesoregion, a group of submesoregions by the lower



Neretva, Trebinje mesoregion) and West Bosnian mesoregion (Bihać or Srednjun mesoregion, Livanje mesoregion).

*Marković's regionalization (Jovan Marković)*

Marković, in his work *Geografske oblasti Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije* [*Geographical area of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*] from 1967, within the framework of the regionalization of Yugoslavia in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, separated three areas and nine regions and gave a more complete representation of their geographical characteristics. These are: Northern Bosnia (Una area, Donji Vrbas — Donja Bosnia area, Sprečko-majeвица area and Bosnian Posavina), the Dinaric Herzegovina and Bosnia (Visoka Herzegovina, Eastern Bosnia, Central Bosnia and Western Bosnia) and the Central Adriatic (Niska Hercegovina) (Marković, 1967).

In the third edition of the book *Regionalna geografija Jugoslavije* [*Regional Geography of Yugoslavia*], Marković exposed the modified regionalization of Yugoslavia. The changes were made in the names of the regions and districts and their geographical distribution. As part of this regionalization, Bosnia and Herzegovina comprises in whole or in part three areas with nine regions. These are: Peripanon Bosnia (Panonian Pounje, Donji Vrbas — Donja Bosnia area, Sprečko-majeвица area and Bosnian Posavina), mountain-basenian Herzegovina and Bosnia (mountain Herzegovina, Eastern Bosnia, Central Bosnia, Western Bosnia) and Central Adriatic area (Marković, 1980).

*Papić's regionalization (Krešimir Papić)*

In managing the concept of functional-gravitational regions, Papić carried out the regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina in four macroregions in the primary, and twenty-one regions in the secondary division. These are: West Bosnia or Banja Luka macroregion (Banja Luka region, Bihać region, Drvar region, Jajce region and Prijedor region), East Bosnia or Tuzla macroregion (Brčko region, Tuzla region and Zvornik region), Central Bosnia or Sarajevo-Zenica macroregion (Bugojno region, Doboј region, Gorazde region, Livno region, Sarajevo region, Sokolac region, Travnik region, Visoko region and Zenica region) and Herzegovina or Mostar macroregion (Capljina region, Konjic region, Mostar region and Trebinje region) (Papić, 1977).

*Bošnjović regionalization (Ilijas Bošnjović)*

In the early seventies of the XX century, Bošnjović also presented his research work. The theoretical basis of regionalization is found in the theory of development

poles. The basic principle of this regionalization is functional-gravitational, and the objective is the functional regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to this concept, Bosnia and Herzegovina would have four macroeconomic regions. These are: Bosnian Krajina (Banja Luka), Northeast Bosnia (Tuzla), Sarajevo-Zenica (Sarajevo) and Herzegovina (Mostar) (Bošnjović, 1969).

### **Professional contribution to the regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the XX century**

At the beginning of the 1980s, numerous and comprehensive research on the physical and geographical and socio-economic characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina was carried out. Based on the conducted research, the Spatial Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina was created. The authors of the planning document in the analytical-documentary basis of the plan propose four macroeconomic regions: Banja Luka, Tuzla, Sarajevo and Mostar macroeconomic regions (Prostorni plan B&H, 1981–2000). The Spatial Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was adopted in 1981, analysed all demographic, spatial-infrastructure and economic-social parameters. The results pointed to major disproportions in the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After signing the Dayton Peace Agreement, the Entities, independently of each other, proposed the organization of their territory through various documents. In the period from 1996 until now, the Republic of Srpska has prepared and adopted three spatial plans of the Republic. In the Stage Plan, a regional division (1996–2000) was proposed in four regions, one of which is monocentric and three centrally located (Banja Luka, Doboj-Bijeljina, Sarajevo-Zvornik and Trebinje-Foča). By dividing the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Srpska (1998–2015), six monocentric regions (Prijeedor, Banja Luka, Doboj, Bijeljina, Istočno Sarajevo and Trebinje) have been separated. In the Amendments and Supplements to the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Srpska (2015–2025), five planning and statistical regions with action areas (Banja Luka–Prijeedor, Doboj–Brod-Šamac, Bijeljina–Zvornik, Istočno Sarajevo–Višegrad and Trebinje–Foča) were proposed.

The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not yet adopted a spatial plan.

### **Conclusion**

The issue of geographical regionalization is very current in geographical science. Theoretical considerations about the region are numerous, and in terms of generally acceptable principles, criteria and methods of its determination, and in particular the definition of its boundaries, there is still turmoil and a search for solutions. The genesis of the approach to this problem has gone from an

outdated linear study of individual physico-geographical and anthropogenic phenomena to the, in geographical science, new phenomenon of globalization and observation of the region, regional allocations and regional boundaries.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a unique state creation in Europe. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina originated as a result of the signing of the Washington and the Dayton Accords. The aforementioned Constitution defines the state union of a very complex organizational and functional structure. According to Article 1, Count 3 of the Constitution, “Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska” (Ustav B&H, 2009), which have a high degree of autonomy in the exercise of the functions of state power. The Brčko District has a special constitutional position. There are two levels of authority in the Republic of Srpska — the municipality / city and entity, and in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina four - the municipality, city, canton and entity level. Here we can see the full organizational-functional asymmetry. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not explicitly mention the issue of territorial or regional organization of the state anywhere in its contents.

The issue of the geographical regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most sensitive issues today. Science and profession seems to still not dare offer geographical regionalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, viewing it as a single state, ignoring the borders of the Entity and the District. Perhaps the reason is that every such attempt is interpreted as an attempt of unitary regionalization!? Analyzing all of the above, the question is whether the regional organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted by Jovan Cvijić, and then promoted by numerous researchers, is today at all possible, and whether it is the best and only model that would solve numerous spatial disparities of this geographically homogeneous space. Furthermore, the question arises as to whether Bosnia and Herzegovina, although administratively divided in a very specific way, can be viewed completely separately from the boundaries of the Entities and the District, or whether it is a geographically unified space that requires a unique regional-geographic approach to spatial research.

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**MIGRATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF  
THE BALKAN PENINSULA**



## “LES MOUVEMENTS MÉTANASTASIQUES”: JOVAN CVIJIĆ AND MIGRATION THEORY

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**Abstract:** The tenth and eleventh chapters of *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan peninsula: human geography)* are devoted to the study of contemporaneous migration for which Cvijić suggests the term “métanastasiques” from the Greek “change of habitat”. Whereas chapter 10 offers a description of the main historic migration flows in the Balkan region, chapter 11 is a very original attempt at enumerating the various causes of migration and paves the way toward building a theory. At that time, such an attempt was very rare in human geography and in social sciences in general. In the Ecole française de géographie of Vidal de la Blache the topic of migration was indeed nearly absent. The only predecessors of Cvijić are thus the XIX century geographers Ratzel in Germany and Ravenstein in the UK, but I contend that Cvijić offers a broader and more exhaustive overview of migration drivers, which makes of him an important but forgotten figure of migration theory. The present paper will attempt to make this point by situating Cvijić’s specific contribution within the history of migration theory and by examining its’ current relevance, now that migration has moved from the margin to the centre of human geography. The 3 first sections of the paper present an interdisciplinary overview of migration theories. I contend that although a distinction can be made between voluntary and forced migration, it evolves along a continuum of individual and contextual situations. The fourth section presents Cvijić views on migration and puts them in perspective with the previous.

**Keywords:** migration; migration theory; history of geography; population; Balkan

### Introduction

No clear-cut delineation can be made between voluntary and forced migration but it is fair to say that most attempts at theorizing migration — in the sense of suggesting general frameworks of understanding based on regularities — address cases where potential migrants retain a fairly high level of agency and are not “forced” to move. However, with the growing salience of concepts such as “mixed migration” (Van Hear, Brubaker, & Bessa, 2009) and “survival migration” (Betts, 2013), and calls to go beyond the structure versus agency dualism in migration studies (Bakewell, 2010), a promising perspective of investigation opens up for a more inclusive migration theory framework (De Haas, 2014).

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It is interesting in that context to notice that some of the pioneers of migration studies – and most prominently the geographer Friederich Ratzel — indeed considered simultaneously political, environmental and economic drivers of migration which were later either put to the fore (economic drivers), dealt with by a specific subfield of study (political drivers within refugee studies) or nearly forgotten (environmental drivers) (Piguet, 2013). Jovan Cvijić is also among the few pioneers to present an integrative overview of migration drivers (Cvijić, 1918a), but his work on migration is limited to a few chapters of his book and did not attract the attention it deserved. I will try here to give a brief overview of some of the main theoretical directions suggested by researchers of both voluntary and forced migration and then to identify Cvijić main views on those issues.

### **Theories of voluntary migration**

Why do people choose to migrate? For more than a century, the social sciences have been attempting to answer that question, which concerns geography as well as psychology, political economy and economics, sociology, anthropology and demography. As shown twenty years ago by Massey in his classic plea for theoretical pluralism in migration studies, one can consider each school of thought to have contributed valuable conceptual enlargements that are often complementary rather than antagonistic (Massey et al., 1994). They allow us to draw a reasonably coherent picture of the different factors and causal mechanisms that are at play in relation to migration. The recent history of migration studies can be understood, in that perspective, as a progressive enlargement of the spectrum of explanation mechanisms, although it is clear that no unified and specific theory of such a multifaceted phenomenon will ever exist.

Among the most used, the neoclassical school — not to be confounded with the much broader push-pull approach — points to the central importance of economic factors and to the process of utility maximization by individual agents that underlies migration decisions. The expectation of higher wages and better employment leads those people who are not averse toward risk and can afford the cost of displacement to consider migration, whereas others discard it (Harris & Todaro, 1970). Behaviourist geographers acknowledged this general framework but added — among other things — that actors have only limited access to information and that their rationality is thus bounded, leading them to pursue their satisfaction in an incremental way by seizing opportunities rather than by targeting the unique move that would maximize their utility in absolute terms (Wolpert, 1965). Considering the ways in which people are aware of

migration opportunities and risk, and the ways in which they process this information, thus appears paramount. Both the neoclassical and the behaviourist conceptions fit nicely into Everett Lee's famous, but very general, push-pull model, which mentions demographic, economic and political factors in the areas of departure and destinations, along with intervening opportunities and obstacles, as interacting to produce migrations: "No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles. We include the distance of the move as one that is always present" (Lee, 1966, p. 49).

A significant conceptual improvement in migration theory can be associated with the "new economics of labour migration" (NELM) (Stark, 1991). Central to this approach is the idea that the household, rather than the individual, should be considered as the decision-making unit regarding migration. Phenomena that might appear irrational through the lenses of the preceding schools of thought can be understood as rational when viewed this way. It is possible, for example, that while the departure of one member of a household brings no absolute increase in earnings, it nevertheless makes sense as a collective risk-diversification strategy. Another important concept brought to the fore by the NELM is the importance of relative deprivation: the decision to move can follow a degradation of the situation of a person or household relative to the rest of society, without any change in its absolute purchasing power. This is a central element that complicates the relationship between migration and economic development and explains a possible migration hump where migration increases rather than decrease with growth (De Haas, 2007).

Theories rooted in social psychology and especially in theories of motivation and decision have also made a significant contribution to the understanding of migration intentions. Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) distinguish three types of motives for moving (preservation of the self and the quest for security; personal development; and materialism), whereas De Jong and Fawcett (1981) point toward seven categories of improvement expectations: material life, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality. These motivations interact with social and cultural norms as well as individual characteristics such as gender and personality. The propensity to take risks and the locus of control (the extent to which an individual believes him- or herself to be in control of events that affect his or her life) are often seen as central psychological dimensions in this regard (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Chirkov, Vansteenkiste, Tao, & Lynch, 2007; Winchic & Carment, 1989); they interact with the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction and shape migration intentions (Stinner & Van Loon, 1992).

Among recent contributions to migration theory, the network approach rooted in older concepts such as chain migration and social capital is of great relevance. Central here is the idea that contacts with already expatriated friends or members of one's close or distant family are significant assets that usually facilitate and encourage migration (De Jong, 2000; Epstein & Gang, 2006).

The line of thinking pioneered by network theory stresses the linkages between expatriates and potential migrants and can be associated with the general paradigmatic shift that has occurred in migration studies, from a conception of migration as a once-and-for-all movement between two geographical spaces, to the conception of a transnational space of flow within which migrants move without losing contact with their region of origin (Faist, 1997; Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel, 2001; Portes, 2001; Vertovec, 1999). Finally, many authors have advocated a "return of the state" in migration theory. They contend that even in times of globalization, migrations remain highly constrained by nation-state policies. Recruitment agreements, political partnerships such as the UE or MERCOSUR, colonial links, political antagonisms, asylum policies, visa policies and border control imply power relations between political spaces that have to be understood as major drivers of migration (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 2004; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005; Hollifield, 2000). This obviously points toward a link between the traditional migration theories on the one hand and forced migration on the other.

### **Theories of forced migration**

What are the reasons which drive a person to flee his place of residence, and how does this person choose a destination? That simple question remained for a long time, and to a large extent still is, at the margin of migration studies. It seems obvious that, in a context of violence, emergency and danger, refugees are simply compelled to leave their home in hurry and move toward the first safe haven they encounter. The consequences for theory and empirical research are that the regularities necessary for theorization are lacking. This central idea was already well illustrated by Kunz (1973) for whom "[Refugee's] progress more often than not resembles the movement of the billiard ball: devoid of inner direction their path is governed by the kinetic factors of inertia, friction and the vectors of outside forces applied on them"(p. 131). As noted by Black (1991): "Existing work has tended to view refugee flows separately as temporary, unique, one-off events" (p. 281). A closer look is nevertheless warranted at three important contributions to forced migration theorization.

### *The creation of nation states as push factor*

Relying on Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Arendt, 1958) Aristide Zolberg underlined how the creation of new states could become a refugee-generating process (Zolberg, 1983). The process is actually two-fold. On the one hand, the creation of a new State is often associated with violence, revolution or annexation. On the other hand the creation of a Nation-state relies heavily on a process of exclusion which aims at creating a national identity (Geertz, 1973; Wimmer, 2002). As Zolberg (1983) explains: "Imperial government generally requires only minimal involvement on the part of the subject population; its demands upon them are limited to obedience and material tribute. Cultural diversity does not matter much because the system of rule is largely indirect, with traditional elites of the various groups acting as go-betweens. (...) The organizational imperatives of the nation-state are much more demanding in this respect, since the persistence of relatively autonomous sociocultural communities negates its very existence. In order for the nation to come into being, the population must be transformed into individuals who visibly share a common nationality; the process entails an actualization of the myth that they are quite literally "born together," that they constitute a natural community" (p. 36). Zolberg's insights were strikingly prescient when considering the refugee flows that followed the disintegration of Yugoslavia and recent attempts at creating new national entities such as South Sudan.

### *The political economy of forced migration*

Whereas Zolberg underlines through state formation a common feature of different historical episodes of flight, Stephen Castles considers the continuous growth of refugee flows, which characterized the end of the 20th century (Castles, 2003). He sees this evolution in the framework of political economy, as the product of a general process of globalization that created "a system of selective inclusion and exclusion of specific areas and groups, which maintains and exacerbates inequality" (p. 16). His statement that "Forced migration is not the result of a string of unconnected emergencies but rather an integral part of North-South relationships" (p. 17) leads to the necessity of considering a very general framework of explanations, loosely connected to world system theory, and which could be summarized with the label "social transformations". In simple terms, globalization increases economic inequalities around the world, undermines traditional regulation mechanisms, and fosters conflicts and human rights abuse, even as it simultaneously increases the level of connexion between the different parts of the world through a process of trans-nationalization. This in

turn leads to a massive surge in various forms of migration which, to a certain extent, “blur[s] the distinction between forced and economic migration” (p. 17).

*Exit instead of voice or loyalty*

The previous two lines of arguments explain forced migration on a macro scale, but do not consider the possible agency of refugees themselves. In this sense they do not depart from the old assumption mentioned above that refugees are merely passive victims. A third line of thought suggests that in certain circumstances the flight and the direction of the flight can be an autonomous choice. Albert O. Hirschman’s *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (1970) undertakes a study of “responses to decline in firms, organizations and states” that considers the triad of Exit (i.e. emigration), Voice (protest) and Loyalty as mutually exclusive alternatives available to citizens of an unsatisfactory state. Hirschman (1970) provides insights into the conditions under which emigration becomes the response when individuals face violence, insecurity or persecution that undermine their loyalty, while the authoritative control of the State on freedom of speech and political association makes the “voice” option too dangerous.

Hirschman refined his theory after applying it to the disintegration of the German Democratic Republic and the sudden outflow of refugees it generated in 1989. In the case of Eastern Germany, the relation between emigration and contestation at home (voice) appeared to be that of a tandem where both “reinforced each other, achieving jointly the collapse of the regime” (Albert O. Hirschman, 1993, p. 13 in the reprint version). Other recent studies relying on Hirschman’s framework, such as Hoffmann (2004) on Cuban refugees, offer evidences that in other cases the inverse relationship suggested by Hirschman between exit and voice remains valid: some government have deliberately tolerated or even encouraged the exit of refugee in order to ease the contestation within the country.

In any case, although Hirschman’s contribution remains more “a conceptual framework” than an operational model or a grand theory (Hoffmann, 2004, p. 35) it is of great interest for forced migration theory building because it underlines the possible margin of action of certain refugees and call for a global analysis of the alternatives which are open to potential migrants. A second, even more important contribution is that Hirschman reintroduces the role of the State of origin in the analysis of refugee flows. By opening or closing its borders, by actively seeking to curb emigration or on the contrary by encouraging it, the State of origin plays a central role in shaping refugee flows. This role was often

neglected, under the assumption that the country of origin of refugee would be, by definition, in turmoil and unable to control the movements of its citizens.

Our very sketchy overview of migration theories allows us to turn now toward the work of Jovan Cvijić and to appreciate the originality of his contribution.

### **Jovan Cvijić and migration theory**

The tenth and eleventh chapters of *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* (Cvijić, 1918a) are devoted to the study of migration and their causes whereas chapter twelve analysis discuss their consequences. Contrary to other parts of the book related to so called “zones of civilization” which were linked to publications by Cvijić in English speaking journals such as the *Geographical Review* (Cvijić, 1918b), the ideas of Cvijić on migration were not made available beyond a French or Serbo-Croatian speaking public. Whereas chapter 10 offers a description of the main historic migration flows in the Balkan region, chapter 11 is a very original attempt at enumerating the various causes of migration. It hence paves the way toward building a theory. At that time, such an attempt was very rare in human geography and in social sciences in general. In the *Ecole française de géographie* of Vidal de la Blache the topic of migration was indeed nearly absent<sup>2</sup>. The only predecessors of Cvijić are thus the XIX century geographers Ratzel in Germany (Ratzel, 1882; 1903) and Ravenstein in the UK (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889). Ratzel mainly considered migration at the very broad scale of “Völkerwanderung” (Migration of large groups of related individuals such as tribes or kinships). In that context he identified three main drivers of migration: 1) insufficient crop yield and soil resources, 2) “political” expulsion by another group, 3) conquest of another territory. Ravenstein took a very different path. Based on the observation of internal migration within the United Kingdom and of international migration among nineteen countries around the world, he attempted to identify regularities in migration processes (his famous laws of migration) at various scales. He considered that economic drivers were prominent<sup>3</sup> beside unpleasant climate, bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, uncongenial social surroundings and compulsion but did not attempt to enumerate the main drivers of migration within a coherent theoretical framework. A few years later and despite the fact that he does not make any

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<sup>2</sup> The issue of temporary migration (nomadism) is addressed by a famous follower of Vidal: Jean-Brunhes (1910).

<sup>3</sup> “It does not admit of doubt that the call for labor in our centers of industry and commerce is the prime cause of those currents of migration which it is the object of this paper to trace” (1885, p. 198).

reference to their work, how to place Cvijić contribution beside the pioneer work of Ratzel and Ravenstein?

### *Definition of migration and sources*

Cvijić suggests the term “métanastasiques” from the Greek “change of habitat”<sup>4</sup> to define the focus of his investigations. The main aim of this new terminology is for him to differentiate modern migrations from older currents. It is nevertheless interesting to note that by focusing on the change of habitat, Cvijić differentiates migratory movements from shorter term forms of mobility. He suggests in that sense a definition that was not present in the works of Ratzel and Ravenstein and is actually close to the contemporaneous definition of migration by the United Nations which — although there is no formal legal definition - is also focused on a change of residence (= habitat): a migrant is someone who changes his or her country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status<sup>5</sup>.

The main source for Cvijić reconstruction of past migration in the Balkans are family registers<sup>6</sup> (čitulja) and the ethnographic studies of his collaborators. The 1/200,000 map mentioned in p. 114 seems to be very unfortunately lost. Cvijić also identifies the main itineraries of migration and what he calls “cols et vallées métanastasiques” (metanastazic mountain passes and valleys). This echoes one of Ravenstein’s laws: “Migratory currents flow along certain well defined geographical channels” (1889, p. 284). Areas producing important currents of migration are named “pays-ruches” (hive countries) whereas Ravenstein would have used “counties of dispersion”. Cvijić also notes that “les émigrants se dirigeaient rarement d'une seule traite des pays-ruches, d'où la population essaïmait comme d'une ruche, vers ceux où ils voulaient s'installer, vers les pays de colonisation. Pour des causes multiples, ils s'arrêtaient un ou deux ans, parfois

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<sup>4</sup> “Pour caractériser les migrations dont je parle, pour les différencier, d'une part des invasions et des grandes migrations du début du Moyen-Age, de l'autre des migrations qui s'opèrent au cours des conquêtes et de l'agrandissement territorial des Etats balkaniques entre le IXe siècle et l'invasion turque, et pour en mieux faire ressortir le caractère et la grande importance ethnique, je les désignerai d'un nom spécial : mouvements métanastasiques (du mot grec qui signifie changement d'habitat)” (p. 113).

<sup>5</sup> Generally, a distinction is made between short-term or temporary migration, covering movements with a duration between three and 12 months, and long-term or permanent migration, referring to a change of country of residence for a duration of one year or more (<https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions>). Interestingly IOM adopts a much broader — and problematic — definition of migration irrespective of the length of stay (International Organization for Migration, 2016) <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>.

<sup>6</sup> A kind of source that was also central for two other pioneers of migration studies: Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus. In their case parochial registers.

une dizaine d'années dans quelque contrée intermédiaire, près des routes transversales, ou même un peu à l'écart de celles-ci: des pays de séjour temporaire” (p. 114). This point echoes the “step by step” process outlined by Ravenstein (1885, p. 199) but is indeed different. Ravenstein had more of a “domino effect” in mind: “The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influence felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom”. Cvijić points more toward a progressive individual process stretching over long periods of time.

### *Causes of metanastazic movements*

Chapter 11 of *La Péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* intends to identify the causes of migrations and constitutes the most innovative contribution of Cvijić on this issue. A distinction is made between “historic causes” (related in the case of the Balkans to the Turkish invasion) and “economic causes” but they overlap so that a synthetic list of what could be named “Cvijić laws of migration”:

1. Upheaval against political oppression often lead to emigration, especially among populations with a national consciousness (p. 126)
2. Oppression, violence and more generally insecurity regarding goods and populations are causes of departure (p. 126)
3. There is an inverse link between soil property and migration: landless families (tenants or peasant without properties) are always the ones who leave first (p. 128)
4. There is a class dimension regarding migration: wealthier populations leave first and poorer families at a later stage (p. 128) [although one could note that this might contradict 3]
5. The natural environment plays an important role on migration as it impacts on economic productivity and resources<sup>7</sup> (p. 135). Soil infertility and bad crops are important drivers or accelerators of emigration<sup>8</sup> (p. 133/5)

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<sup>7</sup> “Les mauvaises récoltes, la famine, les épizooties accélèrent le cours normal des migrations économiques. Les régions karstiques, en effet, souffrent de la sécheresse d'été plus que tout autre terrain : la végétation est rapidement brûlée et la population privée de récoltes et de foin pour le bétail. La disette s'aggrav[e] par le manque de communications qui empêch[e] le blé d'arriver en quantité suffisante” (p. 135).

<sup>8</sup> “On constate une différence très nette entre le pays-ruche, qui est en même temps une région de ressources médiocres, et le pays de colonisation, qui se distingue toujours par une grande fertilité” (p. 133).



6. Emigration are often produced by a growing population density (p. 134)<sup>9</sup>
7. Some populations do have a psychological propensity to migrate (p. 134)<sup>10</sup>
8. Economic development of industries, mines and rail infrastructure are already attracting migration in Western Europe and will do so in the Balkan in the future (p. 137).
9. Superstition and fears can also act as drivers of migration<sup>11</sup>.

Beside these regularities, Cvijić also note some other features of migration that are in line with very contemporaneous issues. Regarding what would be now called “transnationalism” or “network migration” he notes that strong links are sometime kept between those who stay and those who left and that these connections allow complex time-space configurations of migration: “Suivant une vieille coutume, un membre; de la zadruga restait avec sa famille dans l'ancien foyer; on lui laissait les immeubles et les meubles grossiers qu'on ne pouvait pas transporter. Les autres étaient portés par les chevaux qui marchaient en colonne en avant de la troupe. A cette caravane se mêlaient quelques brebis, des veaux et des vaches mais presque jamais les boeufs de labour. Chaque grande migration était précédée par quelques éclaireurs qui choisissaient des contrées de colonisation et y séjournaient parfois quelques années avant le départ définitif. (...) Les groupes émigrants faisaient-ils partie d'une tribu ou de grandes zadrugas apparentées, ils installaient alors quelques-uns de leurs membres à proximité des cols et des gués qui servaient de passages; et ces “maisons” “bien connues, souvent réputées, accueillait, et hospitalisaient les nouveaux venus pendant plusieurs générations; ainsi se trouvait assurée la sécurité de la région et des troupes d'émigrants. Il y avait là tout un système de précautions prises en vue des migrations” (p. 128).

### **Conclusion: Cvijić and contemporary theories of migration**

The three first part of this paper have summarized a well-developed and structured, if not fully coherent, corpus of theories of “voluntary” and “forced” migration. In the fourth part we have added to this picture a synthesis of the

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<sup>9</sup> “Chaque migration puissante est précédée d'un accroissement de population tel qu'il aboutit au surpeuplement de la montagne; les moyens de subsistance deviennent alors insuffisants”.

<sup>10</sup> “La mobilité est parfois favorisée par un trait psychique spécial; par exemple, la population de la basse Herzégovine, plus avide de bien-être et de richesse, se décide plus facilement à l'exode.”

<sup>11</sup> “Il arriva un jour qu'un aigle survolant l'oro, tandis que les jeunes gens dansaient, laissa tomber un morceau de viande; on considéra le fait comme un mauvais présage, annonçant de prochains carnages, et les paysans se décidèrent à changer l'emplacement du village” (p. 137).

neglected contribution of Jovan Cvijić to migration theory at the beginning of the XX century. Although they were developed on the sole basis of the Balkan case, Cvijić analysis are strikingly in line with current discussion on migration theory. Cvijić is indeed among the few who put side by side “economic” drivers and “political” drivers of migration, a conceptualization that was outlined by Ratzel only very broadly and that is not to be found in the work of Ravenstein, the other major pioneer of migrations studies.

Looking at the impressive list of migration drivers identified by Cvijić one must admit that he offers a rich material for migration theorization. Some of his statements are outdated: as mentioned in the first part of this paper the psychological approaches toward migration do not consider some specific populations as having neither collective nor individual characteristics that would make them more or less migratory. Other statements, on the contrary, are fully in line with contemporaneous research questions linked to transnationalism (Dahinden, 2017) or the links between class and migration (Van Hear, 2014). Just as Ravenstein’s laws, they suggest research hypotheses that are as valuable today as they were 100 years ago. This makes of Cvijić an important but forgotten figure of migration study.

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# METHODS AND TECHNIQUES FOR STUDYING MIGRATION IN TRADITIONAL ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHIC AND CONTEMPORARY POPULATION STUDIES

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**Abstract:** The universality of human mobility is caused by the development of society and culture and is gaining unprecedented scale in the contemporary world. The spatial mobility in Serbia in the last two centuries is characterized by transition from traditional to modern mobility, various types, scope and characteristics. In this paper will be analysed the possibility for studying spatial mobility using different methods and techniques, from traditional anthropogeographical to modern methods of scientific research. At the beginning, traditional general and specific anthropogeographical methods and techniques are identified, emphasizing the importance of field research and surveys made in line with Cvijić's instructions. In the mid-twentieth century, increase of spatial mobility at all territorial levels required the modification of the methodology of migration research by introducing statistical and mathematical methods and population models. That corresponds to the development of statistics introducing a number of questions about migration patterns in censuses, migration statistics and population registers. In recent period, the compatibility and interconnection of traditional anthropogeographic and modern methodologies in the analysis of migration phenomena are clearly visible. This allows the identification of determinants and measures for managing migration patterns and flows from local, regional, national to the global level.

**Keywords:** migration; population; methods; anthropogeography; human geography; Serbia

## Introduction

Human migrations are not a new phenomenon. They influenced the world from the earliest time and represent an important component of development. In the modern period, traditional migration flows are complemented by new types of spatial mobility due to changes in geographic, demographic, economic, political and social conditions in the countries of origin and destination. The intensity, complexity and impact of migration flows have increased significantly. Because of this one can say that migration covers entire world like spider webs blankets. On the world map, increasingly number of countries has been at the same time identified as countries of origin, transit and destination. In 2017, there were 258 million international migrants, or 3.4% of the world's total population and more than 700 million internal migrants (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017). This means that every seventh person

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in the world has changed his place of residence at least once in his lifetime. Based on these, it can be pointed out that spatial mobility is the most important determinant of population dynamics and changes in one territory. Therefore, the topic of migration in scientific studies is justified in continuous period through the determination of relations with other elements of spatial-demographic system, as well as through the connection between migration and other elements of spatial systems important for the development planning. As the dynamics of migration has been continuously changing, diverse empirical, theoretical, and methodological challenges have defined the field of migration research.

Considering all mentioned above, it is obvious that the study of migration flows, migration networks, and the functioning of traditional and modern migration systems, is only possible using the interdisciplinary perspective. In increasingly complex spatial mobility of different types, specific causes and consequences, and the complexity of future prediction, at global as well as at regional levels, none of the individual scientific disciplines can comprehensively observe the migration phenomenon. This speaks in favour of the need for correlation of scientific disciplines that are addressing this problem, and the validity of each of them, to look for the theoretical and methodological framework and sources of data considering migration. At the same time, with the expansion of the empirical structure of census and migration statistics, it is necessary to create and conduct special surveys in which each scientific discipline will be focus at its most relevant features for explaining the phenomenon of migrations, their causes and consequences. In this context, the spatial aspects of migration, the demographic characteristics of the migrant population and the connection of contemporary and historical trends of spatial mobility with the estimation for the future are extremely important and leads to efficient migration policy (Spasovski & Šantić, 2016).

### **Methods and techniques for studying migration in traditional anthropogeographic school**

In the entire scientific work of Jovan Cvijić in the first decades of the XX century, the questions of migration were of special significance. The migration phenomenon was regarded by our prominent scientist as the most important field of research and the basic issue of anthropogeography, essential in understanding spatial distribution and characteristics of population living in certain geographical areas. Through this research is connected the history of the Balkan Peninsula with cultural processes and changes. That essentially determined the historical, cultural, social, demographic and geopolitical implications of the spatial distribution and composition of the population from micro, mezo to macro regional levels.

The complex methodological principle of the traditional Serbian anthropogeographical school was developed according to specific and intensive field work, and was reflected in the application and combining of a wide range of scientific methods. Those methods are: method of direct observation, geographic-comparative method, historical-genetic method, cartographic method, methods of systematization, classification and typology (Stevanović, 2012; Martinović, 2016).

Explaining the methods used in his research, Cvijić stated that observation and experience were the most valuable and gave the most important results. This basic Cvijić's method was accepted by his students and followers in later research. He separated direct, on-the-spot observation and indirect observation where he considered the use of ethnological and anthropographic data (folk costumes, folklore, dialects, language, different forms of houses and buildings, differences in everyday life, study of history and historiographic data). In Cvijić's work, there is also a kind of interviewing as a type of qualitative scientific method (Janković, 2001). Another characteristic of the theoretical and methodological approach is usage of typology method. Mitrović emphasized the importance of this specific method, pointing out that Cvijić applied it in such a successful way that nobody "before and not even after him, did not use all cognitive values of the typological approach to socio-cultural phenomena" (Mitrović, 1999, p. 47). In his scientific work, Cvijić developed different kind of typologies, among which is typology of migration flows which represented the basis to divide the most important migration flows and research of population origin, spatial mobility and distribution. According to Cvijić, there is another important methodological moment — the coordination of theoretical understanding and methodology of a series of related sciences in order to study certain scientific problem, that is, interdisciplinary approach. He combined and applied all the knowledge that helped him to better explain the subject of research: knowledge in ethnology, demography, geography, economics, psychology, sociology, history, etc. (Janković, 2001).

Jovan Cvijić realized that the great methodological value of the migrations study is research of the characteristics of the social groups. In this sense, he perceived the specifics and uses the comparison between the characteristics of an autochthonous and colonized population (migrants), understood the significance of these processes in general, but also in the methodological sense (as a substitute for an experiment in social sciences) and considers them as a type of anthropogeographical experiments, that can inform us about the change in psychic types. In his study are also represented the problems of the anthropogeographical, ethnological, and sociological researches of local communities, which is closely



related to the study of migration. The study of the population origin (the results of the past migrations) should have been used to understand the genesis of settlements, the emergence of its current structure (house, property), social ties and psychic traits, but Cvijić considered it very important in studying the changes that migration can bring in the life of local community (Cvijić, 1991).

In Cvijić's methodological and research process, the systemic principle applied to the anthropogeographical-ethnographic process (i.e. the process of genesis, evolution and transformation of anthropogenic systems) is implicitly emphasized (Grčić, 2004). This system approach is consisting of four basic provisions: the integrity of research objects; its complex structure and hierarchy of the organization; links between elements and phenomena and the existence and mutual relations of a large number of variable factors (Radovanović, 1982).

The methodological plan for field research was set up in the work *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemaljama* [*Guidelines for the study of villages in Serbia and other Serbian lands*, 1896]. In accordance with the anthropogeographical specifics, until 1898, three more instructions were inscribed (for Serbia, Old Serbia and Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), and then the *Uputstva za ispitivanje naselja i psihičkih osobina* [*Guidelines for the study of settlements and psychological traits*, 1911] and *Uputstva za ispitivanje porekla stanovništva i psihičkih osobina* [*Guidelines for the study of the population origin and psychological traits*, 1922] (Martinović, 2016). These guidelines were created as a result of extensive and comprehensive field research, which collected large documentation, which enabled the reconstruction of basic migration flows, and their causes and consequences on the anthropogeographical, ethnographic, socio-cultural and geospatial characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula.

In his work *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskog poluostrva* [*Anthropogeographical Problems of the Balkan Peninsula*] in 1902 Cvijić set up a plan and program of research of settlements and population origin, which were feasible only through organized work, from village to village and from house to house. He highlighted some methodological principles: you have to be aware of the research problem and then you collect the material for it; the research task should pointed out various different and complicated causes and consequences in correlation with nature and human society; the method of description should be overcome and the phenomenon of everyday life should be completely explained; explanations and findings should be based on existing factography and anthropogeographical and ethnographic phenomena must be linked with material basis (Cvijić, 1902). This book practically launched the Edition *Naselja*

*i poreklo stanovništva* [*Settlements and origins of the population*] which was part of the Serbian Ethnographic Collections of Papers (Serbian Academy of Science), which was of immense importance for further research in this field. Cvijić himself claimed that this edition will be the most beautiful and the most lasting monument, and our descendants will know how to appreciate it (Cvijić, 1902; Martinović, 2016; Spasovski & Šantić, 2016).

Another capital work of Jovan Cvijić, with fundamentals of anthropogeography is *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije* [*Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography*], first published in French in 1918 as *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* [*Balkan Peninsula — human geography*]. Actually, the book was a collection of his lectures on Sorbonne in Paris. Sion Z. in behalf of the French geographers said that Cvijić introduced to the geographers of the Western Europe new approaches and teaches them how to apply geographic method. He highlighted that the value of Cvijić's work was marked by the spirit and originality of his method (Dukić, 1965). In this book the main results in the research of "metanastazic" or migration flows were presented. Those flows were predisposed by the directors of the relief and had the great influence on the ethnic processes and changes in spatial distribution of the population at Balkan (Cvijić, 1991).

As the result of such complex research, it was founded that all inhabitants from the Veles gorge to Zagrebačka Gora were displaced from the Middle the people were changed, one ethnic group was replaced by other of different characteristics. This created a cross-breeding population, which was mixed and led to changes in the ethnic composition of areas due to migration. There were no more old or medieval ethnic types and a new ethnic amalgam was formed (Cvijić, 1902; Cvijić, 1991). In his researches of "metanastazic" flows, Cvijić demonstrated his art of creating great scientific syntheses, linking geographic, social, cultural, historical and ethnological factors. His work places Cvijić's anthropogeographical school at the top of European and world science research in the field of geography and related disciplines.

### **New approaches to the study of migration**

Recent years have witnessed growing interest in migration issues. The need and importance of new approaches in the study of spatial mobility has been recognized in many countries in the world, corresponding to the expansion of theoretical thinking, methods and research techniques, empirical materials of censuses and special surveys, as well as the need for adequate migration policies (Spasovski & Šantić, 2016). Migration has become a firmly established

interdisciplinary field with an increasing number of research institutes, publications and academic programs. The key academic editorials increasingly publish collections, handbooks, textbooks and companions on the key issues of migration studies. One analysis finds that number of issues and original articles released by the scientific journals related to this topic are three times higher than in the early 2000s (Yalaz & Barrero, 2017).

Due to the strengthening of all forms and types of spatial mobility on national and global levels, the spatial distribution was significantly changed in the short term, based on divergent trends in the natural change (depopulation and population expansion). The consequences of increased spatial mobility at all regional levels have become more significant, more complex, multiplied among elements not only in geospatial but also in demographic, geo-ecological, social, economic and cultural systems. In line with that, the analysis of new trends of migration is methodologically challenging.

The main statistical sources regarding migration are censuses, population registers and surveys. Traditional censuses have high cost. Some countries has the opposition of conducting it, and there is need for more frequently updated statistics. General migration statistics provided data on the size of migration flows and stock of migrants, but often lack data about characteristics of migration and about determinants, mechanisms and consequences of those processes. Administrative databases and population registers are often more reliable, the flows and stock data can be observed and estimates more frequently updated. The problem could arise in protection of individual data and in exclusion of some important categories of migrants (Perrin & Poulain, 2007). Traditional statistical methods are no longer sufficient to measure all different aspects of migration, so the development of special surveys as additional tools for research is of great importance (Bonifazi et al., 2008). Nevertheless, having in mind all deficiency considering quantitative data, it is necessary to emphasize that without data, there is no knowledge-based decisions or analyses which often lead to efficient migration policy.

Moving from the quantitative approach that have often characterized migration research, qualitative methods in migration studies explores in a concise but comprehensive way the key issues involved in researching migratory phenomena. It addresses themes including the basic characteristics of contemporary migration, qualitative research into processes related to migration, and the relationship between theory, research design and practice. Traditional qualitative data collection methods are interviews which are essential tools,

participant observations, document analysis. Relatively new qualitative tools are internet-mediated research and visual analysis (Yalaz & Barrero, 2017).

Recently, the importance of comparative research in migration studies is often highlighted. Comparative migration studies are characterized by their research design and the conceptual focus on cases, not by a particular type of data or method. They use the full breadth of evidence commonly employed by academic researchers, from in-depth interview data to mass survey responses, and from documentary materials to observations in the field. The type of evidence combines qualitative and quantitative tools — mix method research, which arises in response to the challenges of contemporary theory of migration. Mix methods are useful approach of research in new areas of migration in order to carry out the synthesizing task expected from geographer (Castles, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013).

### **The study of migration in Serbia in the last 60 years**

The study of internal migration in Serbia in the second half of the XX century was more on the basis of statistical and empirical data, with the emergence of new and modernized questionnaires. The main objective of these studies was migration flows from rural to urban areas, as a form of modern migration, related to the processes of industrialization, urbanization and deagrarianization. Research in this period was based more on statistical documentation and less on field work, focused on determining the scope and direction of migration flows, as well as on the particular type of demographic, economic, social and other aspects of migration, rather than on monitoring migration flows. As an example of migration analysis are special edition from Census 1948 *Population by place of origin*, and the study from 1961 Census *Migration in Yugoslavia*. Data about place of origin in censuses after the Second World War was gathered using the indirect method. This method provided the information about the scope, pace and direction of mobility and gave a general picture of the migration structure and indication of migration flows. But there was a lack of knowledge about migration history, as well as the causes and consequences of spatial mobility (Sentić & Obradović, 1963).

In Census 1961 for the first time, the topic was regional migration flows combined with the time component and the selectivity of migrants by different characteristics. The main questions were: where you came from and when? which provides a possibility for analysing different types of migration, place of origin and time span. Also, very important question that was treated for the first time in our censuses considered circulation (in Serbian literature is called daily migration)

of students and labour. In further censuses there was a great improvement considering migration. For example, the last census 2011 provide the overview of the data on migratory characteristics of population; data on the total, autochthonous and migrant population by the territory from which they moved to the current place of usual residence; data on migrant population by the area from which they had moved and time of arrival; data on the population by the country of birth and citizenship (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2013).

Data referred to international migrants were gathered in censuses 1971, 1981 and 1991. The data collected in those censuses is a good sample for the analysis of the various structures of emigrants and additional analysis of the areas from which persons depart abroad. According to the methodologies of the censuses, our citizens who were temporarily working abroad, as well as the members of their family, were included in the total population of the Republic of Serbia. In compliance with the international recommendations, in the 2002 Census, the total population of the Republic of Serbia included our citizens whose work and stay abroad was for less than a year. That provides an incomplete coverage of our citizens working and living abroad. Despite that fact, census is still the only source of statistical data of our citizens' abroad (Stanković, 2014).

In research of migration in the last 50 years there were several attempts of making special surveys according to traditional Cvijić instructions. Trial census in 1960 was conducted in the form of survey and included a set of questions on migration: the place of birth, place of residence, duration of stay in the place of permanent residence, place of origin and work, the reason for immigration, with whom person migrate, but the data in the survey was not completed. University of Belgrade — Faculty of Geography and the Republic Statistical Office made a detailed questionnaire and guidelines for migration research in 1996 based on UN surveys. They had drafted two questionnaires: the Questionnaire for Household MIG-1 and Questionnaire for Migrants MIG-2. The Household questionnaire contains questions about the household and characteristics of its members and possibility to explore migration history which is in combination with data related to traditional customs and nationality of ancestors important for the research of population origin. The questionnaire for the migrants provided complete migration history, family migration data and information about migration impact on family structures, both in place of origin and destination. The questionnaire obtained characteristics related to the main causes of migration and the types of migration that were most affective in demographic development in different historical periods (Spasovski, 1998; Spasovski & Šantić, 2016).

Considering the scientific and applicative research of these phenomena in the world, and the rich statistical and empirical data base in Serbia, at the beginning of the XXI century, and in the conditions of war, the dissolution of the FY and the redistribution of the population of the Balkans based on migration, as well as the latest transit migration route through Serbia, it can be stated that a key problem for today's researchers as at the time of Cvijić research, migration monitoring. One should observe the modern spatial composition of the Serbian population and the influence of certain migration flows and the formation of population potentials on different territorial levels. There is also a great similarity with migration flows in history determined by Cvijić's anthropogeographical school, emphasizing once again the cyclicity of the historical processes which caused population mobility.

### **Conclusion**

Cvijić's anthropogeographical school is firmly scientifically funded and represents an exceptional example of an interdisciplinary approach, emphasizing complex system of relations between man and his geographical environment. With its integral, holistic and systematic approach which upgrades and enriches the corpus of quantitative and qualitative scientific methods that have evolved, Cvijić's methods are up-to-date. An integral approach to the social phenomenon enables the generalization of empirical data and leads to the connection of all the parts into a single cognitive unit.

In essence, the modern methodology does not differ from Cvijić's. Our prominent scientist insisted that his students and associates should go on-site, "from home to home" collecting questions of family origin and migration. Today, large institutes, statistical services and research teams are using similar methods, through mass questionnaires. It is important to point out the significance of mix method research in contemporary migration studies. Due to lack of reliable quantitative data which can be transform into usable statistics, it is of great importance to complement it with qualitative research methods. By doing so, one can provide an insight and dive deeper into the problem.

Despite the fact that migration research requires a complex organization, it can be stated that today we know a lot and at the same time very little about this phenomenon. There is a need for a multidisciplinary approach in addressing it to determine and direct the activities of the government in order to pursue economic, social and spatial development, which will be reflected through the measures of the population policy.

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## CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION MOVEMENTS AMONG MACEDONIA AND THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

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**Abstract:** The long process of transition, the historical, geographical and political events, socio-economic conditions, geographical connectivity and the social and psychological factors are the causes of the migration movements towards and from Macedonia and the other Balkan countries. The scope of the migration flow, intensity, the direction of the movements, the structure, the causes of migration, in different time periods had different characteristics. Nowadays, they are related to the current situation in the country and its surroundings. The data and the findings of the researches done so far point to the fact that Macedonia is a migration country, from where a significant extent of emigration of citizens of Macedonia has been continuously recorded, mostly directed towards countries outside the Balkans. However, in the analyzed period, another feature of the migration movements is recorded, expressed through immigration of citizens and foreigners. Based on official data, in this paper are analyzed the immigration and emigration movements of the citizens of Macedonia and foreigners towards and from the Balkan countries, from the beginning of the XXI century. The aim of this paper is to analyze the intensity of migration and the consequences they leave on the demographic, economic and social development.

**Keywords:** immigration; emigration; population; Balkan countries; Macedonia

### Introduction

The immigration and emigration movements among Macedonia and the Balkan countries are shaped under the influence of the existing social, political, historical and economic developments. In recent history, the war activities in the 1990s on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the war conflict in Macedonia in 2001 and the world economic crisis are just some events that influenced the directions, the intensity and the scope of the migration movements. An important role was also played by the small mutual geographical distance of the countries, the recognizability of the space, the common past and the established correlations of diverse communication of people in different spheres, especially with the population of the former Yugoslav republics. The small spatial distance between the starting point and the final destination of the migrant always leaves room for an easier return to their motherland. By doing so, the migrant takes a lower risk while migrating and is exposed to smaller finances. On the other

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hand, their demographic characteristics, cultural and religious affiliation and the language of communication have their own influence. In case they are the same or related, they are the factors for attracting a certain population to a new ambient of the social environment, where there is an easier adaptation of the individual.

The scope of the migration flows is directly dependent on the type of policy for promoting good neighborly relations and respecting the rights of the minorities. Sometimes, the migration movements are eased also because of the possibility for the citizens to pass the borders using an ID card, such as the example of Serbia and Albania.

Mainly, the Balkan countries do not differ according to their economic prosperity, the developed labor market, high employment opportunities and higher profits, (perhaps except for Slovenia and Greece), which does not make them very attractive destinations for economic migrants from Macedonia. Therefore, their migration movements usually end up in the Western European or overseas countries. The emphasized emigration of Macedonian citizens to the European countries is closely correlated with the migration regulations of European immigration countries (Janeska, Lozanoska, & Djambaska, 2016). In overseas destinations, a considerable part of Macedonian immigrants are citizens of the receiving state. Furthermore, fairly large Macedonian minorities can be found in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Italy and Turkey. In Turkey, most of the migrants from Macedonia are ethnic Turks who had adopted the Turkish citizenship. In Switzerland and EU-27 countries, Macedonians have predominantly entered as labour migrants and are part of the foreign population (Dietz, 2010).

For a long period, the Macedonian citizens needed visas for almost all countries with the exception of some former Yugoslav republics and former Soviet Union countries (Markiewicz, 2006). To some extent, this was eased with certain political regulations, i.e., removal of the visa barrier in 2009, and permission for staying abroad for up to three months. In order to avoid these regulations, one of the approaches was applying for a citizenship of the neighboring countries.

According to the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice, from 2000 till mid-2006 there were over 80 thousand applications for citizenship out of which, 30 thousands were from Macedonia. It was not disclosed how many of these 30 thousand of applicants were granted Bulgarian citizenship (Markiewicz, 2006). In the period when Bulgaria became an EU member, the Macedonian citizens were given the opportunity to get Bulgarian passports. This way it was easier for them to move

abroad and find employment. “Some people of ethnic Macedonian background treat Bulgarian passports as fetishized objects, that is to say, powerful objects that hold out the promise of changing Macedonians’ lives by offering them access to socio-economic opportunities already available to citizens of EU member states” (Neofotistos, 2014, p.49).

Macedonia is a mainly emigration country, but it is rather difficult to identify the number and the socio-demographic background of Macedonian citizens who live outside their country of origin. While official 2002 census data<sup>2</sup> found 22,995 Macedonian citizens living outside the country for up to one year and 12,128 staying longer (SSORM, 2004, p. 18–19), estimations range from 350,000 to 2 million people (Van Selm, 2007). According the State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, the number of emigrated Macedonian citizens is small because this number refers only to the persons who officially registered their stay abroad (Janeska, Lozanoska, & Djambaska, 2016).

The World Bank statistics according to the migrant’s country of origin, shows that the total number of the Macedonian citizens (migration stock) abroad was 564,949 till the end of 2017 (World Bank, 2018). That is about 27% of the whole population of the country.<sup>3</sup> According to OECD (2016) the number, (stock data) of foreigners by nationality, from Macedonia is 294,586. At the same time, according the foreign — born population by the country of birth, this number is 425,208. But this figure does not include data on the number of emigrated Macedonian citizens in many overseas and European countries.

According to IOM (2017), are evidenced 534,700 Macedonian citizens as international emigrants, (more than 25,7% of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia).<sup>3</sup> They are mostly settled in Germany, then Italy and Switzerland, as well as Sweden, Austria, France, Holland and the other European and overseas countries. According the same data source, 131,000 international migrants (stock data) are registered in Macedonia. From the total number of immigrants, two-thirds are from Albania and Serbia (Albania — 67,900; Serbia — 18,000).

This paper intends to point out certain migration correlations among Balkan countries in the XXI century. This also creates an opportunity for discussion of

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<sup>2</sup> The last census of the population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia was conducted in 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Based on the population estimates, 2,075,301 inhabitants lived in the Republic of Macedonia in 2017. <http://makstat.stat.gov.mk> (last accessed on 03.10.2018).

the future demographic picture of the Balkans and the impact on the overall economic and political situation in the region.

### **Methodology and data sources**

At the international level, no universally accepted definition for “migrant” exists. The term migrant was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of “personal convenience” and without intervention of an external compelling factor; it therefore applied to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family (Perruchoud, R & Redpath-Cross, 2011).

This paper considers only international migration which covers the movement of citizens of the Republic of Macedonia to and from other countries, as well as the movement of foreigners. Only regular migration is analyzed, i.e., migration that occurs through recognized, authorized channels (Perruchoud, R & Redpath-Cross, 2011). The refugees as a special category of migrants, originating from the former Yugoslav republics, (especially in the period when they gained their independence) that were directed towards the Republic of Macedonia, are not the subject of this research.

In the analysis, administrative data were used. This includes flow statistic of two categories of migrants: citizens of the Republic of Macedonia and the foreigners who enter or leave the Republic of Macedonia during one calendar year (Ministry of interior, 2018). Citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are persons with Macedonian citizenship that are registered with extended and/or temporary residence/stay in Macedonia. They are also persons with a Macedonian citizenship and are considered as Macedonian population (SSORM, 2018). A foreigner is: a) a person with foreign citizenship and with a permit for extended or temporary residence/stay in the Republic of Macedonia; b) a person with a foreign citizenship and with a valid work permit or business visa registered with a temporary residence/stay in the Republic of Macedonia; c) a person without a recognized citizenship or stateless person who has registered extended or temporary residence/stay in the Republic of Macedonia (SSORM, 2018).

The data are provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which are published by the State Statistical office of the Republic of Macedonia in a separate publication on migration. They are available in a time series since 1992 for the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia and since 1994 for foreigners. The data on the number of Macedonian citizens who live abroad (stock statistics) is taken

from foreign sources for the total number of migrants by the World Bank, OECD and IOM.

In Macedonia data on migration — referring to flow as well as to stock data — are partly lacking. It seems that emigration and immigration flows are not completely recorded. No good information on the education, the regional background, the ethnic affiliation and the gender of emigrants and immigrants exist (Dietz, 2010). There is a lack of data for foreigners who have entered Macedonia from different countries, according to the type of stay: temporary and extended in a larger time series. This makes it almost impossible to carry out more detailed research and to make appropriate conclusions about the further demographic expectations in the country.

The indicated immigration and emigration data include only persons who have left their legal place of residence. A large part of the Macedonian population is absent from the state for a shorter or longer period of time, on a different basis (employment with work permits for a specific time period, education, family connection, etc.). Very often, exits out of the country with travel documents from other countries are not even recorded as exits of Macedonian citizens. The lack of specific and complete data on emigration from Macedonia limits the possibilities to create a real picture of the scope and the direction of the flows.

The analysis in this paper only covers data for the foreigners and citizens of the Republic of Macedonia from the following Balkan countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece. From a methodological point of view, we should point out that the use of statistical data on migration is quite complex when it comes to individual countries. For example, the data for Serbia also summarize the data for S.R. Yugoslavia until 2002, and for Serbia and Montenegro until 2006. This way there is a difficulty to separate migration movements with Serbia and Montenegro, which disables an adequate perception of the situation.

## **Results**

The recorded migration movements from the Balkan countries towards Macedonia and vice versa vary in the scope according to the existing socio-political, economic, social, personal attitudes and events. But, despite the fact that in general, Macedonia is an emigrating country, when it comes to the Balkan countries, the situation is different.

Table 1: Migration flow among Macedonia and the Balkan countries, 2000–2017

Year	Total Immigrated	Immigrated citizens	Immigrated foreigners — temporary stay	Total emigrated	Emigrated citizens	Emigrated foreigners	<sup>4</sup> Total net migration
2000	988	623	365	154	149	5	834
2001	848	439	409	401	250	151	447
2002	991	697	294	120	80	40	871
2003	771	524	247	127	104	23	644
2004	1,176	492	684	99	93	6	1077
2005	1,074	455	619	179	169	10	895
2006	792	148	644	148	130	18	644
2007	879	301	578	62	53	9	817
2008	502	161	341	118	109	9	384
2009	640	178	462	131	129	2	509
2010	933	247	686	250	228	22	683
2011	1,127	266	861	217	201	16	910
2012	1,277	256	1,021	166	146	20	1,111
2013	1,349	367	982	133	108	25	1,216
2014	1,206	154	1,052	120	68	52	1,086
2015	1,713	148	1,565	235	101	134	1,478
2016	1,252	146	1,106	128	56	72	1,124
2017	1,046	179	867	117	12	105	929

Source: Calculated using SSORM (2000–2017), MakStat database (<http://makstat.stat.gov.mk>)

In the total migration flows that have been realized among Macedonia and the Balkan countries (Table 1), the immigration movements are dominant. In 2017 the share of the immigration flows from the Balkan countries towards Macedonia was 39.8% in the total immigration flows which is the lowest share compared to all of the previous analysed years. The immigration of foreigners is particularly evident.

Actually, immigration flows of foreigners are the bearers of the positive net migration, particularly in the period from 2004 to 2017. In the total number of foreigners in Macedonia, those with temporary stay are more dominant, although the number of foreigners with extended stay is increasing (Figure 1).

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<sup>4</sup> The net migration calculations are made by only using data for foreigners with temporary stay.

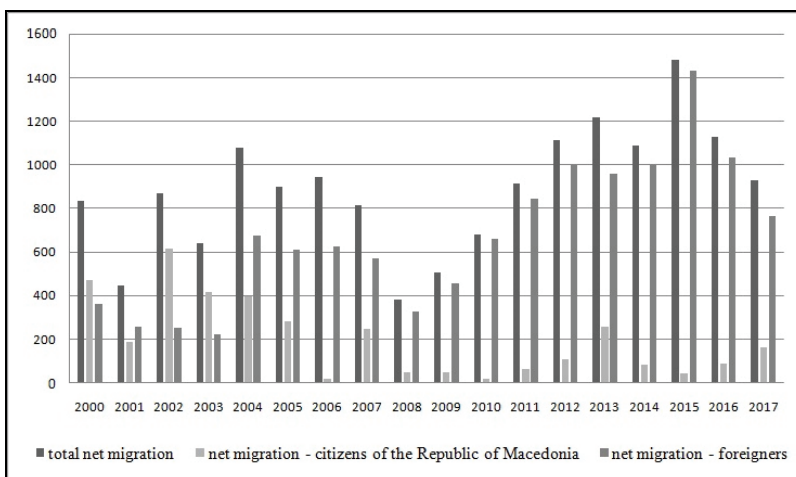


Figure 1: Total net migration for Macedonia and the Balkan countries, for the period 2000–2017

The share of foreigners with extended stay from the Balkan countries in the total number of foreigners with extended stay in Macedonia ranged from 42% in 2017 to 80.5% in 2003 and 2004 (Figure 2).

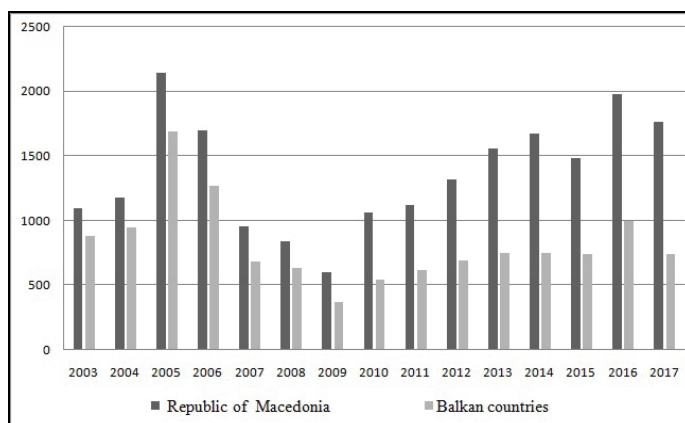


Figure 2: Total number of foreigners with an extended stay in the Republic of Macedonia and foreigners with an extended stay from the Balkan countries

The immigration flows from the neighboring countries towards Macedonia varied (Figure 3). The absolute lowest values were recorded in 2008, then, the number increased until 2015 when the maximum of 1,459 immigration flows was reached. In fact, in the period from 2012 to 2016, over one thousand immigration flows from the neighboring countries were recorded at any time. In



the last analyzed year, the decreasing trend from the previous year is continuing (amounts 891) reaching the level from 11 years ago. The emigration flows from Macedonia to the neighboring countries have larger annual deviations, but it is noticeable that they were most numerous in 2001, when 366 emigration flows were recorded or three times higher values compared to 2000 (Figure 3). This also coincides with the year of the war conflict in the country. The variations continue, reaching the smallest value in 2007 (40 emigration flows), while in some years it approaches nearly 200 emigration flows. In 2017 it is lower compared to the previous nine years and the values are almost as they were in 2008. Accordingly, the lowest net migration values were recorded in 2001, and the highest in 2015, with over 1,200 persons (Figure 3).

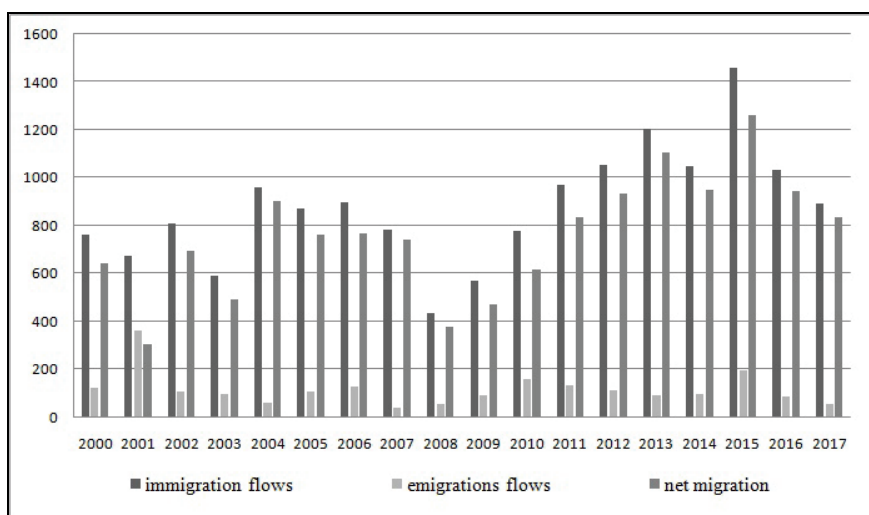


Figure 3: Migration flows among the Republic of Macedonia and the neighboring countries, from 2000 to 2017

A good indicator of the mobility of the population among the Balkan countries and the changes in the direction of the flows is the share of the immigration flows from the neighboring countries towards Macedonia in the total migration movements from the Balkans. This share is quite high and ranges between 77% in 2003 to 89.3% in 2007.

During the last year, the share of immigration flows from the neighboring countries in the total immigration flows of the Balkan countries was 85.2%. In the number of emigration flows the share was 91.3% in 2001, 91.7% in 2002, and the lowest value of 47.5% was recorded in 2008. In the period from 2013 to 2016, the share remains high, reaching over 70%.

A serious change was recorded in 2017, when the value reached 48.7% and it was among the lowest recorded values. All of this suggests that in the previous years, especially the years immediately after the war conflict in 2001, emigrants were mostly directed towards the neighboring countries, but today the situation has changed.

The share of immigration flows from the former Yugoslav republics in the total immigration flows of the Balkan countries reached the highest value in 2000 (82.5%). It declined until 2008 when it reached 49%, then it varied and in 2013 reached its lowest value (41.7). After 2013 it is constantly increasing, reaching the value of 67.1% in 2017 (Figure 4).

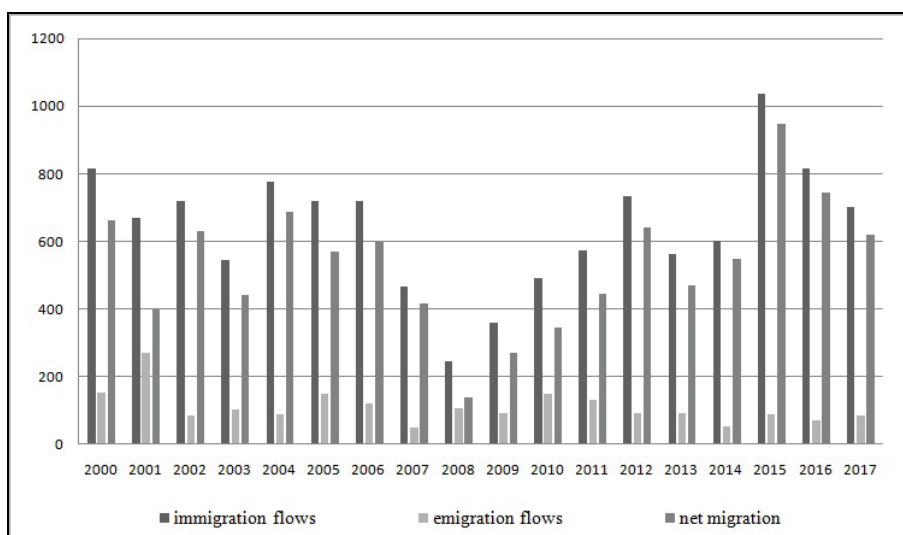


Figure 4: Migration flows among the Republic of Macedonia and the former Yugoslav republics, from 2000 to 2017

The share of the emigration flows in the former Yugoslav republics in the total number of emigration flows of the Balkan countries, recorded the highest value in 2000, i.e. 99.4% and varied, much more compared to the number of immigrants. The lowest value of 37.4% was reached in 2015, and in the last years it increased significantly, reaching 71.8% in 2017. All of this can be linked to the important socio-political events and states in the countries, and Slovenia and Croatia becoming members of the EU. In the structure of immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics, the number of immigrated citizens of Macedonia was dominant until 2008, in some years, reaching over 80%.

Since 2009, the situation has changed, their share is constantly decreasing, and the number of immigrated foreigners becomes dominant, with a share in the total number of immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics higher than 80% since 2010, and highest in 2015, i.e. 92.3%.

When it comes to emigration, most dominant is the emigration of Macedonian citizens. This value is often reaching over 80%, and in some years, the entire number of emigrants were actually Macedonian citizens, with the exception of the last few years. In 2017 their share was only 9.5%. The share of emigrated foreigners is smaller and often ranges between zero and ten percent. An exception has been made in the last few years when this number significantly increased. In 2017 over 90% of the emigrants from Macedonia were foreigners.

### **Discussion**

The analysis shows that in the migration movements among Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan countries the immigration movements from the Balkan countries towards the Republic of Macedonia prevail. Among them, the dominant role in the immigration flows is from the foreigners from the Republic of Serbia (Figure 5). A significant share in the immigration movements has the immigration flows from the territory of the Autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija. If the reasons for why the population migrates are being analyzed, then it is worth noting that the immigration takes place mainly due to marriage, “ethnic affiliations and economic motivations” (Dietz, 2010), but also because of education. Of the total 17,628 students enrolled in the undergraduate study programs, from the academic year 2007/08 till the academic year 2016/17, half were from Serbia, 21.5% of which were from the territory of AP Kosovo and Metohija (Apostolovska Toshevska, Madjevikj, & Ljakoska, 2018). The long period of joint living within the former Yugoslavia, the established relatives, friendship and business relations, the small spatial distance and the easy traffic access, the similarity in the mentality and the knowledge of the languages of communication are the reason for easier interaction and maintaining correlations of different nature.

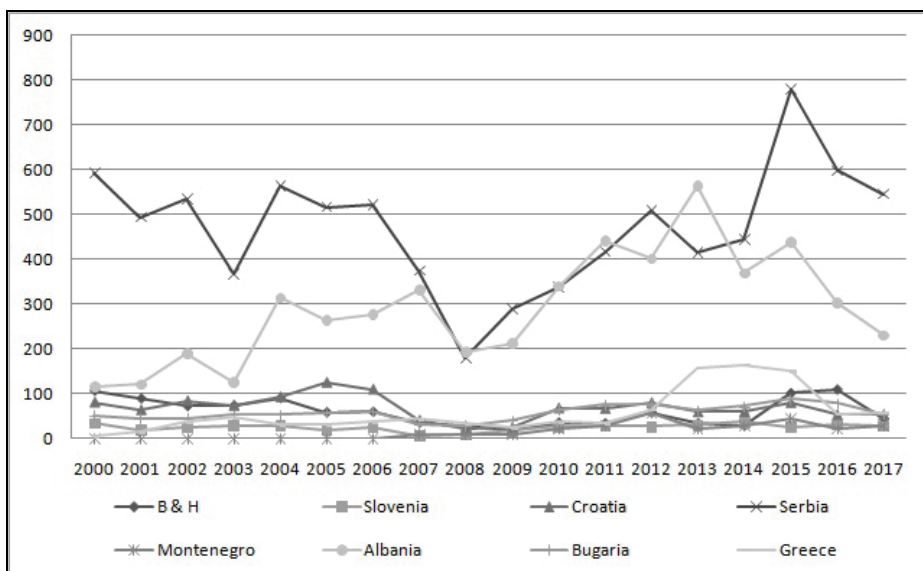


Figure 5: Immigration flows from the Balkan countries

When it comes to immigration, from the other countries the most numerous foreigners are the ones who originate from Albania, followed by Greece and Bulgaria (Figure 5). The immigration of Albanian populations from the territory of AP Kosovo and Metohija and Albania is supported by the same ethnicity and the language of communication of the population in the areas in Macedonia, where they migrate to. It gives them an easier and faster adaptation in the new environment. Certainly, one part of the immigration is with political connotation and long-term ethnic development policies in this part of the Balkans. In fact, this type of immigration had a long tradition in the past. The greatest intensity of that colonization was reached in the period between 1780 and 1840 (Trifunoski, 1988). The immigration also continued in the period between the two world wars, as well as after the Second World War. Highlighted immigrations were recorded in the period from 1952 to 1970 (Svetieva, 2009), but the immigration is still present.

The unfavorable socio-economic situation and the slower development of the rural environment, the deteriorated demographic structure in the Macedonian villages and the growing number of men of the marrying age, especially among the Macedonian population, are one of the reasons for the immigration of girls from Albania who are getting married in Macedonia. In the absence of specific information, we can refer to the numerous current media articles about marriages between Albanian brides and Macedonian bachelors in the area of Prilep,

Makedonski Brod, Sveti Nikole etc. It is recorded as a phenomenon after 1992 (Government of the Republic of Macedonia, 2008). In the period after 2000, the immigration of the Macedonian population from Mala Prespa, Albania was noted.<sup>5</sup> They immigrated because of education and employment, and then use it as a way to stay in the country or to head to some European countries. The Macedonian Government provides, free of charge education at the state universities for some of the youth from Mala Prespa as government scholarship holders.

The immigration flows from Greece are mainly realized due to business activities. It is well-known that the Greek financial capital in Macedonia has been present for years in the banking sector (e.g. Stopanska Banka), the industry (e.g. the Cement factory in Skopje, OKTA, Zito Luks, several textile factories), as well as in the service sector (e.g. chain of VERO markets). In the period from 1997 to 2016, in total, Greece ranks third among the group of foreign investors in Macedonia (SSORM, 2008; SSORM, 2014). The business correlations are mainly the reason for the entry of foreigners from Croatia, Slovenia and Bulgaria. The neighboring countries are among the first five export and import partners of Macedonia (SSORM, 2017), which is also an important precondition for intensifying the cooperation and increasing the scope of migration movements.

Most of the immigration movements of the Macedonian citizens are being done from the areas of Albania, Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina mostly because of marriage, education, family reasons, etc.

Emigration movements towards the Balkan countries are with less intensity. Considering the fact that most of the emigrations of Macedonian citizens are of an economic nature, the current economic situation of the Balkan countries does not make them an attractive destination. The emigration flows of the Macedonian citizens are mostly directed towards Serbia.

Lately, the number of citizens of the Republic of Macedonia who are studying at the universities of the Balkan countries has grown. In this context, Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia are particularly attractive due to the high ranking of their Universities. In addition, the existing similarity of the communication language does not represent any obstacle for realizing the educational process.

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<sup>5</sup> With the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, the ethnic territory of Macedonia was divided among the winners of the Balkan War (Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria). Certain regions, or an area of 802 km<sup>2</sup> was given to Albania. This way, Mala Prespa falls under the territory of Albania (Stojmilov & Apostolovska Toshevska, 2016).

## Conclusion

Although the emigrations of the population from Macedonia have been mainly directed to countries outside the Balkans for years, it is of particular importance to know the migration flows of the population among Macedonia and the other Balkan countries. The social, historical, political and economic factors together, determine the characteristics of the migration flows among Macedonia and the Balkan countries. The migration in some way depicts the level of interconnection of the Balkan countries, their openness or closure in terms of economic and social ties. The migration flows with the neighboring countries are of great importance. What is worth noting is that in the past, many foreigners immigrate in Macedonia for various reasons. Most of the people who immigrated were from neighboring Serbia (a large part from the territory of AP Kosovo and Metohija) and Albania. In general, the greater social representation of immigrants from the countries of the former Yugoslavia was influenced by the common socio-economic and political past and the established relations. The immigrations for economic reasons are also supported by the benefits offered by the state for starting and running a business. In this regard, the immigrations from neighboring Greece are highlighted. It can be concluded that in the future we can expect an increased inflow in the number of foreigners.

The immigration of foreigners who intend to invest in the country on a long-term basis would have a favorable impact on the overall economic development of Macedonia. On the other hand, the inflow of foreigners who perform mostly physical activities and have low incomes, as well as foreign investors who are interested in fast and easy earnings in the country would be an unfavorable influence. Hence, the approach of the state in recognizing foreigners, their intention and influence on the well-being of Macedonia is of great importance. At the same time, there is space for increasing in the scope of migration movements between the citizens of Macedonia and the neighboring countries. They can be further on taken into account in building policies for migration movements, directing migration flows etc.

In conditions of developing interregional and cross-border cooperation, the scope of the current migrations should also be considered. The picture would be more complete if we have available data on a more detailed demographic structure of the immigrated and emigrated persons among Macedonia and the Balkan countries. Therefore, the need for a more detailed and more modern approach to monitoring and researching migration flows is emphasized, because quality data is the starting point for creating an appropriate migration policy.

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## A REVIEW OF JOVAN CVIJIĆ'S RESEARCH OF MIGRATION CURRENTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON POPULATION CHANGE OF ZAPADNO POMORAVLJE (SERBIA)

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**Abstract:** Metanastazic movements and migration currents were introduced into literature by Jovan Cvijić, who explained in details their directions. Based on the map of the origin of the population that was published in his book *Balkansko poluostrvo [Balkan Peninsula]*, it is evident that Zapadno Pomoravlje is predominantly inhabited by the migration currents which came from Kosovo and Metohija, Dinaric Alps and, to a small extent, Morava-Vardar area. The more intensive settlement of the region occurred during the period following the victory in the First and Second Serbian Uprising, when migration currents from the western parts of the Stari Vlah–Raška mountains, Montenegro hills and plains, and the areas of Kosovo and Metohija and Hercegovina came through the Ibar valley from Kosovska Mitrovica to Kraljevo, resembling the river with its tributaries. Migration of the Zapadno Pomoravlje population after the Second World War was mainly related to regional movements conditioned by industrialization, when Kraljevo, Kruševac and Čačak became the bearers of the population concentration. The aim of the paper is to compare the flows of the former migration movements with the contemporary migrations flows in the studied region. A special emphasis will be put on the emigration of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija following the 1999 exodus, which affected the illusory population growth of Zapadno Pomoravlje presented in the 2002 and 2011 Census of Population.

**Keywords:** migration currents; population change; Kosovo and Metohija; Zapadno Pomoravlje

### Introduction

Human migrations are long-term occurrences that are continuously present, although their intensity can vary. According to Jovan Cvijić (2000, p. 128) “from the end of the XIV century, through the period of Ottoman expansion, until today, almost all the population on the Balkan Peninsula from Veles gorge at Vardar River to Medvenica got displaced”. Cvijić named this type of population movement by introducing a term “metanastazic movement” (Pavlović, 1998). When the map is drawn and all these movements are monitored, the synthesis of the metanastazic currents by which migrants from the land of origin to the land of colonization moved is obtained. The main mass of those moving and settling

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is comprised of the Dinaric population, mainly people from Stari Ras, i.e. the people from the medieval Serbian state. In order to adapt more easily to the conditions of a new geographical environment that largely differed from their own, emigrants often spent some time in a transitional country. For example, those who came from the Montenegro hills and plains often stayed in the Stari Vlah–Raška region for a long time, then settled at first in the highland Šumadija, and later came down to the plains of Šumadija and Zapadno Pomoravlje (Cvijić, 2000).

For contemporary social research, migration is of great significance and is considered to be one of the main demographic components (Srećković, 2002). The subject of the work is the migration movement of the population in Zapadno Pomoravlje, based on the fact that all these movements, both through history and contemporary times, are caused by the interests of regional or global powers. The consequences of human migrations are very important for the demographic picture and the socio-economic characteristics of migrants' destinations.

The following scientific methods were used: the historical and genetic method to examine the causal and consequential relations of migrations and geopolitical aspects, the statistical method by which migration data from the census publications and other documents were processed, the graphical and analytical-synthetic method that was used throughout the work. Available scientific literature, historical sources, censuses, as well as the information obtained from the Commissariat for Refugees and Displaced Persons in Kraljevo and Kruševac, were used as a source of data in this paper.

### **Study Area**

Zapadno Pomoravlje is a large natural entity with an area of 2,386.2 km<sup>2</sup> with 429,439 inhabitants, according to the 2011 Census. Therefore, about 6.0% of the Serbian population lives on this territory which occupies 2.7% of the entire territory of the Republic of Serbia (Penjišević, 2016). Both absolute and relative majority of the population lives on its most spacious part of the altitudinal belt up to 300 m. Zapadno Pomoravlje extends in the west-east direction. It is situated between the mountains: Kablar (885 m), Vujan (857 m), Kotlenik (748 m), and Gledić (922 m) in the north, and Ovčar (985 m), Jelica (929 m), Stolovi (1375 m), Goč (1124 m), and Jastrebac (1491 m) in the south. The Zapadna Morava valley is composite in character and consists of five depressions (Požega, Čačak–Kraljevo, Vrnjci, Trstenik, and Kruševac) and the same number of narrowings (Lukić et al., 2018). This valley has great economic significance for Serbia. The current research covers five municipalities in Zapadno

Pomoravlje, including large cities after which the depressions of the composite Zapadno Pomoravlje are named.

### **Origin of the population of Zapadno Pomoravlje**

Today's population of Zapadno Pomoravlje came through migration currents from the beginning of the XIV to XIX century. The causes were numerous and intertwined, but they are essentially economic and historically-psychological by nature. More important migration to these areas began in the late XVIII century (1791), after the firman was issued, allowing Serbs free trade in livestock and giving them certain privileges. At the time, the Belgrade Eyalet had some kind of autonomy, and when Šumadija was liberated from the Turkish authorities at the beginning of the XIX century, it attracted almost all the migratory currents of the continental block (Radovanović, 2004). The main metanastazic currents were those that came from Kosovo and Metohija, Dinaric Alps and, to a small extent, Morava-Vardar and Timok–Branicevo area (Stanisavljević, 1974). According to Jovan Cvijić, Zapadno Pomoravlje is mostly inhabited by the population from the area of the Montenegro hills and plains, Herzegovina, Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Raška. It moved along the transversal paths through the passages and metanastazic gateways: Mokra Gora, Kokin Brod and Javor, where it partly stopped and permanently inhabited that area. The shortest path from the mentioned emigration areas led across Javor, through Dragačevo to Čačak basin and other parts of Zapadno Pomoravlje and Šumadija (Cvijić, 2000).

According to Milisav Lutovac, “in the valley of Ibar from Kosovska Mitrovica to Kraljevo, like the river and its tributaries, migration currents from the western parts of Stara Raška, the Montenegro hills and plains, Herzegovina and Kosovo and Metohija gathered together. The most important was the western Dinaric current, which went down the Ibar to the Zapadno Pomoravlje and partly along the western slopes of Kopaonik, through the mountain pass, descended into the Rasina and Župa valleys” (Lutovac, 1978, p. 214). According to him, lower parts of Šumadija and Zapadno Pomoravlje were inhabited through the valley of the Ibar by several families originating from Ibarski Kolašin, who basically originate from the following Montenegrin tribes: Rovač, Moračani and Drobnjak (Lutovac, 1954, 1972).

In ethnographic deployment, the oldest immigrants occupied sunny mountain sides, as well as the valley sides isolated from strong winds in Šumadija and Zapadno Pomoravlje. They avoided the rocky terrains, and according to the folk tradition, they usually stopped “where they heard the roar of bulls, the crowing of roosters and the swarm of bees” (Cvijić, 2000). The settlers formed groups in the

villages, usually according to the places they came from and settled in areas that were most similar to their homeland. By examining the origin of the immigrants and the period immigration to the lower parts of Šumadija and Zapadno Pomoravlje occurred, Cvijić himself emphasized that he was surprised by the immigrants' adaptation speed and he noted the significant difference between the part of the population that remained in the land of origin and the part that settled here. Already in the second generation, the obvious differences between natives and immigrants started to disappear, as well as the differences between immigrants coming from various areas. Nowhere did the settlers adjust to the new geographical and social environment so quickly and nowhere did they mix as much as in this region.

The most intensive settlement of the Požega valley was at the time of social, national and liberation movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the XIX century (Spasovski, 1980). At that time, the majority of the population settled in the Požega valley and Ovčar–Kablar area of the Zapadno Pomoravlje, as well as in Herzegovina, Montenegro, Višegrad, hills near Bijeljina, Grahovo and Nikšićke Rudine, Polimlje and Potarje, Priboj, Prijepolje and Nova Varoš (Ivkov & Matić, 1997).

A significant part of the population of the Čačak-Kraljevo basin was settled by the Dinaric migration current, which came from the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian hills over Pešter, Sjenica, the middle part of Polimlje, Tara, Javor, and Dragačevo (Petrović, 1993). Immigrants from Novi Pazar and Raška region joined them as well. The settlers of the Dinaric metanastazic current inhabited the mountainous areas in the valley of the Ibar, Gledićke planine Mountains and Goč. The natural tendency of the people from the hills was to reach fertile soil in the flat regions (Stojančević, 1998). According to Cvijić (2000), this was the reason the craggy and passive Ibar gorge could not keep the newcomers from the southern parts for a long time since they had a tendency to reach the Zapadna Morava valley. Then there was a lot of Shqiptar people in these parts. However, they did not stay here but moved to the north (Popović, 1996). Another, more significant migration current, which brought the population to the Kraljevo basin, came from the Kosovo–Metohija region, from the vicinity of Istok and Đurakovac (Milanović, 1973). This population moved through Ibarski Kolašin and slopes of Kopaonik, through Ušće and Studenica. They brought with them the type of settlement known as “the Ibar’s type of settlement” (Pavlović, 1998).

The population of the Kruševac and Trstenik basin is also inhabited by Kosovo–Metohija, Morava–Vardar and Dinaric migration currents. After 1836, Prince Miloš, at the request of Montenegrin bishop Peter I, brought Montenegrinians

from Toplica region to the Kruševac nahiyah (nahia) where they settled (Savić, 1969). In the lower parts of Rasina and at the confluence of the Južna and Zapadna Morava, strong currents of the Moravian–Vardar population occur. Population from the Južna Morava valley and the Krajina population, which came through the Timok–Braničevo current, inhabited the areas in the Zapadna Morava valley.

### **Migration in Zapadno Pomoravlje during the XX and the first decade of the XXI century**

The beginning of the XX century is characterized by the settling of substantially smaller scope and with no significant increase. In the aftermath of the Second World War, when the urban centres of Zapadno Pomoravlje experienced a rapid development of the economy, the period of settlement was intensified. This allowed a strong concentration of the population to be formed in the cities and suburban zones of Čačak, Kraljevo, Trstenik and Kruševac since 97.4% of the migrant population moved to this area. Increased demand for labour in industry and crafts, inspired the young, active and most capable population, 20–40 years of age, to move to this region (Popović, 1996).

In the period up to 1945, only 5,389 (2.6% of total immigrants) moved to the territory of Zapadno Pomoravlje. Thus, in the period between 1946 and 1960, there were 33,970, i.e. 16.2% of the immigrants. The next twenty-year period was marked by a strong industrialization of the region, which caused an inflow of 80,243, i.e. 38.2% of immigrants. From 1961 to 1970, 39,628 (18.9%) immigrants settled in Zapadno Pomoravlje, and from 1971 to 1980, 40,615 (19.3%) immigrants settled there (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2004). A somewhat smaller number of immigrants were recorded in the period from 1981 to 1990 when migratory flows began to cease slowly — 32,845 (15.6%) immigrants. Among the post-war decades, the last decade, a period from 1991 to 2002, was most pronounced when 41,124 immigrants, i.e. 19.6% of the total number of immigrants moved to the Zapadno Pomoravlje (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2004). It was during that period that wars and an unstable political situation in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Kosovo and Metohija forced hundreds of thousands of people to move to the Zapadno Pomoravlje region, where they permanently settled on a larger scale.

When considering the ratio between the autochthonous population and immigrants, in the period from 1971 to 2011, the share of immigrants who came from other republics and provinces to Zapadno Pomoravlje rose from 6.1% to

53.1%. The share of immigrants from the same municipality fell from 42.5% to 29.1% in the observed period, and from another municipality from 51.4% to 17.8% (Table 1). Out of a total of 198,655 displaced persons as registered in the area of Zapadno Pomoravlje by 2011 census, 105,500 were immigrants coming from another republic or province. 79.1% of these (83,367 persons) came from another province of the same republic, 17.3% (18,304 persons) came from the former republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 3.6% (3,768 persons) came from other countries, while 61 persons came from unknown places (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2013).

Table 1. The ratio between the autochthonous population and immigrants of Zapadno Pomoravlje according to 1971, 1991 and 2011 Census

Year	Total population	Live in the same settlement since birth		Immigrated to a settlement of permanent residence					
				From the same municipality		From another municipality in Serbia		From another republic or the province	
		number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1971.	361,737	187,111	51.7	74,193	42.5	89,759	51.4	10,674	6.1
1991.	440,113	226,956	51.6	81,395	38.2	97,458	45.7	34,304	16.1
2011.	429,439	230,784	53.7	57,720	29.1	35,435	17.8	105,500	53.1

Source: Federal Statistical Office, 1973; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2013.

In the nineties of the XX century, due to war conflicts, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia moved to the area of Zapadno Pomoravlje. The majority of exiled persons, coming from the territory of Croatia, came from Knin and Petrinja. A few days after the exodus of the Serbs from the Kninska Krajina on August 5, 1995, the large number of refugees settled the area of this region, but they were registered in 1996. Elderly households consist of refugees without income, the ill and people that are not capable of performing the work. The second category of households, capable of performing the work, face the problem of unemployment as well as the unresolved issue of a more permanent accommodation (Kovačević, 2010).

### **Migration of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija to Zapadno Pomoravlje**

Displacement of persons from Kosovo and Metohija to central Serbia has begun to intensify since 1960 and it was caused both by economic and geopolitical factors. When the war broke out in 1999, the displacement reached its peak. The population that moved from Kosovo and Metohija after the exodus in 1999 and settled in other parts of Serbia belongs to the category of internally displaced persons (IDPs). They have not crossed an internationally recognized border, thus they do not have the refugee status. 187,129 persons were registered as internally

displaced persons from the territory of Kosovo and Metohija in 2000. 176,219 (94.2%) of those were displaced in central Serbia, and the other 10,910 (5.8%) in Vojvodina (Srećković-Jerosimić, 2009). Immediately before 1999 and in the first quarter of 1999, the displacement began to intensify, only to reach its peak during the NATO aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and afterwards. According to the Office of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration in Kraljevo, in just three months from April to June 1999, about 125,000 people emigrated from Kosovo and Metohija to central Serbia. Intensive emigration continued in the period from the beginning of July to the end of September, when more than 35,000 persons were forced to emigrate. During these six months, almost 90% of internally displaced persons registered in the territory of Central Serbia and Vojvodina were displaced from the southern Serbian province.

The data obtained from the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia indicate that 64.8% of internally displaced persons originate from Kosovo, where 41.2% of them come from Kosovo's district. Second place is occupied by Peć District (21.1%), while other displaced persons come from Kosovo-Morava Valley (15.1%), Prizren (14.1%) and Kosovo-Mitrovac district (8.7%). Observed at the municipal level, the largest number of internally displaced persons comes from Priština (35,942), Peć (16,600) and Prizren (15,028). Regarding other municipalities, more than 10,000 displaced persons came from Gnjilane, Uroševac and Kosovo Polje (Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije, 2000).

The Belgrade District (53,013), Raška (27,688) and Šumadija District (16,077) are the first three destinations of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija. Among the municipalities and cities in Serbia, the city of Kraljevo received the highest number of displaced persons, 18,299 people, followed by Kragujevac with 11,047, Niš with 9,360 and Kruševac with 7,470 persons (Srećković-Jerosimić, 2009).

When considering the degree of municipal burden expressed by the number of displaced persons per 10,000 inhabitants, in Zapadno Pomoravlje and Serbia, it is most pronounced in Kraljevo (1,452) and in Vrnjačka Banja (1,236). From the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration Office in Kraljevo, information was received that the city of Kraljevo organized accommodation for displaced persons in 28 collective centres, out of which the largest one was in the settlement Vitanovac in Donja Gruža. There were 32 families, mostly from the municipalities of Klin and Peć, in the village Cultural Center, in 1999. The number of families in Vitanovac decreased with time, as a number of them were transferred to the collective centre in Mataruška Banja. The largest number of



people displaced from Kosovo and Metohija were placed in the objects of the Natural Health Resort called “Mataruška and Bogutovačka Banja” and the Special Rehabilitation Hospital named “Agens”. Since then, these facilities, once used for the accommodation of tourists, have remained outside the tourist function and represented a collective centre for displaced persons. In 2009, the largest collective centre in Serbia, villa “Marčić”, was closed. Since 1999, there have been about 250 displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija, mostly from the rural areas. Most displaced people were accommodated in newly built apartments in Beranovac, not far from Kraljevo.

According to the data of the Emergency Situations Department of the City Administration of Kruševac, there were 25,269 internally displaced persons in transit during June 1999. In the period from 2010 to 2014, their number significantly reduced. According to the records from December 2015, there are 6,982 internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija (5.3% of the domicile population) in the territory of the City of Kruševac. The number of internally displaced persons who in the period from 1/1/2014 to 6/30/2015 registered residence in the territory of the City of Kruševac amounts to 373.<sup>4</sup>

In the age-sex structure of IDPs from Kosovo and Metohija to Zapadno Pomoravlje, the middle-aged, 20–59-year-old population is dominant. In this category of migrants, the young population, aged 0–19 is three times more numerous than the population aged 60 or more. This data clearly indicates a high fertility rate of IDPs. Distribution of age cohorts displaced by gender for the middle-aged working population is fairly uniform. The average age of IDPs is 30 years (28.2 men and 30.8 women) and as such is lower by 10 years and two months than the average age of the population of the Republic of Serbia. Regarding the marital structure, approximately two-thirds of IDPs in Central Serbia were married in 2000, while less than one-third of them were single males. Regarding the educational structure, half of IDPs from Kosovo and Metohija older than 15 graduated from high school, followed by persons who only have a degree in elementary education (Srećković-Jerosimić, 2009).

The influx of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija to the territory of central Serbia continues after 2000. In the late 2001 and at the end of 2002, displacement began to cease noticeably. Compared to 2001 (3,789 displaced persons), the intensity of immigration in 2002 was four times smaller (913). This so-called peaceful time when the immigration of Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija stopped in March 2004 was caused by Albanian riots. According to

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<sup>4</sup> Data obtained from the Commissioner for Refugees and Displaced Persons of the City of Kruševac.

UNHCR internal documents, after the March events, another 300 people left the southern Serbian province.

### Conclusion

In his scientific work, Jovan Cvijić attached particular importance to the migration flows on the Balkan Peninsula. Studying the four main migratory currents by which the peninsula was inhabited, he showed in a very detailed manner the geographical features of the country the immigrants come from and country to which they come to, metanastazic currents and ways of adapting migrants to the conditions of the new environment.

According to Cvijić, Zapadno Pomoravlje has always represented a significant immigration region, which, due to its natural characteristics, attracted the population. Economic trends in Zapadno Pomoravlje after the Second World War had a favourable impact on demographic development, in the sense that the population was constantly growing by increasing birth rates. The increase in the number of inhabitants that continued until 2002 occurred by migration rather than the natural increase of the population. This hides the real demographic situation since Zapadno Pomoravlje is a region that received the largest number of internally displaced persons from Kosovo and Metohija after the 1999 exodus. Apart from changes in the total number of inhabitants, immigrants from the southern Serbian province also influenced the change in the density of population in certain parts of Zapadno Pomoravlje, since they mostly settled in the suburbs of Kraljevo and Kruševac. The age structure of internally displaced persons has greatly contributed to the increase in the category of the young population in the studied region where the older population is more numerous than the young. However, the educational structure dominated by persons who graduated from high school and the marital structure dominated by married persons are similar to the structures of the population in Zapadno Pomoravlje.

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**ETHNOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BALKAN  
PENINSULA — ETHNIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES**



# IDENTITY AND LOYALTY OF THE SERBS IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY 1914–1918 AND THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS ACCORDING TO JOVAN CVIJIĆ

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**Abstract:** Serbian participation in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I is a known fact, but because of loyalty to the state and existing stereotypes, it has remained on the margins of historiography. Nowadays, documents and modern literature provide an opportunity to perceive their position in the war, from marginalization in regiments sent against the Kingdom of Serbia in 1914, through switching to the side of Russia, up to their loyalty at the Italian front. Although Vienna did not have much confidence in its Serbian subjects, the war showed their desertion was within the predicted rate, and that officers remained loyal to the sovereign. In the army of the Dual Monarchy, not a single regiment was Serbian in character, unlike other nations who had ethnically homogenous military units. Serbs made up a significant percentage of the following regiments: Petrovaradin (56%), Otočac (51%), Velik Bečkerek (44%), Karlovac (42%) and Novi Sad (27%). In their regiments Serbs were mixed with Hungarians and Croats, who had demonstrated the greatest loyalty to Vienna and who often had Serbs under control. In the participation of Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian army and their engagement on the fronts — ranging from desertion, to which the Serbs from Srem, Bačka, Banat, Bosnia and Herzegovina were inclined, to a loyal and sacrificed war against Italians — can be seen the psychological characteristics of the Serbs, exactly as they were defined by Jovan Cvijić. This paper analyses the percentage of Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian army and the disharmony between their loyalty to the Habsburg state and their feeling of national identity.

**Keywords:** Austro-Hungarian; Serbs; World War I; Jovan Cvijić

## Introduction

The trauma of WW I left a deep impression on all participating nations, whether they were attackers or defenders, although it is absolutely certain the latter suffered more. Serbs were one of those nations who during war events found themselves in two opposing armies, in the army of the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, but also in the units of Austria-Hungary. While those in the units of the former two kingdoms defended their country from Austro-Hungarian attacks, the others found themselves in imperial units despite their national feelings and stayed there so as not to be declared traitors and be shot. That would also

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involve the loss of subsistence for their families since a family's property was confiscated when one of its members was declared traitor.

In the years preceding the Great War, while researching geography, geology and anthropogeography of the Balkans, Jovan Cvijić (2006) classified South Slavic nations into several psychological types, i.e. groups. Although he had gathered his knowledge before WW I, the most important papers were published after it — in French, in 1918 (*La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine [Balkan Peninsula: human geography]*), and only afterwards in Serbian (in 1922), while an annexed first French edition, was published posthumously in 1931 — *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Psihičke osobine južnih Slovena [Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic lands. The basics of anthropogeography. Psychological traits of South Slavs]*. Cvijić remains the greatest authority when it comes to the traits of Serbs before and during WW I (Cvijić, 2006, p. VII-X). His findings can nowadays be compared with the achievements in modern historiography, which has confirmed the viewpoints on the character and patriotism of Serbs expressed by Cvijić. That is particularly noticeable when the history of the Serbs in the army of the Black-and-Yellow Monarchy is discussed.

### **Identity and loyalty of the Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian army**

The Austro-Hungarian army had a more complex structure than any other army participating in WW I. It was divided into the joint Imperial-Royal army, then the Landwehr (Hungarian — honvedi, Croatian — domobrani) and the Landsturm, or the last defence. Military training was long, it lasted three years until 1912, and two years after 1912, but the State did not invest enough in the army. It was only in the war against Serbia, a country with much more limited resources, human and military potential, that Austria-Hungary could play the role of a Great Power. Although the population of Austria-Hungary was almost doubled between 1867 and 1914, the number of regiments remained on the level it was in the 1860s (Herwig, 2014; Stevenson, 2012). Men between 18 and 32 years of age were considered active soldiers (first call recruits), and during recruitment it was decided by lucky draw if a recruit was to join the joint army or the Landwehr. As part of the Landsturm, men were enlisted between the ages of 32 and 42, but during the war that limit was increased to 55 years of age. The Landsturm was supposed to serve just as a country defence, i.e. not to be sent to fronts, but due to great losses this had to be changed already in the first year of the war. By the end of 1914 Austria-Hungary had mobilized a total of 3,350,000 soldiers, 2,080,000 of whom were sent to the front line, while 1,270,000 formed a reserve formation (Lucas, 1973). A majority of soldiers served in the infantry,

which was given too much significance in comparison to other branches of the army (cavalry, artillery and specialized mountain units, aviation). In addition to the above mentioned, ethnic heterogeneity of troops proved to be one of the major shortcomings of the Austro-Hungarian army, especially since it was further emphasized through unconscionable command. Slavic nations made up 44% of the Austro-Hungarian army, Germans 28%, Hungarians 18%, Romanians 8% and Italians 2%. Germans made up  $\frac{3}{4}$  of officers, although German was the language spoken by less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of soldiers. More than half of the regiments included soldiers from at least two and often more nations (Glaise-Horstenau, 1931; Hughes & Philpott, 2005; Jordan, 2008).

Before the beginning of WW I, Serbs used to give around 58,000 soldiers to the army of the Dual Monarchy, partly to the joint army, and partly to the Landwehr. Together with Croats, they mostly served in the transport units (11.9%), then infantry (8.2%), medical units (8.4%), units of field (5.9%) and garrison (3.9%) artillery, cavalry (4.6%) and jaeger units (2.7%) (Deak, 1990). During the war the number of soldiers rose significantly, for regiment crews had to be renewed and filled with new recruits several times. There were some drastic examples where some regiments starting the war with approximately 5,000 soldiers saw over 40,000 people go through them by the end of the war, but such examples were rare. Unlike other nations in the Dual Monarchy Serbs never had an ethnically homogenous regiment during the Great war. Rather, they served in units where they never made up more than 56% of the crew. On the one hand, it was a consequence of the distribution of Serbian people in the territory of the Dual Monarchy and recruitment regions. On the other hand, this was due to distrust the State had towards them (Glaise-Horstenau, 1931; Rumpler & Schmied-Kowarzik, 2014).

In a territory somewhat larger than that of Vojvodina today, Serbs served in a total of seven regiments. There were such regiments (Subotica, Pécs and Sombor regiments) where they were listed together with Croats and Bunjevci, so their numbers could have been somewhat smaller than those presented by the recruitment lists, but the deviation would not be significant, except in Pécs regiment. They were also in Dalmatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, and in the units from Croatia and Slavonia, as can be seen in the following table (Gyëre & Pfeiffer, 2017):

Table 1. The representation of Serbs in twelve infantry and two cavalry regiments of the Austro-Hungarian army during WW I

No. and name of a regiment	Percentage of Serbs in regiments		No. and name of a regiment	Approximate percentage of Serbs in regiments
	1914	1918		
86 <sup>th</sup> Subotica r.	20%	9%	78 <sup>th</sup> Osijek r.	25.18%
52 <sup>nd</sup> Pécs r.	/	5%	16 <sup>th</sup> Bijelovar r.	13.8%
23 <sup>th</sup> Sombor r.	/	15%	53 <sup>rd</sup> Zagreb r.	Less than 3%
61 <sup>st</sup> Timisoara r.	/	7.5%	96 <sup>th</sup> Karlovac r.	42%
29 <sup>th</sup> Veliki Bečkerek r.	44%	27%	79 <sup>th</sup> Otočac r.	53%
6 <sup>th</sup> Novi sad r.	27%	23.5%	5 <sup>th</sup> Varaždin r.	Cavalry (ulans) 22%
70 <sup>th</sup> Petrovaradin r.	56%	55%	12 <sup>th</sup> Osijek r.	33%

Source: Rumpler & Schmied-Kowarzik, 2014.

Apart from these regiments of the joint army, they were also active in the 31<sup>st</sup> Feldjaeger battalion of Zagreb where they may have made up some 53%. They comprised a significant percentage of the Landwehr (honved, domobranski) units. Most of them were in Osijek Landwehr (domobranski) regiment whose recruitment area were Srem and part of Slavonia. They made up a certain percentage of the 26<sup>th</sup> Karlovac (domobranski) regiment, and a small percentage of the 27<sup>th</sup> Sisak regiment. Together with the 25<sup>th</sup> Zagreb regiment, made up almost entirely from Croatian soldiers, the Landwehr regiments mentioned comprised the 42<sup>nd</sup> Landwehr (Vražiji) division. They were present in the Landwehr units of Banat and Bačka — the 5<sup>th</sup> Szeged, 6<sup>th</sup> Subotica and the 7<sup>th</sup> Vršac infantry units, as well as in the 4<sup>th</sup> Subotica hussar regiment (Rumpler & Schmied-Kowarzik, 2014). They were also to be found in the Landsturm, but in the case of Serbs they were not sent to the front line, but kept in their military region and settlements. In Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments (1<sup>st</sup> Sarajevo, 2<sup>nd</sup> Banja Luka, 3<sup>rd</sup> Tuzla and 4<sup>th</sup> Mostar) they made up roughly one half of the soldiers in peacetime. Finally, they could have made up about 15% of Dalmatian units. In the army of Austria-Hungary Serbs made up a similar percentage as in the population of the state — 3.8%, i.e. during the mobilization of 1914 around 127,000 soldiers, and out of that number some 79,000 were supposed to be sent to the front line. However, due to distrust a part of Serbs was transferred to work units, especially those from Bosnian-Herzegovinian units, from which 12,000 Serbian soldiers were detached. Thus, the number of soldiers sent to the front line could not have exceeded 66,000 people (Mikavica, Vasin & Ninković, 2018). Despite the fact that at the beginning of the war Serbs were not among the soldiers who were in demand and the State showed great distrust towards them, in time they became more and more acceptable, especially due to Austro-Hungarian losses in the Eastern front and opening of the Southwestern (Italian) battleground. That increased the possibility of their recruitment, so the number of the mobilized soldiers might have exceeded 127,000, but the exact number is

difficult to establish. Estimates that the number could have been around 160,000 are based on insufficient data, so they cannot be fully trusted (Kann, 1974; Keegan, 2000; Uzelac, 2008; Herwig, 2014).

Resistance to mobilization, which was present in almost all strata and all ethnic groups, could also be noticed among Serbs, where it was somewhat more pronounced, for soldiers were supposed to take part in actions against states they perceived as close — in Serbia and Montenegro lived compatriots, while Russians were considered a brotherly, Slavic and allied nation, and that attitude had been cultivated for a long time. Richer classes avoided mobilization through bribes or leaving for medical treatments, and poorer through self-inflicted injuries — by stimulating eye, ear or belly infections, increasing temperature, cutting off fingers or toes or through other forms of mutilation, even by injecting caustic soda into legs, which often left them crippled for life. If already recruited, they self-inflicted injuries by shooting themselves through bread, to avoid visible traces of gunpowder and to pretend they had been shot by the enemy. These wounds were not severe but they provided them with a short respite from the struggles of war and with medical care. One of the witnesses of such actions was Miloš Crnjanski, who was a soldier in the 29<sup>th</sup> Veliki Bečkerek regiment (Hrabak, 1990). Still, mobilization was not prevented and Serbs had to enter armies sent against Russia, but also versus Serbia and Montenegro. One of the most significant personality traits in Serbs, especially among those of the Dinaric type, as Jovan Cvijić noticed — was a very developed national consciousness, and it seems it was well known to military experts of the Dual Monarchy. That was the reason to have Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina detached from regiments which were sent against Serbia and to transfer them into work units stationed near Vienna and Győr (Ćorović, 1996).

Cvijić observed that one of the mentality features with Bosnian Serbs was intolerance towards injustice and evil and that, consequently, they would not tolerate Austro-Hungarian authority for long. He also noticed that the Bosnian variety of Serbian people from the Dinara Mountain had grown in their imagination such faith in Serbia that it was perceived as a living being, a good power taking care of them — the deprived poor. This affection for Serbia was well-known to Vienna, which tried to diminish it before the WW I. However, this endeavour failed and the army disinhabited several Serbian villages in Bosnia that were near Serbia. Cvijić's (2006, p. 60–61) claim that this population, for its mentality, could not endure Austro-Hungarian authority for long can be observed through the Franz Ferdinand assassination in 1914, because Serbs considered this a fight against the evil. Suspicion did not end there. Rather, other Serbs, primarily those from Croatia, from the territory of the former Military

Frontier (Lika, Banija, Kordun) who fitted into the type of Dinaric population, were controlled by other soldiers to prevent their desertion. The large pressure was put on them, and that, together with an existing tradition of loyalty to the ruler, decreased their intent to desert. However, desertion with intent was not obliterated, and it was fueled not only by war monstrosities, but also by passionate patriotism that Cvijić wrote about (Uzelac, 2008; Herwig, 2014; Micić, 2016).

Lika and the wider area of the Croatian Military Frontier, i.e. former Karlovac generalate that spread from the Adriatic to the Sava is a very significant case regarding Serbs participating in WW I. On the one hand, after initial resistance to mobilization, the people of Lika proved to be loyal to the Dual Monarchy within expected limits and fought in its units, while, on the other hand, those people of Lika who in economic migrations had left Austria-Hungary and tried their luck in America, did not rejoin their relatives in the Dual Monarchy but rather, they joined the Kingdom of Serbia (Micić, 2018). This again demonstrates a strong feeling of national affiliation, and also sacrifice for a joint, more important goal — that of victory and unification into a stronger, better state, as emphasized by Cvijić (2006). Among the volunteers at the Salonica front one half of the soldiers came from America and was originally from Lika, Banija and Kordun (Uzelac, 2008). The number of soldiers who surrendered to the Serbian army during the attack on Serbia was not large. However, this was not because they did not want to surrender, but because they did not find themselves directly on the battlefield. As already explained, the distrust towards them was significant, so they were mostly kept in rearguard or work units. This statement can be confirmed if we look at the behaviour of people from Srem, Banat and Bačka, who developed from the Dinaric into the Pannonian population type. Cvijić (2006, p. 343) attributed to them the features of distinct and ardent patriots by claiming: “This population always lived the same spiritual life as that of Serbia, whether the spiritual centres were Novi Sad or Karlovci, or it was Belgrade”. That was a good enough reason for the Austro-Hungarian commands to decide not to send Serbian units south of the Sava and the Danube during attacks, but also to show huge distrust, so the elite of Srem was arrested already during the July crisis. The patriotism of both sides will become clear especially in the process of switching to the enemy side and joining volunteer units (Mikavica et al., 2018; Vasin & Ninković, 2018).

The extent to which Cvijić’s assessment was correct, was shown by the events of September 1914, when the Serbian army, spurred by allies, after expelling enemy troops from Serbian territory moved on to Bosnia and Srem. Reports that preceded this event, as well as those after the retreat of troops, unanimously

show that the Serbs from Srem demonstrated significant partiality towards the Kingdom of Serbia, and that was the reason why the deportation of the population and arresting priests started already in July 1914. Confirmation of the Cvijić's statement that there is a special connection between the people of the Srem and the Kingdom of Serbia can be discerned on the example of the volunteers, who crossed the border to Serbia at the beginning of the War. There were not a large number of them, but it was enough to form a military detachment with people from Srem only. They fought during the defence of Belgrade as early as the first attacks on Serbia had begun and as the voluntary movement grew larger, this detachment of Serbs from Srem grew in number as well. On the occasion of the Defense of Belgrade in October 1915, Major Gavrilović held the speech famous in Serbian history, saying that the Master Command had already erased soldiers' names from the state of account. These words were addressed to the detachment from Srem as well, which was almost completely destroyed during the Austro-Hungarian assault, while providing the fallback for the rest of the army. In crucial moments, Serbs from Srem fought as volunteers to protect the retreat of the army and on the border of Montenegro and Herzegovina in 1915–1916 at the time of the Albanian Golgotha. Also, they were in the unit under the command of the Duke Vuk (Vojin Popović), who won Kaimakchalan, in 1916, losing 80% of his people in that battle (Mikavica et al., 2016).

The Serbs from Srem did not resist the Serbian army, although as citizens of Austria-Hungary they were obliged to. Instead, according to a small number of testimonies, they experienced their arrival as something positive, especially after numerous reprisals that the army and the state performed in Srem in July and August (IAS, SM, KSS, DP 22, 353-487/1914; HDA, 402, SSSM, 1892-1918, 3-124, III1914-14). The result of the inclination of the people of Srem towards Serbia was that this territory, especially to the south of the line Sremska Mitrovica–Stara Pazova, was treated as enemy land, and in the end all villages were cleared of Serbs, either through internment or by taking males to work camps, and later also to the frontline. There was no difference in treatment between northern Mačva and southern Srem. The difference was that the Serbs from Srem were forced to fight for the state that had burnt down their houses and interned their families into work camps with extremely bad living conditions (AT-OeStAKA, FA, NFA, RB, 900: 2. 2. 1915; GAK, S, 788: 7, 8. and 14. 9. 1914; GKS, 796: No. 263/1914).

Taking all this into account, it is not surprising that a lot of Serbs from Srem found themselves among Russian prisoners, and later among the volunteers within the army of the Kingdom of Serbia. Once again, the assessment of Jovan

Cvijić (2006, p. 342–343) that Srem people were characterized by “...ardent patriotism”, and that “There is not a shred of doubt as to what national ideal the Serbs from that region are enthusiastic about”. All this also applied to the Banat people who were, as already mentioned, in a spiritual unity with the people of Serbia, as much as those from Srem and Bačka.

Serbs in Austro-Hungarian units showed extreme devotion, very often in very difficult conditions. This was obvious in the first year of the war, when they were sent against Russians and were fighting in the Carpathians. A significant part of the Serbian soldiers originated from the territory of the former Military Frontier, where Cvijić noticed the Dinaric features and strong patriarchal spirit, even after it was abolished. One of the features which developed here was loyalty to the ruler and acceptance of military discipline, even in the harshest conditions. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that these fighters fought in Austro-Hungarian units until the end of the war, even when others left them. On the other hand, Austro-Hungarian failure, wrong tactics and finally outdatedness of everything, from command to armaments, gave an advantage to the Russian army from the outset of the war, so by the end of 1914 the black-and-yellow soldiers were nailed to the Carpathians. Serbs there found themselves mostly within the Second army under the command of General Eduard von Boehm-Ermolli (Krčmar, 2015; Mikavica et al., 2018). They took part in defending the Carpathian passages towards Pannonia and an unsuccessful offensive of Austria-Hungary at the beginning of 1915 when the number of dead and captured soldiers increased drastically. At that time, a lot of Serb prisoners of war appeared in Russia, who were mostly originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Glaise-Horstenau, 1931; Tominac, 2012; Rauchensteiner, 2014; Mikavica et al., 2018). Among them, Cvijić noticed a strong spirit of struggle against everything which was considered negative, and, as contemporaries (including him) noticed, this was first and foremost Austria-Hungary. That all this was known in Vienna can be seen from the fact that since the assassination of the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand not only were the pogroms over Serbian elite, ordinary people and even poor folks not prevented, but they were also encouraged. Cvijić points out that priests from the settlements near the Serbian border in particular were hanged, and that even women, as they were being hanged, would shout out “Long live Serbia”. He mentioned this as an example of strong patriotic feelings. The shared spiritual space and unity despite borders which Cvijić noticed in the region north of the Sava and the Danube, was in no sense lesser in the region west of the Drina (Cvijić, 2006).

It was rather obvious why the Serbs from Austria-Hungary felt such great closeness with Serbia, and the Court could disapprove but could not prevent that.

That is why the units with Serbs in them were sent against Russia, especially in the case of Serbs who lived next to the border with Serbia or nearby — those from Srem, Bačka and Banat, and soon afterwards those from Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, although they fought well during Russian offensives, they often demonstrated passive resistance, so that they would be captured easily. What happened was that when Austro-Hungarian troops started to retreat, they would remain in the trenches faking death, and only when the Russians captured the territory with the trenches they would stand up and surrender. This started happening more frequently when units containing Serbs from Croatia and Slavonia were present in the Eastern front. Each Russian offensive increased the number of Serbian prisoners of war (Mikavica et al., 2018). Their patriotism and national feelings, emphasized by Jovan Cvijić, reached new dimensions in Russian captivity. Prisoners were sent to work camps, far from the frontlines, and many were given to farmer families to aid them. The similarity of their languages, a shared occupation and religion, as well as the great affection Serbs had for Russia, led to creating strong bonds with these families and even forming their own families. Serbian prisoners of war soon requested the formation of their own volunteer units which would fight Austria-Hungary on behalf of Serbia. As early as 1914, the Serbian envoy to Petrovgrad, Miroslav Spalajković, talked about the wish of Austro-Hungarian Serbs in Russian captivity to fight for Serbia. That was hard to achieve at first, for the Second Hague Convention banned volunteers from organizing against the state that they had served previously. However, increasing numbers of such prisoners and the destruction of Serbia in the autumn of 1915 enabled them to form the First Serbian Volunteer Division under the patronage of Emperor Nicholas II of Russia in 1916. By mid-February of 1916, some 12,000 volunteers were recruited, and in September after the Brusilov Offensive the number went up to 16,568 soldiers. From Srem, Banat, Bačka and Baranja there were 6,225 of them, 6,177 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 3,269 from Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (Micić, 2016).

In the autumn of 1916 already, the First Serbian Volunteer Division took part in the fights against the Bulgarian army active in the region of Dobruja. The fights continued throughout September and October of 1916, but despite winning, the Division lost 53% of its soldiers (722 dead, 6,147 wounded and 2,480 missing in action). Enemy losses were estimated to be 15,000 persons (Mikavica et al., 2018). Serbs' fighting in this case was a conscious sacrifice for the national goal, the one Jovan Cvijić wrote about while explaining the Dinaric character. He pointed out that these traits, otherwise seemingly repressed among the Pannonian variety of Serbs, in wars soon emerged to the surface, as could well be seen in the autumn of 1916. The volunteers were aware that if they were



captured by Austria-Hungary, this would mean confiscation of property for their families and their shooting, so in desperate situations they took their own lives to prevent the enemy from finding out their identity, and this mostly happened among wounded soldiers (Micić, 2014). Forced introduction of Croats and Slovenians into the Volunteer Corps brought about discord. Members of these nations did not see their national interest in the union with Serbia, while Serbs, who showed their partiality towards Belgrade, did not understand why their enemies were present in the same units. Even less did they understand why the Volunteer Corps had to lose its determinant 'Serbian'. In the end, Croats and Slovenians left the Corps, and the soldiers from Srem, Bačka and Banat partially did the same. After all this, the unit remained with just 13,066 soldiers, i.e. 12,313 Serbs. Most of them were from Bosnia and Herzegovina (6,145), while from Srem, Banat, Bačka and Baranja there was half that number (2,961). Roughly the same number of Serbs from Croatia and Slavonia remained (2,958). From the September of 1917 the volunteers were transported to the Salonica front, where they fought in 1918 against Bulgarian and German units, contributing to their defeat and to the liberation of Serbia and Montenegro (Micić, 2016; Mikavica et al., 2018).

Cvijić states that one of the main mentality features of Dinaric people is the conscious sacrifice for the greater national cause. This is visible on the example of Serbs who became volunteers in 1916 and 1917 at the time when Serbia did not *de facto* exist except on the Salonica front. This is exactly where the imagination of Dinaric people could become useful since they perceived Serbia as a living being needing help. Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srem, Bačka, Banat and Lika did not despond, they still saw Serbia as something good, as a virtue worth dying for even when it is gone. That is the only way to understand their actions when fighting against Serbia's enemies. A large number of volunteers from Bosnia and Herzegovina can be understood through other particular characteristics of theirs, often emphasized by Cvijić, but physical rather than psychological — extraordinary strength and endurance, especially valued during wars. That is why Bosnians and Herzegovinians made a half of all the volunteers (Cvijić, 2006).

Material hardship among the Serbs in Austria-Hungary contributed to the so-called Green cadres coming into existence, i.e. outlaws who hid in the mountainous regions of the Dual Monarchy, especially from 1917. That movement was strengthened in mid-1918 when recruits failed to return to battlefields after their leaves. The soldiers from Srem played a leading role in that and they developed a strong Green Cadre with Fruška Gora Mountain as a stronghold. Towards the end of the war, they took power in most villages in

Srem. There was a similar situation in Bosnia, and particularly in Croatia (IAS, SM, KSS, K-1918, 16-1213; Vasin & Ninković, 2018).

When it comes to the inhabitants of the former Military border, Cvijić noticed a developed trait of respecting the cult of a ruler and a given word, that is a vow, which is the reason why this population remained faithful to Vienna in the war against Italy. It was evident that Serbs were willing to go over to Austro-Hungary's enemy only when they felt it was closer to them or appeared morally superior to Austro-Hungary. If the enemy was not perceived as such, the traits of loyalty and the fierce battle against it prevailed. This is particularly obvious on the example of Italy, against which the battles were led on extremely difficult terrain and in inhumane conditions, and Serbs did not go over to their side, although Italy and Serbia were allies. At the same time, in the fight against Russia, they went over to the Russian side in large number. This was all happening due to the fact, as Cvijić realized, that the Dinaric people would not forswear even if it injured them personally, as was the case with Italy, only would they do that if they thought the battle was fair (Cvijić, 2006).

The situation at the Italian front was a lot different from other regions where Serbs fought as part of the Austro-Hungarian army. This battlefield gave Vienna an opportunity to use the potential of its Serbian subjects without the fear of their joining the enemy in large numbers. No matter how hard and exhausting the conditions of the waging of war were here, desertion was not expected and the Court was right about that. By sending soldiers of South Slavic descent to the Soča battleground, the main area for the defence of Ljubljana valley and Vienna, Austro-Hungarian command managed without much effort to motivate them to fight. There were multiple reasons, but the major one was that the Serbian and Croatian army, especially through the tradition of the Military Frontier where many of its fighters had their origins, had a developed tradition, a “cult” of fighting the Italians (Rothenberg, 1999; Thompson, 2008; Stevenson, 2012; Münkler, 2013). Throughout the XIX century in its fights on the Italian soil or against Italy, Vienna had used Serbs and Croats, starting from the French Revolution and Napoleon wars, through the Revolution of 1848/1849 and the campaign of General Radetzky, to the wars in the second half of the XIX century in which these nations used to have victory over the young Italian state. Such a cult was not strong only in the territory of the former Croatian Military Frontier, but also within the troops from Banat, in the 29<sup>th</sup> Veliki Bečkerek (Laudon) regiment. It had earned its fame in a mid-XIX century in the clashes with the Italian army, so when the order came to switch from the Eastern front to the Italian front, the regiment accepted it with exhilaration. The soldiers of this regiment were successful in the Tyrol offensive, and their advancement was not

stopped by Italian resistance, but rather by the Brusilov Offensive in the East, due to which they had to be transferred to the other front. In this battlefield, there was a Serb commander — field-marshal Svetozar Borojević von Bojna, who is considered to be one of the most capable commanders of Austria-Hungary in WW I and that could only encourage soldiers who shared the Frontier origin with him (Rauchensteiner, 2014; Krčmar, 2015).

Serbian soldiers left the Italian front only in 1918, realizing that state which had brought them there was disappearing, and that they had to take care of themselves. They started to rebel, to take power into their own hands and return to their homes which were no longer in the same state as when they had left them to fight in the war (Cruttwell, 1934).

### **Conclusions**

The position of Serbs during WW I was already difficult, for they found themselves on two warring sides and had no wish to fight each other whatsoever. Within the Austro-Hungarian army they showed the traits, which Jovan Cvijić wrote about as dominant characteristics of each variety of the South Slavic population. Among the Serbs from a region somewhat larger than that of modern Vojvodina, who belonged to the Pannonian type, he noticed the characteristics of the Dinaric people which showed at certain moments of the war. Among these characteristics were a strong national awareness, self-sacrifice and the struggle to achieve a positive joint goal. That could be seen in their changing to the Russian side, then through the arrests of Serbs in Srem, for they demonstrated strong national feelings and inclination towards Serbia. The changeover of mobilized Serbs coming from all regions within Austria-Hungary to the Russian and Serbian sides, as well as their fighting against Central Powers, despite the permanent threat of being captured and shot, and their families left with no property, is an example of conscious sacrifice that Cvijić considered one of the features of the Dinaric variety of South Slavs. These features were particularly noticeable among the Serbs from Croatia (Lika, Banija, Kordun) who returned from America and joined the army of the Kingdom of Serbia, so they were present in the Salonica front, as were their compatriots from other parts of Austria-Hungary. The behaviour of Serbs was different at the Italian front, where patriarchal soldiers could not see any familiarity with the enemy, and where, by contrast, their tradition of fighting Italians took a form that Vienna expected. It proved that estimates on the varieties of Serbs were correct and that their characteristics became more pronounced during the war. This once more proves that Cvijić was one of the greatest authorities in science, but also opens

possibilities for further comparison of his conclusions with the newest historical findings.

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## CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF CVJIĆ'S METHODOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH OF LOCAL IDENTITIES

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**Abstract:** The paper is based on the controversial and from contemporary Serbian science mainly proscribed Cvijić's theses, regarding the marking of ethno-psychological types at the Balkans, as well as from the observation that modern humanism still lacks reliable theoretical and methodological approaches to the study and understanding of collective identities. The results of the field research of local ethnicity and stereotypes based on "narcissism of small differences" are presented in the form of case studies. Local communities have been chosen, according to Cvijić's systematization, bearing the characteristics of different sub-types of the Dinaric type: the *Erski* (mountain) and the *Bosanski* (flatland), which are exposed to extremely dynamic communication and interaction. For this research was developed a questionnaire, based on the reconstructed and general elements of Cvijić's typology. The questionnaire is a semi-structured and, unlike Cvijić, has favoured "emic" or insider perspective. Discussion topics with members of the local community included psychological traits, ethical and political attitudes, patterns of behaviour in customary practice and everyday life, relationship towards motivation and achievements in work, religious perceptions and value systems. The research matrix, therefore, was based on Cvijić's descriptions and generalizations, with the methodological turning pointing which put in centre attitudes, perception, experience and emotions of the respondents, focused the analytical vision in the direction of imagology.

**Keywords:** Jovan Cvijić, ethno-psychological types, field research, collective identity, imagology

### Introduction

Framework of the case study, which is in the centre of this paper, is based on the reflection on the theoretical and methodological concept of ethno-psihologic and metanastazic researches by Jovan Cvijić. The occasion for this paper is marking a hundredth anniversary of the first edition of the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)* by Jovan Cvijić (Cvijić, 1918). The subject of research and hypothesis belongs to the current paradigms of contemporary humanities, which include concepts of cultural diversity, collective identities and mentality, as well as stereotypes which

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participate in the process of their construction and duration. The relationships established within the Unesco Cultural Heritage Concept (UNESCO, 2003) between cultural landscapes and local communities are also seen in the context of Cvijić's paradigm of geographic and ethno-cultural areal, which is seen as an unavoidable scientific legacy (Terzić, Petrović, & Jovičić, 2016). Therefore, for a hundred years, the process of evaluating the book *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* is being carried out, measuring its significance and influence, as well as establishing polemic discourse that unites divergent opinions and often contradictory attitudes (Compare: Čulibrk, 1968; Filipović, 1968; Vasović, 1968; Kovačević, 1980; Lutovac, 1982; Nedeljković, 1982; Grčić, 2004; Milenković, 2008; Pišev, 2009; Pišev, 2013; Prelić, 2014; Bašić, 2016; Kovačević, 2016; Milenković, 2016; Naumović, 2016). This particularly refers to the separate research fields of Cvijić's ethno-psihologic and metanastazic studies, which are evaluated as fundamental and monumental but also as scientifically worthless, ethically unacceptable, ideologically and politically designed, nationally harmful and racist<sup>3</sup>. The argumentation of the negative sign correlates the relativization and/or neglecting of the context (ideological and epistemological). However, contexts are a crucial element in the understanding of the history of ideas, but also the stumbling stone in the assessment of scientific achievements and theoretical-methodological paradigms from the time-shifted point of view (whether the adjustment is not applied to the latest generation instrumentation or analogous equations in the diachronic plane specific aspects is establish).

Two achievements of Cvijić's are widely regarded as his most significant work. One is the establishment of the concept of systematic and interdisciplinary field research (typological and comparative in the context of the Balkans), important aspects of which pertain to demographic trends, and the other is his claims that human behaviour and beliefs are culturally dependent and geographically and historically determined. With that in mind, this paper considers the heuristic strategy and qualitative methodology of studying the narrative identity of local communities, which is articulated on the scope of Jovan Cvijić's scientific paradigm.

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<sup>3</sup> In that sense, argumentation was made despite the fact that Jovan Cvijić repeatedly expressed the inadmissibility and destruction of chauvinistic and racist attitudes, as well as the fact that Cvijić's ethnopsiology is actually a typology of Balkan regional mentalities, culturally and geographically determined (not primarily biologically, or racially conditioned). See on this: Naumović, 2016. Ambitions and achievements of characterology as scientific disciplines in the expansion are proscribed after the experience of World War II and redirected in the direction of constructivist concepts and alternative terminological solutions (culture, stereotype, mentality). See: Đerić, 2015, p. 375.

## Imagological interpretation of psychological characteristics

The anthropogeographic approach of Jovan Cvijić confront the scientific interest of geographers, which includes the features of landscape, climate and soil, as well as the geostrategic or geopolitical position of space, with the processes of social and cultural dynamics, pervading, assimilating, merging and separating social groups which are conditioned by forms of social stratification and communications, family organizations, religions and cultural heritage. His concept of psychological types, introduced in 1911 in the work titled *Uputstva za ispitivanje naselja i psihičkih osobina* [*Guidelines for the study of settlements and psychological traits*], is an interdisciplinary synthesis of geography, history and folklore (Cvijić, 1911). Heuristic interest is to the greatest extent directed towards the broad and complex field of folk culture manifested in everyday life and the festive life of the population of particular areas. The research matrix materialized in the questionnaire of the structured type<sup>4</sup>, covered the organization of the settlement, the layout of the house and rural household, the traditional costumes, nutrition and working habits, customs and social practices, elements of national and religious identity. Typological patterns that followed reflected the dialectical relation of material and spiritual culture. In the second book of the Balkan Peninsula, titled *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Psihičke osobine južnih Slovena* [*Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic lands. The basics of anthropogeography. Psychological traits of South Slavs*], a field data related to folk art, the system of values, patterns of behaviour, material condition, historical circumstances, political events and beliefs (Cvijić, 1931) are also considered. This holistic approach is the starting point for controversial interpretations and evaluations of Cvijić's goals and methods, defects and omissions which he himself was aware of, pointing out in many places not only the need to review and supplement facts and conclusions but also the continuation of deeper and more extensive research.

With regard to the study of psychological types, Cvijić's scientific paradigm is vulnerable not only to the missing structures caused by the disappearance of the forms of patriarchal culture, migration and urbanization, nor the ideological projections of the encouraged simplification, generalization and idealization, but, above all, by the fact that the methodological instrumentation is often inappropriate for this kind of research<sup>5</sup>. As Ivan Kovačević concludes, Cvijić's

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<sup>4</sup> Which was developed and supplemented through the instructions from 1896, 1898, 1911 and 1922 (See: Cvijić, 1896; Cvijić, 1898a; Cvijić, 1898b; Cvijić, 1911; Cvijić, 1922b).

<sup>5</sup> In Cvijić's research process, the regional positioning of ethno-psychological types, varieties and groups is primarily based on direct observation methods and typological classifications (when ethno-psychological profiles are linked to geomorphological profiles). Furthermore, the regional



field research had the primary task of describing the geomorphological characteristics of the Balkan Peninsula, in which the description of psychological characteristics is the outcome of unsystematic and incidental observation, limited in time and with limited communication with the population through which territory it travels<sup>6</sup>. Temperament, emotions and motivations are only sporadic, while in the foreground are impressions from the domain of ethno-axiology, fragments of generalized political and religious attitudes, patterns of behaviour or desirable patterns of behaviour. The fact that these observations are not systematic makes them perceived *as passenger impressions*, and their set of *specific travelogues* (Kovačević, 2016, p. 87). Kovačević further concludes that today it is difficult to distinguish Cvijić's travelogues from the afterwards contamination with the historical events facts, political relations and activities, ethnographic data on material culture and social institutions, folk poetry, etc. In the pursuit of this observation, it is quite acceptable to note that Cvijić's ethno-psychological preoccupations have to be interpreted in the context of imagology (Kovačević, 2016, p. 88), which suggests that reception should also be directed towards the constructivist paradigm, which includes the concepts of mentality and stereotype. On the trail of Kovačević's observation that in the *Guidelines for the study of settlements and psychological traits* (Cvijić, 1911), there are some questions that can still form part of contemporary designed questionnaires such as the requirement to note the opinion that residents of neighbouring villages have about the population of a researched village. Therefore, possibilities and achievements of using Cvijić's instructions in contemporary field research are discussed.

### **The narcissism of small differences**

Space constraints lead to the requirement of a fragmentary reflection on the results of field research in which special attention is devoted to the problem of constructing and representation local identity and stereotypes based on "narcissism of small differences".

Local communities selected according to Cvijić's systematization bearing the characteristics of different groups of the Dinaric type: Bosnian group (lowland) and Era's group (hill-mountain), which are exposed to extremely dynamic

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positioning is based on a method of the indirect observation (which consists of confrontation of ethnological and anthropogeographic data with historical data) and a comparative method (which takes into account the results of ethnological and linguistic studies).

<sup>6</sup> The breadth of the space he cover did not allow him to comprehend all the details of the characteristics of the population. His merit is that he has established the general directions for the researches and pointed to the benchmark from which to start.

communication and interaction. Lijevčani, people from the lowland, as their name suggests, are inhabited by Lijevče field, a region in the northern part of Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a plain in the lower course of Vrbas River, between the Sava River in the north, the mountains of Prosara in the west, Motajica in the east and Kozara in the southwest. The territory of the Lijevče field belongs to the municipalities of Gradiska, Laktaši and Srbac. Fertile land and continental climate have conditioned farmland as the main occupation of the population (Trbić, 2004). The Vrhovci are a cattle-breeders from the hilly-mountainous region of Banjalučka Vrhovina, which extends from the Ugar River to the south, the Vrbas River to the west, all the way to the Banja Luka and to the east Vrbanja River valley by capturing parts of the Kotor Varoš and Kneževo municipalities (Draškić, 1962). The territory of Banjalučka Vrhovina belongs to the municipalities of Banja Luka, Čelinac, Kneževo, Kotor Varoš and Mrkonjić Grad<sup>7</sup>.

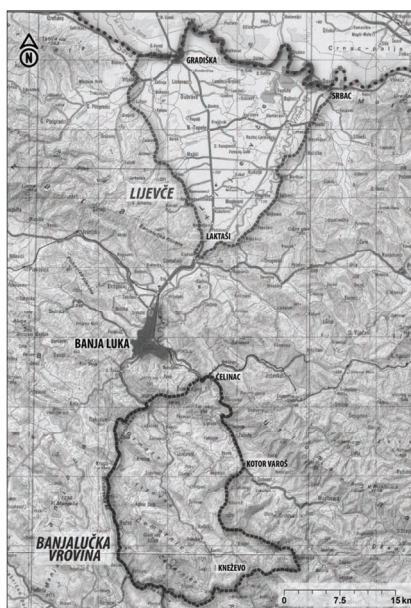


Figure 1. Geographical location of Lijevče and Banjalučka Vrhovina

<sup>7</sup> The geographical boundaries of these areas (Figure 1) do not coincide with the perception of the population which is considerably wider. Lijevčani are inhabitants of the plain and the Vrhovci from mountains in the vicinity of Banja Luka. Banjalučka Vrhovina in this context necessarily implies mountain Manjača, which is not part of Banjalučka Vrhovina geographical boundaries. “Vro’vci are people from the mountains. Mostly Manjača” (zoka, 2013)

The biblical conflict of the brothers (plowman and cattleman) is certainly of an archetypal dimension<sup>8</sup>. In this paper, some of the anecdotes in the meaning of stereotypes are chosen (“doped” peppers, lottery gains<sup>9</sup> and “stove hose potatoes”<sup>10</sup>). These anecdotes participate in the construction of a psychological profile of a resourceful, cunning, ingenious peasant (autostereotype<sup>11</sup>) to whom the earning and property is the highest living objective (heterostereotype<sup>12</sup>).

“The strongest joke is, of course, the one with “doped” peppers. It was at the time of the former state, sometime in the late seventies of the XX century. It will never be known who has come to the idea that the peppers, which were most sought after at the Zagreb market and in Dalmatia, be stuffed with water to make peppers weight more — says our orator.

With this method, he adds, two goals have achieved: four or five peppers could weigh a kilogram, but thanks to the water they also kept their freshness” (Pešević, 2012).

For this research, based on the reconstructed and general elements of Cvijić’s typology, a half-structured questionnaire was constructed. While conducting the interview, unlike Cvijić’s “etic”, the “emic” perspective is favoured. Topics for the discussion with members of the local community included psychological characteristics, ethical and political attitudes, patterns of behaviour in customary practice and everyday life, relationship toward motivation and achievements at work, religious perceptions and value systems. The research matrix was based on Cvijić’s descriptions and generalizations. Methodological turning pointing which brings to centre the attitudes, perception, experience and emotions of the

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<sup>8</sup> The Vrhovci people have a saying: “Nor you can make a good corn in the Lijevoče, nor you will find a good man from the Lijevoče”, and the Lijevočani say: “Nor you can find life in the mountain, nor Vrhovci can be good persons” (Vrovac, n.d.).

<sup>9</sup> “Not only peppers were stuffed with water to gain weight but also lottery balls were filled with water. Heavier balls were the first ones to emerge, and the winners were known after about twenty drawn balls. The other players were surprised only by the fact that cash prizes went always the same gamblers” (Pešević, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> The “stove hose potatoes” was named after the fact that inside the potatoes sack some merchants put a stove hose filled with tiny potatoes, and arranged big potatoes around to make them more attractive to customers (Radić, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> “There was another case that happened before the war and which is being resumed today. This happened in the village of Kukulje, which, thanks to municipal self-help, had to pave the road. During the night the adaptable villagers moved the billboard with the name of the village a few hundred meters away, so the asphalt arrived at their houses” (Pešević, 2012).

<sup>12</sup> In respect to this, it is a functional historical story that the inhabitants of Ljevoče plain considered by the legal system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as extremely unreliable witnesses and that their participation in each court case before World War II had to be repeatedly verified (Rakić, 2013).

respondents, direct the analytical vision towards proposed imagological direction (Kovačević, 2016).

### Analytical assumptions

Local identities<sup>13</sup> find their stronghold in representations of diversity and survival on the resources of collective prejudice embedded in stable verbal structures. The imaginarium of traditional culture that functions not only on symbolic structures and mechanisms of generalization and classification, but also on the structures and mechanisms of formative statements is the starting point in recognition, and the perception of the essence and the function of stereotypes. The mediating role in transmitting and maintaining has oral narratives<sup>14</sup>, but not so much of the oral tradition as much as those belonging to the repertoire of humorous stories and anecdotes. Humour is expressed in the imagological confrontations and the satirical structures of character based on comic and misunderstanding situations which in the register of psychological types overwhelms traits such as cunning, comic, circumvention (Compare: Nikolić, 1997, p. 151–155; Pandurević & Knežević, 2018, p. 28). The individual flaws and the moral deviations are attributed to the psychological types of the inhabitants from other regions. Rough jokes and mockery are used: “Most often, in this kind of framework, there is no making fun of flaws, but about certain categories that are in the basis of the other person (origin, tribe-brotherhood, family). The roughness of such comics is entirely consistent with the intention of the storyteller to at any price humiliate his opponent. Insult is softened by context because the other person has the opportunity to repeat the same argument” (Samardžija, 2006, p. 30–31).

Stereotypes such as humorous stories and anecdotes are a significant source for collective identity research, and this aspect belongs to the research field on the trail of Cvijić research that needs to be supplemented and elaborated.

It is undisputed fact that the book of Jovan Cvijić *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine* has left the legacy to the Serbian science in the form of highly acceptable models of the cultural-anthropological and social-anthropological research paradigm. The holistic approach and interdisciplinary imagination made its basic premises challenging in the postmodern world. Since collective identities have their subjective and objective aspect, and since both

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<sup>13</sup> In different natural environments, different ways of life are formed, which are followed by distinctive habits as well as a way of thinking and procedures. (Cvijić, 1922a, p. 45).

<sup>14</sup> In his Instructions, Cvijić paid great attention to the relation to oral tradition and epic narratives as well as to the merits, and on this basis is largely based on favouring the Dinaric type.

must be understood and analyzed in order to understand the specificity of a given collectivity (Golubović, 1999, p. 28) it was necessary to subordinate Cvijić's methodological apparatus to the requirement for a dynamic change of perspective. In the Jovan Cvijić research process, prevails an "etic" approach which starts from scientific terms, categories and rules that have no significance (or meaning) for members of the researched communities. In contemporary humanities, the study of origin and appearance forms, retreat under demands of perception and representation, while production of meaning lies at the centre of research interest. In regard to this, the observation method seems to be insufficient. The advantage is given to the methods which gain insights on personal experience and which enables knowledge based on the perception and understanding of narrative identity. The advantage is given to oral history and life stories<sup>15</sup>, regarding methods that lead to more or less complete narratives that can provide answers to problematic questions in the analysis discourse process. Particularly important is a method of deep interviews that provides an insight into the layered perspectives, a better understanding of the respondents and insight into their point of view and their perception of life experience, attitudes and world outlook. The researcher intensively examines a small number of carefully selected individuals who have the opportunity to give their points of view in detail and the argumentative way by answering subjective and creative to the questions asked. The researcher is focused on the main subject and several subthemes from the domains of everyday life that reflect values, ideals, patterns, a way of thinking and behaviour. The relationship to tradition and the cultural heritage is almost an inevitable subject and, in connection to that, the insights, typologies and syntheses that Jovan Cvijić and his followers left as a legacy to the science, participate in the construction of the "implied knowledge" of contemporary researchers. It should not be lost out of sight the fact that emic and etic researches are complementary since direct ethnographic data gives meaning to typological analogies and comparisons.

### **Instead of a conclusion**

The breadth of the scientific interest, the circumstances of the research, the established priorities and the focus on large and complex syntheses, did not allow Jovan Cvijić wider, especially the systematic use of qualitative methods. They belong to the area of "prospective and comprehensive researches" which itself has marked as a necessity. In regard to this, it is necessary to consider the

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<sup>15</sup> It is also necessary to mention the specific methods applied on the Internet and virtual communication, whose advantages is precisely to overcome the distance between the researcher/respondent, whereby anonymity and the absence of space-time constraints open space for free and unstructured communication.

significance of its Instructions in the system of “background” and “implied” knowledge that allows modern researchers to access the problems of mentality and cultural identity of “local communities”. In this last definition, a space should be sought for affirming the applied researches of cultural identities, which would certainly contribute to the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Knowledge, skills, beliefs, language and oral literature of all kinds, social practice, and even mentality represent the intangible cultural heritage of local communities. This way a small communities builds their identities in order to recognize, preserve and promote distinctive elements of their own culture<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> A good example of preservation and promotion of mentality as an element of intangible cultural heritage is found in the Republic of Serbia, which included the “Erski humour” in the National Register as one of the elements of the intangible cultural heritage. (Intangible Cultural Heritage of Serbia, 2012)

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## SOME GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN VOJVODINA

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**Abstract:** In his work *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije* [*Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography*], Jovan Cvijić wrote about migration currents that rearranged almost the entire population, about the systematic colonization of the Pannonian region as well as about conversion of Orthodox population into Catholic and Uniate religion. Although represented in a smaller number of other ethnic communities in the area of Vojvodina, with very small population resources, Ruthenians and Ukrainians as part of this process and the confirmation of the then Cvijić's assertion Unlike Ruthenians, who have migrated from north-eastern counties of former Hungary to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the current Ukrainians in Serbia, who mainly live in Vojvodina, originate from the migration movements of the Ukrainians from Bosnia, from the time when Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia were in the common state of Yugoslavia. The paper analyses the ancestry of the population and its colonization, population dynamics and spatial distribution of the Ukrainian national minority in Vojvodina.

**Keywords:** Vojvodina; Ukrainians; origin; Ukrainian language; Greek-Catholic Church

### Introduction

Contemporary ethno-spatial distribution of the population of Serbia has formed during the long historical period under the influence of numerous factors that have determined the overall socio-historical, demographic, economic, social and cultural-civilization development of the Balkan geospace. During the turbulent history and due to intensive resettlement of the population, the ethnic composition and territorial division changed, being followed at the same time with the process of the creation of certain nations and ethnic groups (Raduški, 2013). Thus, “starting from the end of the XIV century, through the time of Turkish invasion until the present day, the migration currents have rearranged almost the entire population, following many ethnical and ethnobiological processes which have significantly changed the ethnic image of the Balkan countries” (Cvijić, 1922, p. 89).

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Due to its specific geographical position, historical heritage, political circumstances, demographic development and permanent migrations, Serbia is today one multi-ethnic and multicultural country inhabited by numerous national minorities that significantly differ in number, spatial distribution, social cohesion, political organization, national emancipation, ethnic, demographic and other features (Raduški, 2013).

From the aspect of ethnicity, Serbia is a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state. According to the results of the 2011 Census, Serbia is inhabited by Serbs and 21 other ethnic communities whose number exceeds two thousand members. The ethnic structure of the population in large administrative units shows that northern Serbia is significantly more heterogeneous, and within it, the region of Vojvodina is very ethnically diverse and represents a real mosaic of different nations, religions, languages and cultures. This is confirmed by the fact that of a total of 1.9 million inhabitants, Serbs make two-thirds of the population, while as many as ten national minorities participate with over 0.5%.

In his book *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije [Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography, 1922]*, Jovan Cvijić wrote: “Out of all Pannonian landscapes, the fertile plain of the Bačka region between the Danube and Tisa, which from the ancient times represented the route from Central Europe to Constantinople, was particularly exposed to German-Hungarian colonization. At the beginning of the 18th century the Austrian court began to show the germanization intentions in the countries that were dependent on the crown of St. Stephen, since when the majority of German colonies settled in Banat, Bačka and Baranja regions. The wealth of the country attracted a numerous Slovaks, whose settlement dates back to the middle of the XVIII century, followed by the Czech and Russian colonists. Smaller scattered islands of Hungarian population were strengthened by the colonization that concentrated along the Tisa and in the vicinity of Bačka Topola, less in Baranja and partly in Banat. After the “compromise” of 1867, the Hungarians undertook the systematic colonization of these areas” (Cvijić, 1922, p.150).

“Areas least affected by German and Hungarian colonization were those belonging to the Military Border, the territory that stretched from Velebit mountain and Lika region to the Carpathians, along the Sava, middle stream of the Tisa and the Danube. Serbian and Croatian peasants had their own land there, so there were few large estates that could be inhabited by German and Hungarian colonists. In addition, every citizen from 18 to 60 years of age was a soldier, and Turkish invasions did not seem to cease. All of this influenced that German and

Hungarian immigrants avoided Military Border for a long time” (Cvijić, 1922, p. 151). Although represented with a rather small population potential, Ruthenians and Ukrainians who originate from the same geographical region and practice the same religion also have an interesting folklore heritage and a significant scope of similar and different characteristics. Unlike Ruthenians who inhabit the territory of Vojvodina for more than 260 years, Ukrainians immigrated from northern Bosnia after the Second World War

### **Methodology**

Basic methodological approach used in this paper is the processing and scientific analysis of the obtained statistical data of the population censuses (1948–2011) and other secondary publications with the published data on the research topic. Quantitative and qualitative analysis and comparative method were also applied as well as the field work (the author lives in the municipality of Kula, which has the largest number of Ruthenians and Ukrainians), historical method, analytical study of the literature and other materials. The study of ethnogeographic and ethnodemographic issues can be carried out on the basis of results obtained through census and vital statistics. In addition to other demographic researches, the census data represent one of the most important sources for study of ethnodemographic processes, irrespective of certain methodologic restrictions at utilization of results censuses (Radovanović, 1996). The documents and information used in this study were obtained from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and Provincial Secretariat for Education, Regulations, Administration and National Minorities — National Communities of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, National Council of Ukrainian National Minority, Demographic Monograph with the data of register books from the first two Ruthenian settlements — Ruski Krstur and Kucura (today most of the Ruthenian national minority in Vojvodina live there) and also Greek-Catholic church of which Ruthenians and Ukrainians are a part.

### **Results and discussion**

From the territory of present-day Ukraine, during different time periods and historical and economic conditions, the Ukrainian people inhabited the territory of today’s Republic of Serbia. The history of the Ukrainian people cannot be equalled with the history of the Ukrainian state. From the Kievan Russia (the Principality), the Tatar-Mongol conquest, the Galician-Volyn state, the Lithuanian-Polish period, the Kozak period and its liquidation, the Russian Empire, the Austrian monarchy, the world wars and the USSR, to the modern Republic of Ukraine, borders moved and changed many times. Ukraine was

divided by the power and willing of great powers. The names of the country changed and people lost their own statehood. Life conditions depended on the current government. It is necessary to observe the migration of Ukrainians to these areas from the perspective of such circumstances. Massive migrations took place with the will of great powers aimed at achieving their own interests.

Individual immigrations of church officials and well-educated people began at the time of Turkish invasion in the XV century. These connections were later enhanced, especially at the beginning of the XVIII century and were most intense in the area of today's Vojvodina, which at the time was part of Austria-Hungary. From that time, it is worth mentioning that professors of the Kiev Academy worked in 1735 in Sremski Karlovci as teachers of Slavic languages, Latin language, philosophy and theology.

In the first half of the XVIII century, after Austria's suppression of Turks from South-eastern Europe, a systematic resettlement of people from all over the Empire began. The area of today's Vojvodina was poorly populated and economically underdeveloped, and this situation was further worsened by the emigration of Serbs to Russia after the abolition of Potiske i Pomoriška military borders. These free areas were systematically colonized by Ruthenians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Germans, Poles and other nations.

From the area of Carpathian Ruthenia of today's Slovakia and Ukraine, the arrival of Slavs in Bačka, Srem and Slavonia region began in 1745. The first organized settlements were in Kula, Krstur (today's Ruski Krstur), Kucura and other places in Bačka and a few years later in Šid and surrounding places in Srem. The settlers called themselves Ruthenians and they today have the status of a special national minority in Serbia.

After the collapse of the Zaporozhian Sich, the Kozak country on the Dnieper River in 1775, Russian Empress Catherine the Great banished Kozaks from the country. They were wandering on the rims of the Turkish Empire, the banks of the Danube River, in Moldova and Tataria until they finally obtained the right to immigrate to the Empire from the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, but under unfavourable conditions (restricted freedom of movement, no right to marry, military service obligation by the old age). It is considered that there were no descendants of the second wave of Ukrainian migrants in this area (Ćelap, 1959).

The only recognizable Ukrainian national minority that today lives in Serbia did not emigrate directly from Ukraine. The present Ukrainians in Serbia, primarily in Vojvodina, originate from migrations of the Ukrainians from Bosnia, during

the period when Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia were parts of former Yugoslavia (Nebesnij, 2007).

Ukrainian colonists settled in the beginning of the XX century to the northwestern Bosnia of south Bukovina and western Galicia, which, since the first half of the XIX century, were considered as agrarian-raw material additions to the industrial developed provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and were agrarian overpopulated. After the Berlin Congress, the planned colonization of the Ukrainian population from western Ukraine to Bosnia was carried out (Mišlicki, 2009).

Soon after the arrival of Ukrainians in Bosnia they made individual contacts with the Ruthenians in Vojvodina. They were connected by the Greek-Catholic religion and relatively similar languages. They entered into mixed marriages, most frequently in Vojvodina. Prior to the break out of the World War II and during it there were individual migrations of the Ukrainians from Bosnia to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. Generally speaking, this was not a mass phenomenon. Mass migrations of the Ukrainians from Bosnia to Serbia took place after the World War II in 1945 and 1946. The newly formed state Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia heavily colonized Vojvodina. Among other colonists there were several tens of Ukrainian families that arrived at various places in Vojvodina. The Ukrainians were very small ethnic group in those settlements. Migrations of the Ukrainians from Bosnia to Vojvodina driven by the idea of pursuing better living conditions were intensified in the 1950s and 1960s. Although the migrations were individual and unorganised, large numbers of Ukrainians arrived to Vojvodina and formed noticeable Ukrainian Diaspora (Nebesnij, 2007).

Almost 70,000 refugees from Ukraine and Southern Russia found their asylum in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians during the October Revolution in Russia in the 1920s. It was estimated that among the refugees there were over 30,000 Ukrainians. Among them there were a lot of intellectuals who had their traces left behind in education, art and culture in Serbia between the two world wars. Major portion of the Ukrainians, who immigrated to Serbia in the 1920s, emigrated to Western Europe and trans-oceanic countries after 1944/45 (Nebesnij, 2007).

#### *Demographic characteristics and territorial concentration*

Ukrainians have never been strong ethnic group in terms of numbers. According to censuses after the World War II or earlier, it was impossible to estimate the number of the Ruthenians and the Ukrainians in Vojvodina, as separate

categories, since there was a unique classification group “Ruthenians-Ukrainians”. It was only after the 1971 census when the population data for both ethnic groups became obtainable separately.

Table 1. Changes in the number of Ukrainians in Vojvodina 1971–2011

Censuses	Number of Ukrainians in Vojvodina	Share in the population (%)
1971	5,006	0.26
1981	5,001	0.25
1991	4,565	0.23
2002	4,635	0.23
2011	4,202	0.22

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

In the observed period (Table 1) the number of the Ukrainians in Vojvodina decreased for 16.07% (from 5,006 to 4,202) and their share in the total population decreased from 0.26% to 0.22%. Such fluctuation in numbers in the observed period is the consequence of unfavourable biological characteristics (unfavourable age structure), negative natural population growth, emigration and assimilation.

Table 2. The number of Ukrainians in the municipalities of Vojvodina, according to Census between 1971–2011

Censuses	1971		1991		2002		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Vojvodina	5,006	0.26	4,565	0.23	4,635	0.23	4,202	0.22
Kula	1,380	2.83	1,425	2.89	1,453	3.00	1,290	2.99
Vrbas	1,089	2.50	1,031	2.22	975	2.13	836	1.99
Bač	195	1.01	118	0.69	92	0.57	82	0.57
Novi Sad	543	0.25	459	0.17	482	0.16	484	0.16
S. Mitrovica	712	0.91	586	0.68	593	0.69	534	0.67
Indija	38	0.09	25	0.06	422	0.85	391	0.82

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia

Territorial concentration of the Ukrainians (Table 2) is the largest in the central part of Bačka in the municipalities of Kula (making almost 3% of the total population) and Vrbas (about 2% of the total population). More than 100 Ukrainians live in the municipalities of Sremska Mitrovica and Indija, as well as in the city of Novi Sad. An interesting fact is the increase in the number of the Ukrainians in the municipality of Indija between the 1991 and 2002 censuses (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2012).

Observing the structure of the settlements where the members of this national minority live, we may conclude that the Ukrainians live predominantly in urban settlements (about 74%), which is understandable with regard to the fact that the

Ukrainians emigrated from Bosnia after the agrarian reform and were not given the land, they arrived without personal property and settled in industrial centres. Urban settlements in Kula, Vrbas, Sremska Mitrovica, Novi Sad and Indija, as well as the villages of Lačarak, Kruščić and Zmajevio are especially distinguished from the populated places where members of the Ukrainian nationality have a significant share in the structure of the population.

### *Mother tongue and education*

Mother tongue, together with national belonging and religion, is one of the key ethnocultural census markings. The numerical inferiority of most ethnic groups has the effect that some languages are used only within individual communities and at the level of private communication. Legal conditions for allowing the official use of a language are 2% of the total population at the census at the republic level, and 15% at the level of local self-governments.

Table 3. Number of members of the Ukrainian national minority and people whose mother tongue is Ukrainian in the Republic of Serbia according to the censuses from 1971 to 2011

Censuses	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
Ukrainians	5,643	5,520	5,042	5,354	4,903
Ukrainian tongue	4,415	2,019	3,256	2,658	1,909
%	78.24	36.58	64.58	49.65	38.94

Source: Đurić, Tanasković, Vukmirović, & Ladević, 2014.

By comparing the number of Ukrainians and those who consider their mother tongue Ukrainian (Table 3), it is noted that for 40 years this number has been halved (from 78% to 39%). Following the results of the Census, no activities were undertaken on the introduction of the Ukrainian language into official use, but the National Council adopted the Strategy that created the basis in the area of culture, education and information. Teaching in the Ukrainian language is not organized, and the mother tongue with elements of national culture is taught in seven elementary schools, in the territory of five local self-governments (Kula, Vrbas, Sremska Mitrovica, Novi Sad and Indija) for the total of 106 pupils (Pokrajinski sekretarijat, 2016).

Although, under certain minimum conditions, education in the mother tongue of a national minority is guaranteed by the Constitution and regulated by other laws, children of the members of the Ukrainian national minority attend classes in Serbian. Elective subject “Ukrainian language with elements of national culture” is included in the curriculum for primary schools, the work of teachers is financed by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Serbia, and partly by the National Council of the Ukrainian National Minority. Some children opt for these classes, which is explained by the status of the subject, as parents rarely decide that their



children should attend classes of their mother tongue because of their personal conviction that they will learn the language in their family and community, and that they are more likely to opt for a “practical” elective object. After analysing the data of the Provincial Secretariat for Education, Administration and National Minorities and National Minorities and of the National Council of the Ukrainian National Minority for the period of last ten academic years, it is noted that the Ukrainian language with elements of national culture was studied in the territory of five local self-governments (Vrbas, Indija, Kula, Novi Sad and Sremska Mitrovica). The number of pupils attending these classes varies from 97 to 228 (which makes 36-50% of the total number of pupils of Ukrainian nationality minority) (Nacionalni savet, 2014; Pokrajinski sekretarijat, 2015; 2016; 2017a; 2017b; 2018). However, during the academic year of 2017/2018, Ukrainian language with elements of national culture was learned by only three first-graders in two local governments (Kula and Novi Sad), which is 10 less than in the previous school year (Pokrajinski sekretarijat, 2017b).

### *Religion*

After the Council of Florence held in 1439, the Greek Catholic Church was founded. A number of Orthodox bishops joined the union with Rome, retaining the Eastern rite (the appointment of the bishop, taking married men for priests, at the same time acknowledging the pope for the supreme ecclesiastical chief, and agreeing with the Roman Catholic Church important dogmatical questions). This church acquired the largest number of supporters among Ukrainians and Ruthenians. North-eastern Romania and western Ukraine, the area of Galicia and Bukovina, became the centre of a new church movement, especially after its establishment in 1596 by the Union of Brest. There were several attempts for unification in the Balkans, but in most cases they failed. Although the justification for colonization was sought exclusively in economic reasons and the cultivation of land complexes, it can be concluded that other circumstances played an important factor in making this decision. One of them is to strengthen Vienna's position by increasing the number of Catholics, as well as breaking up the compactness of the Orthodox population. Thus, partly for the colonization of Ruthenians in Vojvodina, as well as Ukrainians in Bosnia, was responsible the Greek Catholic Church (Busuladžić, 2003).

In the case of Ruthenians and Ukrainians are fully proved to be accurate, Cvijic's assertion that “the Orthodox were converted into Catholics and Uniates, faith during migration, due to the difficult living conditions, then for government Maria Teresa and in many cases when their small group resided in the mass of the Catholic population” (Cvijić, 1922, p. 222).

Today members of the Ruthenian and Ukrainian national minorities in Vojvodina are Greek Catholics. The first parish was founded in 1751 in Ruski Krstur. For Greek Catholics in Croatia, Ruthenians in Bačka and Ukrainians in Bosnia, the eparchy with headquarters in Križevci was established in 1777. Until 2001, the Križevci Eparchy served as a centre of religion for Greek Catholics from the territory of former Yugoslavia. After the founding of independent states, a procedure for the reorganization of this eparchy started. The Apostolic Exarchate for Greek Catholics in Serbia and Montenegro was established in Ruski Krstur in 2003. The Greek-Catholic Apostolic Exarchate in Serbia was formed in 2013, which together with the Križevci Diocese formed the Greek Catholic Church in Serbia and Croatia. Ukrainians in Vojvodina joined the existing Greek Catholic parishes in Sremska Mitrovica and Novi Sad while special parishes were established in Vrbas (1960) and Inđija (1965) with one unique parish for both nationalities in Kula (Žiroš, 1998).

### **Conclusion**

Cvijić studied the causes and consequences of the population movements enough to ensure that nothing could be added today. It turned out that the issue of migration is of great importance even now, when the mass movement from one region to another, and especially towards cities. Boundaries, political circumstances and undeveloped economies in the past have limited these movements, and after the creation of a large country, migration spreads to a much wider area (Lutovac, 1987). Cvijić emphasized that migrations have a great importance for the unity of ethnic nations in this region. In addition to other peoples in this region and on the example of Ukrainians, this is confirmed.

In addition to other peoples in this region and on the example of Ukrainians, this is confirmed. The only recognizable Ukrainian national minority living in Serbia today (of which about 86%, in Vojvodina) did not emigrate directly from Ukraine. The present Ukrainians in Serbia originate from the migration movements of Ukrainians from Bosnia, from the time when Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia were in the joint state of Yugoslavia, primarily for economic reasons.

According to the data from censuses prior to the 1971 census they were combined into the same category and their number was up to 23,000 people. However, in the following 40 years the number of the Ukrainians decreased for about 16%. Natural population increase of the Ukrainians does not differ from other ethnic groups in the Province of Vojvodina. Their natural birth rate has had negative values from the early 1970s.

The disposition of the Ukrainians is characterized by a high degree of territorial dispersion, although most of them are to be found in Kula and Vrbas, former industrial centres of the middle Bačka, in Sremska Mitrovica and at the end of the XX century in Inđija. By comparing the number of Ukrainians and those who consider their mother tongue Ukrainian it is noted that for 40 years this number has been halved. This is the consequence of the dispersive distribution of those ethnic groups and the lack of education in mother tongue.

Despite relatively favourable conditions for further development in all areas of social and public life, there has been a visible decreasing trend of population within this community. We may expect further decrease in the number of the Ukrainians in the future, due to the negative natural population growth, unfavourable age structure, prominent need for migrations to urban centres in search for education and employment opportunities, where there is possibility of exposure to assimilation and acculturation processes, mixed marriages, emigration of educated professionals to foreign countries as well as the opinion that religious beliefs are less important factors for a national identity. Although much has changed since Cvijić's time, not only in material but also in ethno-psychological terms, this does not mean that regional and ethnic characteristics will disappear in the near future. They will be because this is influenced by the natural environment, tradition and other local conditions (Lutovac, 1987).

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## ATTRACTIVENESS OF RELIGIOUS TOURISM IN THE BALKANS FOR THE RUSSIAN MARKET

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**Abstract:** Religious tourism still causes argument among researchers arising in connection with delimitation between religious tourism proper and pilgrimage, whether the pilgrimage plays second fiddle in relation to religious tourism (as its variety), or the pilgrimage should be regarded as a separate phenomenon of human life. Balkan Peninsula geographically and historically turned out to be the point of impact between two civilizations: Christian (Orthodox and Catholic) and Islamic. Balkan Peninsula has become a place of dense residence for representatives of three religions: Islam, Catholicism and Orthodoxy. This fact leaves a stamp on the exterior of the religious tourism objects and their relative position. It is here, on the Balkan Peninsula, where a lot of sacred places and shrines annually attract pilgrims and religious tourists from around the world. Even though the religion is scarcely tackled in the capital monograph of Jovan Cvijić *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)*, various observations on religious architecture and religious impacts within different civilization zones can be found in some of his studies.

**Keywords:** geographical conditions; Balkan Peninsula; religious tourism

### Introduction

A rising tide of interest for religious tourism in Russia appeared in the last decade of the XX century, together with a change in the political system and social orientation. It is psychologically logical that an open demonstration of religious life, forbidden under the socialist system, began to provoke interest among the people. Answering the demand of the society, places associated with religious cults began to revive everywhere: churches, temples and monasteries. More and more people began visiting them for acquaintance with culture and religion and participation in religious rituals.

In the 1990s, the tourism management system in Russia changed. Instead of the state tourism management, a system of private travel firms appeared, aimed primarily at making a profit by meeting the customer needs. New kinds of tourism niches began to appear, including the religious ones and the geography of religious tourism gradually began to expand. With the advent of the ability to

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move freely around the world, Russian tourists began to show interest in visiting previously forbidden places in order to explore a new culture for themselves and gain new impressions.

The historically long-term political and cultural connection and interactions between Russia and Balkan states have contributed to the attractiveness of the Balkan space to Russian tourists. The belonging to same Slavic ethnicity, Slavic language group, dominant orthodox religious orientation, similar patriarchal principles and mentality, historical development especially considering the impact of Russian communism to the political organization and modern life and religious practice in Former Yugoslavia. At the same time, the ethnic and cultural diversity that can be seen on a relatively small (by Russian standards) territory is a very attractive part of travel for a Russian tourist, as well as the cultural, linguistic and confessional commonality with a significant part of the Balkan population. In the course of historical processes, the Balkan people were mixed among themselves more than all other European people.

The main purpose of this study is to answer the question: what exactly are tourists from Russia (especially from St. Petersburg) looking for in the Balkans and why? Considering that Russia is inhabited with a predominantly Russian Orthodox population, after a long time of oblivion in the Soviet period, religious communities and the church became once again socially significant. Confessional self-identification is often, on the one hand, a consequence of socially desirable behaviour, and on the other hand, a close historical symbiosis between ethnicity and confession. Similar processes are going on in the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, formerly all belonging to the socialist camp. Accordingly, Russian tourists in the overwhelming majority have an interest in visiting religious places, especially the places where Christian and Orthodox shrines are located.

### **Theoretical Background**

Religious tourism (often also referred to as faith tourism) is a form of tourism whose participants are exclusively or strongly motivated with religious reasons. People go on religious holidays to confirm, deepen or reflect upon their faith. They want to connect personally to a holy place, better understand and appreciate a religious, feel free from worry, find peace and meaning in life. It is one of the fastest growing types of tourism in the world. The UNWTO estimates that 300–330 million tourists visit the world's major religious sites each year, which approximately 600 million national and international religious journeys are added to (Tomljenović & Dukić, 2017). Religious tourism includes a range

of activities, such as pilgrimages, missionary travel, monastery retreats, religious tourist attractions (churches, shrines), religious gatherings, faith-based events, etc. The World Tourism Organization estimates that 35% of European travellers are interested in religious tourism and around 20% of the sites on the World Heritage List of UNESCO have some sort of religious or spiritual connection ([www.cbi.eu/market -information/tourism/religious tourism](http://www.cbi.eu/market-information/tourism/religious_tourism)). Religious tourists travel in order to meet both their religious and spiritual needs.

This is one of the oldest types of tourism and a worldwide phenomenon of religious history, characterized by short-term excursions to nearby pilgrimage centres or religious conferences or long-term visits to national or international pilgrimage sites. However, pilgrimages and other religious journeys are also tied to other types of tourism, especially holiday cultural tourism. They are usually multifunctional journeys even when religious factors seem to dominate (Rinschede, 1992). This happens in the situation when the religious site is located in attractive surroundings (cultural, natural, urban or rural), as the religious tourist visit the nearby attraction, combining leisure with religious/spiritual motivations and experiences. On the other hand, other types of tourists, with no or minor religious self-determination visit the religious site in high numbers, attracted primarily to its aesthetic, cultural and historical meanings.

As religious tourism includes a different range of activities, there are still difficulties in understanding this term and doubts regarding the differentiation of concepts of religious tourism and pilgrimage. The main difference lies in the purpose of travel. The main thing in religious tourism is acquaintance with the history of holy places, the life of saints, architecture, church art, etc. All this is told while on tour, which is the most important element of the travel for a tourist. A tour can also be a part of the pilgrimage, but not the main one and not the obligatory one, but a secondary one. The main thing in pilgrimage is prayer, worship and religious worship of holy things. Orthodox pilgrimage is part of the religious life of every believer. In the process of the pilgrimage, the main thing during a prayer is not the external fulfilment of rites, but the spirit that reigns in the heart, the spiritual renewal that occurs with the Orthodox Christian. The successful scheme for the division of tourists and pilgrims was made by the American researcher V. L. Smith (1992), dividing both categories of the travelling on the opposite poles of the axis and thus opposing the spiritual and secular components of a travel. Thus, Smith puts the groups of pious pilgrims and secular tourists at different poles and allocates three additional transition categories reflecting the degree of interest of the traveller in the spiritual component of the site visited. In this case, it is about religious tourism and



secular tourists, and not about the pilgrimage, despite the fact that there is no such a delineation of concepts in the Russian legislation and these categories of citizens are not easy to divide in the statistical materials describing entry and exit tourist flows.

Historically, pilgrimages and religious processions have been very important in the Orthodox tradition and during recent years these practices have become more popular in the Christian world (Eade & Sallnow, 2000; Coleman, 2002; Naletova, 2009). In the areas of Eastern Europe where the communist regimes were less repressive to religion these traditions had a greater chance to survive. Visiting the holy places was possible in Poland and Romania, but in Soviet Russia, religious processions didn't exist, pilgrims were hounded and holy places were demolished. Even though the ancient pilgrim routes have been restored in post-communist Russia, with special guest houses rebuilt and pilgrim tour-guides trained, less than 3% of today Russian population has ever gone on a pilgrimage (Naletova, 2008). Standarty emphasizes (as cited in Naletova, 2009) that Russians are the least mobile people of Eastern Europe in terms of the financial resources available for an average citizen to travel during holidays.

Anthropological studies have shown that pilgrimages and secular travelling have much in common: pilgrimage journeys tend to become secularized and secular travelling tends to adopt different religious elements (Eade & Sallnow, 2000). In all countries of Central and Eastern Europe participation in pilgrimages and travelling to historical places correlate significantly: people involved in secular travelling are also likely to go on pilgrimage (and vice versa). The strongest correlation is observed in Bulgaria, where monasteries often function as popular recreation places (Naletova, 2009).

### **Civilization zones and religious impacts according to Jovan Cvijić**

The Balkan Peninsula occupies about 520,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which is almost 6% of the territory of Europe (Davidović, 2000). On three sides — from the south-west, from the east and from the south — the Adriatic, Ionian, Aegean, Sea of Marmara and Black Sea determine its clear boundaries. The most problematic issue is connected with marking the borders of the Balkan Peninsula in the west and in the north — and the discussions here are geocultural and geopolitical in nature. “The designation of the Bakan Peninsula is almost an ‘evergreen topic’ within physical geography, although we have to add that the political processes and the changing spatial identities — just because of the varied national and international interests and involvement — have influenced physical geography and physical geographers as well” (Hajdú, 2007, pp. 4–5). As for the northern

border, there are several points of view on this, among them is the concept of Jovan Cvijić. According to him, the northern boundary of the peninsula should be established along the Danube, Sava and Soča rivers (including the whole Ljubljana Basin and the Istria Peninsula) (Cvijić, 1918a). The Balkans (in a wider geographical sense) is the home of several national states: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Turkey (European part).

Jovan Cvijić proposed and substantiated the existence of the five civilization zones on the Balkan Peninsula (Cvijić, 1918a, 1918b) which reflect the historical influences of great civilization on the social and artistic echoes in the Balkan nations:

1. *Modified Byzantine (Old Balkan) Civilization* — covers Thrace, East Rumelia (most of present-day southern Bulgaria), Macedonia, Greece with Epirus and the neighbouring territories of Albania, Moravian Serbia, and the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria.

2. *The Patriarchal regime* — includes Bosnia and Herzegovina, almost all of Montenegro, Albania (excluding a narrow coastal strip), northern Bulgaria, excluding the eastern coast, almost all of Serbia. The patriarchal area of the Balkan peoples was significantly reduced due to Turkish influence.

3. *Zone of Western (Mediterranean) Civilization* — covers a narrow strip of the western coast of the peninsula. While Dalmatia developed under Venetian influence, the southern coast of Albania remained in the sphere of South Italian, Turco-oriental, Greek and patriarchal influences.

4. *Central European influences* (Austrian and Hungarian influence) — includes separate territories in Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria.

5. *Turco-Oriental influences* – areas in the south and east of the peninsula. The Turks had a much greater influence on the culture of the population of the Balkan Peninsula than Byzantine culture on the Turks themselves, which affected only the upper classes of Turkish society.

Even though the religion is scarcely tackled in his capital monograph *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)*, various observations on religious architecture and religious impacts within different civilization zones can be noticed in some of his studies. “The distribution of these various civilizations has in itself become a very important factor in the conditions of life and in the mental traits of the population . . .

distribution of the different civilization is a factor which was in the past and remains in our day of great influence on all the ethnographical and anthropogeographical phenomena of the peninsula” (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 472) He identified that such civilization influences can be seen in specific architectural styles of religious places and traditional buildings. “The western influences in the architecture of Serbian churches of the XII to XV centuries are well known” (Cvijić, 1918b, p. 478). “The Byzantine, or Greek, Church, as well as the Turkish state, flooded nearly the whole peninsula with a numerous clergy and communities which multiplied. The Byzantine civilization was pre-eminently the civilization of the cities and of the main longitudinal routes Constantinople–Belgrade and Salonika–Belgrade. In the Byzantium the empire rested less on nationality than on religion, so, in the zone of Byzantine civilization, the Greek-Orthodox faith was for a long time superior to nationality and peoples had almost entirely lost national feeling. Besides, the Orthodox faith, here has a very particular spirit” (Cvijić, 1918b, pp. 473–475). “Close contacts with Byzantium, Serbs and Bulgarians accepted Christianity and the first elements of Byzantine civilization. Material and intellectual way of life, especially of the higher social classes is based on Byzantine ideas and principles, as well as literature. Under Byzantine impulses within Serbs, the original culture developed reflected in literature, law and architecture. From 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century, Serbian kings built beautiful buildings: Studenica, Banjska, Sopoćane, Gradac (Western Serbia), Gračanica, Dečane, Psača, Nagoričane, Matejič (Republic Macedonia) and many other monasteries, and some could be compared to most beautiful buildings of the western world of that time” (Cvijić, 2000, p. 75).

Conducting anthropogeographical research, Cvijić assumed that peoples with similar languages have similar *customs and people’s concepts*. Later history showed that Cvijić underestimated the importance of religious differences between the Balkan people (Nadoveza, 2010) which lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, mainly on the confessional basis.

The history of the Balkan states shows that the formation of nations went primarily through the creation of national churches that helped preserve the ethnic identity of peoples, the development of their national language, including literary culture, the development of culture, the strengthening of vitality. At the same time, the activities of the national churches played in many ways the role of demarcation and isolation of the closely-lingual South Slavic peoples into separate nations on a religious basis (Churkina, 1999). As the history of the last three decades shows, religion plays a huge role in the formation of national culture. The revival of religion in the last three decades in most parts of the world only strengthens cultural interethnic differences. As the American

researcher S. Huntington wrote: “In the world after the Cold War, culture is a force, both uniting and dividing. . . . People, divided by ideology, but experiencing a cultural kinship, unite. . . . Societies, united by ideology, but divided due to historical circumstances, as happened with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Bosnia. . .” (Huntington, 1996, p. 28).

### **Main tourist religious destinations**

Strongly motivated religious visits to main religious centres (Mt. Athos in Greece, monastery tours, pilgrimage cultural tours dedicated to some Saints or special shrines), including staying for overnight within such places and participating in the religious protocols, are considered as primarily pilgrimage journeys. However, due to the special interest of many Russian tourists, such places can also be visited due to their historical or architectural value. In that context, tourists who travel from Russia (and St. Petersburg) to the Balkans want not only to see Christian Orthodox shrines, but also to get acquainted with the culture, which is close to them, so, we can say that they are travelling in search of cultural similarity.

We can also emphasize the main difference between religious tourism and the pilgrimage — religious tourism implies not only acquaintance with religious centres, but also receiving other, diversified tourist impressions. The Balkan countries can provide a wide variety of tourist attractions: a warm climate, natural attractions — national parks, mountains and the sea, the possibility of beach recreation, national cuisine, diverse cultural attractions: architecture, museums, monuments, monasteries and churches, as well as hospitality and warm welcoming attitude of the host population. There are inevitably the obvious representations of severe impacts of Russian artists (especially in the domain of theatre, ballet, architecture and fine arts). The most representative ones are the result of socialist and communist doctrines and the establishment of modern architecture (monumentalism) in the Balkans.

There are many places on the Balkan Peninsula that are attractive for religious tourism. Of special interest from the religious and tourism aspect appear to be those sites that gained the certification of international universal value and as such inscribed to the UNESCO list: Stećci Medieval Tombstone Graveyards (28 sites, located in Bosnia and Herzegovina, western Serbia, western Montenegro and central and southern Croatia, representing these cemeteries and regionally distinctive medieval tombstones); Boyana Church near Sofia; Rock-Hewn

Churches of Ivanovo; Rila Monastery in Bulgaria; Mt. Athos<sup>2</sup>; Meteora; Paleochristian and Byzantine Monuments of Thessaloniki in Greece; Stari Ras and Sopoćani monastery; Studenica Monastery and Medieval Monuments in AP Kosovo and Metohija; in Macedonia the most representative is Heritage of the Ohrid region with monastery of Pantelejmon (one of the oldest in the Balkans), etc. (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>).

The Greek city of Thessaloniki, where Demetrius of Thessaloniki lived, and the origin of the saints Cyril and Methodius, which are so important for the whole Orthodox world, is one of the most popular destinations from St. Petersburg. In Thessaloniki, the early Christian churches included in the World Heritage List are attractive for a tourist, having preserved the relics of the saints and built primarily to the Great Schism. In addition to religious values, the city attracts tourists with the warm sea, the history of the old part of the city, shopping and gastronomy.

Tourist routes to Bulgaria, including religious ones, are also in demand in St. Petersburg. This tourist destination is popular with Russian tourists since Soviet times, when Bulgaria was one of the few countries where a Soviet citizen could go, although one could not talk about religious tourism in the years of the USSR. Nowadays, on the contrary, the fact that Bulgaria is an Orthodox country, and hence a place where one can count on cultural and mental similarity, is an additional attraction of this tourist destination. In Bulgaria, there are thousands of churches and monasteries attracting for tourists: St. Sophia Cathedral, the Rila or Troyan Monastery, Beads around Veliko Tarnovo, hundreds of small holy monasteries. 14 monasteries located in the vicinity of Sofia created the brotherhood of *Mala Sveta Gora*, justly considered a visiting card of central Bulgaria. Today, the transport infrastructure is developed and all conditions for the development of tourism are created here. Leaders in terms of the number of tourists attracted are Dragalevtsi Monastery and Boyana Village with the Church of Saint Nicholas and Panteleimon build in XI century, included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. In 2002, during the excavations of the temple of *Saint Archangel Michael* (Kardzhali), wooden artefacts were discovered. Religious tourism in Bulgaria is divided into several components: the desire to get

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<sup>2</sup> The Athos Mountain has retained its special autonomous status as a self-governed community for the past thousand years, hosting 20 Byzantine monasteries and over 2000 monks. An access to Mount Athos is strictly regulated — a maximum of 120 Orthodox Christian visitors are allowed per day — and requires a special permission (diamoneterion). On Athos there are no hotels and visitors are hosted by the monasteries for free (usually one night in a different monastery up to three days) (della Dora, 2012). This article does not cover tours to Mountain Athos, because trips to Athos monasteries are exclusively pilgrimage in Russia and are possible only after receiving the blessing of the Patriarch's service.

acquainted with architecture, history and culture, or to plunge oneself into the mysteries of faith. An example of religious diversity is the city of Plovdiv, where for 8 thousand years of its existence the city has seen many different civilizations and religions, from the cult of the afterlife of ancient Thracians, Greek and Roman gods to Orthodoxy and Catholicism. Tours to Bulgaria, including religious ones, are always in demand. Another bonus is that such a trip is relatively cheap, in comparison with other tourist destinations.

After the end of the war in 1995, tourism to Bosnia and Herzegovina has been growing at the fastest pace in the Balkans. In addition to cultural attractions travellers are attracted to ski resorts, which gained fame after the Winter Olympics in 1984. Christianity came a very long time ago on the land of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Next to Trebinje there is a cave in which, according to the legend, the Apostle Paul was hiding. Throughout Herzegovina, many remnants of early Christian churches were found. The end of the XII — the beginning of the XIII century is connected with the activities of St. Sava, the founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church. In Herzegovinian monastery of Zavala, under the Ostrog Mountain, St. Vasilije of Ostrog began his journey into monasticism. There are seven Orthodox monasteries in Herzegovina: five in Trebinje, one near Bileća and one near Mostar. When the Ottomans ruled Bosnia and Herzegovina, almost no new churches were built. With the departure of the Ottomans, active construction of churches began. The village of Medjugorje located near the town of Mostar is almost the most visited place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Not simple tourists strive to get there, but rather pilgrims, adherents of the Christian religion, as the appearance of the Virgin Mary to six children here took place here in 1981. Mostar attracts travellers with its sights — the Old Bridge, included into the UNESCO World Heritage List, and the museum, the Ottoman mansion of Muslibegovitsa.

Serbia is very attractive for Russian and St. Petersburg tourists. First of all, Serbia attracts tourists with ski and spa resorts, historical and cultural monuments. Russians are most fond of visiting major cities: Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis and ski resorts Kopaonik, Zlatibor, Stara Planina, are interested in musical events — the Exit Festival in Novi Sad and the Trumpeters Festival in the village of Gucha. But religious tourism in Serbia is one of the most promising areas. An hour's drive from Belgrade is the national park Fruška Gora, where there are 16 Orthodox Church monasteries, dating from the XV to the XVIII century. Fruška Gora is also called the Serbian "Holy Mountain". In Belgrade there is the largest Orthodox church dedicated to Saint Sava of Serbia — the Church of Saint Sava. The construction preparations have lasted for a very long time (the consecration of the foundations was finished in 1935) and the temple

was built on the location where his relics were burned by the Turks. The church of St. Michael the Archangel built in 1837 is famous for its carved iconostasis made by Dimitrije Petrović. The church of the Holy Trinity (also called the Russian Church) is a place where General Wrangel is buried and it is located next to a much bigger St. Mark's Church in Belgrade. Church of St. Vasilije of Ostrog built in 1996–2001 by the project of the Serbian architect Mihailo Mitrović was the first church built on the territory of Novi Beograd since World War II (<http://www.beograd.rs/en/serbian-orthodox-church/201396-church-architecture/>).

Montenegro is another Orthodox country, which in recent years has become a popular destination for tourists from St. Petersburg. The main thing that attracts St. Petersburg tourists to this country is the Adriatic Sea and Orthodox shrines. The most famous religious attraction in Montenegro is the Ostrog Monastery, located in the vicinity of Nikšić. Tourists are attracted to the architecture of the XII century monastery, carved into the limestone rock of the Ostrog ridge. Orthodox Christians come here to worship the relics of the founder of the monastery St. Vasilije of Ostrog, who after death was recognized as a holy by the Serbian Orthodox church. Another famous Montenegrin monastery is the Cetinje Monastery of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, where such Orthodox relics as the hand of John the Baptist and the Philharmonic icon of the Mother of God are kept, which according to the legend was written by the Evangelist Luke. These two shrines were transferred to Ostrog Monastery by the mother of the last Russian emperor Maria Feodorovna. In addition, there are two other Christian shrines in the monastery — a piece of the cross of the Lord (in the cross) and the relics of Petar Cetinsky, the founder of the monastery.

### **Management of religious tourism in the Balkans**

Regarding the travelling of Russian tourists, data show that 47% of Russian outbound tourists travel to Europe, of which about 12% visit Balkan countries (including Romania, Croatia and Slovenia). Most visited are Greece (5%), Bulgaria (4%), Montenegro (2%), Serbia (0.5%) and Croatia (0.4%) (Federal State Statistics Service [Rosstat], 2017).

Management of religious tourism is more complicated than conducting pilgrimage trips, as in order for these routes to be in demand, much more conditions are required. If pilgrims go on a trip to worship holy places, then a priori one can expect that other travel conditions for travellers are not so significant. For a tourist travelling with a religious purpose, in addition to being interested in religious sites, many aspects of the trip are important. Religious

tourism is primarily an enlightening one, and religious shrines there are the objects of the culture of the people living here, the expression of their moral and ethical views about their place in history, about the events that took place there. In addition, other purposes are important for managing such tours, besides visiting religious shrines. It can be beach rest, rehabilitation, sports entertainment, shopping, festivals, etc. Equally important in such trips is the hotel, transport and other tourist infrastructure.

The analysis of the proposals for trips with religious purposes to the Balkans from St. Petersburg shows that the number of tourist companies with similar offers is small and with the exception of proposals for Greece and to a lesser extent Bulgaria, the wide variety of routes to the Balkans do not differ. In recent years, the number of tours to Montenegro has increased, where beach rest and excursions to churches and monasteries are combined. The high rank that Montenegro has among Russian tourists is evident in the fact that the inflow of Russian private capital in the Montenegrin economy, especially in the tourist industry and real estate. In recent years Montenegro became one of the favourite destinations of Russian tourists, with about 318,375 Russian tourists in 2014 (Statistical Office of Montenegro — MONSTAT, 2015).

There are some offers to Serbia: monasteries and religious places, which can be more likely to be attributed to a pilgrimage trip, a Christmas trip to Serbia, a short three-day tour to Belgrade, and a health tour in Lukovska Banja. There is one gastronomic tour around the country, with offers to visit the Church of Saint Sava. There are many proposals to visit several Balkan countries at the same time, which includes one or two excursions to religious sites. As the analysis of tourist forums shows, the level of interest among potential tourists in visiting historical, cultural, religious and natural monuments is high enough, therefore, the number of proposals for tours to the Balkans can be called unfairly low. So, from almost forty pilgrimage companies operating in St. Petersburg, only a small part offers tours in the Balkan direction, mainly Greece, with visits to Mt. Athos which is considered the most representative religious pilgrimage site in the Balkans.

There are two main reasons for this situation. One objective is the financial instability in Russia due to economic sanctions, the instability of the ruble exchange rate. The second in the absence of a well-thought-out advertising campaign for the Balkan countries. So, for example, the offer of tours to Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro is almost all major travel agents, while proposals for Serbia are very rare. In general Serbia is visited by 0.5% of Russians travelling abroad (73,000 persons in 2016) (Rosstat, 2017), so certain actions regarding the improvement of this situation should be done. To date, in Russia, only a few tour



operators offer group tours to Serbia, but all these companies are not leaders of the tourism industry, on the contrary, they occupy modest niches. Although in order to interest Russian and St. Petersburg tourist, the Balkan countries have every reason for what was said above.

Due to the economic crisis in Russia, relatively low prices for tourist trips to the Balkans could also become a competitive advantage. Nevertheless, the situation in this direction is very unstable against the background of a general decline in overseas tourist trips from Russia and an increase in domestic tourism. Specialists attribute this primarily to the fall in the ruble's exchange rate against world currencies and the closure for several years of popular destinations for Russians (Turkey and Egypt), and demand for Balkan directions began to grow in these years. With the return of Turkey and Egypt this year to the Russian tourist market, the situation has changed again and according to the reports for the first half of this year the demand for Balkan directions fell again. So, the demand for Bulgaria in annual terms fell by 8%, Greece by 0.9%, Montenegro 11.9%, Serbia by 9.4% (<http://www.pitert.ru/news/kto-okazalsya-liderakh-vy>). The only Balkan country that shows the growth of Russian tourists this year is Croatia, but experts associate this with the beach direction.

### **Conclusion**

Religious tourism in the Balkans, from the perspective of the Russian market, has great potential for development, as an integral part of historical and cultural tourism. Orthodox monasteries, churches and religious shrines can be found in vast numbers through the Balkan Peninsula and Jovan Cvijić emphasized their historical and religious meanings, architectural and artistic beauty.

Due to confessional and ethnic affinity, Russian travellers have a great interest in this direction, but a further development of cultural relations is necessary for further elaboration. It is important to consider the fact that to attract a sophisticated Russian tourist it is necessary to have a high level of tourist infrastructure and an interesting, diverse travel plan. Such Balkan countries as Albania, Romania and Slovenia do not offer their services on religious tourism in the Russian market or these offers are very few. As a rule, only independent tourists go on religious trips to these countries, as they do not have the opportunity to purchase tours in tourist companies. This is due to various reasons: political relations, weak cultural ties, lack of advertising. Many potential tourists with religious motivation simply do not know what they can see in these countries. Despite the existing potential, it is necessary to create programs for travellers with religious goals and to promote them on the Russian tourist market.

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**SETTLEMENTS AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE OF THE  
BALKAN PENINSULA — THE SPATIAL PATTERNS AND TYPES**



# ANTHROPOGEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPT OF JOVAN CVIJIĆ AND CONTEMPORARY SCIENTIFIC PROPOSITIONS IN THE STUDIES OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS

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**Abstract:** At the beginning of the XX century, along with the scientific foundation of anthropogeography, Jovan Cvijić developed an authentic anthropogeographical concept in the study of the settlements. The synthesis of anthropogeographic knowledge of rural settlements and the setting of complex theoretical and methodological tasks in this field gave innovative results that represent a significant heritage of Serbian anthropogeography. In this paper, the authors consider some questions that many scientists did, analysing scientific actuality of Cvijić's concept in the research of rural settlements - the importance of the traditional anthropogeographical concept in the contemporary studies of rural settlements and applicability of a wide spectrum of methodological principles of the Serbian anthropogeographical school (the method of direct observation in the field, genetic, geographic-comparative, typological method, the method of ethno-psychical profiles etc.). The analysis of the authenticity and integrity of Cvijić's theoretical and methodological principles in the anthropogeographical studies of rural settlements in the Balkan Peninsula confirms the validity of concept, methodology and indicators that were used, as well as the scientific actuality and quality of the traditional anthropogeographical concept. By introducing modern qualitative and quantitative methods, while some of the new ones are not fundamentally different from traditional ones (for example methods of factor and cluster analysis, on the one hand, and the typological and space analysis method, on the other), the traditional anthropogeographical concept has not lost its scientific importance, and great attention from different positions should be dedicated to modern research of rural settlements and rural areas.

**Keywords:** Jovan Cvijić; anthropogeographical concept; rural settlements; methodology

## Introduction

The Serbian anthropogeographical school was founded and developed by Jovan Cvijić in the first quarter of the XX century. At the time of Cvijić's scientific engagement, together with his gifted contemporaries and followers (Vojislav Radovanović, Rista Nikolić, Atanasije Urošević, Jefto Dedijer, Tihomir Đorđević, Milisav Lutovac, Jovan Trifunovski, Branislav Bukurov etc.). Serbian anthropogeography has experienced its golden age and developed world-renowned authentic anthropogeographic concept. For that reason, the versatility and comprehensiveness of the scientific legacy, which Jovan Cvijić left behind,

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brought him the epithet of one of the most important and influential scientists of our area rightly from the end of the XIX and in the first half of the XX century.

At the very beginning of his career, Cvijić had clearly defined scientific views about problems of geography as a field of science. In his lecture *Današnje stanje geografske nauke* [*Today's State of Geographical Science*], when he was appointed as a professor of scientific geography and anthropogeography, in 1893, he emphasized that anthropogeography concerns the complicated organism of society and discusses one of the most difficult topics ever that attract human spirit: the influence of the entire nature on the human creations and the characteristics of people's spirit (Cvijić, 1893). Paying the respect to the works of Friedrich Ratzel, based on the inextricable relation between man and his natural environment, Cvijić also pointed out to the lack of his scientific opus which almost excludes man from human geography (Cvijić, 1991a). According to Mirko Grčić, one of the best experts in the works and creations of this talented scientist, "from the beginning of his scientific research, Cvijić noticed that the problem of anthropogeography is not in the subject, but in the method" (Grčić, 2004, p. 26). Cvijić noticed a methodological disadvantage in the anthropogeographical works of his contemporaries, who focused their attention primarily on forms of material culture (settlements, economy etc.) and introduced scientific topics that no one else did before — the metanastatic drifts, civilization zones, ethno-psychic types of population (Grčić, 2004).

In an extremely diverse and complex Cvijić's scientific opus it is difficult to distinguish one dominant field of anthropogeography. By leaving this time aside the analysis of the numerous anthropogenic problems of the Balkan Peninsula (migration of the population, cultural belts and ethno-psychic characteristics of the South Slavs etc.) in the works of Jovan Cvijić, this paper emphasized its special peculiarity and authenticity in the study of settlement complex, especially rural settlements.

### **Cvijić's scientific method in the study of settlements**

The theoretical and methodological basis of Cvijić's anthropogeographic conception is contained in his work *Antropogeografski problemi Balkanskoga poluostrva* [*Anthropogeographic Problems of the Balkan Peninsula*] (Cvijić, 1902), where the main ideas were developed and the final form is presented in his famous work *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije* [*Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic Lands. The basics of anthropogeography*] (Cvijić, 1922a). The following methodological principles are outlined: 1) the problems are examined; the material is collected; material for

which you don't know its purpose, should not be collected; 2) the aim of the research is to analyse and interpret anthropogeographical problems in way that various and complex causes can be highlighted, as in all problems concerning relations and mutual interactions between the whole nature and ethnic elements, human creations and human migrations; 3) the descriptions in anthropogeographical works should be overcome and the phenomena of the everyday life fully explained; 4) explanations and conclusions must be based on the existing factography; and 5) anthropogeographical and ethnographic phenomena should be related to the material (economic) basis (Carić, 1982).

The methodological plan for field research is set in *Uputstva za proučavanje sela u Srbiji i ostalim srpskim zemljama* [Guidelines for the study of villages in Serbia and other Serbian lands] (Cvijić, 1896). Until 1898, according to anthropogeographical specifics three more special guidelines were made (for Serbia, Old Serbia and Macedonia; Bosnia and Herzegovina), and after that also *Uputstva za ispitivanje naselja i psihičkih osobina* [Guidelines for the study of settlements and psychological traits] (Cvijić, 1911) and *Uputstva za ispitivanje porekla stanovništva i psihičkih osobina* [Guidelines for the study of the origins of the population and psychological traits] (Cvijić, 1922b). These mentioned Guidelines were the result of extensive and comprehensive field research, where all major anthropogeographical issues of the Balkan Peninsula were noticed and evaluated. In his first Guidelines, Cvijić grouped the questions in seven thematic units: 1. the location of the village, 2. the type of village, 3. the house, the yard and the garden, 4. second home settlements and other buildings situated in the mountain regions and valleys, 5. stories and interpretations about the names of villages, 6. the establishment of the villages, previous settlements and their traces and 7. occupation of the population.

The theoretical and methodological setting of the anthropogeographic study of the settlement through the development of mentioned Guidelines and their actuality and applicability in modern anthropogeography is understandable since "every question of the Guidelines has a certain task: to highlighted the anthropogeographic issues from all sides – to see their causes, both diverse and complex, as with all problems related to the interesting relationship and mutual influence between overall nature and the ethnic moments, as well as of human creation and human migrations" (Cvijić, 1991b, p. 20). Accordingly, the Guidelines provided the basis for the typological classification of the settlements, thus establishing the content basis of the system approach in the typological classification of the settlement.



Cvijić's anthropogeographic concept was created and developed according to his methods of field work, which explicitly perceived the importance of deep observation and originally collected material (Lutovac, 1982). The method of observation, as one of the oldest methods, gave authenticity to Serbian anthropogeographical research. This is reflected in the direct field observation (from house to house, from family to family, from settlement to settlement), which forms the basis of later *systemic processing of typological original anthropogeographic material*.

An important part of Cvijić's anthropogeographic studies of settlements is the use of a natural method and the general introduction of naturalistic views and elements, which was later contested by some authors considering this approach one of the main drawbacks of Cvijić's conception in the study of settlements. Namely, the important principle of his anthropogeographical views was certainly the understanding of the "organic connection of all aspects of life and their close relations with the geographic environment" (Grčić, 2004, p. 28), but this view certainly did not have the characteristics of geodeterministic perceptions, rather it was close to modern understanding of human ecology. The methodological principle of Cvijić's study of settlements provided a possibility to conceptualize anthropogeographical issues in a dialectic way, and to comprehend anthropogeographic objects, phenomena and processes as the result of mutual interactions of natural and social factors (Radovanović, 1957).

One of the most important methodological principles of traditional anthropogeography is the application of the *genetic method*, which most adequately interprets the genesis, development and transformation of settlements in the historical and genetic context and links their geographical and historical aspects (Radovanović, 1959). The study of the anthropogeographical complex in the historical-genetic framework enabled the synthesis and chronological connection of geographical and historical aspect. In this way, the authenticity of anthropogeography has been enriched, showing that historical problems can be solved by geographic method. Namely, without stepping outside of anthropogeographic framework, in a genetic context, historical data are exclusively used for the interactions of natural and social factors (Lutovac, 1982).

*Sociological approach* in Cvijić's anthropogeographic conception is defined by Čulibrk (1968) as a sociological direction of geography that sets sociological theories of settlements, migration, culture and psychical types of population. The sociological method of traditional anthropogeography also can be considered to be "the sociology of the Balkans and the Balkan people" (Čulibrk, 1968, p. 46)

that representing one of the cornerstones of Cvijić's anthropogeographical and ethnological school (Radovanović, 2003).

*Typological method* has a special value in traditional anthropogeographic studies and application in the study of rural and urban settlements. Its application allows generalization of the empirical data settlements on the basis of systemic-structural propositions, giving authenticity and integrity in methodological and research process which are the most explicitly reflected in typological classification of urban and rural settlements of the Balkan Peninsula according to various criteria — types of positions, physiognomic, genetic features and functional criteria (Martinović, 2016).

The application of *system principle* to the anthropogeographic process of settlement development (process of genesis, evolution and transformation of settlements) can be clearly established in the Cvijić's research and methodological procedure, which is also an important methodological standpoint of modern geography. As the most significant innovation in Cvijić's methodological concept, which was held until today, Grčić (2004) precisely implies the implementation of system approach in anthropogeographical-ethnographical process (genesis, evolution and transformation of the anthropogenic system), thus integrating all spheres of anthropogeography – geodemographic, geocultural, geoeconomic, geoeological, geologicistic, geopolitical and geostrategic. The same author concludes that “classic paradigm of Cvijić's anthropogeographical school is quite close to modern paradigm... and a system principle in anthropogeography today gives a new meaning to the complex anthropogeographic synthesis” (Grčić, 2004, p. 46–47).

### **Anthropogeographic problems in the study of rural settlements in the works of Jovan Cvijić and their scientific validity**

For anthropogeographic knowledge of rural settlements of the Balkan Peninsula, Jovan Cvijić provided works of capital significance. Works were related to formulation of a holistic, coherent, historical-geographically continuous and functional cognitive-theoretical framework, as well as in the study of genesis, evolution and transformation, morphological and physiognomic structure, population origin and migration flows, economic opportunities and economic orientation of settlements.

Cvijić's anthropogeographic concept in the study of rural settlements was primarily adapted to geographic environment where research was conducted, so the results of the exhaustive field research that he organized were extremely complex and innovative for that time (Daneš, 1927). Taking into consideration

the axiom that settlements are the most remarkable elements of the environment — cultural landscape, places where population is bonded to the territory, as well as bearers of functional organization, economic development and focus of geospatial transformation, Cvijić opened a new epoch in the survey of rural settlements of the Balkan Peninsula, paying attention to the all nations and cultural zones of the studied area (Tošić, 2017).

With his guidelines for the study of rural settlements and other results Cvijić created a scientific climate that, along with the improvement of methodological propositions and determination of complex anthropogeographic phenomena and processes on the basis of extensive field research, influenced the subsequent growth and synthesis of knowledge about anthropogeographic issues of rural settlements, which according to its theoretical and practical propositions occupy a prominent place in modern socio-geographical studies of rural areas.

The theoretical and methodological bases of anthropogeographic study of settlements contained in *Guidelines for the study of villages in Serbia and other Serbian lands* have great practical significance for the field research of rural areas. Since this approach allows the settlements to be considered as a basic unit for territorial (spatial) organizations of population, while respecting their dynamic and development under the influence of physical-geographical, socio-historical, economic and cultural opportunities, their actuality and applicability in modern anthropogeography is understandable. In this way it is possible to interpret their geographic position from the point of view of chronological and historical variability, whose value is determined by the natural, historical, cultural, ethnic and economic conditions that are embedded in the geographic environment. Through the interaction of natural-geographical, historical-cultural and socio-economic conditions it is possible to explain the process of genesis and development of morpho-physiognomic structure of settlements, as well as transformation of their internal structure, spatial development and boundaries. Beside typological classification of settlements, according to physiognomic configuration and homogeneity of the internal structure, these Guidelines provide the basis for the typological classification of settlements by local position, genetic and functional criteria. Territorial organization of settlements (permanent and temporary) and economic areas could be represented in cohesion with peculiarity socio-economic organization and demographic development in the geographical-historical context, where the spatial organization of settlement represent a relatively constant category of settlement system. In this way, it is possible to perceive genesis and development of anthropogeographic settlement system in correlation with the genetic-historical variability and hierarchy of its structure and organization. It is also important to emphasize that Guidelines

provide the basis for studying the issues of the origin of population, classification of their regional composition (native and immigrants) and organizations (family cooperatives), as well as the authenticity of monitoring migration flows and their ethnological, economic and social consequences in the structuring of anthropogeographic complex. Such a detailed “recording” of population origin based on the tradition of certain genera can be compared with the present method of “deep” research (case study) in socio-geographical research of migration and population origin (Antić, 2016).

As already emphasized, *typological method* and its application in the study of villages and *varoš* [towns], population migration, ethno-psychic traits and other, have a special value in traditional anthropogeographic studies. This methodological procedure enabled generalization of empirical data of villages based on system-structural regulations, which provide authenticity and completeness in methodology and research, which particularly can be seen in typological development of urban and rural settlements of the Balkan Peninsula. Application of typological method, whereby elements of the system approach are somewhat intuitively, explicitly and consistently respected, enabled to determine relatively homogeneous systems and subsystems of settlements with a pronounced organization of their spatial and hierarchical structure (Martinović, 2016).

After defining the seat of the settlement as “a place where settlement is located along with cultivated and economically utilized soil around it... which always has a geographical name” (Cvijić, 1969, p. 86). Cvijić first divided the settlements into three main types — *small settlements, villages [or rural] settlements, and varoš [or urban] settlements*. The last two groups have been singled out, according to the demographic size, as *large settlements* that feature *settling in groups*, while small settlements are characterized by *individual settling* (Cvijić, 1969). The positions and types of settlement that Cvijić determined are closely connected with geographical factors, cultural influences and ethnic predispositions of people (Radovanović, 1959).

The geographic position and development of rural settlements, unlike urban where “natural potential of spacious areas” are dominant, Cvijić emphasizes *local topographic characteristics* (fertile land, proximity to drinking water, favourable microclimate, simple communication etc.). Studying the topographic position of villages on the Balkan Peninsula, Cvijić concludes that settlements are formed at sites which provide the greatest economic potential, regardless the great varieties of their topographic position. These are the contact zones of various ecological and economical areas (*the “contact position of the village”*),

which have provided the basis for diversified rural economy (crop farming, livestock farming and forestry) and drinking water sources (Cvijić, 1991a).

According to the topographic position, Cvijić singled out two groups of settlements: 1) *villages at heights, located on the valley sides, hilly terrains and surfaces up to 1,600 m*, predominantly formed on cleared land, dispersed type, with agricultural areas in the village and the economic orientation to livestock; and 2) *villages in the valleys, ravines and the plains*, mainly compact with agricultural areas located outside the village. Considering the influence of the relief on the topographic position and geographical distribution of the village, Cvijić emphasized *the villages on morphological borders, villages on the terraces and alluvial fans, villages and summer pastures on the moraines and other glacial forms and villages in karst depressions* (Cvijić, 1991a).

With typological classification of rural settlements based on their genesis and physiognomy, Cvijić first distinguished two basic groups: 1) *villages of a dispersed type*, which are divided into hamlets (neighbourhoods, quarters, jamaats), separated from each other by agrarian and forest areas; and 2) *villages of a compact type*, with a dense concentration of housing and economic buildings with a garden plot. Cvijić explained occurrence of different physiognomic types of villages by the influence of relief, forest cover, different cultures and administrations. According to that, villages of a dispersed type are located mostly in mountainous and wooded areas, in the cultural zone of the patriarchal regime, while villages of compact type are mainly located in valleys and ravines and in the areas of Byzantine civilization, the Mediterranean-Roman culture and under the strong Turkish rule. At rural settlements of dispersed type Cvijić singles out the *Stari Vlah type*, from which by the further evolution the *Šumadija, Jasenica and Mačva types* developed, then *karst type* and *Ibar or jamaat type of villages*. The villages of a compact type by Cvijić can be divided into the following types — *Timok, Čitluk, Turkish-Oriental, Mediterranean type*, at which he singles out three special types (*Greco-Mediterranean, Dalmatian-Mediterranean and Kaštelan types*), as well as *transitional type of rural settlements*. By dividing the village of a transitional type of rural settlements, where it emphasizes the examples of *Čitluk type* which after liberation from the Turks and the feudal agrarian regime has been significantly transformed (in Timok, Mačva, Šumadija type etc.), Cvijić pointed out that the mentioned types of villages understands as changing structural categories that stand in close relation with the cultural, historical, genetic, demographic, functional and economic characteristics of the area.

Acceptance of the thesis on heterogeneity of rural areas and rural settlements influenced the general scholarly acceptance of the typological method as an important starting point in modern geographic research of their development. Unlike mentioned qualitative methods of traditional Serbian anthropogeography, in recent decades of quantitative approaches in the typological classification of rural settlements and rural areas has often been used. This time, it is important to outline that quantitative typologies, has an important lack of statistical observation of space, with problems of defining common criteria for measuring the diversification of rural areas. The above mentioned traditional methods of systematization, classification and typology, as well as the method of space analysis, similarly determine the functional types of rural settlements, so they can be related to modern methodological propositions. The key difference was driven by data collection and processing. While traditional qualitative methodological procedures involve extensive and detailed field research, systematic processing of the original material, and typological classification, that is determining certain types of rural settlements and rural areas, recent research is mainly based on the use of statistical data where the functional types of rural areas and rural settlements are being separated and defined (Martinović, 2014).

Traditional anthropogeographical studies have pointed to the complex structure and hierarchy of organization of rural settlements and rural areas, while respecting the relations between elements and phenomena, and the existence of a relationship between a number of variables that have influenced rural development (Sibinović, Antić, Šantić, & Ratkaj, 2016). The problems of transformation of rural settlements occupy a significant place in contemporary period, after long and intensive demographic, socio-economic, functional and cultural changes in rural areas, in conditions of growing social interest in concept of sustainable rural development (especially in underdeveloped, peripheral and devastated rural regions), where the development of a geospatial complex outside the boundaries of urban agglomerations is imposed as one of the vital issues (Martinović & Ratkaj, 2015). In addition, by analysing the concept and methodology of researching rural settlements from the aspect of the traditional anthropogeographical concept, we can “confirm” its scientific significance, so according to the modern research priorities of human geography, it should be paid with great attention.

### **Conclusion**

The concept and methodology of anthropogeography has changed over time. Serbian anthropogeographical school has a significant role among the anthropogeographical schools in the world. In the Serbian anthropogeographic

school, the differentiation and specialization of anthropogeography in a series of independent geographical disciplines (Population geography, Geography of settlements, Economic and Political geography) and their further “splitting” into scientific disciplines and subdisciplines (Agrarian, Industrial, Geography of transport, Urban, Rural geography), segmented the anthropogeographical system, stripped away the originality of Serbian anthropogeography and brought a polycentrism in which the whole of object gradually was lost from sight (Wirth, 1979; Grčić, 2004). However, in spite of this, the contemporary (“modern”) anthropogeographical school did not lose the core of its integrative scientific essence, primarily thanks to the works of some authors (Radovanović M., Kostić M., Veljković A., Stamenković S., Grčić M. and others), who further elaborated the anthropogeographic concept in the field of human geography and showed that anthropogeographic facts of the past represent the facts of the present and the immediate future.

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## THE TRANSNATIONAL NATURE OF BALKAN HOUSES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Serena Acciai<sup>1,2</sup>

**Abstract:** One hundred years after the publication of Jovan Cvijić's *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)*, regarding the building types that have contributed to the housing culture of the Balkan Peninsula, we can highlight how the boundaries of these ways of life have perhaps been more transient than one could have considered a century ago. Following this key, we see that the word *kuća*, as it happens for the word *sofa* of the Ottoman house, indicates, in the simplest examples, a single space that is the house itself, (*vatrë* in the Albanian variant); we find that the Carso-Mediterranean house made of stone is extending along the whole Balkan Adriatic coast, and again that the Dinaric house is often completed by a wooden pergola called *çardâk* from Ottoman-Turkish (چارطاق “*arbours, summerhouse*”), that the Moravian house, composed of three planimetric elements (*ajat, kuća* and *soba*) is not so different from the planimetric layout of the Ottoman house with (*hajat, sofa* and *oda*), which then takes on a fortified appearance in the *kula* examples. All these variations are different combinations of recurring compositional elements that were combined with the architectural languages of the various climatic regions and of the various cultural and anthropological traditions.

**Keywords:** vernacular architecture; domestic culture; borders; housing typology; central hall

### Introduction: The Current Study

This study re-evaluates Jovan Cvijić's typological analysis of Balkan houses with a XXI century perspective. The overall goal is to demonstrate how the different house types of the Balkan Peninsula actually have some common compositional elements.

Using the typological studies of modern architects that have developed since the 1930s, I will highlight the recurring compositional elements of the Balkan house type. The analysis is based on selected case studies, and shows how constitutive elements of the Balkan house are repeated and could be ascribed to a more ancient idea of house: the Byzantine house type. The Byzantine house has been diffuse for centuries all over the Balkan territories. In the Balkans, in fact, the ordinary house type that for centuries was erroneously considered only as “*Turkish type*”, was instead inherited by the Ottomans when they conquered the vast territory of the

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Byzantine Empire (Deroko, 1961). This ancient culture has obviously been transformed by the architectural languages of the various climatic regions and of the various cultural and anthropological traditions that it met.

### **New reading of Jovan Cvijić's *La péninsule balkanique***

A current reading of the fundamental book on the Balkan peninsula, *La péninsule balkanique — géographie humaine (Balkan Peninsula: human geography)*, written a century ago in Paris by Jovan Cvijić, points out how the boundaries of the various house types, described by the author, have been more transient than would have been considered a century ago. Moreover, the typological analysis led by Cvijić seems to be guided also by an ethnic bias rather than an entirely logical one. Probably the *Zeitgeist* of his time had a significant echo in the reading provided by Cvijić.

In spite of his personal thoughts, he made an accurate typological analysis by reviewing all the housing types diffused over the Balkan lands, in the chapter XVII *Les types des maisons*.

Primarily, he described the meaning of the word *kuća*, the original house of Yugoslavian people. According to Cvijić, the primordial Balkan house was composed of a single room, and was almost the same for all the Slavic-Balkan homes. In these lands, the word *kuća* was identified with the concept of family. He then analysed the Dinaric house, the Carso-Mediterranean house, the Moravian house, the Greek-Mediterranean house, the Turkish-Oriental house and the *kula* (fortified house). Following an ethnographic approach, although interesting, Cvijić's typological analysis lacks an urban dimension, which usually characterizes this kind of studies.

The study of various house types has been conducted without a comparative analysis of the planimetric layout and without schemes intended to summarize the significance of the different compositional elements. Also, the linguistic similarity of many terms used in the description of the houses is not highlighted by Cvijić interpretations. Thus, the analysis of the various house types appears as a fascinating tale of separate entities that do not consider the aspects of a logical-constructive reading<sup>2</sup>.

Thanks to a more profound analysis we see that the word *kuća*, as it happens for the word *sofa* of the Ottoman house or *vatrë* in the Albanian variant, indicates, in the simplest examples, a single space that is the house itself. We find that the

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<sup>2</sup> See Grassi, G. (1967). *La costruzione logica dell'architettura*. Venezia: Marsilio.

Carso-Mediterranean house made of stone is used along the whole Balkan Adriatic coast, and again, that the Dinaric house is often completed by a wooden pergola called *çârdâk* from Ottoman-Turkish (چارطاق “arbour, summerhouse”), that the Moravian house, composed of three planimetric elements (*ajat*, *kuća* and *soba*) is not so different from the planimetric layout of the Ottoman house with (*hajat*, *sofa* and *oda*), which then takes on a fortified appearance in the *kula* examples.

All these types of houses have a common element that is the distributive space (called *kuća*, *sofa*, *odžak* or *vatrë*, in the Albanian variant): sometimes the whole house identifies itself in this space; other times it is the basic module on which the other rooms grow (*oda*, *soba*, *odaja*). This distributive space also regulates the relationship between inside and outside, thus determining its very nature. This distributive space “declines” itself and becomes the *hajat*, the *taslik*, or the *ajat* depending on its figurative meaning and its position in the planimetric layout of a mansion. It also determines the presence of pavilions (*divanhane*) or wooden pergolas (*çârdâk*). The living space, the hall, the gallery, the portico, the fire room, are all variations of the same type of space that, from a compositional point of view, derives from the ancient *tablinum* of the Roman, and then later, the Byzantine house.

A particular housing layout is the *vajat* of the Serbian tradition. These small guesthouses disseminated around the master’s house, are similar to the *Čiflik* villages that have existed on the Balkan Peninsula since the Middle Ages but that found their last form under the Ottomans (Cvijić, 1918). In fact, according to Aleksandar Deroko,<sup>3</sup> the ordinary Balkan house type that for centuries was erroneously considered only as “Turkish type”, was instead inherited by the Ottomans when they conquered the vast territory of the Byzantine Empire.

The Byzantine typology already considered the majority of themes which regulated the Balkan domestic cultures. This is particularly evident looking at the vestiges of the city of Mistra (Greece). This relatively well preserved settlement is the place where one can best see how the Byzantine house could appear. In particular, analysing the house of Laskarius,<sup>4</sup> it clearly appears that the public space of a house, the receiving room, was already present in the architectural layout.

According to Nikolaos Moutsopoulos’<sup>5</sup> (1984) descriptions of the ancient Greek towns, the main elements of the Byzantine house were: (1) The central hall,

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<sup>3</sup> Aleksandar Deroko (1894–1988) was professor of the Belgrade University and member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He was an architect, artist, and author.

<sup>4</sup> See Georgiadis, N. (2006) *Mistra*. Athens: Ninth Edition.

<sup>5</sup> Nikolaos Moutsopoulos (1927), one of the most important intellectuals engaged in the study of traditional Greek architecture, and professor at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

which makes all rooms independent; (2) the wooden balcony — called *sahnisin* — projecting on the street; (3) the main reception room *iliakos*; (4) the open hall-portico called *hayat*; and (5) the streets of the town paved with *caldirim*. In the imperial palaces, there were several reception rooms, which usually formed a section separated from the private apartments. Moreover, from the Manuscript of Skylitzès (De Beylié, 1902–1903) it is evident that rooms projecting out already existed in the Byzantine house type.

### **Typology in Modern Architecture**

By analyzing compositional characteristics of a building, typological studies are able to go beyond temporal and geographical limits. Thus, they can help find connections between buildings very far from each other in time and space. Thanks to modern typological studies, we can see how the Byzantine house already presented elements that can be found in the traditional Balkan houses. The word *type* derives from French, or from Latin *typus*, from Greek *typos* (in the sense of ‘symbol, emblem’) and means ‘impression, figure’. Typology in architecture has been present since ancient times, it has had a great influence on the way buildings have been designed or constructed. Although types in architecture have only been deeply analysed since the XIX century, they have played an important role since much earlier.

Since the 1800s, many scholars have discussed the topic of typology in architecture; including architects such as Quatremere de Quincy, Gottfried Semper, and later Saverio Muratori, Aldo Rossi and Giulio Carlo Argan, who made his deductions based on Jean Nicolas Louis Durand’s analysis.

It is not a coincidence that in the Balkan area, a group of European educated architects, such as Dimitri Pikionis, Sedad Hakki Eldem and Branislav Kojić, promoted the study of civil architecture as a fundamental base for the development of a modern architecture aware of the “pre-existences”. They employed the fundamental concepts of type, fabric and organism when they made the first systematic surveys of traditional houses in their respective countries. Since the 1930s these architects had a relevant role in the formation of a cultural awareness of traditional domestic cultures: they organized with their students survey campaigns aimed at discovering the value of vernacular housing architecture in Greece, Turkey and Serbia. In 1936, Dimitris Pikionis, professor of National Technical University supervised the project on the analysis of the traditional housing architecture in Greece. He assigned the completion of that project to a team of young architects: Dimitris Moretis, Giorgos Giannoulelis and Alexandra Paschalidou. This team studied and illustrated, for the first time

in Greece, traditional architecture as well as house decoration of XVIII and XIX centuries. The study focused particularly on the areas of Western Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Pindos and the Cyclades.

In 1932, the *Seminars on the National Architectural Style* at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul (Acciai, 2017), Turkey were instituted thanks to the joint efforts of Sedad Eldem (1908-1988) (Acciai, 2018; Bozdogan, Özkan, & Yenal, 1987) and Ernst Egli. These seminars had the merit of forming a generation of architects that were aware of the architectural value of the traditional Turkish house.

Branislav Kojić (1899–1987), belonged to a generation of French-educated architects. He was Professor at the Faculty of Architecture of Belgrade and a regular member of SASA (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts). His research succeeded in filling gaps in the literature on rural settlements and architecture (Drobnjaković, Vuksanović-Macura, Spalević, & Todorčić, 2017). He was able to study the way of living, and to analyse rural settlements in the territory of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia. His leading references were the studies of Jovan Cvijić. In 1940 Kojić led a survey and study of the traditional mansion of *Avzi-Pasha* in Bardovci (Kojić, 1954) near Skopje with his students from the architectural faculty in Belgrade.

In the 1930s, Pikionis, Eldem, and Kojić documented the civil architecture of their respective countries for educational and cognitive purposes, through a careful work of surveying, collecting, and cataloguing. Much of that vernacular architecture risked, at that time, to disappear forever without leaving any trace. Despite the different contexts, their approach has some similarities: Kojić particularly analysed more the forms of aggregation of spontaneous villages; Pikionis focused on the aspects of decorative arts on civil homes; Eldem applied a rigorous method derived from a Middle-European tradition and — as Durand — represented by scheme the different planimetric variations of the Ottoman-Turkish house. These authors-architects did not theorize about these great registers produced by their work with their students: they intended to make this work as accurate as possible to pass the knowledge of architecture, particularly the housing vernacular, which had not yet found a collocation in the debate of modern architecture.

Aldo Rossi's well-known typological theories came later, in a season where the studies in architecture, at least in Italy, also meant a commitment to political militancy. In his little-known study on the typological characteristics of the settlements of the Canton of Ticino, Rossi, Consolascio, Bosshard, & Vitale (1988) used the same tools of modern typological analysis employed by the above-mentioned architects in the Balkan Peninsula.

Still today the lesson by Rossi on typology remains one of the most eloquent: he defines “type as the very idea of architecture, that which is closest to its essence. In spite of changes, it has always imposed itself on the “feelings and reason” as the principle of architecture and of the city” (Rossi, 2004, p. 34). Rossi’s theory derives from Saverio Muratori’s experience in Venice, Italy. In fact, Muratori (1959) was the first who spoke about the concept of “operative history” and his work *Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia*, is considered, in Italy, the starting point of typological studies.

### Case Studies

By applying typological research as defined in modern architecture, the so-called Balkan house can be additionally explained by specific case studies. Coming from different geographical areas and belonging to different architectural scales these case studies have been selected to demonstrate how some of the peculiarities of the Balkan houses share characteristic elements.

Looking at housing examples on the northern Adriatic coasts it is important to highlight how one finds the same type of house on both the western and the eastern shores. The cross-cultural Byzantine, and then later, Venetian influences left a strong mark on both sides. It is interesting to observe that the house type designed around a passing-through hall (the best-known examples are the Palladian villas) is recognizable still today, comparing the houses on the seafront of Rimini (Italy) with the seafront of Zara (Croatia) (Figure 1). One can find the same two or three storied mansions, with hipped roof, quadrangular form and main distributive hall on the ground floor.

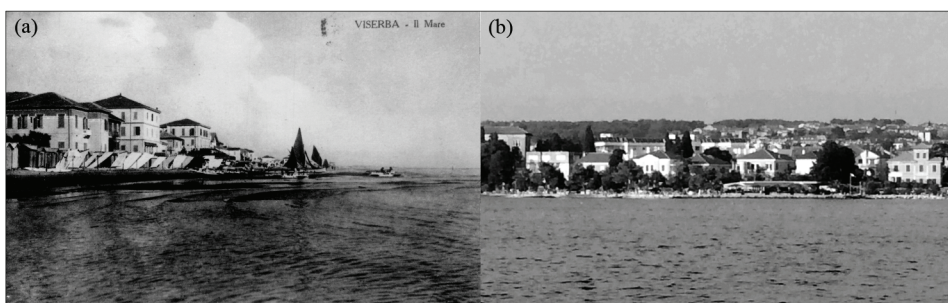


Figure 1. Northern Adriatic houses, comparison between Rimini (a) and Zara (b) seafronts  
(Source: author’s collection)

In the Miloš Obrenović’s house (Figure 2) in Gornja Crnuća (municipality of Gornji Milanovac), one of the most important monuments of Serbia, one can observe that this splendid example of *brvnara* (house in wood with a high

shingle roof) is finished with a quadrangular *çârdâk* (wooden pergola) that also is an outdoor distributive space. The house includes the *kuća*, the bedroom, and an added pavilion. Below the bedroom there is a masonry cellar. The roof has eight rows of shingles. On the inside we can see some of the base on which the beams rest in projection; here, in the form of benches, there are large joists where utensils can be placed. Above the fireplace there is the *gramada*, stone shelf, on which the dishes are kept. The internal floor is paved with stone. The *divanhane* (Acciai, 2016), (the receiving room) and as well as the *çârdâk* are the places of entertainment. This kind of space runs through all the Balkan Peninsula housing tradition having roots in the *iliakos*<sup>6</sup> of the Byzantine civil architecture.

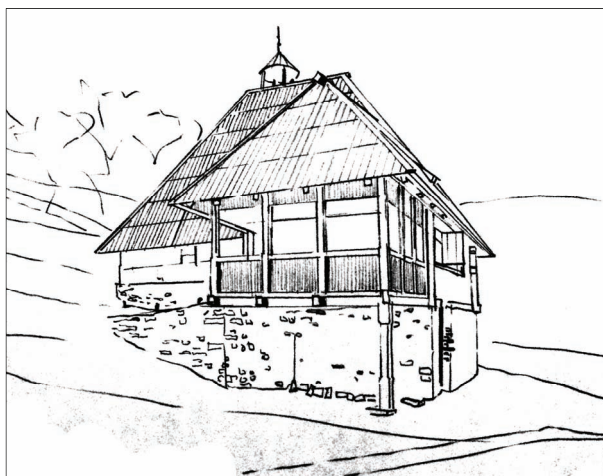


Figure 2. View of Miloš Obrenović's house (Source: author's collection)

The last case study is the aforementioned, but no longer existing, residence of *Avzi-Pasha* in Bardovci, near Skopje. This huge mansion and grounds were fortified. The living spaces presented the classical gender division of the Ottoman tradition. The *selâmlik*, (from the Arab *selâmlik*: “salutation”), indicates in Ottoman culture the section of the house where male friends or strangers were received, and was clearly different from the *haremlik*, which was exclusive to the women and the private life of the family. The Ottoman house was organized around the space-room-atrium of the *sofa*. The *sofa* was a space which changed in Ottoman architecture depending on the form, the method of construction and of its planimetric position<sup>7</sup>. This space

<sup>6</sup> Faidon Koukoules stated that the Byzantines called the protruding volume *iliakos* — a vernacular term — coming from *helios/ilios* (“sun”).

<sup>7</sup> The different planimetric distribution of the *sofa* (or its absence) determines the fundamental types of the Ottoman house: without *sofa* (*sofasiz tip*), is the most primitive typology where the function of the *sofa* was fulfilled by the courtyard; with exterior *sofa* (*diş sofali tip*, or *hayat*), in



constituted the heart of the house because it gave autonomy to the other rooms; it was a space of transition where nobody slept, and which could be accessed by all other rooms. The *sofa* was the public realm, the street or square within the house, and therefore all other rooms in the Ottoman house were more or less similar, and the bedrooms were both places to sleep and living-rooms. The great Ottoman mansions thus had “special rooms” envisaged for specific activities and which therefore had to be differentiated from the others.

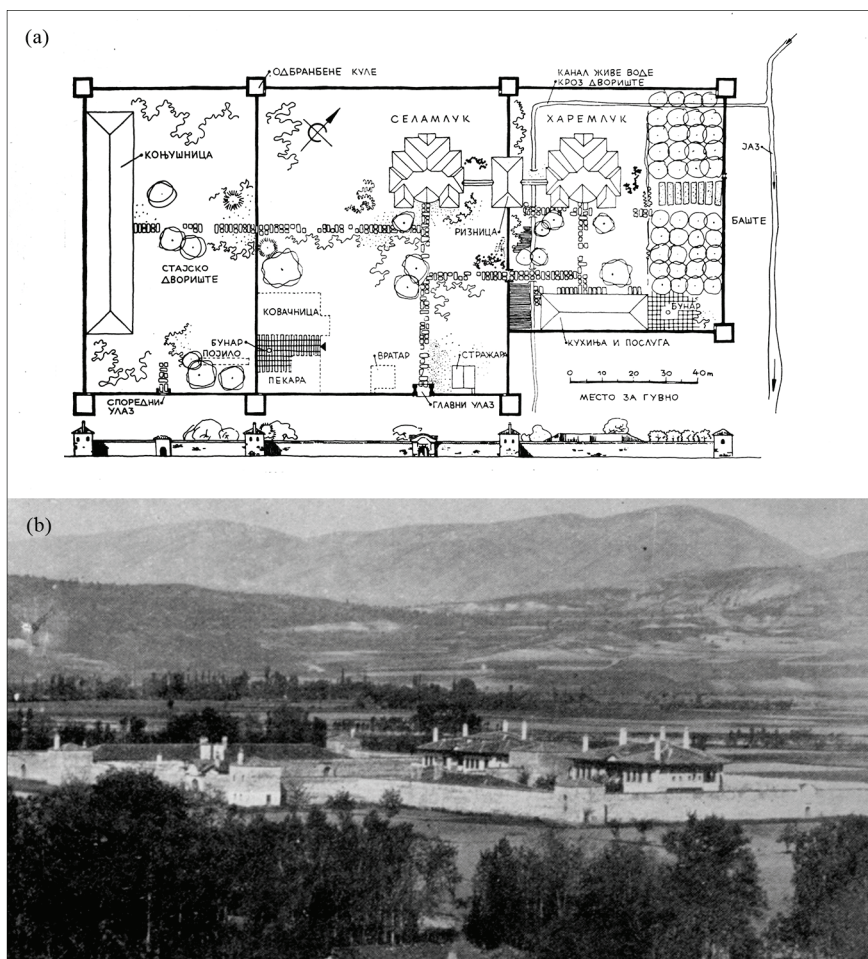


Figure 3. Avzi-Pasha manor in Bardovci, plan (a) and view (b) from the exterior (Source: Kojić, 1954)

which the *sofa* becomes an open gallery facing the exterior, with interior *sofa* (*iç sofali tip*), and finally the typology with central *sofa* (*orta sofali tip*) (Akcan, 2012).

This extraordinary example of a large fortified manor shows how the northern housing tradition of the *Čiflik* villages finds its typological correspondence in the current Macedonia, which is geographically situated much further south. However, the layout within the fortified fence is not the same. Jovan Cvijić himself in 1906 wrote the first descriptive graphic documents on this manor. Cvijić asserted that Avzi-Pasha complex was quite different from the other *Čiflik* villages (Figure 3), but the way of life behind a fence with a series of separate special rooms and houses, was undoubtedly similar to the Ottoman planimetric tradition of houses arranged as groups of pavilions.

### Conclusion

In light of these significant case studies on typological analysis, carried out by modern architects starting in the 1930s, it is easy to see how at the time of publication of Cvijić's book, rising nationalistic feelings hid an open outlook on similarities in architecture in different countries.

The experience of modern Balkan architects in documenting this particular cultural heritage, together with the fundamental work of Jovan Cvijić, form an essential passage towards a contemporary awareness of how we can still learn today from a way of living that is millenniums old. Working on this paper I have been able to collect examples proving how the Balkan house concept is related to a shared culture.

The essence of the Balkan house is in the melting pot of different domestic and anthropological cultures that share some constitutive elements. These houses are the testimony of a great housing tradition. If we consider the nations of the Balkan peninsula as the regions of a single large territory we see that they have characteristics of similarity, unlike what happens in the vernacular architecture in Italy.

History in these places has acted not by substitution but by addition: thus, the Balkan housing tradition should be considered a common heritage to be studied and valued.

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## VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN MACEDONIA AND SERBIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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**Abstract:** Vernacular architecture is an important segment of a cultural identity of the Balkan Peninsula. This study enables understanding of common types of vernacular architecture by comparing construction, function, and forms in rural areas in Macedonia and Serbia. The main aim is to identify similarities in vernacular rural dwellings dated from the XIX and beginning of the XX century. The research employs a mixed-method approach, particularly the exploratory sequential design in terms of gathering data, analysing and generalizing qualitative findings. Moreover, it applies comparative, historic and morphology methods over the evolution of various forms of housing in the Balkan Peninsula. The study was conducted in the rural areas dispersed over Macedonia and the southern part of Serbia. The concluding remarks point to a presence of similar constructive, spatial and typological forms of vernacular architecture, generally being related to the local natural environment, ethnic characteristics and traditional understanding of construction. This paper contributes to the limited academic work on this issue, along with its practical significance for posing findings, suggestions, and recommendations for preserving the Balkans architectural heritage and embedding it in the contemporary forms of rural tourism.

**Keywords:** Vernacular architecture; comparative analysis; Macedonia; Serbia; rural tourism

### Introduction

Vernacular architecture is part of the cultural complex of the Balkan Peninsula having its own autochthonous features. The significance of local residential construction forms creates possibilities for identification of habitat typology, space, application of building materials, decoration and shapes which generally derive from the level of cultural and ethnographic discourse. Jovan Cvijić studied the structural and ethnological characteristics of vernacular residential architectural heritage in the Balkans and his research provided the basis for further study of diverse characteristics of dwellings dating from the XIX and the early XX century (Vuksanović-Macura, 2017).

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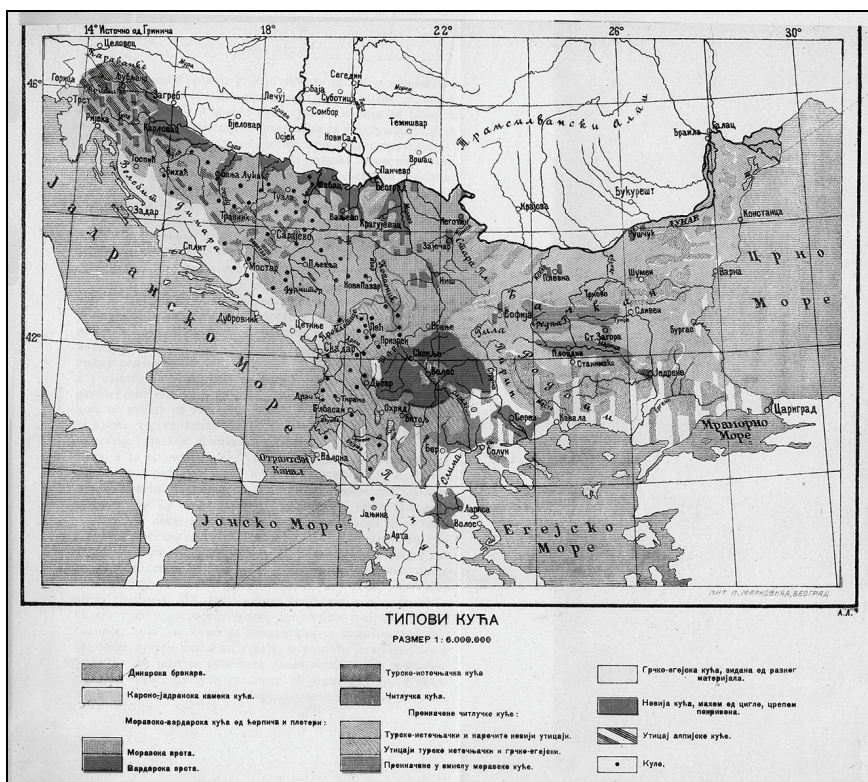


Figure 1. Distribution of 13 main types of houses identified by Cvijić, in the Balkan Peninsula (Source: Cvijić, 1922)

In his important and influential book on the Balkan Peninsula, Cvijić (1922) defined various types of houses by associating their structural characteristics and building materials (stone, timber, earth) with their natural landscape and environment (Figure 1). Although Cvijić highlighted a great variety of houses as a distinctive feature of the central and eastern regions of the Balkans, he considered it possible to identify some shared characteristics and distinct dwelling types. The architectural (structural, aesthetic and functional) elements of houses in this part of the Balkans, which also encompasses Macedonia and southern parts of Serbia, have been discussed by other authors, as well (Petrović, 1955; Deroko, 1964; Kojić, 1973).

The buildings found in the rural areas of Macedonia and southern parts of Serbia share some similarities, generally due to the common characteristics of the local environment, building tradition and cultural influences. In the studied regions, we have identified three dominant common types of houses: (i) *Ground-floor*

*house* — modest single-story dwelling, constructed in *bondruk*, timber-framed system with an earth infill, commonly built in lowlands; (ii) *Tower house* — structure with three or four stories and a small ground-floor area, usually built of stone in mountainous areas; (iii) *Chardak house*, with two or three stories and a conspicuous balcony or a loggia (*čardak*, *chardak*) at the highest story; they are usually built in a combination of stone and timber-framing, within a large group of houses in a village. These types confirm that various approaches to building and construction methods have largely overlapped, as a result of the same housing tradition and the application of the same construction techniques throughout the period when the studied regions were exposed to common influences (Pavlović, Angelova, Micopulos, Stojka, & Haluk 1987).

The primary objective of this study is to identify similarities between houses in rural areas in Macedonia and the southern part of Serbia dated from the XIX and beginning of the XX century. Moreover, the research provides evidence on comparing rural housing forms in terms of applied materials, constructive typology and spatial development. Additionally, to our best knowledge, no recent academic studies have dealt with this topic. Hence, this is the first attempt to understand common types of vernacular architecture by comparing applied building materials, construction techniques, function and forms of houses in rural areas in these two countries. The practical contribution of the paper lies in posing findings, suggestions, and recommendations for preserving the Balkan architectural heritage and embedding it in the contemporary forms of rural tourism.

After the introduction, section two of the paper is the comparative analysis with detailed interpretation on the application of building materials, construction of the habitats, spatial development of the houses, variations of the typical model, and the interior. The discussion and main findings are presented in section three, while the conclusion and recommendations are provided at the end of the paper.

### **Comparative analysis**

The location and the natural environment are the basic factors for selection of building materials for construction of dwellings, which form is a result of the ethnographic characteristics. A large number of craftsmen used a local folk craft tradition and organized themselves in groups (known as *tajfi*) to create certain variations of the characteristic model of the house. These groups in both countries, Macedonia and Serbia, have used similar building materials mainly being focused on available local materials as stone, wood and earth. When analysing the applied structural materials, huge similarities are noticeable.

Table 1. Applied materials for construction of dwellings in Macedonia and South Serbia

	Macedonia	South Serbia
Material for construction	Stone	Stone
	Wood (Timber frame)	Wood (Timber frame)
Interior Interior decoration	Earth	Earth
	Wood, earthen floor and plaster	Wood, earthen floor and plaster
	Wood (woodcut), painted earthen plaster	Wood (woodcut), painted earthen plaster
Coverage	Straw, ceramide, stone slabs	Straw, ceramide

Source: Authors' research.

Table 1 presents the applied materials for construction of dwellings, whereas the construction groups in both countries applied local materials (stone, wood and earth), being additionally encountered with different structure and processing. The stone was applied in unprocessed or processed form, with a stone processing technique developed by very skilled construction workers. The stone was most commonly used to the ground-floor house and the masonry base of upper floor(s) of the chardak house, or to the entire height at all levels of the tower-house. The wood, as a material, was used for *bondruk* construction (timber-framed system with different infill materials) of the upper floor(s) (chardak house), part of the highest level (tower-house) or on the ground floor, that is, the entire construction in a horizontal level (ground-floor house). Finally, the earth was used as mixed structure, mostly clay or other local material, which was additionally mixed with straw. This material was used as an infill for timber frame structures (*bondruk*), and was put on the walls, ceilings and floor surfaces of the house. This was a case to a smaller extent for the tower-house, to a moderate extent for the chardak house, and being dominant for the ground-floor house.


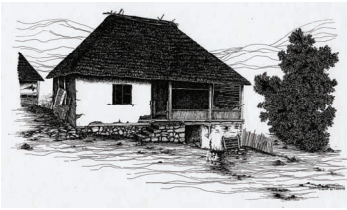


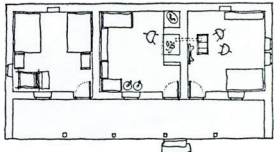



Table 2. Construction systems in Macedonia and South Serbia

Construction system	Macedonia	South Serbia
Ground-floor house	<i>Bondruk</i> construction	<i>Bondruk</i> construction (timber-frame infilled with wattle and daub or mud brick)
Tower house	Stonewall 15% <i>bondruk</i>	Stonewall 5% <i>bondruk</i>
<i>Chardak</i> house	Ground floor: stone wall Floor: <i>bondruk</i> with 30% stone wall	Ground floor: stone wall Floor: <i>bondruk</i> with 30% stone wall

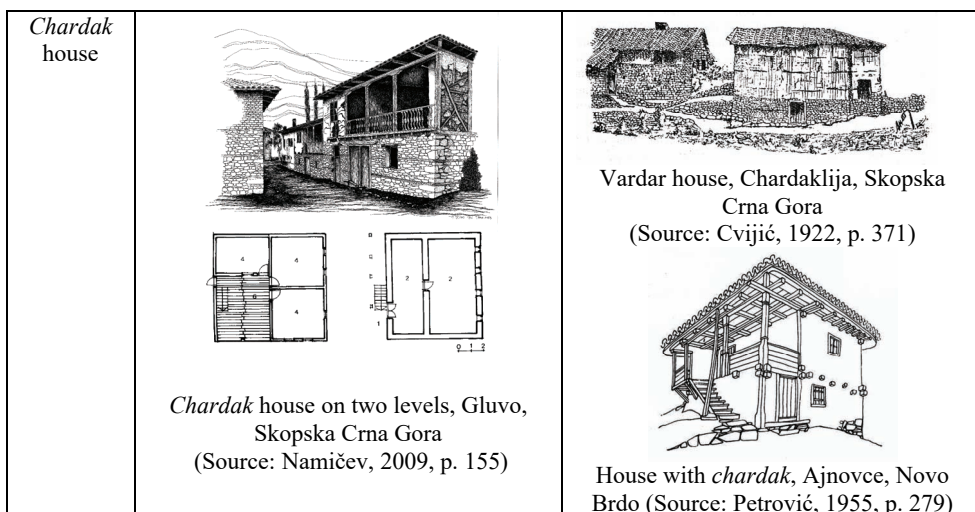
Source: Authors' research

According to the applied material, a certain construction system was used as part of the local tradition and a way of creating a model of traditional habitat for the particular region (Table 2).

Table 3. Spatial development of houses in Macedonia and South Serbia

House model	Macedonia	South Serbia
Ground-floor house	 <p>Zdunje, Makedonski Brod (Source: Namičev, 2009, p. 156)</p>  <p>Zdunje, Makedonski Brod (Source: Namičev, 2009, p. 107)</p>	 <p>Chivchiska house, Vranje, South Serbia (Source: Cvijić, 1922, p. 385)</p>   <p>Kosovska prizemljaša (Souce: Kojić, 1973, p. 65)</p>
Tower house	 <p>Galičnik, Reka area (Source: Namičev, 2009, p. 203)</p>  <p>Galičnik, Reka area (Source: Namičev, 2009, p. 195)</p>	 <p>Metohija tower (Source: Kojić, 1973, p. 69)</p>





The development of the morphological structure of the houses allows perceiving the influence of the environmental factors on the final form and recognition of certain variations of the basic model. The basic house models according to the spatial development in Macedonia and South Serbia are presented in Table 3. The model of the ground-floor house (Pomoravlje, Kosovo, Metohija, Eastern Macedonia) has many similarities with the model called *chivchiska* (Cvijić, 1922) *chardak* house (Kosovo, Skopska Crna Gora) or *Upper Vardar house* (Cvijić, 1922), and a tower house (Metohija, Reka) (Deroko, 1964; Findrik, 1994).

With regards to the terminology used for particular house model, it originates from the ethnicity as well as the construction concept. Nevertheless, the use of local terms derived from the perception of the most common appearance of the dwellings (Table 4).

Table 4. The terminology of the houses in Macedonia and south Serbia

House model	Macedonia	South Serbia
Ground-floor house	Pozemka Prizemka Prizemljuša Slamenica Pletenica	Prizemljuša Bondručara Pločara Pletara Prutara
Tower house	Pločena	Kula
<i>Chardak</i> house	Čardaklija	Čardak Kuća sa čardakom Doksatlja

Source: Authors' research

The concept of the interior was formed in relatively similar conditions for both countries, as in the case of the concept of dwellings, whereas the construction structure has influenced the selection of materials. Further on, it was incorporated in the morphologically-functional approach of the complete house conception. This reflected the primary adjustment to the body part dimensions derived from traditional measures like palm, elbow, and so on (Petrović, 1973).

Table 5. Common features of interior elements in the two regions

House model	Ground-floor house	Tower house	<i>Chardak</i> house
Materials	Wood, stone, earthen floor and plaster	Wood, stone	Wood, earthen floor and plaster
Space	Room-house	Room-house Room-odaja	Room-house Room-odaja Loggia or balcony ( <i>chardak</i> )
Decoration	Minimal	Moderate	Noticeable
Interior element	House items Built-in cupboards Fire place	Built-in cupboards Musandra Minder	Built-in cupboards Musandra Minder Ceiling Column

Source: Authors' research

As per the interior design, there is an identical approach in Macedonia and south Serbia when applying embedded elements, construction materials, household items. Generally, in all three types of houses noted in Table 5, the organization of interior has common elements that are standard for a certain region, with slight variations mostly in terms of the size of the space that occupies the interior in relation to the total area of the house. However, some certain differences appear in the treatment of space and objects generally due to the ethnic influence and respect for traditional elements. The guest room is a place where the interior arrangement is mostly expressed, for the type of tower house (Metohija, Reka) and the *chardak* house of Metohija (Deroko, 1964; Findrik 1994).

### Discussion and findings

The study has revealed many similarities in the vernacular architecture of the XIX and the early XX century in Macedonia and south Serbia. They are mainly apparent in the construction, spatial arrangement, forms and plans of the identified types of houses. This is due to similar local conditions in terms of climate, cultural customs, housing traditions, ethnological characteristics, understandings of the buildings, as well as economic factors. Further on, the availability of building materials affected the identification and application of the house construction system.

The spatial morphological structure of the location additionally influenced the shape of the useful space that is related to certain elements of the tradition, in the first line understandings of the local population of the way of building, along with the shape and size of the dwellings. According to several centuries-old habitat development structures, due to the influence of all the above-mentioned factors, certain models were established, later modified in numerous variations through different regions. Furthermore, the common values and understandings in the construction domain were respected in both countries, where the cost-effectiveness of a building, the functionality of the space, the adaptation of local understandings, and the ecological approach were the primary ones.

On the other hand, the comparative analysis of the cases in Macedonia and south Serbia revealed certain differences in housing types. Namely, some dwellings were constructed on locations with a certain slope on the terrain, which required placement of a spatial structure and access from several sides. The spatial organization occurred due to the needs of the family, that is, the number of rooms, separate units, resulting in dwellings with a large useful area. Their complexity is related to the morphology of the development of the useful surface that has gradually developed according to the experience of several generations, directly related to the needs. On the other hand, the flexibility is expressed through the possibility of a constant change of the internal spatial structure, which could easily be transformed by partitioning. Finally, the particular concept of construction and the applied materials were matched along with the interior and its decoration.

### **Conclusion and recommendation**

Based on the field work and findings, along with the insights from earlier works, the study identified similarities in the vernacular architecture built in the rural areas of Macedonia and the southern part of Serbia. It was found that the basic elements on which a particular house model was formed influenced the selection of materials, which was additionally adjusted to the local conditions. Towards the construction process, the comparative analysis found the presence of exchange of experiences from two local construction skills, which contributed to the development of quality buildings. Furthermore, the study confirmed that the spatial structure of a house was developed after certain basic models originated from an old construction experience and following the needs of the family and economic constraints (Obradović, 2016). The study concluded that having houses with similar characteristics in both countries, justified the high criteria for respecting the construction tradition and the culture of living. These circumstances may also serve as the basis for devising strategies for the

preservation, revitalization and contemporary use of this architectural heritage, drawing on the same challenges and sharing the acquired experience and lessons learned.

In addition, by developing and giving an additional value to the Balkans vernacular residential buildings, it is necessary to raise the issue of their preservation and integration into the modern forms of rural tourism. The current forms of protection mainly through the direct renovation of buildings, construction of complexes with ethnographic contents or establishing open air museums to exhibit vernacular architecture, gives a glance for an intensified care for the cultural heritage. Of particular importance are the constant efforts to address the challenges of contemporary tourism trends based on cultural heritage and vernacular architecture. The presence of autochthonous house models with similar characteristics identified in this study in both countries urges the need for making efforts to initiate rural tourism development.

In this line, the focus should be on promotion, mainly through the creation and introduction of new innovative strategic approaches that may boost the development of rural tourism. The first strategic measure should tangle the current marketing strategy, thus making some rural areas rich with vernacular architecture, fully recognizable. The second strategic measure should improve tourism competitiveness by strengthening the coordination between central and local governments, in addition to other tourism players from the private sector. The objectives and aims delineated by the tourism development plans and programs should be fully implemented, regardless of the level of implementation. And last but not least, a professional support should be provided to different stakeholders about the adequate treatment of vernacular architecture. This may include the formulation of guidelines on preservation, improvement, and revitalization of existing traditionally built houses with a recommendation regarding the application of traditional building language for modern construction.

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