Although the central narrative of the book is very broad in its nature, the author provides the reader with countless examples and interesting details. The chapters are divided into a number of short topical subchapters. General observations are interwoven with descriptions of particularities often accompanied by quotes from the works of artists, scientists, philosophers, politicians, and journalists. It is also commendable that despite the variety of topics and multitude of layers and perspectives the book is consistent in its style. Altogether the book gives a surprisingly integrated impression, but it demands a great degree of focus and thought from the reader. The readers versed in the issue will not fail to notice references to the main milestones and key figures of the history of the German cultural diplomacy. However, they will be confronted with rather unconventional viewpoint in which the well-known matters are put into a broad context and often viewed from unusual particular perspective resulting in a whole new context. This is the goal the author set for himself in the introduction, and he achieved it.

Trommler's extensive monograph *Kulturmacht ohne Kompass: Deutsche auswärtige Kulturbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* is an excellent analysis of the mobilization of the German culture and the connected excesses in the broadly defined first half of the twentieth century. Its main contribution is to be found in its original addition to the interpretation of the German history and foreign policy of the first two thirds of the twentieth century. And yet, despite the promise of its title and from the annotation the book is not a unified synthesis of the German cultural diplomacy in the whole of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to the research of the German cultural diplomacy. It contains a multitude of interesting ideas, details, and general observations. It explores not only relatively obvious causalities and direct influences, but also more subtle interactions and transfers and transcend into the fields that are not directly related to cultural diplomacy. Trommler's book is worth reading not only for its interesting findings and summaries, but also for its inspiring concept.

Petra Baštová
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Kenneth Morrison and Elizabeth Roberts: **The Sandžak: A History.** London: Hurst, 2013. 285 pages. ISBN 978-0-19933-065-2

This monograph with a short title, *The Sandžak: A History,* is the joint work of British author Kenneth Morrison, a reader in modern Southeast European history at De Montfort University in Leicester, England who specializes in security affairs, and Elizabeth Roberts, who teaches Balkan history and politics at Trinity College in Dublin. Roberts is a former Australian diplomat and the wife of Sir Ivor Roberts, the British ambassador in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in the 1990s. In the reviewed publication, Roberts focuses on the history of the region from prehistoric times to the beginning of World War I. Morrison authored the chapters in the book on the period since the Great War. Morrison and

Roberts are also authors of two books on the history of Montenegro and some shorter studies and journal articles.[1] The ambition of both authors to expand their studies into the topic of the past and present of the Sandžak region of the ex-Yugoslavia therefore seems natural.

The cover of the book announces that it "attempts to demystify the enigma of this little-known part of the Western Balkans." Considering its strategic location between Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Bosnia, and its ethnically diverse population professing Islamic and Orthodox faiths, the Sandžak represents one of the important crossroads of the "Balkan worlds." *The Sandžak: A History* therefore has the considerable ambition to offer a comprehensive analysis of the cultural, social, religious, ethnic, national and political dynamics that have been shaping the history of this region in multifarious ways since prehistoric times, including medieval Serbian statehood, the period of conquests, the dominance, decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire, and the century of three different Yugoslavias, right up to the present.

The Sandžak (in Ottoman Turkish, a standard, banner, or coat of arms), or Sandžak of Novi Pazar, remains, as the authors somewhat pompously emphasize, "one of the few remaining unexamined pieces of the Balkan jigsaw." It is however certainly true that, apart from a few, mainly Yugoslav works,[2] the topic of the Sandžak in all its complexity is not dealt with in the scholarly literature, with the exception of local, national(istical)ly-oriented Sandžak historians. Thus, after the monograph *Sandžak: Porobljena Zemlja* by Harun Crnovršanin and Nura Sadiković,[3] *The Sandžak: A History* is only the second attempt at a systematic interpretation of the region's past from the "dawn of history" until the present.

Two short introductory chapters in this book are dedicated to the ancient history of the region from prehistoric times to the period of Serbian medieval statehood. However, in terms of sources and their possible interpretations, they do not bring anything new to the table. I might say that they do not even have the ambition to do so, since the topic of medieval Raška, the larger region that includes the Sandžak, has been traditionally and frequently addressed in Serbian historiography. These chapters are therefore mostly a historical entrée to the monograph.

The chapters on the history of the Ottoman Sandžak, in particular those accenting the period of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, are slightly more interesting and considerably more extensive. In regard to earlier Ottoman history, Roberts successfully, if somewhat incompletely, portrays the gradual transformation of the Christian rulers' domains of the old Serbia into the provinces that administratively were fully subordinated

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[1] Kenneth Morrison, *Montenegro: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009); and Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain: A History of Montenegro* (London: Hurst, 2007).

[2] Well-known is the autobiography of Milovan Djilas *Besudna Zemlja,* first published abroad as Milovan Djilas, *Land without Justice* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1958).

[3] Harun Crnovršanin and Nura Sadiković, *Porobljena zemlja* (Wuppertal: Bosanska riječ – Bosnisches Wort, 2001).

to Constantinople. The process of Ottomanization, not merely in the sense of subordination to the center but also of the urbanization and Islamization that followed, is addressed in subsequent chapters. There the author tries to give the reader an insight into urban development as the cornerstone of Ottoman rule, the style of life in urban dwellings, and the impact of Muslim immigration and the conversion of Christians to Islam. She outlines the *millet* system and confessional divisions under the Ottomans. However, her attempt at social rather than purely political history faces a problem in the lack of sufficient historical sources on the Sandžak. Fragmentary, locally documented facts are "sandwiched" into a general model of the historiography of the Balkans of the Ottoman period, which does not paint a particularly vivid picture of the Sandžak itself in those days.

The authors dedicate even more space in their book to the period of the "decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire." They especially accentuate the attempts by the center to modernize the empire, as well as local resistance to such novelties (Sandžak was a part of Bosnia where the strongest opposition in the whole empire to the reforms threatening the interests of local Muslim notables was found). They describe the rise of the "renegades" – local rulers who were de facto independent of Constantinople, whose power increased proportionally to the declining effectiveness of the central administration. They deal extensively with the events of the First Serbian Uprising, including combat operations conducted in the Sandžak and the reaction of the Muslim nobility. After the Serbian revolt was suppressed, the nobility made every effort to preserve the socio-economic order – especially as it involved exploitation of the dominantly Christian *rayah,* which was the very basis of its material wealth, political power and social prestige. The authors pay particular attention to the character of one leader of the Bosnian Muslim upper-class's revolt against the "Carigrad reforms," Husein Gradaščević, who is considered by the contemporary Bosniak national(ist) narrative to be one of the founders of the modern Bosniak nation.

Issues concerning the Great Eastern Crisis are also extensively discussed, as well as the Annexation Crisis and the Balkan Wars, which suddenly turned into a world war. Morrison explains great-power politics with an emphasis on the Sandžak's strategic geographic location linking north and south as well as east and west on the Balkan Peninsula. We find some inaccuracies and simplifying in the text; for example, the Sandžak was not taken by Montenegrin and Serbian troops at the end of the First Balkan War, but for obvious strategic reasons, at its very beginning (pg. 74). Somewhat more attention should be paid to matters of internal development in the region, especially the genesis of ethno-national identities based on inter-confessional and socio-economic cleavages, the process of modernization of the region in general, and last but not least, the question of how the turbulent period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was experienced by the diverse inhabitants of the Sandžak. Regarding the book's recounting of historical developments in the Sandžak, we do not for the first time come across problems raised by the specialization of the book's authors. The limitations of their primary interest in international politics, accompanied by the failure to use primary sources, is a significant weakness in such a monograph on regional history.

The chapter on the Sandžak in the Yugoslav kingdom introduces issues regarding the course and complexity of political developments in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Morrison characterizes the Sandžak at that time as a territory of considerable political and security instability. He accentuates the massacres of the local Muslims and the initial resistance by a substantial part of their traditional elite against the Yugoslav state with its dominant Christian religion. Furthermore, the author deals with the Muslims' political party organization within the turbulent political system of the Kingdom. He generally depicts the basic dilemma between cooperation and resistance that not only the Sandžak Muslim elite was facing in that system. Somewhat more attention could be paid to analysis of structural contradictions manifested in the cleavage between the old nobility of landowners and religious dignitaries, and the slowly emerging new elites who already were more or less thinking in modern categories.

At the beginning of World War II, the Sandžak found itself under Italian and German occupation with participation by the Ustasha. The Muslims were viewed as "the purest Croats" by the nationalist propaganda out of Zagreb. Thus, the occupation rekindled the old-new dilemmas for a substantial part of Sandžak Muslims (*Sandžaklije*) who did not perceive interwar Yugoslavia as their patria and who were given an opportunity by the occupation regime(s) to settle accounts with the Serbs. The claimed participation of *Sandžaklije* in the Holocaust is interesting. Also intriguing, but unfortunately not sufficiently elaborated, is information on the activities of the *Balli Kombëtar* organization in the region, which may indicate a still-high level of national ambivalence, or more precisely, a persistent (neo-)Ottoman identity among the local Slavic Muslims. Morrison deals fairly extensively with the communist resistance in the Sandžak and its local communist leaders: Rifat Burdžović Tršo and of course, Milovan Djilas, especially in connection with the Montenegrin Uprising, and the battles among partisans, Chetniks, Muslim militias and the occupiers. The author also describes at length the activities of British military missions.

Establishment of the National (Land) Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Sandžak (ZAVNOS) as an autonomous unit within the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) represents a key moment in the wartime history of the Sandžak, according to Morrison. It should be noted that the Yugoslav Republics and the autonomous Kosovo and Vojvodina regions emerged later on from the other national/land antifascist councils. Consequently, an obvious question is why this did not happen in the case of the Sandžak. Morrison cites an often-quoted dictum by Edvard Kardelj that the "Sandžak cannot survive as an autonomous unit because there are no political, economic or ethnic reasons for it." As Morrison tells it, the decisive factor was what he calls the "Montenegrin clique" within the Communist Party, who wanted to shape the borders of its new republic roughly as they were before World War I. The fact remains that an autonomous Sandžak would simply be too small and insignificant, and would further complicate the already quite complex federal structure of Yugoslavia. ZAVNOS was therefore disbanded over the objections of many of its leading cadres and ordinary participants in the liberation struggle.

The historical period of socialist Yugoslavia is very inadequately elaborated, almost as if nothing remarkable happened in this "dark wilayah." In a total of five pages, Morrison covers the 35 years from the end of the war to 1980, the very period that brought fundamental changes in both material and immaterial terms not only to the Sandžak but also to other peripheral regions of Yugoslavia. Since many contemporary witnesses are still alive and the archives are "hiding" large quantities of documents from this period, such a cursory approach is surprising, to say the least. The chapter only briefly addresses issues such as communist repression and the general development of national consciousness among Sandžak Muslims.

The 1980s in the Sandžak, as everywhere else in Yugoslavia, augured badly for "Brotherhood and Unity." Morrison explains the tendency towards nationalism primarily in economic terms, as do many other discussions of the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia. He devotes sufficient space to the growth of Serbian nationalism and its impact on the fate of Yugoslavia. However, other factors were gaining in strength and encouraging the break-up of the federation, including the nationalisms of other peoples. They also deserve the author's attention. According to Morrison, political institutions representing the national interests of the Sandžak Muslims were born in an atmosphere of Serbian nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. This specifically concerned the Muslim National Council of the Sandžak (MNVS), an umbrella platform that included all the national(ist) Muslim organizations from the region, and the local branches of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), which similar to their mother party in Sarajevo, were characterized by an increasing rift between their radical and realistic wings. In my opinion, however, we are dealing with much more complex interactions than those described by Morrison, not simply with a reaction by Muslims and other "endangered" peoples of Yugoslavia to rising Serbian nationalism.

In the chapters that follow, Morrison describes the suffocating atmosphere that prevailed in the Sandžak in the shadow of the war in Bosnia, as well as Belgrade's repression of local Muslims and Bosniaks, especially their elites. Needless to say, some of the author's theses, such as "tensions were invoked from the center and ranks of radical Muslim nationalists but ordinary people in contrast tried to maintain good neighborly relations," are somewhat idealistic. Proper attention is paid to ethnic cleansing and pogroms perpetrated by Bosnian Serb troops, Belgrade's security forces, and local Serbs, as well as to attempts to internationalize the "Sandžak question" and the role of *Sandžaklije* in the Bosnian war. The question of the extent to which the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the conflictual environment in the Sandžak shaped the development of a national identity among local Muslims/Bosnians certainly deserves more elaboration. Simply stating that this was reflected by a change in ethnonyms is somewhat superficial.

The last part of the book is dedicated to the Sandžak in the period after the Bosnian war, which according to Morrison is, except perhaps for a brief period during the Kosovo conflict, characterized by disputes and power struggles among the political and religious leaders of the local Bosniak community, with a certain amount of interference from Belgrade. Here the author clearly deviates from his original intention to write the history of

the entire region and addresses only topics almost exclusively related to the Sandžak Bosniaks and their interactions with the Serbian capital. Orthodox Christians, who make up half of the region's population, remain outside the scope of Morrison's work. In addition, the part played by the Bosniaks in the process of the emancipation of the Montenegrin state from Belgrade, and their role in the transformation of Serbia after 2000, when they became a significant element of at least the political system of the country, are properly emphasized. Finally, Morrison also opens up the theme of radical Islam. To conclude, the author quite realistically observes that introducing of any form of autonomy to the Sandžak is out of the question for three reasons: the new international border that divides Montenegro and Serbia and cuts the Sandžak in half; the mistrustful attitude of the government in Belgrade toward the Bosniaks of Serbia (and vice versa); and the relatively successful incorporation of Montenegrin Bosniaks and Muslims into the political and social structures of that small country.

Overall, we must note that while the monograph *The Sandžak: A History* is based on rather classical political history, its lack of social, cultural and economic context is somewhat striking. Despite its title, which refers to the territory and not the ethnicity, the book focuses primarily on topics bound to the Muslim and Bosniak communities. The Orthodox people(s) of the Sandžak themselves seem to be reduced to a topic of secondary importance, considered much less important than the international, Ottoman or Yugoslav context of the study. In addition, the two basic components of the 200-page work, i.e., the wider context which takes up roughly half of the text and the individual political history of the Sandžak, leave insufficient space for elucidation of Balkan/Yugoslav concepts or even an exhaustive history of Sandžak Muslims and Bosniaks. That is why the most significant contribution of the publication can only be found in its detailed exploration of the British diplomatic archives concerning the history of the Sandžak. In general, we can appreciate *The Sandžak: A History* as the first attempt at a comprehensive monograph on the theme written by non-Yugoslav authors. The "dark wilayah" of the Sandžak therefore remains a white space for the imagination in the Balkan historical atlas, offering a wealth of opportunity for further in-depth anthropological, political and historical research, especially as concerns its recent past and the present.

Daniel Heler
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