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# POST-WWI BALKAN REVIVAL: THE ANCIENT GREEK LEGACY IN THE SOKOL MOVEMENT 1919–1924

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*Abstract.* Statistical analysis of relevant resources reveals the expansion of the Yugoslav and Czech Sokol Movements from 1919 to 1924, a period after World War I marked by a cultural and economic crisis. The ideological orientation of the Balkan Sokol movement towards strengthening integral Yugoslavism and realizing ideas of cosmopolitanism coincides with the two main domestic and foreign political tendencies of the newly founded Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This paper aims at defining the ancient Greek legacy inherent in the socio-political role of *Sokolski glasnik* [*Sokol Gazette*] in the early post-war period. The Sokol national movement, a sports and political organization based on 1919 foundations, lasted almost continuously until the beginning of World War II.

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## Introduction

In the context of the 19th-century Pan-Slavic cultural revival—a phenomenon elaborated upon by Orton (1978) and Haselsteiner (2000) as the Slavic intellectual counter-narrative to the pressures of Germanization—Miroslav Tyrš (1832–1884) took a giant leap to inaugurate the Gymnastics Institute known as *Tělocvičná jednota pražská* in Prague on February 16, 1862 (Tyršova, 1934; Dvořáková, 1989; Nolte, 1934). The creation of this organization can be seen as the watershed moment of the Sokol movement. Although its fledgling stages bore the imprints of German *Turnbewegung* exercise paradigms, notably championed by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) and Ernst Wilhelm Bernhard (1792–1846), the period post-1863 witnessed a distinct transformation within Tyrš's establishment through the introduction of Czech terms related to the spreading of the Sokol's movement territorial spread to the Balkans (Шешум, 2014).

As for the name of the organization, the word *soko* [falcon] was suggested by Professor Emanuel Toner. This choice reflects the physical ideals of the movement drawing inspiration from epic poetry. In these poems, heroes such as the nine sons of Jug Bogdan are likened to falcons symbolizing dominance over the heavens, acting as intermediaries between the realms of the divine and those of the mortals. For instance, this is evident in the poem *Propast carstva srpskoga* [*The Downfall of the Kingdom of Serbia*]: “A great gray bird, a taloned falcon flew! / And in its beak he held a serene swallow/ But wait! ‘Tis not a falcon this grey bird, / It is a saint, Holy Saint Elyiah: / And it bears with itself no gentle swallow/ But a letter from the blessed Mother.”<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the name of the organization represents a complex symbol evolving from figures of speech in epic poetry (Maxwell, 2018).

The socio-political complexity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the 19th century explains the accelerated expansion of the movement. Namely, the

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<sup>5</sup> “To ne bio soko tica siva / već je bio svetitelj Ilija/ on ne nosi tice lastavice / već je knjigu od Bogorodice” (Стефановић Караџић, 1845, p. 245). English translation by John Mathias and Vladeta Vučković.

collapse of the Hungarian Revolution in 1849 led to the creation of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, where social differences soared between the privileged German and Hungarian populations, on one hand, and the subjugated Slavic peoples, on the other. The adoption of the October Diploma on October 20, 1860, and the February Patent on February 26, 1861, prompted the Hungarian and Slavic revolutionary movements in the Kingdom of Bohemia in the form of non-German political associations and journals in the Czech language (e.g., *Národní listy*, *Hlahol society*, *Umelecká beseda*, *Svatobor*), all of which spread cultural awareness (Žitná, 2003). Forming Slavic military groups to defend Czech national identity within the Austro-Hungarian Empire was implausible. Thus, the Czech Sokol gymnastics system was never merely about sports (Savić & Savić, 1999); it also served as an educational (Шешум, 2014), cultural, patriotic and, ultimately, political organization. The foundational impetus behind Sokol activities was to facilitate and legitimize assemblies of the Czech populace, serving as a visible display of Slavic cohesion and vigor, cherished through rigorous physical training (Čustonja, 2014). Inspired by the Pan-Slavic Congress held in Prague from June 2 to 12, Tyrš adopted the ancient Greek standards for art criticism and aesthetics elaborated upon in his monograph *Hod olympický* [*Olympic Feast*].<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that in 1865, he had published the monograph *Základy tělocviku* [*The Basics of Physical Training*], suggesting that it was necessary to reform Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's German exercise system. This very fact—the publication of monographs in the field of ancient Greek aesthetics and sports—imply not only the duality of Tyrš's professional commitment but also the original developmental path of the Sokol movement: a reformed Slavic exercise system created as a 19th-century revival the ancient Greek legacy, as will be discussed in this paper. Vukašinić and Kocić (2013) stated that the Czech Sokol Association (*Česka Obec Sokolska*) was founded on March 24, 1869, along with the specialized *Soko* magazine. In 1908, Slavic Sokol societies were united in the Pan-Slavic Sokol Federation (Шешум, 2014).

Sequential chronological analysis of falconry development suggest expansion tendencies and the affirmation of the social ideas of the European Enlightenment along with the support for the global political changes (England 1688, French bourgeois 1789–1799, and the American Revolution 1775–1783). Consequently, the Sokol movement was gradually evolving into a unique concept of humanism gathering people of different ethnicity, social status, and finally, it should be mentioned, both sexes equally. Namely, in 1910 out of 600 falconry societies registered in Europe and America 850 Czech societies prevailed accounting for more than 100,000 members (Поповић, 1910). Statistical data reveal that in

<sup>6</sup> The Pan-Slavic Congress, known as *Slavansky sjezd* and *Vseslovansky sjezd*, was held in Prague in 1868. *Sjezd* implies “congress,” not just “gathering.” See Buchholz Kimball & Zakrzewski (1959).

1913, just before World War I, when the Sokol movement had already-begun expanding vigorously from Slovenia, where it initially originated, to the rest of the Balkan Peninsula, there were 114 newly created Balkan organizations with 6613 male and 1040 female members (Pavlin & Čustonja, 2018). According to the 1920 official reports, *Česka Obec Sokolska* had 327,799 members, of whom 69% were male and 31% female. In 1921, the Sokol society continued to grow, as indicated by the records, so that “the number of combined memberships in the ČOS, notwithstanding the number of their children, exceeds 380,000” (Pavlin, 2014, p. 115). However, the analysis of the historical documents dated July 1932 (Jandásek, 1932) indicates that the total number of adults engaged with the Czech Sokol movement was decreasing, probably due to the Great Depression of 1928: out of the total number of 352,888 members, there were 252,681 men and 100,201 women, among whom 91,205 people also participated in the physical part of the training, more precisely, 56,376 men and 34,829 women, with the data also clearly showing a continuous growth in gender equality within the movement.

Therefore, the analysis of the statistical facts clearly shows a steadfast development of the Sokol movement and its recognition by all social strata, consequently indicating the important role it played in international politics of the First Czechoslovak Republic and the newly formed Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, particularly in the period between the First (1919) and the Fifth Congress of the Communist International (1924).

The Czech falconry research has already ascertained the presence of the ancient Greek concept of *kalokagathia* (Gr. *καλοκαγαθία*, from *καλός* και *ἀγαθός*) in different forms (Lejková-Koepl, 1968; Bábel & Oborný, 2018). However, as for the Balkan falconry, there are apparently no studies examining the presence of the ancient Greek legacy and its possible socio-political role, particularly in the period of its intense development from 1919 to 1924. The establishment of the chronological framework between 1919 and 1924 in the research of the Balkan falconry sparks an interest for several reasons. First of all, it should be noted that in the years after World War I, the atrocities of the war, the deaths, and losses pervaded social reality in Europe. Therefore, interdisciplinary analysis of the presence of the ancient Greek legacy in *Sokolski glasnik* (*Sokol Herald*) is important so as to better understand the process of the existential crisis of the post war recovery, particularly in the Balkan region, by its geographic position traditionally directly linked to Greek antiquity thanks to its geographic position. As argued by Dr. Laza Popović (1922a, p. 38): “You might like to compare the year 1919 with today and you will notice a global shift forward. Perhaps to a small degree. Though, one should bear in mind that the postwar circumstances carry unconventional aspects and not all obstacles can be obliterated without difficulty. It is essential that the Sokol movement be compared to any other private initiative movement and, moreover, that one views the connection of the Sokol movement to our entire

cultural, political, educational and economic life.”<sup>7</sup> While striving to mitigate the devastating effects of World War I, the Balkan region in the early 20th-century was characterized by a maelstrom of geopolitical upheavals, emerging nationalisms, and the pursuit for cultural identity. Within this context, the “reawakened antiquity” assumed a role which was not just philosophical but profoundly political. It served as a potential reference point for national unity, a counter-narrative to external influences, and a cultural beacon of light in delineating “Balkan-ness” amidst a rapidly globalizing world.

Furthermore, upon the foundation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, the Balkan falconry was considered an important constituent of the Yugoslav idea (Равнихар, 1922, p. 67): “The one who is a sokol, he is a Yugoslav.”<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Поповић (1922b, p. 4) declares: “Yugoslav falconry bears the flag of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav idealism.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, the question arises regarding the role of the Greek legacy, which initially inspired the Sokol idea, in the development of a new Yugoslav identity.

### *The Balkans in the Period 1860–1924*

The tensions between Germans and the Slavic peoples which exacerbated in the 1860s led to the Sokol movement expanding beyond the Czech borders to the south, with the first Slovenian falconry association founded in 1863. According to Szabo (1988), inspired by the Slovenian model, members of the Croatian singing society *Kolo* established the first falcon society “Hrvatski soko” [“Croatian Falcon”] in 1866, complete with the publication of the journal *Južni sokol* [South Sokol]. The proliferation of falconry in the Western Balkans should be interpreted as a manifestation of Slavic national-political resistance, particularly in response to the intensification of Germanization in the aftermath of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866 (Friedjun, 1901). Namely, the Peace of Prague signed on August 23, 1866, ensured German hegemony in Central Europe by joining the Austrian allies to the North German Confederation. The Pan-Slavic ideology spreading in the Balkans should also be viewed in the light of the 19th-century Austrian-Illyrian relations, given that the political strategy of the Austrian authorities towards the Slavs alternated between suppressing and promoting the Yugoslav national awakening (Ćorović, 1933). The Austrian authorities supported the strengthening of

<sup>7</sup> “Uporedi godinu 1919. i danas, pa ćeš videti da se sve pomaklo napred. Možda još u maloj meri. Ali ne smeš da zaboraviš da poratno stanje nosi sobom neke drugačije razmere, i da vrlo često prosto nema ruke koja bi mogla da obori sve ono što smeta. Tu valja porediti sokolstvo sa pokretima privatne inicijative druge vrste, i ne samo to nego posmatrati sokolstvo u svezi sa celim našim i kulturnim, i političkim i prosvetnim, i ekonomskim životom.”

<sup>8</sup> “Ko je соко—тај је Југословен.”

<sup>9</sup> “Југословенско соколство носи заставу југословенства и југословенског идеализма.”

Croatian national consciousness and the spread of the Yugoslav idea to counteract the Magyarization in the Balkans. However, by 1867, the publication of the *Južni sokol* was halted.

The military defeat of the Habsburg Monarchy brought about new political, economic, and social changes in Europe: Italy gained control over the Venetian region in 1866, and the December Constitution in 1867 established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The Croatian-Hungarian settlement of 1868 led to Croatia merging with Slavonia under Hungarian jurisdiction. With that decree, Austria acquired Dalmatia and Istria, whereas the Vojna Krajina (Croatian Military Frontier) was formally under the administration of military authorities, though it was *de facto* governed by Vienna. Moreover, it brought about the recognition of Croatia as a distinct political unit with its own territory, thus enabling unimpeded spread of falconry further across the Balkans. Nevertheless, the fact Croatia was given free rein regarding its domestic politics in 1868 could not eliminate or hide the social hiatus between the privileged Hungarian and German populations, on one hand, and the subjugated Slavic populations, on the other (Чалић, 2013). Coats of arms and public notices in civil services remained in Hungarian, which contradicted the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868 (Нека, 1991). For these reasons, the stratagems such as the relaunch of *Ljubljanski sokol* in 1868 were deployed to bolster national and political consciousness.

Notwithstanding its formal proclamation by the imperial decree on March 26, 1850, the Croatian ambition to annex Dalmatia to Croatia and Slavonia remained unfulfilled (Ćorović, 1933). In addition, Međimurje was reclaimed by Hungary, which led to the strengthening of the opposition to Germanic and Hungarian factions within the Croatian society. For instance, when the Germans launched the initiative to establish the *Turverein* gymnastics club in Zagreb, Slavic representatives Josip Fon and Josip Torbar convened the first assembly of the Sokol society in Zagreb on December 27, 1874 (Čustonja, 2014).

The development of falconry in the late 19th century in the Principality of Serbia, which had been independent since 1878, took a completely different course (Savić, 2010). The historic incentive for its development appears to have been the Treaty of Alliance signed between Austria-Hungary and Prince Milan of Serbia (1868–1882), subsequently to become king (1882–1889), on June 16, 1881, upon the death of the Russian Emperor Alexander II (Jovanović, 1927). The Austria-Hungarian suppression of Serbian interests led to the development of its falconry from a youth movement towards an organized movement as far back as 1882, when the Principality of Serbia became kingdom. Namely, understanding the necessity to defend Serbia's national interests, Radivoj Milojković, Milutin Garašanin, and Nikola Pašić gathered in the tavern "Srpska kruna" on December 20, 1881, to discuss the adaptation of the Second All-Male Grammar School for the needs of the newly founded "Belgrade Gymnastics and Wrestling Society" (Цветковић, 1998). The dethronement of the Austrophile Obrenović dynasty

in May 1903 propelled the Karađorđević dynasty to power, with close cooperation between the Sokol and Chetnik movements starting as *Narodna odbrana* [People's Defense], seeking to destabilize the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the best of their abilities (Žutić, 2014). Dr. Laza Popović founded the first Sokol society in Sremski Karlovci in 1904. The Sokol movement gained popularity due to the Annexation crisis (October 5, 1908, inasmuch as the Sokol meeting held on November 7, 1910, declared the unification of the falconry movements beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Serbia. The fact that the “Dušan Silni” Sokol Society (Belgrade), Župa fruškogorska (Sremski Karlovci), Župa krajjiška (Zagreb), Župa bosansko-hercegovačka (Sarajevo), Srpska sokolska župa za primorje (Herceg Novi—Dubrovnik—Knin) were all present at this gathering is a case in point (Trujić, 1976).

The last Sokol landing before World War I was disrupted (Bogunović, 1920). It was supposed to be held in Srem near the Ravanica Monastery on June 28, 1914 (Vidovdan), symbolically the date of the Prince Ferdinand assassination. The Austrian declaration of war marked the beginning of the persecution of Sokols in the Austrian monarchy, resulting in the sentencing of its Serbian founder, Dr. Laza Popović, to 14 months of imprisonment in 1916. After World War I, during the assembly held on June 28, 1919, the Slovenian organization “*Južni soko*” [“Southern Falcon”] and “*Hrvatski soko*” [“Croatian Falcon”] merged to form “The Sokol Union of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes,” later renamed as “The Yugoslavian Sokol League,” whose ideas were promoted by *Sokolski glasnik* [Sokol Gazette].

Despite the Zagreb-based Sokol society formally withdrawing from the Yugoslav falconry union on January 18, 1922, the analysis of the sources reveals that the development of the Sokol movement in the Balkans during the post-WWI reconstruction (1919–1924) pursued two main objectives: it sought to strengthen integral Yugoslavism and to spread the Pan-Slavic cosmopolitan ideal. The Croatian sentiment echoed in periodicals: “We are withdrawing from the Yugoslav Sokol Association; in our current state, we had to part ways, with the hopes of reuniting in the future; however, it would be on entirely new foundations, in the justice of the living God...”<sup>10</sup> These findings are compatible with the course of the international politics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as shown, for instance, in the agreement signed with Czechoslovakia in 1920. In the aftermath of World War I, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia actively sought to consolidate its position in the Balkans through a series of diplomatic efforts. One such effort was the signing of the Rapallo Treaty on November 12, 1920, which agreed on the annexation of Rijeka by Italy and of Sušak by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Milak, 1982). Two years later, in 1922, the kingdom joined forces with Czechoslovakia and Romania

<sup>10</sup> “Istupamo iz Jugoslovenskog sokolskog saveza; ovaki kaki smo sada morali smo se razići, da se jednom ujediniamo; ali, na sasvim novoj osnovi, pravdi Boga živoga...” (Popović, 1922a, p. 36).



to establish a regional military alliance, known as the Little Entente (Vanku, 1969), aimed at countering Hungarian military threats in the Balkans. Furthermore, the strengthening of international relations with Poland reached a grand finale in the treaty between two nations on September 17, 1926 (Ćorović, 1933).

In the light of the evident dualistic diplomatic trajectory of the movement—its pursuit to foster a cohesive Yugoslav national consciousness and its alignment with broader European and, arguably, global humanistic ideals—it becomes paramount to undertake a meticulous exploration of the specific modalities by which falconry endeavored to realize these intricate sociopolitical objectives.

### *Antiquity in Balkan Sokol Sources: Eudaimonism and Kalokagathia*

In a 1927 literary critique (Ludvíkovský, 1927, p. 48), Tyrš's *Hod olympický*, originally published in 1868, was appraised as “a distinct epideictic accomplishment within the realm of Czech literature, albeit captivating for classical philologists due to its incorporation of original translations from Homer's *Iliad*.” This critique arrives within the context of the mid-19th Czech art criticism, wherein ancient Greek ideals of the supreme good and the aesthetics were elevated as exemplary. Given that *Hod olympický* was penned nearly six years after the establishment of the inaugural Sokol Gymnastics Institute in Prague, its narrative was strategically crafted to galvanize the Czech bourgeoisie towards the conceptualization of the Czech national art (Havránek, 1983)—one stripped of the double entendre of medieval ecclesiastical influences and German paradigms (Nolte, 1993). Thus, the impetus towards visual art aligned smoothly with the expansive aspirations of the Czech Sokol movement, based on the premise that imagery disseminates messages at a speed that surpasses verbal articulation (Павловић, 2014).

In light of these considerations, the dissemination of Sokol ideology was facilitated through an array of art media. Notably, this encompassed a strategic utilization of posters, postcards, and philately. Furthermore, falcon landings emerged as a distinctive visual art form of the 19th century, emblematic of physical prowess and meticulously aligned with the aesthetic criteria of ancient Greek traditions (*eurhythmia*). As illustrated, the re-emergence of ancient Greek aesthetics, conveyed through physical exercises, resonated with the Czech populace in the second half of the 19th century. Consequently, with its proliferation from the Czech Republic to the Balkans, one can often discern ancient Greek influences in South Slavic Sokol archival materials. This presence remains a largely unexplored phenomenon in academic literature. Furthermore, as for the establishment of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, interdisciplinary analyses of the early postwar Sokol sources advocating for integral Yugoslavism (1919–1924)

can shed light on the revival of ancient Greek legacy amidst the pious propagation of Yugoslav nationalist ideology.

Two conceptual paradigms, *eudaimonism* and *kalokagathia*, manifest with recurrent prominence, particularly within the Sokol corpus. These constructs, whilst originating in antiquity, exhibit a proclivity for diachronic evolution, continually recalibrating in response to shifting socio-cultural landscapes. Starting with a thorough and focused scrutiny of *kalokagathia*, this exposes endeavors to portray its representation as harmonized and coalescent development of moral (or spiritual) and corporal aspects of an individual.

In the realm of formal logic, the determinants of the ancient Greek term *καλόν*, beautiful (with its Latin counterpart *pulchrum*), must also encompass the notion of moral goodness (Oskar, 1951; Collingwood, 1925). Specifically, as noted by Coulter (1964), in the late Archaic age poetry of figures like Theognis, Tirteus, and Sappho (Diehl, 1925), one does not encounter compounds such as *καλοκαγαθία* or *καλοκάγαθος* resulting from *crasis*, nor the syntagm *καλός και αγαθός*. However, the concept of *kalokagathia* is undoubtedly present. This is evidenced by the fact that the adjective *καλός* in Sappho's fragments at times pertains not solely to physical allure but to mental or moral attributes as well. This is underscored in her fragments (MEΛΩΝ B) where there is a clear equivalence between the notions of goodness and beauty: "The one who's pretty is so only as far as they look; the one who is good is already beautiful."<sup>11</sup>

The earliest documented usage of the term *καλοκάγαθος* or the associative pairing of the concepts *καλός και αγαθός*, can be traced to fifth-century sources, most notably the works of Aristophanes and Herodotus. In Herodotus' *Histories* (Herodotus, 1920, p. 34), Solon references the term *καλός και αγαθός* when characterizing Tellus' offspring (I. 30): "To Tellus, in a city which was prospering, were born fine and good children, and he saw all of them grow up and survive; in our terms, his death was most glorious: during a martial encounter near Eleusis against neighboring adversaries, Tellus championed the Athenian cause by engineering their enemies retreat and eventually meeting his demise in an exemplary manner. In recognition of his valor, the Athenians, at the polity's expense, interred him at the exact locus of his downfall, bestowing posthumous honor of considerable grandeur."<sup>12</sup> In the corpus of Platonic dialogues, one discerns an intricate conjoining of the philosophical concepts of *καλόν* [the beautiful or noble], *σοφόν* [the wise], and *ἀγαθόν* [the good]). This associative melding parallels certain

<sup>11</sup> "ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὄσσον ἴδην πέλεται <κάλος> ὁ δὲ κάγαθος αὐτίκα καὶ κάλος ἔσεται" (Diehl, 1925, p. 349).

<sup>12</sup> "Ἐλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἠκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα, τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγεῖτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

thematic motifs in Stoic poetry, wherein the lexicon demonstrates a depth of interrelation between these concepts. Notably, within the Stoic lexemic register (Arnim, 1924, p. 78) under the entry τὸ καλόν, there emerges a delineation that posits “the beautiful” as an epitome of both harmony and the ultimate good: τὸ καλὸν <ἐστὶν> τὸ ἀγαθόν (fr. III 9, 33), τὸ καλὸν τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ τελείως σύμμετρον (III, 20, 20). In the intricate landscape of fifth-century BCE epistemological frameworks, there emerges a nuanced reconfiguration of the interrelation between the terminologies of καλός [Beauty] and ἀγαθός [Good]. It becomes evident that the conventional paradigm, wherein one term predominantly operates as a determinant or qualifier of the other, undergoes a sophisticated evolution. Rather than maintaining their traditionally hierarchical relationship, these terms transmute into what might be described, employing philological nomenclature, as “coordinate syntagmatic relations.” Contrary to earlier posits, which equated kalokagathia with the aristocratic stratum of pre-Socratic Greece (Ksenofont, 2011), new interpretations offer a more multifaceted perspective (Reid, 2022). The seminal work of Plato, specifically within his dialogue *Symposium*, delineates the καλός καὶ ἀγαθός individual as one who is “noble” and “good,” emphasizing first and foremost their possession of physical beauty. This philosophical stance finds resonance in Aristotle’s ethical canon, wherein, as Evrigenis (1999, p. 394) elucidates, καλός καὶ ἀγαθός is conceived as “the epitome of virtue” (ἀρετὴ τέλειος). This virtue, crucially, is not an innate attribute endowed by birthright, but it is rather acquired and cultivated through rigorous pedagogical endeavors (Coulter, 1964).

The classical Hellenic ideal of *kalokagathia*, encompassing the intertwined virtues of beauty and goodness, inherently invites nuanced hermeneutical analysis, particularly given its trans-historical resonance. Its presence in the Sokol documents from 1919–1924 is a testament to the adaptability and relevance of the concept. In the tumultuous backdrop of the post-war Balkans, this “re-awakened antiquity” transcends mere philosophical reminiscence, interfacing dynamically with the socio-political imperatives of the era. This juxtaposition prompts an essential historiographical interrogation: In what manner, and to what extent, does the Sokol discourse of this period engage with, adapt, and recast *kalokagathia* within its contemporary Balkan setting?

Various analyses were conducted on previously unstudied sources, specifically *Sokolski glasnik* for the years IV–VI, i.e., 1919–1924, which are mostly numbered from 1 to 12, corresponding to the number of months in each calendar year. It typically follows a monthly sequence, yet certain irregularities have been observed. Specifically, in 1922 (year IV), double issues were released for May and June as numbers 5 and 6, and September saw two separate issues numbered 7 and 8. The Archives of Yugoslavia issued a complete set for 1921 (year III) but only issues 10–12 for 1920 (year II). In 1919, seven issues were released, with editions 4 through 7 presented as a combined format. The periodicals, in

impeccable condition, chiefly comprise official correspondence, such as communiqués and minutes. This analysis underscores the need for meticulous scrutiny in evaluating historical documents with inherent chronological complexities.

In this text sample, at least ten examples have been identified in which the ancient concept of *kalokagathia* is unambiguously realized. Namely, from Sokol periodicals published in Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Czech in the period 1919–1924, we highlight the following:

1) In his introductory note, Popović (1922b, p. 4) reaffirms: “Practice and strengthen one’s body and muscles, although more exercise and strengthening today is required for the soul and heart, so that they remain noble, beautiful, and enlightened, preserved from wear and tear to defend themselves from enemies coming from all sides!”<sup>13</sup>

2) Popović continues in the same spirit (1922c, p. 132): “The purpose of the falcon society is to strengthen and develop the physical and moral strength of its people!... We halt at this obstacle: whether the physical and moral education of the people or the physical and moral education of man.”<sup>14</sup>

3) In the 1922 report (Šibenska sokolska župa, p. 22), it is claimed that “the Sokol Society from Split, on December 4, 2007, provided Šibenik with a rare visual delight; ... On this occasion, our spouses and ladies saw that it is no wonder nor trouble, much less a scandal, if the feminine sex does exercises and with exercises becomes stronger, mentally and physically healthier, more beautiful and gentler. We are now commenting on exercise without elaboration, although the beauty, precision, agility of individual practitioners deserve to be particularly emphasized.”<sup>15</sup>

4) In a letter to the Sokol Union in Ljubljana composed in Vršac on 12 November, 1921, Tadić (1922, p. 23) warns that “all of this should be taken into account because falcon work must not be limited to physical exercise alone.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> “Vežbati i jačati mora se telo i mišice, ali još više vežbati i jačati treba danas i dušu i srce, da to ostane plemenito, lepo i prosvučeno, da se sačuva od propasti i slabosti, da se odbrani od neprijatelja sa svih strana!”

<sup>14</sup> “Svrha sokolskog društva je da jača i razvija fizičku i moralnu snagu svoga naroda!... Zaustavljamo se kod ove prepreke: da li fizičko i moralno obrazovanje naroda ili fizičko i moralno obrazovanje čoveka.”

<sup>15</sup> “...Sokolsko društvo iz Splita, pribavilo je četvrtog prosinca pr. g. Šibenčanima jedan retki duševni užitek; užitek duševnog i telesnog samopregora;... Ovom su prigodom uvidele naše gospođe i gospođice kako nije čudo ni nepravilika, a još manje sablazan ako vežba krasan spol, pače da usred vežbanja postaje i on krepciji, duševno i telesno zdraviji, lepši i pristupačniji i u svojoj jednostavnoj dražesti, svesnosti, okretnosti i tačnosti, čedniji, miliji i vredniji. ... Na vežbanje smo se osvrnuli ne zalazeći u pojedine tačke, premda bi vežbači na spravama i drugi vežbači i vežbačice zaslužili da se posebno istakne lepota, tačnost, okretnost pojedinih vežbača i vežbačica.”

<sup>16</sup> “...o svemu tome treba da se vodi račun, jer sokolski rad ne smemo ograničavati na samo telesno vežbanje.”

5) As Ambrožić (1922, p. 320) notes, “regarding genuine education, which is a common national asset which refines and consolidates the physical and moral strength of the nation, we can only speak in the context of Sokolism and not about sports. Similarly, it is impossible for sports to ever assume such vast dimensions that the majority of the nation would truly be nurtured in sports associations, say, only physically, but still so significantly that the nation would benefit from it.”<sup>17</sup>

6) According to Ravnihar (Равнихар, 1922, p. 67), “every member of the falcon organization and each falcon unit has ample opportunity and sufficient space to freely develop all its moral and physical powers, regardless of tribe, religion, or class.”<sup>18</sup>

7) Furthermore, when expanding his earlier thoughts about the Yugoslav idea, Ravnihar (Равнихар, 1922, p. 70) continues: “The current leader of Wilson Square has preferred to open wide the doors of the beautiful and wealthy rooms of their societies to the destructive influxes of external political storms, rather than introducing into their society the healthy, revitalizing, and passion-soothing essence of moral and physical education, which should appropriately influence the current generation and create a new generation destined for the happiness, power, and future of their common homeland as its first and only command!”<sup>19</sup>

8) In a passage dedicated to Dr. Viktor Murnik (1922, p. 41), the relationship with the Czech Sokol idea is explained as follows: “Dr. Viktor Murnik—until then he had not read Tyrš’s works, nor had he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Falcon ideology at its source. Moreover, he was clear that a gymnastics society that aims to serve the people must dedicate its efforts not only to physical but also to moral education.”<sup>20</sup>

9) Drawing from other works published the same year, Jazbec (1922, p. 55) points out “an emphasis on bodily exercise only will not be sufficient to lend the

<sup>17</sup> “O resnični vzgoji, ki je občna narodna last, ki poplemenjuje ter pomnožuje fizične in moralne sile naroda, pa moremo govoriti samo v primeru Sokolstva, nikakor pa glede športov; ravno tako kakor je nemogoče, da bi športstvo zavzelo kedaj tako široke dimenzije, da bi se v resnici večina naroda v športnih društvih vzgajala, recimo, samo fizično, pa vendar tako izdatno, da bi imel od tega narod kake koristi.”

<sup>18</sup> “Има сваки припадник соколске организације и свака соколска јединица доста прилике и довољно простора, да слободно развија све своје моралне и физичке силе без обзира на племе, веру или сталез.”

<sup>19</sup> “Садашњи вођа Вилсонова трга радије су широм отворили врата лепих и богатих просторија својих друштава уништавајућим упливима спољних бура политичких бојева, него да би у своје друштво уводили здраве, оживљавајуће и сваку страст умирјујуће соколе моралног и телесног васпитања, који би требали да делују примерно на садашњу генерацију и да стварају ново колело, коме да буде срећа, моћ и будућност заједничке домовине прва и једина заповед!”

<sup>20</sup> “Dr. Viktor Murnik—do tada nije čitao Tyrševih djela, a nije ni inače došao u priliku da upozna sokolsku misao na njezinom izvoru. Pored toga je bio načistu, da gimnastičko društvo, koje hoće da služi narodu, mora svoj rad posvetiti ne samo tjelesnom već i moralnom odgoju.”

falcon movement its significance, particularly if the participants remain indifferent to the ideal.”<sup>21</sup>

10) Revisiting his initial concepts, Popović (1922c, p. 132) argues that “the purpose of a falcon society is to strengthen and develop the physical and moral strength of its people.”<sup>22</sup>

The text above contains excerpts singled out for their reference to the concept of harmonized physical and moral development. In each of them a holistic understanding of the *soul–body* or *metaphysical–physical* duality—the two constituent elements of ancient *kalokagathia*—can be clearly recognized. The antithetic relationship between the aforesaid polarities remained undetected. Moreover, their synthetic unity is emphasized (Равнихар, 1922, p. 67): “For within every individuality, its entire moral and physical character ardently aspires, prompted and uplifted by a falcon-like will, towards completeness and perfection...”<sup>23</sup>

These ancient ideals are purposefully used, not just to touch upon Pan-Slavic paradigms, but to advocate for broader, universal values. This perspective is evident in the following extract by Ravnihar (Равнихар, 1922, p. 67): “Every Sokol member is encouraged to grow both morally and physically, transcending boundaries of tribe, religion, or class. This growth aims not only at upholding Slavic heritage, but it also champions broader principles of progress, democracy, and justice.”<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, a similar sentiment is reflected in another excerpt by Popović (1922c, p. 133): “Slavism is for us the ethical culture of the world. Slavism is for us the kingdom of man, God’s creature and brother, and cultural Pan-Slavism is for us the idea of a new and happy society, so Slavism and humanity have equal worth for us...”<sup>25</sup>

The aspiration towards a Pan-Slavic and universal human ideal in the Sokol periodicals published from 1919 to 1924 is intertwined with direct mentions of the ancient Greeks, who are presented as paragons of virtue (Šibenička sokolska župa, 1921, p. 21): “We must highlight this especially for the strenuous exercises of the nine front-runners, which made a profound impression on all those present and showed what can be achieved with hard work, dedication, and love. Watching

<sup>21</sup> “...samo tjelesni uzgoj u sokolanama neće moći izgraditi sokolskih značajeva, pogotovo, ako ostanu vježbači sa svoje strane pasivni prema idealu.”

<sup>22</sup> “Svrha sokolskog društva je da jača i da razvija fizičku i moralnu snagu svoga naroda.”

<sup>23</sup> “Јер у свакој индивидуалности живо тежи њена читава морална и физична својина, гоњена и дизапа соколском вољом к потпуности и савршенству...”

<sup>24</sup> “Има сваки припадник соколске организације и свака соколска јединица доста прилике и довољно простора да слободно развија све своје моралне и физичке силе без обзира на племе, веру или сталез, али у духу напретка, демократизма и социјалне правдености тежећи за подизањем сопствене и словенске културе на путу у човечанство.”

<sup>25</sup> “Slavenstvo je za nas etička kultura sveta. Slavenstvo je za nas carstvo čoveka, božjeg stvora i brata, i kulturni panslavizam je za nas ideja novoga i sretnoga društva, pa slavenstvo i čovečanstvo za nas vredi i jedno isto.”

these exercises, we thought of the ancient Greeks who, with their physically fit bodies, looked with pride at their strong and beautifully developed physique, which, in times of great peril, could save their homeland from the insatiable greed of foreigners.”<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, references to the Olympic Games and the sophists reinforce these ideals, illustrating the seamless fusion of Pan-Slavic objectives with the foundations of ancient Greek thought (Zapisnik dne 25. Marca, 1922, p. 143): “Immediate successes must be announced by the T. O. Alliance so that those who do not achieve these percentages can, for the sake of analysis, be compared with those from the ancient Greek Olympic festivals. However, the exercises are long-lasting and exceedingly strenuous.”<sup>27</sup> Popović (1922c, p. 132) further elaborates on this by stating: “Should life be lived, can it, is it allowed, and must it be lived only in the form of a nation, or can one live differently? This is the question that all the great sophists of the past could not resolve, and it obscures our Sokol perspective.”<sup>28</sup>

However, it should be noted here that the obvious examples of kalokagathia in the Sokol materials are not the only neo-antique modern element. Embedded within is also the ethics of eudaimonism (from *εὐδαιμονία*, *εὐδαιμονέω*), which establishes the principle of “being good and being happy” (*τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν, τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν*) as the ultimate goal of every human action (Rassovio, 1903). Such findings are of profound significance because, to date, the ethics of eudaimonism has not been as extensively examined in Sokol sources as kalokagathia, despite numerous studies, certainly requiring further examination of archival materials, particularly the sources in the Czech language. Consequently, the ancient influence on falconry in the period between 1919 and 1924 might be much greater than previously assumed.

The ethics of eudaimonism through direct reference to happiness as the ultimate goal was identified in the examples below:

1) Ravnihar (Равнихар, 1922, p. 70) contends that “today’s leaders of Wilson Square have chosen to widely open the doors of their attractive and affluent societies to the destructive influences of external political turmoil,

<sup>26</sup> “Ovo nam je istaknuti i za teške i naporne vežbe devetorice prednjaka koje su proizvele osobit utisak na sve prisutne i pokazale šta se može postići radom, marom i ljubavlju. Gledajuć’ ove vežbe mislili smo na stare Grke koji su telesno uzgojeni s ponosom gledali na svoje snažno i vežbanjem krasno razvito telo koje je u najvećoj opasnosti znalo spasiti domovinu od nezsite pohlepe tuđinaca.”

<sup>27</sup> “Uspehe je nemudoma naznaniti T. O. Saveza, da se za one, ki bi teh odstotkov ne dosegli, pa zleti se radi stavijo v paralelo s starogrškimj olimpijskimi slavnostimi. No, dougotrajni, sila naporni vadbi.”

<sup>28</sup> “Da li se živet treba, može, sme i mora samo u obliku naroda da pređe ili se može živeti i drugačije, to je ono što sve dosadašnje velike sofiste ne mogaše da reše i to nam muti i naše sokolsko gledanje.”

rather than introducing into their society the healthy, invigorating *falcons* of physical and moral education, which should have a positive influence on the current generation and create a new one, for whom happiness, power, and the future of the shared homeland would be the primary and sole commandment.”<sup>29</sup>

2) In the same vein, Popović (1922c, p. 133) delineates Pan-Slavic aspirations with the philosophical underpinnings of eudaimonism: “For us, Slavdom represents the ethical culture of the world. Slavdom is, for us, the realm of man, God’s creation, and brother, and cultural Pan-Slavism is the idea of a new and joyful society. Thus, for us, Slavdom and humanity are one and the same.”<sup>30</sup>

3) A very clear example of eudaimonism is found in Bižić’s report (Бижић, 1922, p. 167): “The male generation began with free exercises, 12 in number, harmoniously and freely practicing to the piano accompaniment. They were greeted with a hearty round of applause by the audience during their performance, and their parents gazed with joyful eyes as these young bodies held their heads high with pride, firmly believing that the happiness of their children would only be healthy, strong, and joyful among the ranks practicing Sokol ideology.”<sup>31</sup>

4) Popović theorizes that holistic well-being and collective thriving inherent in eudaimonism serve as an allegory for the envisioned unity and cultural cohesion of Slavic nations. By juxtaposing these two constructs, he underscores the symbiotic relationship between individual virtue-seeking and the broader sociopolitical aspirations rooted in Pan-Slavism (1922c, p. 130): “A collective decision for both, a shared goal and objective set for all 10 million, to march onward towards the happiness and grandeur of human endeavor!”<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, unambiguous evidence of the fusion of *kalokagathia* with the concept of eudaimonism in the examined Sokol periodicals is found in places where virtues are mentioned as the means to achieve happiness, a consistent trait of eudaimonism ethics from Platonism to Epicureanism. However, the most evident

<sup>29</sup> “Садашњи вођа Вилзонова трга радије су широм отворили врата лепих и богатих просторија својих друштава уништавајућим упливима спољних бура политичких бојева, него да би у своје друштво уводили здраве, оживљавајуће и сваку страст умирујуће соколе моралног и телесног васпитања, који би требало да делују примерено на садашњу генерацију и да стварају ново колено, коме да буде срећа, моћ и будућност заједничке домовине прва и једина заповед.”

<sup>30</sup> “За нас, словенство представља етичку културу света. Словенство је, за нас, царство човека, Божјег створења и брата, а културни панславизам је идеја новог и радосног друштва. Тако су, за нас, словенство и човечанство једно те исто.”

<sup>31</sup> “Први наступише са слободним вежбама мушки нараштај, њих 12 на броју, који су уз прагњу гласовира одвежбали сложено и слободно; они су били силним аплаузом публике код наступа и изведбе вежба поздрављени, а родитељи њихови сретним очима гледаху, та мала тела како поносно дижу своје главице, верујући тврдо, да ће срећа њихове деце једино кроз редове соколске идеје бити здрава.”

<sup>32</sup> “jedna zajednička odluka za oboje, jedna meta, jedan cilj postaviti za oboje, za svih 10 milijona, da krenu napred u sreću i veličinu rada čovečanskoga!”



parallels with Aristotle's ethical system are found where virtue (Gr. ἀρετή) leads to eudaimonia (MacIntyre, 2007).

Eudaimonism in Popović's writings emerges not merely as a philosophical tenet but as a foundational pillar entwining the cosmopolitan ideal with the promotion of the Yugoslav idea. One such instance (1922a, p. 5) can be found where he notes: "I recognize that the merit of your society rests on the persistence, energy, and wondrous endeavors of a vast number of your predecessors, your officers, and your members ... Your virtues, courage, heroism, enthusiasm, and idealism reassure me."<sup>33</sup> Another illustration of this conceptualization is articulated in the following assertion (Popović, 1922b, p. 40): "And, now, may they modestly embellish the spirit of Sokol aspirations with the exemplary success achieved in their academy. Through persistent work and sacrifice towards their highest goal, once they attain it, may they further expand the scope of their fruitful work, thereby contributing to the brightest and proudest ideal of Sokolism which proclaims: all for health, all for strength, all for the beauty of a free homeland and Slavdom."<sup>34</sup> Specifically, within the inaugural page of *Sokolski glasnik*, published in January 1922 (b), Popović aptly weaves together the tenets of Yugoslav idealism and eudaimonism: "Tell us, Croatian brothers ... are you prepared and strong enough to continue on our collective battlefield, as equals, striving for the triumph of the best and the brightest? Tell us, Serbian brothers ... do you believe this life we share is just a game, a jest, or a delusion? Have your virtues waned or vanished since we united? Tell all of us, brothers, so that with no hesitation nor hindrance we can seek the divine truth of good deeds and our Yugoslav path."<sup>35</sup>

Upon reviewing individual materials, we conclude that the evident recourse to antiquity in the Sokol sources from 1919 to 1924 primarily appears in the socio-political context of the cosmopolitanism of liberal democracy and the strengthening of integral Yugoslavism in the Balkans. Given that the 1922 Sokol congress in Belgrade (Žutić, 2014) potentially engaged in discussions centered on the universal tenets of human rights, mirroring the prevailing European discourse

<sup>33</sup> "Znam da valjanost vašeg društva počiva na istrajnosti, energiji i divnom pregalaštvu velikog broja vaših prethodnika, vaših časnika i vaših članova... Garancije su mi vrline vaše, hrabrost i junaštvo, vaša oduševljenost i idealizam."

<sup>34</sup> "А сада нека лепим, примерним успехом који су постигли на својој академији, скромно украсе душу соколске тежње путем даљег рада и пожртвовања ка највишој мети, па кад њу стигну усавршени још више нека делокруг свога плоднога рада рашире још даље и дубље, да би на тај начин и они потпомогли најсветлијем и најпоноснијем идеалу Соколства који гласи: све за здравље, све за снагу, све за лепоту слободне отаџбине и Словенства."

<sup>35</sup> "Kažite nam, braćo Hrvati... jeste li horni i jaki da se i dalje na zajedničkom megdanu sa jednakima za pobjedu najsavršenijega i najboljega? Kažite nam, braćo Srbi, ... držite li vi da je ovo igra, šala i varka svega što živimo, jesu li vam vrline oborene i zaspale od kada smo zajedno? Kažite nam, braćo svi, da bez ustezanja i bez prepreka potražimo istinu, božansku istinu dobroga rada i puta našeg jugoslovenskoga."

of the time, the above mentioned examples serve to clarify this alignment within the Sokol sources. A salient exemplification of the cosmopolitan ideal in Popović's oeuvre can be discerned in his work (1922c, p. 131), with him emphatically stating: "Here, where a man dies of hunger, the differences in our languages, colors, nations, states, and religions cease to exist. Here, we are all equal, and we are all one."<sup>36</sup>

In the aftermath of World War I, aspirations for peace were predominantly channeled through the promotion of human rights and the espousal of cosmopolitan ideals. Significantly, recourse to classical antiquity played a crucial role in this process, providing historical precedents and values which underscored the universality and enduring nature of these principles. Through rigorous examination of primary source evidence and a comprehensive contextual analysis, we can draw a crucial inference regarding the post-World War I era: the invocation of classical antiquity, particularly the principles of eudaimonism, in trauma narratives served not only as a historical or cultural reference point but also as an intentional comforting mechanism. If we harken back to the eudaimonic ideals of thriving and well-being, these narratives potentially offered a vision of restoration and hope. In the Sokol sources, references to antiquity not only played a crucial role in upholding the principles of integral Yugoslavism but also emerged as a distinctive quality that set the Yugoslav iteration of the movement apart from its counterparts among other Slavic nations.

## *Conclusion*

In our analysis of Sokol periodicals, we find significant references to the classical ideas of *kalokagathia* and eudaimonism. These references underscore the importance of antiquity in shaping the Sokol philosophy. Notably, from 1919 to 1924, such classical allusions played a pivotal role in promoting the ideals of integral Yugoslavism.

The analysis of the local context reveals that this heightened interest in classical thought in the post-World War I period can be linked to the rise of liberal democracies. Many liberal intellectuals in the newly-formed Kingdom of Yugoslavia played crucial roles, reflecting this global trend (Dimić, 2000). Their embrace of classical ideas in the Sokol philosophy was not merely an academic pursuit but a strategic effort to align with the global shift toward liberal democratic values.

Furthermore, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, with its diverse religious, economic, and political landscape, found a unifying theme in antiquity. As outlined in the 1917 Corfu Declaration, the Kingdom comprised a complex structure with 11 provincial administrations and 17 distinct

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<sup>36</sup> "Ovde umire čovek od gladi, tu prestaju razlike naših jezika, boja, nacija i država i religija, ovde smo svi jednaki i svi smo jedno."

legislative frameworks. In this diverse setting, classical thought, recognized as universally relevant, was used as a stratagem to foster Yugoslav unity within the Sokol movement, echoing both national and broader humanistic aspirations. Our findings also highlight the unique position of the South Slavic Sokol movement. Its consistent focus on classical ethical values, and its pursuit of a united Yugoslav identity post-1919, sets it apart in the wider Pan-Slavic context.

In conclusion, the emphasis on classical antiquity in the South Slavic and Czech Sokol literature, particularly from 1919 to 1924, can be seen as a response to the trauma of World War I. Sokol writings of the time highlight the need to cherish virtues, drawing inspiration from eudaimonism, suggesting a pathway to a brighter future. This turn to antiquity can be grasped as a search for stability and guidance in a world recovering from the horrific atrocities of a global war.

Regardless of numerous investigations, the ethics of eudaimonism has not previously been investigated in the Sokol sources. This undeniably calls for further examination of archival materials, particularly the 19th century sources in the Czech language, since it could provide profound insights into the philosophical foundations of the Sokol movement and its broader cultural and intellectual influences. Moreover, by comparing the presence of Greek legacy in Sokol materials across different time frames (pre-WWI, interwar, post-WWII, post-Cold War), researchers can use these pioneering results to map the shifts in emphasis and interpretation, providing a view of the evolution of the movement and its possible adaptation to the 20th century socialist values. Whilst the Yugoslav idea and ancient Greek heritage do not seem to have a direct, intrinsic connection, it should be emphasized that philosophical, intellectual, and sports movements in a broader European setting, such as the Sokol movement, complemented by classical thought, would have influenced the development of the Yugoslav idea. Further research is required so as to provide more profound insights into these potential connections.

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## Die Balkan-Renaissance nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg: Antik-griechisches Erbe in der Sokol-Bewegung 1919–1924

### *Zusammenfassung*

Die Untersuchung der Sokol-Zeitschriften zwischen 1919 und 1924 offenbart eine deutliche Betonung klassisch-griechischer Begriffe wie „Kalokagathia“ und „Eudaimonismus“. Das unterstreicht den erheblichen Einfluss antiker Gedanken auf die Philosophie der

Sokol-Bewegung. Dies wiedererweckte Interesse an der klassischen Denkweise, vor allem im Kontext des Ersten Weltkrieges, korreliert mit dem globalen Erstarken liberaler Demokratien. Es ist beachtenswert, dass der facettenreiche jugoslawische Kontext des Königreichs Jugoslawien 1919 in diesen Idealen ein vereinheitlichendes Element sah, was die Bemühungen um einen ganzheitlichen Jugoslawismus unterstützte. Der spezielle Fokus der südslawischen Sokol-Bewegung auf klassisch-ethische Grundsätze in der Nachkriegszeit zeugt von einem strategischen Bestreben, die Folgen des Ersten Weltkriegs durch eine Besinnung auf die antike Beständigkeit und Klugheit zu bewältigen. Obwohl der Eudaimonismus in der Sokol-Literatur prominent vertreten ist, blieb seine spezifische Erforschung in diesem Rahmen begrenzt. Das weist auf vielversprechende Forschungsmöglichkeiten hin, besonders im Hinblick auf die tschechischen Quellen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Diese Untersuchung markiert einen innovativen Ansatz, um die philosophischen Wurzeln der Sokol-Bewegung und deren Einfluss auf weiter gefasste europäische Denkströmungen zu beleuchten.

*Schlüsselworte:* Antike; die südserbische Falknerei; Zeitraum 1919–1924; der ganzheitliche Jugoslawismus; Sokolski glasnik.



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