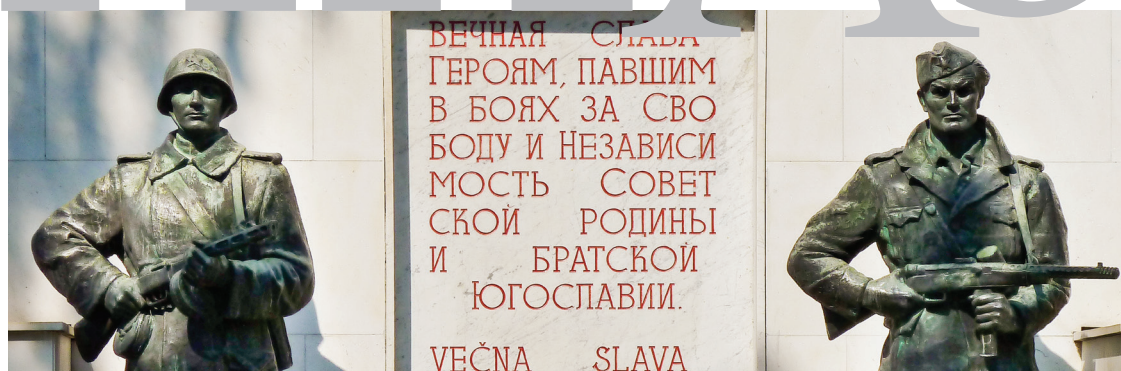


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ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

Visualizing Memory and Making History

Public Monuments in Former Yugoslav Space
in the Twentieth Century

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

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA

18|2·2013

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LJUBLJANA 2013

Acta historiae artis Slovenica

ISSN 1408-0419

Znanstvena revija za umetnostno zgodovino / Scholarly Journal for Art History

Visualizing Memory and Making History

Public Monuments in Former Yugoslav Space in the Twentieth Century

Izdaja / Published by

Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU /

France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU

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Oblikovna zasnova in prelom / Design and layout by

Andrej Furlan

Naslov uredništva / Editorial office address

Acta historiae artis Slovenica

Novi trg 2, p.p. 306, SI-1001 Ljubljana, Slovenija

E-pošta / E-mail: uifs@zrc-sazu.si

Spletna stran / Web site: <http://uifs1.zrc-sazu.si>

Revija je indeksirana v / Journal is indexed in

BHA, FRANCIS, IBZ, ERIH, EBSCO Publishing, Scopus

Letna naročnina / Annual subscription: 35 €

Posamezna enojna številka / Single issue: 25 €

Letna naročnina za študente in dijake: 25 €

Letna naročnina za tujino in ustanove / Annual Subscription outside Slovenia, institutions: 48 €

Naročila sprejema / Orders should be sent to

Založba ZRC / ZRC Publishing

Novi trg 2, p. p. 306, SI-1001, Slovenija

E-pošta / E-mail: zalozba@zrc-sazu.si

AHAS izhaja s podporo Agencije za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

AHAS is published with the support of the Slovenian Research Agency.

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Tisk / Printed by

Cicero d. o. o., Begunje

Naklada / Print run: 400

Two Monuments by Sreten Stojanović

Continuity in Discontinuity

Jasmina Čubrilo

“The competitive society celebrates its heroes, the hierarchy celebrates its patriarchs, and the sect its martyrs.”

Mary Douglas¹

“I was always impressed by the monumentality of our historical figures, our great historical events. This is what I’m trying to say in my own sculptural manner, in the way I know best.”

Sreten Stojanović²

“Continuity in discontinuity. This could be the shortest and most accurate definition of Serbia’s modern history.”

Dubravka Stojanović³

Memorial Culture – or on (Collective) Remembrance, Memory, Forgetting and Historical Knowledge

Memorial culture is inseparably linked to notions such as memory, remembering, collective remembrance, culture of memory, social time and forgetting, and historical knowledge. Remembering and memory differ inasmuch as the memory represents “the actualization of preserved contents”,⁴ while the remembering is a system of storing the contents of the past. It “combines the selective contents of the past into a meaningful order, it establishes a harmony regarding the acceptance and the interpretation of the world; of course, not only through the preservation of certain items, but also through the forgetting of others”.⁵ Collective remembrance is a sum of stories and history, of constructions and facts; it is the functional and tendentious organizing of the past for the maintaining and functioning of the group and not for the establishing of a genuine image of the past. In other words, (collective) remembering, or (collective) forgetting is a product of the strategy

¹ Mary DOUGLAS, *How Institutions Think*, Syracuse 1986, p. 80.

² See Lazar TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Sreten Stojanović*, Beograd 1973, p. 53.

³ Dubravka STOJANOVIĆ, *Politička ubistva i prevrati u Srbiji 1817–2003*, <http://pescanik.net/2013/03/politicka-ubistva-i-prevrati-u-srbiji-1817-2003/> (accessed on 9. 3. 2013).

⁴ Todor KULJIĆ, *Kultura sećanja. Teorijska objašnjenja upotrebe prošlosti*, Beograd 2006, p. 8.

⁵ KULJIĆ 2006 (n. 4), p. 8.

of evaluation in accordance with the interests of a particular social group: the dominant social group (political, intellectual, economic elite) is going to 'remember' and 'institutionalize' what is useful for its existence, while other, marginalized social groups are going to construct and 'institutionalize' their own, alternative versions that most often remember what the first ones tend to forget. What a particular social community will remember and simultaneously forget is closely connected with the following issues: under what conditions and under whose authority something is remembered or forgotten, or, more precisely, who constitutes the community and defines its identity.

Here, on the example of two monuments by the same author, Sreten Stojanović – the monument *King Peter* from 1928, and the monument *The Combat* from 1949, which originated within two distinct politico-historical contexts and within two different ideological frameworks, the dynamics of the culture of memory and the culture of forgetting will be discussed, in other words, the ways in which cultures, regimes and classes transfer knowledge about the past, use it, reorganize it, but also repress, forget and transform it. If the memory, by its transition into cultural remembering, is institutionalized, one might say that by erasing it, one institutionalizes the forgetting. Monuments are instances of official remembering, institutionalization of the memory, a reflection of the hegemonic representation of the past that is imposed by the governing group and, as such, intended for 'eternal remembrance'.

The sensitive nature of monuments, their dependence on the fluctuating network of social mediators (state, party, media) and in particular their tendency toward historical and political exploitation, has meant that monuments have become objects of disciplining rather than subjects that discipline the memory and stand as material evidence of "continuity in discontinuity".

Sreten Stojanović (1898–1960)

Sreten Stojanović was born in Prijedor (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austrian-Hungarian condominium) into a patriarchal Serbian family of Orthodox priests from Bosnian Krajina, originating from Nevesinje Field, in which "the profession of the priest was transferred from generation to generation."⁶ As a secondary-school pupil, he joined the Bosnian youth revolutionary movement, so the Austrian authorities, after the Vidovdan assassination and the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Habsburg, sentenced him to ten years in prison, which he served until 1917 when he was drafted into the Austrian army. He soon, however, managed to escape.

Stojanović embarked on his artistic education in Vienna (with the help of Dr Đurica Đorđević) between 1918 and 1919, in the workshops of Franz Zelezny, the master of decorative sculpture and the sculptor Stanislaw Roman Lewandowski. He continued his studies immediately after World War I in Paris, first at Grand Chaumière and then in the atelier of Antoine Bourdelle. After four years of studying and "bohemian romping",⁷ he returned from Paris to Belgrade where he lived and worked until his death in 1960. In this "stubborn conservative environment, also hostile to sculpture",⁸ he focused on articulating new tendencies in the art of sculpture, which were radically different, almost entirely contrary to the contemporary trends of dominant academism on the one hand, and the Secession Art of monumental dimensions on the other.

⁶ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 7.

⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 13–14.

⁸ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 22–23.

During the autumn of 1927, Stojanović spent one month in the Soviet Union with Vladislav Ribnikar and Dragiša Vasić,⁹ surely a milestone in Stojanović's life, and one he recorded in the book *Impressions from Russia*, published in Belgrade in 1928. Just a few years after World War II, under the new socio-political system, Stojanović submitted to the experience of his Russian visit. Following the notes he recorded at that time, he decided to accept socialist realism as a suitable expression of the understanding of the new era, grounded above all in the political formation of every artist "that would enable him to get accustomed with aspirations of the people", for "to create the true work of art one should feel the spirit of struggle, the spirit of the people".¹⁰

After his arrival in Belgrade in the early 1920s, Stojanović became heavily involved in cultural, artistic and public life. He was one of the founding members of the group *Oblik* (The Form) which gathered Parisian students, *les modernes*, in 1929, but he left the group soon after because of resentment among its members. In this period (1926–1931) Stojanović began to engage in art criticism and essay writing in the journal *Misao* (The Thought) and in the daily *Politika*. His texts on sculpture were especially significant; he was an astute observer and laid bare the major issues within the field, constantly criticizing academic conservatism, perceptively stating that its rigorous rules "suffocate artistic creativity and destroy young artists".¹¹ He taught at The Higher School of Pedagogy in Belgrade until 1937; however, by the end of this year Stojanović had been appointed professor at the newly founded Academy of Fine Arts (AFA), where he and Toma Rosandić led the Department of Sculpture. During the 1930s, he had individual and group exhibitions, gave lectures at the Kolarac Foundation, wrote for the *Umetnički pregled* (Art Review) and *Umetnost* (The Art) journals, and thus established himself as an authority in art and lay circles. After World War II, Stojanović was among those artists who adopted socialist realism as a new soc-realistic form of artistic expression, believing that it should not base itself on the naturalism that, as he himself said, "threatens to reduce art to non-creativity" but in realism "which contains within itself all the components that constitute an artwork".¹² He was also actively involved in political and public life, considerably influencing the development of artistic life from these positions: he was appointed dean of the AFA and then the first rector of the University of Arts (1957–1958); in 1950, he was elected as a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU/SAAS). He was also intermittently president of the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (ULUS/AFAS), and for a short period of time he was general secretary of the League of Fine Artists of Serbia. He also held various political positions: among his many functions, he was a member of parliament, a member of the People's Council of the City of Belgrade and president of the People's Front of Belgrade.¹³

In other words, Sreten Stojanović was one of the artists who can be described as a "dynamic and vital figure", from the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and through all the

⁹ This stay occurred a few months before Alfred H. Barr's stay, who began his journey across the Soviet Union on 26 December 1927; see Sybil GORDON KANTOR, *Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art*, Cambridge 2002, p. 161. The comparison of Barr's and Stojanović's experience is very provocative – Barr's is systematized as a paradigmatic narrative on modern art, while Stojanović's 'impressions' were informed with respect to solving the problems of figural monumental plastic between varieties of 'cubist sculpture' and approaching socialist realism, between 'modern' form/art and the limits of its narrativity; see Sreten STOJANOVIĆ, *Impresije iz Rusije*, Beograd 1928.

¹⁰ Sreten STOJANOVIĆ, *O umetnosti i umetnicima*, Beograd 1952, p. 96.

¹¹ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 35.

¹² STOJANOVIĆ 1952 (n. 10), pp. 98–99.

¹³ Miodrag B. PROTIĆ, *Sreten Stojanović*, Beograd 1957, p. 7.

subsequent forms of the common state – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Democratic Federal Yugoslavia and Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. He was an eminent character who was “constantly at the centre not only of our artistic life but also of our public and cultural life in general”.¹⁴ World War II was a turning point for him. Before the war, after the youthful episode with the Young Bosnia movement, he was mainly preoccupied with art, art criticism and essay writing. In the late thirties, he took a break from these activities, participating in a Serbian intelligence initiative that advocated national economic and cultural action,¹⁵ while after the war he made a volte-face and became active in politics.¹⁶

This mapping of some of the key moments of Sreten Stojanović's biography should provide mere background for the discussion on Stojanović as a sculptor of monuments. Generally speaking, there are two approaches in the systematization of Stojanović's oeuvre. According to Lazar Trifunović, which is the most commonly cited approach, Stojanović's oeuvre is divided into three phases in accordance with the “plastic conceptions which in certain stages of development carried his art”: the period of stylization (1919–1928); the period of realism (1929–1944) and the period of romanticism (1945–1960).¹⁷ On the other hand, according to Miodrag B. Protić, Stojanović's opus is “homogenous in its conceptions, uniform in its general emotion, /.../, rich, nuanced and diverse”, and goes from “small plastic art, ‘tanagra’, and through portrait, bust and relief, to monumental museum sculpture and a public monument of imposing proportions”.¹⁸ Protić singles out Stojanović as the creator of the modern psychological portrait in “the history of our contemporary art”,¹⁹ and infers that this is the reason behind “Stojanović's adherence to contemporary realistic expression”.²⁰ Within monumental plastic art, Protić points to “large museum sculpture” which is “forceful, rustic, turned more towards slow strength and less toward the refinement of the form and the emotion” (*The Slave*); the reliefs which are characterized by linearism, expressivity, but also by the strict, rigid structure of the composition (*The Necklace* and the monument in Grahovo, *The Uprising*); finally, the huge monuments, some of which are characterized by the literary exposition of the motives, pathetic description of the anecdote, a certain rusticality and fullness of form, the Bourdellian, dynamic rhythm of the mass”, while others “represent, in quiet, expansive, solidly built surfaces the aspiration towards impressive, contemporary plastic synthesis” (*Karađorđe*).²¹

¹⁴ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 7.

¹⁵ Stojanović joined the Serbian Cultural Club (SCC), which gathered a large number of intellectuals in order to protect Serbian national interests in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and to achieve Serbian cultural integration and encourage spiritual bonding. SCC was conceived as a place of meeting, discussion, tolerance and constructive controversy, but its activities were influenced by political events, and from mid-1939, it became exclusively political in nature. Sreten Stojanović was a member of the Steering Committee of the SCC; see Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije: 1918–1941.*, 1, Beograd 1996, pp. 506–561.

¹⁶ The large number of obituaries and detailed reports about his funeral in daily newspapers and weekly magazines bear witness to how much he was respected in the field of culture, by the wider public and by the Serbian political establishment; last respects were also paid to him by high-ranking officials of Serbia and Belgrade, and leading members of SAAC, AFAS, and AFA; see O. B. Svečano sahranjen Sreten Stojanović, *Politika*, 31. 10. 1960, p. 1; Beograd odao poslednju poštu vajaru Sretenu Stojanoviću, *Borba*, 31. 10. 1960, p. 1.

¹⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 58–63.

¹⁸ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), pp. 7–8.

¹⁹ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 8.

²⁰ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), p. 9.

²¹ PROTIĆ 1957 (n. 13), pp. 9–10.

This view of Stojanović as a worthy master of realistic psychological portrait found in Protić is relatively common. Moreover, one might say that there is an open consensus among critics, art historians and among Stojanović's colleagues as well about his rather impressive achievements in portrait plastic. In contrast, there is less consensus about the success of his monument sculpture, although this opinion is often couched in restrained terms, both implicitly (Miodrag Kolarić, Zoran Pavlović, Milo Milunović, Petar Lubarda, Aleksa Čelebonović), and more rarely, explicitly and critically (Lazar Trifunović).²²

The monuments which will be discussed in the following section are classed as the 'problematic' examples of Stojanović's monument sculpture, either because they do not exist anymore or have left few traces of their existence, or because they are considered as Stojanović's "contribution to the failures of the epoch".²³ What links them even more closely is the patriarchal matrix: intended to celebrate forefathers (patriarchs) and heroes, they reproduce complex configurations of power conditioned by gender division, that is, the ideology which, before all ideologies, informs and confines the world views of a particular social community. Also, these monuments reflect political and national antagonisms, traumatic historical sites and collective remembrance and the systematization of the past through the method of 'continuity in discontinuity'.

The monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, Nevesinje, 1928

The monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, which was unveiled in Nevesinje in 1928 on the occasion of the anniversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (Nevesinje Gun), is the least documented of Stojanović's monuments. The monument was destroyed at the beginning of the World War II.²⁴ It is rarely mentioned in the literature,²⁵ and Stojanović himself does not discuss this monument in his interviews.²⁶

However, the existing archival photographic material, although scant, is enough to provide an idea of the monument's appearance. Two figures stand on a tall pedestal of rustic appearance in the shape of trimmed stone stairs. The figure representing King Peter, of strikingly virile physiognomy, stands on the very top, with a sharp, focused gaze, and one arm raised "showing the rebel the direction in which the enslaved Serbian lands lie", while the other, right arm, is "placed on the rebel's shoulder as a symbol of Serbia's powerful protection of this robust, rocky land".²⁷ The other figure represents the Herzegovinian rebel, placed one staircase below, also virile in appearance, in rural

²² Radenko MIŠEVIĆ, Skulptura koja budi misao, *Oslobođenje*, 10. 4. 1955, p. 7; Zoran PAVLOVIĆ, Majstor realističkog psihološkog portreta, *Politika*, 7. 4. 1963, p. 17; Miodrag KOLARIĆ, Komemorativna izložba Sretena Stojanovića, Umetnički paviljon na Kalemegdanu, Beograd 1963, p. 3; TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), pp. 50–54.

²³ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 51.

²⁴ The testimonies of people from Nevesinje are different: according to the recollection of some (http://www.politika.rs/index.php?lid=lt&show=rubrike&part=list_reviews&int_itemID=101024, accessed on 1. 3. 2013) the monument was destroyed by members of Croatian Ustasha Movement in 1941 (after the occupation of Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1941, according to the agreement, Herzegovina belonged to the Independent State of Croatia), while others (Prof Dr Zdravko Munišić) point out that it was the Italian army which disassembled the monument from its pedestal and had it melted down.

²⁵ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 50.

²⁶ Otvaranje izložbe g.g. Stojanovića i Tartalje, *Politika*, 7. 3. 1929, p. 5.

²⁷ Slavko HADŽIĆ, Velike svečanosti u Nevesinju, *Politika*, 29. 8. 1928, p. 5.



1. Sreten Stojanović: *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, 1928, *Nevesinje*

national dress, with the yataghan at his belt, a gun in one hand, and the other hand raised upwards as a sign of readiness and an invitation to others to begin an uprising.²⁸ In a formal sense, this monument belongs to those sculptures that heralded the leaving behind the era of one set of formal sculptural problems and the entering of another. As Stojanović himself said regarding the sculptures exhibited the following year, 1929, “it is a matter of searching”.²⁹ So, this monument is characterized by archaism and stylization; the sculptural masses are modelled following Bourdelle’s rudimentary masses and those produced by assembling cubes, spheres and cylinders, from his early Parisian days. There are two general impressions: the first is that Stojanović created this sculpture according to the belief that the vitality of modern art lies within its adopting and emulating of the so-called primitive forms; according to Stojanović, his Parisian teacher had formulated it in the following way: “I like that I see the highlander in you, I like that there is something of a savageness in your work, preserve that as something very precious”.³⁰ The second is that the problems of monumental form, grounded in architectonics and the position of the masses which he began to deal with here, one might say under the influence of those examples of Soviet sculpture from the 1920s that would form part of the articulation of socialist realism, and about which he would write after returning from the

²⁸ HADŽIĆ 1928 (n. 27), p. 5, the speech delivered at the anniversary celebration of Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising: “And I tell you, just as God keeps the unity of human person in its relation to eternity, so this glorious figure of the brave king keeps the unity of the people in front of countless paths, of which the only one leads it to true happiness, and thus it is understandable that only on this one path can people endure all sacrifices, and give their lives.”

²⁹ *Otvoranje izložbe* 1929 (n. 26), p. 5.

³⁰ Katarina ADANJA, *Isklesana poema*, *Komunist*, 7. 5. 1973, p. 14.

Soviet Union,³¹ would finally be resolved, some thirty years later, in his work on the monument of Karađorđe.³²

There are various aspects of the memorialization of events that are crucial in the process of creating the identity of a particular community, as they shape the ambience within which it is possible to realize the desired identitarian construct. Stojanović's monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels* reflects the complex network of intertwined historical events and myths.

Chronologically, this series begins with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (1875–1878) against the Ottoman authorities and from the desire of the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina to unite with Montenegro and Serbia. The uprising was supported in arms and volunteers by Montenegro and the (vassal) Duchy of Serbia, which led to the Serbian–Turkish war and the emergence of the so-called Great Eastern Crisis. The outcomes of the uprising were, firstly, the Treaty of San Stefano (1878), according to which Bosnia and Herzegovina gained autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, and then the Berlin Congress (1878), where, among other things, the decision regarding the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina was altered. Austria–Hungary gained the right to occupy this region for an indefinite period of time, although it *de iure* remained the part of the Ottoman Empire. Then the series continues with the events at the beginning of the 20th century linked to the outbreak of the World War I, as well as with one of its geopolitical outcomes, the creation of the common state of South Slavs – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, on the 1st December 1918, which was declared by Alexander I on behalf of his father Peter I Karađorđević. As a contribution to 'official' history, we should add a fact that links these two temporally distanced events: Peter Karađorđević, the grandson of Karađorđe, the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804), and a member of the family that did not hold power in Serbia at the time of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising, took part for some time in the uprising under the name of Peter Mrkonjić. The Nevesinje Gun Uprising and the

³¹ See STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 5–18.

³² The monument *Karađorđe* was conceived in clay, cast in bronze, and during the autumn of 1955, exhibited in Titograd at the exhibition of post-war development of Montenegro (in the premises of the Economic School); it was unpacked and placed as a decoration in the school's lobby. After the exhibition, the monument, waiting for Stojanović and city authorities to agree on the location, because he didn't agree with the park in front of the Post Office, ended up in the basement of the city-hall building in Titograd. In the meantime Stojanović died; in 1965 there were articles written in newspapers about „the art work of the sculptor Sreten Stojanović (which is) buried in the basement for years”; finally, in 1968, the monument was placed at the spot where it stands still today, in the (Karađorđe) park across from the hotel 'Montenegro'; see Spomenik Karađorđu, *Borba*, 28. 1. 1956, p. 4; Sreten PEROVIĆ, Jevrem BRKOVIĆ, Vajar Sreten Stojanović radi za Titograd 'Njegoša' i 'Karađorđa', *Pobjeda*, 17. 4. 1955, p. 6; 'Karađorđe' Sretena Stojanovića, *Politika*, 27. 2. 1955, p. 8; D. PETROVIĆ, Karađorđe u budžaku, *Večernje novosti*, 23. 12. 1965, p. 7; D. PETROVIĆ, Vajar umro – spomenik zaboravljen, *Večernje novosti*, 24. 12. 1965, p. 6. – The second casting was made in 1959, but it was stored in the foundry for two decades only for the monument to be unveiled by the mayor of Belgrade Živorad Kovačević at Vračar plateau in front of the National Library on the occasion of the 175th Anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising. The news about the erection of the monument (and the celebration of the anniversary) made headlines in the daily papers throughout Yugoslavia, and according to these articles it seems that the Kalemegdan Park was also considered as a site for the monument until the last moment; see R. St., Spomenik Karađorđu 12. decembra, *Večernje novosti*, 1. 11. 1979, p. 7; R. STRANKOVIĆ, Karađorđe na Kalemegdanu, *Večernje novosti*, 6. 12. 1979, p. 5; T. N., Sloboda u borbi iskovana, *Ekspres nedeljna revija*, 8. 12. 1979, p. 10; Na Vračaru otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Dnevnik*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 7; Otkriven spomenik na Karagorge, *Večer*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 6; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Pobjeda*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 5; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Vjesnik*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 8 (Tito's letter to the Anniversary Committee and to the participants of the Solemn Meeting on the occasion of 175. anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising, in which Tito apologizes for not being able to attend this event and speaks occasionally about the revolutionary spirit); Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu Petroviću, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 4; Otkriven spomenik Karađorđu, *Glas Slavonije*, 13. 12. 1979, p. 6.

King, through his involvement, national origin and religious affiliation, clearly belong to the Serbian Orthodox population, in which values such as bravery, courage, sacrifice and death were given priority over other, more modern, more emancipative values. The Serbian uprisings of the 19th century as well as the most recent wars in the early 20th were perceived and explained from the perspective of the tradition of glorifying the war, which was linked to the history of the Serbian Middle Ages, and almost entirely reduced to the St. Sava myth and the Kosovo legend. This tradition has allowed the people belonging to this culture to make sense of their experience; it has represented relevant knowledge about the past, or even the unquestionable truth. According to Ljubodrag Dimić, this tradition was at the heart of their survival: organizing the past through symbols shaped the national consciousness and regulated the mechanisms of understanding and responding to the world. Its abandonment was followed by the constant fear of everything new, the unknown, everything from the outside, which resulted in gradual, barely visible changes in daily life.³³ The discourse of epic tradition certainly had a strong influence on Sreten Stojanović, as can be seen both explicitly in his later statements and interviews, and implicitly in the narrativization of biographical data by the scholars and interpreters of his work.

Therefore, there are two key questions that can be posed regarding this monument: firstly, which narrative (narratives) it memorializes by referring to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising, and secondly, what identitarian construction does it produce? The monument was placed in a town which, geographically and administratively, belonged to Bosnia and Herzegovina, a region with a nationally mixed population, and which simultaneously left behind the war and entered a new state, that is, a new geopolitical and economic space. One of the first moves undertaken after entering the new state was the process of changing the names of cities' internal structure, the network of streets and squares, bridges and public buildings; this symbolic act meant breaking off ties with the old Monarchy, the Austrian and Hungarian historical tradition, while it also meant the new patriotism, that is, loyalty was expressed and affirmed regarding the new state and the new Monarchy, and the connection with its tradition was established. One particularly important and popular method of expressing loyalty to the Karađorđević dynasty was the trend for erecting monuments to King Peter I (also known as the Liberator and the Unifier), in every town of Bosnia and Herzegovina; it was initiated by a committee in Sarajevo in 1922, the head of which was Šćepan Grđić. This initiative was widely implemented and involved large-scale financing, to be taken from the budgets



2. Sreten Stojanović: *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels*, 1928, Nevesinje

³³ DIMIĆ 1996 (n. 15), p. 78.

of every municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the next five years. In time, however, the initiative became rather more modest and entailed, for example, the naming the memorial-schools and squares.³⁴ At any rate, although city authorities were not uniform in every particular instance, they nevertheless began the process of constructing a collective identity, even before the official suggestions which would later become the formal policy of integral Yugoslavism.³⁵

From that point of view, the monument *King Peter I the Liberator and Herzegovinian Rebels* only partially fits into a given pattern. It is certainly a monument that memorializes King Peter I and the Karađorđević's dynasty, but the reason behind its erection, the anniversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising (Nevesinje Gun), distances this monument from other post-war manifestations of loyalty to the new Monarchy and, indirectly, from celebrating the new state and constructing a new (Yugoslavian) identity; in this sense, it reflects all the perplexities and antagonism of the time in which it was made. The territory of the new state crossed geographical and ethnic borders, including people who were close to each other but at the same time divided by religion and faith, life experience, language and scripts, habits, customs, and economic opportunities. The ideology of integral Yugoslavism, which denied the ethnic specificity of the South Slavs and regarded the cultural and historical diversity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as irrelevant, arbitrary and imposed by historical development, provided an idealized matrix of reality and also shaped the process of constructing a Yugoslav identity that started before World War I.

Therefore, the creation and erection of the monument *King Peter I and Herzegovinian Rebels* can be interpreted perhaps as an echo of the post-war euphoria of city councils regarding the expression of loyalty to the dynasty, and certainly as a manifestation of continuity regarding the inheritance of the Serbian people, of accepting and belonging to the Serbian collective identity. Three very important dates in the history of the Serbian nation are (inter)connected with the figure of King Peter I: the first is 1804 – the formation of the princely lineage and the First Serbian Uprising; the second is 1875–1878 and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Uprising; the last one is 1918 and the creation of the Kingdom of SHS, thanks to which the aspirations of the Bosnian Serbs to unite with the fatherland were achieved. From this perspective, designations like the Unifier and the Liberator, with which King Peter I was glorified, might refer to the perception of the efforts and the politics of this king not as the unifier of South Slavs, but as the unifier or the liberator of the Serbian people, so this monument could also be dedicated to the memorialization of this king. All of this took place one year before his son Alexander, who had already become king, established the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929), hoping, among other things, to resolve the problem of national antagonisms (which is reflected also by this monument), through the construction of a political fiction about Yugoslav monolithism, about the unity of the people and the state.

The monument *King Peter I and Herzegovinian Rebels* reflects all the perplexities and antagonisms of the time in which it was made. Therefore, its creation and erection can also be interpreted perhaps as a reflection of the post-war euphoria of city councils regarding the expression of loyalty to the dynasty, but also as a manifestation of continuity regarding the heritage of the Serbian people, of accepting and belonging to the Serbian collective identity.

³⁴ Seka BRKLJAČA, Neke karakteristike integracijskih procesa Bosne i Hercegovine u novu državu, Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca/Jugoslaviju, *Historijska traganja*, 3, 2009, http://www.iis.unsa.ba/izdavacka_djelatnost/periodika/historijska_traganja/historijska_traganja_3.pdf, p. 146.

³⁵ BRKLJAČA 2009 (n. 34), p. 144.

The Combat, 1949, Belgrade

While the delight felt by its author during his journey to the Soviet Union two years earlier (1927) is hardly discernible in the previous monument, in this one, which was placed in front of the Voždovac municipality building in 1949, it is 'recycled,' complemented with new ideological insights, determinations and experience, and fully integrated. During his stay in the Soviet Union in 1927, Stojanović in fact witnessed the turn towards socialist realism. As Boris Groys puts it, this turn was performed for the popular masses by well-educated and experienced members of the elite who had experienced the avant-garde and turned to socialist realism by the immanent logic of the development of the avant-garde movement itself, which had nothing in common whatsoever with the actual tastes and demands of the masses.³⁶ On the one hand, Stojanović's ideas about Russia were produced by his upbringing; in other words, that orthodox Russia is something that belongs to his people, only that it is "more beautiful, bigger, more orthodox, closer to God and stronger than everything Turkish or German."³⁷ On the other hand, his ideas were shaped by the Belgrade press of the 1920s and the experience of Russian immigrants in Belgrade.³⁸ The Soviet Union, dynamic, complex, in turmoil, did not quite match the discursive formations and strategies that structured Stojanović's ideas about Russia and the Soviet Union. In such a Soviet Union, Stojanović, from the position of a middle-class intellectual, in principle felt strange regarding the clear lack of difference between the intelligentsia and other classes.³⁹ As Bourdelle's (Parisian) student, it was difficult for him to identify himself with the radical, avant-garde wing, just as realism became acceptable for him, (through his conversations with his hosts), when he perceived a relation in it between the form and the content that interested him, that is, the priority of 'artistic problems' over 'reality'.⁴⁰ As a sculptor with an uncertain existence, dependent on clients and their orders, Stojanović would enthusiastically write in his *Impressions* about the efforts of the state to provide the necessary conditions and means for the work of artists.⁴¹ Finally, some twenty years later, this concept of 'the realistic,' which his hosts, mostly artists from AHRR, were articulating in those years, through, as Andrei Zhdanov shall explain later, "critical assimilation of the cultural heritage of all nations and all times" in order to choose all that could "inspire the working people of Soviet society to great exploits in labour, science and culture",⁴² would be adopted and developed by Stojanović. He would do this as an artist and a political activist but with constant reservations and always underlining the difference between "the realists-creators" who "give the spirit of the things, the truth" on the one hand, and "naturalists-non-artists" or "speculators", who "repeat the seen, raw detail", on the other.⁴³

Socialist realism in the Soviet Union emerges as an aesthetic-political turn performed by Stalin, and thus "the triumph of the avant-garde project in the early 1930s should have coincided with the

³⁶ Boris GROYS, *The Total Art of Stalinism*, New Jersey 1992, p. 9.

³⁷ TRIFUNOVIĆ 1973 (n. 2), p. 7.

³⁸ On presence, activities and influences of Russian immigrants see Ljubodrag DIMIĆ, *Kulturna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije: 1918–1941.*, 3, Beograd 1997, pp. 135–185.

³⁹ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), p. 58.

⁴⁰ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 5–11.

⁴¹ STOJANOVIĆ 1928 (n. 9), pp. 11–18.

⁴² See quotation in: GROYS 1992 (n. 36), p. 40.

⁴³ STOJANOVIĆ 1952 (n. 10), pp. 98–99.



3. Sreten Stojanović: *The Combat*, 1949, Beograd

final defeat of the avant-garde as an established artistic movement”.⁴⁴ From that moment, the most important task of art becomes the glorification of the leader and propagandistic support for his politics. On the other hand, socialist realism in Serbia/Yugoslavia settled accounts with modernism’s inheritance as the widest unifying factor of Western artistic tradition of the 20th century and avant-garde and/or modern developments in Serbian art between the two World Wars,⁴⁵ that is, with those artistic expressions which were representative of bourgeois taste and value systems. Here, too, art was used as a direct ideological tool, and the norms of socialist realism were established the way they had been in the Soviet Union: through programmatic speeches at congresses and plenums of art associations and by means of directive articles in journals and magazines, as well as through critiques of art production and theoretical texts by party ideologists, in which works of particular authors were attacked or praised, and which clearly defined the demarcation line between what is affirmed and what is rejected;⁴⁶ Stojanović himself had contributed considerably to this textual practice of socialist realism.

In Serbia/Yugoslavia, immediately after the end of World War II, as the first symbol of the new socialist community resulting from the four-year conflict that contained elements of civil war, social struggle and ideological revolution, the figure of the soldier was promoted; at first it was not the image of a member of the Yugoslav resistance movement but the image of the Red Army soldier.⁴⁷ However, this image would soon be replaced with the image of “the partisan martyrdom which became the guarantee of the blooming of the new socialist community”,⁴⁸ and with the image of male and female workers, affirming the ideas of socialist revolution and the triumph of the dictatorship over the proletariat.

⁴⁴ GROYS 1992 (n. 36), p. 35.

⁴⁵ Lidija MERENIK, *Umetnost i vlast. Srpsko slikarstvo 1945–1968*, Beograd 2010, pp. 46–50.

⁴⁶ Goran MILORADOVIĆ, *Lepota pod nadzorom. Sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955*, Beograd 2012, pp. 144–145.

⁴⁷ Olga MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR, Uprostoravanje ideologije. Spomenici Drugoga svetskog rata i kreiranje kolektivnih identiteta, *Dijalog povjesničara/istoričara*, 10/1, Zagreb 2008, p. 290; see <http://www.scribd.com/doc/43276146/Uprostoravanje-ideologije> (accessed on 1. 3. 2013).

⁴⁸ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (n. 47), p. 297.

Stojanović's monument *The Combat*, still 'active', even today, at the site on which it was placed in 1949, belongs to the category of monuments that most consistently realised the four universal principles which artists, according to the theory of social realism, had to hold on to: class-mindedness (expressing class interests), party-mindedness (expressing loyalty to Party positions), ideology-mindedness (use of themes connected with concrete and actual issues), and people-mindedness (accessibility to wider audience and reflection of its problems, its interests).⁴⁹ This monument is coupled with the monument *The Renewal* by Lojze Dolinar (1893–1970), unveiled in the same year, 1949, which has war and rebuilding as a theme, but also reflects the concept of a Yugoslavia which now stands as a community founded not on national but on class (proletarian) identity. Both *The Combat* and *The Renewal* show no interest in style research or 'sculptural problems'; these are monuments of large dimensions, of wide dramatic gestures, emphasized literariness and ideology-mindedness, actually expressing the demands of the moment in which they originated.

The monument *The Combat* has never been the focus of art criticism and the history of art; it has always remained in the shadow of Stojanović's 1951 monument to fallen fighters (*The Freedom*) on Iriški venac (Fruška Gora mountain), an eclectic revision of the concept of Augustinčić's *Thanks giving monument to Red Army* in Batinska Skela on the Danube (1945–1947) and Stojanović's competition bid for the monument dedicated to the First Serbian Uprising in Kragujevac from the 1930s. While others keep silent, Trifunović calls it Stojanović's contribution to failures of the epoch, but Lidija Merenik appropriately singles it out, along with a few other monuments, as an example proving that the sculpture, "the only worthy investment in the culture of this period", represented "the most suggestive medium of the embodiment of ideology of socialist realism and the concept of art and authority within post-war Yugoslavia", and that as such it was "closest to the emphasized Soviet ideal".⁵⁰

The monument consists of female and male figures captured in a dynamic movement: the female figure appears very manly, dressed like a woman of the people, with a kerchief on her head and a gun in her hands, her left leg stepping forward; the male figure, with its right arm raised and hand clenched in a fist, is in the pose of a leader, its right leg also stepping forward in line with the left leg of the female figure. He is also dressed as a man of the people, more like a worker than a peasant, with an unbuttoned shirt and uncovered (vulnerable) chest, with a gun in his lowered left arm. The combination of the male and the female figure was very common in socialist realism, and the way Stojanović used it was derived from the famous monument *The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman* (1937) by Vera Mukhina. However, in contrast to Mukhina's group, which is stylized in accordance with the idealization of type and formulation, it is only the clothing that suggests the gender difference, while the accessories – the hammer and sickle – become attributes not only of actual work but also the allegorical 'transcript', the representation of the ideological symbolic capital of the Soviet Union. Stojanović refers to "the people itself, in life, in combat", to "the poor peasant" who "unselfishly gives everything".⁵¹ In this sense, Stojanović's sculpture, while maintaining the symmetry in the disposition of the levels, fostering balanced relations between the masses, is more descriptive, and this descriptivity is integrated into the descriptivity ("realisticness") of the form. That is why this monument is a true example of translating one paradigm into the demands and

⁴⁹ Toby CLARK, *Art and Propaganda*, London 1997, p. 87.

⁵⁰ MERENIK 2010 (n. 45), pp. 28–29.

⁵¹ STOJANOVIĆ 1952 (n. 10), p. 98.

tastes of the local context (precisely at the moment this paradigm is declaratively abandoned on an official level); a procedure so similar to the one in which Stojanović, as a young sculptor arriving from Paris, found a way to transpose the center's emancipated taste, to render it possible in the local, conservative tastes of the margins.

During and after the war, the reorganization of gender roles took place, and this reorganization led to equality of the sexes. The idea of the emancipation of women is one of the key ideas within the socialist-communist comprehension of the world. Katherine Verdery has, while studying socialism in Romania, come to a conclusion that can also be applied to other socialist countries: the reason for this reorganization rests in the fact that the endeavours of these regimes to carry out ambitious programs of industrialization were founded on huge labour investments and small capital investments.⁵² In order to realize these programs all available labour power was required, regardless of sex.⁵³ *Mutatis mutandis*, the success of the Yugoslav resistance movement, and thus of the revolution, also rested on and was dependent on mass labour; here too gender divisions also became redundant. Gender equality, proclaimed after the war, affirmed by the Constitution and the Civil Code, gave control over every aspect of their lives to women on the one hand, while on the other, actual relations between men and women barely changed and were still governed by the norms that resulted from the pastiche, as Predrag Marković put it, of “revolutionary puritanism and traditional patriarchal morality”, which defined female identity only *via* male one.⁵⁴ In this sense, the monument *The Combat*, leaving the woman in the shadow of the raised male fist and patriarchal belligerent values, unconsciously reproduces this matrix (in contrast to Mukhina's group *The Worker and the Kolkhoz Woman*).

Conclusion

The *King Peter* (1928) and *The Combat* (1949) monuments by Sreten Stojanović institutionalize “the understanding of the wars as creative acts”⁵⁵ in which state communities emerged: first the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and then also post-war Yugoslavia, whose fighters were in the first place glorified (even deified) by these monuments, thus legitimizing the new social elites and governing regimes and, consequently, constructing the systems of collective remembering/forgetting that suited them. In the case of the first monument (*King Peter*), the leader is visible and celebrated in a specific role: as a rebel who at the moment of the memorialized historical event is the only one with the political potential to lead, but also as the leader that he will, by concurrence of circumstances, actually later become. In the case of the second monument (*The Combat*), the leader is, in a somewhat Foucauldian manner, invisible and yet present. Furthermore, in the case of the *King Peter* (1928) monument, there is an entirely nationally ambivalent symbolical representation of the people next to the leader. On the one hand, based on the event which the monument refers to and partly on their clothing, ‘the people’ can be identified as Serbs, while on the other, the processes of constructing a Yugoslav identity prevalent when the monument appeared has the potential to redirect the interpretation of this image

⁵² Katherine VERDERY, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?*, Princeton 1996, p. 64.

⁵³ VERDERY 1996 (n. 52), p. 64.

⁵⁴ Predrag MARKOVIĆ, *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada, 1948–1965*, Beograd 1996, p. 502.

⁵⁵ MANOJLOVIĆ-PINTAR 2008 (n. 47), p. 288.

as a representation of Yugoslavism. In the case of *The Combat* (1949), this representation of national identity (albeit ambivalent) was withdrawn in favor of a presentation of class identity, almost in the same manner in which the change of Stojanović's identity from (recently formed) bourgeois and clearly defined Serbian to Yugoslav revolutionary identity took place. There is no specific event in the available biographical data that could be interpreted as directly leading to this transformation – it was rather the sum of events,⁵⁶ as well as the political and cultural context of the time in which values such as heroism, courage, sacrifice and death were intertwined and affirmed. These were the same values on which both patriarchal and epic discourse and revolutionary discourse were founded. The topos of Russia, whose socialist reality 'repackaged' some of the deeply respected values on which Orthodox Russia was based should also be added to this line of 'continuity in discontinuity', which structured both Stojanović's *Weltanschauung* and his work. Both monuments celebrated the warrior's past, but both monuments also reflect the problem of harmonising state and national identities in both Yugoslavias as well, thus mapping out the continuity of the national issue (as a series of approaches to its resolution) and patriarchal matrixes in political, social, economic and cultural discontinuity, that is, ultimately, the continuity of control over the definition of the individual's position within these two states.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ One of the important events certainly was the execution of Stojanović's older brother, Dr Mladen Stojanović (1896–1942), the pre-war communist, partisan commander and national hero, whose cult was honored at Bosnia and whose monument was created by Sreten Stojanović, and installed in 1952 in front of the Municipal Assembly in their hometown of Prijedor. The monument is still standing on that spot, preserved and respected by the citizens of Prijedor; see Sjećanje na Mladena Stojanovića, *Nezavisne novine*, 1. 4. 2013, <http://www.nezavisne.com/novosti/gradovi/Sjecanje-na-Mladena-Stojanovica-186425.html> (accessed on 5. 4. 2013).

⁵⁷ This paper (translated by Dušan Đorđević Mileusnić) is a part of the project *Serbian Art of the 20th Century: National and European* funded by the Ministry of the Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Dva spomenika Sretena Stojanovića

Kontinuiteta v diskontinuiteti

Povzetek

Prispevek na primeru dveh spomenikov (spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom iz leta 1928 in spomenik Borba iz 1949) obravnava dinamiko spominjanja in pozabljanja oziroma načine, s katerimi kulture, režimi in razredi prenašajo znanje o preteklosti, ga uporabljajo in preurejajo pa tudi zatirajo, pozablajo in preoblikujejo. Oba sta deli istega avtorja, Sretena Stojanovića, nastala pa sta v dveh politično-zgodovinskih kontekstih in v dveh različnih ideoloških okvirih. Če gre pri prehodu spomina v kulturno pomnjenje za institucionalizacijo spomina, potem bi lahko rekli, da gre pri brisanju spomina za institucionalizacijo pozabe. Spomeniki so primeri uradnega pomnjenja, institucionalizacije spomina, odraz hegemonistične predstave o preteklosti, ki jo vsiljuje vladajoča skupina, in kot takšni predstavljajo »večne pomnike«. Toda ravno zaradi svoje občutljivosti in odvisnosti od spremenljive narave mreže družbenih mediatorjev (država, stranka, mediji) in še posebej zaradi svoje nagnjenosti k politični izrabi zgodovine spomeniki pogosto postanejo objekti discipliniranja spomina, materialni dokaz »kontinuitete v diskontinuiteti«, namesto da bi bili sami neka vrsta subjekta, ki disciplinira spomin.

Sreten Stojanović se je rodil v Prijedoru (Bosna in Hercegovina, Avstro-Ogrski kondominij). Za kiparja se je šolal najprej na Dunaju, takoj po koncu prve svetovne vojne pa v Parizu. V začetku dvajsetih let 20. stoletja se je vrnil v Beograd. Njegovo kiparsko delo je bilo usmerjeno k formuliranju novih smeri, ki so bile drugače ali nasprotno orientirane od takratnega dominantnega akademizma na eni strani in secesijske skulpture monumentalnih dimenzij na drugi. V času med obema vojnama je igral pomembno vlogo v umetniškem, kulturnem in javnem življenju, po koncu druge vojne pa je aktivno sodeloval v političnem življenju socialistične Jugoslavije.

Obravnavana spomenika predstavljata »problematična« primera Stojanovićeve spomeniške plastike. Spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom je »težaven«, ker ne obstaja več in je o njegovem obstoju ohranjenih malo sledov, spomenik Borba pa zato, ker je bil doslej v zgodovino pisju obravnavan kot Stojanovićeve doprinos k neuspehu socialističnega realizma.

Spomenik kralju Petru I. Osvoboditelju in hercegovskim vstajnikom je bil postavljen v mestu Nevesinje, ki je geografsko in administrativno pripadalo Bosni in Hercegovini; gre za nacionalno mešano območje, ki je po vojni postalo del nove državne tvorbe oziroma novega geografsko-političnega in gospodarskega prostora. Spomenik je posvečen spominu na kralja Petra I. in monarhijo Karađorđevićev, toda povod za njegovo postavitve, proslava obletnice bosensko-hercegovske vstaje, imenovane Nevesinjska puška (1875–1878), ga loči od drugih poveljnih, bolj ali manj ambicioznih manifestacij zvestobe novi monarhiji na prostoru Bosne in Hercegovine, ki so obenem slavile nastanek nove države in nove (jugoslovanske) identitete. Kralj je predstavljen v specifični vlogi: kot vstajnik, ki ima v zgodovinskem trenutku, na katerega spomenik ohranja spomin, zgolj politično možnost, da postane vodja, hkrati pa tudi kot vodja, kar bo, zahvaljujoč spletu okoliščin, pozneje tudi dejansko postal. Poleg vodje/kralja je simbolično in nacionalno ambivalentno upodobljen njegov narod; dogodek, na katerega se nanaša spomenik, delno pa tudi oblačila, ta narod označujejo za srbskega, medtem ko ga kontekst konstruiranja jugoslovanske identitete preusmerja k reprezentaciji jugoslovanstva. Velja si zastaviti vprašanje, kako je treba razumeti naziva Zedinitelj in Osvoboditelj, s katerima so poveljevali Petra I. Ali je bil s svojimi napori in politiko res razumljen kot kralj, ki je združil južne Slované in tako uvedel integralno jugoslovanstvo; to je za uradno ideologijo proglasil njegov sin kralj Aleksander s svojim manifestom leta 1929, ali je bil Peter I. razumljen predvsem kot kralj, ki je združil in osvobodil srbski narod.

Spomenik *Borba* (1949) stoji pred stavbo skupščine občine Voždovac v Beogradu. Navdušenje, ki je avtorja prevzelo med potovanjem po Sovjetski zvezi leta 1927 in ki je v spomeniku iz leta 1928 komajda nakazano, je kipar v tem spomeniku »recikliral«, dopolnil z novimi (ideološkimi) vpogledi, opredelitvami in izkušnjami ter z vso močjo integriral. Stojanović je bil med bivanjem v Sovjetski zvezi priča obratu k socialističnemu realizmu in k tem izkušnjam se je vrnil po letu 1945, strastno jih zagovarjajoč tako v svojem pisanju kot tudi kiparskem delu. V spomeniku kralju Petru I. je reprezentacijo nacionalnega (četudi ambivalentnega) transformiral v reprezentacijo razredne identitete. Tej spremembi je vzporedna transformacija Stojanovićeve identitete, ki se je neposredno oblikovala kot meščanska in več kot naklonjena narodu, iz katerega je izhaja, postala pa je jugoslovansko revolucionarna. V dostopnih bibliografskih podatkih ni bilo moč najti konkretnega dogodka, ki bi ga lahko označili za tistega, ki je neposredno vplival na to transformacijo. Gre bolj za skupek dogodkov ter za politični in kulturni kontekst trenutka, v katerem so se prepletale in uveljavljale vrednote herojstva, poguma, žrtvovanja in smrti, ki so bile temelj tako patriarhalnega in epskega diskurza na eni strani kot tudi revolucionarnega na drugi. V seznam »kontinuitet v diskontinuiteti«, ki so strukturirale Stojanovićev svetovni nazor pa tudi njegovo delo, velja dodati tudi »topos« Rusije, tiste pravoslavne, ki se jo je učil spoštovati od zgodnjega otroštva naprej, in tiste socialistične, ki jo je pozneje (z navdušenjem) sprejel. To je v veliki meri omogočilo dejstvo, da je v realnosti nove države prepoznal nekatere vrednote patriarhalne in pravoslavne Rusije »v novi embalaži«.

Oba spomenika institucionalizirata koncept vojne kot ustvarjalnega dejanja, v katerem so nastajale državne skupnosti, najprej Kraljevina Jugoslavije in nato poveljna Jugoslavija. Upodobljene vstajnike/bojevnike so takšni spomeniki slavili (celo po božje častili) in tako legitimizirali nove družbene elite in vladajoče režime ter posledično konstruirali sisteme kolektivnega spomina/pozabe, ki so tem elitam in režimom ustrezali. Povezuje jih patriarhalna matrica: namenjeni so slavljenju praočetov in herojev in tako reproducirajo zapletene konfiguracije oblasti, ki jo pogojuje diferenciacija po rodu, oziroma predstavljajo ideologijo, ki oblikuje in omejuje svetovni nazor posamezne družbene skupnosti. Spomeniki nadalje odražajo politične in nacionalne antagonizme, travmatične kraje zgodovine in kolektivnega spomina ter sistematizacijo preteklosti s pomočjo metode »kontinuitete v diskontinuiteti«. Z drugimi besedami: poleg dejstva, da sta oba obravnavana spomenika, ki sta nastala v različnih družbenopolitičnih sistemih, ohranjala spomin na vojaško preteklost, ju povezuje tudi dejstvo, da oba postavljata kontinuiteto nacionalnih in patriarhalnih matric na zemljevid politične, družbene, gospodarske in kulturne diskontinuitete ter tako odražata problem usklajevanja državne in nacionalne identitete v obeh Jugoslavijah.