

UMETNOSTNOZGODOVINSKI INŠTITUT FRANCETA STELETA ZRC SAZU

# AIHAS



## ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Establishing National Identity in Public Space

Public Monuments in Slovenia and Serbia  
in the Nineteenth Century

18|1 • 2013

Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU  
France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU

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# Funeral Culture and Public Monuments

## Jernej Kopitar, Vuk Karadžić and Creating a Common Serbo-Slovenian Culture of Memory

Nenad Makuljević

The second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the cultural interconnectivity of the South Slavs and the creation of a common Yugoslav identity.<sup>1</sup> Intellectuals, artists, and politicians used to establish relations between South Slavs through a variety of public activities, such as exhibitions and cultural and political events. As part of the process of establishing a common Yugoslav identity, cultural cooperation between Serbia and Slovenia began to develop. The foundations of Serbo-Slovenian cultural and political cooperation were based on the historic association between Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) and Jernej (Bartholomeus) Kopitar (1780–1844). This led to the organization of a joint funeral spectacle, which saw the transfer of their bodies from Vienna to Belgrade and Ljubljana in 1897,<sup>2</sup> and the establishment of new public monuments. This event demonstrated the connection between the ideology of Yugoslavism, public monuments and memory culture.

### Vuk Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar From Scientific Cooperation to the Heroes of Yugoslavism

Vuk Karadžić and Jernej Kopitar represent significant figures of nineteenth-century South Slavic culture. Karadžić was one of the founders of modern Serbian culture. He distinguished himself with his literary work; he collected and recorded traditional tales and oral literature, reformed the spelling of the Serbian language, translated the New Testament into Serbian and introduced the modern European public to Serbian epic poetry.<sup>3</sup> Jernej Kopitar worked at the Imperial Library in Vienna and was a censor of Slavic books in the Habsburg monarchy. Kopitar accepted Herder's ideas about the importance of Slavic culture, and devoted himself to the study of Slavic literature and the establishment of Slavic studies as a scientific discipline. Through cooperation with other scholars, Kopitar had formed a cultural network, which played an important role in the national awakening and cultural nationalism of the Slavs in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Of particular importance for Slavic

<sup>1</sup> On the ideology of Yugoslavism see Milorad EKMEČIĆ, *Stvaranje Jugoslavije*, 1–2, Beograd 1989.

<sup>2</sup> *Spomenica o prenosu praha Vuka Stef. Karadžića* (ed. Andra Gavrilović), Beograd 1898; Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Umetnost i nacionalna ideja. Sistem evropske i srpske vizuelne kulture u službi nacije*, Beograd 2006, pp. 311–312.

<sup>3</sup> On Vuk Karadžić see Miodrag POPOVIĆ, *Vuk Stef. Karadžić: 1787–1864*, Beograd 1972; Golub DOBRAŠINOVIĆ, *Vuk Karadžić. Život, deo, lik*, Gornji Milanovac 1983.

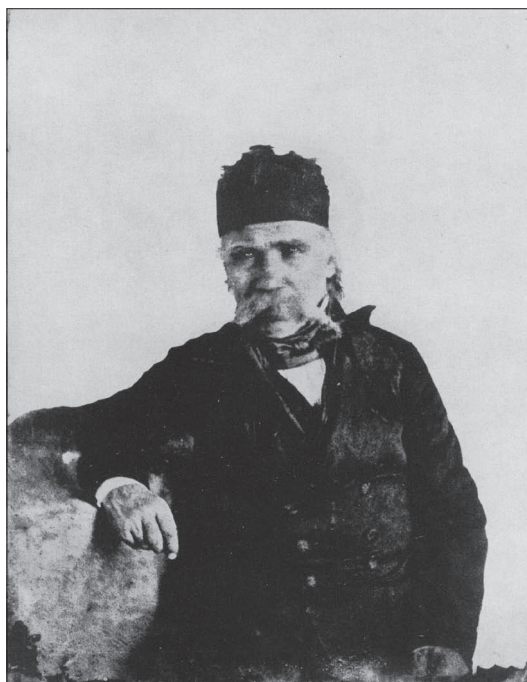
<sup>4</sup> On Jernej Kopitar: Jože POGAČNIK, *Jernej Kopitar*, Ljubljana 1977; *Papers in Slavic Philology*, 2: *To Honor Jernej Kopitar 1780–1980* (eds. Rado L. Lencek, Henry R. Cooper Jr.), Ann Arbor 1982; Ingrid MERCHERS, *Cultural Nationalism in the South Slav Habsburg Lands in the Early Nineteenth Century. The Scholarly Network of Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844)*, München 2007.

culture is the text *Patriotische Phantasien eines Slaven*,<sup>5</sup> which represents one of the earliest appeals for the affirmation of Slavic culture in Europe. Kopitar also left a significant mark on the study of the Slovenian language by publishing a book about its grammar.<sup>6</sup>

The collaboration and friendship between Jernej Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić was established in the early nineteenth century. Kopitar offered support to Vuk Karadžić and helped him to publish his works. Serbs often emphasized the role of Kopitar in his support for Vuk's struggle for the reformation of Serbian language, and this has resulted in his permanent memorialization in Serbian culture. Both Kopitar and Karadžić lived, worked and died in Vienna. Kopitar died in 1844, while Karadžić died in 1864, but they were both buried at the same cemetery, St. Marx in Vienna's Landstrasse. On the initiative of Michael Josef Fesl, Kopitar's friends erected a monument above his grave in 1845.<sup>7</sup>

During the nineteenth century, the figures who managed to significantly improve the life of the nation, thus promoting not only themselves but also the nation and national culture, were promoted as national heroes.<sup>8</sup> Culture was extremely important for the creation of national identity,<sup>9</sup> and the heroes of science and culture were, therefore, popularized within national ideologies, such as, for example Johann Wolfgang Goethe in Germany. This general principle also worked for the national ideologies of Yugoslav nations, and in the Serbian national ideology such places were occupied by St. Sava, Dositej Obradović, and Vuk Karadžić.<sup>10</sup>

The heroization of Vuk Karadžić started back when he was still alive. Although he lived in Vienna, he became a significant figure in Serbian culture. Serbian cultural emigrants congregated around Vuk, and his books became mandatory literature and the foundations of Serbian national cultural identity. The death of Vuk Karadžić was an important event for the Serbian public and he was buried with honours at the St. Marx cemetery. Vuk was continually celebrated by the Serbs,<sup>11</sup> which made the fact that his grave was located abroad a perennial issue.



1. Anastas Jovanović: Vuk Karadžić, 1850–1858

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomäus KOPITAR, *Barth. Kopitars kleinere Schriften sprachwissenschaftlichen, geschichtlichen, ethnographischen und rechtshistorischen Inhalts* (ed. Franz Miklosich), Wien 1857, pp. 61–70.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomäus KOPITAR, *Grammatik der Slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark*, Laibach 1808.

<sup>7</sup> Ivan NAVRATIL, Jernej Kopitar, *Kopitarjeva spomenica* (ed. Josip Marn), Ljubljana 1880, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 91–121.

<sup>9</sup> Anthony D. SMITH, *National Identity*, London 1991, pp. 71–98.

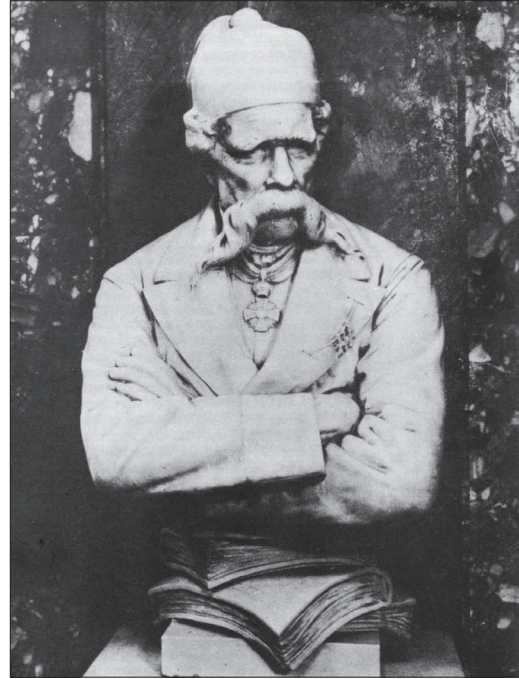
<sup>10</sup> MAKULJEVIĆ 2006, (n. 2), 110–114.

<sup>11</sup> See *Arhivska građa o Vuku Karadžiću. 1864–1905* (ed. Golub Dobrašinović), 2, Beograd 1988, pp. 143–553.





2. Vuk's grave in St. Marx cemetery, Vienna



3. Petar Ubavkić: Vuk Karadžić, 1889, Narodni muzej, Belgrade

Just like Vuk among the Serbs, so Jernej Kopitar was revered among Slovenians during the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Slovenska matica (Slovene Society) organized a large celebration marking the one hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1880.<sup>13</sup> The celebration was structured as a complex ceremony, which included setting up a memorial plaque at his family home.<sup>14</sup> In this way, Jernej Kopitar's house became a memorial house, one of the specific types of public monument,<sup>15</sup> and the first public monument dedicated to him.

During the celebration, special attention was given to interpreting the significance of Jernej Kopitar's work. His importance for Slovenian and South Slavic cultures was emphasized, as were his connections to other prominent figures such as Lukijan Mušicki, Josef Dobrovsky, Dositej Obradović, Pavel Jozef Šafárik and Vuk Karadžić.<sup>16</sup> Kopitar was celebrated as a prominent Slovene, who influenced the formation of South Slavic culture.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the graves of Kopitar and Karadžić became important places in Slovenian and Serbian cultural memory. They were never forgotten. This is also testified by the illustration of Kopitar's grave in the *Kopitarjeva spomenica* from 1880.<sup>17</sup> Vuk's grave had been the subject of great interest amongst the Serbian public. Vuk's involvement in Serbian

<sup>12</sup> On the reception of Jernej Kopitar in Slovenian modern culture see Sergio BONAZZA, Jernej Kopitar. His Place in Slovene Cultural History, *Papers* 1982 (n. 4), pp. 179–183.

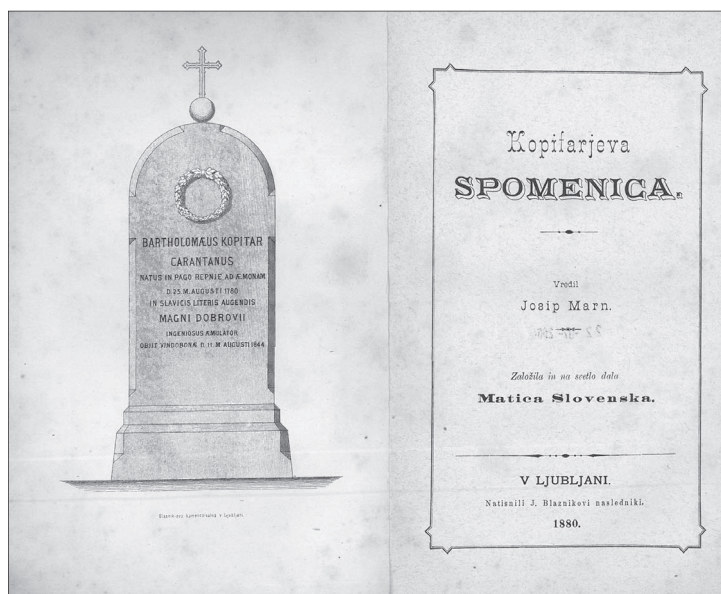
<sup>13</sup> Josip MARN, Slavnost Kopitarjeva v nedeljo dne 22. avgusta 1880 v Repnjah, *Kopitarjeva spomenica* 1880 (n. 7), pp. 176–187.

<sup>14</sup> MARN 1880 (n. 13), pp. 182–183.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 303–304.

<sup>16</sup> NAVRATIL 1880 (n. 7), pp. 28–61.

<sup>17</sup> The picture of the Kopitar's grave is printed by the front page of: *Kopitarjeva spomenica* 1880 (n. 7).



4. *Kopitarjeva spomenica, Ljubljana 1880*

spelling reform and the introduction of the vernacular language meant that he had never stopped being mentioned and studied, and his grave, therefore, remained a place of national pilgrimage.

The function of Vuk's and Kopitar's graves as public monuments and places of memory corresponded to the complex character of nineteenth-century memory culture. Cemeteries were public spaces where both private and public cultural memory existed together. This allowed for private memorials to be transformed into public monuments, as well as for one of the most important forms of national monument to be associated with funerary culture. This was especially apparent in the environments and contexts where there were no political conditions for the free development of the national cultural heritage. So, for example, in the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, the propagation of Serbian national culture was limited and burial places in churches or cemeteries were, therefore, given the character of public monuments.<sup>18</sup> Since Vuk and Kopitar were both buried in a foreign country, the importance of their resting places was even more pronounced.

### The Transfer of Kopitar and Vuk's Remains

The fact that Kopitar and Vuk's graves lay outside of their respective homelands, Slovenia and the Serbia, caused dissatisfaction within the cultural community. There were a number of initiatives made to transfer Vuk's body back to Serbia, but these were constantly blocked because of the wish of his daughter, Mina Karadžić, for his grave to remain in Vienna as long as she was alive.<sup>19</sup> After her death, the opportunity arose to transfer the body back to Serbia. At the same time, the Slovenian cultural community demanded that Kopitar's body be brought back to Slovenia.

<sup>18</sup> MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 278–284.

<sup>19</sup> *Spomenica o prenosu praha* 1898 (n. 2), pp. 6–7; Golub DOBRAŠINOVIĆ, *Prenos Vukovih posmrtnih ostataka, Godišnjak. Narodna biblioteka Srbije*, Beograd 1979, pp. 97–109.



5. Exhumation of Vuk's remains in St. Marx cemetery in Vienna, 1897

The question over Vuk and Kopitar's resting places was brought to a head with a plan to demolish the Viennese St. Marx cemetery. In 1883, *Ljubljanski zvon* published a brief article on the problem with the graves at the St. Marx cemetery. Many prominent individuals from Slavic culture, such as Peter Preradović, Branko Radičević, Jan Kollar, and Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša, had been laid to rest in this cemetery. The first body to be relocated from the Viennese cemetery was the body of Petar Preradović, conducted by the Croatian community, which transferred his remains to the Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb. After that, Matica Srpska organized the repatriation of Branko Radičević's body to Stražilovo in 1883, while the Dalmatians organized a committee for the moving of the remains of Stefan Mitrov Ljubiša. This is why an author in *Ljubljanski zvon* wondered: "Nobody thinks of our great Kopitar! Truly, does our Slovenian homeland not possess a handful of patriots, who could set up a committee and raise several hundreds of florins, so that we could bury Kopitar, the giant of scholars, the glory and pride of the entire Slovenian nation, in his home soil in Ljubljana? Eternal shame upon the entire nation if we leave one of the greatest sons of mother Sava to rest in that soil, which is being run over by Viennese horse carriages and his dust stamped down by the hooves of Vienna!"<sup>20</sup>

The idea to transfer Kopitar's remains from Vienna to Slovenian territory was proposed by Slovenska matica in 1885. Ivan Navratil informed Slovenska matica about the events taking place at St. Marx cemetery on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1885. He proposed to take the monument, together with Kopitar's body, because it was in good condition.<sup>21</sup> At a session of Slovenska Matica held on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1885, Professor Fran Levec emphasized the need to transfer the bones of Jernej Kopitar to the motherland ("that the bones of our distinguished kinsman Jernej Kopitar are transferred to the soil of our homeland").<sup>22</sup> This session was followed by an extensive discussion, but the transfer of Kopitar did not happen in 1885. The next session of Slovenska matica dedicated to the organization of the transfer

<sup>20</sup> Fran LEVEC, Kopitarjev grob, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 9, 1. 9. 1883, p. 605.

<sup>21</sup> Arhiv Republike Slovenije (ARS), SI AS 621, šk. 24, Slovenska matica, Posmrtni ostanki Jerneja Kopitarja, Ivan Navratil – Matica Slovenska (Vienna, 11. 11. 1885).

<sup>22</sup> ARS, SI AS 621, šk. 24, Slovenska matica, Posmrtni ostanki Jerneja Kopitarja, First session dated 16<sup>th</sup> November 1885.



of Kopitar's remains was held on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1886. In this session, Dr Županec pointed out that "it is in the country's interest that the remains of the Slovenian man of merits, in whom the whole nation takes great pride, be transferred to home soil."<sup>23</sup> At the meeting of Slovenska matica in July 1886, it was discussed whether it was necessary to transfer Kopitar's body and where to bury him. During the discussion, Zupan said it would be a "great national phenomenon" and a "greater distinction" for Slovenians to organize this transfer. He emphasized that the Croats and Serbs transferred remains of Petar Preradović and Branko Radičević, and wondered why Kopitar, "our famous scholar, does not deserve this honour."<sup>24</sup>

The relocations of the remains of distinguished men from abroad to their homeland were important cultural events of the late nineteenth century. The transfer of the "relics" of national heroes represented important moments in the construction of national identities. This was how a nation celebrated its heroes, the national land was "sanctified" by them, while the national territory became mapped by memorial tombs – public monuments. Among Serbs, this kind of practice had already been implemented and established with the transference of Branko Radičević's remains from Vienna to Stražilovo, near Sremski Karlovci in 1883.<sup>25</sup>

The preparations for the transfer of Vuk Karadžić's body began in the 1890s. The Serbian Royal Academy played a significant role in the process. In his diary, on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1894, Milan Đ. Milićević wrote that he was supposed to write a letter to Prime Minister and speak to the Metropolitan Bishop regarding the place of burial, while the Academy of Arts came up with shapes for the markings on the graves, both in Tršić and in Tronoša.<sup>26</sup> Milićević's note testifies that there had been a number of different ideas as to where Vuk should be buried.

The relocation of Vuk and Kopitar's remains from Vienna to Belgrade and Ljubljana took place in 1897 and was conducted as a joint Serbian-Slovenian action. The process of organizing the committee to transfer the body of Vuk Karadžić is described in the diary of Milan Đ. Milićević, president of the Serbian Royal Academy.<sup>27</sup> The transfer of Vuk's body was carried out by the Serbian Royal Academy in Belgrade, but the ceremony itself was organized under the patronage of the Serbian state. The committee for the transfer of Vuk's body was assembled on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1897, composed of the most prominent figures of Serbian scientific, cultural, and political life, such as, Milan Đ. Milićević – President, Svetislav Vulović, Mihailo Valtrović, Ljubomir Kovačević, Jovan Jovanović-Zmaj, Ljubomir Stojanović, and Nikola Pašić. Milićević, together with the Minister of Education Andra Nikolić, drafted a proclamation, which was then signed by King Aleksandar Obrenović. This proclamation was published on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1897, in *Srpske novine*, where it was emphasized that, based on the suggestion of the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs, King Alexander had decided to transfer the remains of Vuk from Vienna to Belgrade sometime in September 1897 at the cost of the state treasury, as a testimony of the achievements of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. According to the king's orders, the transfer was supposed to be organized by the Serbian Royal Academy, which was, at the time, given the task, and also ordered to "raise decent headstones on the graves of Dositej Obradović

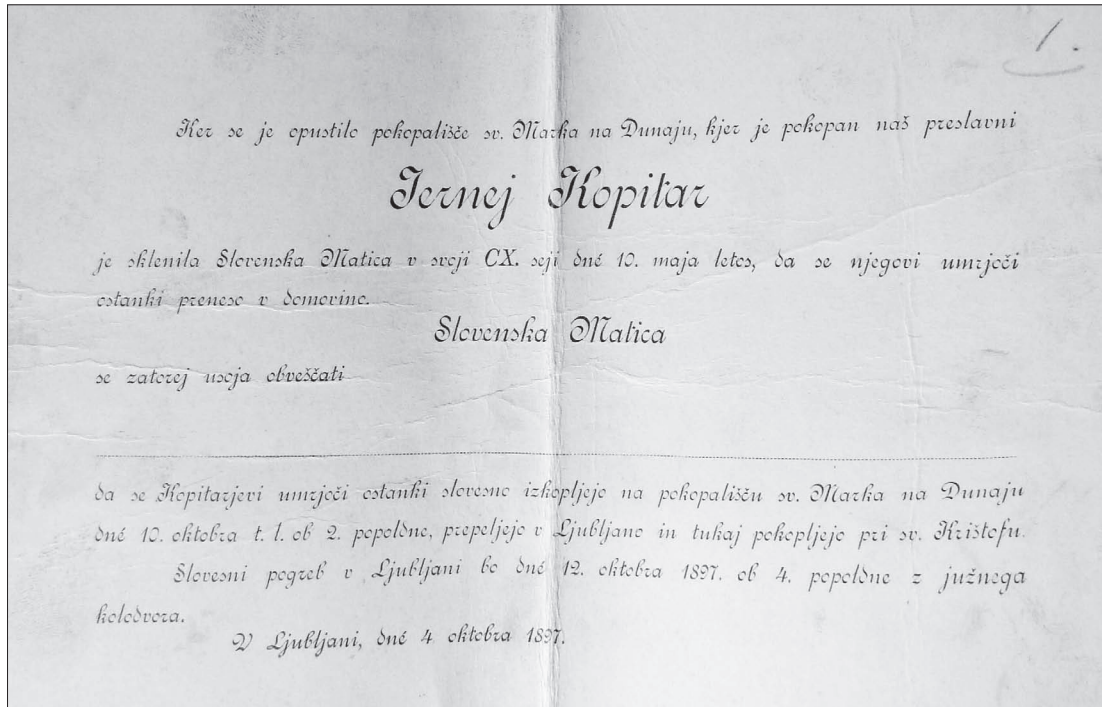
<sup>23</sup> ARS, SI AS 621, šk. 24, Slovenska matica, Posmrtni ostanki Jerneja Kopitarja, Second session dated 29 May 1886.

<sup>24</sup> ARS, SI AS 621, šk. 24, Slovenska matica, Posmrtni ostanki Jerneja Kopitarja, Third session dated 14 July 1886.

<sup>25</sup> Snežana MIŠIĆ, *Kult Branka Radičevića u srpskoj vizuelnoj kulturi krajem 19. veka*, Novi Sad 2009, pp. 25–57.

<sup>26</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XV-2, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik, p. 2628.

<sup>27</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XV-2; XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik.



6. Invitation to Jernej Kopitar's funeral in Ljubljana, 1897

and Djuro Daničić.”<sup>28</sup> At its own request, Matica srpska from Novi Sad also joined the efforts to organize the transfer of Vuk's body.<sup>29</sup> Matica srpska was the most important Serbian cultural institution that operated in the Habsburg monarchy. It had an active role in earlier celebrations dedicated to Vuk and its members had even suggested for Vuk's body to be transferred to Krušedol Monastery.<sup>30</sup>

The decision to transfer the body of Jernej Kopitar from Vienna to Ljubljana was made by Slovenska matica at a meeting on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1897. Fran Levec, the president of Slovenska matica, explained this decision by the fact that the St. Marx cemetery was being demolished and the fact that Vuk's body was being transferred to Belgrade by the Serbs. For this reason, he stressed that it would be a shame for Slovenians to leave Kopitar's remains to rot in a strange land in Vienna, and it would also be a shame for Kopitar's remains to rest in Serbia, instead of in his native Slovenia. It was then decided that Kopitar's remains should be transferred simultaneously with Vuk's and to start an appeal in order to cover the costs of the repatriation, the casket, the grave, and the gravestone, and to organize an appropriate ceremony.<sup>31</sup> The Organizing Committee for the relocation of Kopitar's body was formed in Vienna. The chair was a royal advisor, Fran Šuklje, his deputy was Professor Matija Murko, and the secretaries were Dr Josip Mantuani and Dr Valentin Kušar. The cashiers were Msgr Frančišek Jančar and Professor Anton Primožič, and board members also included Radoslav Pukl, Dr Janko Pajk, Dr Frančišek Simonič, Frančišek Hubad and I. Vadnal.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Srpske novine*, 96, 2. 5. 1897, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Živan MILISAVAC, *Istorija Matice srpske*, 3, Novi Sad 2000, pp. 370–372.

<sup>30</sup> MILISAVAC 2000 (n. 29), p. 370.

<sup>31</sup> Evgen LAH, *Letopis Slovenske Matice, Letopis Slovenske Matice za 1897*, Ljubljana 1897, p. 263.

<sup>32</sup> *Ljubljanski zvon*, 10, 1. 10. 1897, p. 637.

# СРПСКЕ НОВИНЕ

10 СЕПТЕМБРА — УТОРНИК — У БЕОГРАДУ СЛУЖБЕНИ ДНЕВНИК

ГОДИНА XLIV — 1897. — БРОЈ 215

ГРАЂЕВИНЕ СРБИЈЕ



## РЕД

### ПО КОМЕ РЕ СЕ ПОСМРТНИ ОСТАЦИ

# ВУКА СТЕФ. КАРАЏИЋА

СРПСКОГ КЊИЖЕВНИКА

НА ДАН 30. СЕПТЕМБРА 1897. ГОДИНЕ ПРЕДАТИ ОТАЧАНСКОЈ МУ ЗЕМЉИ СРПСКОЈ

У БЕОГРАДУ.

**I.** Посмртне остаци неумрога књижевника припадате на досадашњег хроничног човјека на грабљу Се. Марка у Бечу нарочито пашавина Краљевине Србије, српског краља, посланство у Бечу, властима Матице Српске, и српска свучиштина мадам у Бечу на дан 18. овога месеца по подне, да ће и браћа Савенди из истога града знати посмртне остаци овога великог научника а Вукава Копитара и поштом на својој домени.

Учешћем што света прва наредбу, при проводу до железничког станице поменути ће изаказати остаци неваљалих понојина допрати на Бечу, у Београду.

На земљану станицу спровод стигне 29. септембра у вече, где ће и престити, а на станицу српске државне железнице у Београду 30. септембра у 9 часова пре подне.

**II.** Долазак воза на београдску станицу огањашу воза на свима примама београдских и важе савок се посмртни остаци у Саборну Цркву не успеу.

**III.** Воз дочекују на перону београдске станице: г. министар просвете и црквених послова, председник Српске Краљевске Академије, председник београдске општине, Одбор који се стара о овом релу, по једна председници Велике Школе, Јулије Академије, Главног Просветног Савета, главне редне школе београдске, три изасланика од наставничког особља основних школа, и она лица, која су одређена за пријем и поштом сачега.

**IV.** Коначе се посмртним остацима на железничкој мли прикључају и носе до члана Српске Краљевске Академије, два члана општине београдске, два професора Велике Школе, два професора Војне Академије, два професора српских школа и два учитеља.

**V.** Унутрашњим дворити железничког станице рекнућу посмртне остаци: Његово Високосице-пресветости Архиепископ београдски и Митрополит српски са свештеником, чланови Краљевске Влада, свјетских саветника, генерала, прејавни министри и чланови општине, председници: а. Контроле, Касапије и Анеалиције, изасланици од стране, чланови Краљевске Академије, професори Велике Школе, изасланици министарства и одбор за пренос Вукових костију.

**VI.** Коначе се проносу кроз унутрашње дворити железничког станице и вајом се преа станицу, где постаља на спремно подножје.

**VII.** Београдско Певачко Друштво нева нарочиту за дочек припадљеник песну; председник Српске Краљевске Академије подарила остаци понојина, које при ватку ступају на српску земљу, и г. Митрополит са свештеником чини кратан помен уз поље Београдског Певачког Друштва.

**VIII.** После говора председника Српске Краљевске Академије омадана Велике Школе дише коначе на свечана кола.

**IX.** Ред спровода је овај:

- 1, понојин: припадник крета, сребрних венца, гуслеа и дод Вука Стеф. Караџића;
- 2, носачи венца од природног цвећа;
- 3, носачи венца од цвећа и поноје, извесних о тине 34 саста рибар пресветости одора;
- 3, слушаони Велике Школе и страних универзитета, који буду дошли;
- 4, Одбор Училишног Удружења са учитељима и ученицима;
- 5, Управно Професорског Друштва а наставницима и изоставницима средњих и стручних школа београдских;
- Десно и лево од ових група иду у два реда распоређени учешћем вишег развода средњих и стручних школа београдских;
- 6, војна музика;
- 7, београдска певачка друштва и доминична певачка дружина „Караџић“ са својим асистама;
- 8, учешћем Богословије са својим наставницима;
- 9, учешћем с чирама и ризницама;
- 10, Његово Високосице-пресветости Архиепископ београдски и Митрополит Србије са свештеницима.

**СВЕЧАНА КОЛА**  
**О ПОСМРТНИМ ОСТАЦИМА ВУКА СТЕФ. КАРАЏИЋА**

У свечана кола се обе стране иду г. чланови Српске Краљевске Академије; а за свечаним колама:

- 11, прву групу припадника чине: чланови Краљевске Влада, државни саветници, генерали, председници министарства и пензионисани саветници и генерали, председници: Главног Контроле, Касапије и Анеалиције, изасланици од стране, чланови Краљевске Академије, професори Велике Школе и Одбор за пренос Вукових костију;
- 12, другу групу спровода иду свечаним кола састављају: управни и председници београдских културних Удружења, више чиновничког грађанског и војног;
- 13, спровод завршује трећа група: остало чиновничко и грађанство своју редову, које мајкује да се овим начиним поклони великим заслугама неумрог понојина.

**X.** Спровод се креће на Саборној Цркви улашма: Намесником, Јулије-Милановићем, унцом Краља Милана, Косма Милана и Дубокићем.

**XI.** Свечана кола са остацима понојинам усталају се пред јужним вратима Саборне Цркве. Коначе о кола сипају и у цркву уносе професори средњих школа, учитељи основних школа и црквених тудора.

**XII.** Намесник у цркву идућу пристаје госода понојина у т. 11. и 12. са својим посланима, и то ипн из т. 11. заједно у цркви доду а ева на т. 12. доду ступи. При изласку из цркве госода с две стране ипн ле на јужни врати а заједно одређено жето на врата. — За чланове династичког тела, који ће изамаћи доду, одређено је нарочито место у цркви.

**XIII.** При помену који ће се чинити у цркви нева Београдско Певачко Друштво. После помена гогори Његово Високосице-пресветости Господин Митрополит.

**XIV.** По савршеном помену коначе на цркве изише на западни врати: управник Државне Штампарије, библиотекар, управник Народнег Поштомата, директори средњих школа београдских, чланови Новинарског Удружења и чланови Управе Српске Књижевне Задруге у Београду.

**XV.** Говор г. министра просвете и црквених послова.

**XVI.** После говора г. министра просвете и црквених послова поменути остаци донос до гроба: министар просвете и црквених послова, председник Српске Краљевске Академије, ректор Велике Школе, чланови Српске Краљевске Академије и професори Велике Школе.

Митрополит кор унутрашњих понављачи друштала „Обама“ и „Српског“ нева нарочито спремно укупно песну, а на гроб се полажу венци.

**XVII.** Председник Српске Краљевске Академије открива натписне камене: Вукову и дошвају, у валу призивом.

**XVIII.** Истога је дана у дворити Велике Школе у 3/4 часа по подне јавна свечана седница Академског Савета Велике Школе у којој ће професор српског језика у Великој Школи говорити о заслугама великог понојина.

У ИМЕ СРПСКЕ КРАЉ. АКАДЕМИЈЕ

ОДЕОР

ЗА ПРЕНОС ПОСМРТНИХ ОСТАТАКА

ВУКА СТЕФ. КАРАЏИЋА

15. септембра 1897.

у Београду.

НАПОМЕНА. Учесници спровода долазе у свечаном одећу.

Београдске грађанске убова се до извесних остацима неумрог Вука учешћем пошту заварљавом радња/книжевним народним настав.

Целим спроводом управља начелник министарства просвете и црквених послова.

Овај број има 6 страна

## 7. The program of Vuk Karadžić's funeral in Belgrade

Slovenska matica informed the Serbian Royal Academy of their wish to organize a joint repatriation of the bodies of Vuk and Kopitar.<sup>33</sup> The proposal made by Slovenska matica was accepted, and therefore, after deciding on the exact date, the entire event was planned as a joint Serbian and Slovenian national occasion. At the same time, it was also an important event in the life of the city of Vienna.

As an announcement for the upcoming event, a text titled *Vuk und Kopitar* by Vatroslav Jagić was published in the *Wiener Zeitung*.<sup>34</sup> The same text was translated into Serbian for *Brankovo kolo*,<sup>35</sup> while the Ljubljana-based *Laibacher Zeitung* magazine published the original version in German.<sup>36</sup> Vatroslav Jagić was an eminent Slavist, who worked at Vienna University. Although his article was primarily

<sup>33</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, 2871, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik.

<sup>34</sup> Vatroslav JAGIĆ, Kopitar und Vuk, *Wiener Zeitung*, 132, 9. 10. 1897, pp. 3–6.

<sup>35</sup> Vatroslav JAGIĆ, Kopitar i Vuk, *Brankovo kolo*, 1897, pp. 1292–1300.

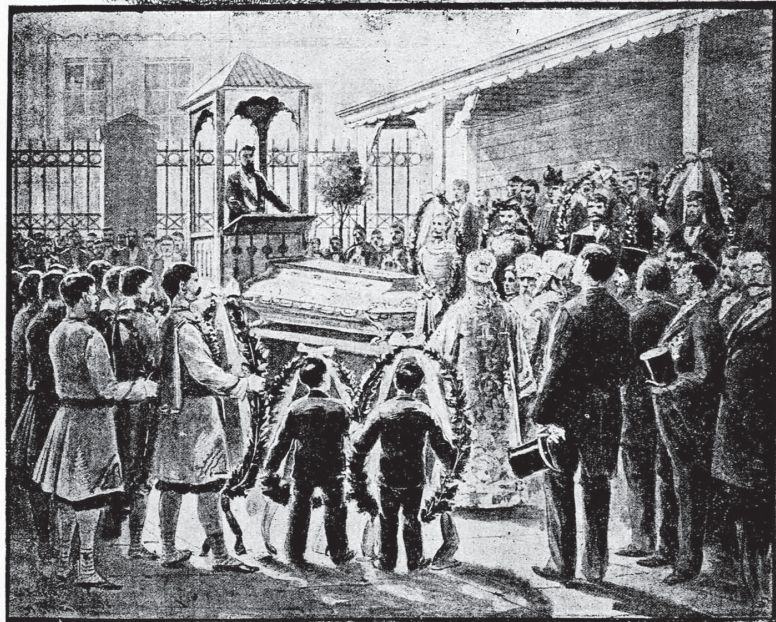
<sup>36</sup> Vatroslav JAGIĆ, Kopitar und Vuk, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 234, 14. 10. 1897, pp. 2101–2102; 235, 14. 10. 1897, p. 2109.



Број 23.

„ГОЛУБ“

357.



ПРЕНОС ВУКОВИХ КОСТИЈУ: ПОМЕН ПРЕД САБОРНОМ ЦРКВОМ У БЕОГРАДУ.

8. Vuk's funeral ceremony  
in front of the Cathedral  
Church in Belgrade

directed at the Viennese public, it became essential for both the Serbian and Slovenian public, as well. Jagić explained the important role Vuk and Kopitar had in Slavic culture and their relationship with the city of Vienna. Jagić explains that the decision to transfer the bodies of Kopitar and Vuk to their respective homelands was, at the same time, the result of their friendship in life: "It was very natural; the immediate idea was, since the two friends were inseparable and now they have to leave their common resting place, that they should at least do so at the same time and in a joint ceremony."<sup>37</sup>

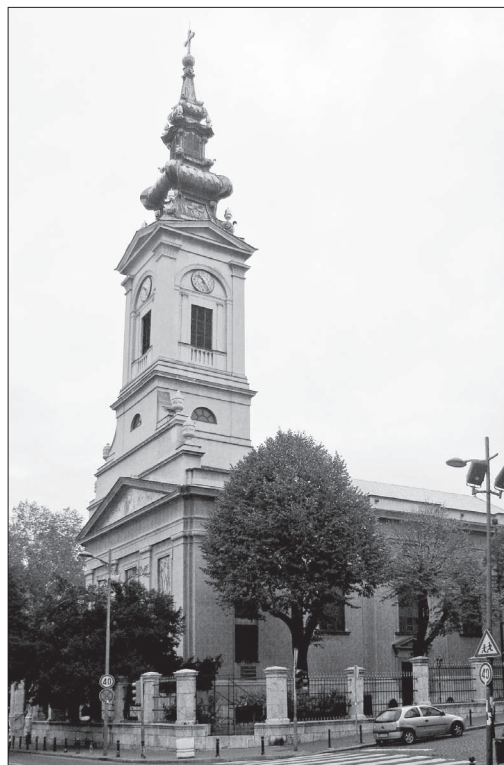
According to the plan, the exhumation of Kopitar and Vuk's remains was performed on 28<sup>th</sup> September (according to the Orthodox calendar) or 10<sup>th</sup> October 1897. Many Serbs, Slovenes, and Viennese, as well as a number of prominent scientists and representatives of the Slavic peoples, gathered at St. Marx Cemetery. Attending the ceremony were delegates from the Kingdom of Serbia, representatives

<sup>37</sup> JAGIĆ 1897 (n. 35), p. 1293.





9. Cathedral Church, Belgrade, around 1899



10. Cathedral Church, Belgrade

of Matica srpska, A. Hadžić, and Jovan Grčić, Serbian representatives in Vienna – Lt.Col. Mihajlović, Secretary Jovičić, Lt.Col. Mašin, Dr Koljak, Sr. Kvekić, the Serbian society Zora, Serbian and Croatian youths residing in Vienna, representatives of the Ljubljana committee, Court Adviser Fran Šuklje, Dr Matija Murko, and Slovenian delegates in Vienna. The City of Vienna was represented by its Mayor Karl Lueger, the Austrian Ministry of Education by Counsellor Rezek, the Vienna Academy of Sciences by Vatroslav Jagić, the University of Vienna by Konstantin Jiriček, and the Royal Library by Dr Josip Mantuani. Also in attendance were the famous author of travelogues Felix Kanitz, the vice-president of the Lower house of the Austrian Assembly, Czech Karel Kramarž, and others.<sup>38</sup> The composition of those gathered during the excavations of Vuk and Kopitar's remains, indicates how important this event actually was. In addition to the representatives of the Serbian and Slovenian organizers, this event was also attended by representatives of the most important municipal, scientific and educational institutions in the city of Vienna and many other prominent persons.

After the exhumation of Vuk's remains, photographic records of his body were made, his skull was measured, and a plaster cast created.<sup>39</sup> Kopitar's grave was overgrown by very thick grass. After the exhumation, his skull and bones were found. The skull was photographed, before being placed into a new coffin.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Kopitarjevo in Karadžičevo slavlje na Dunaju, *Slovenski narod*, 233, 12. 10. 1897, pp. 1–2; Prenos Vukova praha iz Beča u Beograd 30. sept. o.g., *Brankovo kolo*, 1897, p. 1303.

<sup>39</sup> Mil. MIHAILOVIĆ, Iskopavanje posmrtnih ostataka J. Kopitara i V. Karadžića, *Kopitar i Vuk* (ed. Golub Dobrašinović), Beograd 1980, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup> Grob Kopitarjev na Marksovem pokopališču, *Slovenec*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, p. 3.



11. Cathedral Church, Belgrade

According to the Mihailović's description: "The coffins with the remains of both the deceased were placed on stands next to each other, and covered with rich, gold-embroidered black velvet shrouds, on which many wreaths of fresh flowers and laurel leaves were laid. On the left and right sides were two huge candelabra, which, instead of candles, burnt spirit in large busts (*Opferflammen*). At the foot of each casket there lay a velvet cushion with a laurel wreath, in the middle of which there were silver wreaths from the Serbian Royal Academy for Kopitar, and from Slovenska matica for Vuk."<sup>41</sup>

An Orthodox Christian memorial service was held for the remains of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, which was attended by the Viennese Orthodox priests, while a Roman Catholic funeral rite was held by a national assembly member, Reverend Einspieler.<sup>42</sup>

A number of speeches were given over the displayed caskets of Kopitar and Vuk. In the spirit of Serbo-Slovenian cooperation, a Slovenska matica representative, Dr Fran Šuklje, and president of the Serbian Royal Academy, Stojan Novaković spoke about Kopitar, while Dr Matija Murko spoke about Vuk Karadžić. The speeches held on this occasion were another confirmation of Serbo-Slovenian cultural union, while putting the emphasis on the importance of Kopitar for the Serbs and Vuk for the unity of South Slavs.<sup>43</sup> A speech was also given by the Viennese Mayor Karl Lueger. After the ceremony, the bodies were separated, and sent towards Ljubljana and Belgrade from different train stations.

<sup>41</sup> MIHAILOVIĆ 1980 (n. 39), pp. 186–187.

<sup>42</sup> *Kopitarjevo in Karadžičevo slavlje* 1897 (n. 38), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Matija MURKO, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Na pokopališču sv. Marka na Dunaju govoril dr. Matija Murko, *Slovenski narod*, 233, 12. 10. 1897, pp. 1–2.



11. Vuk's grave, Cathedral Church, Belgrade



12. Vuk's grave, Cathedral Church, Belgrade

The body of Jernej Kopitar reached Ljubljana on 12<sup>th</sup> October, at around 4 pm. The welcoming ceremony was organized at the south railroad terminal of the railway station, and the station building itself was specially decorated for the occasion: “the bulbs of Auer-lights were wrapped in black cloth.”<sup>44</sup> The casket with Kopitar’s remains was moved to the vestibule, where Prince Bishop Dr Missia performed a church ceremony. Dr Matija Murko and the district prefect of Ljubljana gave speeches at the train station, before a long procession of people escorted the body of Jernej Kopitar to the Cemetery of St. Christopher at Navje. The procession moved along a route lined with citizens, and the street was illuminated with gas lamps. The procession was attended by numerous citizens and representatives of civil society. The coffin was decorated with many wreaths and folk ribbons, and was transported on a four-in-hand carriage. Walking behind the coffin were the veteran corps, the Ljubljana clergy, high school pupils, who also carried a large wreath, the Society of Catholic Workers, the Society of Catholic assistants carrying a flag, the Šiška library club carrying a flag, the Ljubljana singers society, the Slavec singers society, the Sokol society, and the women’s subsidiary of the St. Cyril and Methodius Society from Ljubljana. An expensive wreath from the city of Ljubljana and a silver wreath from Serbia were also carried with the coffin. At the cemetery, the Saint Peter parish priest Malenšek blessed the grave, and the president of Slovenska matica, Professor Fran Levec gave a speech. In the evening, Mayor Ivan Hribar organized a dinner at Pri slonu, for the distinguished guests, who had attended the event. Many Slovene newspapers reported the occasion with patriotic enthusiasm, characterizing it as unique in the recent history of Ljubljana, and providing detailed descriptions.<sup>45</sup> Slovenska matica received numerous telegrams, but Serbian

<sup>44</sup> Kopitarjeva slavnost, *Slovenski narod*, 233, 12. 10. 1897, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Die Bestattung Kopitars in heimischer Erde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, p. 2103; Prenos Jerneja Kopitarja,



public opinion towards Kopitar was best reflected in a telegram from the president of the Serbian Royal Academy Milan Milićević: "The students of Vuk, in gratitude to the teacher of their teacher extol the glory of Kopitar."<sup>46</sup>

In Belgrade, the welcoming ceremony for the body of Vuk Karadžić was organized carefully and over a long period of time. We can see from the diary of Milan Dj. Milićević that the procession was well formulated; Mihajlo Valtrović and Stojan Novaković also took part in the planning process.<sup>47</sup> Many invitations were sent to various local and foreign dignitaries, such as Vatroslav Jagić, requesting their attendance at this event, which was organized at state level.<sup>48</sup> The delegations of Serbs arrived from all over, and the procession from the train station to the final resting place was attended by representatives of the church, state, and society, as well as numerous citizens.

The transference of Vuk's remains had all the characteristics of a national public spectacle. The memorial booklet, issued for the occasion, contained descriptions of numerous wreaths that were carried in the procession. They were dominated by descriptions and images of national ideology.<sup>49</sup>

### A Monument in the Homeland

The bodies of Vuk and Kopitar were buried in their new tombs, which had been pre-designed to serve not only as eternal resting places, but also as national public monuments. This was how the transfer of the bodies from their initial resting places was concluded with the placement into a "second grave". For the Slovenian and Serbian public it was of great importance that the second grave of their respective hero was located in their homeland, which led to the emphasizing the national identity of the home country and the creation of a place – a space of everlasting memory for the heroes of Serbian and Slovenian culture. The fact that the graves of Kopitar and Vuk were finally in their home countries, and not in a foreign land, was especially emphasized in the newspaper reports.<sup>50</sup> The importance attached to the local land was rooted in the ideology of nationalism, according to which each nation had the right to own a land, consecrated by the graves of its ancestors.

The grave sites for Vuk and Kopitar were determined in accordance with local tradition and the characteristics of national ideology. The place allocated for Vuk Karadžić was the Cathedral Church in Belgrade. The Cathedral Church was one of the most important Serbian Orthodox churches in the Kingdom of Serbia, and it had the status of an Episcopal Church. This church was built and decorated in the mid-nineteenth century,<sup>51</sup> which added to its importance. Some other important figures of modern Serbian history were also buried at the Cathedral Church. Buried here were, Princes Miloš and Mihail Obrenović, as well as Dositej Obradović.<sup>52</sup> The fact that Dositej was buried

*Slovenski narod*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, pp. 1–3; *Dnevne novice* (Kopitarjevo slavlje), *Slovenec*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Učenici Vukovi zahvalni učitelju učitelja svoga kliču Slava Kopitaru. Telegram in: ARS, SI AS 621, šk. 24, Slovenska matica, Posmrtni ostanki Jerneja Kopitarja, Telegram No. 1366.

<sup>47</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, *Dnevnik*, p. 2900.

<sup>48</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, *Dnevnik*, p. 2901.

<sup>49</sup> *Spomenica o prenosu praha* 1898 (n. 2), pp. 82–91; MAKULJEVIĆ 2006 (n. 2), pp. 312–313.

<sup>50</sup> Die Bestattung Kopitars in heimischer Erde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, p. 2103; *Slovenec*, 234, 13. 10. 1897, p. 3.

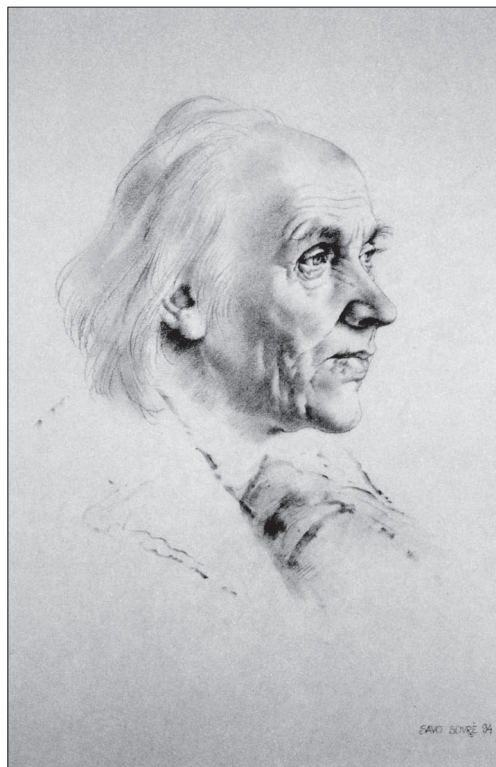
<sup>51</sup> Branko VUJOVIĆ, *Saborna crkva u Beogradu*, Beograd 1996, pp. 37–130.

<sup>52</sup> VUJOVIĆ 1996 (n. 51), pp. 148–152.



in this church, determined the location of Vuk Karadžić's second funeral. Obviously, the intention was to turn the Cathedral Church into a Serbian national pantheon.

The place designated for the grave of Vuk Karadžić was to the west of the entry into the Cathedral, opposite the tomb of Dositej Obradović. In King Alexander Obrenović's proclamation of 2<sup>nd</sup> May, it was announced that the grave of Dositej Obradović would also be renovated at the same time as Vuk's new resting place.<sup>53</sup> The Serbian Royal Academy put Mihailo Valtrović in charge of the preparation of the burial places. He was supposed to "select the words" for the tombstones. The choice that Mihailo Valtrović made on this occasion indicates the amount of emphasis that was given to Vuk's new grave. Valtrović, already a prominent member of the Academy, professor and director of the National Museum, was the conceptual creator behind the most important national events, such as the unified celebration of the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo and the coronation of King Alexander Obrenović in 1889.<sup>54</sup>



13. Savo Sovrè: Jernej Kopitar

Special attention was given to the creation of Vuk's casket, which was supervised by Milan Đ. Milićević. Vatroslav Jagić wrote that he was contacted by Milan Đ. Milićević in a letter on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1897, who, at the time, was personally responsible for the creation of the graves for Dositej and Vuk, and the grave marking for Đura Daničić. Milićević informed Jagić that he would not be able to see the sarcophagi of Vuk and Dositej, but that they were both beautiful and especially Vuk's. He pointed out that because of their beauty "from Roman times until today, I doubt that anyone has built a more beautiful one for a deceased loved one," and that they were being transported from the stonemasons to the grand church around that time.<sup>55</sup> The committee for the relocation of the remains had decided that the sarcophagi and the tombstones should be made out of granite from Ripanj, a village near Belgrade.<sup>56</sup> Milan Đ. Milićević wrote in his diary that he had visited the stonemasons that were working on the sarcophagi and noted, as well, that they were solidly built.<sup>57</sup> He also wrote that the stonemasonry for the building of Vuk, Dositej, and Daničić's graves cost 6.800 dinars.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Srpske novine*, 96, 2. 5. 1897, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Nenad MAKULJEVIĆ, *Crkvena umetnost u Kraljevini Srbiji (1882–1914)*, Beograd 2007, pp. 93–99.

<sup>55</sup> Vatroslav JAGIĆ, *Spomeni mojega života*, 2, Beograd 1934, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik, p. 2871.

<sup>57</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik, p. 2892.

<sup>58</sup> Arhiv SANU 9327/XVI, Milan Đ. Milićević, Dnevnik, p. 2901.



14. Kopitar's grave in St. Marx cemetery, Vienna



15. Kopitar's grave at Navje, Ljubljana

According to the king's decree, during the process of digging the pit for Vuk's tomb, the remains of Dositej Obradović were unearthed as well. Dositej's remains were found on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1897 and this attracted the attention of the Belgrade public. The remains were re-buried in a new sarcophagus as a part of the ceremony that took place on 15<sup>th</sup> September and this was how Dositej Obradović received a new memorial.

The preparation of Vuk's tomb consisted of several phases. First, the specified place, where there were already existing graves, was excavated and the pit was prepared. Then the sarcophagus was lowered into the grave, where Vuk's remains were stored after the repatriation was completed. Vuk's tomb was not given any specific sculptural decoration, but was adorned only with some specific text. The most important decoration was put on the sarcophagus and it, therefore, remained inaccessible to the public. The reason for this was probably the fact that it was placed in a grave within an Orthodox Church, where sculptural decorations for monuments are rarely used. Despite this, Vuk's grave acquired the character of a public monument. His grave was not a place of private funerary culture, but a site of state and national representation, and its position opposite Dositej's tomb only confirmed the importance of Vuk Karadžić as a Serbian national hero in the cultural domain.

Placing the body of Vuk Karadžić in a tomb in the Cathedral Church gave this church the character of a national pantheon and public monument. This is why visiting this place and the graves of Vuk and Dositej came to represent an important part of the patriotic visits made to Serbia's capital.

Kopitar was buried at the cemetery of St. Christopher near Ljubljana, which was later supposed to be converted into the Navje memorial park – a Slovenian national pantheon. After the body was transferred, Slovenska matica took on responsibility for the care of Kopitar's grave itself. The tombstone from St. Marx cemetery was transferred simultaneously along with Kopitar's remains. At a meeting of Slovenska matica on 13<sup>th</sup> May 1898, it was decided to draw up a contract with one of the

local stonemasons in order to resolve the issue of the tombstone.<sup>59</sup> Kopitar's tombstone was restored with a new metal crown, a Latin cross below the original caption, a new pedestal with a caption in Slovene, and a fence.<sup>60</sup> The tombstone of Jernej Kopitar was nationalized by the usage of Slovene, and transformed into a Slovenian national monument. When the St. Christopher cemetery was transformed into a Slovenian national memorial area Kopitar's tomb was not removed.<sup>61</sup> Thus the tomb of Jernej Kopitar remained in the memorial area dedicated to the most prominent Slovenians.



The significance of the repatriation of Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić's remains from Vienna to Ljubljana and Belgrade is multifold. This event represents the first joint Serbian-Slovenian public political action, which also constructed a common South Slavic – Yugoslav identity. On the other hand, this event shows and confirms the connection between funerary culture and public monuments. Kopitar and Karadžić's graves in Vienna were places of national memory, but they did not fully conform to the ideology and practices of Serbian and Slovenian nationalism. Transferring the bodies to their homelands, Ljubljana and Belgrade, contributed to the development and strengthening of Serbian and Slovenian national identities. Also, the 'new-second' graves were clearly located within the areas of national pantheons and transformed into functions of national worship. The joint organization of the repatriation of the bodies of Vuk and Kopitar displays the general characteristics of the nineteenth-century culture of nationalism and represents an important episode in the shaping of Yugoslav identity.

<sup>59</sup> Evgen LAH, *Letopis Slovenske Matice, Letopis Slovenske Matice za 1898*, Ljubljana 1898, p. 274.

<sup>60</sup> Milena PIŠKUR, Sonja ŽITKO, *Ljubljansko Navje*, Ljubljana 1997, p. 47.

<sup>61</sup> Marko BAJUK, *Navje*, Ljubljana 1940, pp. 4–5; PIŠKUR, ŽITKO 1997 (op. 60), p. 47.

## Pogrebne slovesnosti in javni spomeniki

### Kopitar – Karadžić in ustvarjanje skupne srbsko-slovenske kulture spominjanja

#### *Povzetek*

Drugo polovico 19. stoletja sta zaznamovala povezovanje južnoslovanskih narodov in ustvarjanje skupne, jugoslovanske identitete. Izobraženci, umetniki in politiki so vezi med južnoslovanskimi narodi oblikovali s pomočjo različnih javnih aktivnosti, kot so bile razstave ali politične in kulturne prireditve. V okviru vzpostavljanja skupne jugoslovanske identitete se je začelo medsebojno sodelovanje in ustvarjanje kulturnih vezi med Srbijo in Slovenijo. Izhodišče za srbsko-slovensko kulturno in politično sodelovanje je poleg tradicije predstavljala povezanost Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića in Jerneja Kopitarja. Ta povezanost je bila tudi povod za postavitev novih javnih spomenikov in organizacijo skupne pogrebne slovesnosti, prenosa njunih posmrtnih ostankov z Dunaja v Beograd oziroma Ljubljano leta 1897.

Oba jezikoslovca sta živela, delovala in umrla na Dunaju. Kopitar je umrl leta 1844, Karadžić pa 1864, a sta bila oba pokopana na istem pokopališču, St. Marx v dunajskem okrožju Landstrasse. Ker sta bila njuna grobova izven meja domovine, torej izven slovenskega in srbskega nacionalnega prostora, je bila kulturna javnost nezadovoljna. Rezultat skupne srbsko-slovenske akcije je bil prenos posmrtnih ostankov leta 1897, ki so jih nato pokopali v dve novi grobnici. Njuna funkcija je bila vnaprej določena, poleg tega nista služili zgolj kot večni počivališči, ampak tudi kot javna nacionalna spomenika. Kopitar je bil pokopan na pokopališču pri Sv. Krištofu, Karadžića pa so položili v grob pred vhodom v najpomembnejšo cerkev v Srbiji, saborno cerkev v Beogradu. Na ta način se je prenos posmrtnih ostankov iz prvotnega počivališča zaključil s polaganjem v »drugi grob«. Za slovensko in srbsko javnost je bilo dejstvo, da je bil drugi grob v domovini, izrednega pomena. Tako sta obe matični deželi pridobili dodaten nacionalni značaj in ustvarili prostor večnega spomina na junaka slovenske in srbske kulture.