Naibi W. Sobé

Describing the outset of a trip to Czechoslovakia in 1953, Nebola Zínavová, a high-school student from Belgrade, reported:

Already in my childhood I had heard stories about the brave and peace-loving Slavs. I heard these from my mother’s mouth, later from teachers, and I knew that we were brothers and that we had the same goals and that we move toward the same ideals. This I knew, I knew it very well, however, at that moment when the train which was to carry us to our brothers the Czechoslovaks departed, it seemed to me that I was going into some sort of foreign land, where I would meet only unknown beings and things.

The Slavic affections that joined Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks were prior knowledge, having been learned both from teachers and from “one’s mother’s mouth.” [Za matičevo slovo]. The experience of leaving “home,” however, showed everything into disarray for this traveler. What was known became uncertain, and “our brothers the Czechoslovaks” began to appear as “some sort of foreign land” [nedu zemlja zemlja]. Nevertheless, by the end of Zínavová’s travelogue proper order had been restored. Zínavová and the group of Yugoslav students on this excursion concluded their three-week tour with a visit to a Czechoslovak summer camp where, on the last of the evenings, he reported:

Everyone gathered in front of our hut. We sang. Everyone took part. One heard our words, one heard Czech words. It didn’t matter. Everyone merged together in the divine melody of our brotherhood. It was the same the next day. In the evening there was a bonfire lit by the leader of our group and the leader of the other camp. More songs. But we had to leave. It was morning. Almost the entire camp was on its feet. Heartfelt saying of good-byes. After, sincere kisses. As if I were in the midst of my own. I felt that which once I had only known. Why did the Lord punish us so, by dividing “two brothers?”


2. Ibid.

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Yugoslav Travels to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s

The foregoings of Czechoslovakia, which earlier in the text a source of apprehension, had by the end been eclipsed. In this instance, singing—with its suggestion of music as a universal language with unifying power—was one of the cultural practices making it possible that “everyone merged together.” Zínavová’s report reveals shared collective belonging being constructed on an emotional plane. The social organization of individuals’ emotional comportment is a cultural practice that is a regularly described feature of Czechoslovak–Yugoslav host-guest interactions in the interwar era. Both these high-school student’s travelogue and other Yugoslav travel texts suggest that a normative style of emotional comportment, joined to notions of “hospitality” and “kinship,” was central to a specific, local understanding of “the Slavic” and the construction of Pan-Slavic as well as national identity.

This chapter explores one set of the many interregional travel and touristic encounters that took place in eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. I examine the travels of Yugoslavs to Czechoslovakia, together with the Pan-Slavism that was expressed in and formed through these travel interactions. Travel reports and travelogues reveal that what it meant to be “Slavic” could be positioned as an important source of both Yugoslav national identity and individual self-identity. Looking at the construction of a “Slavic brotherhood” that would join Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks provides a useful backdrop to the emergence of the “fraternal” features of socialist tourism within eastern Europe. A newfound culture of tourism in which fraternal solidarities were valued did not appear ex nihilo, but rather became possible partly due to ascendant styles of travel when tourism also intersected with a transnational political and cultural movement.

Yugoslav Pan-Slavism is a particularly interesting case because it represents a form of “thinking beyond the local”—a set of commitments and dispositions that might be called a “vernacular cosmopolitanism,” as I discuss in the conclusion. In this configuration, Russia figures almost not at all. Some communism was officially not welcome in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which meant that “mother Russia” could no longer operate as a viable organizing principle for the Pan-Slavic idea in southeastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. As it was viewed from the Yugoslav side, the Pan-Slavism of this period properly centered along a Yugoslav–Czechoslovak axis. Yugoslav travelers’ accounts speak of Czechoslovakia as “the most advanced Slavic nation.” The perception of a shared historical destiny, as well as of a shared Slavic nation, made brotherly Czechoslovakia an acceptable model of modern ways of being, acting, and organizing society.

The travelogues of Yugoslav students and teachers are the main sources for the present study. The corpus of archival materials on which I rely includes
Emotional Compartment

Feeling and emotion were foregrounded in the intriguing statement Nebola Zivánová offered on the completion of his travels to Czechoslovakia: "I felt that which once I had only known" (emphasis added). Discernible in this, and in other travelogues that I discuss in this section, is a historically and culturally particular normative style of emotional comportment that can be characterized as one in which effusive enthusiasm and "deeply" held feelings played a strong constitutive role in forming the self and fabricating national and ethnic belonging. In contrast to the frequently cited analytic frame that John Urvy has elaborated around the tourist's gaze as a disciplinary ordering of objects of knowledge through optics of seeing and being seen, the tourist culture of Yugoslav traveling to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s can be usefully analyzed as centering less on the gaze than on emotions.7

The narrative trajectory of Živánová's 1933 text is one of moving from "knowing" to "feeling," a transition presented as one of moving from the uncertainty of learning to the confident certainty that could come from empirical confirmation achieved on an emotional plane. Pan-Slavism, of course, could be expressed on multiple planes, and on this particular excursion it appears that the Slavic joining of Yugoslav and Czechoslovak was also symbolically performed in a popular fire-lighting ritual. This travel text, however, gave grade of place to host-guest interactions that were more intimate than spectacular in nature. With "krajove gice" and "sene kise" among the fascinating features of the travel account, emotional closeness is positioned as the signature feature of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak interactions. An expression of emotional "teritor" even accompanies the writing itself. Although the entire report appears to have been written after the trip ended, one can note a marked difference in narrative style between the text's opening and closing.

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mentality and a shared Czechoslovak-Yugoslav vision of what a proper welcome ought to look and feel like.

Ceremonies of welcome continued for this expedition of educators. From the border, a special train car took them on to Bratislava where another reception awaited. There, a mass of schoolchildren and a teachers' choir greeted them with a rendition of the Yugoslav national anthem, a gesture that brought familiar elements of the Yugoslav national imaginary into an ostensibly non-Yugoslav space. Singing and ceremonies of greeting appear to have continued into the evening, and the Yugoslav trip leader mentioned the beautiful singing of a children's choir, noting, "we were brought to tears, particularly when we heard the little solos." These tears can be read as part and parcel of a certain normative style of emotional comportment—they can be seen as a physiologically expressive picture of the intimacy, closeness, and "depth" or "intensification" of feelings that accompanied Yugoslav arrivals in Czechoslovakia.

The emotional force of the welcome extended to Yugoslav travelers by Czechoslovaks is similarly reported in the travelogue of a participant in the Belgrade Women's Normal School's 1930 school excursion to Czechoslovakia. Fourth-year student Perka Vodanović discussed how her initial trepidations about foreign travel were assuaged, writing:

"The rigidity and fear in my soul from being in a foreign country [u tajni gumi] and among foreign people [medu stranom ljudima] quickly vanished and was replaced with a certain kind of joy which filled all of us when our Czechoslovak friends sang our national anthem, mentioning the name of our king. Their school director welcomed us with a heartfelt [srdačnoj] speech."

As in the Živanović text with which this chapter began, uncertainty and initial apprehension were eclipsed through behaviors and the construction of collective belonging on an emotional plane. Vodanović noted the "heartfelt" speech of the school director who welcomed the group in Prague and added, "We were touched and our professor returned the greetings with warmth and sincerity such that we began to cry from the excitement." The emotional plane of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav host-guest interactions appears to have significantly contributed to the construction of a shared collective Slavic belonging. The apprehension that Vodanović felt in such a physical way "quickly vanished" in the face of a warm Czechoslovak welcome. "Foreign people" rapidly became "our Czechoslovak friends." The Serbo-Croatian adjective used here for foreign, stran, carries the sense of the "unknown" and the "strange," both of which were overcome as Czechoslovaks became known

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and familiar to these Yugoslav travelers. The Serbo-Croatian adjective tod, which was used here to describe the "foreign land" that Czechoslovakia was initially, carries a sense of "belonging-to-others." This foreignness, too, appears to have been eclipsed. For Yugoslav students and teachers, Slavic belonging could be found in Czechoslovakia.

It is important to note that the concern of this chapter is with the correspondences and emotional reciprocity between Czechoslovak-Yugoslav host-guest interactions as they are recorded from the Yugoslav side. I am not examining Czechoslovak archival sources on the reception of Yugoslav travelers. However, as is indicated in nearly all of the sources noted here, the emotional and emotional interactions and behaviors were, by and large, required of them emotional enthusiasm, a consciously attended-to "depth" of feeling, and reasoning about the self-knowledge that could be generated through attention to the emotional domain.

Slavic Hospitality

Expectations for what would be welcomed extended traveling Yugoslavs and how it would be received frequently appear in travelogues under the label of "Slavic hospitality" [slavenska gostoljubnost]. In this section I argue that Slavic hospitality was the well-matched counterpart to the style of emotional comportment just described. Together the two produced a form of Slavic belonging that was at the core of the Pan-Slavism circulating through Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s.

"Slavic hospitality" named the ritualized hosting practices and provided an organizer for thinking about the styles of emotional comportment that were expected from both guests and hosts. In Salih Ljubičić's account of the 1923 teachers' study tour visit to an apostolic school in Bratislava we see how these elements were drawn together. Describing the visit, Ljubičić exulted: "And how they greeted us! Everyone was assembled: teachers and parents and then the children. From all sides affectionately and enthusiastically: "Vitam te! Zdravlj! And then songs. Dances. Flowers. Stacks. Marching. And in all these expressions one felt a brotherly heart, one felt an open-armed Slavic hospitality."

Worth underscoring is that this Yugoslav report described a warmth of feeling coming from both sides. This perceived cultural alignment in how affection and enthusiasm were to be held and displayed was grouped under the term "hospitality." As Slavic hospitality, this conceptual organizer had the power to explain (and fabricate) a cultural connection accompanying linguistic commonalities between Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavians. Alongside

8. Ibid., 141.
10. Ibid., 28-29.
this, we can note that: "Slavic hospitality" was also closely connected with the construction of non-Slavic "others.

Yugoslav travel to Czechoslovakia generally passed through Austria or Hungary en route. A common reference point in student and teacher travelogues is juxtapositions between the Germanic and the Czechoslovak/Slavic (much less frequent are juxtapositions between the Magyar and the Czechoslovak/Slavic). Yugoslav study tours even visited schools in Vienna, though in the instance of the 1933 teacher expedition directed by Salis Ljubičić the schools on the itinerary in Vienna were Czechoslovak schools. "Czechoslovak have the prettiest and best-cared-for school buildings in Vienna. And, what's more, in these schools one finds the best methods used as well," noted Ljubičić, who added that this commitment to education in diaspora stood as evidence of Czechoslovakia's "national perseverance." Andrija Detelnik, a Slovenian teacher participating in the study-tour, discussed the group's visits to these schools in a travel report that appeared in the journal Učiteljski Triun (Teacher's Companion). In reference to the Yugoslav's visit to the Comenius School, Detelnik remarked, "to begin with, we felt a Slavic hospitality [slavenska gostoljubnost] in the midst of this foreign existence. It warmed us." The locality for this Slavic hospitality was not Czechoslovakia, yet it was with Czechoslovak/Yugoslav geopolitical interactions that the "warmth" of a welcome was felt by these Yugoslavs in Germanic Austria.

The 1930 expedition from the Belgrade Grammar School's Normal Women's School also included visits to these institutions, and similar absent was any warmth of feeling connected with the welcomes or hospitality of Austrians. This group of Yugoslav students stayed in Vienna after their visit to Czechoslovakia and heard lectures at a Viennese teacher training institute, but it was only among fellow Slavs in the city that Perka Vodanović's text reported feelings of welcome. On arrival she noted, "again that feeling of dejection arose; I somehow felt sort of fear in the face of this foreign world [pred tom tedom zvutom]." The Yugoslav high school students were met at the train station and fed at a banquet by the president of a Vienna-based Yugoslav organization. Later, the Yugoslav ambassador and his wife invited the group to tea where they displayed a "parental warmth and cordiality," which, in Vodanović's view, was "evidence of the great love they have for young people." The narrative parallel between this group's welcome in each country (the remark about the ambassador's "great love" should be emphasized in this respect as well) indicate once more that feeling and emotion were central among the registers through which these Yugoslav travellers brought sense and intelligibility to the foreign.

12. Salis Ljubičić, školstvo i povijest u češkoslovačkom i zahodnoj europskoj odnosima, ed. Salis Ljubičić (Zagreb, 1934), 44.

Evidence from these student and teacher travelogues suggests that the contrasts with a non-Slavic, Germanic "other" helped to give a crucial element of definition to the idea of "Slavic hospitality." As a conceptual organizer, Slavic hospitality meant that Yugoslavs were to have the ability to develop Slavic behaviors in multiple locations; it also meant that in host-guest interactions it was commonplace activities—and not just elite ones—that formed the cultural patterns out of which a social collective cohered.

Nation Building in an Emotional Register

The patterns of emotional comportment seen in circulation along Yugoslav-Czechoslovak travel circuits, together with the concept of Slavic hospitality, are centrally related to the Yugoslav nation-building project. The travels of Yugoslav students and teachers to Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s suggested that Panslavic affections worked in a manner complementary to the emotional regulation that was to make "Yugoslavs" out of the citizens of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Yugoslav emotion, in fact, I will argue in the following sections, imbued these cultural practices with a cosmo-spatial, salvational humanism (albeit one bracketed along lines of "Slavic" fictions). The regulation of feeling was openly discussed in Yugoslav pedagogical literature of the early 1920s. Woven into educational writing about teaching methods and the desired aims of schooling were ideals of emotional comportment. One such statement, from Jovan P. Jovanović, one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Teachers' Association (Udruženje Jugoslavenskih Učiteljica, UUJ), claimed that a Yugoslavia could only be truly constituted through its schools because only with the good upbringing and education of a young national generation is it possible to purify regional patriotism, tribal feelings, and separatist tendencies from our united region, so that in place of tribal feelings a national consciousness and national regulations, so that in place of regional patriotism there is general love toward the whole united homeland, so that in this homeland everyone feels not only like the subject of a single state but like the sons of our nation.

In this vision of the social role education could play, Jovanović conceptualized Yugoslavism as a feeling [osjećaj] that when held could lead to a more advanced consciousness. An objective of education was to encourage a "general love" and for Yugoslavs to feel as the "sons of one nation." This text, which appeared in Učitelj (The Teacher), the leading Yugoslav education journal of the interwar era, inscribed one of the key narratives of a modernity: the story
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hear the unorganized and unclear feeling that connects a person through blood to one society. Rather, it is necessary to be conscious of all this, to understand it rationally and to devote oneself to the very end so that what is in the heart and in the nerves isn't destroyed and isn't lost.

This cultivation of feeling through travel meant that Czechoslovaks were to become "conscious" of their bodily (e.g., "heart," "blood," and "nerves") connections to society. It is important to note that—parallel to Franovský's call for the rule of national feelings over regional particularism—the dimension effect is not something to be overlooked. Even though the above observation discusses the development of "rational" [rozum] understandings, this is not a Lockean schema in which reason is to govern "passions" absolutely. Instead, the goal is the proper clarity and organization of feelings. In this vision, one can imagine the interlocked counterpart to Nebjila Zivanova's acquisition of strengthened Slavic feelings discussed at the beginning of this chapter: the arc of transformations complementary to "feeling that which I already knew" was coming to know that which was already felt. Both share the sense that genuine belonging required individual activity and could not arise simply from the passive acceptance of received cultural authorities.

Slavic Love

The claim that in the 1920s and 1930s there was a distinctly Slavic style of emotional comportment is not an analytic anachronism. In the interwar era, various academic disciplines were involved in constructing a pan-Slavic nobility, anthropological, sociological, and philosophical writing on "Slavic love" and "Slavic sympathy" imbued the "Slavic" with cosmopolitan commitments and equipped Yugoslavs with tools that could be used to make homes in the world.

A excellent representative of this literature is Paul Radulović's 1918 Who Are the Slavs. This two-volume work by a Serbian-born New York University professor of pedagogy synthesized a wide range of sources and was held up in the early twentieth century as an authoritative work on Slavs. Many pages charted the accomplishments of various illustrious Slavs, and after reading the book, one would be inclined to conclude that every Slavic characteristic demonstrated nobility, or at least held some promise for improving the lot of humanity (e.g., the section titled "Slavic Humility and Lack of

17. For further discussion of the social relations that Yugoslav travelers experienced in Zlin, particularly in reference to the concept of welfare and its connections to the idea of "agresi sociáln-

20. See, for example, Joseph S. Brozek, "The Development of Sociology in Yugoslaavia," American Sociological Review 1, no. 6 (1936): 541-49.
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The Traveling of Feeling and the Vernacular Cosmopolitanism of Yugoslav Pan-Slavism

One argument of this chapter is that the norms of emotional comportment which come into high resolution in interwar Yugoslav-Czechoslovak tourist interactions have the potential to enrich discussion of socialite-era tourism and in particular its "fraternal" features. Similarly, we can note that what occurs in the 1920s and 1930s also arises in conversation with ascendant cultures of tourism experienced in the region. The depth and "intensity" of foraging surrounding Slavic brotherhood is a long-standing trope that even before the interwar period, it could become an object of satire, as in Horvat-Kil's comment on a 1911 sked plen boda in Sofia: "Look, how the Serbs and the Bulgarian hug and kiss! The two giants embrace one another. Good Lord above, is there anything sincere at all in those kisses?" Horvat-Kil's amused skepticism points to the linkage between emotional comportment and notions of Slavic fraternity being well worn by the time of the travels under examination here. However, I propose that in the interwar period these sets of cultural practices take on a new significance for Yugoslav, both as increasingly widely dispersed social norms and as a vernacular cosmopolitanism that tied the traveler's socialization to knowing how to live properly in society.

In Yugoslavia, as throughout eastern Europe, the 1920s and 1930s were not a time of mass tourism as experienced in parts of western Europe or the United States in the same period. Available documentation concerning the foreign travels of Yugoslav students and teachers suggests, however, that study tours and excursions to Czechoslovakia were being conducted on a scale large enough to be considered a form of purposeful tourism. The annual reports of the "Educational Inspector" (Procvitelinske inspektro i Procvitelinsko referent) who was posted to the Yugoslav embassy in Prague provide some information about these visits. The 1927 report mentions the amount of time he was having to spend greeting the "ever more numerous student excursions," and noted that in the spring of 1927 there had been twelve visits from secondary schools and universities "from various parts of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes."
Other sources indicate that individual groups could include as many as 350 student travelers. The reports and publications of Yugoslavia-Czechoslovak Friendship Leagues which were formed in nearly all the major Yugoslav and Czechoslovak cities make frequent mention of traveling groups of teachers, particularly during the summer months. 35 Encouraging the study-travel of teachers to Czechoslovakia was set as an institutional objective for the Yugoslav Teachers Association (UJJ) at its inaugural meeting in June 1920, though the formally organized student and teacher excursions for which the most comprehensive documentation is available are the annual tours launched under the Yugoslav Ministry of Education's travel stipends program, which in the 1930s were sending groups of twenty to twenty-five secondary-school teachers, secondary-school students, and university students on monthlong summer study tours. 36 As noted earlier, the reports written by those who traveled through this program, as well as the travel reports that were published in school yearbooks and in the educational press, are particularly useful for the purposes of this chapter, as its objective has been to identify the "officially desirable" normative principles that structured the culture of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak tourism in the interwar era. To understand these norms of emotional comportment as part of a vernacular cosmopolitanism, it is useful to explore some of the ways in which the regulation of emotions can be linked to conditions of scalability. While the concept of *kosmopolitizam* was certainly known in Yugoslavia in the interwar period, I am not examining contemporary cultural representations of the "cosmopolitan" but rather am using cosmopolitanism as an analytic descriptor that can be applied to a historically shifting phenomena appearing in multiple places and multiple times and in various guises. 37 As Radovanović's writings on "Slavic love" suggest, the emotional context that structured Yugoslav-Czechoslovak interactions possessed some of the qualities of a cosmopolitanism that is specified techniques of living and forming solidarities outside the local; these feelings were also tied to a system of inclusions and exclusions (as we saw in regard to Germanic Non-Slavs) speaks less to something uniquely Slavic and more to the way in which transnational solidarities are in general articulated in juxtaposition to certain "others" who fail to be sufficiently "global," "internationalize," or "feminize." Radovanović's view of the Slavic ability to sympathize as the torch bearer of a salvational humanism or "all-humaneness" can be usefully viewed in the light of David Hume's arguments for the social significance of human emotion. In his *Treatise on Human Nature*, Hume presented a social theory in which socialized passions could be understood as the foundation of social order. 38 For Hume (at least in this early work) feelings and affections were not potentially divisive private desires, but instead were socially minded and, in essence, productive of society. Passions were "contrary," and it was their movement that Hume understood by the term "sympathy." He maintained that human beings have a "propensity ... to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own." This propensity means that human beings could perform and reinforce their fundamental sociability through the encounters they had with others. Hume generalized particular, individual operations of sympathy (sympathy in the exchange of sentiments between particular individuals) to be a model that explained all social interactions (sympathy in the interest of society). The Humean model points out how features of a cosmopolitanism can be articulated as an emotional plane, something we have seen with the Yugoslav student and teachers who traveled to Czechoslovakia, who were emotionally "open" to and enthused about their encounters with Czechoslovakia and held deep feelings of Slavic brotherhood. This emotional comportment enabled the establishment of solidarities outside the local and the cultivation of a vernacular cosmopolitanism. In closing, we can note that in Yugoslav thinking about Czechoslovak schooling, an "enchanted," romantic understanding of the Slavic easily accommodated a "disenchanted," rationalized reasoning about the Slavic. Above, we have seen a construction of the citizen through both the "enchanted" and the "disenchanted" in Ljubljanički's description of how Czechoslovakia—particularly in the city of Zlín—were taught to develop rational and organized understandings of a "love" that was their birth inheritance. These ways of expressing and cultivating the self embody the cosmopolitanism circulating in eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. The amalgamation of these dispositions, sentiments, conduct, and emotions are corely captured in one Yugoslav student's travel-stipend report. Miško Šic, who traveled to Czechoslovakia in the

summer of 1936, reported to the Ministry of Education in Belgrade: “We saw that the Czech nation is clear-headed and cultured, and that they are very fond of their Yugoslav brothers. In Czechoslovakia we felt as if we were in our second fatherland.”11 In pairing the Czechoslovak fondness for Yugoslavs with a clear-headedness and the notion of being “very fond of their Yugoslav brothers” they, in this conclusion to his travelogue, described the proper balance and combination of “rationalism” and “romanticism” that Yugoslav travelers seem to have found in Czechoslovakia. These exemplary behaviors and traits helped to create belonging (here: the feeling of being in a “second fatherland”). For Yugoslav travelers, this suggested ways of being at-home in the world and transforming what belonged-to-others into their own belonging.


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