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Greek troops which would retake Eastern Thrace in case negotiations at Lausanne failed and a new round of Greek-Turkish hostilities arose. Loupas stresses that, eventually, the Yugoslav delegation in Lausanne sided with Venizelos in rejecting the Turkish demands on war reparations, but at the same time acted in such a way that was intended to highlight to all sides concerned that the resumption of warfare was the worst-case scenario.

The last chapter presents the deterioration of bilateral relations between the two states. On the pretext of the Greek-Bulgarian Protocol on minorities (September 1924), the Yugoslav government denounced the Greek-Serbian Treaty of Alliance (1913). The author claims that it was more than obvious that the Yugoslav government, and especially the minister of Foreign

Affairs Momcilo Nincic, were taking advantage of Greece's weakness and aimed at imposing their views upon Greece regarding several bilateral questions.

However, apart from political matters dr. Loupas does not overlook the importance that the Great Powers and domestic affairs of the two countries played on bilateral relations. The young historian very competently handles a large variety of both Serbian and Greek sources (archives, Press, literature, memoirs etc) as well as English and a few German documents. His critical approach and sobriety renders his study well written and easy to follow. Taking into consideration that there's a lack of studies concerning Greek Balkan policy during the Greek-Turkish war (1919–1922), dr. Loupas' attempt becomes even more prominent.

*QUALESTORIA* XLXI, NO. 1: *L'ITALIA E LA JUGOSLAVIA TRA LE DUE GUERRE*, ed. Stefano Santoro. Trieste: EUT, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2021, 438 p.

Reviewed by Bogdan Živković\*

The prominent role of Trieste in the history of Italian-South Slavic entanglements has led to its becoming a city of the utmost importance in scholarship on Italian-Yugoslav relations. Personal and institutional experiences of everyday contacts with South Slavs have produced an unparalleled body of academic knowledge on Yugoslavia in Italy. The historical journal *Qualestoria* forms a significant part of that milieu. For decades, it has been publishing articles on related topics by both Italian and (post)Yugoslav authors. One of the best examples of this role and importance of *Qualestoria* is the 2013 monographic volume on the Osimo agreements edited by Raoul Pupo.<sup>1</sup>

This year's summer issue of *Qualestoria*, a monographic volume edited by Stefano Santoro, is a continuation of that endeavour. It deals with the interwar period in the history of relations between the two countries, featuring contributions by some of the most renowned scholars in the field, both Italian and post-Yugoslav. Its focus is on the political aspect of bilateral relations, but several articles deal with their non-political aspects (such as literature, art and sports).

The first of the twelve articles is penned by the editor, Stefano Santoro. His text is not a mere introduction. Besides summarizing the other contributions, Santoro contextualizes them into a broader interpretative framework of Italian policies towards the Danube-Balkan region. He also highlights the historical continuities which had an immense impact in formulating

\* Institute for Balkan Studies SASA

<sup>1</sup> *Qualestoria*. XLI, no. 2 (2013): *Osimo: il punto sugli studi*, ed. Raoul Pupo.

the fascist foreign policy in the region. Of particular importance in that regard is the scientific knowledge production of some Italian scholars of the region, which Santoro thoroughly presents in his essay. The second article is written by Massimo Bucarelli, one of the most renowned authors on the subject covered by this volume.<sup>2</sup> Bucarelli gives a short but very insightful overview of the history of Italian Yugoslav policies in the interwar period. He highlights not only the dominant conflictual nature of relations between the two countries but also their attempts to forge a fruitful collaboration. Of particular importance in that regard is Bucarelli's analysis of Mussolini's ambiguous stance. As he shows, *Il Duce* intimately believed in the possibility of an Italian-Serbian agreement.

The first two articles constitute a broader introduction to the volume, and are followed by contributions focused on more specific issues and periods. Alberto Becherelli discusses the Adriatic question and its impact on Italian-Yugoslav relations at the time of the Versailles Conference. Based on his research in the Italian military archives, Becherelli writes about two important factors: the *in loco* territorial disputes of the two armies (on various points in the Eastern Adriatic), and the broader international aspects of the Italian-Yugoslav territorial dispute at the Versailles Conference. His analysis of Italy's support to various separatist movements in Yugoslavia, the Montenegrin in particular,<sup>3</sup> stands out, as

this was an important and lasting aspect of Rome's policy towards Belgrade in the following decades. Francesco Guida analyses Italy's foreign policy towards Yugoslavia in the 1920s, placing it in a broader regional context but putting a particular focus on the crucial year – 1928, which was the culmination of tensions between the two countries and Yugoslavia's internal turbulences. Much like Becherelli, Guida extensively focuses on Rome's support to separatist movements in Yugoslavia, a part of Italian plans for the destabilization and eventual division of the Yugoslav kingdom.

The next article, by Jadranka Cergol, shifts the focus from Italian foreign policy to an entirely different topic. The Slovenian author analyses the discursive images of the Other in the Slovenian and Italian literature of interwar Trieste. With a sound methodological introduction, although strikingly more focused on Italian than Slovenian literature, Cergol depicts mutual ethnic stereotypes. Thus, she enriches this volume with an important aspect of Italian-Yugoslav relations that eludes the classical methodology of history of international relations, dominant in this publication. Cergol's article is followed by the contribution of Alberto Basciani, who analyses the impact of the Albanian question on the bilateral relations from 1918 to 1927. As the author convincingly demonstrates, this was the most important and most complex bilateral issue, eventually more damaging to the relations between Rome and Belgrade than the territorial dispute in the northern Adriatic. It is worth noting that Basciani puts particular emphasis on the Italian-Yugoslav economic

<sup>2</sup> Primarily due to his seminal book on fascist foreign policy towards Yugoslavia: M. Bucarelli, *Mussolini e la Jugoslavia (1922–1939)* (Bari: Edizioni B. A. Graphis, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Italian scholars (not only Becherelli, and not only him in this volume) tend to overestimate the strength and underestimate the ambiguities of the national identity of the revolted Montenegrins. A possible explanation for such interpretations may be found in the sources they used. Firstly, the Italian primary sources they used undoubtedly are biased due to Rome's interest in and

sympathy for Montenegrin independentism. Secondly, all of these authors tend to use Srđa Pavlović's book on this topic, whose title and explicit nazification of Serb nationalism speaks for itself – S. Pavlović, *Balkan Anschluss: The Annexation of Montenegro and the Creation of the Common South Slavic State* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011).

competition for power in Albania.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the last article that focuses primarily on the 1920s is contributed by Antonella Fiorio. Drawing on a vast body of literature, but mostly on the work of Luciano Monzalli, she takes a look at this decade in the political history of Dalmatian Italians. Among other aspects, Fiorio demonstrates how the local liberal Italian elites were able to fruitfully collaborate with the fascist government in Rome, based on their mutual wish to have good relations with Yugoslavia. Thus, the ideological discipline and rigidity of fascism was neither easily nor swiftly introduced among the Dalmatian Italians.

The following article, by the Polish author Maciej Czerwiński, is another contribution which does not focus on political relations between Rome and Belgrade. Czerwiński analyses how two figures, the sculptor Ivan Meštrović and the journalist Bogdan Radica, viewed Italy. Although well written and interesting, this contribution has certain shortcomings. Namely, the author tends to put aside the declared intention of the article and focus more on contrasting the two figures. Czerwiński perceives Meštrović as an exponent of racial and cultural Yugoslavism, and Radica as a political Yugoslav who did not neglect the Croatian dimension of his identity. This interpretation becomes problematic in the final paragraph of the article, where, with a staunch orientalism, Czerwiński identifies Meštrović's views as a part of an Ottoman and "emotional" culture, while seeing Radica as a part of a Mediterranean and "rational" political culture.

The following contribution, by the Serbian historian Srđan Mičić, analyses the policies towards Italy pursued by Vojislav Marinković, the Yugoslav foreign minister in

the period from 1927 to 1932 characterized by an intense crisis in Italian-Yugoslav relations due to Italian expansionism in Albania. As the author shows, the Yugoslav minister was keen on relieving the tension and stabilizing the relations in keeping with the principle of pacifism and status quo which shaped his general foreign policy outlook. Mičić particularly highlights the importance of British influence on Marinković, eager to obtain a broader international support in containing what he perceived as the biggest threat to Yugoslavia – Rome. Mičić's article is followed by the last contribution that does not strictly fit in with the dominant framework of the volume – Stipica Grgić's article on the Yugoslav-Italian football encounters. With an insightful methodological introduction, Grgić analyses the contemporary press as his primary source. The conclusion of his research is that the encounters were of a friendly nature, followed by a positive press coverage, which most probably had an impact on creating a favourable image of the Other in the two neighbouring nations.

The final part of this volume deals with relations between Yugoslavia and Italy in the latter part of the 1930s. Namely, three articles by Federico Imperato, Dragan Bakić and Bojan Simić respectively analyse various aspects of the very close collaboration between Belgrade and Rome. During those years, bilateral relations were marked by a fruitful cooperation between the Yugoslav prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Milan Stojadinović, and the Italian minister of foreign affairs, Galeazzo Ciano.

In analysing the Italian-Yugoslav rapprochement, Imperato focuses on the German strengthening in Europe and the region. The author suggests that the growing German influence alarmed the Italian decision makers, prompting them to pay attention to safeguarding their interests in the Balkans, primarily through an agreement with Yugoslavia. Combined with Stojadinović's eagerness to further relations with Rome, this led to a fruitful period of collaboration. Italy

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<sup>4</sup> This aspect of their relations was thoroughly analysed from the Yugoslav point of view by Saša Mišić, *Albanija – prijatelj i protivnik: jugoslovenska politika prema Albaniji 1924–1927* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2009) (Cyrillic).

made significant concessions to Yugoslavia – regarding both the Croatian and the Albanian question, but with Stojadinović's fall from power Rome returned to an aggressive anti-Yugoslav policy on both issues. Simić's article deals with the same topic, but from the Yugoslav perspective. He puts a stronger emphasis on a general overview of Yugoslav foreign policy, such as its relations with Great Britain. The Serbian author adds a well-argued and articulated emphasis on the close personal relationship between Ciano and Stojadinović, an aspect of big influence on the bilateral relations. Finally, Dragan Bakić analyses the ideological aspect of Stojadinović's relationship with Rome as the Yugoslav politician was often accused of being fascist, at first by his political opponents and then by historiography in communist Yugoslavia. Bakić shows that Stojadinović's alleged fascist leanings were predominantly a foreign policy trick, a pragmatic *mise-en-scène* aimed at obtaining support from the

Axis. He also examines Stojadinović's party policies and, using António Costa Pinto's and Aristotle Kallis' theoretical approach to the relationship between conservatives and fascists, places Stojadinović in the camp of the conservative right.

In his introductory article, the editor Stefano Santoro remarks that the historiographical production on the topic is quite ample and that therefore the aim of the volume has been to pay attention to some neglected or under-researched issues. It seems, however, that this first attempt to provide a synthesis of the results of Italian and post-Yugoslav historiography on this topic in a single publication has exceeded the editor's expectations. This special issue of *Quaestoria* not only offers fresh analyses and contributions but also reaffirms and reinterprets the earlier historiographical production on the topic, which makes it an inevitable read for interested scholars.

*HIDDEN GALLERIES: MATERIAL RELIGION IN THE SECRET POLICE ARCHIVES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE*, eds. James Kapáló and Tatiana Vagramenko. Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2020, 104 p.

Reviewed by Danilo Pupavac\*

The turbulent twentieth century was for the most part socially and historically marked by socialist regimes, mainly in Eastern European countries. From the present point of view and having in mind significant theoretical and empirical considerations, we can conclude that socialist societies were far from a theoretically ideal type, and that the ideological view of the world was dominant in establishing social relations.<sup>1</sup>

\* MA student, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

<sup>1</sup> We emphasize this mainly because we find it important to draw a distinction from Marx's and Engels's original view of socialism as a transitional phase in historical progression

The dominant interpretation of the socialist system and ideological narrative includes the aspiration for removing religious groups and religious content – texts, sacred scriptures, paintings, religious objects, photographs etc. from the public eye, in order to atheize the population and society as a whole. It is exactly this undisclosed

towards communism as its final goal. "Real socialism" as existed in the Eastern Bloc resembled a one-party system with strong government institutions much more than it resembled a transitional social structure which would lead to classless egalitarian society, as viewed from the perspective of anthropological optimism.

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