



Yugoslavia

- International boundary
- - - Republic boundary
- - - Autonomous area boundary
- ★ National capital
- ⊙ Republic or autonomous area capital
- +—+ Railroad
- Road

0 25 50 75 100 Kilometers
 0 25 50 75 100 Miles

TEACHING ABOUT “THE TURKS”

The Ottoman Empire in Socialist Bosnian-Herzegovinian History Textbooks (1945-1990)

Bakir Ovčina

Image on the cover: combination of images below, made by Bakir Ovcina; It represents the borders of the Bosnia Eyalet, at its greatest territorial extent (ca. 1593 – 1606) (including the Sandžak of Požega) transposed approximately on a modern political map of Yugoslavia and Europe. The borders should not be taken as wholly and totally historically accurate, just stylistic approximations. The flag is the approximate flag used by the Bosnian rebels in the 1830s Bosnian Revolt, with the red star in the middle symbolizing socialism.¹

Agency, United States Central Intelligence. *English: Relief Shown by Shading. Available Also through the Library of Congress Web Site as a Raster Image. "Base 504661 (545723) 1-81." A Separate Version Is Issued without Shaded Relief.* 1981. Image cropped, and Bosnian border shaded in red; <https://www.loc.gov/item/2011587054/>. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yugoslavia_LOC_2011587054.jpg.

Seferović, Vernes. *English: This Is the Flag of Independent Bosnia in 1878. Created by Vernes Seferovic.* Accessed March 28, 2023. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Independent_Bosnia_\(1878\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Independent_Bosnia_(1878).svg).

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Vedib. *English: Map of the Eyalet of Bosnia and Its Sanjaks.* October 3, 2020. Own work. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosanski_Ejalet_\(Bosnia_Eyalet\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosanski_Ejalet_(Bosnia_Eyalet).png). Vedi b ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosanski_Ejalet_\(Bosnia_Eyalet\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bosanski_Ejalet_(Bosnia_Eyalet).png)), Outline used on another map by Bakir Ovcina, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode>

¹ Haris Gekić et al., “Historical Geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” in *The Geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Between East and West*, ed. Haris Gekić et al., World Regional Geography Book Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 152, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-98523-3_9.

Teaching about “The Turks”
The Ottoman Empire in Socialist Bosnian History Textbooks
(1945-1990)

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List of Abbreviations

B&H – Bosnia and Herzegovina

CPY – Communist Party of Yugoslavia (until 1952)

FPRY – Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (until 1963)

LCBiH – League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina

LCY – League of Communists of Yugoslavia (since 1952)

NDH – Independent State of Croatia

SFRY – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (since 1963)

ABiH – Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina

BI-FAZ – The Bosniak Institute – Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation

GHB – Ghazi-Husrev Bey's Library

NUBBiH – National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina

CK SK – Central Committee of the League of Communists; Id.Kom. – Ideological Commission

MP – Ministry of Education

SPNK – Council for Education, Science and Culture

SZP – Council for Education

SZŠ – Council for Schooling

Abstract

This thesis studies the depictions of the Ottoman Period (ca. 1463 – 1878) in History textbooks printed in Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1945 and 1990. It examines the influence of the process of recognition of the Muslim nation in Yugoslavia/Bosnia between 1960-1974 on the textbooks' depiction of the Ottoman Empire, considered crucial for the Muslims' historical development. It employs combined qualitative methods to analyze change over time of the contents of the textbooks, before the Muslim recognition (1945-1960), during the process of Muslim recognition (1961-1974) and after it to the end of Socialist Yugoslavia (1975-1990). The thesis examines the function the content served critically and against the grain of scholarship, modern and ex-Yugoslav. It engages with the debates on (ex-)Yugoslav textbooks to highlight some deficiencies in the scholarship, but also study a topic neglected so far. Ministry documents, textbook reviews, curricula and newspapers are also consulted to integrate the textbooks in their appropriate context and relate them to sub-questions regarding the education system, history-writing and discussion of Muslim national identity. The thesis reveals how there were stark continuities in Socialist Yugoslav history-writing with preceding historiographical traditions that depicted the Ottoman Empire as hostile and backward. Secondly, this depiction, evolved with the Muslim recognition and political changes within Yugoslavia. This meant presenting certain aspects of Ottoman rule more positively, albeit to a very limited extent, mirroring the extent of the national recognition of the Muslim nation. Finally, the thesis questions how deep the transformations of the Yugoslav Socialist experiment were, especially considering how the demonized "Turk," once again emerged in the wars of conquest waged against Bosnia and Herzegovina in the wake of the breakup of Yugoslavia. This same specter emerges in Bosnian public discourse today.²

² This thesis was based on research conducted during my RMA History Research Internship in residence at the Bosniak Institute – Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation between September 2022 and February 2023. The research in question also contributed to a journal article, set for publication in the UU Graduate Humanities student journal *Junctions*. It is titled "Ghost of the Ottoman Scourge: Ottoman Hauntology and Dystopia in Socialist Yugoslav History Textbooks (1945 – 1990)." The volume is forthcoming.

It primarily deals with the negative and "dystopic" depictions of the Ottoman period in Bosnian Socialist textbooks, rather than a more comprehensive examination of the textbooks' change over time. This thesis is a more complete and comprehensive development from the article in question and the systematized culmination of the research project in question.

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Introduction

The past is never dead. It's not even past.³

- William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*

In early February 2023, the Bosnian Serb broadcaster RTRS (*Radio-televizija Republike Srpske*), dubbed one imam from Kozarac, near Prijedor in Western Bosnia, and his nation, the Bosniaks, “descendants of the Turkish occupier.”⁴ The Bosnian Islamic Community responded that the claims preceding this outburst were the Imam’s own, and asked whose opinions were expressed by the public broadcaster. Not even two years before, in August 2021, the then-member of the Bosnian Presidency, Milorad Dodik too called the Bosniaks “converts” and “slave people.”⁵ The “Turks” being referred to was the Ottoman Empire, which at its apex covered much of Southeastern Europe, Middle East/Western Asia, and North Africa, however persisting until 1922. Despite it being long gone for at least 100 years, it still exercises an immense power in Bosnian public discourse past and present.

In one of the darkest episodes of Bosnian history, as Srebrenica fell to Serb forces, General Ratko Mladić, boasted:

Here we are, on 11 July 1995, in Serb Srebrenica. On the eve of yet another great Serb holiday, we give this town to the Serb people as a gift. Finally, after the Rebellion against the *Dahis* [Ottoman rulers of Serbia in 1804], the time has come to take revenge on the Turks in this region.⁶

³ William Faulkner, *Requiem For A Nun* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1919), 85, <http://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.149792>.

⁴ “ISLAMSKA ZAJEDNICA BIH ŽESTOKO REAGOVALA: ‘Imam iz Kozarca je iznio lični stav, a čiji stav iznosi RTRS kad cijeli narod naziva ‘potomcima turskih okupatora?’” (VIDEO),” *slobodna-bosna.ba*, accessed February 13, 2023, https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/287335/islamska_zajednica_bih_zestoko_reagovala_imam_iz_kozarca_je_iznio_licni_stav_a_c_hiji_stav_iznosi_rtrs_kad_cijeli_narod_naziva_potomcima_turskih_okupatora_video.html.

Bosniak is the national name used today by Bosnian Muslims historically, a BCSM-speaking nation inhabiting Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and chiefly Bosnia and Herzegovina. The thesis refers to the nation as Muslims due to the name being one under which they were recognized in Socialist Yugoslavia, although the terms are effectively interchangeable today.

⁵ “Dodik: Bošnjaci su konvertiti i podanički narod, a ne državotvorni,” accessed May 7, 2022, <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/news/balkan/2021/8/4/dodik-bosnjaci-su-konvertiti-i-podanicki-narod-a-ne-drzavotvorni>.

⁶ Emir Suljagić, “How the Bosnian Serb Assembly Redefined Bosniaks as Enemy ‘Turks,’” *Balkan Insight* (blog), October 19, 2020, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/10/19/how-the-bosnian-serb-assembly-redefined-bosniaks-as-enemy-turks/>; Mirnes Kovač, “The Trial of Ratko Mladic and the ‘Banality of Evil,’” TRT World, The trial of Ratko Mladic and the “banality of evil,” November 21, 2017, <https://www.trtworld.com/opinion/the-trial-of-ratko-mladic-and-the-banality-of-evil--12490>; Emir Suljagić, “Genocide by Plebiscite: The Bosnian Serb Assembly and Social Construction of ‘Turks’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 23, no. 4 (October 2, 2021): 568, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2021.1885570>.

The Turks in question were more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys. Reading the transcripts of the Serb para-state's Assembly, "the Turk," as the ultimate "other" featured prominently, as the Serb political class spoke in easily-recognizable patterns.⁷

This main question of this thesis is how History textbooks in Bosnia during Yugoslav Socialism articulated the Ottoman past, and how this depiction changed with the national affirmation of the Muslim nation between 1960-1974. The secondary questions of this thesis relate to how the Yugoslav education system developed and functioned, but also how history-writing evolved and interacted with Muslim nation-building and the educational system. It aims to highlight these synergies to fully unpack the textbooks, rare historical texts bearing a ministerial seal of approval. Studying Yugoslav Socialism (1945-1990/1991) matters specifically because it directly preceded the horrors of the above-mentioned Yugoslav Wars, and the regime marketed itself under the (in hindsight paradoxical) monicker of "Brotherhood and Unity." Within the textbooks, change over time in use of narratives and the constructions of identities is examined, especially the "constitutive" others used to define the "self."⁸ Answering the question about the depictions of the dreaded "Turks" can shed light on a larger, even more relevant question – how a seemingly harmonious state, like former Yugoslavia devolved into violence driven by historically-inspired propaganda.⁹ Tellingly, it seems Yugoslav education too failed the demand outlined in Adorno's famous 1969 quote: "The premier demand upon all education is that Auschwitz does not happen again."¹⁰

All translations that are listed in the footnotes are my own. Otherwise, they are taken from the source, i.e., translated directly.

⁷ Suljagić, "Genocide by Plebiscite," 576; Memorijalni centar Srebrenica, "Transkripti Genocida/Genocide Papers," accessed February 14, 2023, <https://srebrenicamemorial.org/app/tg/transkripti-genocida.html>.

The Serb Republic (*Republika Srpska*) was a breakaway state from internationally-recognized Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was not internationally recognized itself, hence, *parastate*.

⁸ Stuart Hall, "Introduction - Who Needs 'Identity'?", in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003), 3, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221907>.

⁹ Arne Johan Vetlesen, *Evil and Human Agency: Understanding Collective Evildoing* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 148; Gorana Ognjenović, Nataša Mataušić, and Jasna Jozelić, "Yugoslavia's Authentic Socialism as a Pursuit of 'Absolute Modernity,'" in *Titoism, Self-Determination, Nationalism, Cultural Memory: Volume Two, Tito's Yugoslavia, Stories Untold*, ed. Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 29, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59747-2_2.

¹⁰ Jana Bacevic, *From Class to Identity: The Politics of Education Reforms in Former Yugoslavia* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2014), 195.

Muslims, Marx and Memory

Bosnia and Herzegovina has maintained a history of statehood since the medieval era and was a republic within the “people’s mosaic” of Yugoslavia.¹¹ As a Socialist Republic, she had all the institutions of a “nation-state,” but she was the only republic without a “core” nation, shared between the Muslims, Serbs and Croats (along with other minorities).¹² The Bosnian Muslims, today called the Bosniaks, are Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian-Montenegrin speaking, and usually Muslim in the religious/cultural sense. They descended from the local population that converted to Islam or Slavicized non-Slavic Muslims. This population managed to survive the historical turmoil of the retreat of the Ottoman Empire and the “Eastern Question” it presented. With the retreat of the Ottoman Empire, Islam was branded as foreign to Europe, and the Muslims in the lost Ottoman lands as the heirs of the Ottoman state, mandating their removal.¹³ Between 1821 and 1923, McCarthy estimates, five million Balkan Islamic faithful were killed and just as many expelled.¹⁴ The Bosnian Muslim population that remained came to embody a “living legacy” of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ Socialist Yugoslavia, another post-Ottoman state, inherited this population.¹⁶ Eventually, she “nostrified” this Ottoman heritage by recognizing the Muslim nation in the 1960s.¹⁷ This late recognition however was not a foregone conclusion.

¹¹ Istvan Deak, “The Habsburg Empire,” in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 138, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429494222>.

¹² Marko Attila Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 288.

In this dissertation, the term Muslim is used when referring to the South-Slavic speaking population of Bosnia and Herzegovina during former Yugoslavia, as more historically accurate. It does not mean a de-nationalization of the nation, as commonly done in other nationalist circles, rather because of being more time-appropriate. The name is taken as national unless stated otherwise. Serb and Croat is taken to mean member of the Serb and Croat nation, rather than Serbian or Croatian, which denotes citizenship of the Serbian/Croatian state respectively.

¹³ Fikret Karčić, *The Other European Muslims: A Bosnian Experience* (Sarajevo: Center for Advanced Studies, 2015), 167; Hikmet Karčić, “The Eastern Question — A Paradigm for Understanding the Balkan Muslims’ History in the 20th Century,” *Islamic Studies* 41, no. 4 (2002): 635–36.

¹⁴ Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Darwin Press, 1995), 1–2, 164.

Balkan Muslim here denotes Islamic faithful that resided in the Balkans. Ethnically, this population included Turks, Albanians, Bosniaks, Pomaks, Roma, Greeks, etc.

¹⁵ Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914*, 1st edition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 15; William Lockwood, “Living Legacy of the Ottoman Empire: The Serbo-Croatian-Speaking Moslems of Bosnia-Herzegovina,” in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Case. Brooklyn*, ed. Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Bela K. Kiraly, 1st ed. (New York: Brooklyn College Press, Columbia University Press, 1979), 209–25, <http://www.spiritofbosnia.org/volume-4-no-4-2009-october/living-legacy-of-the-ottoman-empire-the-serbo-croatian-speaking-moslems-of-bosnia-hercegovina/>.

¹⁶ Emily Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 254.

¹⁷ Bernard Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans - Volume Three*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Alexander Vezenkov (Brill, 2015), 377, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004290365_006.

The said Muslims occupied a precarious position in the eyes of their neighbors. On the one hand, they were a Slavic brother. More prominently however, they embodied the “Turk.”¹⁸ 19th-century Liberal-nationalists saw the “ruins of the Ottoman Empire” as the prerequisite and backdrop for the advancement of Balkans nation-states towards the (Western) European family of nations.¹⁹ Hay as early as 1957 encapsulated how “Europe” as an idea coalesced against Islam since the 9th century.²⁰ Recently, Greble too highlighted that Muslims were cast as interlopers in European History, in no small part due to orientalist misrepresentation.²¹ In traditionally Orientalist accounts the “Oriental” is presented as wholly alien form the “Occidental,” however, the “Balkan” became a bridge between the two.²² Therefore, the Balkan nations of the 19th century appealed to their “European” character by portraying themselves as the sword-arm of the civilizing mission to the “Islamic East.”²³ Bakić-Hayden put forward the thesis of “nesting” Orientalism. Within Yugoslavia, the self-perceived “European,” e.g., the Serb, contrasted himself to the “Oriental” Muslim Bosnian/Bosniak or Albanian.²⁴ Ultimately, the Ottoman state became a landfill for negative stereotypes.²⁵ This

¹⁸ Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610*, Illustrated edition (Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017), 3; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, Reprint edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

¹⁹ Edin Hajdarpašić, “Out of the Ruins of the Ottoman Empire: Reflections on the Ottoman Legacy in South-Eastern Europe,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 44 (September 1, 2008): 730, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200802285278>; Wayne S. Vucinich, “Some Aspects of the Ottoman Legacy,” in *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics Since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Barbara Jelavich and University of California Center for Slavic and East European Studies (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1963), 82–85; Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (Modern Library, 2000), xli; Sir John Arthur Ransome Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, 4th Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

²⁰ Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1968), 24, <http://archive.org/details/europeemergence0000hayd>; Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and The Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 34.

²¹ Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 261.

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, Reprinted with a new Afterword (1995) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 3, 197; Maria Todorova, “The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 455, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2501301>; Andrew Hammond, “Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, no. 2–3 (June 1, 2007): 204, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08905490701623235>.

²³ Božidar Jezernik, *Wild Europe: The Balkans in the Gaze of Western Travellers* (London: Saqi in association with the Bosnian Institute, 2004), 145, <http://archive.org/details/wildeuropebalkan0000jeze>.

²⁴ Milica Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995): 922, 926, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2501399>.

²⁵ Safet Bandžović, “History in a ‘Broken Mirror’: Demographic De-Ottomanization of the Balkans and Identity Changes of the Refugees,” in *Both Muslim and European: Diasporic and Migrant Identities of Bosniaks*, ed. Dževada Susko (Boston, United States: Brill, 2019), 23, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=5847357>.

liberal and/or ethno-nationalist historical mythology “gradually fused with the state socialist doctrine” in Socialist Yugoslavia.²⁶ There were good ground for this merger.

Marx’s work was deeply influenced by stereotypes and prejudice. For instance, a cursory glance through his essays reveals categorical statements about the dreaded “Turk:”

Turkish, like any other oriental domination, is incompatible with a capitalist economy; the surplus value extorted is not safe from the hands of greedy satraps and pashas. The first basic condition of bourgeois acquisition is lacking: the security of person and the property of the trader.²⁷

Kreutz summarized that Marx’s remarks regarding the Middle East are deficient in form, application, context and sympathy.²⁸ Indeed, Marx and Engels “inherited virtually *en bloc* the traditional European discourse on Asia,” as Marxist historian Perry Anderson conceded.²⁹ The Ottoman period under Yugoslav Socialism too became an inhibitor to the “correct” historical development of the South Slavs and staging ground for analyzing peasant rebellion and “national liberation,” unsubtly echoing WWII.³⁰ Behind all of this lay the prevailing attitudes towards the Ottoman state in the collective memories of many ex-Yugoslavs.

This amalgamation of nationalist and Marxist histories was built on, and fed into a “collective memory” of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. A collective memory denotes a constructed, ecumenist account of the past.³¹ Assmann argued political memories construct identities for larger institutions such as nations, “emplotted in a narrative that is emotionally charged and conveys a clear and invigorating message.”³² It plays a role in identity construction, through defined events vital to a sense of belonging.³³ Each nation creates its own history and national

²⁶ Siniša Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms: A Sociological Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 222–23, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108589451>.

²⁷ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe : A Collection of Articles, Speeches, Letters, and News Dispatches*, ed. Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), 40, <http://archive.org/details/russianmenacetoe0000marx>.

²⁸ Andrej Kreutz, “Marx and the Middle East,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (1983): 168.

²⁹ Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, 1st edition (London ; New York: Verso, 2013), 478/563.

³⁰ Hajdarpašić, “Out of the Ruins of the Ottoman Empire,” 728; Bandžović, “History in a ‘Broken Mirror’: Demographic De-Ottomanization of the Balkans and Identity Changes of the Refugees,” 27–29; Maria Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 72.

³¹ Keith Crawford and Stuart J. Foster, *War, Nation, Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks*, Research in Curriculum and Instruction (Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 2008), 4–5, <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10430243>; Maurice Halbwachs, “The Collective Memory,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, 1st edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 145–46.

³² Aleida Assmann, “Re-Framing Memory.: Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past,” in *Performing the Past*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 42–44, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt45kdkt.6>.

³³ Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds., *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, 1st edition (New York: Routledge, 1996), vii, 175, etc.

memory which justifies the existence of the state.³⁴ Still, Yugoslavia was no nation-state – it was a fragile compromise that allowed the constituent entities (states and peoples) to co-habituate for less than 50 years.³⁵ As such, Yugoslavia inherited traditions and memories of her composite parts – in large part the Serb nation. This collective memory of the Ottomans was largely negative. Even today, the Ottoman period has universally negative connotations in Serbia, dubbed the “500 years of the Turkish yoke.”³⁶ One of the main modes of constructing, but also transmitting this memory is the school curriculum and the textbook.

Collective memory, as Apple put it, takes form of official memory when sublimated into school materials.³⁷ Textbooks “canonize knowledge,” propagate an image of the world and values that are desired by those who make them.³⁸ Therefore, textbooks commonly express prejudice, stereotypes and othering.³⁹ As Christina Koulouri said:

Schoolbooks are a mirror of the society that produces them. They rarely contain stereotypes and values unacceptable to society. Therefore, their content may be a good guide as to a society’s values; history books may reflect the image a human society has of its past and, indirectly, the way it imagines its future.⁴⁰

Stereotypes, hateful and exclusionary language can end up as practice.⁴¹ Halilovich and Adams demonstrated that media, literature and music employed stereotypes of the Bosnian Muslims/Bosniaks in the 1980s and the 1990s as a form of mobilization.⁴² In WWII, Hoare underlined Partisan use of texts such as the *Mountain Wreath*, detailing a massacre of Muslim

³⁴ Niyazi Kizilyurek, “History Textbooks and Nationalism,” in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Christina Koulouri (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 69.

³⁵ Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 2.

³⁶ Miloš Todorović, “The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage in Serbia,” *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 4, no. 6 (June 2010): 216.

³⁷ Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, Second (New York: Routledge, 2002), 5, http://archive.org/details/officialknowledg0000appl_n3n0.

³⁸ Niyazi Kizilyurek, “History Textbooks and Nationalism,” 70–71; Hanna Schissler, “Beyond National Narratives: The Role of History Textbooks,” in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Christina Koulouri (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 94.

³⁹ Jelena Marković, “(Re)konstrukcije identiteta u udžbeničkoj produkciji: Analiza sadržaja udžbenika za prva četiri razreda osnovne škole od 1945. godine do danas,” *Narodna umjetnost - Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 43, no. 2 (2006): 77–78.

⁴⁰ Christina Koulouri, ed., *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2002), 31–32.

⁴¹ Cathie Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans: Nationalism and the Destruction of Tradition* (Abingdon, Oxon, UNITED STATES: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 22, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=171202>.

⁴² Ron Adams and Hariz Halilovich, “Mass Myths to Mass Graves: Politicizing Memory in Serbia as a Prelude to Genocide in Bosnia,” in *Nationalism and the Politicization of History in the Former Yugoslavia*, ed. Gorana Ognjenovic and Jasna Jozelic, *Modernity, Memory and Identity in South-East Europe* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 286, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65832-8_14.

“converts” by Christian Warriors, because of its “Christian patriotism.”⁴³ In 1947, the work was declared “a hymn to liberty, resistance to pressure and tyranny, celebration of national and human ideals...beyond the pleasures of life.”⁴⁴ It was a staple text many Muslim schoolchildren read.⁴⁵

The question then re-emerges of how was the Ottoman period articulated in the History textbooks of the Bosnian Socialist Republic, especially considering the evolution of the position of the Bosnian Muslim people within it? How did the recognition of the Bosnian Muslim nation influence the portrayal of this period (ca.1463-1878) in public primary and secondary school History textbooks? What function did the Ottoman Empire have in the construction of identities and through what narratives? The remainder of the introduction will examine the historiographical debate on historical education and textbook, touch on the discussion about education and textbooks in Yugoslavia, as well as the debate about the legacy of the Ottoman period and the Muslim national question. It also deals with the analytical and methodological framework, rounded off with a reflection on the sources used in this thesis.

Historiography and Literature

How Identities are made (in School)

Education is a major mode of socialization.⁴⁶ It is a socially-recognized practice of transmitting ideas that structure our realities. Historical education consequently presents the past as a lens through which to interpret the present.⁴⁷ School programs have the goal to create a specific identification – national, cultural, or otherwise, shaping the representation of us and others. Certain groups and values are presented positively and other negatively, often in “hero and villain” dichotomies.⁴⁸ Commonly seen tools in painting these dichotomies are ideas of cultural

⁴³ Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 358; Branimir Anzulovic, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide*, 1st edition (New York: NYU Press, 1999), 52.

⁴⁴ Dušan Đurović, “Njegošev Lik,” *Odjek*, June 1947, 3, BI-FAZ; No Author, “Petar Petrović Njegoš,” *Odjek*, May 1947, 3, BI-FAZ.

“Gorski vijenac je himna slobodi, otpor pritisku i tiraniji, salvljenje nacionalnih i čovečanskih ideala, isticanje moralnih ideja iznad životnih ugodnosti.”

⁴⁵ Tim Judah, *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, Third edition (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 107/508.

⁴⁶ Olivera Buric, “Family Education and Political Socialization of Youth in Yugoslavia,” *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 2, no. 1 (1972): 22.

Socialization denotes the development of relations within a society.

⁴⁷ Peter Lee, “Series Introduction,” in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez-Moneo, Illustrated edition (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2013), xiii.

⁴⁸ Thalia Dragonas and Anna Frangoudaki, “The Persistence of Ethnocentric School History,” in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Christina Koulouri (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 45.

superiority and/or victimization, the latter being very prominent in ex-Yugoslavia.⁴⁹ The grand narrative of Yugoslav history was the “National Liberation War” (WWII).⁵⁰ The WWII enemies – Germany, Italy and collaborators were extrapolated backwards to become Ottomans, Habsburgs, Venetians etc.⁵¹ Foreign powers were cast as the root of the problems to be overcome through a fraternal harmony of Yugoslav nations.⁵²

The said nation itself represents a cultural and/or ethnic collective.⁵³ It is a community bound by language, history, culture, ethnic geography, tradition, religion etc.⁵⁴ History entered curriculums of schools to ensure citizenry would share a sense of belonging to one “imagined community,” which one could never fully possibly know otherwise.⁵⁵ One caveat is the position of the Bosnian Muslim within this “imagined community.” In an Andersonian sense, the “imagined community” is one you belong to, or not. However, the Muslims existed as co-national “Yugoslavs,” that Serb/Croat/Yugoslav national movements claimed. However, as we discussed, just as often, rejected, making them a sort of *(Br)other*.⁵⁶ This tension too is conducive to further exploration through the textbooks.

Modern scholarship has therefore de-essentialized identity and considers it dynamic. Berger and Luckmann say identity is formed, maintained, modified by social processes.⁵⁷ This means the Ottoman period could occupy different functions for different identifications at different times. Attested to phenomena, such as the Serb “Anti-Muslim Animus,” marked by hostility towards “Turks” therefore, are not inherent, but constructed and reproduced.⁵⁸ However, Ivo

⁴⁹ Christina Koulouri, ed., *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe* (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 18.

⁵⁰ Klaus Buchenau, “What Went Wrong? Church–State Relations in Socialist Yugoslavia,” *Nationalities Papers* 33, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 551, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905990500354046>; Vjekoslav Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States*, 1st edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 96.

⁵¹ Tea Sindbaek, *Usable History?: Representations of Yugoslavia’s Difficult Past from 1945 to 2002* (Aarhus, DENMARK: Aarhus University Press, 2012), 43–44, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=3000048>.

⁵² Cathie Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 100.

⁵³ Chaim Gans, “Citizenship and Nationhood,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, by Ayelet Shachar et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 108, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198805854.013.5>.

⁵⁴ Frits W. Hondius, *The Yugoslav Community of Nations*, Reprint 2018 ed. edition (De Gruyter Mouton, 1968), 17–19.

⁵⁵ Alberto Rosa, “Commentary: What History to Teach? Whose History?,” in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez-Moneo, Illustrated edition (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2013), 64; Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

⁵⁶ Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?*, 15–17.

⁵⁷ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Penguin Adult, 1991), 194.

⁵⁸ Amila Buturović, “BiH from 1878-1992: The Origins of Serb Nationalist Anti-Bosniak/Anti-Muslim Animus and Its Aims,” in *Bosnian Genocide Reader*, ed. Jasmin Mujanović (Sarajevo: Srebrenica Memorial Center, 2022), 18–19; Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans*, 27.

Banac argued that “the ability to distinguish between one’s own national community and other national communities was unimpaired, unambiguous, supralocal – and one might add – remarkably accurate long before modern nationalism.”⁵⁹ “Nationalism,” i.e. an identification with one’s nation and support of its interests, might a modern phenomenon, but a “national” sentiment can be seen even before the 15th century.⁶⁰ Banac highlighted institutions such as the Serbian Orthodox Church, which became foci of national consciousness.⁶¹ Thus, identity-construction also involves those who are outside the “nation.” While not necessarily outright xenophobic, all identities require differentiation between the self and other, in our case the Ottoman Empire in various contexts.⁶²

History can be encountered outside journals and books, for instance in textbooks. Müller prudently pointed out that “while very few would doubt that memory mattered and exercised power in the Yugoslav Wars, even fewer would be able to explain precisely how it mattered.”⁶³ Textbooks offer an interesting window to study what memories (real, imagined, constructed or otherwise) were present in the History education of the generations that went to war, again underlining the relevance of the project. Especially in ideological single-party states, the textbook is approved from-above, selective in its presentation of fact.⁶⁴ As products of their time, place and ideologies, they emphasize events, tendentiously present evidence, decontextualize, etc.⁶⁵ As Foster argued, textbooks “represent a body of core cultural knowledge which the younger generation is expected to both assimilate and support,” making it all the more relevant to examine them critically.⁶⁶ Apple and Christian-Smith outlined, “it is naïve to think of the school curriculum as neutral knowledge.” Knowledge in textbooks is a result of power relations and struggles among groups – defined by race, ethnicity, religion etc.

⁵⁹ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, 1st US-1st Printing edition (Ithaca u.a: Cornell University Press, 1988), 21.

⁶⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (B. Blackwell, 1987), 11.

⁶¹ Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, 22–23.

⁶² Stefan Berger, “De-Nationalizing History Teaching and Nationalizing It Differently! Some Reflections On How to Defuse the Negative Potential of National(Ist) History Teaching,” in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez-Moneo, Illustrated edition (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2013), 35.

⁶³ Jan-Werner Müller, ed., *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491580>.

⁶⁴ Stuart Foster, “Re-Thinking History Textbooks in a Globalized World,” in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, ed. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio, and María Rodríguez-Moneo, Illustrated edition (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2013), 51; Siniša Malešević, *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2006th edition (Basingstoke England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 120.

⁶⁵ Magdalena Najbar-Agičić and Damir Agičić, “The Use and Misuse of History Teaching in 1990s Croatia,” in *Democratic Transition in Croatia: Value Transformation, Education, and Media*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet and Davorka Matic, Illustrated edition (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 197.

⁶⁶ Foster, “Re-Thinking History Textbooks in a Globalized World,” 53.

Conversely, education and power are “an indissoluble couplet.” This creates conflicts, usually over what is included in textbooks, which points to “more profound political, economic and cultural relations.”⁶⁷ This question should be more intriguing in the context of the Muslim nation’s recognition within Yugoslavia.

Teaching the Yugoslavs – Studies on Yugoslav Education and Textbooks

The Yugoslav education system has been studied in two (of many) stand-out works. One is Snježana Koren’s *Politics of History in Yugoslavia (1945-1960)* from 2012. Her work studies political power and historical narratives in curricula, textbooks, and teaching practice.⁶⁸ Her findings tell us that indeed the goal of History was to politically socialize the Yugoslavs.⁶⁹ However, she also reveals the importance of the nation in education politics from the earliest days.⁷⁰ Unsurprisingly, much of the Yugoslav twentieth century was marked by a continued proliferation of nationalist imagery and rhetoric, Socialism included.⁷¹ She delves into the textbooks as well, but mostly comparing Serbian and Croatian textbooks on contentious issues – the Military Frontier, Serb Uprisings, the first Yugoslavia, but not the Ottoman period.⁷² The book is an exemplary enterprise, limited crucially in scope. We are not told much about the developments after the 1960s, and her focus on Croatia and Serbia leaves the rest of the federation underrepresented.

The second book is Jana Bacevic’s *From Class to Nation* from 2014. Bacevic studied the educational reforms in Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the Post-Conflict present. Her chapters on Socialism emphasize the role of class in educational reforms.⁷³ The findings that “class mattered,” while fascinating, are also the work’s biggest weakness. She attempts to “move away from the fixation on ‘nationalism’ as the only relevant variable in understanding the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav dynamics,” rather, focusing on the interaction of political choices with socio-historical conditions.⁷⁴ However, nationalism was a major force in former Yugoslavia. Party members such as Veljko Vlahović, defined “the national” as generally progressive and

⁶⁷ Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, eds., *The Politics of the Textbook*, 1st edition (New York: Routledge, 1991), 2–3.

⁶⁸ Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960): Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija* (Zagreb: Srednja Evropa, 2012), 17.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁰ Boris Blažina, “Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945.–1960.)*. Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija, Zagreb, 2012.,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 45, no. 2 (October 21, 2013): 391.

⁷¹ Malešević, *Identity as Ideology*, 162–63; Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms*, 222–23.

⁷² Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960)*, 275–307.

⁷³ Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 27.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, xi–xii.

working class.⁷⁵ Kamberović and Brubaker also highlighted Yugoslav society was not a-national and saw the nation in service of the goal of Marxism.⁷⁶ The national question was at the forefront of any and every multinational Socialist state – from the USSR and Czechoslovakia to Bulgaria.⁷⁷ Another issue with Bacević's book is that she does not pay due attention to educational materials and discourse, in part stemming from the first issue. She critiques the connection of ethnic violence with stereotypes in textbooks, as providing a “limited view of human action, which assumes that people fight other people because they read it in the textbooks at school.”⁷⁸ This is both a strawman and contradicted by a body of literature she did not consult. As we have seen and shall see, discourses in education matter, both as reflections of societal values and in their tangible effects such as mobilization. She merely cites that the generation that went to war was “not raised on nationalist myths,” but on the cocktail of anti-fascism and friendly relations with other nations.⁷⁹ The source for this claim is an article by Wachtel and Marković with an overview of attempts to make an integrated *Literature* curriculum in 1980s Yugoslavia but highlighting mostly the difficulties and failings.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, this relatively uncritical approach to certain aspects of Yugoslav Socialism is visible also when examining literature on textbooks.

Unpacking the (ex-)Yugoslav textbooks

Textbook studies are a burgeoning field, and much work has been done, especially on former Yugoslavia. Already in 1966, Georgeoff noted how both in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, textbooks exhibited Marxian qualities, framing history as conflict between labor and capital. Both textbooks focused on atrocities committed by “the Turks” and valorizing resistance movements.⁸¹ Unsurprisingly, nationalism featured prominently in both.⁸² Charles Jelavich in the 1980s studied Serbian textbooks in the long 19th century. He discovered that despite minor

⁷⁵ Veljko Vlahović, “Razlikovati Nacionalno Od Nacionalističkog,” *Prosvjetni List*, 20.06 1974, NUBBiH.

⁷⁶ Husnija Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” in *Rasprave o Nacionalnom Identitetu Bošnjaka*, ed. Husnija Kamberović, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2009), 68; Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁷⁷ Hannes Grandits, “Ambivalentnosti u Socijalističkoj Nacionalnoj Politici Bosne i Hercegovine u Kasnim 1960-Im i u 1970-Im: Perspektive Odozgo i Odozdo,” in *Rasprave o Nacionalnom Identitetu Bošnjaka - Zbornik Radova*, ed. Husnija Kamberović, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2009), 15–16.

⁷⁸ Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 7.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Andrew Wachtel and Predrag J. Marković, “A Last Attempt at Educational Integration: The Failure of Common Educational Cores in Yugoslavia in the Early 1980s,” in *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*, by Lenard Cohen and Jasna Dragovic-Soso (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 216, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/60/monograph/book/12738>.

⁸¹ John Georgeoff, “Nationalism in the History Textbooks of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria,” *Comparative Education Review* 10, no. 3 (1966): 442–43.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 443–45.

changes, they demonstrated “how little they [Serbs] knew about the other South Slavs whose destiny was to be linked to their own.”⁸³ Both Croatian and Serbian textbooks before 1918 espoused conflicting territorial pretensions and histories.⁸⁴ Malešević also studied the 19th-century Serbian textbooks. Most emphasized the Serb battle for independence and the duty to preserve it, with violent imagery and self-victimization.⁸⁵ Again, the common focus on Serbia and Croatia prompts the question about textbooks in Bosnia-Herzegovina, further highlighting the relevance of the project.

One notable work which dealt with Geography and History textbooks was Troch’s *Nationalism and Yugoslavia*, focusing on the Interwar Kingdom. Therein Troch uncovered the comprehensive discrimination the Bosnian Muslims were faced with, shown in textbooks as “the Turk.”⁸⁶ This drastically reduced Muslim participation in the education system.⁸⁷ Other accounts focus on Post-Conflict and Transitional Justice. Many are found in the recent edited volume by Kamberović and Stojanović - *Wars of the 1990s in Regional Historiographies*.⁸⁸ Forić Plasto and Katz studied the contemporary Bosnian textbooks (Serb, Bosnian and Croat) and how they depicted the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession.⁸⁹ All note that interpretations in Bosnia are fragmented, due to institutionalized ethnic-governance. But none tell us much about Socialist textbooks.

Two of the most prominent authors dealing (in part) with socialist textbooks are Dubravka Stojanović and Tamara Pavasović-Trošt. Stojanović convincingly showed how Serbian textbooks painted the Bosnian War as part of the “eternal war” between Christendom and Islam, the Bosnian Muslim/Bosniak becoming the loathed “Turk.”⁹⁰ Stojanović claims that the textbooks changed “the previous socialist value system, to transform it into an equally

⁸³ Charles Jelavich, “Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?,” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983): 618–19, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2497370>.

⁸⁴ Charles Jelavich, “Nationalism as Reflected in the Textbooks of the South Slavs in the Nineteenth Century,” in *European Political History 1870–1913* (Routledge, 2007).

⁸⁵ Malešević, *Grounded Nationalisms*, 216–17.

⁸⁶ Pieter Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia: Education, Yugoslavism and the Balkans Before World War II* (London, UNITED KINGDOM: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2015), 126, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=4461557>.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 130–31.

⁸⁸ Dubravka Stojanović and Husnija Kamberović, eds., *Ratovi 1990-Ih u Regionalnim Historiografijama: Kontroverze, Interpretacija, Nasljeđe* (Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju, 2021).

⁸⁹ Melisa Forić Plasto, “Podijeljena prošlost za podijeljenu budućnost!? Rat 1992-1995. u aktuelnim bosanskohercegovačkim udžbenicima historije,” *Radovi: Historija, historija umjetnosti, arheologija* 6, no. 1 (2019): 235–36; Vera Katz, “Analiza udžbenika historije u Bosni i Hercegovini,” *Forum za tranzicionu pravdu*, no. 5 (2015): 52–54.

⁹⁰ Dubravka Stojanović, “Value Changes in the Interpretations of History in Serbia,” in *Civic and Uncivic Values: Serbia the Post-Milošević Era*, ed. Ola Listhaug, Sabrina P. Ramet, and Dragana Dulić (Central European University Press, 2011), 221–22.

authoritarian but opposite system, derived from the prevailing nationalist ideology....”⁹¹ For her, Milošević-era textbooks were a sharp break with the “model of Yugoslavism, founded in Brotherhood and Unity,” in favor of “xenophobic representations of the past of the Yugoslav peoples.”⁹² However, as Najbar-Agičić and Agičić showed in Croatia, there was a great deal of continuity in the form and message in textbooks between the two regimes.⁹³ Koren also wrote how in textbooks, the Yugoslav WWII and the post-Yugoslav 1990s war were accompanied by emotive language, violence, victimization, heroism etc.⁹⁴

Pavasović-Trošt’s otherwise excellent work falls into a similar trap of perhaps overemphasizing change. She studied the textbooks from 1974 to 2017, to comparatively understand nationhood narratives in Serbia and Croatia.⁹⁵ Her discoveries pointed to the centrality of some “anchors,” e.g., the Catholic Church in Croatia.⁹⁶ She also studied how in Serbia and Croatia, geography textbooks foster a sense of belonging as e.g. Croatia being portrayed at the intersection of civilizations.⁹⁷ However, in a recent article, there is again a very sharp distinction between Socialist “Brotherhood and Unity” and post-Yugoslav “nationalism.” They write that the myth of nationhood was crucial to post-Yugoslav historical revisionism. Key here was the “rediscovery” of the Middle Ages, the re-evaluation of Yugoslav history, as well as the reprehensible revaluations of the Holocaust and Fascism especially.⁹⁸ Two issues emerge concerning the work of both authors.

⁹¹ Stojanović, “Value Changes in the Interpretations of History in Serbia,” 222.

⁹² Dubravka Stojanović, “Udžbenici istorije u Srbiji,” *Forum za tranzicionu pravdu*, no. 5 (2015): 45. “Miloševićevi udžbenici imali su zadatak da nekadašnji model jugoslovenstva, utemeljen u bratstvu i jedinstvu, zameni ksenofobičnom predstavom o prošlosti jugoslovenskih naroda.”

⁹³ Najbar-Agičić and Agičić, “The Use and Misuse of History Teaching in 1990s Croatia,” 218.

⁹⁴ Snježana Koren, “Udžbenici povijesti u Hrvatskoj,” *Forum za tranzicionu pravdu*, no. 5 (2015): 49. “Snažan i emocionalni jezik, detaljni prikazi vojnih operacija, u tekstu i na kartama, naglasak na vlastitim stradanjima, portreti ratnih heroja koji se učenicima nude kao modeli za identifikaciju....Dakle sve on strategije koje se više ne smatraju prikladnim za proučavanje Drugog svjetskog rata su našle svoje mjesto za proučavanje rata u 1990.-ima.”

⁹⁵ Tamara Pavasović Trošt, “Ruptures and Continuities in Nationhood Narratives: Reconstructing the Nation through History Textbooks in Serbia and Croatia,” *Nations and Nationalism* 24, no. 3 (2018): 1–2.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

⁹⁷ Tamara Pavasović Trošt, “Teaching the National through Geography and Nature: Banal Nationalism in Primary Schools in Serbia and Croatia,” in *Informal Nationalism After Communism: The Everyday Construction of Post-Socialist Identities*, ed. Abel Polese et al. (London: New York: IB Taurus, 2018), 90, <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350986824.ch-003>.

⁹⁸ Tamara P. Trošt and Lea David, “Renationalizing Memory in the Post-Yugoslav Region,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 24, no. 2 (April 3, 2022): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2021.1968852>.

“we demonstrate that strengthening the myth of nationhood was the primary function of the massive U-turn shaping historical revisionism in the post-Yugoslav countries, purposely obliterating the shared common past and disconnecting it from the Yugoslav legacy.”

Firstly, the question of “How did separate nationhood narratives come to replace the Yugoslav ones?” is misplaced.⁹⁹ Yugoslav history was principally that of separate nations.¹⁰⁰ The balancing act is evidenced in the second book of the *History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia* from 1960, where strict attention was paid to the quantity of national histories.¹⁰¹ Conversely, the medieval period was celebrated under Socialism too as a “golden age” (ended by foreign imposition), as this analysis will show. The work suffers by only examining the ruptures in WWII history, rather than delving deeper examination into historiography that was inherited.¹⁰² Najbar-Agičić and Agičić noted that only the eighth grade contained common 20th century history, as only then was there a Yugoslavia.¹⁰³ Even then, the textbooks were eclectic, containing segments of national histories rather than a Yugoslav history.¹⁰⁴ Secondly, they do not problematize “Brotherhood and Unity.” Merely stating “Brotherhood and Unity” does not explain the relationships among the groups that it subsumed.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Yugoslav multiculturalism demanded newcomers to take over basic “cultural, social and political rulers and patterns of this hegemonic culture,” which Močnik mentions narrowly as language.¹⁰⁶ This could involve many other things in practice, such as readings of history.

Finally, regarding the Ottomans, a handful of authors studied how textbooks presented the Ottoman Empire, but not in Socialist Bosnia. Mujadžević explored the representation of the Ottoman period and Islam in Croatian history textbooks from the 1980s onwards. He uncovered that textbooks too tapped into the thesis that the Ottomans were a divine scourge from the 15th and 17th century.¹⁰⁷ Imamović focused mostly on the Serb/Yugoslav literary canon – e.g., the *Mountain Wreath*’s suspect depictions of Islam. He added that another eminent

⁹⁹ Pavasović Trošt, “Ruptures and Continuities in Nationhood Narratives,” 719.

¹⁰⁰ Snježana Koren, “Yugoslavia: A Look in the Broken Mirror. Who Is the ‘Other’?,” in *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*, ed. Bela Bodo (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2002), 193.

¹⁰¹ Bogo Grafenauer, “Povodom Drugog Sveska ‘Historije Naroda Jugoslavije’ Beleške o Nastajanju Knjige,” *Historijski Pregled*, 1960, 165–73, BI-FAZ.

¹⁰² Pavasović Trošt, “Ruptures and Continuities in Nationhood Narratives,” 723.

¹⁰³ Najbar-Agičić and Agičić, “The Use and Misuse of History Teaching in 1990s Croatia,” 198.

¹⁰⁴ Wolfgang Hopken, “History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration,” in *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992*, ed. Melissa K. (Melissa Katherine) Bokovoy, Jill A. Irvine, and Carol S. Lilly (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 89, <http://archive.org/details/statesocietyrela00meli>.

¹⁰⁵ Nena Močnik, “Brotherhood and Unity Goes Multiculturalism: Legacy as a Leading Path toward Implementations of New European Multiculturalism,” in *Titoism, Self-Determination, Nationalism, Cultural Memory: Volume Two, Tito’s Yugoslavia, Stories Untold*, ed. Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 235–36, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59747-2_8.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹⁰⁷ Dino Mujadžević, “The Image of Ottomans in Croatian Historiography: Changing Narratives in Elementary School Textbooks in Croatia—1980s to 2000s,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 34, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 295–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2014.946767>.

Yugoslav/Croatian intellectual, Miroslav Krleža, wrote of the Muslims with suspicion.¹⁰⁸ Editing the Yugoslav encyclopedias, Krleža contrasted the Ottoman Empire to “civilized Europe,” with its uniquely “reactionary particularism.”¹⁰⁹ Yet, the volumes of the Yugoslav Encyclopedia, published after 1966 included more Muslim heritage, pointing to the significance of the recognition process.¹¹⁰ Alibašić’s articles about the Ottomans in modern Bosnian textbooks and curricula point to conflict of narratives.¹¹¹ Jovanović similarly demonstrated modern Bosniak and Serb textbooks painting the Ottomans as friend for the former, and enemy for the latter.¹¹² The period after 2007 was covered also by Muhasilović, to discover similar divergences between the warring historiographies.¹¹³ Yet, it is still unclear what textbooks were like when both peoples cohabited, more or less successfully, under socialism.

Theoretical framing and Methodology

While the main question of this thesis deals primarily with textbook analysis, when relevant, I will refer to politics, as education was closely tied to it. Yugoslav politicians like Todo Kurtović made clear that education was intrinsically political and ideological.¹¹⁴ The topic is approached from a Gramscian and Foucauldian understanding of hegemony that was present in Socialist Yugoslavia regarding the Ottoman period. Gramsci analyzed hegemony as “the ideological predominance of bourgeois values and norms over the subordinate classes which accept them as normal.”¹¹⁵ Foucault added that power was diffused throughout society, as discursive strategies “which gradually introduce and/or perpetuate in public discourse...gain legitimacy from such a change and from the introduction of a related ‘new’ normative order.”¹¹⁶ In 1984,

¹⁰⁸ Mustafa Imamović, “U Krugu Turske Magije: Islam, Muslimani i Udžbenici Historije u Bosni i Hercegovini,” *Ljudska Prava*, no. 1–2 (2006): 112.

¹⁰⁹ Dino Mujadžević, “Ottoman History and the Islamic-Ottoman Cultural Legacy in Bosnia in the First Edition of the Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia (1950–1971),” *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 11, no. 2 (August 20, 2021): 248–49, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-bja10035>.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 255–56.

¹¹¹ Ahmet Alibašić, “Imidž Osmanlija u historijskim udžbenicima u Bosni i Hercegovini,” *Novi Muallim* 8, no. 32 (2007): 58, <https://doi.org/10.26340/muallim.v8i32.996>; Ahmet Alibašić, “Images of the Ottomans in History Textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” in *Images of the Religious Other: Discourse and Distance in the Western Balkans*, ed. Christian Moe (Novi Sad: CEIR, 2008), 39–40.

¹¹² Jahja Muhasilovic, “Image of the Ottomans in Bosnian Textbooks Published After 2007,” *Epiphany* 7 (December 31, 2014): 88–89, <https://doi.org/10.21533/epiphany.v7i2.99>; Srđan Jovanović, “The Ottoman Empire as Friend and Foe: Perceptions of Ottoman Rule in Serbia and Bosnia and Thereupon Based Nationalisms,” *Review of Social Studies* 4, no. 1 (May 1, 2017): 79, <https://doi.org/10.21586/ross0000047>.

¹¹³ Muhasilovic, “Image of the Ottomans in Bosnian Textbooks Published After 2007,” 86.

¹¹⁴ “Prosvjetni Radnici Nosioci Napretka i Progres,” *Prosvjetni List*, November 20, 1975, NUBBiH.

¹¹⁵ Asli Daldal, “Power and Ideology in Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci: A Comparative Analysis,” *Review of History and Political Science* 2, no. 2 (June 2014): 157.

¹¹⁶ Michał Krzyżanowski, “Normalization and the Discursive Construction of ‘New’ Norms and ‘New’ Normality: Discourse in the Paradoxes of Populism and Neoliberalism,” *Social Semiotics* 30, no. 4 (August 7, 2020): 432, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2020.1766193>.

a Sarajevo schoolteacher Mubera Mujagić noted the common anti-Muslim interpretations of the *Mountain Wreath*. She was attacked by numerous Belgrade run papers, as few raised the issue for 65 years, becoming a taboo-topic.¹¹⁷ However, while this thesis hopes to critically re-examine this ideological status quo about a historical period, I will also show debate about the Ottoman period and depictions in textbooks. As the Ottoman period presented a crucial point in the ethnogenesis of the Bosnian Muslim nation, it is paramount to critically understand what Muslim pupils were presented with as well.

Yet, education is not the only mode of transmitting historical knowledge, which can be encountered in family, rituals, and stories.¹¹⁸ It is further complicated by teaching as the intermediary, as professionals transform the texts. Students too interpret, reject, and integrate them differently.¹¹⁹ Radaković notes that 70% of the Serbian students studied the 1990s wars in class, and that only 49% of the pupils reported textbooks being used for the topic.¹²⁰ This was also often the case in former Yugoslavia. Crucially, it is difficult to operationalize the impact of textbooks on “historical consciousness,” especially retroactively. Conversely, this thesis focuses less on the “bottom-up” reception, rather on the intellectual and political elites who shaped the textbooks. While limiting, these concerns are not outweighed by the body of scholarship highlighting the importance of grappling with textbooks.

Another implicit underpinning framework is the imagological framework, studying the function and characteristics of identities textually.¹²¹ Imagology studies Romanticist-style ethnic taxonomies, which saw “nations” and “cultures” as natural.¹²² This toolkit has been used outside literature in Frehan’s analysis of Celtic mythology in Irish education, as teaching in

¹¹⁷ Andrew B. Wachtel, “Chapter 5. How to Use a Classic: Petar Petrović Njegoš in the Twentieth Century,” in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, by John Lampe and Mark Mazower, CEUP Collection (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 144, <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2426>; Andrew Wachtel and Predrag J. Marković, “A Last Attempt at Educational Integration: The Failure of Common Educational Cores in Yugoslavia in the Early 1980s,” 212.

¹¹⁸ Rosa, “Commentary: What History to Teach? Whose History?,” 63; James V. Wertsch, “Collective Memory and Narrative Templates,” *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (2008): 144–45.

¹¹⁹ Apple and Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*, 14.

¹²⁰ Ana Radaković, “Raspad Jugoslavije i Ratovi Devedesetih u Udžbenicima Za Nastavu Istorije u Republici Srbiji,” in *Ratovi 1990-Ih u Regionalnim Historiografijama: Kontroverze, Interpretacije, Nasljeđe*, ed. Dubravka Stojanović and Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju, 2021), 286; Marko Šuica, Ana Radaković, and Slobodan Rudić, “Where and How Do Pupils in Serbia Learn About the 1990s Yugoslav Wars?,” in *Nationhood and Politicization of History in School Textbooks: Identity, the Curriculum and Educational Media*, ed. Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 127–54, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38121-9_8.

¹²¹ Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, eds., *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (Brill, 2007), 7, <https://brill.com/view/title/29975>.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 18.

History and language are key to any national identity.¹²³ He however used corpus linguistics and digital textual analysis, which are beyond the scope of this project. Due to the relative inaccessibility of the sources, the textbooks being scattered between institutions, and their policies on copying/scanning/digitization, I will not be applying quantitative methods. Imagology chiefly informs the broader approach of the thesis. It traces the development of a certain ethnotype (ethnic-stereotype), understanding in what context was it utilized, and crucially how it functioned within the text.¹²⁴

To locate the contentious topics in the textbooks, I use Lory's work outlining the major "grievances" of the Balkan peoples vis-à-vis the Ottoman – the Conquest, Islamification and the Janissary Corps, the Position of the Church and Resistance, to which I also add Development (socio-economic and cultural).¹²⁵ I also borrow from Wertsch's work on narratives in Soviet and post-Soviet History textbooks and public space.¹²⁶ Narratives, taken as a cultural tool, enable the "grasping together" of temporally distributed events into interpretable wholes.¹²⁷ These textual resources can be about specific events, i.e., "Specific Narratives," e.g., the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. However, there also exist broader "Schematic Narrative Templates," which, he argues "produce replicas that vary in their details but reflect a general story line."¹²⁸ In this thesis, the focus is on these generalized schemata of the Ottoman Empire, while paying attention to the specific narratives too.

This thesis embraces a social constructivist approach and a hermeneutical understanding of the textbooks against their political contexts.¹²⁹ "Thick description" is utilized, meaning I rely on extensive quotations to attempt to limit biases. Practically, when dealing with the sources, we pay attention to the type of discourse, method of presentation, qualities ascribed to the Ottomans. Herein, the historian's toolkit of close reading is of crucial importance. Conversely

¹²³ Pádraic Frehan, *Education and Celtic Myth: National Self-Image and Schoolbooks in 20th Century Ireland* (Brill, 2012), 25, <https://brill.com/view/title/29983>.

¹²⁴ Beller and Leerssen, *Imagology*, 28.

¹²⁵ Lory, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," 360.

¹²⁶ Wertsch, "Collective Memory and Narrative Templates," 133; James V. Wertsch, "Blank Spots in Collective Memory: A Case Study of Russia," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (2008): 59.

¹²⁷ James V. Wertsch, "Narratives as Cultural Tools in Sociocultural Analysis: Official History in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia," *Ethos* 28, no. 4 (2000): 515.

¹²⁸ James V. Wertsch, "The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory," *Ethos* 36, no. 1 (2008): 122–23; James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 57, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613715>.

¹²⁹ Anamaria Dutceac Segesten, *Myth, Identity, and Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of Romanian and Serbian Textbooks* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2011), 15/329.

“internal comparison” is used to track change over time.¹³⁰ Internal comparison compares the sub-components of a whole with one another and/or the whole with itself at different periods. To judge whether the books are a result of policies or individual prejudices and further add to the trustworthiness of the research I will also employ “triangulation.”¹³¹ This involves the use of a multiplicity of sources – scholarly texts, newspapers, ministerial documentation, curricula etc.¹³² While it is indeed difficult to separate “collective memory” from “history” in the textbooks, methodologically *reflexivity*, on part of the researcher is also important, as I believe that textbooks ought to be inclusive and historically accurate.¹³³ Through this comprehensive approach, it will be possible to ascertain a more complete picture of the representations of the Ottoman period in context.

Sources and structure

I use four main primary sources. Firstly, the History textbooks. They include all public-school History textbooks printed and published in Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1945-1990. Both primary and secondary levels are taken (gymnasium, vocational and adult education). I also included readers and advanced textbooks for as complete an image as possible. The handy historical context meant that in 1945, effectively all the old textbooks were banned, and new ones instituted. An issue remains that in Bosnia, for much of the period, textbooks were used from neighboring republics. However, the limitation on Bosnia was practical and theoretical. Firstly, it would have been very difficult to track down the comprehensive lists of textbooks used and approved, while acquiring them would have also been much more difficult. The textbooks in Serbia and Croatia, which had significantly lower Muslim populations, ought to have been less influenced by the Muslim recognition as the principal home-republic of the Muslims.

The second major source are the school programs and curricula. These include the topics that were to be covered in class and were the basis for the writing of the textbooks. The third source I used were various popular, professional and ministerial publications. These include the educational and cultural periodical *Odjek* (The Echo), which I surveyed entirely, and issues of

¹³⁰ Matthew Lange, *Comparative-Historical Methods*, 1st edition (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2012), 58–59.

¹³¹ Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 9–10.

¹³² Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, “Judging Quality: Evaluative Criteria and Epistemic Communities,” in *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*, ed. Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, 1st edition (Armonk, NY: Routledge, 2006), 101–2.

¹³³ Wertsch, “Blank Spots in Collective Memory,” 59–60; Segesten, *Myth, Identity, and Conflict*, 4% ebook; Schwartz-Shea, “Judging Quality: Evaluative Criteria and Epistemic Communities,” 103.

various official papers such as *Prosvjetni List* (Educational Papers), *Škola danas* (School Today), *Školski glasnik* (School Herald), *Iskustva* (Experiences) and the diaspora *Bosanski pogledi* (Bosnian perspectives), which dealt with Muslim national politics. Finally, I also refer to archival documentation from the Ministries of Education, mostly regarding certain plans and programs, textbook reviews, and school performance reports. I was also able to access selected documents of the Bosnian Communist Party Ideological Commission, relating to interethnic relations, which illustrate the politicization of textbooks. The principal archives in this inquiry were: The Bosnian National Archive for the government documentation of Ministries of Education and Ideological Commission, The Archive of the Bosniak Institute, for textbooks, programs and selected newspapers, and the National University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for textbooks and the newspapers.

The thesis proceeds as follows. It disaggregates the socialist era in Yugoslavia according to the timeline of the Muslim recognition, which conveniently, is into three sub-periods. The first chapter studies the period between 1945 and 1960, the time before the recognition-process of the Muslim nation. This period was marked by a suppression of Muslim religious and national institutions. It sketches the context of Yugoslavia at the time, especially the development of the national question and the educational institutions, to explain how the early textbook and the image of the Ottomans emerged. Every chapter will begin with this overview of the context. It will then analyze the school programs as well as the textbooks. In the first period, the focus is on commonplace myths, as they were most plentiful then. The second chapter will cover the period between 1961 and 1974, when the discussion on national questions re-opened. The Muslims were recognized in 1968, the state federalized and affirmed the Muslims with the 1974 Constitution. It pays closer attention to the debate about the Muslims identity in relation to the textbooks to see which parts of the debate seeped into the textbooks. During this period, I also reflect on some issues and developments in Yugoslav schooling which emerged since the establishment of the education system. Finally, the third chapter covers the period between 1975 and 1990, which should reveal what a recognized Muslim nation meant for the textbooks and especially with the rise of nationalism in the 1980s and the end of the federal state. Here I will focus on Muslim nation-building after the recognition and historiographical developments in Ottoman-studies made in relation to the textbooks. This is to both get a better sense of the period in isolation, but also the evolution of the depiction of the Ottomans. The thesis concludes with a reflection on the findings and the possibilities for future research.

Chapter 1 – The Winding Road to Recognition (1945-1960)

From War to Socialism

Having gone through the Second World War caught between the Serb ultra-nationalist Chetniks the Croatian fascist Ustasha, and the Axis, much of the Muslim population ended up supporting the Communist-led Partisans.¹³⁴ Their losses in the conflict were significant, between 75,000 and 103,000, mostly civilian casualties.¹³⁵ The Muslim participation in the Partisans helped in the eventual recognition of a separate Bosnian Socialist Republic, a long-term Muslim national aspiration, within a federal Yugoslavia. The federation was quickly gripped by a set of burning national questions. This this chapter deals with the first fifteen years of the federation, before the discussion about the status of the Muslim nation was opened. To answer the main question more completely about the depiction of the Ottoman period before the Muslim recognition, it also reflects on the sub-question regarding the conception of the national question in Yugoslavia, the initial Muslim position in the state, and the start to the new education system.

To rule nations

In Yugoslavia, nationality was subjectivist, “nationality was the free determination by the individual.”¹³⁶ Initially, it was deemed to have been sorted with the communist takeover and federalization.¹³⁷ The basis for any communist states’ national policy was the Leninist theory of nationalities which allowed self-determination (secession included theoretically), autonomy and expression of identity.¹³⁸ However, there was no indication of how a nation develops and how it would be recognized.¹³⁹ In practice, Leninist policy meant combating nationalism when necessary, but also utilizing it in the interests of the international movement whenever feasible.¹⁴⁰ The Yugoslav party was also profoundly influenced by Austro-Marxism, criticized

¹³⁴ Xavier Bougarel, “Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea,” in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea 1918-1992*, London, ed. Dejan Đokić, 1st ed. (London: Hurst, 2003), 104.

¹³⁵ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 192; Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 1997), 537.

Proportionate to population, these casualties were higher than any of the Yugoslav nations aside from the Jews and Roma (8,1% of the Muslim population, the Serbs suffering 7,3%).

¹³⁶ Hondius, *The Yugoslav Community of Nations*, 182–83.

¹³⁷ Iva Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Process Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)* (Sarajevo: University Press, 2022), 1–2.

¹³⁸ Francine Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims: Denial Of A Nation* (Taylor & Francis, 2018), 146–47.

The Yugoslav Communists’ position on the national question and its evolution is further discussed in Friedman or even in Ramet’s *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia 1962-1991*.

¹³⁹ Milovan Đilas and Nadežda Gaće, *Bošnjak - Adil Zulfikarpašić*, 4th ed. (Zurich: Bošnjački institut, 1996), 93.

¹⁴⁰ Michał Kasprzak, “Nationalism and Internationalism: Theory and Practice of Marxist Nationality Policy from Marx and Engels to Lenin and the Communist Workers’ Party of Poland” (Toronto, University of Toronto, 2012), 11–12, https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/32787/5/Kasprzak_Michal_201203_PhD_thesis.pdf.

by Lenin for nationalist deviations.¹⁴¹ Austro-Marxist believed class consciousness should be achieved with national autonomy, rather than simply internationalism of the vanguard.¹⁴² Edvard Kardelj, the leading Yugoslav communist ideologue, in his book, *Development of the Slovene National Question*, he argued: “There is no doubt that one of the starting points for the development of socialist advancement in Yugoslavia is the recognition of the individuality and the equality of the Yugoslav peoples.”¹⁴³ Initially, a solution was a more equitable distribution of resources; political, social and economic security would engender a new fraternity of Yugoslavs, where nationalism would “die off.”¹⁴⁴

However, the Partisan movement, mostly populated by Serbs, was deeply influenced by anti-Islamic rhetoric. Party prominent like Veselin Masleša, a Bosnian Serb believed in 1942 “Muslimdom” was a ploy for the Muslim elite to hold onto power they held in the Ottoman era.¹⁴⁵ Masleša was not convinced the Muslims were a nation, as they formed as part of the Ottoman feudal system, not in the opposition to it, like the Serbs.¹⁴⁶ However, in the same year, Tito openly mentioned the Muslims as part of the National Liberation Struggle.¹⁴⁷ Still, others like Moša Pijade, President of the Parliament, believed “Muslim” was only religious identity.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, there was already some debate about the Muslims. Ramet put the development of Muslim national consciousness following the Austrian occupation of Bosnia in 1878, which endowed the Muslims with political consciousness, parties etc.¹⁴⁹ Ultimately, The Muslims were not one of five Yugoslav core “nations” – Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins.¹⁵⁰ In the censuses, they could identify as “undetermined-Muslim” in 1948, or in

¹⁴¹ Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia*, 106.

¹⁴² Mark E. Blum and William T. Smaldone, eds., *Austro-Marxism: The Ideology of Unity: Austro-Marxist Theory and Strategy. Volume 1* (Brill, 2015), 39–40, <https://brill.com/view/title/20839>.

¹⁴³ Edvard Kardelj, *Razvoj Slovenačkog Nacionalnog Pitanja*, trans. Zvonko Tkalec (Belgrade: Kultura, 1958), 52. “Nema sumnje da je jedna od polaznih tačaka razvitka socialističkog napredka u Jugoslaviji priznanje individualnosti i ravnopravnosti jugoslovenskih naroda.”

¹⁴⁴ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 146; Dženita Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić: Politička Biografija 1965-1989* (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu - Institut za historiju, 2020), 345.

¹⁴⁵ Veselin Masleša, “Muslimansko Pitanje,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmanja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 123.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Josip Broz - Tito, “NOB i Nacionalno Pitanje u Jugoslaviji,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmanja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 130-131.

¹⁴⁸ Moša Pijade, “O Popisu Stanovništva,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmanja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 147–48.

¹⁴⁹ Pedro Ramet, “Primordial Ethnicity or Modern Nationalism: The Case of Yugoslavia’s Muslims,” *Nationalities Papers* 13, no. 2 (ed 1985): 178, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905998508408020>.

¹⁵⁰ Brenna Miller, “Faith and Nation: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the Official Recognition of a Muslim Nation in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” in *Beyond Mosque, Church, and State: Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans*, ed. Theodora Dragostinova and Yana Hashamova (Central European University Press, 2016), 131–32, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7829/j.ctt1dxg8kx>.

1953 as “undetermined-Yugoslav.” They made up 30,7% (ca.790,000) and 31,3% (ca. 890,000) of the Bosnian population respectively.¹⁵¹

Muslims and the Red Star

After decisively winning (rigging) the November 11th election in 1945, the Communist Secret Police and War Crimes Trial Commissions were all utilized to suppress any Muslim insubordination.¹⁵² *Sharia*, Islamic holy law was outlawed (1946), *waqfs* (endowments) were nationalized, religious schools (*madrasas* and *maktabs*, 1950) closed and *burka* was banned.¹⁵³ The new Muslim religious head, the *reis-ul-ulema* was elected in 1947 as a state clerk and the Islamic Community received a new constitution.¹⁵⁴ The Muslim cultural societies *Gajret* and *Narodna uzdanica* merged into *Preporod* (Renaissance) in 1945, which was shut down in 1949.¹⁵⁵ Viewing the Ottoman legacy as backward, the Sarajevo *Baščaršija* was also slated for demolition, prevented by architects Juraj Neidhardt and Dušan Grabrijan.¹⁵⁶ The papers of the Supreme Islamic Elders highlighted how Socialist education should not be avoided. Well-aware of how unpopular the last regime’s education system was, they exalt the modern system as “democratic,” adopting the regime’s register.¹⁵⁷ In effect, Bosnia initially acted as a Western province of Serbia, her party dominated by pro-Belgrade cadres.¹⁵⁸ However, the end of traditional Muslim institutions would pave the road for the eventual national recognition of the Muslims.¹⁵⁹ The (Bosnian) Muslims, previously a strongly legal and religious minority, now were now articulated as a “cultural minority,” which would lead to nationalization.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ Xavier Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Surviving Empires* (London ; Oxford ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 76.

¹⁵² Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 247–48.

¹⁵³ Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 373–74; Xavier Bougarel, “Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea,” *HAL*, n.d., 104; Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 195.

Sharia Law is the Islamic Holy Law based on the Quran and Hadith that regulates the Community in spiritual and worldly matters. Sharia itself is considered divine and immutable, while the Islamic law is a human interpretation.

Waqf is a religious endowment made by affluent Muslims for the benefit of the Community. They include public baths, libraries, etc.

Maktabs are Islamic “primary” schools, while madrasa are higher Islamic schools.

¹⁵⁴ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 150; Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 77.

¹⁵⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 195; Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 235–36.

¹⁵⁶ Hajdarpašić, “Out of the Ruins of the Ottoman Empire,” 728.

¹⁵⁷ Salih Ljubunčić, “Odgoj Djece u Socijalističkoj Izgradnji,” *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva u FNRJ*, December 1951, 10–12 edition, 343–49, BI-FAZ.

¹⁵⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 198.

¹⁵⁹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 83.

¹⁶⁰ Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 243.

How to teach Yugoslavs?

Education under Socialism too brought great changes. In the war, “every unit of the National Liberation Army carried a school with it.”¹⁶¹ Education was important to the new regime – both to modernize the country (46% illiterate in 1945), but also ensure their grip on power.¹⁶² Up to the 1950s, most textbooks in Yugoslavia were profoundly influenced by Tito’s cult of personality. The 1945 textbook *Zrno Znanja* (Grain of Knowledge), used in Bosnia, contains an image of Tito on the front page and a poem proclaiming allegiance to him.¹⁶³ One analphabetic textbook’s entry reads: “Stephen, your village is no more, the Italians burned it. Many people perished, today there is no village.” Other entries from the same book include “fascists” for “F,” already creating a sense of an “other.”¹⁶⁴ Private education was banned, religious curtailed and state-primary schooling (age seven to fourteen) made compulsory, on top of a new system of kindergartens.¹⁶⁵ In the first decade after the war, reforms were gradually implemented with the reparation of the country’s infrastructure, and as the party’s grip on power tightened.¹⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, History was especially important. Marx and Engels called History the “only science” without whom it was impossible to study the laws of nature and society.¹⁶⁷ The lofty goals were complicated by the wartime devastation. Significant teaching cadres in Yugoslavia were killed – out of 7491 teachers, 5542 remained.¹⁶⁸ Reports immediately after the war also mention that the Axis also robbed schools – libraries were looted, musical instruments and furniture scuttled, and collections of insects seized.¹⁶⁹ What the use of this plunder was, remains a mystery. For Bosnia, 1947 marked the first year for the 5-year plan and a mass literacy drive for the ca. 815,000 illiterate people above 15.¹⁷⁰ From 1948 to 1981 illiteracy dropped

¹⁶¹ Alec Brown, “Education in Yugoslavia Past and Present,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 25, no. 64 (1946): 55.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 61–62; Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 21–22; Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960)*, 9.

¹⁶³ *Zrno Znanja (Grain of Knowledge)* (Zagreb: Ministarstvo Prosvjete Federalne Države Hrvatske, 1945).

“Druže Tito, ljubičice bijela, Tebe voli omladina cijela.”

¹⁶⁴ “Primjerak Bukvara Iz 1945. Godine,” 1945, 7, ABiH MP NRBiH 1944-1945 283/45.

“Stjepane nema tvoga sela, popalili ga talijani. Mnogo je naroda stradalo danas nema sela a nema ni seje.”

¹⁶⁵ Brown, “Education in Yugoslavia Past and Present,” 57; Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960)*, 70; Radmila Radić, *Država i verske zajednice, 1945-1970 I* (Beograd: INIS, 2002), 196.

¹⁶⁶ Ljubomir Krneta, “Education in Postwar Yugoslavia,” *Pedagogisk Forskning* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 1966): 179, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031383660100112>; Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988 Treća Knjiga Socijalistička Jugoslavija 1945-1988* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 318, https://www.academia.edu/9834216/Istorija_jugoslavije_1918_1988_tre%C4%87a_knjiga_Socijalisti%C4%8Dka_a_Jugoslavija_1945_1988.

¹⁶⁷ A.M. Pankratova, “Idejno-Političko Vaspitanje u Nastavi Istorije u Školi,” in *Nastava Istorije u Srednjoj Školi - Izbor Članaka* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1948), 10; Čezare Luporini, “Marksizam i Humanističke Nauke,” *Odjek*, April 15, 1966, BI-FAZ.

¹⁶⁸ Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960)*, 70.

¹⁶⁹ “Kulturna Dobra Koja Su Okupatori Odnijeli Iz Škola NRBiH,” 1948, ABiH MP K-231 1009/48.

¹⁷⁰ Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1981), 89.

from 44,9% to 14,5%.¹⁷¹ The new infrastructure included the University of Sarajevo, the Oriental Institute, Historical Institute and the State Archive.¹⁷² These institutions would play an important role in discussing the Ottoman Period for years to come.

Despite the (nominal) federal make-up of the country in 1946, no federal education ministry was formed. Debates about History textbooks also went in the direction of the republics. Slovene, Croatian and some Serbian delegates argued that each republic should have its own textbooks to match its history, while the rest argued they could not make their own. The Soviet model of multiple textbooks proved more appealing.¹⁷³ However, due to a lack of communists generally, education was, Lilly argues, not transformed ideologically overnight.¹⁷⁴ Thus, only in November 1948 was Marxism-Leninism officially introduced as a subject and ideological matrix.¹⁷⁵ The focus of History shifted then to class struggle and revolution. Societies were slowly re-cast in the dichotomies of oppressors and oppressed, labor and capital.¹⁷⁶ Objectivity meant explicitly “siding” with the progressive forces in history, usually the oppressed.¹⁷⁷ A glance at the curricula and textbooks affirms this.

Post-War Curricula (1945 – 1960)

The curricula were different from republic to republic, and even school to school. The endemic shortage of textbooks was complicated by the proliferation of the programs, which made earlier textbooks formally obsolete. One 1958 report mentioned how that in 400 schools in Bosnia sixth graders used as many as six different books in a classroom¹⁷⁸ However, the programs exhibit many similar traits in this period. Already during the war, programs set the agenda, to historicize the Yugoslav struggle for freedom. A 1945 program underlines how: “Historical classes, showing the life of our people and the battle for freedom and national independence...envisions plans for a better future.”¹⁷⁹ A second prominent thread is the

¹⁷¹ Bougarel, Peter, and Ghanea Bassiri, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 79.

¹⁷² Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia*, 99; Rade Petrović, “Koraci Ka Sintezi,” *Odjek*, 15.03 1982, BI-FAZ.

¹⁷³ Carol S. Lilly, *Power and Persuasion: Ideology And Rhetoric In Communist Yugoslavia, 1944-1953* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 62, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429498107>.

¹⁷⁴ Carol S. Lilly, “Problems of Persuasion: Communist Agitation and Propaganda in Post-War Yugoslavia, 1944-1948,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (ed 1994): 409–12, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2501299>.

¹⁷⁵ Lilly, *Power and Persuasion: Ideology And Rhetoric In Communist Yugoslavia, 1944-1953*, 180.

¹⁷⁶ Malešević, *Identity as Ideology*, 161.

¹⁷⁷ Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960)*, 118–19.

¹⁷⁸ Mitar Papić, “Predmet: Udžbenici,” 1958, ABiH SzŠ K-31 1376/58; “Raspisi Zavjeta Za Školstvo NR BiH,” *Školski List*, October 5, 1958, NUBBiH.

¹⁷⁹ “Plan i Program i Metodska Upustva Za Narodne Osnovne Škole i Nastavni Plan,” 1945, 9, ABiH MP K-199 318/45.

“Istorijska nastava prikazujući život našeg naroda i borbu za slobodu i nacionalnu nezavisnost, ...predviđa planove za bolju budućnost.”

distinction between the ingroup, (Yugoslavs or “brotherly” peoples) and their enemies. One 1945 Bosnian program underlines how history ought to “develop love towards your people and all brotherly peoples, to strengthen brotherhood achieved in the liberation struggle...”¹⁸⁰ Later, it is explicitly mentioned that the programs should “develop an irreconcilable hatred towards the enemies of our homeland and towards all those who work on the destruction of the attainments of the People’s Liberation Struggle.”¹⁸¹ After the Tito-Stalin Split in 1948, the plans became even more animated. One published immediately after in 1948 reads: “by familiarizing with the struggles of our people in the course of history against conquerors and oppressors, raise students in the spirit of active struggle for freedom and independence of their homeland.”¹⁸² This “othering” was, as Jović pointed out a prominent feature of the Yugoslav identification. Soviet-style socialism with an overbearing tyrant and centralized state was especially loathed.¹⁸³ What Jović neglected however, was the Ottomans too featured as one of the programmed others.

Concerning the Ottomans, the post-war programs are especially charged. A 1945 program uses heavily-loaded language to describe the period as “Slavery under the Turks.”¹⁸⁴ Another 1945 plan only presents “the resistance of the Serb people against Turkish lordship,” using words such as “freedom, uprising, brotherhood, heroic,” etc. to describe the resistance.¹⁸⁵ In 1947, they go step further to highlight the “violence of the Turks against our peoples” to be covered in two classes.¹⁸⁶ In a sixth grade plan, the Ottoman period is only mentioned through

¹⁸⁰ “Plan i Program i Metodska Upustva Za Narodne Osnovne Škole i Nastavni Plan,”

“ona treba da razvije ljubav prema svome narodu i svim bratskim narodima, da učvrsti jedinstvo i bratstvo, postignuti u NO borbi, da odgaja u duhu čuvanja tekovina NO borbe.”

¹⁸¹ Ministarstvo prosvjete NRBiH, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovne Škole NRBiH* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1947), 18.

“razvije nepomirljivu mržnju prema neprijateljima naše domovine kao i prema svima koji rade na uništavanju tekovina NOB-e.”

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 22.

“da upoznanjem borbe naših naroda u toku istorije protiv osvajača i ugnjetavača, vaspita učenike u duhu aktivne borbe za slobodu i nezavisnost svoje otadžbine.”

¹⁸³ Dejan Jović, “Chapter 11. Communist Yugoslavia and Its ‘Others,’” in *Ideologies and National Identities : The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, by John Lampe and Mark Mazower, CEUP Collection (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 281, <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2438>.

Worth noting is that Jović’s work on the breakup of Yugoslavia is quite scandalous and has been well-critiqued by Hoare. See: <<http://instituteforgenocide.org/jovic-supports-the-greater-serbian-pamphlets/>> or Hoare’s blog: <<https://greatersurbiton.wordpress.com/2014/03/28/dejan-jovic-david-n-gibbs-and-the-great-serbian-narrative/>>

¹⁸⁴ “Plan i Program i Metodska Upustva Za Narodne Osnovne Škole i Nastavni Plan,” 10.

¹⁸⁵ “Arhiva Osnovne Škole u Starom Majdanu Srez Sanski Most,” 1945, ABiH MP 282/45.

“sloboda, ustanak, bratstvo, junačke”

“otpor srpskog naroda protiv turskog gospodarstva.”

¹⁸⁶ Ministarstvo prosvjete NRBiH, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovne Škole NRBiH*, 24.

“nasilja Turaka nad našim narodima”

“Resistance of our people against the Turks,” listing “the uprisings in Macedonia.”¹⁸⁷ A plan for the gymnasia employs similar language for the Ottomans, only presenting two episodes: “the abuse of the *spahi* (landowning cavalry)” and “people’s resistance against enemy injustices.”¹⁸⁸ The language in the programs translated into teaching instructions. In some, it is mentioned the centrality of “the emotive moment in the History classes to develop love towards the people and is freedom, as well as a hatred towards the enemies of freedom.”¹⁸⁹ The simple bifurcation combined with the consistent word-choices and negative associations, paints a picture of a foreign time and imposition, one to which students should be hostile to. Resistance to the Ottomans as a perennial other therefore takes a prominent place in the early plans.

This is less surprising considering the state of the academia at the time. Snježana Koren argued the early curricula were composed in laymen’s terms. Many topics were added for political value, relying on folklore, and its negative memory of the Empire, due to a lack of historiography. For instance, the 17th century Karpoš Uprising in Macedonia and the Bosnian Bogomil heresy were staples in curricula but were hardly studied.¹⁹⁰ Another plan for the fifth grade in this period lists “Our peoples under Turkish rule” as the 39th topic (!) for fifth grades, and is the shortest, listing only “*reaya* [tax-paying Ottoman subjects], Janissaries. First forms of popular resistance – *hajduks* and *uskoks*.”¹⁹¹ One hand-copied plan underlines teaching of the Ottoman period should be “all according to folk songs.”¹⁹² It again highlights the importance of grappling with non-academic, popular perceptions of the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁸⁷ “Nastavni Plan i Program Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole u BiH,” n.d., ABiH MP K-225 952/?

“Otpor naših naroda protiv Turaka”

“ustanci u Makedoniji”

¹⁸⁸ “Program Iz Istorije Za II. III. Iv. i V. Razred Gimnazije,” 1945, ABiH MP K-12 285/45.

“zloupotrebe spahija,”

“narodni otpor protiv neprijateljskog zulumčarenja.”

Interestingly, the word *zulum* from which the noun *zulumčarenje* is derived from came to BCSM from Arabic and Turkish words for injustice.

¹⁸⁹ “Metodska Uputstva Za Osnovnu Nastavu SM,” 1945, ABiH MP K-197 286/45; “Metodska Uputstva Za Osnovnu Nastavu TZ,” 1945, ABiH MP K-197 287/45.

“Vrlo je važan I osjećajni moment u nastavi istorije razviti ljubav prema narodu i njegovoj slobodi I mržnju prema neprijatelju slobode.”

¹⁹⁰ Snježana Koren, “Politika povijesti i udžbenici: kako se pisala nacionalna povijest 1945.-1955,” in *Desničini susreti 2009. Zbornik radova*, ed. Drago Roksandić, Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, and Ivana Cvijović Javorina (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturalne studije i FF press, 2011), 141, <https://www.bib.irb.hr/559098>.

¹⁹¹ “Nastavni Plan i Program Za V Razred Osnovne Škole u BiH,” n.d., 5, ABiH MP K-225 952/?

“Naši narodi pod turskom vlašću”

“Raja, janjičari. Prvi oblici otpora naroda – hajduci i uskoci.”

¹⁹² “Plan Lekcija Za II Stupanj,” n.d., ABiH MP K-197 292/45.

“sve po narodnim pjesmama.”

Firstly, referring to the Ottoman Empire as “Turkish” is improper. The Ottoman (dynastically) were originally Turkic, as descendants of the eponymous Osman, an Anatolian warlord, but the dynasty intermarried with various Christian dynasties (and concubines) making the term not reflective of Ottoman ethnicity nor of the society they ruled.¹⁹³ The Ottomans did not refer to themselves as Turks, considering the term reserved for their Anatolian subjects.¹⁹⁴ In the Ottoman Empire, Muslims were called Turks, Orthodox – Greeks and Catholics – Latins, based on their religion, according to which rights were afforded.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, the Ottoman Christian population nationalized itself according to religion, but the Muslim population was not in their mind, evidenced by the common use of “Turk” to pejoratively refer to Muslims.¹⁹⁶ This was not accidental.¹⁹⁷ Even in the 1990s, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović declared the Bosniaks/Muslims were not Turks due to the negative connotations.¹⁹⁸ This common practice hardly changed in Yugoslavia, even in academic contexts.

The programs’ instructions for the Ottoman period would soften somewhat in the 1950s. By 1952, the Ottoman period changes to “Our people under the Turks” which uses more neutral language, but still displays the Yugoslavs as downtrodden and subordinated to the “Turk.” Still, the programs focus almost exclusively on the resistance against the Turkish state amid its decline. The only non-resistance topic mentioned is the feudal system, which is used only to pivot to the “obligation of the populations,” and the resulting “first forms of resistance against Turkish rule.”¹⁹⁹ Of all the foreign imperial powers, the Turk is presented as the worst, as these

¹⁹³ A *ghazi* is an individual who participated in military expeditions and/or raiding, usually, but not exclusively, against enemies of the faith, Christian, Muslim or otherwise. It is most commonly seen historically for Turkic military leaders. See Kafadar's book for an incredibly subtle and complex discussion on the origin of the term, as well as the obscure origins of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman state was officially called *The Sublime Ottoman State (Devlet-i 'Aliye-i 'Osmaniye)*

Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁹⁴ Gabor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 1st edition (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2008), xxxvi.

¹⁹⁵ Xavier Bougarel, “Od ‘Muslimana’ Do ‘Bošnjaka’: Pitanje Nacionalnog Imena Bosanskih Muslimana,” in *Rasprave o Nacionalnom Identitetu Bošnjaka - Zbornik Radova*, ed. Husnija Kamberović, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2009), 119.

¹⁹⁶ Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 68.

¹⁹⁷ Bandžović, “History in a ‘Broken Mirror’: Demographic De-Ottomanization of the Balkans and Identity Changes of the Refugees,” 28.

¹⁹⁸ Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi, eds., *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography* (Brill, 2002), 304, <https://brill.com/view/title/7237>; Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Od Tradicije Do Identiteta* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974), 18.

¹⁹⁹ “Nastavni Plan i Program, Za Više Razrede Osmogodišnjih Škola, Odnosno Za Niže Razrede Gimnazija,” 1952, ABiH SPNK K-19 625/52.

“Naši ljudi pod Turcima,” “obaveze raje,” “prvi oblici otpora protiv turske vlasti.”

curricula include topics such as “the aid of our peoples in the wars against the Turk.”²⁰⁰ Therefore it frames Yugoslavia in the “Judeo-Christian” sphere of civilization, against the Islamic Ottoman Empire. Again, the entire Ottoman period is reduced to a single methodological unit – “The life of our peoples under the Turks (Turkish abuses – *hajduks* and *uskoks*.)”²⁰¹ The plan advises teachers to use folk songs and tales in class, but it does not mention a critical attitude towards them.²⁰²

In 1960, some changes occur, as evidenced by the primary school curriculum. It is much more explicit in the Marxist grounding, i.e., “Marxist science and ideology.”²⁰³ The description for the first time included the “Organization of the Turkish Empire,” as well as the “Difficult position of the population,” and “Islamification of one part of the population” as units.²⁰⁴ There is also a slight shift which emphasizes the importance of cultural heritage in teaching, specifying how socio-economic development “reflected in the arts, literature and other cultural activity.”²⁰⁵ However, when discussing this theme, the program states: “Also, it is necessary to note the fact that in some periods of our history the class oppressor identified with the national oppressor.”²⁰⁶ This can mean that the national aspect is underplayed and the class one emphasized, or vice versa depending on who the subject is – the population or the oppressor. How it should be interpreted is unclear and emblematic of issues found in many curricula. This program is also the first time it is explicitly mentioned that the Ottoman period regressed the Yugoslav lands and hampered their historical development. It explains how: “it is necessary to stress that in this period [the Renaissance] the historical development of our people shows certain lagging behind, because our people are enslaved.”²⁰⁷ The immediate post-war textbooks

²⁰⁰ Savjet za školstvo, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Više Razrede Gimnazije* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1957), 78. “pomoć naših naroda u ratovima protiv Turaka.”

²⁰¹ Zavod za unaprijeđenje školstva, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovne Škole* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1954), 37. “Život naših naroda pod Turcima. (Turska nasilja – hajduci i uskoci).”

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 39.

²⁰³ Savjet za prosvjetu NRBiH, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovne Škole* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960), 5.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

“Organizacija Turskog carstva” “Težak položaj raje”

“Islamizacija jednog dijela stanovništva”

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

“sve se to odrazilo u umjetnosti, književnosti i drugim kulturalnim djelatnostima.”

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

“Takođe je potrebno ukazati na činjenicu da se u nekim razboljima naše istorije klasni ugnjetavač identifikovao sa nacionalnim ugnjetačem.”

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*; “Program Historije Za VI, VII i VIII Razred Osnovne Škole,” *Historijski Pregled*, 1959, 129.

“Potrebno je zatim istaći da se u ovom razdoblju u istorijskom razvoju naših naroda [Renesansa] javlja izvjesno zaostajanje, jer su naši narodi u to vrijeme porobljeni,”

would be written according to these plans and mirror their stipulations. However, they were much more colorful and extensive.

Early textbooks (1945-1960)

The Early Textbooks' Ottoman Conquest

The pre-Muslim recognition context and the guidelines set by the curricula show in the textbooks of the period. The first major topic in almost all textbooks is the Ottoman Conquest, usually taken between 1389 and 1463. Textbooks here usually present an apocalyptic event, which overnight fundamentally changed the historical trajectory of the Yugoslav peoples and began a period of enslavement, which is not entirely true. One of the first Yugoslav gymnasium textbooks, Anto Babić's *History of the peoples of Yugoslavia* mentioned how the 1389 Battle of Kosovo "deeply engrained itself in the popular consciousness, so that the popular tradition in it saw the end of the Serb state and the beginning of centuries of slavery."²⁰⁸ The battle was fought between the Balkan coalition headed Prince Lazar of Moravian Serbia, and the Ottoman Empire, led by Sultan Murat I, both of whom die in the battle. The Ottomans withdrew after, and Serbian statehood survived until 1459 pointing already to a historical stylization.²⁰⁹ Babić was the first Minister of Education in Bosnia and medievalist by training.²¹⁰ The textbook also has Marxist analytical undertones merging the structural weaknesses of the feudal order with the internal squabbles of the nobility.²¹¹ The disunited nobility and parochial interests, Babić illustrates, led to "contradictions and [the state] moved towards an inevitable dissolution."²¹² His book is aimed much more internally and as a cautionary tale, although his 1953 expanded edition, details how the "Turks" systematically weakened and destroyed the Bosnian feudal class, sowing seeds of discord between them.²¹³ Still, this is in no small part due to the focus on the medieval period, rather than Ottoman rule.

²⁰⁸ Anto Babić, *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: I Dio (History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia: Part One)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1947), 124.

"se duboko usjekao u narodnu svjest da je narodna tradicija u njemu gledala kraj Srpske države i početak vjekovnog robovanja."

²⁰⁹ Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History*, 1st Printing edition (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999), 58–59.

Even then, the Hungarians set up principalities ruled by the escaped nobility along the Ottoman frontier.

²¹⁰ Papić, *Školstvo u BiH*, 129.

²¹¹ Babić, *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: I Dio (History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia: Part One)*, 1947, 143.

"Vladajuća feudalna klasa dovela je državu do takvog stanja, u koje je njeno daljnje postojanje izgubilo svaki smisao i opravdanje."

²¹² *Ibid.*, 140.

"propadala u svojim proturječnostima i išla u susret neizbježnom rasulu."

²¹³ Anto Babić, *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: I Dio (History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia: Part One)* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1953), 612.

Another early high school textbook is the 1954 *History of the Peoples of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, by Fuad Slipčević, teacher at the Pedagogical School in Sarajevo. Decades after, in 1975, he reflected how his goal was to, “with the choice of factual material, approach the assessment of changes, events and personalities in our national history from the Marxist perspective.”²¹⁴ He was among the first to assess certain historical figures (Husein Gradaščević and Matija Gubec), on whom consensus and research were lacking. When referring to “the Turks,” they are shown mostly as conniving and “plundering and raiding.”²¹⁵ Slipčević presents how the Ottomans cheated the last King of Bosnia to surrender under the pretext that his life would be spared but killing him instead.²¹⁶ Babić too argued how the formation of the Ottoman *sandžak* (administrative province) of Bosnia was a ploy to win over the population, which was, unsurprisingly, allegedly opposed to the Ottomans.²¹⁷ This depiction taps into a historical understanding of Muslims and Islam, be it the Prophet Muhammed’s teaching, or the Ottoman Empire as deceiving, tricky and dishonest, commonly seen in European political thought.²¹⁸ Primary school textbooks go a step beyond however.

One of the first Bosnian primary school history textbooks, for the fourth grade by Hasan Đikić, paints a more vibrant picture. For him, the Ottoman conquest presented a period of “[Turkish] slavery for more than 300 years.”²¹⁹ His book abounds with violence and folk tales, which are in line with the curricula. When describing the Battle of Kosovo, he includes a folk poem from the fabled Prince’s Dinner beforehand, where a knight, Miloš Obilić proclaims: “And I swear to God, I will go tomorrow to Kosovo, and slit the throat of the Turkish Emperor – Murat.”²²⁰ The third-grade reader by Hajrudin Ćurić from 1951 further valorizes the cult of the Kosovo heroes, who “firmly decided they would rather die in the battle for freedom, rather than slavishly bow. Prince Lazar called all people to Holy War against the Turkish infestation/swarm.”²²¹

²¹⁴ Milan Marković, “Istorija Kao Poezija,” *Prosvjetni List*, 28.02 1975, NUBBiH.

“uz izbor faktografskog materijala, marksistički pristupi ocjena promjena, pojava i ličnosti u našoj nacionalnoj historiji.”

²¹⁵ Fuad Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda Federativne Narodne Republika Jugoslavije: Stari i Srednji Vijek (History of the Peoples of FPRY with Basics of General History - Ancient and Middle Ages)*, 4th ed. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1954), 211.

“pljačkaških i izviđačkih provala”

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 231–32.

²¹⁷ Babić, *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: I Dio (History of the Peoples of Yugoslavia: Part One)*, 1953, 612.

²¹⁸ Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 32, 230.

²¹⁹ Hasan Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Fourth Grade of Primary School)* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1958), 24.

“srpski narod potpao pod Turke i ostao u njihovom ropstvu više od 300 godina.”

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 80.

“A tako mi Boga velikoga, Ja ću otić sutra u Kosovo, i zaklaću tuskog car-Murata.”

²²¹ Hajrudin Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1951), 54.

Naježda - “infestation” is a term often used for insects, like locusts. Obilić is detailed to have: “cut him [the Sultan] open with his blade. In the fierce struggle with the enraged Turks, Obilić died with his two faithful brothers.”²²² The folk tradition in Yugoslavia was nigh-ubiquitous up to WWII, and the communists made good use of it. Obilić of the 14th century became parallel to the 20th century Partisan.²²³ The lack of any Ottoman perspective regarding the conquest is stark, as the Empire is presented as wholly malign. The implied dichotomies were numerous – nomadic “Turks” vs. settled locals, “foreign” and “indigenous.”²²⁴ Quite similarly, the conquest is presented as one event that ended the states and enslaved the people. However, such conceptions of sovereignty are quite modern and misplaced.

The Ottoman Empire was an imperial state, which utilized many integrative methods. As İnalçık underlined, “The Ottomanization of a conquered region was not a sudden and radical transformation but a gradual development.”²²⁵ The entirety of modern Bosnia only fell fully to Ottoman rule in 1592 with the conquests of the lower Una basin and the city of Bihać.²²⁶ This is ignored. Pre-Ottoman administrative divisions were largely maintained, not as a ploy but because of convenience.²²⁷ While accused of trickery, Ottoman laws compared quite favorably to the local. Serb Emperor Dušan’s legal code from the late 14th century mandated that the serf must work two days at his lords’ manor weekly. Under the Ottomans, the peasants had to work three days a year.²²⁸ Many of the Ottoman laws in the Balkans contained Slavic words, which the Ottomans did not have, meaning they adopted customs they encountered.²²⁹ Many local

“Knez Lazar i ogromna većina naroda čvrsto su odlučili da će radije izginuti u boju za slobodu nego li se ropski pokloniti. Knez Lazar je pozvao cijeli narod u sveti boj protiv turske naježde.”

²²² Ibid., 56.

“raspori ga svojim nožem. U žestokom okršaju sa razbješnelim Turcima poginuo je junački Miloš Obilić sa svoja dva vjerna pobratima.”

²²³ Maja Brkljačić, “Chapter 7. Popular Culture and Communist Ideology: Folk Epics in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, by John Lampe and Mark Mazower, CEUP Collection (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 199–200, <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2430>.

²²⁴ Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 47; Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?*, 15; Rajko Muršić, “On Symbolic Othering: ‘The Turk’ as a Threatening Other,” in *Imagining ‘the Turk,’* ed. Božidar Jezernik (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 18, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=523773&site=ehost-live>.

²²⁵ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phoenix, 2001), 32.

²²⁶ Gekić et al., “Historical Geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” 152.

²²⁷ Gábor Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest: The Ottoman Empire and Its Wars in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 49.

²²⁸ İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 32.

²²⁹ Ema Miljković, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans: The Ottoman Empire in Serbia, Serbia in the Ottoman Empire,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 0, no. Özel sayı 2 (2012): 130; Peter F. Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, eds., *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, Reprint edition (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1996), 6.

institutions, especially in villages were continued.²³⁰ Local nobility and clergy were at times allowed to collect tax and maintain order.²³¹ Senior clergy and most powerful nobility could be expelled or killed, but for instance in Hungary, “the Ottomans did not dramatically transform Hungarian society.”²³² Many notable Serbian medieval families adapted and by the 18th century, the Serbian merchant class was deeply influenced by Ottoman culture.²³³ Many Christians provided military service as *martolos* or *vojnuk* formations and could keep their lands.²³⁴ All this meant often the locals had little to resist. Therefore, the depiction of the Ottoman conquest is more ideological than historical. To the students it was presented as a foreign conquest to dread and prevent. This fits into the wider European narrative about the Ottoman stereotypes inherited from the 16th century. The Turkish atrocities such as murder, plunder, desecration of holy sites especially were meant to inspire resistance. As result, “the Turks,” and Muslims in general, became incarnations of evil.²³⁵ The early textbooks usually follow these accounts and fail to present a balanced view of the Ottoman conquest and integration of the Yugoslav lands.

Under the “Turkish Yoke” – Politico-Economic Development under the Ottomans

While the programs only in the 1960s explicitly state that the Yugoslav lands regressed under the Ottoman rule, the textbooks present this from the start. This misrule and torrid conditions under the “Turkish Yoke” are presented as an “indulgence” in two ways.²³⁶ Firstly, it served to legitimize the resistance and secondly, to justify the country’s meagre economic state. The first textbook to deal with this topic is Slipčević. His account presents itself as objective and balanced, describing many Ottoman institutions, demographic diversity and class antagonism, highlighting his Marxist perspective.²³⁷ Yet, he argued that Turkish feudalism was allegedly more backward to the South Slavic.²³⁸ Conversely, even when properly functioning the Ottoman state is blamed for extractions and taxation.²³⁹ Slipčević goes as far as saying how: “people sold children into slavery to be able to pay the poll tax (*harač*) and other taxes.”²⁴⁰ It

²³⁰ Miljkovic, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans,” 135.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

²³² Douglas A. Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York (N.Y.): Cambridge University Press, 2017), sec. Ottoman Christian Communities, 29% (ebook).

²³³ Miljkovic, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans,” 134.

²³⁴ Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest*, 50–51.

²³⁵ Felix Konrad, “From the ‘Turkish Menace’ to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453–1914)?,” *European History Online*, 2011, 4, <https://d-nb.info/1031435743/34>.

²³⁶ Bandžović, “History in a ‘Broken Mirror’: Demographic De-Ottomanization of the Balkans and Identity Changes of the Refugees,” 28.

²³⁷ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 286.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

²³⁹ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 369–70.

²⁴⁰ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 294–95.

“raja prodala djecu u roblje kako bi mogla platiti harač i druge namete.”

is heavily implied that without the period of “Ottoman slavery,” that the Balkan nations would develop analogously to their Western European counterparts. Ivo Andrić’s infamous 1924 PhD thesis *The Development of Spiritual life in Bosnia under the influence of Turkish Rule* outlined this position. With the “Turkish” conquest, Bosnia was conquered by “an Asiatic military people whose social institutions and customs spelled the negation of any and all Christian culture.”²⁴¹ So too, the “domestic Islamized element in Bosnia even became a mighty bulwark against the Christian West.”²⁴² Andrić became a Nobel Prize Laureate making his literary opus very influential, even though this dissertation was only published in Yugoslavia in 1982.²⁴³

However, before the Ottomans, most of the Yugoslav lands, especially Bosnia, were sparsely populated and relatively un-developed.²⁴⁴ Thus, it is unfair to claim that the Empire alone is at fault for the economic development in the Balkans. For instance, Palairet has shown, in the later 18th and 19th century especially, the Empire was more economically viable through arrangements that accompanied self-rule.²⁴⁵ Serbia since independence in the early 19th century did not develop markedly better than the Ottoman lands, while Independent Bulgaria retrogressed.²⁴⁶ As Jelvich and Jelavich stated, “the [post-Ottoman Balkan] states were not truly economically viable units on a modern level.”²⁴⁷ Therefore to claim the Ottoman Empire alone is at fault for the state it left behind is questionable.

Đikić’s fourth grade primary school textbook presents a comprehensive image of suffering, precluding any reflection on the Ottoman internal order. For him, the focus lies on the draconic taxation and extractions, as well as the arbitrariness of the Sultan’s rule. The peasants pay exuberant taxation and the judiciary is notoriously corrupt, he says.²⁴⁸ It also details a poem by Ivan Mažuranić, *The Death of Smail-aga Čengiđ (Smrt Smail-age Čengiđa)* which describes the brutality of the tax collection, as “Smail-aga collects the bloody (poll-)tax (*harač*).”²⁴⁹ Smail-aga Čengiđ was an Ottoman notable in Eastern Herzegovina, assassinated in 1840 by the

²⁴¹ Ivo Andrić, *The Development of Spiritual Life in Bosnia under the Influence of Turkish Rule*, ed. John F. Loud and Z. B. Juricic, 1st Edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1991), 16.

²⁴² Ibid., 17.

²⁴³ Bojan Aleksov, “Perceptions of Islamization in the Serbian National Discourse,” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, January 24, 2007, 124, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1468385042000328394>.

²⁴⁴ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 369–70.

²⁴⁵ Michael R. Palairet, *The Balkan Economies C.1800-1914: Evolution Without Development* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), i, 359.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 361–62.

²⁴⁷ Charles Jelavich and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 322.

²⁴⁸ Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole '58*, 27.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 84.

“Smail-aga krvav harač kupi, po Gackome I okolo njega. Posred pola popeo čadorje, pak rasturi haračlije lute, haračlije ljute, haračlije izjeli ih vuci, ter od glave po žut cekin ište, a od ognja po debela ovna.”

Montenegrins. The poem, as Pavlović discovered, had little to do with popular sentiment, but Serbo-Croatian Romantic nationalism, which cast him as a tyrant.²⁵⁰ Rather, as Đukić underlined, the work endured due to tapping into narratives of the Ottomans as “cruel invaders and religious enemies.”²⁵¹ When describing the feudal order under the Ottomans, the textbook has vivid images of suffering:

Every *spahi* (cavalryman-landholder) in one way or another abused the serfs. Usually, they closed them in pig styes or in the attic and then used damp hay to choke them with smoke... The spahi could at their will beat and kill a Serb, take his things and not be punished for it.²⁵²

Ćurić’s third grade reader contains a chapter the “Abuses of the Turk against our People.”²⁵³ This framing focuses on the depravity of the period, but also ties to it the resistance against these abuses. The entire social order of the Ottoman Empire is quite dystopic, as he argued: “The Turks considered the Christians as rightless slaves and called them *reaya*. If a Christian argued with a Turk, he was usually punished regardless of being guilty or innocent.”²⁵⁴ To further illustrate the extractive and unjust nature of the Ottomans, he writes how tax collectors “went in armed company to villages and took from the people not only the Imperial dues, but also whatever they liked.”²⁵⁵

Indeed, there were regulations on the non-Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire that made them, in *modern* terms, second-class citizens. They involved taxation, religious objects, service, insignias, certain colors, riding a horse, bearing arms, selling food and even marriage to Muslims.²⁵⁶ Even in courts, theoretically, the testimony of a Muslim was valued more than a

²⁵⁰ Aleksandar Pavlovic, “A Bloodthirsty Tyrant or a Righteous Landlord? Smail-Aga Cengic in Literature and Oral Tradition,” *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta* 69, no. 1 (2021): 109, <https://doi.org/10.2298/GEI2101109P>.

²⁵¹ Davor Đukić, “Ivan Mažuranić’s “The Death of Smail-Aga Čengić (1846): The Controversial Reception of an Epic Poem,” in *Narrative(s) in Conflict*, ed. Wolfgang Müller-Funk and Clemens Ruthner (Berlin/Boston, GERMANY: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2017), 35–36, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=5150954>.

²⁵² Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole* ’58, 99.

“Svaki spahija je na ovaj ili onaj način zlostavljao kemtove. Obično su ih zatvarali u svinjac ili na tavan pa potpalili vlažno sijeno i dotle su ih gušili smradnim dimom dok ne obećaju da će sve svoje prodati samo da namire ucjenjenu svotu. Spahije su mogle po volji i da tuku i da ubiju Srbina, da mu oduzmu stvari i za sve to da im ne bude ništa.”

²⁵³ Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 64.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

“Turci su hrišćane smatrali kao bespravno roblje I zvali sui h raja. Ako se hrišćanin posvađao s Turčinom, onda je on obično kažnjavan bez obzira da li je kriv ili prav.”

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

“Turci u raji nametali razne poreze i obaveze, od kojih je bio najvažnij harač ili carski danak...Njega cu kupili tzv. haračlije. Oni su s oružanom pratnjom išli po selima i uzimali od naroda ne samo carski danak, već i sve što bi se njima svidjelo...Pri kupljenju harača, haračlije su činili svakojaka nasilja.”

²⁵⁶ Miljkovic, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans,” 135–36; Béla K. Király, *Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe* (Boulder [Colo.]: East European Quarterly; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1975), 170–72, <http://archive.org/details/tolerancemovemen00kirl>.

non-Muslim. However, the *harač* (or *cizye/džizija*), a poll tax paid by the Christian population, was a guarantee of rights.²⁵⁷ Christians in the Empire were not compelled to military service or give alms (*zakat*), like Muslims were.²⁵⁸ Again, if they so desired, they could join the special military formations to become exempt of the poll tax. It often was simply an older one-gold piece tax paid to a Christian lord, accepted by the Ottomans as the poll tax. Muslims could pay the poll tax too if they lived on a Christian's land.²⁵⁹ However, this was in stark contrast to most European states, which at the time were expelling their religious others – e.g., the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella expelled their Jews, accepted by the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II in 1492.²⁶⁰ During their conquest, the Ottomans also abolished much of the rent-seeking taxation, aside from that in the Ottoman civil law (*kanun*.)²⁶¹ Regarding these insights, some textbooks and instruction manuals even contradict the textbooks and programs.

Interestingly, the gymnasium teaching instruction book details a much more nuanced picture for the time. Composed by Slipčević and Hamdija Kapidžić, they argued that the Ottoman system ensured property rights for the citizens of the Empire. With proper documentation – a *tapija*, the worker could not be removed from his land.²⁶² They go as far to say that “in the early era of Turkish rule, the combined system of exploitation was not overly unbearable.”²⁶³ This book was largely positively received in the early 1950s. One review from Zenica complained that it was not done strictly according to the program is largely correct, and that it was too complex.²⁶⁴ Others disagreed, as one Banja Luka gymnasium professor praised the style and substance.²⁶⁵ A third review from Bijeljina complained that it was too comprehensive for younger students but too simple for older students.²⁶⁶ The only content-related issue is that, interestingly, the Battle of Kosovo had not been covered.²⁶⁷ The authors nonetheless attempt to emphasize the early antagonisms in the Ottoman system were between the military, untaxed

²⁵⁷ Miljković, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans,” 134; Kemal H. Karpat, “Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 1: The Central Lands*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holms and Meier, 1982), 150; Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, sec. Glossary.

²⁵⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Brill, 2002), 364, <https://brill.com/view/title/7635>.

²⁵⁹ Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, sec. Muslims and Non-Muslims, 29% (ebook).

²⁶⁰ Todorović, “The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage in Serbia,” 217.

²⁶¹ Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 32.

²⁶² Fuad Slipčević and Hamdija Kapidžić, *Istorija Stari i Srednji Vijek - Priručnik Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1950), 215.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 215.

“U prvo doba turske vladavine cjelokupni sistem eksploatacije raje nije bio suviše nepodnošljive.”

²⁶⁴ Čazim Nožić, “Mišljenje o Istoriji Slipčević-Kapidžić,” 1951, ABiH SPNK K-3 2126/1951.

²⁶⁵ Stjepan Radman, “Mišljenje,” 1951, ABiH SPNK K-3 2126/1951.

²⁶⁶ Mrvaljević Blažo, 1951, ABiH SPNK K-3 2126/1951.

²⁶⁷ Bekir Krupić, 1951, ABiH SPNK K-3 2126/1951.

caste (*asker(i)*) and the tax-paying *reaya*, meaning flock, or subjects regardless of confession.²⁶⁸ Within the Empire, Christians or Jews maintained their legal status in civil matters within their own community, which Slipčević and Kapidžić also mention, if not as explicitly.²⁶⁹ In the later 15th and 16th centuries it would be become divided into the *millets*. The *millet* (ar. *milla* – nation), meant a non-Muslim religious community that was organized as part of the state bureaucracy with their own leaders, laws, customs guaranteed if they swore fealty to the Sultan.²⁷⁰ Therefore, while present in traces, a complete picture of the conditions in the Empire is absent in the early textbooks.

The only textbook that mentioned many positive infrastructural and economic developments under the Ottomans was by Faik Mehanović from 1953. It includes a “Borba” (Communist papers) article which exalts the Mostar Old Bridge as rivaling the Rialto in Venice.²⁷¹ The reader also contains the travels of Evliya Çelebi (Evljija Čelebija,) and his descriptions of Sarajevo with all its charms – fresh mountain air, water, fruits and other earthly delights.²⁷² However, despite these details and the nuance, the picture remains quite negative in the long-run. The Kapidžić-Slipčević reader still embraces the thesis of separate development of the former Ottoman Balkan nations:

But the very fact that the Turks came to rule our lands meant longer development in the further socio-economic and cultural development of our people. Turkish feudalism was not developed enough and lagged behind the one the Turks encountered in our lands. And while the European people further advanced, the larger part of our people and lands, which the Turks ruled, stagnated.²⁷³

This dissonance would hardly help any teacher, who would have to balance between a program, instructions, and textbooks, on top of having to teach sizable classes. Still, they have much more in common when it comes to the negative legacy of the Ottoman Empire.

²⁶⁸ Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, xxxvi.

²⁶⁹ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 49–50.

²⁷⁰ Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 383–84; Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 5–7; Király, *Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe*, 169–71.

²⁷¹ Faik Mehanović, *Istoriska Čitanka Za II i III Razred Gimnazije i VI i VII Razred Osmogodišnje Škole (Historical Reader for II and III Grade of Gymnasium and VI and VII Grade of Primary School)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1953), 171.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 194–97.

²⁷³ Slipčević and Kapidžić, *Istorija Stari i Srednji Vijek*, 215–16.

“Ali sama činjenica da su Turci zavladao našim zemljama značila je duži razvoj u daljem privredno-društvenom i kulturnom razvoju naših naroda. Turski feudalizam nije bio dovoljno razvijen i zaostajao je iza onoga kojeg su Turci zatekli u našim zemljama. i dok su evropski narodi dalje napredovali, veći dio naših naroda i zemalja, kojim su Turci zavladao, stagnirao je.”

Living under the Yoke – The Church, Islam, and the Janissaries

Concerning matters of faith, interreligious cohabitation and the Janissary order, the early textbooks are especially dystopic. As “Brotherhood and Unity” was the major underpinning of the Communist regime, the textbooks discredit co-habitation under the Ottomans to contrast modern co-habitation. A major institution in the memory of the of the Balkan people was the Janissary Corps. The Janissaries (Turkish for “new army” – *yeni ceri*) were elite infantry loyal to the Sultan. They were usually Christian boys enslaved in the *devshirme* (Turkish for collection), converted, and educated at the Ottoman court for military and political service.²⁷⁴ Initially drawing only from Christian children, the practice later expanded to Muslims, and numbered some 50,000 Janissaries by the later 17th century.²⁷⁵ As a military formation, they quickly adopted gunpowder to devastating effect, but by the 18th century their military efficacy was poor.²⁷⁶ The last child levy was done in 1705 (even earlier in some regions), and the Janissary military lobby was abolished in 1826.²⁷⁷ However, the institution caused a deep trauma in the Balkan populations.

The Janissaries were remembered as uniquely harsh and unfair. The strong familial bonds were perceived as broken by having children abducted and trained to fight Christians by “the infidels.”²⁷⁸ Serbian historiography even interpreted the practice as an attack on the “biological corps” (*živalj*) of the nation.²⁷⁹ The textbooks adopt this thread and utilize the supposed depravity of the practice. Slipčević dubs it the “blood tax,” using exceedingly epic and self-victimizing language.²⁸⁰ Ćurić too notes that the *devshirme* was the greatest of the abuses of the Turks: “They would pick the healthiest and most developed male children between 10 – 15 years and took them to Tsargrad (Constantinople), *Turkified* them and raised them as soldiers...”²⁸¹ The Janissary is particularly maligned, having come into the service of the enemy: “They forgot their people, speech and faith and fought only for the Sultan and Islam.

²⁷⁴ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 363.

²⁷⁵ Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, Illustrated edition (London: Saqi Books, 2006).

²⁷⁶ Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 297.

²⁷⁷ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 363; Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 297.

²⁷⁸ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 364.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 365–66.

²⁸⁰ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 287.

“danak u krvi,”

²⁸¹ Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 65.

“odabirali su nazdraviju i najrazvijeniju mušku djecu između 10 – 15 godina i odvodili u carigrad, te ih turčili i odgajali za vojnike...”

The Janissaries later committed the worst evils against their people.”²⁸² Bakić-Hayden dubbed this the “betrayal syndrome” when viewing the Muslims.²⁸³ Đikić too stressed the pathos of the parents to the extent that they “crippled their children” to avoid the recruitment, a common trope in the early textbooks.²⁸⁴ Đikić’s reader then contains a portion of the book *The Bridge on the Drina* by Andrić. It details how the children were put in baskets like de-personalized groceries, ferried by horse and depicts the trauma of the mothers: “Some would rush forward not looking where they were going, with bare breasts, and disheveled hair, forgetting everything about them, wailing and lamenting as at a burial...”²⁸⁵ Another reader, by Faik Mehanović too includes this chapter.²⁸⁶ Interestingly, a Soviet instruction for teaching history, published in 1948, underlines literature should be avoided, as “it does not, nor does it ever set the goal to correctly show historical reality.”²⁸⁷

Ottomanists today understand the harshness of this measure, which the Ottomans themselves saw as another levy on their subjects.²⁸⁸ The very seizure and enslavement of *dhimmi* (non-Muslim, Abrahamic religious) children and their enslavement contradicted the *sharia*. The taking and enslavement of Muslim children, common in Bosnia, was condemned by many *kanuns*.²⁸⁹ Many Ottoman philosophers wrote and lobbied to ban it, such as Idris Bitlisi and Mustafa Ali.²⁹⁰ Being in the 16th century too, the practice should not be understood in modern terms.²⁹¹ However, it was also an unprecedented form of social mobility into the structures of the ruling class of one of the world’s most refined polities. Further study has revealed that at the

²⁸² Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 65

“Oni su zaboravljali svoj rod, svoj govor i svoju vjeru i borili su se samo za sultana i islamsku vjeru. Janjičari su kasnije činili najveća zlodjela svome narodu.”

²⁸³ Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalisms,” 927.

²⁸⁴ Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole* ‘58, 27–28.

“sakatili svoju djecu.”

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 81–83; Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1919), 24.

Translation is taken from the listed Edwards version, below is the text from the textbook.

“One su jurile, gazeći žustro i ne gledajući gde staju, razdrljenih grudi, raščupane, zaboravljajući sve oko sebe, zapevale su i naricale kao za pokojnikom...”

²⁸⁶ Mehanović, *Istoriska Čitanka Za II i III Razred Gimnazije i VI i VII Razred Osmogodišnje Škole (Historical Reader for II and III Grade of Gymnasium and VI and VII Grade of Primary School)*, 156–57.

²⁸⁷ S.D. Skaskin, “Umetnička Liteartura u Nastavi Istorije u Školi,” in *Nastava Istorije u Srednjoj Školi - Izbor Članaka* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1948), 115.

„Ono ne postavlja i nikada sebi nije ni postavljalo za cilj da tačno prikaže isotrisku stvarnost.“

²⁸⁸ Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 123–24.

²⁸⁹ Ağoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 183.

²⁹⁰ Sanja Kadrić, “The Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia: Myths and Matters,” in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univeristy Press, 2017), 280–81.

²⁹¹ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67–68.

time the “blood tax” was not universally seen as wholly negative. There were cases of Christian even bribing officials to pick a certain child, hoping to secure for them high positions.²⁹² At worst, they became elite infantry, at best grand viziers like Piyale Paşa, originally a Catholic Hungarian. Through the practice, the Ottomans thus sought to tie their Christian subjects to the Empire and ensure a power block that could be loyal to the state/Sultan. These personal ties could manifest as provincial advocacy in the capital.²⁹³ Kafadar details a Janissary, Mehmed from Macedonia, and his ties to his brother at home, Mustafa who ran a property in his name, as Janissaries were not allowed to partake in commercial affairs.²⁹⁴ The textbooks ignore almost all nuance of the institution especially.

This section of Đikić’s textbook was taken issue by Kapidžić in a review.²⁹⁵ He highlights that “‘Life of our people under the Turks’ was done with insufficient critical understanding of the material.” He mentioned many issues, such as not using scholarship, e.g., Branislav Đurđev’s article in the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia.²⁹⁶ So there existed some sensitivity to aspects of Ottoman history. Đurđev’s article in the Encyclopedia is more detailed, underlining that the tax had not been taken annually, but from three, five to seven years. There were conditions – no single, married or working, one child per 40 houses, and if Christian communities joined military formations, they would be exempt. Đurđev goes on to say that the practice was discontinued in the 17th century, but in the 15th and 16th took “the best youth of conquered people in the Ottoman Empire,” which comprised not only the “most loyal soldiery of the Turkish Sultan, but some also became acclaimed statesmen of the Ottoman Empire.”²⁹⁷ There is therefore a double movement – one that laments implicitly the subjection to foreign powers but recognizes their achievements. Đurđev was unsurprisingly one of the first Yugoslav historians to study the Imperial archives.²⁹⁸ However, another official, Gavriilo Subotić wrote that studying the Battle of Kosovo through the textbook, “the children will not experience it

²⁹² Todorović, “The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage in Serbia,” 218.

²⁹³ Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 68.

²⁹⁴ Cemal Kafadar, “On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries,” *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15, no. 2 (1991): 277.

²⁹⁵ Hamdija Kapidžić, “Pregled Udžbenika Istorije,” 1957, ABiH SzŠ K-14 1283/57.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

“Život naših naroda pod Trucima rađena je više prema tradiciji i nedovoljnom kritičkom poznavanju građe.”

²⁹⁷ Branislav Đurđev, “Danak u Krvi,” in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, 1956), 656–57.

“najbolji podmladak pokorenih naroda u Osmanskoj imperiji, a odrećeni sinovi pokorenih naroda ne samo da su sačinjavali u XV I XVI v. najodaniju vojsku turskog sultana nego su neki od njih poslali istaknuti državnici Osmanske imperije.”

²⁹⁸ Aladin Husić, “Značaj istraživanja Branislava Đurđeva za historiografiju jugoistočne Evrope,” *Naučno djelo akademika Branislava Đurđeva*, no. 39 (2010): 28.

with excitement,” arguing for the inclusion of folk songs.²⁹⁹ Concerning the troubling chapter, he said that he had “no objections regarding the content.”³⁰⁰ His solution is to “punctuate more moments which represent especially suitable material for the awakening of patriotic feeling and hatred towards exploiters.”³⁰¹ Kapidžić’s summary of the reviews also underlines the importance of teaching about Islamization as well as South Slavs within the Ottoman state, who were missing in this period.³⁰² Đikić’s book was in circulation in any case.

Concerning the unique phenomenon of Islamification of the Bosnian population, it is mentioned only in Slipčević’s book. Recognizing that it was mostly not forced, Slipčević admonishes the “religious propaganda” that the Ottomans carried out through mosques, cities, libraries etc. They are portrayed as a method employed by the cunning Turk to sow discord between the South Slavic fraternity. In that, the Bosnian Muslims (named, but not capitalized, meaning religious group):

Converting to Islam, this population accepted Turkish state philosophy and became one of the best backbones of Turkish rule in this part of Europe. In the phase of rise and power of the Turkish state, Bosnian Muslims presented the precedent to Turkish conquest, and in the phase of weakening, her strongest pillar in Europe.³⁰³

As Vukomanović discovered in modern history textbooks in Serbia, “the reader gets the impression that the Muslims lost their South Slavic identity through the process of Islamization,” making this discovery about the prevalence of such narratives under socialism more relevant.³⁰⁴ Therefore, while Muslims are mentioned, they are also endowed with the “Turkish sin” due to conversion.

The textbooks are coy on church-state relations. When mentioned, it is a highly ideologized rendering. Slipčević mentioned the positive effects of the renewal of the Serb Patriarchate, but that the “Serb church could only be the negation of the Turkish state, and not her supporter

²⁹⁹ Gavriilo Subotić, “Ocjena Rukopisa,” 1957, 8/12, ABiH SzŠ K-14 1283/57.

“djeca neće doživjeti sa uzbuđenjem,”

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 9/13.

“Život naših naroda pod Turcima,”

“Nemam prigovora za sadržaj,”

³⁰¹ Ibid., 10/14.

“više poentirati one momente koji predstavljaju naročito pogodnim material za buđenje patriotskih osjećaja i mržnje prema eksploatorima.”

³⁰² Hamdija Kapidžić, “Komisiji Za Udžbenike,” March 21, 1957, 2/16, ABiH SzŠ K-14 1283/57.

³⁰³ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 292.

“prešavši na islam, ovo stanovništvo prihvatilo je tursku državnu misao i postalo jedna od najboljih oslonaca turkse vladavine u ovom dijelu Evrope. U fazi uspona i moći turske države bosanski muslimani su predstavljali prethodnicu u turskim osvajanjima, a u fazi opadanja Turkse njen najjači bedem u Evropi.”

³⁰⁴ Milan Vukomanović, “Ottomans and Islam in Serbian History Books,” in *Images of the Religious Other: Discourse and Distance in the Western Balkans*, ed. Christian Moe (Novi Sad: CEIR, 2008), 23.

...the Church was exploited by the Turkish feudal system.”³⁰⁵ The Catholic Church was not mentioned at all, but both Churches’ status was recognized.³⁰⁶ Nilević, for instance, argued that with the renewal of the Peć Patriarchy, more than 100 new or renovated religious buildings emerged in Bosnia alone and the Orthodox Church played a role in the lives of the Catholics.³⁰⁷ Through this, the Ottomans preserved and laid the foundations of the Serb nation on both sides of the Drina River.³⁰⁸ Zooming out, the Empire was generally essential for the preservation and formation of the nascent Balkan nations.³⁰⁹ Ultimately, this period’s picture of inter-religious relations, as well as the Janissary Corps is largely negative. Little is done to present any nuance of co-existence in an imperial context, as more focus is given to conflict and how the Ottomans fermented it.

Resisting the Scourge

As expected, resistance against the Ottoman state is valorized in this period. For the Communists, the *hajduks*, brigand highwaymen were heroes of National Liberation of Balkan Christians against the Ottomans.³¹⁰ Historiography on the *hajduks* understood them as a permanent resistance to the injustices of Ottoman feudalism.³¹¹ Hobsbawm went as far as to dub the Balkan bandits as “resistance of entire communities or peoples against the destruction of its way of life,” and even “the precursor to revolution.”³¹² His work was informed largely by scholarship of Balkan nationalists. These nationalist-Marxist readings have overestimated their National-Liberation propensity, the motives of the bandits have become understood as both sectarian, class-based, as Muslims too took part in banditry, but also conditioned by circumstances.³¹³ The textbooks embrace this perspective.

Đikić presents the *hajduks* uniformly as the defenders of the people against Ottoman injustice. They would meet the tax collectors and take their money, their actions justified by wanton

³⁰⁵ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 291.

“Srpska crkva je mogla biti samo negacija turkse države, a ne njen oslonac. Ona nije mogla u Turskom carstvu zauzeti pozicije koje je imala u doba postojanja naših feudalnih država n...crkva je bila eksploatisana od strane turskog feudalnog sistema.”

³⁰⁶ Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 32.

³⁰⁷ Boris Nilević, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini do obnove Pečke patrijaršije 1557. godine*, Biblioteka Kulturno nasljeđe (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1990), 114,143-171,215.

³⁰⁸ Marko Hoare, *The History of Bosnia: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (London: Saqi Books, 2007), 52.

³⁰⁹ Ilber Ortayli, *Osmanlije Na Tri Kontinenta* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2014), 16.

³¹⁰ Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 179.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

³¹² Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), 18–19.

³¹³ Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 252.

taxation by “the Turks.”³¹⁴ Kapidžić argued the “hajduks did not attack the poor, rather they took revenge on evil-doers, tax-collectors, and all those who supported Turkish rule.”³¹⁵ The act presented “the earliest form of armed struggle against the Turks.”³¹⁶ Their story about hardship mirrors the stories told about the Partisans, who also waged a guerilla war.³¹⁷ The parallels between resisting the Ottomans and the Axis is palpable in how the 1804 Serb rebellion against the Ottomans resulted in National Liberation and a “bourgeois-democratic” revolution, the precent for the Socialist Revolution of WWII.³¹⁸ Đikić’s 1953 book opens with the Serb uprising as the starting point of Yugoslav history, as the framing event.³¹⁹ Đikić also positively mentioned the expulsion of the Turks from the villages and towns in Serbia saying the rebels “knew that they would not be free until they totally expel the Turks from Serbia.”³²⁰ Ćurić critiqued the first edition of this book in 1952, specifically that not all “Turks” were expelled.³²¹ Đikić responded writing that the departure of the Turks was the “formal manifestation of the liberation of Serbia.”³²² It is unclear who it is meant here – the local Slavic Muslims or the ethnic Turks. However, when describing conditions in 19th century Bosnia, it gives a sense that it refers to Muslims broadly.³²³ There is also common use of folk songs such as “Old Vujadin” (*Stari Vujadin*) which praise a *hajduk*, who the Turks capture and torture: “[they] beat both his legs and arms; When they were to gouge out his dark eyes, Spoke the Livno Turks...”³²⁴ Again, one can assume Livno Turks means Slavic Muslims. His reader contains one text about a young man choosing to join the brigands. His bravery and fidelity is exalted: “if they catch a hajduk and put him through all sorts of miseries...I will endure! I will rather die than speak!”³²⁵

³¹⁴ Hasan Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole Sa Istorijском Čitankom (History for the Fourth Grade of Primary School with Historical Reader)* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1953), 5.

³¹⁵ Slipčević and Kapidžić, *Istorija Stari i Srednji Vijek*, 218.

“Hajduci nisu napradli sirotinju, raju, nego su se svetili zulumčarima, ili su napadali haračlije, trgovce i sve one koji su podržavali tursku vlast.”

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 219.

“Pojava hajdučije predstavlja najraniju formu oružane borbe protiv Turaka.”

³¹⁷ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 294–95.

³¹⁸ Fuad Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda Federativne Narodne Republika Jugoslavija Sa Osnovama Opšte Istorije: Novi Vijek Od 1878 Do 1914 (History of the Peoples of FPRY with Basics of General History - New Era from 1878 to 1914)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1952), 84.

³¹⁹ Đikić, *Istorija Za 4. Razred Osnovne Škole* '53, 5.

³²⁰ Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole* '58, 35.

“Znali su da neće imati slobode dok sasvim ne istjeraju Turke iz Srbije.”

³²¹ Hajrudin Ćurić, “Ocjena Udžbenika: Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole Sa Istoriskom Čitankom,” *Prosvjetni List*, January 5, 1952, BI-FAZ.

³²² Hasan Đikić, “Neke Napomene o Nastavi Istorije u Osnovnoj Školi,” *Prosvjetni List*, May 16, 1952, BI-FAZ.

“Formalna manifestacija oslobođenja Srbije...”

³²³ Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole* '58, 46.

³²⁴ Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 70.

³²⁵ Đikić, *Istorija Za IV Razred Osnovne Škole* '58, 86.

These examples tap into a deep Christian symbolism of sacrifice and suffering, testifying to what Greble outlined as a conception of European history against the Muslims living in it.³²⁶

The Ćurić third grade textbook also mentioned the *uskoks*. The *uskoks* (from BCSM *uskočiti*, “jump in”) were militias that conducted raids into the Ottoman territory from the Habsburg lands.³²⁷ It is written that they: “killed Turks, especially those which committed abuses and injustices against the conquered people.”³²⁸ They too were canonized as heroes of National Liberation. In any case, this is a backwards projection of contemporary political concerns and identities, steeped in 19th-century Romanticism.³²⁹ Conversely, in his review of Đikić’s book, Kapidžić mentioned the explanations of the renegades to be inadequate, and the *uskoks* fought the Catholic Venetians as well.³³⁰ Therefore there was some debate about the issue of presenting conflict as civilizational, but the schematic juxtaposition of “the cross” and “the crescent” largely prevailed in this period. The folk songs do testify to a mutual understanding between the *hajduks* and the population, which ought not be discounted.³³¹ Yet more modern accounts have shed light on the fact that banditry within the Ottoman state precipitated a shared culture of violence.³³² Due to the chaos of the latter Ottoman period, religious groups in various military formations had “no qualms about preying on their co-religionists in neighboring communities.”³³³ It is not to say that these 70-year-old textbooks, should have contained state-of-the-art scholarship, however it is to historicize their depictions of the period and time as interpretative, politically-motivated, and misleading, with disastrous consequences relevant to this day,

Bozanich analyzed the *hajduks*’ instrumentalization in the 1990s by Serb nationalists in the Wars of the Yugoslav Succession and especially the Bosnian War. He argued that the WWII-

“Čekaj, čekaj, a uhvate hajduka pa ga na svake muke meću...Ja ću trpjeti! ...prije ću umrijeti no pustiti glasa od sebe!”

³²⁶ Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 8, 258.

³²⁷ Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 579–80.

³²⁸ Ćurić, *Istoriska Čitanka Za Osnovne Škole - III Razred (Historical Reader for the Third Grade of Primary School)*, 67.

“ubijali Turke, naročito one koji su činili nasilja I nepravde pokorenom narodu.”

³²⁹ Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 6–8, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv19x4v1>.

³³⁰ Kapidžić, “Pregled Udžbenika Istorije,” 2–3.

³³¹ Stevan Bozanich, “Invented Warriors: The Legacy of the Invented Serbian Hajduk Tradition,” in *Balkan Legacies: The Long Shadow of Conflict and Ideological Experiment in Southeastern Europe*, Central European Studies (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2021), 58–59, https://www.academia.edu/49274085/Invented_Warriors_The_Legacy_of_the_Invented_Serbian_Hajduk_Tradition.

³³² Tolga U. Esmer, “Economies of Violence, Banditry and Governance in the Ottoman Empire Around 1800,” *Past & Present*, no. 224 (2014): 168.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 179.

era Serb ultranationalists, Chetniks too used the image of the *hajduk*. Yet, the communists sought to co-opt the image for themselves as well, creating a juncture for the two movements. Regardless, it is clear that the *hajduk* hero and the “Turk” villain featured commonly under Socialism too.³³⁴ Bozanich mentions how Yugoslav authorities couched their nationalism in Marxist terms, yet the difference between “Marxist” nationalism and full-blown nationalism seemed quite wafer-thin in this instance, and is not analyzed deeper.³³⁵ The textbooks point to another fine example where, as Durmišević pointed out, the Communist Party did very little to deal with previous Chetnik ideology.³³⁶ Thus, it should not be surprising how war criminals Šešelj and Karadžić called to the *hajduk* in the 1990s call for the extermination of the Muslims/Bosniaks, adding to the relevance of both this project and as a warning tale about the misuse of the past.³³⁷

Conclusion – The Early Years

The first fifteen years of Socialist Yugoslav History textbooks presented the Ottoman Empire as a Dark Age. This Dark Age had a political function to mobilize the Yugoslavs against it, but also legitimize and historicize the founding tales of the new regime – chiefly the values “Brotherhood and Unity” and “People’s/National Liberation Struggles.” From the apocalyptic conquest, which ushered in a period of slavery and domination, to the idea of severing of ties with Europe, the textbooks feeds into a sort of “Balkan Sonderweg,” an aberrant historical trajectory. Reading between the lines, one is supposed to value the modern mirror image of the past, where freedom and development would come to the South Slavs. In this period, the matters of religion and co-existence under the Ottomans was maligned, as the textbooks emphasize the injustice of the Janissary Corps, the subjection of the local Churches, while neglecting entirely many examples of positive cohabitation. They largely refuse the Muslims any subjectivity or perspective. Rather, they are demonized as converts who collaborated with the enemy. This

³³⁴ Bozanich, “Invented Warriors,” 60–61.

³³⁵ Ibid., 61; Milan Radanović, *KAZNA i ZLOČIN Snage Kolaboracije u Srbiji. Drugo, Dopunjeno Izdanje* (Belgrade: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2016), 184–92, https://www.academia.edu/45434289/KAZNA_i_ZLO%C4%8CIN_Snage_kolaboracije_u_Srbiji_Drugo_dopunjeno_izdanje.

This is perhaps in no small part because it was or that there was very little distinction at some point. The Partisans issued mass amnesties to the very Chetniks they vigorously fought, and a significant portion of the ultra-nationalist movement integrated into the Communist military forces. On top of the ideological congruence between the Communist and Chetnik (political left and right) perceptions of the Ottoman Empire, the distinction between the two becomes even more tenuous.

³³⁶ Enes Durmišević, “Biti pobjednik ne znači biti i pravednik,” *Novi Muallim* 19, no. 73 (March 29, 2018): 83, <https://doi.org/10.26340/muallim.v19i73.1643>.

“Inkubator četništva”

³³⁷ Bozanich, “Invented Warriors,” 61.

approach to the Ottoman period was not only predominantly Christian, but also a Serb rendition of Bosnian History.³³⁸ These findings are in line with the relatively ambiguous and deprived position the Muslim nation was in Yugoslavia. Largely seen with suspicion and their institutions encroached on, the Muslims were relegated to subalternity. However, it was during this period that changes in the Bosnian republic and the Yugoslav federation would open the doors to a reassessment of the state's relation to the Muslims, but also the Ottoman period.

³³⁸ Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 358.

Chapter 2 – The Muslim Recognition (1961-1974)

Yugoslavia transformed profoundly in the 1950s and 1960s, due to both internal and external developments. Therein lay the opportunity for the Bosnian Muslims for political affirmation.³³⁹ These developments would precipitate the Muslim recognition only in 1968, and more profound transformation to the federation in 1974. This chapter unpacks this periods' curricula and textbooks, with sub questions about the reasons behind the Muslim recognition, the impact of the discussion on the textbooks and the effects of the education system.

Yugoslavia, Transformed – Abroad and at Home

Yugoslavia was not a Soviet satellite state for long. The aggressive policy in the Greek Civil War, the Trieste Question and a potential Balkan Union expelled her from the Cominform come May 1948.³⁴⁰ Rajak pointed out that Stalin's consolidation of the Eastern Bloc was key, the expulsion coinciding with the February 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia.³⁴¹ Fearing Soviet intervention, Yugoslavia turned West for aid when the Korean War broke out in December 1950.³⁴² Despite normalization of relations with the USSR in 1954, Yugoslavia determined to look for allies in the emerging Third World.³⁴³ In 1954-55 Tito visited India, Myanmar, Ethiopia and Egypt. Meeting Egypt's President Nasser and India's Prime Minister Nehru in July 1956 laid the foundations for the Non-Aligned Movement, the proactive un-commitment to the two blocs.³⁴⁴ Islam became a common point for diplomacy with Muslim-majority nations. When Nasser and Indonesia's President Sukarno visited Belgrade in 1956, they met the head of the Yugoslav Islamic Community.³⁴⁵ In 1961, coinciding with the 1st Non-Aligned Movement Conference, the Muslims were recognized as an "ethnic group," although not as a "nation" like Serbs and Croats.³⁴⁶ Some 842,248 people (25% of Bosnia) identified as this ethnic group in the 1961 census.³⁴⁷ Malcolm, Friedman and Fine and Donia all underlined this

³³⁹ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 146.

³⁴⁰ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 73.

³⁴¹ Svetozar Rajak, "From Regional Role to Global Undertakings: Yugoslavia in the Early Cold War," in *The Balkans in the Cold War*, ed. Svetozar Rajak et al., Security, Conflict and Cooperation in the Contemporary World (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017), 69, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-43903-1_3.

³⁴² Svetozar Rajak, "No Bargaining Chips, No Spheres of Interest: The Yugoslav Origins of Cold War Non-Alignment," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16, no. 1 (2014): 151.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 157; Marie-Janine Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, Translation edition (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2019), xxi.

³⁴⁴ Rajak, "From Regional Role to Global Undertakings," 76–77.

³⁴⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 197.

³⁴⁶ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 155.

³⁴⁷ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 76.

internationalization as the crucial for the Muslim recognition.³⁴⁸ The other crucial factor would be the separate development of Socialist Titoism and its self-management in the domestic economy.³⁴⁹

Following the Tito-Stalin Split, Yugoslav Titoist Self-Management had to ideologically displace Stalinism while not fundamentally questioning Socialism.³⁵⁰ Self-management meant allowing workers more control of enterprise and the eventual “withering away” of the state. It combined economic planning and collective ownership, with price liberalization, foreign trade and banking.³⁵¹ In 1952, at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party, Yugoslavia began the long process of decentralization.³⁵² The federation too experienced a post-war economic miracle, industrial production growing at 13,8% annually between 1953 and 1960, and 8,2% in the 60s.³⁵³ Bosnia quickly became a center of heavy industry and arms production.³⁵⁴ She developed from an agrarian society, comprising more than half the population in the 1950s, reduced by 1971 to 37,2%.³⁵⁵ Yet, Bosnia remained poor – per capita social product dropped from 79% of the federal average to 69% between 1953 to 1965. It was second most illiterate and second least urbanized.³⁵⁶ This was, Grandits argued, still a time of pan-Yugoslav consumer-culture across, as exogamy and co-habitation were common.³⁵⁷ It should be nuanced that it was largely limited to the urban centers, while rural life in Bosnia was still marked by tensions.³⁵⁸ One 1960s report from Nevesinje in Eastern Herzegovina detailed a pageant where a play, “Kosovo Tragedy,” was performed. One character, Empress Milica declared: “Separate the brother Serbs to not be dirtied by the filthy blood of the Turk.”³⁵⁹ This was one of many

³⁴⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 196; Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 167; Robert J. Donia and John V. A. Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 172, <http://www.gbv.de/dms/bowker/toc/9780231101608.pdf>.

³⁴⁹ Donia and Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina*, 170.

³⁵⁰ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 179.

³⁵¹ Milica Uvalić, “The Rise and Fall of Market Socialism in Yugoslavia,” *Inequalities, Economic Models and the Russian October 1917 Revolution in Historical Perspective* 1, no. 1 (March 20, 2018): 6–7, 10–11, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331223694_The_Rise_and_Fall_of_Market_Socialism_in_Yugoslavia.

³⁵² Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 78; Miller, “Faith and Nation: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the Official Recognition of a Muslim Nation in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” 134.

³⁵³ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 183.

³⁵⁴ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 152–53.

³⁵⁵ Grandits, “Ambivalentnosti u Socijalitičkoj Nacionalnoj Politici,” 23.

³⁵⁶ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 201–22.

³⁵⁷ Grandits, “Ambivalentnosti u Socijalitičkoj Nacionalnoj Politici,” 22, 27.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 34; Donia and Fine, *Bosnia and Hercegovina*, 186–87.

³⁵⁹ “Izvještaj Grupe Drugova Koji Su Boravili Od 03-06 Maja o.g. u Nevesinju,” May 17, 1962, 3–4, ABiH CK SKBiH (Id.Kom.) K-34.

“Kosovska tragedija”

“krajnje grubih i zagriženih rečenica na račun Turaka kao što sun a prijmjer riječi carice Milice koja hodajući po ratištu kaže: ‘Izdvoji braću Srbe, da ih ne pogani pasja krv turska.’”

such events.³⁶⁰ Therefore, tolerance and intolerance existed side by side. The period of economic growth slowed in the 1970s and cast the federation into a protracted economic crisis in the 1980s.³⁶¹

Political trends too played towards the recognition of the Muslim nation. The 60s and 70s generally were a time of increasing Serbo-Croatian nationalism and completion over Bosnia.³⁶² Empowering the Muslims then had the goal of shoring up Bosnia as a separate multi-ethnic republic.³⁶³ In 1963, the new Yugoslav constitution devolved more autonomy with further amendments in 1967.³⁶⁴ In Bosnia, the Muslims had already been “recognized” in 1963 by the republican constitution, but only as equal to the Serbs and Croats, another major step.³⁶⁵ The Yugoslav Eight Party Congress in December 1964 also meant the shift towards active consideration of the national questions.³⁶⁶ In 1966, Aleksander Ranković, conservative Serb head of secret police was ousted, opening the way for further reforms.³⁶⁷ This was also a time a more general unrest in Yugoslavia, especially with the 1968 protests. University students demanded democratization, critiqued the regime, and Albanians protested the repression in Kosovo.³⁶⁸ A direct side-effect of the protests was also change in the structure of education.

³⁶⁰ Sreski komitet SK Sarajevo, “O Nekim Problemim Međunacionalnih Odnosa i Pojavama Šovinizma” (Sreski komitet SK Sarajevo, November 24, 1962), ABiH CK SKBiH, K-36.

³⁶¹ Iva Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)* (Sarajevo: University Press, 2022), 84–85; Uvalić, “The Rise and Fall of Market Socialism in Yugoslavia,” 23; Sabrina Petra Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milosevic, Fourth Edition* (Boulder, UNITED STATES: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 10, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=746896>.

³⁶² Steven L. Burg, “The Political Integration of Yugoslavia’s Muslims: Determinants of Success and Failure,” *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, no. 203 (1983): 37–38, <https://doi.org/10.5195/cbp.1983.6>.

³⁶³ Ivo Goldstein, “Jugoslavija u Šezdesetim Godinama 20. Stoljeća - Dileme i Riješenja (s Posebnim Obzirom Na Hrvatsku),” in *Rasprave o Nacionalnom Identitetu Bošnjaka - Zbornik Radova*, ed. Husnija Kamberović, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2009), 43; Ivo Banac, “Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Postcommunist Statehood, 1918—1992,” in *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1996), 145.

³⁶⁴ Igor Štiks, *Nations and Citizens in Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav States: One Hundred Years of Citizenship* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 62, <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/30943>.

³⁶⁵ Burg, “The Political Integration of Yugoslavia’s Muslims,” 39–40; Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 120; Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 59.

³⁶⁶ Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 123–26.

³⁶⁷ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 156; K. F. Cviic, “Yugoslavia’s Moslem Problem,” *The World Today* 36, no. 3 (1980): 109; Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 152–53; Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 60.

³⁶⁸ Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 55–56.

The 1970s educational reforms aimed to reverse unemployment, by unifying gymnasias and vocational schools.³⁶⁹ It aimed to also shore up more Orthodox Marxism and, eventually curtail intellectual dissent at universities. Conversely, by tying up education to vocations, the system became local, contributing to the centripetal forces against the federal center.³⁷⁰ This went together with the delegitimizing of a “Yugoslav” culture, and the emphasis on expressing differences within a “Yugoslav” framework at the federal level.³⁷¹ Some of the most interesting discussions about these topics were had in Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding the Muslim nation.

Debating Muslim-dom

More broadly, the Bosnian question was facing three potential solutions. The first was a single, integral Bosnian nation, which most Serbs and Croats, and some Muslims opposed, purported by “unitarists.”³⁷² The second was partition into three countries/states – Serb, Croat and Muslim, which would be opposed by the latter, dotted all throughout Bosnia. The third was a tri-national Bosnia, which eventually triumphed.³⁷³ Reconsidering national relations was also prompted by the neglect of the Croat population of Western Herzegovina, viewed with suspicion by the Communists for their WWII sympathies to Fascist Croatia (NDH).³⁷⁴ This question was discussed at the 17th and 20th meetings of the Bosnian League of Communists in 1968, and the Fifth Congress in 1969, affirming the Muslim nation as definitely separate.³⁷⁵ Religion had little formal role in this movement, as the Communists sought to co-opt the Muslims with a secularized identity.³⁷⁶ To that end, intellectuals discussed Muslim identity.

Already in 1961, Enver Redžić, famous ex-Partisan Muslim historian wrote an ethnogenesis of the Muslims, based on a synthesis of Marxist class analysis and national-ethnic historiography. He argued that Muslim land-holding under the Ottoman land-tenure system estranged the Muslims from both the Ottomans and the Christians who joined the Serb and Croat national

³⁶⁹ Bacevic, *From Class to Identity*, 34.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 75–77.

³⁷¹ Andrew Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford University Press, 1998), 184, 173–74, 179.

³⁷² Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić*, 337.

³⁷³ Esad Ćimić, “Nacija u Svjetlu Sociološke Analize,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmanja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 195–96.

³⁷⁴ Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 65; Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*.

³⁷⁵ Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić*, 347; Iva Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation: Intellectuals’ Articulation of the Muslim National Identity,” *Nationalities Papers* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2011.635642>.

³⁷⁶ Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 74.

movements.³⁷⁷ Islamification cemented these class interests through religious differentiation.³⁷⁸ With the development of capitalism, the Muslims did not “create a nation,” rather the Muslim leadership joined the Serb and Croat movements based on class interest.³⁷⁹ Lučić astutely noted that Redžić’s article was likely commissioned by the party, as his other work did not deal with the Muslim national question.³⁸⁰ Prominent Bosnian Communists like Džemal Bijedić in 1966 tellingly claimed: “from Turkish times until today it is incontrovertible that the Muslims showed their national steadfastness and persistence.”³⁸¹ The Institute of History in Sarajevo took charge in November 1968 with a major scientific meeting about the “Historical Bases of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (*Istojski osnovi Republike BiH*).³⁸² Historian Avdo Sućeska pointed too to the aforementioned control of the province by the local Slavic population meant developing national particularities.³⁸³ The arrival of the Ottoman Empire was interpreted as the beginning of the Muslim nation, which he argued, resisted the Ottomans periodically.³⁸⁴ It was clear the Muslims were a separate nation, as the intellectual articulations affirmed and synergized with political decisions. However, the question remained of its territorial bounds and name, where divisions emerged.

Historian Salim Ćerić wrote the effective first national (political) history of the Muslims in 1968, dubbed *The Muslims of the Serbo-Croatian Language*. He argued that the Muslim nation began with the Islamization of an autochthonous population, rather than being remnants of colonialism.³⁸⁵ The Muslims certainly developed a separate and unique class and social structure under the Ottomans, but he dealt little with analogies to Serbs and Croats.³⁸⁶ A differentiation he added, was the peculiarity of language, with many Arabic-Persian-Turkish

³⁷⁷ Enver Redžić, “Društveno-Istorijski Aspekt ‘Nacionalnog Opredjeljivanja’ Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmiranja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 157.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 153.

³⁷⁹ Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 79–81.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁸¹ Banac, “Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Postcommunist Statehood, 1918—1992,” 145; Džemal Bijedić, “Dosljednost u Teoriji i u - Praksi,” *Odjek*, January 5, 1966; Džemal Bijedić, “Dosljednost u Teoriji i Praksi,” in *O “Nacionaliziraju” Muslimana: 101 Godina Afirmiranja i Negiranja Nacionalnog Identiteta Muslimana*, by Alija Isaković (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), 170.

³⁸² Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 71; Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation,” 27.

³⁸³ Miller, “Faith and Nation: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the Official Recognition of a Muslim Nation in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” 137.

³⁸⁴ Avdo Sućeska, *Neke Specifičnosti Bosne Pod Turcima* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju radničkog pokreta, 1968), 43–58, 48.

³⁸⁵ Selim Ćerić, *Muslimani Srpskohrvatskog Jezika* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968), 45, 52–64; Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 212–13.

³⁸⁶ Ćerić, *Muslimani Srpskohrvatskog Jezika*, 78–115.

loanwords, separately dubbed Bosnian (*Bošnjački*).³⁸⁷ Ćerić definitively included the Muslims of Montenegro and Serbia in the Sandžak, based on language, but excluded non-Serbo-Croatian-speaking Turkish, Albanian and Macedonian Muslims. Lučić also suspected Ćerić worked closely with the Party, evidenced by his correspondence with Party nomenklatura, again Bijedić.³⁸⁸ Thereafter, debate developed about the name “Muslim” and some religious figures took part in the debate here. Kasim-effendi Dobrača wrote how “musliman,” stemming from Arabic with a Persian inflection in Serbo-Croatian denoted belonging to a universalist religion, never to a nation.³⁸⁹ Others like Husein Đozo, a major Islamic modernist, however argued that it presented an opportunity for increased Muslim political maneuver.³⁹⁰ As Duranović prudently pointed out, Đozo took the side of the communists entirely and won out.³⁹¹

Muslim intellectuals abroad too contributed to this debate. Adil Zulfikarpašić, former Communist émigré-turned-entrepreneur, saw Muslim identity tied to Bosnian territory and the struggle for its autonomy, dubbed *Bošnjaštvo* (Bosniakdom).³⁹² Zulfikarpašić’s ideas were seen by the communists as a separatist ideology, denying the rights of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia.³⁹³ As specifically cultural identity of the Muslim nation was largely absent from this discussion, Smail Balić in Vienna focused on Muslim culture as in his 1974 *Culture of the Bosniaks*.³⁹⁴ In 1962, he wrote how the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia held that “four hundred years of Turkish rule put a break on all economic and cultural advancement” and excluded the achievements of the Muslims under Ottoman rule.³⁹⁵ In Yugoslavia, Purivatra too problematized the Encyclopedia, which neglected Islamic history, saying how “almost all our culture in the domain of the Islamic east has been ‘amputated.’”³⁹⁶ The question of Muslim culture would remain an issue well after the recognition.

³⁸⁷ Ćerić, *Muslimani Srpskohrvatskog Jezika*, 131–34; “Tekst Anonimnog Autora Na Engleskom Jeziku o Bosanskom Jeziku” “The Bosnian Language,” ?, ZBH - 11/IX-5, BI-FAZ.

³⁸⁸ Lučić, *U Ime Nacije - Politički Proces Revaloriziranja Muslimana u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji (1956-1971)*, 214–45.

³⁸⁹ Ferid Dautović, *Kasim Ef. Dobrača: Život i Djelo* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2005), 90.

³⁹⁰ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 91.

³⁹¹ Amir Duranović, *Islamska Zajednica u Jugoslavenskom Socijalizmu* (Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju, 2021), 222.

³⁹² Đilas and Gaće, *Bošnjak - Adil Zulfikarpašić*, 96.

³⁹³ Kamberović, “Bošnjaci 1968: Politički Kontekst Priznanja Nacionalnog Identiteta - Zbornik Radova,” 69–70; Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić*, 337.

³⁹⁴ Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation,” 40; Smail Balić, *Kultura Bošnjaka* (Vienna: University Book Press Adolf Holzhausens NFG., 1973), 187.

³⁹⁵ Smail Balić, “Književni Rad Bošnjaka Na Orijentalnim Jezicima,” *Bosanski Pogledi*, May 1962, 200.

“četiri stotine godina turske vlasti potpuno su ukočile svaki ekonomski i kulturni napredak”

³⁹⁶ Atif Purivatra, “Etnička Posebnost Muslimana,” *Odjek*, January 15, 1969, BI-FAZ.

“Drugim riječima, “amputirana” je skoro u cijelosti naša kultura u domenu islamskog istoka.”

The naming of the nation raised issues. Redžić interestingly argued that the “Bosnian” category should apply to all citizens of the Socialist Republic.³⁹⁷ This clashed with the Communist idea of a tri-national Bosnian republic and was discredited publicly.³⁹⁸ The 1971 census was followed by a campaign of mobilization for the specifically “Muslim” nation. A handbook instructed the Muslims to pick the new national category. It argued the Muslim nation was Slavic in character and bounded by religion (Islam) and language (Serbo-Croatian), existing since the Ottoman times in Bosnia and Sandžak.³⁹⁹ The pamphlet emphasized the continuity of the Bosnian state, and the Muslim participation in the revolts against Ottoman rule. They argued “Bosnian” was not a national, rather territorial moniker.⁴⁰⁰ However, many Serb intellectuals were opposed to the recognition totally. Dobrica Ćosić, prominent Serbian nationalist party member in 1972 argued that the Muslim nation was created by legalizing religious hatred. Phenom Sarajevo-based historian Milorad Ekmečić too argued the Muslim nation was merely a construct of the Party.⁴⁰¹ The dissent does not change that the recognition was one of the “de facto” situation.⁴⁰² The Muslims largely had a good sense of themselves communally.⁴⁰³ However, endowing that community with further “national” substance would be a major challenge.

Salim Ćerić soon took issue with the handling of the situation. He believed that the new nation warranted a language, manifestations, and institutions.⁴⁰⁴ Politicians like communist upper-brass Branko Mikulić were opposed to any national Muslim institution, which could segregate existing ones.⁴⁰⁵ The Republic remained a nation-state, but without a core nation.⁴⁰⁶ Yet, both Croats and Serbs had a cultural society, and Academy of Arts and Sciences in the neighboring

³⁹⁷ Miller, “Faith and Nation: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the Official Recognition of a Muslim Nation in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” 138–39; Enver Redžić, *Sto Godina Muslimanske Politike u Tezama i Kontroverzama Istorijske Nauke* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, 2000), 85.

³⁹⁸ Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation,” 34–35.

³⁹⁹ Miller, “Faith and Nation: Politicians, Intellectuals, and the Official Recognition of a Muslim Nation in Tito’s Yugoslavia,” 141–42; Atif Purivatra and Kasim Suljević, *Nacionalni Aspekt Popisa Stanovništva u 1971. Godini* (Sarajevo: Komisija za međunarodne odnose i međurepubličku saradnju Predsjedništva Republičke konferencije Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Bosne i Hercegovine, 1971), 9.

⁴⁰⁰ Purivatra and Suljević, *Nacionalni Aspekt Popisa Stanovništva u 1971. Godini*, 16.

“negacija nacionalnog individualiteta pojedinačno svakog naroda i narodnosti u BiH i neuvaženje njene višenacionalne strukture.”

⁴⁰¹ Safet Bandžović, “Nedovršena Prošlost u Vrtlozima Balkanizacije: Refleksije „istočnog Pitanja “u Historijskoj Perspektivi,” *Historijski Pogledi* 2, no. 2 (2019): 48–52.

⁴⁰² Fikret Adanir, “The Formation of a ‘Muslim’ Nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Historiographic Discussion,” in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2002), 287, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047400608_010.

⁴⁰³ Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 30–31.

⁴⁰⁴ Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation,” 35–36.

⁴⁰⁵ Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić*, 357.

⁴⁰⁶ Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*, 382.

republics and the Bosnian Academy was still shared.⁴⁰⁷ Serb historians could publish easily with the Serbian Literary Collective Publishing, and the Muslims would not have an equivalent institution.⁴⁰⁸ The Muslims looked to the Islamic Community as a potential national institution.⁴⁰⁹ But, it was all-Yugoslav, and ministered for the other 50% of the Albanians, Macedonians, Turks etc.⁴¹⁰ Therefore the recognition was primarily a top-down event to integrate the Muslim elite, and secondly to help articulate the community left without its traditional religious institutions, with little plans beyond that.⁴¹¹ In the 1971 census, 39,6% Bosnians (1,482 million) identified as Muslim making them a slight plurality.⁴¹² Ironically, in their policy against nationalism, the Communists ossified it through the “tri-national” state, Bosnia remaining one to this day and highlighting the relevance of this decision.⁴¹³ The recognition ultimately was a compromise – the Muslims were recognized, but to a limited extent. Were they recognized in the curricula and textbooks, however?

Recognition-Period Curricula and Teaching (1961-1974)

The curricula between 1961 and 1974 exhibit minor evolution but also strong continuities. In Bosnia, they differed chiefly in the quantities of units. For instance, in Croatia, the curriculum contained 22 non-Croatian units (four from Bosnia), none of which included the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹⁴ This is a trend in Balkan histories – the Ottoman period was minimized as a time which did not happen because “nothing happened.”⁴¹⁵ In Bosnia however there was total of 46 non-Bosnian units, 23 of Serbian and Croatian history. This was on top of Bosnian history, which covered the Ottoman period in greatest length.⁴¹⁶ The author analyzing the curricula suggested certain segments be added in all textbooks, “from the period of slavery [under the Turks] and struggle for freedom,” chiefly the “resistance of our people against the Turks (*hajduks, uskoks, rebels*)” as a major component of the “conception of Yugoslav-dom.”⁴¹⁷

⁴⁰⁷ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 86.

⁴⁰⁸ Branislav Đurđev, “Neke Tendencije u Našoj Istoriografiji,” *Odjek*, February 15, 1967, BI-FAZ.

⁴⁰⁹ Bougarel, “Od ‘Muslimana’ Do ‘Bošnjaka,’” 123.

⁴¹⁰ Darryl Li, *The Universal Enemy: Jihad, Empire, and the Challenge of Solidarity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), 58–59.

⁴¹¹ Lučić, “In the Service of the Nation,” 36–37.

⁴¹² Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 76.

⁴¹³ Carmichael, *A Concise History of Bosnia*, 95.

⁴¹⁴ Vukašin Radonjić, “Jugoslovenska Konceptija u Programima i Udžbenicima Histoije Za Osnovne Škole,” *Historijski Pregled*, 1963, 235, BI-FAZ.

⁴¹⁵ Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 356–57; Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 289–90.

⁴¹⁶ Radonjić, “Jugoslovenska Konceptija u Programima i Udžbenicima Histoije Za Osnovne Škole,” 239–40.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 244.

“iz perioda ropstva i borbe za slobodu,”

“otpor naših naroda protiv Turaka (hajduci, uskoci, ustanici).”

The discussion at the time of recognition touched on programs and curricula. A meeting of the Ideological Commission in Belgrade from 1962 underlined that: “Special attention is paid to the contents of the programs... and insights about the history, culture and contemporary societal development of all the peoples of Yugoslavia.”⁴¹⁸ In schools, “there are cases where in teaching literature, history, language, pupils are encouraged to comment regarding national differences.”⁴¹⁹ The particular manifestations they are referring to is unclear, due to the general nature of the remarks. They need not even have referred to the Muslims often, as in one case, the Commission mentioned overemphasizing Muslim cultural monuments, while neglecting the Croat.⁴²⁰

Regardless, the Bosnian curricula in the 1960s largely intensify their Marxian underpinnings. The gymnasium curriculum from 1963 underlines the importance of highlighting “laws in the process of the development of human society.”⁴²¹ They emphasize the importance of “carriers of progress,” as well as the “belief in the necessity of revolutionary occurrences....so in the inevitability of the socialist transformation.”⁴²² One 1963 teaching plan from the Airforce Academy details the goal of history as “comprehend current events and the inevitability of socialism.”⁴²³ This was emblematic of 1960s confidence in Socialism and its inevitable march under “the mantle of the new,” as Gorsuch and Koenker pointed out.⁴²⁴ The following year’s elementary school program again emphasizes the commitment to “building of Yugoslav

⁴¹⁸ “Zapisnik Sa Sastanka Komisije Za Ideološki Rad CK SKJ, Koji Je Održan 11.05.1962,” November 5, 1962, 6, ABiH CK SKBiH (Id.Kom.) K-34.

“Posebnu pažnju trebalo bi posvetiti programskoj sadržini i to s gledišta obezbjeđivanja širih saznanja omladine svake republike o istoriji kulturi i savremenom društvenom razvitku svih naroda Jugoslavije.”

⁴¹⁹ Sreski komitet SK Sarajevo, “O Nekim Problemim Međunacionalnih Odnosa i Pojavama Šovinizma,” 20.

“...ima slučajeva da se kroz nastavu književnosti, istorije, jezika, već samim predavanjima podstiču komentari učenika u smislu nacionalnih razlika.”

⁴²⁰ “Zapisnik Sa Sastanka Grupe Za Međunacionalne Odnose u Komisiji Za Ideološki Rad CK SK BiH, Održanog 27.04.1961,” April 27, 1961, 3, ABiH CK SKBiH (Id.Kom.) K-26.

⁴²¹ Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Gimnaziju* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1963), 69.

“zakonitosti u procesu razvoja ljudskog društva i praćenje evolucije čovječanstva kao raznolike, ali jedinstvene cjeline.”

⁴²² Ibid.

“nosioci progresna”

“Uvjerenje u neophodnost revolucionarnih pojava..., kao i u neminovnost socijalističkog probražaja.”

⁴²³ “Nastavni Plan i Program Pripreme Škole Za Vazduhoplovnu Vojnu Akademiju,” 1963, 19, ABiH SzP NRBiH K-45 02-02 1275/63.

“shvate savremena zbivanja i neminovnost socijalizma.”

⁴²⁴ Diane P. Koenker and Anne E. Gorsuch, *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 16, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/monograph/book/23684>.

socialist patriotism and internationalism.”⁴²⁵ In this sense, they carry on the legacy of the immediate post-war period.

Similarly, when referring to the Ottomans, more neutral language is used, and a more Marxist approach suggested by focusing on production and material forces. Units are at times dubbed the “Condition of our people under the Turks – Decline of productive forces,” instead of “Slavery.” The 1964 elementary school curriculum again underlines “the difficult consequences of foreign rule which the people suffered – socially, culturally and economically...only being overcome in the newer era.”⁴²⁶ Therefore, the Ottoman period is directly a means to explain and justify the current development of the Yugoslav lands. In covering the Ottoman period one chapter is given to the political development of the Turkish state, one to the consequences of the Turkish takeover and three to the forms of resistance.⁴²⁷ Therefore, with the focus to mostly understanding anti-Ottoman developments, little had changed.

Zooming out, teaching encountered numerous difficulties. Local reports from 1963 detail teaching seventh grade history in Western Bosnia. Teachers regurgitated the textbooks without minding their “methodological errors.”⁴²⁸ In one school in Miljevci, Western Bosnia, the headmaster, who taught sixth grade History, was described as having “no sense nor knowledge for this work.” Furthermore, he changed the programs he used in the middle of the scholar year. As result: “The students know very little...”⁴²⁹ In Bosanski Novi, one teacher taught approximately 57 students.⁴³⁰ The educational attainment was not stellar, as there were around 11-18% children repeating a grade between 1961 to 1971, something accounts largely positive on Yugoslav education tend to ignore, making this discovery even more relevant.⁴³¹ If the

⁴²⁵ Republički zavod za unapređivanje školstva, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovne Škole* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1964), 191.

“izgrađivanje jugoslovenskog socijalističkog patriotizma i internacionalizma.”

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 201.

“kao i teške posljedice tuđinske vlasti koje je snosio narod u društvenom, ekonomskom i kulturnom životu, Poslidiice zaostajanja u razvoju naših naroda tek u novije doba se preovlađuju.”

“Stanje naših naroda pod Turcima – „Opadanje proizvodnih snaga,”

⁴²⁷ “Nastavni Plan i Program Pripreme Škole Za Vazduhoplovnu Vojnu Akademiju,” 23.

⁴²⁸ “Izvještaj o Pregledu Osnovnih Škola Na Području Opštine B.Dubica,” 1962, 25, ABiH SzP NRBiH K-45 02-02 336/63.

⁴²⁹ “Izvještaj o Pregledu Osnovnih Škola Na Području Opštine Sanski Most,” 1962, 36, ABiH SzP NRBiH K-45 02-02 336/63.

“koji za ovaj posao nema znanja, niti smisla.”

“Na času istorije u VI razredu nastavnik je ispitivao učenike postavljajući im nejasna i loše formulisana pitanja. učenici ne znaju ništa...”

⁴³⁰ “Izvještaj o Pregledu Osnovnih Škola Na Području Opštine Bos.Novi,” 1963, 59–60, ABiH SzP NRBiH K-45 02-02 336/63.

⁴³¹ Petar Mandić, “Križa Obrazovanja i Inovacije u Nastavi,” *Iskustva - Časopis Za Školska i Pedagoška Pitanja*, 1971, 14, BI-FAZ; Ognjenović, Mataušić, and Jozelić, “Yugoslavia’s Authentic Socialism as a Pursuit of ‘Absolute Modernity,’” 29.

textbooks were so commonly regurgitated, the question remains what was in them during this transformative period.

The Textbooks in the Middle (1961-1974)

One survey of primary school students in Sarajevo mentioned how they wanted more images of “historical events and historical personalities,” and more “Yugoslav” textbooks.⁴³² Yet, the issue remained that 1960s Bosnia imported textbooks from the neighboring republics.⁴³³ However, textbooks from Serbia for the sixth grade contained seven pages on Bosnia and 32 on the history of the Serbs. Similarly, seventh grade textbooks from Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia, had only 12 pages of Bosnian History in total.⁴³⁴ While the Croatian textbooks were usually of better quality, they were not integrated with the Bosnian system.⁴³⁵ In Bijeljina, a municipal examination found that only 26% of the History textbooks used were prescribed by the Ministry.⁴³⁶ Thus, it is quite likely that older textbooks persisted into later periods, on top of those from other republics. In Livno, this shortage meant teachers had to dictate the materials.⁴³⁷ One survey revealed that authors of textbooks were not teachers, nor was their work suitable for the ages it was intended for. There was a lack of coordination between the makers of the programs and the textbooks too.⁴³⁸ The Bosnian market was expanded with the forming of the Institute for the Publication of Textbooks and publishing house *Svjelost* entering the market in the 1970s.⁴³⁹

One textbook, based on the Croatian curriculum, printed in Bosnia was Croatian historian Olga Salzer’s for the seventh grade.⁴⁴⁰ It contains a grim picture of the Ottoman conquest, how: “Immediately after the fall of Tsargrad, Mehmed [II, the Conqueror] broke into Serbia. He plundered, burned, murdered men older than 14, and women and children were taken as slaves.”⁴⁴¹ She elaborates how the economy, agriculture, urbanization, trade etc. did not

⁴³² S. Đ, “‘Ja Bih Želio Udžbenik ‘Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije’ Gdje Piše o Narodima Jugoslavije.’ (ŠTA JE POKAZALA JEDNA ANKETA),” *Prosvjetni List*, June 15, 1963, NUBBiH.

“istorijskih događaja i istorijskih ličnosti,”

⁴³³ Savjet za prosvjetu NRBiH, “Izvještaj o Radu Savjeta Za Prosvjetu NRBiH u 1960. Godini,” 1960, 4, ABiH SzP NRBiH 1959-1961 52/60.

⁴³⁴ Radonjić, “Jugoslovenska Konceptija u Programima i Udžbenicima Historije Za Osnovne Škole,” 242–43.

⁴³⁵ Odjek, “Udžbenici Za Srednje Škole,” *Odjek*, January 5, 1964, BI-FAZ.

⁴³⁶ Panto Sekulić, “Osavremenjivanje Nastavnog Procesa,” *Prosvjetni List*, January 6, 1968, 6045/1968/1969, NUBBiH.

⁴³⁷ “Informacija,” 1960, ABiH SzP NRBiH 1959-1961 03-03, 65/60.

⁴³⁸ Odjek, “Udžbenici Za Srednje Škole.”

⁴³⁹ Sead Trhulj, “Protiv Monopola,” *Odjek*, 15.04 1971, BI-FAZ.

⁴⁴⁰ “Koje Udžbenike Da Odaberemo,” *Prosvjetni List*, September 15, 1955, NUBBiH.

⁴⁴¹ Olga Salzer, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1961), 15.

develop.⁴⁴² Crucial to this, as in many Balkan accounts of the Ottomans were the numerous taxes imposed on the population, but Salzer also adds how “constant robbery, which the Turks carried out in the conquered lands, did not allow those lands to economically develop.”⁴⁴³ Salzer negatively described Islamification as “Turkification” of the nobility, and that the peasants mostly did not convert to Islam, which is incorrect, as by 1604 90% of Bosnia was Muslim.⁴⁴⁴ Resistance especially in this textbook ties into the Partisan motive, saying how: “...our people never voluntarily submitted to foreigners’ rule, so they did not submit to the Turk.”⁴⁴⁵ Her emphasis on “our” resistance ties into the Serbo-Croatian romantic tradition of resistance against the Ottomans as a point of commonality.⁴⁴⁶ Her book contains a picture of the *Ćele-kula*, the tower of skulls that the Ottomans constructed once the Serb Revolt of 1804 was put down, as “an eerie witness of the bitter struggle of the Serb people for their freedom. The Ottoman period was totally peaceful, as with any Empire, brutality existed. For instance, a long-held (but nonetheless disputed) Serb grievance was that the Ottomans burned the relics of their patron Saint, St. Sava in response to another rebellion at the end on the 16th century.”⁴⁴⁷ But with the *Ćele-kula*, little attention is given how this was done after a rebellion, i.e., high treason to a state, i.e., the very thing the textbooks decry. Therefore, the overwhelmingly negative aspect of the representations of the Ottoman Empire remained in the textbooks, clearly invoking it as focal loathed other.

The discussions around the Muslim recognition dealt also with textbooks. One Ideological Committee meeting notes from April 1961 underlined that:

...it is necessary to highlight that when writing textbooks, strict attention is paid to realistically show scientific and historical materials. Special attention should be paid to the ideational-educational moment of the textbooks, keeping in mind the specificity of the national composition of B&H. That means that when writing and systematizing scientific materials in textbooks, there should be an expression of both the social and the national. In

“Odmah poslije pada Carigrada Mehmed je provalio u Srbiju. Pliejnio je, palio, ubijao muškarce starije of 14 godina, a žene i djecu odvodio kao roblje.”

⁴⁴² Ibid., 91; Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 369–70.

⁴⁴³ Salzer, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 132.

“stalne pljačke, koje su Turci vršili u pokorenim zemljama, nisu dopuštale da se te zemlje ekonomski razvijaju.”

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 93; Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, sec. Muslims and Non-Muslims, 29% (ebook).

⁴⁴⁵ Salzer, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 94.

“Kao što naši narodi nikada nisu dobrovoljno pokorili ni jednoj tuđinskoj vlasti, tako se nisu pokorili ni turskoj.”

⁴⁴⁶ Charles Jelavich, “South Slav Education - Was There Yugoslavism,” in *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*, ed. Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), chaps. 2, 36% (ebook).

⁴⁴⁷ Bojan Aleksov, “Nationalism in Construction: The Memorial Church of St. Sava on Vračar Hill in Belgrade,” *Balkanologie. Revue d'études pluridisciplinaires* 7, no. 2 (December 1, 2003): 50, <https://doi.org/10.4000/balkanologie.494>.

no case should it be forgotten, so that in one textbook cultural, historical, artistic, and other assets of one nationality than the other...⁴⁴⁸

Therefore, the topic was politicized (even if behind closed doors), and it highlighted that there was a lack of scientific sources. This should then be reflected in the textbooks themselves, which are examined below in greater depth.

The Middle Textbooks' Ottoman Conquest

Concerning the conquest of the Balkans, Kemal Hrelja's new economic history textbook from 1962 still vividly utilizes slavery to paint a grim picture of the Ottoman conquest. He mentioned how it was "characterized by ferocity, plundering of conquered lands and enslavement of the population etc. Populations of conquered cities very often were taken into slavery to the last man."⁴⁴⁹ He cites a 15th century Greek historian, who said how the whole area from Thrace to Dalmatia has been left barren and a Bulgarian monk who noted how: "one part of the Christians was killed, the other enslaved, and those that remained were reaped by death and died of hunger... Those that lived envied those who died."⁴⁵⁰ However, as Serbian historian Miodrag Popović later wrote, "We should not always believe monastic accusation against the Turks and their apocalyptic rhetoric."⁴⁵¹ Monastic accounts understood "the Turks" in a theological context, and their accounts served to mobilize the population against the Ottomans at the time, the function remaining in the textbooks too.⁴⁵²

Ivan Božić, a prominent historian of medieval Montenegro wrote a history textbook for the sixth grade in 1965. His account has less value judgements and impassioned language overall.

⁴⁴⁸ "Zapisnik," 1–2.

"U tom pravcu potrebno je ukazati na to da se prilikom pisanja školskih udžbenika vodi strogo računa o tome da se u njima relano prikazuje naučno-istorijska građa. Pri tome naročitu pažnju treba obratiti na idejno-vaspitni momenat udžbenika, imajući u vidu specifičnost nacionalnog sastava u Bosni i Hercegovini. To znači da se prilikom pisanja i sistematizacije naučne građe u udžbenicima treba da dođe do izražaja i pored socijalnog i nacionalni momnat. Niukom slučaju ne bi se smjelo dogoditi to da se prilikom pisanja udžbenika zaboravlja na taj momenat pa da se u jednom udžbeniku više naglase kulturno istorijske, umjetničke i dr. tekovine jedne nacionalnosti nego drugih, ako za to nema sasvim opravdanih razloga kao što su siromaštvo kulturnih I naučnih tekovina pojedinih nacionalnosti."

⁴⁴⁹ Kemal Hrelja, *Privredna Istorija - I Dio (Economic History - Part One)* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1962), 179.

"Osvajački ratoci turskih sultana odlikovali su se strašnom žestinom, pljčkanjem osvojenih teritorija, odvođenjem stanovništva u ropstvo itd. Stanovništvo osvojenih gradova veoma često je do posljednjeg čovjeka odvedeno u ropstvo."

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 180–81.

"jedni of kršćana su bili ubijeni, drugi odvedeni u ropstvo, a one koji su ostali tamo kosila je smrt i oni su umirali od gladi. Zemlja je opustjela, ljudi su izginuli, nestala je stoka i plodovi. Živi su zavidjeli onima koji su umrli rajje od drugih."

⁴⁵¹ Miodrag Popović, "Geneza Kosovske Legende," *Odjek*, 30.06 1989, BI-FAZ.

"Ne treba uvijek verovati kaluđerskim optužbama protiv Turaka i njihovoj apokaliptičkoj retorici."

⁴⁵² Konrad, "From the 'Turkish Menace' to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453–1914)?" 8–12; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 2–3.

For instance, he argued that “The Battle of Kosovo was the subject of folk songs. Kosovo heroes were depicted as martyrs.”⁴⁵³ Therefore, there is a semblance of a critical reflection on folk history. He even includes an Ottoman source which praised the ferocity the Bosnian resistance. Still the source emphasized how: “before the enslavement and plunder would begin, a young man and girl would grab hold of each other, and in fear of being captured by the Turks, let go of their soul by jumping into a chasm.”⁴⁵⁴ Violence, presented very explicitly, serves to especially demonize the Ottomans. Another prominent historian Sima Ćirković, expert on medieval Serbia, composed a second-year gymnasium textbook in 1967. The conquest is rationalized in familiar Marxist-materialistic terms, for the Sultan to be able to extract resources more easily from his tributaries.⁴⁵⁵ However, for the first time, there is a miniature of Sultan Mehmet and the conquest in his book is reduced to a drier account.⁴⁵⁶ Ćirković continues the current of highlighting Ottoman cunning ploys to disunite and conquer the Slavic states: “The Turks strengthened discord between the Balkan lands...and also used the dissatisfaction of the oppressed masses.”⁴⁵⁷ His reader texts again detail the aftermath of the Battle of Marica in 1371:

So spread the Ishmaelites (Turks) and flew all over the land as birds in the air and one of the Christians’ throats they slit with the blade, others they took to slavery, and those that remained met an untimely end. Those that avoided death were killed by famine, as hunger not seen since Creation spread.⁴⁵⁸

Both accounts are emblematic of Balkan historiography that located the Ottomans alone as bringing havoc and ruin to previously prosperous lands.⁴⁵⁹ However, the Ottomans did not invent looting cities, even though their conquests (like any other) were brutal. Customs of war entailed that if the city would not surrender, it would be sacked for three days, but if it

⁴⁵³ Ivan Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1965), 187.

“Kosovska bitka je opjevana u narodnim pjesmama. Kosovski junaci prikazani su kao požrtvovani i hrabri borci koji stradaju na ratištu.”

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 191–92.

“prije nego bi počelo robljenje I pljačkanje, uhvatili bi se mladić i djevojka, ili djeva, pa u strahu da ih Turci ne bi uzeli, ispuštali dušu skakjući dobrovoljno u provaliju.”

⁴⁵⁵ Sima Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije (History for the Second Grade of Gynamism)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1967), 102.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 107–8.

“Turci su pojačavali razdor među balkanskim zemljama, koje su željeli da osvoje, a koristili su se i nezadovoljstvom ugnjetanih masa.”

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 103–4.

“rasuše se Izmailjčani (Turci) i poletješe po svojoj zemlji kao ptice po vazduhu I jedne od hrišćana mačem koljahu, druge odvodahu u repostvo, a one što su ostali spali prevremena smrt. One koji I od smrti ostadoše, glad pomori, jer nastala takva glad u svim stranama kakva nije bila u svim stranama od stvorenja svijeta.”

⁴⁵⁹ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62–63, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511790645>.

surrendered, the city would be spared.⁴⁶⁰ As Howard clarified: “The Turks were not the only warriors interested in raiding and plunder and slaving.”⁴⁶¹ Slavery was common, as Muslim warriors traded Christians slaves and vice versa.⁴⁶² Still, endemic to Early Modern Islamic states, slaves were found in various functions – as domestic slaves, Janissaries or military elites (e.g. in the *Mamluk* Sultanate), harem slaves, workers etc. on a diverse continuum.⁴⁶³ Slaving was not an exclusively Ottoman enterprise, as they entered the established Slave trade in the Black Sea region, nor can the simple term “slave” capture the categories of human captives.⁴⁶⁴ While reprehensible, was not entirely like e.g., New World Chattel Slavery, which was not clarified.⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, we still get a sense of truly apocalyptic events, based on accounts used as propaganda.

Emina Omanović’s 1974 seventh grade primary school textbook’s too falls into the trend of highlighting the sharp breaks with the past e.g., saying “The Turks wiped out all old borders of the states that they conquered.”⁴⁶⁶ On top of being false, it underlines a decidedly modern conception of sovereignty and statehood, projected backwards.⁴⁶⁷ As borders are key tenants of statehood and as (independent) statehood was greatly valued in former Yugoslavia, this serves to demonize and incite against the Ottoman Empire. Her textbook also details the negative fallout of the conquest, “followed by not just plunder of the cities, the enslavement of the population...”⁴⁶⁸ She does not give examples or figures. However, in some terminology again, the Bosnian King’s death is merely “execution” rather than the more graphic “decapitation”

⁴⁶⁰ Rossitsa Gradeva, “Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings,” in *Rumeli under the Ottomans 15th-19th Centuries*, ed. Rossitsa Gradeva (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 17, https://www.academia.edu/44800049/Ottoman_Policy_Towards_Christian_Church_Buildings_Etudes_balkaniques_4_1994_14_36; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, 2–3.

⁴⁶¹ Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, The Spiritual Vocabulary of Cataclysm, 9% (ebook).

⁴⁶² Božidar Jezernik, “Imagining ‘the Turk,’” in *Imagining ‘the Turk,’* ed. Božidar Jezernik (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 12, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=523773&site=ehost-live>.

⁴⁶³ Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East*, First Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 13–14; Koby Yosef, “The Term Mamluk and Slave Status during the Mamluk Sultanate,” *Al-Qanṭara* 34, no. 1 (June 30, 2013): 8, 27–28, <https://doi.org/10.3989/alqantara.2013.001>.

⁴⁶⁴ Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, sec. Interdependence, 9% (ebook).

⁴⁶⁵ Josef Matuz, “The Nature and Stages of Ottoman Feudalism,” *Asian and African Studies* 16 (1982): 283.

⁴⁶⁶ Emina Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974), 96.

“Turci su zbrisali sve stare granice država koje su osvojili.”

⁴⁶⁷ Derek Croxton, “The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty,” *The International History Review* 21, no. 3 (1999): 570–71; Mark Biondich, “Nations, Nationalism, and Violence in the Balkans,” in *The Balkans: Revolution, War, and Political Violence since 1878*, ed. Mark Biondich (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7–8, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199299058.003.0001>.

⁴⁶⁸ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 98.

“praćenje ne samo pustošenjem gradova i sela (which?), odvođenjem stanovništva u ropstvo (figures?), nego i raseljavanjem stanovništva iz jednih nekih krajeva u druge, pa čak i van Balkanskog poluostrva u Malu Aziju.”

from the previous textbooks.⁴⁶⁹ Therefore, the substance of the conquest as a deeply traumatic event is largely unchanged substantively beyond the softened register. The Ottoman Conquest is not seen as transformative, but mostly destructive.

A Yugoslav Divergence – Development under the Ottomans

The discussion on development in the textbooks around the Muslim recognition presents more significant differences. On the one hand, they maintain the negative role Ottoman rule played in the long-term development of the Yugoslav nations. On the other, they begin to differentiate the period and nuance certain aspects of the Ottoman project. Many textbooks in this period were re-printed dozens of times with little changes, and as early as 1956, this practice was noted to be expensive for students.⁴⁷⁰ Therefore, some editions after 1974 were also consulted in this section along with their preceding editions.

An emerging thread is a comparative approach to the development of the South Slavic lands. On the one hand, accounts present certain positive developments under Ottoman rule, such as the developments of towns, culture, and even initial order. Ćirković's gymnasium textbook denotes the feudal system as being similar, but the Ottoman more orderly at the start.⁴⁷¹ He credits the Ottomans for the development of cities such as Mostar and Sarajevo, where trade and manufacture developed.⁴⁷² This is reminiscent of the *Pax Ottomana* historiographical thesis, which highlights the growth of trade, travel, common culture etc. under Ottoman dominion.⁴⁷³ Ćirković's book is the first to present Islamic culture in the style of living: "It was taken care of that buildings for citizens be surrounded by greenery, to have ventilation and light. In city settlements, foundations were made in forms of hotels, fountains, *hammams*, and religious schools."⁴⁷⁴ Muslim Yugoslavs, he mentioned, wrote in Arabic and became famous

⁴⁶⁹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 89. "pogubili"

"odrubili glavu"

⁴⁷⁰ Udruženje učitelja, nastavnika i profesora opštine Stari Grad Sarajevo, "Primjedbe Na Udžbenike Za Osnovne Škole," 1956, ABiH SzŠ 3174/56; Mitar Papić, "Materijal o Udžbenicima," 1959, ABiH SzP NRBiH K-7 757/59.

⁴⁷¹ Wayne S. Vucinich, "The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period: Postwar Marxist Interpretations of Indigenous and Ottoman Institutions," *The Journal of Modern History* 27, no. 3 (September 1955): 288–89, <https://doi.org/10.1086/237811>.

⁴⁷² Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '67*, 171.

⁴⁷³ Judy A. Hayden, *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713*, Illustrated edition (Leiden ; Boston: BRILL, 2012), 4; Ezel Kural Shaw, "Ottoman Aspects of Pax Ottomanica," in *Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe*, ed. Béla K. Király (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1975), 168.

⁴⁷⁴ Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '67*, 176.

"Pazilo se da zgrade za stanovnike budu okružene zelenilom, da imaju vazduha i svejtlosti. U gradskim naseljima su kao zadužbine podizani hanovi, česme, kupatila i vjerske škole."

A hammam is a public bathhouse.

in the arts, law etc. people preserved their culture and customs, Ćirković argued.⁴⁷⁵ He presents a source by Henry Blount in his travels through Sarajevo, quite positive of the wealth and riches of the city in the 17th century.⁴⁷⁶ Blount's account in *Voyage into the Levant* from 1636 is renowned for its attempts to interrogate the common perspectives of cultural differences between the "West" and the Ottoman Empire, as well its "imperial envy" expressing the British desire for Empire amid Ottoman expansion.⁴⁷⁷ Omanović too notes the many positive developments and the growth of the cities – madrassas, bridges etc., while also mentioning Muslim poets and intellectuals, although not by name, as "our people," in a clear attempt at rehabilitation of Islamic culture.⁴⁷⁸ Sparavalo and Perazić's 1973 edition of the seventh grade textbook includes more information on towns that developed according to the needs of administration and trade, such as Foča and Mostar.⁴⁷⁹ Foreign trade is also described and the Empire is less of an international pariah, always at war with the Christian world.⁴⁸⁰ Therefore, there is significant advancement in more factually representing the Ottoman Empire as a part of the history of Yugoslavia.

However, when referring to the general trends of development, even the later editions of the Ćirković book argue that Ottoman rule severed the ties with "European" economic development, which resulted in backwardness.⁴⁸¹ Ćirković maintains that "in the territories that belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy, slowly domestic bourgeoisie was developing, while under Turkish rule, domestic population, apart from the part that accepted Islam, remained in the position of nearly rightless *reaya*."⁴⁸² Similarly, Hrelja is deeply critical, saying how Ottoman dominion meant "the end of their independent development" of the Balkan states. While he concedes the first part of Ottoman rule brought advancement, economic development slowed

⁴⁷⁵ Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '67 (History for the Second Grade of Gynamisum)*, 177.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

"u krštenih [je] veći turban na glavi nego u Turaka I pogleda su mrka kao janjičari."

⁴⁷⁷ Natalya Din-Kariuki, "Reading the Ottoman Empire: Intertextuality and Experience in Henry Blount's *Voyage into the Levant* (1636)," *The Review of English Studies* 74 (September 24, 2022): 47–48, <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgac062>; Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2004), 143–45, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230511767>.

⁴⁷⁸ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 106–7.

"naši ljudi."

⁴⁷⁹ Stanko Perazić and Ljubo Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 12th ed. (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1973), 25.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁸¹ Sima Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije (History for the Second Grade of Gynamisum)*, 9th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980), 167–68.

⁴⁸² Sima Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije (History for the Second Grade of Gynamisum)*, 7th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977), 167, 168.

"Na teritorijama koje su prepadale Habsburškoj monarhiji lagano se izdizala domaća buržoazija, dok je pod turskom vlašću dimaće stanovništvo, osim onog dijela koji je primio islam ostalo u položaju gotovo bespravne raje."

down compared to Western Europe.⁴⁸³ He does not make it very clear how and why Western Europe developed differently, aside from Ottoman rule. The major issue here is the type of comparison. As Kocka underlined with Germany's *Sonderweg* debate, a sketch of "the West" as a comparative peer makes Yugoslavia under the Ottomans deviant and "un-European."⁴⁸⁴ However, this was due to the linear and teleological Marxian approach to history, which underscored a single correct historical trajectory. The general developmental trajectory of Eastern Europe was a part the Little Divergence, and not merely the legacy of the Ottoman rule *per se*, but consequence of global shifts in production, institutions, etc., which meant the Western half of the continent developed differently (but also unevenly).⁴⁸⁵ However, valuing independence and seeing the development of the Western nations as normative, the Ottoman period is when everything went wrong for the Yugoslavs.

Interethnic relations under the Ottomans – Islam, Churches, Janissaries

With the rise of interethnic relations as a political topic in the 1960s, its historical manifestations also received attention. The question of the churches also evolves to portray what in effect was the second state religion of the Empire. For instance, Božić's argued that the Ottomans allowed for significant church autonomy.⁴⁸⁶ He mentioned that: "The encountered legal order was respected largely, and some areas such as family law and religious relations were left entirely to the Orthodox Church."⁴⁸⁷ Yet he emphasizes more the injustices and arbitrariness – theft and requisitions that were mostly against Christians, while note citing particular instances, as another example of the Schematic Narrative Template.⁴⁸⁸ Perazić and Sparavalo's seventh grade textbook from 1962 are the most detailed so far in their representation of religious relations. They correctly note how certain groups, such as the nomadic herders, the Vlachs,

⁴⁸³ Hrelja, *Privredna Istorija - I Dio (Economic History - Part One)*, 185.

"gospodarstvo Turaka značilo je ne samo kraj nezavisnosti Srbije, Bosne i dijelom Crne Gore, nego i prekid njihov daljeg samostalnog razvitka. U ekonomskom pogledu u prvo vrijeme turske vladavine ostvaren je izvjestan napredak (u obradi zemlje, razvitku stočarstva, u rudarstvu, razvitku zanatstva i trgovine, podizanju gradova i razvitku gradskog života), ali tamo od XVI vijeka ekonomski razvitak naših krajeva postepeno zaostaje posebno ako ga uporedimo sa stanjem u zapadnoj Evropi."

⁴⁸⁴ Jürgen Kocka, "Asymmetrical Historical Comparison: The Case of the German *Sonderweg*," *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (1999): 49.

⁴⁸⁵ Alexandra M. de Pleijt and Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Accounting for the 'Little Divergence' What Drove Economic Growth in Preindustrial Europe, 1300-1800?," *Working Papers*, Working Papers, November 2013, <https://ideas.repec.org/p/ucg/wpaper/0046.html>; Resat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy* (New York: SUNY, 1988), 11–18, <https://sunypress.edu/Books/T/The-Ottoman-Empire-and-the-World-Economy2>.

⁴⁸⁶ Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '67*, 169.

⁴⁸⁷ Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '77*, 1977, 169.

"Poštivan je u velikoj mjeri zatečeni pravni red, a neke oblasti kao što su porodično parvo i vjerski odnosi, bili su sasvim prepušteni pravoslavnoj crkvi."

⁴⁸⁸ Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 197.

were granted substantial autonomy, as well as the existence of Christian knights (*spahi/spahije*) in the Ottoman army.⁴⁸⁹ This book was the first Bosnian textbook to cover the seventh grade, composed for the 1963-1964 school year, described to be on the cutting edge of science.⁴⁹⁰ Their 12th edition from 1973 mentioned that the Orthodox Church did not come into conflict until the end of the 16th century with the Ottoman state at all.⁴⁹¹ The Church's position is even registered as better than during the constant wars and lootings beforehand, as many monasteries were also renovated.⁴⁹² Yet, again they highlight how ultimately: "For the entirety of their rule over the Balkans, the Turk minority oppressed the Balkan people."⁴⁹³ Similarly, the *reaya* are classified as simply "oppressed."⁴⁹⁴ Omanović's 1974 sixth grade textbook stated: "The peasants were the oppressed and used segment of society in Bosnia. The worst position was occupied by the Christian population – the *reaya*."⁴⁹⁵ It is not clear if the term is only incorrectly used for the Christians, however, the book mentions Muslim peasants as well and how: "Their position was somewhat better than the Christian *reaya*, but their obligations too were numerous."⁴⁹⁶ Still, the textbooks fit into the "progressive" view of history by picking the side of the "oppressed," the word being chosen almost consistently for the peasantry.

Regarding religious institutions, Omanović writes: "With the conquest of our lands, the Turks did not immediately destroy the independent Serbian Church, even though they took most of her large estates, burned many monasteries and turned some into mosques."⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, this had been the case for many especially Catholic monasteries, although not all.⁴⁹⁸ Indeed, the Ottomans often made use of the local churchmen and parishes for tax collection, and Omanović's book is the first to mention this. The conversion of religious objects into mosques

⁴⁸⁹ Stanko Perazić and Ljubo Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)* (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1962), 31.

⁴⁹⁰ Slobodan Milošević, "Kratak Osvrt Na Udžbenik Istorije Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole," *Prosvjetni List*, March 15, 1963, NUBBiH.

⁴⁹¹ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 24.

⁴⁹² Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '62, 34–35.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

"Za cijelo vrijeme vladavine na Balkanu, Turci su kao manjina ugnjetavali balkanske narode."

⁴⁹⁴ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 21.

"potlačena"

⁴⁹⁵ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 105.

"Seljaci su bili ugnjetavani i iskorišćavani sloj društva u bosanskom pašaluku. U najtežem položaju je bilo hrišćansko stanovništvo – raja."

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

"U voma teškom položaju su bili i muslimani seljaci – muslimanska raja. Njihov položaj je bio nešto povoljniji od hrišćanske raje raje, no i obaveze muslimanske raje bile su mnogobrojne."

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

"Osvajanjem naših zemalja Turci nisu odmah uništili samostalnu srpsku crkvu, iako su joj oduzeli većinu velikih posjeda, mnoge manastire spalili a neke pretvorili u džamije."

⁴⁹⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 55.

is well-documented, a means of signifying victory and superiority of Islam.⁴⁹⁹ Still, it is practice of time and place, that cannot be understood in terms of modern tolerance and human rights. Western Europeans at the time too condemned the subaltern status of Christians in the Empire, but noted other religions could generally be freely expressed.⁵⁰⁰ Her book is also the first to highlight how the Franciscans had the right to remain active in Bosnia (the Bosnian *Ahdnâme*), as well as the growth of Orthodox monasteries (Tvrdoš, Žitomislići etc.)⁵⁰¹ This is also the first substantive mention of Catholicism in the context of Ottoman rule. The Catholic church faced much more suspicion as the “enemy” church of the Habsburgs and Venetians, being the more dominant Church in Bosnia at the time of Conquest.⁵⁰² Thus, with the political move towards more equitable interethnic relations in Bosnia including the Catholic Croats is also mirrored in the textbooks.

Islamification evolves the most. It is presented in much more depth, although not without misconceptions. Omanović too highlighted that “The Turks did not conduct violent Islamification, but Islam spread gradually and without forced measures.”⁵⁰³ It is also highlighted how the population that adopted Islam, “preserved its language and some traditions.”⁵⁰⁴ Therefore, it also affirms the Slavic nature of the Muslims as not being fundamentally changed, as Ćerić wrote in 1968. However, some claims in the textbooks clashed with literature. Perazić and Sparavalo wrote the conversion to Islam turned the converts into the Turkish ruling class, was contradicted by historian Avdo Sućeska, who emphasized the apartness of the Bosnian ruling class.⁵⁰⁵ The economic motivation is a common perception of Islamification, as being either due to greed, to obtain or preserve property.⁵⁰⁶ However this interpretation is only lightly presented in Omanović’s book, reading: “the population that

⁴⁹⁹ Gradeva, “Ottoman Policy Towards Christian Church Buildings,” 19.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 35; “NENAD FILIPOVIĆ U ODGOVORU ŽELJKU IVANKOVIĆU: Konstantinopolj nije doživio skrnavljenje hrišćanskih svetinja osmanskim, ne,” *The Bosnia Times* (blog), August 21, 2020, <https://thebosniatimes.ba/49565/nenad-filipovic-u-odgovoru-zeljku-ivankovicu-konstantinopolj-nije-doživio-skrnavljenje-hrišćanskih-svetinja-osmanskim-nego-latinskim-osvajanjem/>.

⁵⁰¹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 107; Emina Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1985), 138; Ana Sekulić, “The Amazing Life of the Ottoman Bosnian Ahdname,” *New Lines Magazine* (blog), November 4, 2022, <https://newlinesmag.com/essays/the-amazing-life-of-the-ottoman-bosnian-ahdname/>.

⁵⁰² Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 55.

⁵⁰³ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 98–99.

“Turci nisu provodili nasilnu islamizaciju, već se islam širio postepeno i bez prisilnih mjera.”

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

“Islamizirano stanovništvo je sačuvalo svoj jezik i neke običaje.”

⁵⁰⁵ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole '73*, 23; Sućeska, *Neke Specifičnosti Bosne Pod Turcima*, 46–51.

⁵⁰⁶ Aleksov, “Perceptions of Islamization in the Serbian National Discourse,” 118.

converted to Islam was freed of certain levies, as belonging to the dominant faith, they were protected by law.”⁵⁰⁷ In reality, non-Muslims were protected by laws which their own community administered and while there had been structural incentives to convert, certain regions, like central Serbia barely did.⁵⁰⁸ It also argues that a major motivation for the conversion was the presence of the medieval Bogomil heresy in Bosnia.⁵⁰⁹ Allegedly this dualist sect, facing oppression from both Orthodoxy and Catholicism converted *en masse* to Islam. Malcolm was not convinced by this interpretation, dubbing it the “Bogomil myth.”⁵¹⁰ Indeed, the theory was founded by Franjo Rački, 19th century Croatian historian to explain Islam in Bosnia. However, the Bosnian Church was effectively dismantled through persecution by the time of the Ottoman conquest.⁵¹¹ This myth unsurprisingly emerged in the 1960s and 1970s around the recognition of the Muslim nation and is popular even today.⁵¹² However, the textbooks inherit claims and vocabulary, still framing Islamification as being used to “tie the conquered peoples to its rule.”⁵¹³ While explained through the pluralized religious situation in Bosnia, Islamization in the textbook remains a deliberate tactic - “to create a strong basis for their [Ottoman] rule of the conquered population.”⁵¹⁴ The end-goal remains malicious due to the negative associations and the Muslim population comes off as particularly guilty. Still, it is a major advancement from the near-total erasure of the previous period.

The other major source of the conversion was the Janissary order. In this period, textbooks also use more neutral terminology such as “converted to Islam” and “taken” when referring to the Janissaries.⁵¹⁵ Omanović includes a contemporary 16th century account from former Janissary

⁵⁰⁷ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 98.

“stanovništvo koje je prelazilo u Islam oslobađali nekih nameta, kao I pripadnici vladajuće vjere bili su zakonom zaštićeni.”

⁵⁰⁸ Shaw, “Ottoman Aspects of Pax Ottomanica,” 171; Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 66; Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, sec. Muslims and Non-Muslims, 29% (ebook).

⁵⁰⁹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 104.

⁵¹⁰ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, xxiii; Colin Heywood, “Bosnia under Ottoman Rule 1463-1800,” in *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, ed. Mark Pinson (Harvard CMES, 1994), 39; Aleksov, “Perceptions of Islamization in the Serbian National Discourse,” 118.

⁵¹¹ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 41–42.

⁵¹² Robert J. Donia, *Sarajevo: Biografija Grada* (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2006), 114.

⁵¹³ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole '73*, 24.

“pokoreno stanovništvo vežu za svoju vlast”

⁵¹⁴ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 104.

“da bi u pokorenom stanovništvu na taj način stekli snažan oslonac svoje vlasti”

⁵¹⁵ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole '62*, 31.

“prevedena na islam” “odvođena”

Konstantin Mihajlović, who explained the system for a European audience.⁵¹⁶ There is however no context ever given for how many were enslaved under the “blood tax.”⁵¹⁷ Sugar estimated that in 200 years around 200,000 Christians from all over the Empire were involved.⁵¹⁸ Božić mentioned that on top of state toleration of other religions, that origin was not discriminated against. He mentioned Mehmed Sokolović, a Serb boy, eventually Grand Vizier and his brother (possibly nephew) Makarije was made the Serb Patriarch.⁵¹⁹ Little however is done to utilize the figure in blurring the ethno-religious belonging in this period. The Grand Vizier is simply dubbed a Serb, and praised as such, ignoring the fact he was an Ottoman statesman.⁵²⁰ But, he still presented a fine example of the integration of the Ottoman state and how it allowed advancement within it, a significant change from the previous period.⁵²¹ He is also the singular positive figure from the Ottoman period so far, but mostly because he retained his “Serb-ness”, even in foreign service.

Resisting the Ottomans

Resistance retains the most similarities with the previous period. It remains within the established matrix of understanding resistance to the Ottoman as a major building block for the Yugoslav identification. However, the phenomenon is slightly more nuanced. Ćirković mentioned how only in the 16th century did resistance emerge inside the Empire.⁵²² He also pointed out how groups such as the *uskoks* also fought the Venetians and not just the Ottomans, which was noted by Kapidžić in a textbook review. It also speaks of the migrations under the Ottomans as producing “a mixing of the Serb and Croat populations. They were bound by the struggle against a common enemy.”⁵²³ Therefore, it again taps into the potential of the Ottoman

⁵¹⁶ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 97.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁵¹⁸ Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 56.

⁵¹⁹ Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 195; Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 519–20.

⁵²⁰ Sang Hun Kim, “Mehmed-paša Sokolović i južnoslavenske identitetske politike tijekom XIX. stoljeća,” *Književna smotra : Časopis za svjetsku književnost* 49, no. 183(1) (October 3, 2017): 138; Lory, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” 366.

Sokollu Mehmed Paša’s (Mehmed Paša Sokolović’s) connection to the renewal of the Patriarchate is tenuous. Dakić argued there was no evidence of, then, third vizier’s involvement in the renewal in 1557, as his grand vizirate was from 1565 to 1579. See: Dakic, Uros. “The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.” CEU, 2012. https://www.academia.edu/2230496/The_Sokollu_Family_Clan_and_the_Politics_of_Vizierial_Households_in_the_Second_Half_of_the_Sixteenth_Century.

⁵²¹ Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 1124; Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 58; Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 46–47.

⁵²² Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '67*, 173.

⁵²³ Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 196.

Empire as an enemy for the Yugoslavs and for the Serbo-Croat entente. Perazić and Sparavalo also highlight the decay of the Empire leading to rebellions, due to taxation, exportation of land, injustice.⁵²⁴ The analysis is shrouded in loaded language when describing the supposed decay of the Ottoman feudal system, key words describing it still being “robbery” and “plunder.”⁵²⁵

The *hajduks* again feature as heroic figures, as Omanović for instance details how: “Brave people who could not tolerate Turkish violence and injustice became renegades.”⁵²⁶ Along with the *uskoks*, their resistance are defined as “the beginning of the liberation struggle.”⁵²⁷ With the recognition of the Muslim nation, they are now more included in the resistance, noted for revolting in the 17th century around Sarajevo.⁵²⁸ Perazić and Sparavalo too mention how: “It was not uncommon that Muslim peasants resist pressures by feudal lords and tax collectors.”⁵²⁹ Therefore, the Muslim nation in textbooks was becoming legitimated through resistance like the other Yugoslavs, as the 1971 census pamphlet prescribed. With the quantity of new textbooks being printed in Bosnia, the very end of Ottoman rule is covered in more detail. The Two Serb Revolts between 1804 and 1815 are the centerpieces of the 19th century as *the Specific Narrative*, and account for dozens of pages alone.

In Perazić and Sparavalo, the Serb revolt of 1804 is characterized in familiar fashion as a struggle for “national and social liberation,” in line with its WWII incarnation.⁵³⁰ The revolt covers eleven pages overall, while many other topics warrant less than a page. In the 1973 edition, the two events cover some 25 pages of the 180-page book. It is characterized as “national liberation from Turkish rule.”⁵³¹ Grbelja and Otašević’s second year vocational school textbook from 1974 also highlights the development of the Balkan societies being very swift

“Tako je došlo do miješanja srpskog i hrvatskog stanovništva. Povezivala ih je borba protiv zajedničkog neprijatelja.”

⁵²⁴ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '62, 38–40.

⁵²⁵ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 26–27.

“otimanje”

“otimačina”

⁵²⁶ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 101.

“U hajduke su se odmetali hrabri ljudi koji nisu htjeli podnositi tursko nasilje i nepravde, te su odlazili u planine da se odatle bore protiv Turaka.”

⁵²⁷ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 28.

“počeci oslobodilačke borbe naših naroda protiv turske vlasti i feudalnog uređenja.”

⁵²⁸ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 106.

⁵²⁹ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 27.

“Nisu bili rijetki slučajevi da se i seljaci muslimani odupiru pritisku feudalaca i sakupljača dažbina.”

⁵³⁰ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '62, 55.

“nacionalno i socijalno oslobođenje,”

⁵³¹ Perazić and Sparavalo, *Istorija Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole* '73, 63.

“nacionalno oslobođenje od turske vlasti.”

following the end of “slavery to the Turks.”⁵³² This had not been the case, and the emerging Balkan states struggled. Regardless, the revolt is unmistakably characterized as a liberation war “against Turkish feudal enslavement.”⁵³³ The revolt was in part due to the injustices of the Ottoman system, and specifically a group of Janissaries (the *Dahis* Mladić mentioned) who resisted reform granting the Orthodox population rights.⁵³⁴ The Janissaries were subdued with Ottoman help, but the Serb leader Karađorđe (Black George) revolted against Ottoman suzerainty.⁵³⁵ Yet, this revolt was profoundly anti-Islamic and resulted in destruction of Muslim architecture, the expulsion of the population, or worse.⁵³⁶ Vuk Karadžić too used the term “cleanse” (*očistiti*) to describe the killings of Muslims in Belgrade in 1806.⁵³⁷ Interestingly, the Knežević-Smiljević vocational school textbook characterized the Bosnian revolt of the 1830s as merely reactionary.⁵³⁸ It was actually in part due to the tensions between the Ottoman court and the Bosnian nobility, the former awarding Serbia six Bosnian municipalities, and failing to protect the Muslims. This is masked by the Marxian approach of viewing the revolt led by the nobility as intrinsically backwards. In their updated edition too, Bosnia is a peripheral and dark place ruled by the reactionary nobility. The section on 19th-century Bosnia covers less than a page while the other South Slavic nations receive multiple.⁵³⁹ What they neglect is the relative syncretism and the influence of Ottoman culture even post-independence. The governance of the Balkans, imperial or independent for a long time did not resemble any modern state. In 19th-century Serbia, Miloš Obrenović’s rule was effectively very Ottoman in style and substance, evidenced by wardrobe, titles and living style.⁵⁴⁰ The traditional Muslim headwear – the *fes*

⁵³² Tonči Grbelja and Dušan Otašević, *Istorija Za II Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the Second Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974), 6.

“turskog ropstva.”

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 7.

“protiv turskog feudalnog porobljavanja.”

⁵³⁴ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 89.

⁵³⁵ Jelavich and Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*, 29–35; Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 404.

⁵³⁶ Banac, “Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Postcommunist Statehood, 1918—1992,” 132.

⁵³⁷ Cathie Carmichael, “‘Neither Serbs nor Turks, Neither Water nor Wine, but Odious Renegades’: The Ethnic Cleansing of Slav Muslims and Its Role in Serbian and Montenegrin Discourses since 1800,” in *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Steven Bela Vardy and T. Hunt Tooley (Boulder: Social Science Monographs; New York: Dist. by Columbia University Press, 2003), 115–16, <http://archive.org/details/ethniccleansingi00unse>.

⁵³⁸ Banac, “Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Postcommunist Statehood, 1918—1992,” 133; Richard J. Evans, *The Pursuit of Power: Europe, 1815-1914*, 1st edition (London: Allen Lane, 2016), chap. 1, ca.10% (ebook).

⁵³⁹ Đorđe Knežević and Bogdan Smiljević, *Istorija Za I Razred Škola Za Kvalifikovane Radnike (History for the First Grade of Qualified Workers’ Schools)*, 4th ed. (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1972), 29–40.

⁵⁴⁰ Augusta Dimou, “Udžbenici istorije u jugoistočnoj Evropi,” *Forum za tranzicionu pravdu*, no. 5 (2015): 41.

was declared national heritage in Serbia too.⁵⁴¹ However, the textbooks portray Ottoman rule as intrinsically feudal and backwards, while independence on its own, even under a supposed “bourgeois” regime is viewed favorably. While Socialism under the Communist party was the final teleological development, national independence was the first step.⁵⁴²

Perhaps most controversially, both sixth grade textbooks, Omanović’s and Božić’s explicitly mention the impalement on a stake as punishment for resisting the Ottomans. It was previously only in Spličević’s 1954 secondary school book, in the context of *sharia* law.⁵⁴³ However, in 1965, Božić mentioned how that punishment for the *hajduks* was “implemented on the stake.”⁵⁴⁴ In 1974, Omanović wrote how: “Turks chased them and the captured hajduks were punished by horrific punishments – impalement on the stake and hanging on hooks.”⁵⁴⁵ Not only is this a gross misrepresentation of *sharia* under the Ottomans, but it is also false.

Firstly, the legal makeup of the Ottoman state was complex in practice, as prescriptions of holy Islamic *sharia* law were contingent on the context. The Ottoman school of jurisprudence was the Hanafi Madhab, placing great emphasis on reasoning and interpretation.⁵⁴⁶ Secondly, impalement in the Ottoman context was mentioned once in Andrić’s 1945 novel, the *Bridge on the River Drina*, and as Filipović underlined, the scene was fictional. The text, part of the history and literature curricula, then canonized the scene as historical.⁵⁴⁷ Alija Nametak posited that Andrić’s descriptions matched that of a murder of an Egyptian *fellah* (peasant), on the order of Napoleon’s General in Egypt, Jean Baptiste Kleber, which he read in a WWI Austrian paper while interred.⁵⁴⁸ The *Bridge* is permeated by other willful omissions: Andrić wrote how the titular Bridge was built by serf labor, but as a religious endowment, that was forbidden. Furthermore, the stake and the regularity of the impalement is a stylistic device used to incriminate “the Turk” with the (admittedly Freudian and sexual) brutalization of a nation.

⁵⁴¹ Muhamed Hadžijahić, Mahmud Traljić, and Nijaz Šukrić, *Islam i Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR BiH, 1977), 54–57.

⁵⁴² Dimou, “Udžbenici istorije u jugoistočnoj Evropi,” 40.

⁵⁴³ Slipčević, *Istorija Naroda FNRJ*, 1954, 284.

⁵⁴⁴ Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 196. “nabijanje na kolac.”

⁵⁴⁵ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 101.

“Turci su ih progonili potjerama i uhvaćene hajduke su kažnjavali strašnim kaznama: nabijanjem na kolac i vješanjem na čengele (kuke).”

⁵⁴⁶ Miljković, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans,” 130.

⁵⁴⁷ Lynda E. Boose, “Crossing the River Drina: Bosnian Rape Camps, Turkish Impalement, and Serb Cultural Memory,” *Signs* 28, no. 1 (2002): 82, <https://doi.org/10.1086/340921>.

⁵⁴⁸ Alija Nametak, *Sarajevski Nekrologij* (Zagreb: Bošnjачki Institut - Globus, 1994), 131; H.M. Stupac, “Priča i Stvarnost Oko Ive Andrića, Prvog Južnoslavenskog Nobelovca,” *Bosanski Pogledi*, September 1962; S.B., “Primjer Francuskog Divljaštva,” *Sarajevski List*, 04.-07.05 1915, sec. Listak, GHBB.

Some like Hawkesworth have argued for the absolution of Andrić's work via the separation of aesthetic/artistic and political.⁵⁴⁹ However, it is impossible, as Andrić was a former diplomat and star writer.⁵⁵⁰ After a symposium held in Travnik by the Bosnian Academy in 1978, a summary underlined how Andrić was not only a writer, but Bosnia's "'chronicler' in the true sense of the word, as well as her historian."⁵⁵¹ Fast forward, the "stake," impalement of the Serb nation, and Andrić's literary opus would serve as a rallying cry in the war against the "Turk" in 1990s Bosnia.⁵⁵² Milan Lukić, who burned 150 Muslims alive in Višegrad, the site of bridge, cited *The Bridge on the River Drina* as inspiration and his deeds as revenge for "historical" injustices.⁵⁵³ The official Army papers of the Serb Military in the Bosnian War wrote:

They [the Muslims] want to impale the President of the Serb Republic on a linden stake, hang him off an oaken branch, quarter him. They want to cut the Commander-in-Chief of the Serb Army with an Ottoman saber, strangle him with a silken cord.⁵⁵⁴

As we get closer to the 1990s, the continuity between the narratives and those cited is striking.

Conclusion – Affirming the Muslims, not “Turks”?

The recognition of the Muslim nation, evidenced in the textbooks, did not mean a comprehensive rehabilitation of the Muslim past. However, with the "numerical" approach to Yugoslav history, it did mean more representation.⁵⁵⁵ This is seen in the discussion on Islamification, Janissaries and a more fleshed-out interethnic relations, emblematic of the new Yugoslav political culture. Muslims are given more subjectivity – their ethnogenesis is covered, if not misguidedly and they are actors that resist the Empire, or even run it. It is even stated the Muslims retained their "native" and "Slavic" character. The relative development of Bosnia and the expansion of the textbook market also meant more, better textbooks. Of course, the

⁵⁴⁹ C Hawkesworth, "Ivo Andrić as Red Rag and Political Football (Yugoslav Writer, Nobel-Prize Winner)," *Slavonic and East European Review* 80 (April 1, 2002): 201–16; Zoran Milutinović, *Bitka za prošlost - Ivo Andrić i bošnjački nacionalizam* (Beograd: Geopolitika, 2018); Nenad Veličković, "Srpski diskurs o Andriću," *Riječ i smisao* 1, no. 6 (2022): 127–56.

⁵⁵⁰ Bojan Aleksov, "Jovan Jovanović Zmaj and the Serbian Identity between Poetry and History," in *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, by Mishkova Diana, CEUP Collection (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), 273, <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2077>.

⁵⁵¹ Midhat Šamić, "Pjesnik Bosne," *Odjek*, 31.10 1978, BI-FAZ.

"Ivo Andrić nije bio samo slikar Bosne i njenih ljudi i naravi, nego i njen 'hroničar' u najboljem smislu riječi, i njen istoričar."

⁵⁵² Boose, "Crossing the River Drina," 85.

⁵⁵³ "Public Transcript of Hearing 25 March 2009" (The Hague: UN ICTY Court Records, March 25, 2009), 6299.

⁵⁵⁴ Dragoljub Jeknić, "Očajnička Imenovanja (Desperate Namings)," *Srpska Vojska - List Vojske Republike Srpske*, July 1, 1993, 7–8, BI-FAZ.

"Oni [the Muslims] hoće da predsjednika Republike Srpske nabiju na lipov kolac, objese o granu hrasta, razmaknu na konjske repove. Da komandanta VRS sasijeku otomanskom sabljom, zadave svilenim gajtanom."

⁵⁵⁵ Hopken, "History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration," 90.

extent to which these textbooks had any effect is visible in one 1967 survey, where 30 out of 48 students could not describe what a revolution was in Donji Vakuf.⁵⁵⁶

However, this did not change the substance and the nature of the Ottoman period. The Ottoman period summed up was still a time of foreign domination and backwardness. The transformations in this period again boiled down to the “mentioning,” that Apple and Christian-Smith underlined.⁵⁵⁷ There was no attempt to change the ideological paradigm of deeming the Empire as a Turkic, “feudal state,” but selective aspects of the Muslim past that “fit” that paradigm were included in the Narrative Templates. In some ways, the negative depiction ossified even more, as evidenced by the more common inclusions of the “implement on the stake” episodes in sixth-grade (!) textbooks. It was not due to identity politics, as many authors with Muslim names, and who no doubt identified as Muslim, wrote textbooks. The result was that the Ottoman past still feels less part of the history of Yugoslavia, as the only positive figure from this period is Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, understood as a Serb. However, non-Muslim aristocrats, nobles, clergy, or bourgeois figures feature as heroes. On the one hand, there is talk of the development of towns, trades, and cities, that the Empire allowed autonomy and preserved much of what it encountered. On the other, puzzlingly, the conclusion is that this period still intrinsically and irreparably damaged the historical trajectory of the South Slavs. The textbooks were “in the shadow of stereotypes” of party policy, even if they changed slightly.⁵⁵⁸ The question remains then of how textbooks from the final fifteen years of Yugoslavia, which saw the rise of Serb nationalism and the responses to it, present the Ottoman period?

⁵⁵⁶ Nazif Fazlagić, “Test Iz Istorije Pokazao Jedno, a Usmeno Ispitivanje Drugo,” *Prosvjetni List*, April 15, 1967, NUBBiH.

⁵⁵⁷ Apple and Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*, 12.

⁵⁵⁸ Hopken, “History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration,” 83.

Chapter 3 – Post-recognition (1975-1990)

The period between 1975 and 1990 saw the unwinding of the Socialist Yugoslav federation, completed in 1991. The internal decentralization came instead of democratization and ensured the party's monopoly on power.⁵⁵⁹ This lack of democratic legitimacy proved fatal for the federal state's survival.⁵⁶⁰ Concurrently, Yugoslavia experienced an unprecedented economic downturn. Tito too passed away in 1980, removing one of the major lynchpins holding the federation together. In this crisis, the explosion of Serb nationalism ended the federation with a devastating series of conflicts. In this tumult, the Muslims, having had little role in the emergence of Yugoslavia, held onto the idea of the South Slavic state the longest.⁵⁶¹ The final chapter reviews the textbooks and curricula that came out in this period of tumult. It also explores the sub-question on the experience of Muslim nationality and nation-building, as well as the question of increasing nationalism in the neighboring republics that impacted the textbook depictions of the Ottoman period.

The waning years – Economic and Political Woes; New-Old Nationalism

The economic failure Yugoslavia experienced was not unique. Most Communist states in the 1980s floundered economically.⁵⁶² Yugoslavia, relying on foreign loans, experienced a surge of infrastructure construction. Malcolm, highlighted how by 1980 Sarajevo “appeared to be a huge public works project.”⁵⁶³ From 1973 to 1981, liabilities rose from \$4,6 billion to \$21 billion.⁵⁶⁴ By 1985, inflation in the country was growing 100% annually.⁵⁶⁵ Per capita, the federal income stagnated from 1979 to 1989.⁵⁶⁶ In 1988, unemployment was at 17%.⁵⁶⁷ The solutions implemented were administrative measures and printing money, not changes in the

⁵⁵⁹ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 202–3.

⁵⁶⁰ Sabrina Petra Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation : 1918-2005* (Bloomington (Ind.): Indiana University Press, 2006), 6–11; Renéo Lukic, “Review of Ramet’s *The Three Yugoslavias: The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2005* by Sabrina P. Ramet. Washington, DC, and Bloomington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Indiana University Press, 2006,” *East European Politics and Societies* 21, no. 4 (November 1, 2007): 726, 727, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325407307283>; Malešević, *Identity as Ideology*, 162–63; Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 202–3.

⁵⁶¹ Bougarel, “Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav Idea,” n.d., 100.

⁵⁶² Vladimir Gligorov, “Yugoslavia and Development: Benefits and Costs,” *YU Historija Economy* (2015), http://www.yuhistorija.com/economy_txt01.html.

⁵⁶³ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 202.

⁵⁶⁴ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 241.

⁵⁶⁵ Sabrina Petra Ramet and Ivo Banac, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the War for Kosovo* (Boulder: Westview, 2002), 10.

⁵⁶⁶ Gligorov, “Yugoslavia and Development: Benefits and Costs.”

⁵⁶⁷ Ramet and Banac, *Balkan Babel*, 49–50.

system.⁵⁶⁸ Economic inequality was not addressed, so a Slovene was seven times richer than a Kosovar by the mid-1970s. In 1989, it was nine times, almost six times an average Bosnian.⁵⁶⁹ Unaddressed economic inequality sparked ethno-national tensions about the distribution of resources and exposed the deep deficiencies of the political system.⁵⁷⁰

Decentralization brought problems of its own. Dejan Jović argued that Yugoslavia's "withering away" was masterminded by Kardelj.⁵⁷¹ He is wrong in two ways.⁵⁷² Self-Management, by 1980, actually increased the bureaucracy by a factor of eight to eleven.⁵⁷³ Tito until his death in 1980 exercised strong control, as the "one-man single party state" and decided on the 1974 decentralization.⁵⁷⁴ He was succeeded by an eight-man rotating directory, emphasizing conflictual politics.⁵⁷⁵ A more convincing argument is that decentralization created strong republics, pitted against each other.⁵⁷⁶ Furthermore, the second pillar of Yugoslav Socialism, Non-Alignment's cohesion weakened as pro-Western and Pro-Soviet members increasingly disagreed since the 1979 Havana Conference.⁵⁷⁷ This was followed by more domestic unrest, as in 1981, massive protests broke out in Kosovo over the abysmal status of the Albanian majority, which by 1991 was 81% of the province's populace.⁵⁷⁸ The supposed plight of the

⁵⁶⁸ Jasminka Udovički and Ivan Torov, "The Interlude: 1980–1990," in *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 81, <https://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/521/chapter/123161/The-Interlude1980-1990>.

⁵⁶⁹ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 253.

⁵⁷⁰ Dijana Pleština, *Regional Development in Communist Yugoslavia: Success, Failure and Consequences* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1992), chaps. 6, 82% (ebook); Evan Kraft, review of *Review of Regional Development in Communist Yugoslavia: Success, Failure, and Consequences*, by Dijana Pleština, *Political Science Quarterly* 108, no. 4 (1993): 765, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2152429>; Francine Friedman, "Regional Development in Communist Yugoslavia: Success, Failure, and Consequences," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 4 (December 1, 1993): 1047; Udovički and Torov, "The Interlude," 81.

⁵⁷¹ Dejan Jović, *Jugoslavija - država koja je odumrla: uspon, kriza i pad Četvrte Jugoslavije: (1974.-1990.)* (Zagreb; Beograd: Prometej; Samizdat B92, 2003), 65, 145–46, 156, 457, etc.

⁵⁷² Marko Attila Hoare, "The Historiography of the Bosnian Genocide of 1992–1995 in the Work of Foreign Scholars," Special Editions, Special Editions of the Bosnian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Sarajevo: Bosnian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2020), 13, <https://publications.anubih.ba/bitstream/handle/123456789/652/Marko%20Atilla%20Hoare.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>; Jović, *Jugoslavija - država koja je odumrla*, 485, 492–93; Marko Attila Hoare, "Dejan Jovic, David N. Gibbs and the Great Serbian Narrative," *Greater Surbiton* (blog), March 28, 2014, <https://greatersurbiton.wordpress.com/2014/03/28/dejan-jovic-david-n-gibbs-and-the-great-serbian-narrative/>. Jasminka Udovički and Ivan Torov, "The Interlude: 1980–1990," in *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 81, <https://read.dukeupress.edu/books/book/521/chapter/123161/The-Interlude1980-1990>.

⁵⁷³ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 244.

⁵⁷⁴ Laura Silber, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, BBC Books,; 2nd edition (London: Penguin, 1996), 29.

⁵⁷⁵ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 246–47; Silber, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, 29.

⁵⁷⁶ Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2, 147, 112, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511816178>.

⁵⁷⁷ Julius K. Nyerere, "Non-Alignment and Its Future Prospects," *India Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (1983): 2; Jürgen Dinkel, *The Non-Aligned Movement: Genesis, Organization and Politics (1927-1992)* (Brill, 2018), 231–32.

⁵⁷⁸ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 258–59.

Serb nation in Kosovo prompted reactions, such as the 1986 Serbian Academy Memorandum, calling for the solution of the Serb national question within Yugoslavia.⁵⁷⁹ This became the platform from which Serbian party official Slobodan Milošević amassed power since 1987, becoming Party Chairman, and in 1989 President of Serbia.⁵⁸⁰ He started his scheme of recentralization by overthrowing the governments of Vojvodina and Montenegro, and in 1989 Kosovo too lost its autonomy.⁵⁸¹ When in January 1990, the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY was called, the party fractured, as the Slovenes and Croatians refused to discuss reform against Milošević's power-block.⁵⁸² Free elections would be held throughout 1990, Croatia and Slovenia became independent in July 1991.⁵⁸³

The past too came alive in 1980s Yugoslavia.⁵⁸⁴ Major polemics emerged about World War II collaboration, resistance, and the communist takeover.⁵⁸⁵ However, Islam and the Muslims found themselves at the center of the *new-old* Serb nationalism since the 1981 Kosovo protests. Realizing conventional-socialist term “counter-revolutionary” did not appeal to a Western audience, Albanian resistance was dubbed “Islamic fundamentalism.”⁵⁸⁶ Belgrade intellectuals of the 1980s wrote increasingly about Islam as a violent, totalitarian system.⁵⁸⁷ Mirosljub Jevtić, argued the Sandžak Muslims were Ottomans, who lived and breathed the Empire.⁵⁸⁸ He virulently decried Islam as anti-modern and *jihadist*.⁵⁸⁹ Darko Tanasković argued how the Muslims of Yugoslavia, through conversion accepted the arch-enemy “Turks” as brothers.⁵⁹⁰ Cigar noted how Muslims were Orientalized as “backwards, alien, immoral and aggressive in apposition to everything positive in Serbian culture.”⁵⁹¹ The Kosovo Myth took a centerpiece

⁵⁷⁹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 99; Norman L. Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of “Ethnic Cleansing”* (Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 23.

⁵⁸⁰ Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 260–62.

⁵⁸¹ Anzulovic, *Heavenly Serbia*, 106.

⁵⁸² Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 285–86.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 286–90.

⁵⁸⁴ Tea Sindbaek, “World War II Genocides in Yugoslav Historiography,” February 5, 2021; Sindbaek, *Usable History?*

⁵⁸⁵ Enver Redžić, *Muslimansko autonomaštvo i 13. SS divizija: autonomija Bosne i Hercegovine i Hitlerov Treći Rajh* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1987); Branko Petranović, *Revolucija i kontrarevolucija u Jugoslaviji, 1941-1945* (Belgrade: Izdavačka radna organizacija “Rad,” 1983); Veselin Đuretić, *Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1985).

⁵⁸⁶ Fikret Karčić, “Distorted Images of Islam: The Case of Former Yugoslavia,” *Intellectual Discourse* 3, no. 2 (1995): 143–44.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁵⁸⁸ Bandžović, “Nedovršena Prošlost u Vrtlozima Balkanizacije,” 48–52.

The Sandžak (Turkish for banner) is a region split between Serbia and Montenegro, and to this day houses a significant Bosniak Muslim population.

⁵⁸⁹ Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia*, 28.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁹¹ Norman Cigar, “Serbia’s Orientalists and Islam: Making Genocide Intellectually Respectable,” *Islamic Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1994): 151.

in this discussion and revival of anti-Islamic ideology. The site of the battle received a monument in 1953 but the Party was suspicious of manifestations, even removing municipal officials in Kruševac for changing the name of the local wine to “Knez Lazar.”⁵⁹² As Popović explained in 1977, the day of the battle, June 28 (St. Vitus’ Day), became a symbol of “bloody merciless revenge against everything that is Turkish and Muslim in general.”⁵⁹³

Unsurprisingly, the burning Kosovo problem was framed as Ottoman legacy – allowing the Albanians to complete their tyrannical aims, but also causing and symbolizing Serb national suffering.⁵⁹⁴ In many ways, this was ossification of existing prejudice in a new context. The 600th anniversary of the 1389 battle was commemorated with a massive rally at the *Gazimestan* site. As many as 1,5 million gathered, to see Milošević and a banner saying: “Europe, bear in mind, at Kosovo, we were defending you as well.”⁵⁹⁵ The Kosovo-Islamic fundamentalism narrative therefore also tapped into the idea that the Serb nation was a bulwark against the foreign imposition of Islam.⁵⁹⁶ This was not new, as “the Turkish menace” was expressed by Kardelj decades ago:

The historical merit of the Slovenian nation is that it was one of the most important dams bringing to a standstill the push of the Turks against Europe. If today certain West-European racist ideologues call them ‘historical manure,’ they are forgetting that Slovenians defended with their bodies for three hundred years that culture with which today they boast of....⁵⁹⁷

The intensification of Serb nationalism permeated Bosnia too.

One article from Tuzla wrote how the Battle of Kosovo “for centuries is rubbed into the nose of Muslims by nationalists who call them Turks and identify them with the occupier as at fault for the misfortunes of the Christians.”⁵⁹⁸ However, the Bosnian Communists remained loyal to

⁵⁹² Ivan Čolović, “The Kosovo Myth,” *YU Historija Case Studies* (2015), http://www.yuhistorija.com/wars_91_99_txt01c6.html.

⁵⁹³ Miodrag Popović, *Vidovdan i Časni Krst: Oglad Iz Književne Arheologije* (Beograd: Slovo ljubve, 1977), 129–30.

⁵⁹⁴ Tea Sindbaek, “The Kosovo Problem as Ottoman Legacy in Serb Intellectual Discourse of the Late 1980s,” in *Images of Imperial Legacy: Modern Discourses on the Social and Cultural Impact of Ottoman and Habsburg Rule in Southeast Europe*, ed. Tea Sindbaek and Maximilian Hartmuth (Münster: LIT Verlag Münster, 2011), 107.

⁵⁹⁵ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 284; Dino Murtić, *Post-Yugoslav Cinema* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 64, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137520357>.

⁵⁹⁶ Admir Mulaosmanović, “Islam and Muslims in Greater Serbian Ideology: The Origins of an Antagonism and the Misuse of the Past,” *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39 (September 18, 2019): 5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2019.1652408>.

Much has been written about the Myth of Kosovo. Good chapters include Malcolm’s in the eponymous book, or in Serbo-Croatian Ivan Čolović’s *Smrt na Kosovu Polju*.

⁵⁹⁷ Jezernik, “Imagining ‘the Turk,’” 12.

⁵⁹⁸ Ahmed Čolić, “Gdje Svi Isto Misle, Niko Ništa Ne Misli” (Oslobođenje, August 23, 1989), BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-6/1.

Titoist orthodoxy.⁵⁹⁹ Polemics continued, where articles were published daily about the relatively good intercommunal relations. As the clique centered around Serb nationalist intellectual-politician Dobrica Ćosić claimed the Serbs were threatened in Bosnia, press underlined how good intercommunal relations were. In a village, Luko, near Kalinovik, Muslims and Orthodox Christians celebrated holidays together.⁶⁰⁰ While tolerance and intolerance continued to co-exist, the increasing tensions were more and more felt.

Muslims at the limits of the Socialist Nationhood

The Muslim experience of their new nationhood brought boons and challenges. In 1974, the Muslims were, for the first time since 1878, formally an “in-group” in their homeland.⁶⁰¹ With high-ranking jobs being accorded by population, the recognition was of “vital importance to their decision-making capabilities.”⁶⁰² Between 1971 and 1984, the proportion of Muslims in the League of Communists went up from 28,3% to 34,6%.⁶⁰³ Federally, the Muslims were underrepresented overall, with only 20-30% of the Bosnian representatives being Muslim, and only in 1979 was a Bosnian Muslim in the Presidium. In the officer corps, even in 1990, as 10% of the federal population, the Muslims were only 2,4% of the officer corps, which was 60% Serb.⁶⁰⁴

A Religious Nation?

Religion for the Muslims was closely tied to a sense of ethnic belonging as Donia and Lockwood pointed out, but this should not invalidate the Muslims’ religious experience under Socialism.⁶⁰⁵ The Islamic Community benefitted from the recognition of the Bosnian Muslim nation, with reforms allowing more religious matters to be handled by republics.⁶⁰⁶ The number

„već stoljećima nabija na nos Muslimanima od nacionalista koji ih nazivaju Turcima i tako ih identifikuju sa okupatorom kao dežurnim krivcem za nedaće hrišćanskog življa.“

⁵⁹⁹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 100.

⁶⁰⁰ Miroslav Jančić, “U BiH Ugroženi Samo Nacionalisti” (Oslobođenje, April 17, 1988), BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-4; Nick Miller, *The Nonconformists: Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in a Serbian Intellectual Circle, 1944-1991* (Budapest, HUNGARY: Central European University Press, 2007), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uunl/detail.action?docID=3137250>.

Dobrica Ćosić is today (ironically and unironically) dubbed “the Father of the Serb nation.” He began his political career in Yugoslavia as a centralist-oriented politician, who opposed the removal of Ranković in 1966 and the 1974 constitution. Entering politics again in the 1980s, he was an influential writer, intellectual and political figure, even the first president of the rump successor Federal Republic.

⁶⁰¹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 83.

⁶⁰² Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 161.

⁶⁰³ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 81.

⁶⁰⁴ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 183–84.

⁶⁰⁵ Robert J. Donia and William Lockwood, “The Bosnian Muslims : Class, Ethnicity and Political Behavior in a European State,” in *Muslim-Christian Conflicts: Economic, Political, And Social Origins*, ed. Suad Joseph and Barbara Pillsbury (Boulder: Westview, 1982), 186, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429047602>.

⁶⁰⁶ Dragan Novaković, “Islamska zajednica i nacionalno opredeljenje Muslimana u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji,” *Istorija 20. veka*, no. 2 (2008): 494.

of children in religious school increased tenfold between 1957 and 1977, from 11,500 to 115,000.⁶⁰⁷ Between 1969 and 1980, more than 800 mosques were built and the Community operated close to 3,000.⁶⁰⁸ Still, state authorities at times barred new mosques from being constructed, and instances of Muslim children encountering difficulties in school over their beliefs occurred.⁶⁰⁹ In 1989, one Muslim man was beaten to death by two Serbs in Bosanska Dubica.⁶¹⁰ In 1988, Muslim gravestones were vandalized in Sanski Most.⁶¹¹ In 1989, Bosnian Muslims were (falsely) accused of pressuring the Serb population of Srebrenica and Bratunac to emigrate by the Serbian Secret Service.⁶¹² One man, Nedim Rifatbegović, wrote how a Serb woman asked him once: “Nedo, mate, how are you able to live in Bosnia, among the Turks.”⁶¹³ referring to the Muslims. While he went on to say individual prejudices were not national, they seemed to have been more common.

The leeway given to the Islamic Community shrank somewhat with the 1979 Iranian Revolution.⁶¹⁴ Husein Đozo in August proclaimed how it was “victory of the divine word” and was quickly ousted.⁶¹⁵ Pan-Islamism became a target of newspapers, disputing the “liberating character of Islam....deeply disputable to a Marxist view of the liberation of man and labor.”⁶¹⁶ There were incidents, such as the 1983 Sarajevo Process, where intellectuals including future President Alija Izetbegović were tried for subversive pan-Islamic activity.⁶¹⁷ While many were accused of “Muslim nationalism,” there were no serious attempts to create a Muslim nation-

⁶⁰⁷ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 93.

⁶⁰⁸ Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 2004, 78.

⁶⁰⁹ David Henig, *Remaking Muslim Lives: Everyday Islam in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina* (University of Illinois Press, 2020), chaps. 1, 5% (ebook); Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans*, 24–25.

⁶¹⁰ B. M., “Potjernica Za Siledžijama” (Oslobođenje, August 22, 1989), BI-FAZ ZBH 14/IA-6.

⁶¹¹ “Oskrnavljeni Nadgrobni Spomenici” (Oslobođenje, September 28, 1988), BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-6/1.

⁶¹² Vlastimir Mijović, “Strogo Kontrolirana Republika” (Oslobođenje, October 25, 1989), BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-6/1.

⁶¹³ Nedim Rifatbegović, “Ko Kaže Da Me Nema,” July 12, 1989, BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-6/1.

“Kako bre Nedo, smeš da živiš u Bosni, među Turcima,”

⁶¹⁴ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 94; Ramet, “Primordial Ethnicity or Modern Nationalism,” 185.

⁶¹⁵ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 98.

⁶¹⁶ Hrvoje Ištuk, “Odgovornost Za Javne Nastupe” (Oslobođenje, January 21, 1982), BI-FAZ ZBH - 14/IA-2.

“oslobodilačkom karakteru islama, premda su one apsurdne i duboko suprone marksističkom pogledu na oslobođenje čovjeka i rada.”

⁶¹⁷ Friedman, *The Bosnian Muslims*, 197.

This period was marked by an increase in show-trials and persecution of opposition in Yugoslavia. In 1981, Croat “nationalists” including future president Franjo Tuđman were placed on trial for his activities in the diaspora, and polemics about WWII. Adem Demaqi and Azem Vllasi in Kosovo were too charged for irredentism.

state, and the Islamic Community remained pro-Yugoslav.⁶¹⁸ Bougarel argued how the Muslims were a “nation without nationalism.”⁶¹⁹

A “Nation without Nationalism” and Institutions

The development of the Muslim nation fell on the intellectuals above all.⁶²⁰ However, efforts to write a history of literature of Bosnia fell apart due to disagreements between the multinational authors since 1968.⁶²¹ Other projects, like the newer editions of the Yugoslav Encyclopedia of the 1980s, editor Filipović argued, nuanced the previously skewed picture of Bosnia, as a “dark eyelet.”⁶²² Throughout the 70s and 80s, Muslim intellectuals too campaigned for the recognition of the Bosnian language, which only occurred in 1991. Having not taken part in the literary Novi Sad agreement in 1960, Serbo-Croat national societies ignored or claimed Muslim literary sources.⁶²³ For instance, Muslim epic poetry was in limbo, as key Muslim intellectual, Alija Isaković noted.⁶²⁴ Isaković published an anthology of Bosniak/Muslim literature, *Biserje* in 1972 and was very active in the press. He too warned that we cannot “ask children in multinational contexts today, to learn the *Mountain Wreath* by heart, but that it must be accompanied by a cultural-historical commentary to separate poetry from reality.”⁶²⁵ He also warned about the inadequate use of the term “Turks” for the Bosnian Muslims, but the historical communities of “Latins” and “Greeks” being cast as Croats and Serbs retroactively.⁶²⁶ Isaković warned that it led to the antagonization of the Muslims. In 1990, he argued how: “Our post-war politicians did not base their judgements on ethnography or history, at least when it came to Muslims...” describing the post-recognition cultural output as “sticking a label on an [empty] bottle.”⁶²⁷ The Muslims, 40 years after WWII, did not have a work on ethnology, political/literary history, social thought, arts, language, mythology,

⁶¹⁸ Vjekoslav Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 80.

⁶¹⁹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 87–88.

⁶²⁰ Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 2002, 78.

⁶²¹ Bougarel, *Islam and Nationhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 86.

⁶²² Muhamed Filipović, “Moderna Sinteza,” *Odjek*, 31.10 1980, BI-FAZ.

⁶²³ “Tekst Anonimnog Autora Na Engleskom Jeziku o Bosanskom Jeziku ”The Bosnian Language”,” ?, ZBH - 11/IX-5, BI-FAZ.

⁶²⁴ Đenana Buturović, “Otvorena Pitanja,” *Odjek*, 30.04 1982, BI-FAZ.

⁶²⁵ Alija Isaković, “Epska Tradicija i Mi, Danas,” *Odjek*, 30.11 1981, 11.

“danas tražiti od djece u višenacionalnim sredinama, a u nas su sve sredine višenacionalne, da uče ‘Gorski vijenac’ napamet, već da uz riječ ide nužan kulturnohistorijski komentar koje će djevi pomoći da razluče šta je poezija a šta zbilja.”

⁶²⁶ Isaković, “Epska Tradicija i Mi, Danas.”

⁶²⁷ Alija Isaković, “Razložnost Pitanja,” *Odjek*, 31.04 1990, BI-FAZ.

“Naši poratni političari nisu donosili svoj sud na bazi etnoloških i historijskih prosuđivanja, bar kad su Muslimani u pitanj, već na bazi dogmatskih, tuđih lažnih šema...” “Ničim se nisu potrudili da se taj politički čin javno afirmira, jer na praznu bocu nije dovoljno nalijepiti etiketu.”

folklore, architecture.⁶²⁸ Balić too noted that the recognition had “very few positive consequences in the politics of culture.”⁶²⁹ These issues spilled into the study of (Muslim) history, which was deemed nationalistic (by many Muslims too), even though the Muslims were a recognized nation.

History in Yugoslavia

History as an academic discipline in Yugoslavia was continually dominated by a composite Marxist positivism (and male historians). Marxist positivism merged dogmatism of the history of labor-capital relations with a traditional Rankean focus on the state and individuals.⁶³⁰ There were attempts to modernize Yugoslav historiography – introduce approaches of e.g., the *Annales* school, but the mainstream was recalcitrant and insular.⁶³¹ As result, not a single book about Bosnia in vernacular, published in Sarajevo, was translated to a single global language. Scientific critique and review also were lacking, as many sensitive topics were explored with political caution, rather than scholarly interest.⁶³² There had been little pluralist academic and public discourse, making the political misuse and manipulation of the past easier.⁶³³ This is highlighted in a 1980 article about textbook peer-review. Turns out, the review was usually not blind, as e.g., one reviewer wrote the name of the candidate in his comments.⁶³⁴ The conceptual issues were compounded with systemic ones.

The Ottoman period was rarely studied, as the focus was on modern history, “the shortest but most important period,” to cite a 1980 high school curriculum.⁶³⁵ Looking at the University of Sarajevo History Masters – from 1976 when they were established, in 1982, there were 18, three on the Ottoman period, and 12 on Modern history. There were total 29 doctoral students, 22 modern historians, and only 4 Ottoman.⁶³⁶ Linguistically, Oriental studies were in Arabic,

⁶²⁸ Isaković, “Razložnost Pitanja,”

“I danas, četrdeset godina poslije oslobođenja, Muslimani nemaju ni jedno sintetsko djelo o svojoj etnologiji, nemaju urađenu političku historiju, nemaju historiju književnosti, historiju novinarstva, historiju društvene misli, historiju umjetnosti, historiju slikarstva, još nije brađen jezik, mitologija, folklor, arhitektura.”

⁶²⁹ Smail Balić, “Slika Islama u Bosanskim Udžbenicima,” n.d., 1–3, Fond Dr. Smail Balić, 1/V-26, BI-FAZ. „bez ikakvih pozitivnih posljedica u kulturnoj politici.“

⁶³⁰ Michael Antolović, “Writing History under the «Dictatorship of the Proletariat»: Yugoslav Historiography 1945–1991,” *Revista de História Das Ideias* 39 (June 16, 2021): 56, https://doi.org/10.14195/2183-8925_39_2.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 63–64, 68.

⁶³² Petrović, “Koraci Ka Sintezi.”

⁶³³ Wolfgang Hopken, “Between Civic Identity and Nationalism,” in *Democratic Transition in Croatia: Value Transformation, Education, and Media*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet and Davorka Matic, Illustrated edition (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 203–4.

⁶³⁴ Salko Gazibara, “O Sudbini Udžbenika-Rukopisa,” *Odjek*, 15.10.1980.

⁶³⁵ Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, *Nastavni Plan i Program Zajedničke Vaspoitno-Obrazovne Osnovne Za Srednje Usmjerenno Obrazovanje i Vaspitanje* (Sarajevo: Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, 1980), 169. “najkraći ali najvažniji period.”

⁶³⁶ Petrović, “Koraci Ka Sintezi.”

not Turkish or Persian and publishing sources was difficult. Conversely, the History programs did not work closely with the Oriental studies, leaving many students in between.⁶³⁷

Regardless, some advancements were made in academia.⁶³⁸ Branislav Đurđev broke ground in revealing the Serbian Church was not always the paragon of resistance against the Ottomans.⁶³⁹ However, he clung to the mantra that the Ottoman system was less developed than Yugoslav and Western feudalism.⁶⁴⁰ He characterized the Empire as defined by “the despotic rule of the Sultan with characteristics of theocratic rule. The state was like other Eastern despotic states.”⁶⁴¹ The “Oriental despot,” ruling in contradiction of “Enlightenment principles” traces its roots to Montesquieu.⁶⁴² While one could see it as a critique of Western absolutism, it did not necessitate a positive image of Iran or Anatolia.⁶⁴³ Worst of all, some of Đurđev’s key work, on Montenegro was based on a faulty interpretation of the nomadic pastoral Vlach population as a social, not ethnic group. This to him was proof of Montenegrin autonomy and in-line with common nationalist readings. These nationalist-Marxist narratives, Filipovic argued, were very present in the textbooks, as we have seen too.⁶⁴⁴

Concerning Islamization, Nedim Filipović did much work to dispel myths regarding mass conversion.⁶⁴⁵ Hazim Šabanović put forward the thesis that the Bosnia Eyalet itself was organized with governmental structures encountered by the Ottomans.⁶⁴⁶ Adem Handžić in 1965 elaborated on the historical development of towns and cities.⁶⁴⁷ The works of these historians and others like Hamid Hadžibegić endured much better than Đurđev’s. Mustafa Imamović, wrote at a 1974 conference in Belgrade how:

⁶³⁷ Fehim Dž. Spaho, “Problemi Osmanistike u Izdavanju Turskih Izvora,” *Odjek*, 31.03 1986.

⁶³⁸ Vucinich, “The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period,” 287.

⁶³⁹ Enes Pelidija, “Doprinos akademika Branislava Đurđeva u pisanju knjige ‘Historija naroda Jugoslavije II,’” in *Naučno djelo akademika Branislava Đurđeva* (Sarajevo: ANU BiH, 2010), 36; *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: Knjiga Druga* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1960), 494.

⁶⁴⁰ Vucinich, “The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period,” 288–89; *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: Knjiga Druga*, 4.

⁶⁴¹ *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: Knjiga Druga*, 18.

“glavna odlika bila despotiska vlast sultana sa primesama teokratske vladavine. Ta država je bila slična ostalim istočnim despotijama...”

⁶⁴² Konrad, “From the ‘Turkish Menace’ to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453–1914)?,” 7–9.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁴ Nenad Filipović, “Značaj Branislava Đurđeva Za Izučavanje Historije Crne Gore,” in *Naučno Djelo Akademika Branislava Đurđeva*, ed. Dževad Juzbašić (Sarajevo: ANU BiH, 2010), 60–62, 70–71.

⁶⁴⁵ Avdo Sućeska, “Osnovni Rezultati Poslijeratne Bosanskohercegovačke Istoriografije o Osmansko-Turskom Periodu i Njeni Dalji Zadaci,” in *Savjetovanje o Istoriografiji Bosne i Hercegovine (1945-1982)* (Sarajevo: ANU BiH, 1983), 41–42.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

...the Ottoman (or Habsburg) Empire should be approached without historically-rooted myths. Only based on original material and without nationalist-romanticist schemas can we approach the historical reconstruction of real events and relations in the mentioned class systems.⁶⁴⁸

With these gradual shifts around the history of the Ottoman period, the question arises of how it was articulated in the programs and textbooks.

The Late Curricula (1975-1990)

The curricula since 1974 exhibit little changes until the late 1980s. For instance, the 1975 elementary education program still uses the term “blood tax,” uses a unit composition like the 1960s ones. While Omanović’s sixth grade textbook in 1974 contains Muslim resistance against the Ottomans, the program does not mention it specifically.⁶⁴⁹ Therefore, the overlap in content between the textbooks and programs diverges somewhat in this period. A significant change in the 1975 program is that it does not explicitly state the backwardness and lack of development because of Ottoman rule, however this idea was effectively assumed, perhaps like the newer inclusion of Muslims in the resistance. This is evidenced in the 1978 proposal for the elementary education program, which stated: “It is important to stress the specific position of our people under foreign rule, which should explain their economic, political and cultural lagging behind the developed peoples of Europe.”⁶⁵⁰ Coming after the recognition of the Muslim nation, it mentioned “national and religious subjugation,” “process of Islamification,” and the “expression of Oriental and Islamic culture.”⁶⁵¹ However, as the 1980 high school program illustrates, there is little instruction on how to teach the units. Islamic culture is mentioned to be “processed on the most characteristic examples of architecture and literature” and little more.⁶⁵² In any case, it should lead to the dismantlement of the Empire in “war of liberation

⁶⁴⁸ Mustafa Imamović, “Novi Podaci Svježe Ideje,” *Odjek*, 15.04 1974, BI-FAZ.

“Problemi socijalnih i nacionalnih odnosa u jednom velikom i složenom klasnom sistemu kakva je bila Osmanska (ili Habsburška) Carevina treba prići bez ukorijenjenih istorijskih mitova. Samo na osnovu izvorne građe i bez nacionalnoromantičarskih shema može se pristupiti istorijskoj rekonstrukciji stvarnih događaja i odnosa u pomenutim klasnim sistemima.”

⁶⁴⁹ Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, *Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovnu Školu* (Sarajevo: Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, 1975), 194; Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1974, 106.

“danak u krvi,”

⁶⁵⁰ Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, *Prijedlog Nastavnog Plana i Programa Za Osnovnu Školu* (Sarajevo: Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, 1978), 103.

“Važno je istaći specifičan položaj naših naroda pod tuđinskom vlašću čime treba objasniti njihove privredno, političko i kulturno zaostajanje za razvijenim evropskim narodima.”

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

“nacionalna i vjerska potčinjenost,”

“proces islamizacije”

“ispoljavanje orijentalne i islamske kulture.”

⁶⁵² Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, *Nastavni Plan i Program*, 169.

„obraditi na najkarakterističnijim primjerima arhitekture i književnosti.”

and social revolution.”⁶⁵³ The Marxian undertone is preserved again when referring to the goals of History which include the study of the laws of human development, progressive forces, and the necessity of revolution as well as the historical roots of the “inevitability of brotherhood, unity, togetherness.”⁶⁵⁴ When studying the long 19th century, the 1988 Primary school program also underlines how the national-liberation movements of our peoples was founded on the “level of capitalist development,” highlighting history as proceeding linearly.⁶⁵⁵ In the goals, it doubles down on the “spirit of love and respect towards the freedom-loving traditions of our nations and nationalities” and “the loyalty towards a common homeland SFRY.”⁶⁵⁶

Yet, the most significant change in the programs relating to the Ottomans occurs in 1988. It can be rationalized as late result of the Muslim recognition, historiographical work, combined with the pushback against national(ist) polarization which tended to vilify the Ottomans. When referring to the Ottoman period, for the first time, it instructs to “Depict the meeting of civilizations, not just conflict.”⁶⁵⁷ Perhaps the sharp bifurcation between “civilizations” might have been erroneous, but it is an advancement from merely presenting conflict. The instruction provided is: “When teaching B&H under Turkish rule, it is key to insist on her specificities of ethnic, social and political relations, highlighting characteristics of more cultures and the permeation of ways of life.”⁶⁵⁸ It articulates the political discussion on Bosnia as a tri-national republic, with specificities of development stemming from the Ottoman period.

This development was not universal or ubiquitous. The following years’ adult education curriculum neglects much of the nuances. It covers the “position of the conquered people in the Turkish Empire,” i.e., exploitation and the oppression. It mentioned the “Special position of Bosnia,” but then it quickly pivoted towards the rebellions, which now included the “rebellions

⁶⁵³ Republički prosvjetno-pedagoški zavod, *Nastavni Plan i Program*, 169.

“cilj je da učenici shvate ustanke kao oslobodilački rat i socijalnu revoluciju,”

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 157.

“neminosnosti bratstva, jedinstva, zajedništva naših naroda i narodnosti.”

⁶⁵⁵ Republički zavod za unapređivanje vasiptno-obrazovnog rada, *Plan i Program Vaspitno-Obrazovnog Rada Za Osnovnu Školu* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1988), 315.

“Da doprinese marksističkom obrazovanju učenika u razvijanju sposobnosti uočavanja osobenosti društvenog razvitka.”

“Uslovljenost nacionalnoslobodiljačkih pokreta naših naroda stepenom kapitalističkog razvoja.”

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 294.

“duhu ljubavi i poštovanja prema slobodoljubivim tradicijama naših naroda i narodnosti i u privrženosti zajedničkoj domovini SFRJ.”

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., 308.

“Prikazati susret civilizacija, ne samo bojovnost.”

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 308.

“Prilikom obrade BiH pod turskom vlašću posebno inzistirati na njenim specifičnostima razvoja etničkih, socijalnih i političkih odnosa, istaći karakteristike više kultura i prožimanja vidova života.”

of Muslim peasants in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” and the collaboration of our people in the battle against the Turk, evoking the familiar Christian Europe vs. Muslim Turks framing from previous textbooks.⁶⁵⁹ Therefore, any development towards the rehabilitation of the Ottoman past in the curricula was not linear and universal. This is an important discovery in highlighting how central control was not as tight concerning some aspects of Yugoslav/Bosnian education. However, as the textbooks often diverged from the programs, the question remains how the late Socialist Bosnian textbooks articulated the Ottoman period.

Late Yugoslav Textbooks in Bosnia (1975-1990)

With media liberalization in the 1980s, debate and controversy over textbooks and their authors emerged. Historian Nada Klaić critiqued Sima Ćiković’s work presenting Bosnia as a “Serb” land through faulty evidence, like Đurđev did.⁶⁶⁰ This has not been the first time, as already in 1948, *History of State and Law of the Peoples of FPRY*, published in Serbia by Dragoslav Janković had an entire chapter on Bosnia as a separate political entity removed in the third edition.⁶⁶¹ Textbooks in Kosovo were discussed, as allegedly a geography textbook stated: “our homeland Albania.”⁶⁶² Certain textbooks were so poorly made and received, that public outrage emerged. *Marxism and Socialist Self-Management* by Joco Marjanović and Gajo Sekulić was the topic of a year-long polemic in the Bosnian papers. One worried father even fought with his son who complained that he could not understand the book and consequently got bad grades. In the book stood 170 dates and 150 “key” works in the first 50 pages to be memorized. One reviewer reading the book was left “broken, annoyed, confounded.” Children soon quipped something was “boring like Marxism.” It was still in print, minimal correction for the 8th edition even in 1985.⁶⁶³ Considering the gaps in the historiography of the Ottoman Empire, the limited Muslim nation-building and the state of the textbook enterprise in Yugoslavia, at a time of rising ethnic tensions, the Ottoman period begs consideration too.

⁶⁵⁹ “Inovirani Nastavni Plan i Program Za Osnovno Obrazovanje Odraslih,” *Školski Glasnik*, June 1989, BI-FAZ. “Položaj pokorenog stanovništva u Turskom Carstvu,”

“buna seljaka Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini,”

⁶⁶⁰ Nada Klaić, “Protjerivanje Iz Udžbenika,” June 22, 1990, 17, *Sred. BOSNA* 11/III; 11/III-5, BI-FAZ.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*

“Istorija države i prava naroda FNRJ”

⁶⁶² Nikola Sarić, “Spora Idejna Razgraničenja” (*Jedinstvo*, January 21, 1987), BI-FAZ ZBH - 11/IX-12 II.

“Naša domovina Albanija.”

⁶⁶³ “Polemika u Novinama Oslobođenje i Naši Dani (1981.) Povodom Objavljivanja Udžbenika ‘Marksizam i Socijalističko Samoupravljanje,’ Autori Joco Marjanović i Gajo Sekulić,” 1985 1981, ZBH - 11/VI-3, BI-FAZ.

“slomljen, iznerviran, zabezeknut.”

“dosadno kao Marksizam.”

The Late Textbooks' Ottoman Conquest

The new textbooks in this period continue the existing trends related to conquest. They discuss the Ottoman period as a sharp, ruinous break with the past. Ćirković's 1977 edition, still wrote how the Ottoman conquest brought ruination: "Between 1469 to 1483, Turks came to plunder and enslave Slovene lands. Turkish incursions did not only cause direct damage and trouble for the people, but they also influenced general worsening of conditions."⁶⁶⁴ Arslanagić and Isaković's Vocational school textbook from 1975 details that the feudal anarchy and disunity weakened the South Slavs, a trend prominent from the earliest textbooks, to the point where "they did not even care about the Turks."⁶⁶⁵ The 1987 vocational textbook mentioned perhaps the most Marxist systemic explanation, in that the fall was due to the contradictions of feudalism, coupled with the lack of an urban class, which brought "weakening of the defensive powers of the state."⁶⁶⁶ Again, it retains its function as a warning tale, because this inability to resist, is followed by Ottoman "raids" and conquest.⁶⁶⁷ This is quite similar to the earliest textbooks, which coupled with their medieval focus, underlined the importance of togetherness of the South Slavs.

A 1978 sixth-grade reader by Fahrudin Isaković is somewhat different, in that it includes numerous Ottoman sources. Isaković was a renowned education expert in former Yugoslavia, and authored many textbooks after the war.⁶⁶⁸ His work contains chronicle excerpts by Ašikpaša Zade (Âşikpaşazâde), an Ottoman chronicles, describing the Battle of Marica.⁶⁶⁹ It reads:

⁶⁶⁴ Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije '77*, 1977, 107; Sima Ćirković, *Istorija Za Drugi Razred Gimnazije (History for the Second Grade of Gynamismus)*, 3rd ed. (Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1971), 107.

"Od 1469. Do 1483, Turci su svake godine stizali da pustoše i robe slovenačke pokrajine. Turski upadi nisu izazivali samo neposredne štete i nevolje stanovništvu već su i uticali na opšte pogoršanje položaja."

⁶⁶⁵ Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Middle Vocational Schools)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 65.

"Međusobna zavađenost velikaša je bila tolika da se oni u početku čak nisu ni osvrtni na Turke, koji su svojim provalama s juga počeli da uznemiruju njihove posjede"

⁶⁶⁶ Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 5th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1987), 53.

"dovelo do opadanja odbrambenih snaga države."

⁶⁶⁷ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Middle Vocational Schools)*, 66.

"pljačkaški pohodi"

⁶⁶⁸ Ivo Komšić, *Spomenica 60. godišnjice Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu*, 1. izd (Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet, 2010), 124; Fahrudin Isaković, "Pred Početak Primjene Novog Programa Istorije/Povijesti Za Zajedničku Vaspitno-Obrazovnu Osnovu Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja," *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara BiH XXXV*, no. 1 (1987): 131–32; Fahrudin Isaković, "Neka Aktuelna Pitanja Iz Nastave Istorije u Srednjem Usmjerenom Obrazovanju," *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara BiH XXXV*, no. 1 (1984): 187–90.

⁶⁶⁹ Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorijaska Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1978), 53; Fahrudin Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 14th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1991), 53.

“Serb *unbelievers* rushed to Adrianople,” which is footnoted to explain how “unbelievers” is a term used by people of different religion to describe each other.⁶⁷⁰ The work contains many new sources, about Kosovo, the fall of Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro.⁶⁷¹ It also contains a Byzantine description on the fall of Constantinople: It presents both the horrors of the siege and the Ottoman sack, but also the honorable “Emir” (Mehmed II) who sought out the body of the last Palaiologos Emperor and buried him properly, making him the second positively-portrayed Ottoman.⁶⁷² A 1979 textbook by Arslanagić and Isaković also includes the fall of Bosnia presented by the historian/chronicler Dustun-beg (Tursun-bey).⁶⁷³ The relative lack of Ottoman sources up to now highlights again how ethnocentric the textbooks were. Ethnocentrism denotes a lack of critical perspectives on everything that is foreign and is often loaded with the “ours is good” normative sentiments, emphasized through inclusion or exclusion of affirming or conflicting evidence respectively.⁶⁷⁴ While previously Božić’s textbook included an Ottoman source, it was only to highlight how the Bosnians resisted foreign rule.⁶⁷⁵ Isaković does more to highlight mutual perceptions and integrate Ottoman sources into Yugoslav history-telling. Many sources from the readers are taken from other books and works from historians, meaning the development of historiography precipitated into the textbooks.⁶⁷⁶ The newer textbooks also forgo even more mention of the brutality present in the previous editions. As a result, the conquest remains an unfortunate and tragic event, but it is more fleshed out.

Ottoman Development after the Muslim Recognition

Srđan Milošević noted especially that Serbian textbooks, between 1902 to 1999 (referring to one 1960 Serbian school textbook), presented the Ottoman era as a period of “arrested development.” The books were, he argued, devoid of any “political or cultural successes and

⁶⁷⁰ Fahrudin Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 10th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1987), 53.

“Srpski *nevjernici* bijahu se sakupili i dojurili u blizinu Jerdena,”

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 56; Isaković, *Istorijska Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 56.

⁶⁷² Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 57–58.

⁶⁷³ Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 116; Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1979), 116.

⁶⁷⁴ Emilija Simoska, “General Problems in the History Textbooks of the Balkans,” in *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Christina Koulouri (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001), 98–99.

⁶⁷⁵ Božić, *Istorija Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 191–92.

“prije nego bi počelo robljenje i pljačkanje, uhvatili bi se mladić i djevojka, ili djeva, pa u strahu da ih Turci ne bi uzeli, ispuštali dušu skakjući dobrovoljno u provaliju.”

⁶⁷⁶ Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 61.

achievements of the Ottoman Empire.”⁶⁷⁷ In Bosnia (and perhaps due to examining more textbooks), this image is slightly more complex, as they mention more successes, but the discussion more than ever underlines this period as the break with “European” development. Arslanagić and Isaković highlight in both 1977 and 1980: “Because of Turkish Conquests in most of Yugoslav lands, the development of the feudal system was prevented.”⁶⁷⁸ In other textbooks from the 1970s, for adult education, they add: “That explains the stop in the development of most of our lands in relation to Western Europe.”⁶⁷⁹ The “Turkish yoke” therefore figures once more as a form of amnesty *a priori* for the policies of the successor states. As Stojanović argued without the yoke, “we would be forced to face ourselves and our own omissions,” such as continually meagre conditions since the end of Ottoman rule vis-à-vis the West.⁶⁸⁰ Perazić’s 7th grade textbook argued that feudal relations in the Ottoman Empire prohibited capitalistic developments:

Turkey did not have its own internal forces which could drive her economic and social development towards industrial production and a bourgeois order, so the crisis that engulfed existing feudal relations led the Turkish Empire and its military-feudal system towards the final collapse.⁶⁸¹

The deeper issue is that this reading is teleological, as when the Empire fell in the early 20th century, it retroactively became inevitable in accounts of the 17th.⁶⁸²

Marxist theory presupposed development as linear and the Ottoman Empire “a step backward” in that trajectory.⁶⁸³ But, Avineri highlighted how Marx warned of the applicability of the

⁶⁷⁷ Srđan Milošević, “Arrested Development: Mythical Characteristics in Ghte ‘Five Hundred Years of Turkish Yoke,’” in *Images of Imperial Legacy: Modern Discourses on the Social and Cultural Impact of Ottoman and Habsburg Rule in Southeast Europe*, ed. Tea Sindbaek and Maximilian Hartmuth (Münster: LIT Verlag Münster, 2011), 73.

⁶⁷⁸ Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 4th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1977), 67; Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 7th, adapted ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980), 69.

“Zbog turskih osvajanja u najvećem dijelu jugoslavenskih zemalja prekinut je razvitak feudalnog sistema.”

⁶⁷⁹ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1975, 117; Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1979, 117.

“Time se može objasniti zastoj u razvoju većeg dijela naših zemalja u odnosu na zemlje Zapadne Evrope.”

⁶⁸⁰ Bandžović, “History in a ‘Broken Mirror’: Demographic De-Ottomanization of the Balkans and Identity Changes of the Refugees,” 28.

⁶⁸¹ Stanko Perazić, *Povijest Udžbenik Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History Textbook for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 3rd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1984), 32.

“Turska nije imala svojih unutrašnjih snaga koji bi njen privredni i društveni razvoj vodile kad industrijskoj proizvodnji i buržoaskom uređenju, pa je kriza koja je zahvatila postojeće feudalne odnose vodila i Tursko Carstvo i njegov vojno feudalni sistem ka konačnom slomu.”

⁶⁸² L. T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden ; New York: Brill Academic Pub, 1996), 4–5.

⁶⁸³ Douglas A. Howard, “Why Timars? Why Now? Ottoman Timars in the Light of Recent Historiography,” *Turkish Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (November 7, 2017): 132, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18775462-00802002>.

European capitalist-bourgeois “stage of development” elsewhere.⁶⁸⁴ Marx viewed the “oriental Empires” as similarly static and unable to change fundamentally.⁶⁸⁵ This was the dominant paradigm in understanding modernization theory more broadly. One of its first proponents was Bernard Lewis, who in the 1950s and 1960s who explained the decline of “Islamic Civilization” as failure to modernize.⁶⁸⁶ These ideas presupposed fundamental differences between a “traditional” and “modern” society, which could be bridged, unless you “took a wrong turn during that transition and got stuck or sidelined,” i.e. were ruled by the Ottomans for the textbooks.⁶⁸⁷ The most glaring issue however is that there was no uniform Western development, and patterns differed greatly between e.g. England and France.⁶⁸⁸ This issue of understanding “historical progress” also points to a faulty understanding of feudalism in the Ottoman context, expressed in the textbooks.

Marxists view feudalism as a production system between the serfs and lords, with taxation “the defining characteristic of peasant dependency.”⁶⁸⁹ Arslanagić and Isaković underscore this, by saying taxation in the early Ottoman Empire was light, as the “Turkish feudal system was not fully developed, so the forms of feudal exploitation were bearable.”⁶⁹⁰ The implicit idea seems that more feudal development equals more taxation, prompting revolution as necessary for change, rejecting capacities of societies to do so without it.⁶⁹¹ However, the Ottoman “feudal” system differed from “European,” as Ottoman ruling class, generally, were not the owners of the land, nor could they dispense justice alone. The land was the Sultan’s, even if it was inheritable.⁶⁹² The Sultan and the lords had to respect the opinion of the *qadis* (judges) in certain matters, meaning the system was not as self-willed as depicted.⁶⁹³ This meant that, defining feudalism in terms of systemic evolution only, some Marxists end up in a position where “A variety of economies are designated as feudal that have little in common, other than being

⁶⁸⁴ Shlomo Avineri, “Marx and Modernization,” *The Review of Politics* 31, no. 2 (April 1969): 179–80, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670500009475>.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁸⁶ Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*, The Contemporary Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 130–33, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511606786>.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁶⁸⁸ Eren Duzgun, “Property, Geopolitics, and Eurocentrism: The ‘Great Divergence’ and the Ottoman Empire,” *Review of Radical Political Economics* 50, no. 1 (March 2018): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0486613416673163>.

⁶⁸⁹ Howard, “Why Timars?,” 132.

⁶⁹⁰ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 102.

“Turski feudalni sistem još se nije u potpunosti razvio, pa su i oblici feudalne eksploatacije bili podnošljivi.”

⁶⁹¹ Jeremy Black, *The Battle of Waterloo*, First Edition (New York: Random House, 2010), 182/212.

⁶⁹² Matuz, “The Nature and Stages of Ottoman Feudalism,” 283.

⁶⁹³ Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, 117.

agricultural and at a low level of development.”⁶⁹⁴ This was very much the case for the Ottoman Empire in these textbooks.

Later textbooks reflect more substantively on facts about Ottoman “feudalism” and its *timar* system. Omanović’s 1981 sixth grade textbook juxtaposes the development of the crafts and trade which weakened the feudal order and prompted reaction by the feudal class, in a similarly paradigmatic account between the “feudal” *timar* and the “bourgeois” manufacture.⁶⁹⁵ Lewis too maintained the failure of the *timar* system was crucial to the weakening of the Empire.⁶⁹⁶ Originally, the *timar*, the state bestowed state servants’ rights to collect revenue in lands in exchange for service as cavalymen (*spahi*). These lands were not owned and could be revoked.⁶⁹⁷ The tenured system, it is said, became hereditary, and the *timars* became *çifluk*, private property in Bosnia in the 17th century, increasing the rents and obligations of the peasantry.⁶⁹⁸ This system however was transformed as a response to the monetization in the Empire, rather than retrogression towards a barter economy.⁶⁹⁹ The textbooks allege that the Empire’s economy was not sufficiently advanced in terms of exchanging goods and money.⁷⁰⁰ Yet the Ottomans minted their own currency, the *akçe*, and the censuses they conducted were for assessing tax revenues.⁷⁰¹ Unsurprisingly, the Ottoman obsession with keeping records is not mentioned in the textbooks.

With irregular profits from *timars* and the depopulation of the countryside amid wars, the *spahi* encouraged more solvent people to take over, and populate the plots with sharecroppers.⁷⁰² The socio-economic transformation allowed the Ottomans recruit infantry armies and phase out cavalry, which they did successfully.⁷⁰³ The *timar* system did not disappear overnight

⁶⁹⁴ Frederic L Pryor, “Feudalism as an Economic System,” *Journal of Comparative Economics* 4, no. 1 (March 1, 1980): 60, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-5967\(80\)90053-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-5967(80)90053-0).

⁶⁹⁵ Emina Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 8th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1981), 104.

⁶⁹⁶ Bernard Lewis, “Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire,” *Studia Islamica*, no. 9 (1958): 121, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1594978>.

⁶⁹⁷ Douglas A. Howard, “Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of ‘Decline’ of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Journal of Asian History* 22, no. 1 (1988): 61.

⁶⁹⁸ Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 93–94.

⁶⁹⁹ Matuz, “The Nature and Stages of Ottoman Feudalism,” 288.

⁷⁰⁰ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 67.

“robno-novčane proizvodnje”

⁷⁰¹ Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire*, sec. Muslims and Non-Muslims, 28%; Interdependence, 9% (ebook).

⁷⁰² Philippe Gelez, “The End of the Timar System in Bosnia, 18th - 20th Century,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, December 23, 2022, 111, <https://doi.org/10.18589/oa.1223553>.

⁷⁰³ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Illustrated edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 22–23.

(continuing as late as the 19th century in Bosnia), nor was it applied in certain provinces like in the Levant.⁷⁰⁴ There is debate to how “capitalist” these enterprises were, but the weakening of the *timar* did not mean the necessary weakening of the Empire.⁷⁰⁵ This process of “privatization” did not make the peasants serfs like in Eastern Europe *per se*, as they still retained a series of rights.⁷⁰⁶ For instance, in Ottoman Serbia, local rule (*zadruga*) was common.⁷⁰⁷ Yugoslav Marxist literature (and in part textbooks) saw the transformation of the *timar* system as a totally negative, illegal process altogether, which is erroneous.⁷⁰⁸

In any case, Isaković and Arslanagić’s textbooks immediately after presenting the catastrophic consequences of Ottoman rule, list cultural achievements – markets, caravansaries, trade, infrastructure, housing, schooling connections with the Islamic world.⁷⁰⁹ They go on to explain how:

During Turkish rule, cities and the urban economy developed noticeably...Guild production was tightly connected to the needs of the army. So next to the weavers, came cannon-makers, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, builders...Next to the guild production trade with coastal cities and the advanced centers of Italy developed.⁷¹⁰

How this is necessarily different to “Europe” is not clear. This is also in the 1984 Omanović textbook, which mentioned the prosperity trading with the Italian states brought.⁷¹¹ In their 1989 secondary school textbooks, Arslanagić and Isaković write how: “over it [Bosnia Eyalet] were many important roads from Turkish European regions towards the Danube basin and Adriatic ports.”⁷¹² F. Isaković’s sixth grade reader elaborates on many developments under the Ottoman period. For instance, Hamdija Kreševljaković’s work on the guilds in greater detail:

⁷⁰⁴ Gelez, “The End of the Timar System in Bosnia, 18th - 20th Century,” 100; Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 89.

⁷⁰⁵ Gelez, “The End of the Timar System in Bosnia, 18th - 20th Century,” 124; Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 217–18.

⁷⁰⁶ Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 220–21.

⁷⁰⁷ Duzgun, “Property, Geopolitics, and Eurocentrism,” 13.

⁷⁰⁸ Fahd Kasumović, “Osmanska agrarna politika i nadmetanje za zemlju u Jugoistočnoj Evropi,” *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, no. 35 (2014): 101.

⁷⁰⁹ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 72.

⁷¹⁰ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 131.

“za vrijeme turkse vlasi znato su se razvili gradovi i gradska privreda...Zanatska proizvodnja bila je usko povezana s potrebama vojske. Tako se i pored tkačkog obrata javljaju i tobdžije, puškari, kovači, teari i građevinari. Pored zanatske proizvodnje razvila se i trgovina s primorskim gradovima i naprednim trgovačkim centrima Italije.”

⁷¹¹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 135.

⁷¹² Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1989), 161.

“preko njega [bosanskog ejaleta] su vodili važni putevi iz turskih evropskih pokrajina prema Podunavlju i lukama Jadranskog mora.”

Not far are shops of all sorts of furs of forest beasts. Among them there are many wonders, that London women would give years of their life for one cloak. In one longer street, I was stores full of golden jewelry, beauty like in harem beauties and Indian fables, and of silver many ornaments full of fantastical patterns, not behind Venetian works.⁷¹³

It again highlights the paradoxes – Sarajevo is compared to Venice, but the conclusion maintains Bosnia being fundamentally divergent in its developmental trajectory to Europe. The book elaborates on the particulars of the cities – mosques, public fountains, hammams, schools and the seven Ottoman bridges.⁷¹⁴ It deals also with the duties of the *timar*-holders and the peasants.⁷¹⁵ It is difficult to gauge the extent of these obligations out of context, but they illustrate the intricacies of the tax-system. The law contains numerous exceptions – e.g., if a farmer has ten beehives, he pays the tenth with one of the hives annually, but if it is less, he pays a fixed tax.⁷¹⁶ Perzaić's new 7th grade textbooks maintains that the initial feudal order in the Ottoman Empire was beneficial even:

While central rule in the Turkish state was strong, the position of the *reaya* was somewhat more favorable from the position of serfs in other feudal states. Once their dues to the state and lord were fulfilled, the *reaya* was protected from other forms of imposition and self-will.⁷¹⁷

Similarly, Arslanagić and Isković's 1987 high schoolbook presents the early Ottoman period as "at the beginning, the position of the peasants in the conquered lands was quite bearable."⁷¹⁸ It also contains many more images of cultural buildings in Bosnia under Ottoman rule. Therefore, the period is also characterized through different portions and not merely as one monolithic era of suffering and exploitation. Yet, some sections clash, as they retain a negative conclusion about the period, which follows from increasingly more "positive" premises. The later textbooks are also the first to cover the decline of the Ottoman Empire in more depth.

⁷¹³ Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 75–76.

"Nedaleko su trgovine svakojakog krzna od šumskih zvijeri. Među njima ima tako krasnog, da bi londonske žene dale ne malo godina života za jedan ogrtač od njega. U jednoj podužoj ulici video sam dućane prepuno zlatnog nakita, ljepote kao u haremskih ljepotica i indijskih bajki, a iz srebra izrađeni ukrasni predmeti svoj ornamentikom punom fantastičnih šara, ne zaostaju ni malo za venecijanskim radovima ove vrste."

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 76–77.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 71–72.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁷¹⁷ Stanko Perzaić, *Povijest Udžbenik Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History Textbook for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 43.

"Dok je centralna vlast u turskoj državi bila jaka, položaj raje bio je čak i nešto povoljniji od položaja seljaka kmetova u drugim feudalnim državama. Poslije izvršenja svojih obaveza prema spahiji i državi, raja je bila zaštićena od drugih vidova nameta i samovolje."

⁷¹⁸ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 102.

"u početku je položaj seljaka u osvojenim zemljama bio dosta podnošljiv."

While Omanović and Ćirković articulate that the Empire only slowly collapsed and weakened, they locate the failure of the Empire early, but never reflect on why and how it survived.⁷¹⁹ The key events are the Battles of Sziget and Sisak in 1566 and 1593 and the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The battles' place in declinist narratives is often central in textbooks due to their focus on military history. However, the naval defeat at Lepanto did not influence Ottoman naval production and their fleets quickly replenished. The battle of Sziget was an Ottoman victory, and Sisak came a century before the Ottomans sieged Vienna again in 1683.⁷²⁰ The Ottomans were not significantly weaker militarily than Europe, at least by the later 18th century.⁷²¹ Economically, manufacturing or mining in the Ottoman Empire never collapsed independently of global economic developments.⁷²² Even in the 18th and 19th century, some Ottoman provinces developed “capitalistic” features.⁷²³ In the 1980s the decline thesis too was debated internationally, but this had little impact on the Yugoslav textbooks, which maintain what Quataert dubbed “enmeshment in European norms of what constitutes political and economic development and the very concept of progress itself.”⁷²⁴ Many publications about these specific topics came out in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷²⁵ Imamović reviewed Inalcik's 1973 *The Ottoman Empire – The Classical Age*. He concluded how the book could be an opportunity for “public discussion about the state of Yugoslav Ottoman studies, especially about the problems of the history of the nations of B&H and our other nations during the Ottoman times.”⁷²⁶

⁷¹⁹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1981, 104.

⁷²⁰ Jonathan Grant, “Rethinking the Ottoman ‘Decline’: Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Journal of World History* 10, no. 1 (1999): 179, 185.

⁷²¹ Gábor Ágoston, “Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450-1800,” *Journal of World History* 25, no. 1 (2014): 122–24; Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*, Illustrated edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 200–201.

⁷²² Donald Quataert, “Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of ‘Decline,’” *History Compass* 1, no. 1 (2003): 5–6, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1478-0542.038>.

⁷²³ Dana Sajdi, “‘Decline’ and Its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction,” in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyles in the Eighteenth Century* (London : New York: Taurus, 2008), 13–14,

https://www.academia.edu/3625354/_Decline_and_its_Discontents_and_Ottoman_Cultural_History_By_Way_of_Introduction.

⁷²⁴ Quataert, “Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of ‘Decline,’” 1, 3.

⁷²⁵ I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Halil Inalcik, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700” 6 (1980): 283–337.

⁷²⁶ Mustafa Imamović, “Nova Sinteza Osmanske Istorije - Halil Inalcik, The Ottoman Empire - The Classical Age 1300-1600, London, 1973,” *Odjek*, 30.06 1974, BI-FAZ.

“Izlazak djela H. Inaldžika biće možda prilika da se povede otvorena javna rasprava o stanju jugoslovenske osmanistike, posebno o problemima istorije naroda BiH i ostalih naših naroda u doba osmanske vladavine.”

The 1982 advanced classes guide by Paćuka and Isaković is much more detailed, highlighting the many Christians that were integrated into the Ottoman state.⁷²⁷ They also refer to the Muslims with a capital M, as a nation historically. Trade is listed as moving many goods such as woolen, wax and furs, metals, tobacco, silk etc. from the East and contributing to the prosperity of the lands.⁷²⁸ When characterizing the Ottoman state, they enmesh it in various historical traditions that would make modern authors like Baer proud:⁷²⁹

We should keep in mind that the Turks were representatives of a rich Anatolian-Seljuk heritage, which, based on the heritage of Islamic-Oriental culture, and enriched by rich influence of Byzantine culture, with its developed urbane life, trade, guilds, and civilization ahead of our own lands.⁷³⁰

This passage attempts to grasp the Ottoman Empire as more than a nomadic horde, showing advancements in construction and architecture.⁷³¹ Yet, one never gets a sense of the complexity and uniqueness of this entity, specifically what Ansary so lucidly described as the “checks and balances” of Ottoman society, not just state.⁷³² Interestingly, the program on which this book was based, only highlighted “specificities of the position of B&H in the framework of the Turkish Empire” and “Cultural conditions and institutions in B&H” for the 18th century, but the textbook writes also about the period much before it.⁷³³ This is again illustrative of the authorial liberties taken in the later-period textbooks. Therefore, while the textbooks do the most so far to highlight how the Ottoman period changed and transformed the Yugoslav lands, it remains within the categories the nascent nation-states of the 19th century used against the Ottoman Empire – “progress,” “advancement,” “failure” etc., prudently outlined by Karpat already in 1972.⁷³⁴

⁷²⁷ Fahrudin Isaković and Muhamed Paćuka, *Istorija - Priručnik Za Izbornu Nastavu Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History - Handbook for Special Classes for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 58.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷²⁹ Marc David Baer, *The Ottomans: Khans, Caesars, and Caliphs* (New York: Basic Books, 2021).

⁷³⁰ Isaković and Paćuka, *Istorija - Priručnik Za Izbornu Nastavu Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History - Handbook for Special Classes for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 73–74.

“Uz to treba imati na umu da su Turci bili nosioci bogatog anadolskog-seldžučkog kulturnog nasljeđa, koje je, zasnovano na tekovima islamsko-orijentalne kulture i obogaćeno plodnim utjecajima bizantske kulture – sa svojim razvijenim građanskim životom, živom trgovinom izgrađenim esnafskim organizacijama, svojom gradskom civilizacijom bilo u prednosti and kulturom u našim zemljama.”

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, 78–80.

⁷³² Tamim Ansary, *Destiny Disrupted: A History of the World Through Islamic Eyes*, Reprint edition (New York/N.Y: PublicAffairs, 2010), 179–80.

⁷³³ Muhamed Paćuka, “Izborna Nastava Iz Istorije u Osnovnoj Školi,” *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara BiH XXXI–XXXIII*, no. 1 (1982): 249.

“Specifičnosti položaja BiH u okvirima Turskog Carstva” “Kulturne prilike i insitucije u BiH”

⁷³⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, “The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 3 (1972): 243.

Co-Habitation, finally? – The Churches, Islam and the Jannisaries

Regarding Islamification, some textbooks like the 1970s Arslanagić-Isaković volumes read very similar to older ones. They write: “Even though there was no violent Islamification, many accepted the new religion to open the way to a military or political career,” implying the predominance of interests and economic considerations, but also underlying the coercive nature of the practice.⁷³⁵ This is continued in the adult education books from 1979.⁷³⁶ They say that the nobility converted, and this was the “basis of [Turkish] rule,” continuing to present the process as deliberate and implying even a guilt to the conversion.⁷³⁷ However, when referring to the Janissaries, they are milder, stating how: “Turks with the ‘blood tax’ took from Christian families male children, re-educated them, and used them for military and administrative jobs.”⁷³⁸ There is a noticeable phasing out of the term “Turkified.” The Slavic nature of the Muslim nation is again alluded to indirectly arguing how: “the Turkish language did not spread among our people,” but perhaps also underlining how undesirable “Turkishness” in the context of the Ottoman Empire at least is. Regarding the influence of Islam, they say that “outside of the influence of Islamic culture remained the non-Islamic world, and if there was any influence, it manifest through folk music and poetry.”⁷³⁹ Omanović’s 1984 textbook continues to present Islamification as more targeted and clearly defined policy by the Ottomans, as “the Turks used the unsorted and sharpened religious circumstances to spread Islam in Bosnia-Herzegovina.”⁷⁴⁰ Her earlier editions included extensive sections on the Churches in the Ottoman Empire, however, the 1981 edition omits the chapters about the Serbian Orthodox Church, rather including a chapter on the “Resistance of our People against the Conqueror,” proudly proclaiming how “our peoples did not peacefully tolerate foreign rule,” precisely like earlier

⁷³⁵ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 72.

⁷³⁶ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1979, 118.

“Iako nije bilo nasilne islamizacije, mnogi su prihvatili novu religiju da bi otvorili put vojnoj ili političkoj karijeri.”

⁷³⁷ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Middle Vocational Schools)*, 72.

“osnova [Turske] vlasti,”

⁷³⁸ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 157.

“Turci su pomoću ‘danka u krvi’ oduzimali od hrišćanskih porodica mušku djecu, prevaspitavali ih i koristili za vojne i upravne poslove.”

⁷³⁹ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija Za I Razred Srednjih Stručnih Škola (History for the First Grade of Middle Vocational Schools)*, 69.

“turski jezik je nije raširio u našem narodu,”

⁷⁴⁰ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 135.

“Turci su se za širenje islama u Bosni i Hercegovini koristili nesređenim i zaoštrenim vjerskim prilikama...”

textbooks did.⁷⁴¹ There is now a chapter listing all the major revolts against Ottoman rule – including the Karpoš Uprising in Macedonia and other injustices.⁷⁴² It also contains a chapter mentioning the “Participation of our people in wars of Christian powers against Turkey,” again emphasizing the Yugoslav role in the “Judeo-Christian” civilizational sphere.⁷⁴³ This is continued in the 1984 edition too.⁷⁴⁴ Islamization in the Isaković reader is presented through academic source by Nedim Filipović who nuances the complex process– through changes that occurred with the Empire – encounters in fortresses with imams, tekkes which housed Sufis and dervishes, as well as the connections of Ottoman dignitaries of Bosnian origin who kept contacts with the homeland. It also mentioned how “Members of all three faiths converted to Islam.”⁷⁴⁵

In general, the Isaković 6th grade reader presents a more substantial development in terms of the ethnic relations under the Ottomans. When mentioning the “blood tax,” while dubbed a misfortune, his analysis even lists a figure of 2,000 taken in one batch, which finally presents some context to the extent of the practice.⁷⁴⁶ The 1982 advanced reader highlights that “The second obligation of Christian population was the blood tax, and it harshly impacted the Christians.”⁷⁴⁷ Compared to early accounts, it is much more balanced and neutral. When referring to the status of the Church, Arslanagić-Isaković highlight how: “The Turks did not destroy the Christian Church organizations, but for the Serb Church came very difficult days.”⁷⁴⁸ Isaković’s sixth grade reader highlights the renewal of the Serbian Patriarchate, as a form of strengthening the connection between the Empire and the Serb people, which is a welcome interpretation.⁷⁴⁹ However, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the image changes and

⁷⁴¹ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1981, 106.

“Otpor naših naroda osvajaču,”

“naši narodi nisu miro podnosili tuđinsku vlast.”

⁷⁴² Ibid., 111.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

“Učešće naših naroda u ratovanjima hrišćanskih sila protiv Turske,”

⁷⁴⁴ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 129–32.

⁷⁴⁵ Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 80–81.

“Na islam su prelazile pristalice sve tri vjere.”

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 72–73.

⁷⁴⁷ Isaković and Pačuka, *Istorija - Priručnik Za Izbornu Nastavu Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History - Handbook for Special Classes for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 59.

“Druga obaveza hrišćanskog stanovništva bila je danak u krvi...i teško je pogađao hrišćane.”

⁷⁴⁸ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1979, 119.

“Turci nisu uništili hrišćanske crkvene organizacije, ali su za srpsku crkvu nastali vrlo teški dani,”

⁷⁴⁹ Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 77.

it is highlighted how: “The Church was robbed, and priests were thrown into dungeons and were killed,” which led to the church and people becoming closer together, prompting the Ottomans to abolish it in 1767.⁷⁵⁰ Again this was more due to Greek clerical influence than Ottoman malice, as e.g., Đurđev discovered.⁷⁵¹ This again serves the function of presenting Ottoman rule as uniquely arbitrary and depraved, aligned against Serb national institutions. A more positive portrayal can be found in the 1982 advanced seventh grade reader, noting that many churches were built and how they “stood out in its size and outstanding architecture, which did not lag behind the best Muslim architecture.”⁷⁵²

The greatest developments regarding the interethnic relations under the Ottomans are present perhaps ironically in the 1989 textbook, the year of Milošević’s Kosovo speech. The book shows Islamization prompted by the development of crafts, urbanization, economic conditions, which helps nuance this complex process. They are also the first to mention how the “blood tax,” was conducted until the middle of the 17th century, thus discontinued relatively early.⁷⁵³ They further nuance the process saying: “The process of Islamification was a long-term process, which began with the arrival of the Turks, and ended with their leaving of our lands,” translating some of the historiographical discoveries on the lack of mass conversion.⁷⁵⁴ They also list many Muslim cultural and literary figures of the period, such as Hasan Kaimija, Vahdeti, but also Christian thinkers like Matija Divković and Stjepan Markovac.⁷⁵⁵ This textbook especially contains lengthy explanations of the peasant’s dues and the difference between the peasants based on religion: “The Muslim *reaya* fulfilled the same obligations as the Christian, just lighter. The Muslims did not pay the *harač* but had to serve in the military.”⁷⁵⁶ It is also the first one to mention the extent of religious syncretism in Bosnia. There is mention of a Bosnian

⁷⁵⁰ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Ua V i VI Razred Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for the Fifth and Sixth Grades of Adult Education)*, 1979, 119.

“Crkva je pljačkana, a sveštenici su bacani u tamnice i ubijani,”

⁷⁵¹ Pelidija, “Doprinos akademika Branislava Đurđeva u pisanju knjige ‘Historija naroda Jugoslavije II,’” 37; *Istorija Naroda Jugoslavije: Knjiga Druga*, 1269.

⁷⁵² Isaković and Pačuka, *Istorija - Priručnik Za Izbornu Nastavu Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History - Handbook for Special Classes for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 80.

“ističu se svojom veličinom i izvanrednom arhitekturom, koja ne zaostaje nimalo za najboljom muslimanskom.”

⁷⁵³ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 160.

“danak u krvi”

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

“Proces islamizacije bio je dugotrajan process koji je počeo sa dolaskom Turaka, a završio se njihovim odlaskom iz naših zemalja,”

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 161.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 160.

“Muslimanska raja je ispunjavala iste obaveze kao i hrišćanska samo u blažem obliku. Muslimani su bili oslobođeni plaćanja harača, ali su bili obavezni da se odazovu u vojsku.”

spirit – “brother of three laws,” claiming that “In Bosnia, there were Muslim writers which asked for the Christians to have equal rights.”⁷⁵⁷ It also underplays the ethnic differentiation, as:

In an environment in which there were more faiths, differences were overcome by developing good unneighborly relations. Instead of connection based on ethnic origin or religious belonging, Muslims, Serbs and Croats and Jews established a *cult of neighborliness*. In the people, an understanding that unneighborly rights were stronger than birth-right.⁷⁵⁸

Indeed, the Ottoman period did not see any real form of ethnic/interethnic violence and the relations between the communities were generally peaceful. Mazower argued that specifically the tools of European modernity, such as the nation state, provided the Balkan states with the ideology of destroying generally peaceful co-existence in favor of national uniformity.⁷⁵⁹ Examples are given of multi-religious families, Muslim visits to the Christian holy places such as the Virgin Mary in Čajniče and the grave of St. Sava in Mileševo. This indeed happened, and some accusations of Ottoman destruction of icons were uses of frescos for making medicinal poultices.⁷⁶⁰ Ottoman civilization is shown to be strongly intertwined in all the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including living, wear, cuisine, floristry, coffee, and tobacco culture, as well as vocabulary, etc. It is the first major and serious attempt at an integrative approach to the Ottoman Empire as part of the history of all the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It even mentioned how with the migrations, “a geographically compact whole suitable for the creation of a Yugoslav country in the Balkans.”⁷⁶¹ In that sense, the experience of the Ottoman Empire is seen more as transformative, rather than just traumatic and something to guard against.

Resisting the Ottomans, Together

The newer textbooks continue the thread of an increased integration of the Muslims into the resistance against the Ottomans. They are significantly less innovative and overall much

⁷⁵⁷ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 163.

“braća triju zakona,”

“U Bosni je bilo muslimanskih pisaca koji su tražili da se prema hrišćanima primjenjuju ista mjerila kao i prema Muslimanima.”

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid.

“U sredini u kojoj je bilo više vjera, razlike su prevladavane razvijanjem dobrosusjedskih odnosa. Umjesto povezanosti na etničkom porijeklu ili vjerskoj pripadnosti, Muslimani, Srbi i Hrvati i Jevreji uspostavili su kult komšiluka. U narodu je bilo rašireno shvatanje da je košijsko parvo jače od rodbinskog prava.”

⁷⁵⁹ Mazower, *The Balkans*, xlii–xliii.

⁷⁶⁰ Božidar Jezernik, *Zemlja Gdje Je Sve Naopako* (Sarajevo: BEMUST, 1999), 129–31.

This translated chapter is much briefer than the English version, which I recommend much more.

⁷⁶¹ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja i Vaspitanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 158–59.

“stvorena je geografski povezana cjelina pogodna za stvaranje jugoslovenske države na Balkanu.”

shorter. Paćuka's advanced reader underlines that Muslims too took part in rebellions, one of which was led by Muslim Abdurahman-effendi Muharemija.⁷⁶² Arslanagić's 1987 book mentioned how: "Throughout the 18th century, resistance emerges in cities too, especially Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Cazin. The bearers of the struggle were hired workers, and in the villages, aside from the Christian population, Muslim peasants took part in the resistance."⁷⁶³ The Muslim peasantry in his book too is mentioned more and its position elucidated, disaggregating them from usual villains of the period, the aristocracy, local or Ottoman. The book writes how: "Muslim peasantry was mostly free, but it lived in utmost misery and poverty."⁷⁶⁴ The Muslims are integrated much more into a common Yugoslav struggle now, as an established nation, which began in the previous period. The readers are prompted to see the Muslims as part of the fraternity through their opposition to the Ottomans. It also includes a petition by the Herzegovinian *reaya*, (Christian and Muslim), which detailed a complaint about the harsh extractions in the 19th century, and the judiciary, which legitimized it.⁷⁶⁵ Therefore, in the socialist key there is an increased integration of the Muslim peasants as historical protagonists.

To justify the resistance further, Perazić's reader on the 19th century for the 7th grade illustrates many of the difficulties that the Christian peasantry is faced with in 1839-1840 by Matija Mažuranić, member of the 19th century, proto-Yugoslav Illyrian Movement.⁷⁶⁶ The source highlights the hardships of the Christian population under their Muslim overlordship: "In the Sarajevo Field, as I heard, of all Bosnia, it is the worst for the Christians," who live in huts, while the Turks, (meaning also local Muslims) live in houses.⁷⁶⁷ He goes on to say if the Christians make a better house, they are immediately prosecuted.⁷⁶⁸ Therefore the Turks still feature as a totally maligned figure, but with subtle differentiation between local Muslim and Turk. This is evidenced in the same collection of sources, Galib Šljivo, a historian of 19th century Bosnia is given as a source as well to show the "complaint of the peasant Muslims and

⁷⁶² Isaković and Paćuka, *Istorija - Priručnik Za Izbornu Nastavu Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History - Handbook for Special Classes for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 60.

⁷⁶³ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Povijest Za I Razred Srednjeg Usmjerenog Obrazovanja (History for the First Grade of Middle Directed/Vocational Education)*, 108.

"U toku XVIII cijeka otpor se javlja i u gradovima, naročito u Sarajevu, Tuzli i Cazinu. Nosioći borbe bili su najamni radnici, a na selu, pored hrišćanskog stanovništva, u otporu učestvuju i muslimanski seljaci."

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 122.

"Muslimansko seljaštvo bilo je pretežno slobodno ali je živjelo u krajnoj bijedi i oskudici."

⁷⁶⁵ Perazić, *Povijest Udžbenik Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History Textbook for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 1975, 44–45.

⁷⁶⁶ Sanja Kadrić, "The Islamisation of Ottoman Bosnia," 282.

⁷⁶⁷ Stanko Perazić, *Istorijska Čitanka Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History Textbook for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 10th ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1987), 36.

"U sarajevskom polju je, kako sam čuo, od sve Bosne najgore stanje za kršćane,"

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

Christians of the Tešanj region.”⁷⁶⁹ It highlights the joint grievances of the peasantry made to the government about taxation. Hence, it manages to strike somewhat of a balance while presenting the peasant population as sympathetic, again against the faltering and unjust Ottoman rule.

The Arslanagić and Isaković seventh and eighth grade adult education textbooks contain very little Bosnian history. Much is dedicated to the Serb uprisings and the end of Ottoman rule in Serbia.⁷⁷⁰ Bosnia is introduced in the 1875 uprising, which mentioned Vaso Pelagić’s socialist program as “the only correct path of struggle for liberation, but was not understood by the insurgents.”⁷⁷¹ Vaso Pelagić himself agitated against the “Turkish yoke,” especially highlighting its regressive role in the development of the Balkan nations, and its abuses against Christians.⁷⁷² When speaking of the hajduks, they are not as omnipresent. There is of course the praising of the *hajduk* movements that resisted “foreign rule in our lands.”⁷⁷³ For instance Arslanagić and Isaković’s 1979 textbook: “They [the hajduks] were supported by the entire conquered population,” again presenting a common popular resistance to the Empire.⁷⁷⁴ Omanović’s book from 1981 continues the discussion of the punishments inflicted on the *hajduks*, but now includes a heading on Skenderbeg, an Albanian noble who led a rebellion against the Ottomans in the mid-15th century. His figure is characterized as especially brave, earning him the title of an Albanian national hero and role-model for all who ought to resist foreign imposition.⁷⁷⁵ This is emblematic of the increased integration of other minorities too,

⁷⁶⁹ Perazić, *Istorijska Čitanka Za VII Razred Osnovne Škole (History Textbook for the Seventh Grade of Primary School)*, 37.

“žalba seljaka muslimana i kršćana tešanjskog kraja.”

⁷⁷⁰ Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za VII-VIII Razred Osnovne Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for Seventh and Eight Grades of Primary Schools for Adult Education)*, 1st ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975); Miralem Arslanagić and Fahrudin Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za VII-VIII Razred Osnovne Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for Seventh and Eight Grades of Primary Schools for Adult Education)*, 2nd ed. (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1979).

⁷⁷¹ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za VII-VIII Razred Osnovne Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for Seventh and Eight Grades of Primary Schools for Adult Education)*, 1975, 54; Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za VII-VIII Razred Osnovne Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for Seventh and Eight Grades of Primary Schools for Adult Education)*, 1979, 54.

“jedini ispravan put borbe za oslobođenje, ali nije bio shvaćen od strane ustanika.”

⁷⁷² Hajdarpašić, “Out of the Ruins of the Ottoman Empire,” 724.

⁷⁷³ Isaković, *Povijesna Čitanka Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (Historical Reader for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1987, 77–79.

“tuđinskoj vlasti u našim zemljama.”

⁷⁷⁴ Arslanagić and Isaković, *Istorija-Povijest Za VII-VIII Razred Osnovne Škole Za Obrazovanje Odraslih (History for Seventh and Eight Grades of Primary Schools for Adult Education)*, 1979, 120.

“Podršku im [hajducima] je pružalo čitavo pokoreno stanovništvo.”

⁷⁷⁵ Omanović, *Istorija-Povijest: Za VI Razred Osnovne Škole (History for the Sixth Grade of Primary School)*, 1981, 98.

“žilava borba i hrabrost učinila ga je albanskim nacionalnim junakom i borcem za nezavisnost Albanije.”

but in the familiar matrix of resisting the Ottomans. However, compared to previous years, the newer textbooks differ more in their focus on the development-side of the period, making the resistance portion less sanguine and overall, more integrative than ever.

Conclusion - The more things change...

The later period of Socialist Bosnian textbooks evolves in line with the developments at the time but also against them at times. On the one hand, the rising national tensions in the late 1980s were not met with more chauvinistic textbooks in Bosnia. Appeals to Bosnian patriotism and historical friendship intensified. On the other hand, the textbooks continue many of the threads that existed. Apple and Christian-Smith's idea of "mentioning" is strongest in this period, as more selective aspects of the Ottoman past, chiefly Muslim resistance are integrated into dominant group traditions.⁷⁷⁶ However, there is a late attempt to transform the usual presentation. Therefore, the Empire's conquest of the Balkans is slightly more fleshed out and shown from an Ottoman perspective, rather than just the South-Slavic. By now, much of the charged language and mythology regarding institutions such the Janissary Corps is discarded. Still, resistance is retained as an important part of Yugoslav history and one the students should identify with. However, compared to previous editions, much more focus is given to explaining the Empire systemically, which falls into common declinist narratives, that were questioned even at the time. No wonder in both instances, as the sciences in Yugoslavia, as flawed as they were, produced works on Ottoman-era land tenure, property, and institutions, but never overcame all the many limitations, chief of which was the ideological. Conversely, the textbooks were, more than ever, populated more by historians, rather than folk poets. Still, the Empire is still stagnant and teleologically doomed, but it also means the Muslims feature more as actors – poets, benefactors, thinkers etc., increasingly separated from the vilified "Turk." Yet, these transformations came at a time when political events of much greater weight swung the pendulum of history towards the disintegration of the Yugoslav federal state.

⁷⁷⁶ Apple and Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*, 12.

Conclusion

The Socialist Textbooks and the Muslim Nation

To answer the main question of this thesis – To what extent did the Muslim recognition influence the portrayal of the Ottoman Period in Socialist Bosnian textbooks between 1945 to 1990? In short, a great deal. The early textbooks fall into a paradigm of *negating* the history of the Ottoman Empire. They present the Ottoman period as dystopia, to show how progressive and “better” the new Socialist arrangement was. Falling to the Ottomans is shown as the fall to an alien civilization and end of a golden age. No wonder, as the programs cite the period as “Slavery to the Turks.” Literary and folk texts are used to highlight the depravity of institutions such as the *devshirme*, even when academic sources were available. Finally, the textbooks tap into resistance to the Ottoman Empire directly in the context of resistance to the Axis especially strongly in this period.

The period of Muslim recognition between 1961 and 1974 introduces changes. Unsurprisingly, textbooks were part of the discussion on interethnic relations. They slowly transition from negating the Ottoman period, to *mentioning* more aspects of it. The Ottoman Conquest however is still apocalyptic. Political and economic development begins to be fleshed out more with developing towns, infrastructure, and trade. Still, the thesis of an aberrant development of the Ottoman lands is maintained throughout. Thus, despite the introduction of academic works, the depiction remained negative. Interethnic relations are also reconsidered under the Ottomans, where autonomy, rights and privileges the Christian communities had been also noted. Islamification is studied much more and is in all textbooks. Resistance, however, features just as prominently, with some of the most erroneous and gruesome depictions of violence – chiefly impalement on the stake. Therefore, while the recognition changed the textbooks, it was not at all linear.

Considering the growth of the body of knowledge in Yugoslav academia about the Ottoman Empire after the recognition (1975-1990), the period evolves to *integrate* the Ottoman Empire into the History of Bosnia/Yugoslavia more than ever. The programs forgo the focuses on resistance and no longer refer to the period as merely “slavery.” The conquest continues the trends of presenting the “fall to the Turks” as an apocalyptic event. However, in some instances even include the writings of Ottoman chroniclers. Textbooks such as Isaković’s readers include

primary sources in a cutting-edge textbook, from Âşıkpaşazâde, to Konstantin Mihajlović.⁷⁷⁷ Discussing development under the Ottomans reaches a contradiction, which still stress the regressive role the Ottomans played in the development of the South Slav, while being more nuanced and expansive on the positive legacy and achievements of the Empire. They also fail to avoid teleology in explaining the Empire's end, due to the nationalist-Marxist historiographical approach. Ironically, the textbook closest to the breakout of war, the 1989 high school textbooks present the most nuances to the Ottoman period. It makes sense with the Bosnian republican leadership's commitment to Titoism. While resistance remains the lynchpin of a Yugoslav struggle against the outsiders, Muslims are now, more than ever, resisting the Ottoman Empire, a symptom of their integration.

The textbooks changed, evolved, and adapted. Despite the continuity, an early Yugoslav textbook is quite different to a later one. However, just as Yugoslavia inherited existing Slavic discourses of the Ottomans, so did the textbooks. The evolution was slow and uneven, so while certain topics like interethnic relations evolved the most, others like conquest and resistance remained relatively similar. This is not surprising, as Wertsch noted how schematic narrative templates display a "striking conservatism and resistance to change."⁷⁷⁸ Stacked on top of one another, Bosnian Socialist textbooks, like the Yugoslav federation were an uneasy compromise, which never "rehabilitated" the Muslim past fully. Once that compromise unwound, the misrepresentations of the textbooks would in no small part fuel the fire that engulfed Yugoslavia's multi-ethnic republic and her Muslims. As Greble asserted, and the textbooks and curricula demonstrated, Yugoslavs, like the Europeans they emulated, "never totally and fully accepted Islam as part of the European project, even when they granted Muslims citizenship."⁷⁷⁹

Limitations

This topic can be more and better explored. Firstly, one should look deeper into the Bosnian National Archive. Archival sources regarding Ministries of Education in Bosnia are limited to the period of the 1960s, and access to the Ideological Commission sources is complicated by its distribution in various depots. More Bosnian government documents can connect discussions and debates on textbooks and interethnic relations to one another. Other sources

⁷⁷⁷ Bogdan Murgescu and Halil Berktaş, eds., *The Ottoman Empire Workbook 1 - Teaching Modern Southeast European History. Alternative Educational Materials*, 2nd ed. (Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2009), 38, 43, https://www.academia.edu/69473210/THE_OTTOMAN_EMPIRE_Workbook_1_Teaching_Modern_Southeast_European_History_Alternative_Educational_Materials.

⁷⁷⁸ Wertsch, "The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory," 150–51.

⁷⁷⁹ Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*, 19.

could also be the publishing companies themselves and their resources regarding the books they published, especially *Svjetlost*. It could also include the Yugoslav Archive as well as the Serbian and Croatian National and Party Archives regarding the political discussion of textbooks. Regarding Serbia and Croatia, some textbooks from those Republics were used in Bosnia.⁷⁸⁰ Some documents even list the recommended ones, meaning they could be added to the analysis. The all-Bosnian approach was in part to focus the inquiry and highlight how unique the Socialist experiment in Bosnia was. But if one could come up with the documents that justify the inclusion of neighboring textbooks, the analysis could gain another comparative edge and more breadth.

Secondly, more newspapers could be used, including e.g., “The Liberation” (*Oslobodenje*), “Our Days” (*Naši Dani*), “The School Herald” (*Školski glasnik*), which can be more thoroughly explored. This might also add a broader, bottom-up perspective on the documents if e.g., surveys can be found. As most are only searchable by hand, it made research quite difficult. If digitized, the textbooks (also the papers) could be analyzed through more cutting-edge Digital Humanities approaches, although this would be quite difficult to do. One would need the logistics and the sources themselves. e.g., the Bosniak Institute has its own digitization agenda, and so does the Bosnian National Library, making coordination for a single project somewhat complicated. Perhaps in a future project, this would be possible.

Finally, one could argue the focus on historiography to contrast the textbooks was erroneous. However, this is not the case for a handful of reasons. Firstly, and secondly, many of the misconceptions and “bad blood” about the Ottoman Empire from the Yugoslav period persist to this day and tie into the relevance of this project. The Ottomans are, in Serb and Croat textbooks within Bosnia, still the villains and the Bosniaks often their stand-ins.⁷⁸¹ Due to the decentralized education system and the further cementing of ethnic divisions (by the Western powers) in the recent year(s), this is not likely to change.⁷⁸² When “return to conflict” in Bosnia, was a “very real prospect,” in November 2021, this failing of “Transitional Justice” and transforming educational narratives about the “other” (Bosniaks/Bosnian Muslims) could have again had disastrous consequences for another generation.⁷⁸³ Conversely, Ottoman legacy is a

⁷⁸⁰ “Koje Udžbenike da Odaberemo.”

⁷⁸¹ Alibašić, “Imidž Osmanlija u historijskim udžbenicima u Bosni i Hercegovini,” 58–59.

⁷⁸² Jasmin Mujanović, “An Illiberal Putsch Attempt in Bosnia,” *Al-Jazeera Balkans*, April 10, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2022/10/4/an-illiberal-putsch-in-bosnia>.

⁷⁸³ Julian Borger, “Bosnia Is in Danger of Breaking up, Warns Top International Official,” *The Guardian*, November 2, 2021, sec. World news, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/02/bosnia-is-in-danger-of-breaking-up-warns-eus-top-official-in-the-state>.

puzzle for the Bosniaks too. Keeping in mind the traditionally anti-Ottoman narratives of Yugoslav historiography, pro-Bosnian Serbs and Croats, and modern Bosnia's independence, how should the Empire be viewed? As liberating and start of the Muslim/Bosniak nation, or as the end of an independent Bosnian state?⁷⁸⁴ A historian should warn against both willful misrepresentation and urge nuance in complex topics such as the Ottoman Empire and its legacy, as this thesis attempted to. Thirdly, a major deficiency of the existing studies was the lack of "triangulation" and reflection on the historiography of the period in the textbooks and the societal context, which can misrepresent Socialist Yugoslavia especially and reproduce the faulty textbook narratives. Fourthly, it illustrates also how Yugoslav historiography was quite insular and textbooks slow to respond to advances in historiography and that they only slowly crystalized in textbooks.

Future Research

Thematically, there are countless other topics to examine in Socialist Yugoslav textbooks. The first should be the inclusion of women in a society that deemed itself egalitarian.⁷⁸⁵ Studying geography, history and literature textbooks could give a more complete picture of the ex-Yugoslav worldview. More work should be done on WWII in Bosnian textbooks, especially considering how this research revealed that the spikes of nationalism in Serbia and Croatia and their textbooks was not paralleled in Bosnia, relating to the Ottoman period.⁷⁸⁶ The multiethnic setting and the Party's stance could reveal more about the breakup and nuance the Serbo-Croatian "hegemonism." Furthermore, it is a call to examine other instances where the supposed "transformative depth" of Socialism, economically, politically, socially might not have been as pronounced.⁷⁸⁷

Conversely, a future inquiry can cover more Yugoslav republics and how they articulated the Ottoman Period and Islamic History generally. Especially interesting would be integrating non-BCSM linguistic groups – Macedonians, Albanians, and Slovenes (Hungarians and others too), especially as Northern Macedonia was ruled longest, and Slovenia was never ruled by the

⁷⁸⁴ Jasmin Agić, "Jesu li Osmanlije osvojile ili oslobodile srednjovjekovnu Bosnu?," Al-Jazeera Balkans, February 11, 2019, <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/teme/2019/11/2/jesu-li-osmanlije-osvojile-ili-oslobodile-srednjovjekovnu-bosnu>.

⁷⁸⁵ See: Melisa Forić Plasto, "Žene Na Marginama Savremenih Udžbenika Historije u Bosni i Hercegovina," in *Zamišljene Žene - O Ideološkim i Kulturnim Konceptima Ženskog Roda u Povijesti Bosne u Hercegovine*, ed. Sabina Veladžić and Aida Ličina Ramić (Sarajevo: Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2013), 303–31; Olga Voronina, "Soviet Patriarchy: Past and Present," *Hypatia* 8, no. 4 (1993): 97–112.

⁷⁸⁶ Trošt and David, "Renationalizing Memory in the Post-Yugoslav Region," 4; Stojanović, "Udžbenici istorije u Srbiji," 45.

⁷⁸⁷ E.-International Relations, "Interview – Jasmin Mujanović," *E-International Relations* (blog), January 27, 2023, <https://www.e-ir.info/2023/01/27/interview-jasmin-mujanovic/>.

Ottomans. Comparisons could be between post-Ottoman states like Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania etc. Especially interesting could be modern Turkey, often deemed as *the* successor state, and Iran, the enemy of the Ottomans during the Safavid Period. Recently in India, once dominated by the (Muslim) Mughal Empire, controversy emerged over the vilification of the Mughal state as uniquely evil and “one of the bloodiest periods in Indian history.”⁷⁸⁸ The salience also applies to “the West.” Ansary noted how in American textbooks, Islamic history was reduced to a chapter (of as many as thirty-seven), as a sort of “alternative world history.”⁷⁸⁹ It is no less relevant in Western Europe where, as Asad pointed out: “Muslims are present in Europe, and yet absent from it.”⁷⁹⁰ Critical academic reflection on education materials might prompt them being reconsidered and adapted.

Another major thematic question this thesis leaves is: How to teach Empire? In Yugoslavia, despite all the later more positive depictions, the consensus on the Ottomans was pre-determined, making the “nuance” confusing, if not contradictory. Empires were vast systems and reducing them to simple didactic “bits and pieces” used to make predetermined points about the “self” or “others” runs the risk of gross misrepresentation and can have grave consequences. Perhaps we should consider Santham Sanghera’s words – “Children can form their own opinions – even about the British [Ottoman] Empire,” if these opinions, no matter how contradictory, are based on hard facts, which were often absent, skewed or neglected in Socialist Bosnian textbooks.⁷⁹¹ Closer to the spatial focus of this thesis, in Srebrenica, returnee Bosniaks are faced with starkly similar narratives that persisted through Socialism – about the evil Turks and the reprehensible Turkified.⁷⁹² Near-daily threats promise to continue and finish “de-Ottomanization” of the Drina basin like a generation ago. The Ottoman Empire is long gone, yet for many, the past is not dead, nor is it even past.

⁷⁸⁸ Zoya Mateen, “India History Debate after Chapter on Mughals Dropped,” *BBC News*, April 20, 2023, sec. India, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-65229515>.

⁷⁸⁹ Ansary, *Destiny Disrupted*, xiv–xv, xviii.

⁷⁹⁰ Talal Asad, “Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?,” in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*, ed. Anthony Pagden, Woodrow Wilson Center Press (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 209, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511496813.011>.

⁷⁹¹ Sathnam Sanghera, “Sathnam Sanghera: Children Can Form Their Own Opinions — Even about the British Empire,” June 11, 2023, sec. saturday review, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sathnam-sanghera-children-can-form-their-own-opinions-even-about-the-british-empire-hzzv2dxqt>.

⁷⁹² Radio Slobodna Evropa, “Tužilaštvo BiH formiralo predmet o zastrašivanju povratnika u Srebrenici,” *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 14:49:18Z, sec. Vesti, <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/30366652.html>.

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Plagiarism Rules Awareness Statement

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Scientific integrity is the foundation of academic life. Utrecht University considers any form of scientific deception to be an extremely serious infraction. Utrecht University therefore expects every student to be aware of, and to abide by, the norms and values regarding scientific integrity.

The most important forms of deception that affect this integrity are fraud and plagiarism. Plagiarism is the copying of another person's work without proper acknowledgement, and it is a form of fraud. The following is a detailed explanation of what is considered to be fraud and plagiarism, with a few concrete examples. Please note that this is not a comprehensive list!

If fraud or plagiarism is detected, the study programme's Examination Committee may decide to impose sanctions. The most serious sanction that the committee can impose is to submit a request to the Executive Board of the University to expel the student from the study programme.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the copying of another person's documents, ideas or lines of thought and presenting it as one's own work. You must always accurately indicate from whom you obtained ideas and insights, and you must constantly be aware of the difference between citing, paraphrasing and plagiarising. Students and staff must be very careful in citing sources; this concerns not only printed sources, but also information obtained from the Internet.

The following issues will always be considered to be plagiarism:

- cutting and pasting text from digital sources, such as an encyclopaedia or digital periodicals, without quotation marks and footnotes;
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- including a translation of one of the sources named above without quotation marks or footnotes;
- paraphrasing (parts of) the texts listed above without proper references: paraphrasing must be marked as such, by expressly mentioning the original author in the text or in a footnote, so that you do not give the impression that it is your own idea;
- copying sound, video or test materials from others without references, and presenting it as one's own work;
- submitting work done previously by the student without reference to the original paper, and presenting it as original work done in the context of the course, without the express permission of the course lecturer;
- copying the work of another student and presenting it as one's own work. If this is done with the consent of the other student, then he or she is also complicit in the plagiarism;
- when one of the authors of a group paper commits plagiarism, then the other co-authors are also complicit in plagiarism if they could or should have known that the person was committing plagiarism;
- submitting papers acquired from a commercial institution, such as an Internet site with summaries or papers, that were written by another person, whether or not that other person received payment for the work.

The rules for plagiarism also apply to rough drafts of papers or (parts of) theses sent to a lecturer for feedback, to the extent that submitting rough drafts for feedback is mentioned in the course handbook or the thesis regulations.

The Education and Examination Regulations (Article 5.15) describe the formal procedure in case of suspicion of fraud and/or plagiarism, and the sanctions that can be imposed.

Ignorance of these rules is not an excuse. Each individual is responsible for their own behaviour. Utrecht University assumes that each student or staff member knows what fraud and plagiarism entail. For its part, Utrecht University works to ensure that students are informed of the principles of scientific practice, which are taught as early as possible in the curriculum, and that students are informed of the institution's criteria for fraud and plagiarism, so that every student knows which norms they must abide by.



I hereby declare that I have read and understood the above.

Name: Bakir Ovčina

Student number: 6534422

Date and signature: 12.06.2023

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