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THE CURIOUS CASE OF HERESANKH, A PERFECT PLAYER OF THE SISTRUM OF MIN AND A PRIESTESS OF THE KING'S SISTER PHILOTERA

Abstract: The present paper aims to resolve problems around the identification of Heresankh, a perfect player of the sistrum of Min and a priestess of the king's sister Philoteria, and to propose her position within the powerful family of high priests of Memphis during the Ptolemaic rule. The study reveals that she most likely belonged to the secondary branch of the same family, both lines having the joint ancestor in the priest Anemhor, who was in fact the father of Nesisti-Pedubast, the earliest known high priest of Ptah under the Hellenistic Dynasty. She most likely lived between 249 BC and 183 BC. The marriage union of her related parents, Neferibre and Herankh, must have influenced her social standing at Memphis since Heresankh is the only known priestess of the most important sanctuaries within the Memphite necropolis, namely the Sarapieion, the Osirion of Rutiset and the Anoubieion, all located at Saqqara and Abusir.

Keywords: Ptolemaic Egypt, indigenous elite, high priests of Ptah, Memphis, women's history, priesthood.

A perfect player of the sistrum of Min and a priestess of the king's sister Philoteria, Heresankh,¹ is known according to two monuments from the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara: the funerary stela London BM EA 389 and the standing statue Louvre N 2456 = IM 6165.² Her parents were Neferibre,³ who is named only on a statue, and Herankh,⁴ whose name is present on both monuments. Her mother is called 'mistress of the house (*nb.t pr*)',⁵ while her father is designated only as god's servant (*hm-ntr*), the highest

¹ PP III 5524.

² Both monuments are republished most recently by Panov 2017a: 387–389 (with older literature).

³ PP III 5646.

⁴ Mentioned in PP III 5645.

⁵ The present author is starting a project on royal and non-royal elite women in Lower Egypt. The project is funded by the Stiftungsfonds für Postgraduates der Ägyptologie (Vienna).

ranking sacerdotal position within ancient Egyptian temple.⁶ A text on the stela London BM EA 389 testifies about her funeral in year 22 of an unnamed Ptolemaic king and that funerary rites were conducted by her son called Nesisti.⁷ Heresankh died when she was at the age of 66 years, 5 months and 5 days. Unfortunately, the burial place of Heresankh is presently unknown, but was certainly located somewhere in the vast necropolis of Saqqara, possibly in the area of the Sarapieion, or even further north near Abusir.⁸ The burial date was used as a starting point to calculate her year of birth and to chronologically position her family within the Memphite society during the Ptolemaic era. According to a modern consensus, a year 22 is believed to correspond to year 22 of Ptolemy II,⁹ meaning that Heresankh could have been born around 330 BC and died in 263 BC. Later, another dating was proposed, to year 22 of Ptolemy III (226/225 BC),¹⁰ but have been somewhat neglected in modern historiography.¹¹ In fact, the choice between Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III is only based on the career of the only other known priest of Philoteria at the time, Nesisti-Pedubast, the earliest known Ptolemaic high priest of Memphis himself, and assumption that he served in the cult of Philoteria *before* or *after* Heresankh. Both chronologies position Heresankh in the late fourth to the early third centuries BC, which now seems to be a highly improbable scenario, especially since another known priest of Philoteria needs to be taken into account,¹² together with stylistic similarities and differences between numerous studied monuments (such as layout and material, depictions and decoration, dimensions), text composition, palaeography, and prosopographical data.

Nevertheless, not all researchers agreed with H. de Meulenaere's dating of Heresankh's monuments. Already P. Munro proposed different dating of her stela to 'around 183 BC', i.e. year 22 of Ptolemy V,¹³ while M. Panov most recently successfully defended Munro's dating by comparing her stela to the funerary stelae London BM EA 391 of Horemakhet, high priest of Memphis under Ptolemy III, Ptolemy IV, and Ptolemy V,¹⁴ and Bologna 1943 of Ahmose, high priest of Letopolis,¹⁵ who died and was buried in year 22 of Ptolemy V.¹⁶ Both stelae exhibit the same layout and used material (round-topped, limestone), similar dimensions (London BM EA 389: 53 cm x 34.5 cm; London BM EA 391: 61 cm x 38 cm; Bologna 1943: 52 cm x 32 cm), and uniform depictions and decorations (winged sun-disc with pendent uraei is at the top, while beneath is a scene of the deceased

⁶ cf. De Meulenaere 1982: 1097.

⁷ PP IX 5535a.

⁸ cf. Ray 1999: 692-693. The potential discovery of the tomb-complexes of the Ptolemaic high priest of Memphis and their relatives require much more textual and archaeological investigation.

⁹ cf. De Meulenaere 1959: 245; Quaegebeur 1971: 246; Gorre 2009: 222-223.

¹⁰ cf. Thompson 1988¹: 128.

¹¹ Most recently, D.J. Thompson (2012²: 119, 122 n. 119) concluded that 'a separate priestess [of Philoteria] was named, Harsynchis [Heresankh], daughter of Netherpres [Neferibre], from another, or perhaps related, Memphite priestly family', adding that she 'may be granddaughter of Esisout I-Petobastis I [Nesisti-Pedubast]'. Her choice is still Heresankh as the successor of Nesisti-Pedubast.

¹² Already mentioned in Carney 2013: 176 n. 153.

¹³ Munro 1973: 166, 340.

¹⁴ PP III 5358.

¹⁵ PP IX 5351; cf. Otto 1956: 109; Panov 2017a: 261-290.

¹⁶ Panov 2017a: 387-388.

presenting libations to the enthroned figure of the god Osiris with an offering-table in between; below are lines of hieroglyphic text, composed in similar way) as the stela of Heresankh. This correspondence further indicates that Heresankh could have lived between 249 BC and 183 BC. Historical implications of this alternative dating have never been discussed in modern historiography. This paper aims to resolve current dating issues regarding Heresankh and propose her placement within a secondary branch of the family of Ptolemaic high priest of Ptah united with a main branch by a marriage.

1. The cult of Philotera and Heresankh

The first chronological clue is the cult of Philotera, the deceased sister of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II.¹⁷ Heresankh is the only known priestess of the cult of Philotera. In fact, the only two other known priests of Philotera in Egypt belong to the family of the high priests of Ptah. The first one is Nesisti-Pedubast, the earliest known high priest of Ptah under the Ptolemies,¹⁸ who was promoted during the reign of Ptolemy II and was dead likely by year 37 of the same ruler (248 BC).¹⁹ Another one is also called Nesisti, who was the son of high priest Horemakhet and his wife Nefertiti, himself being in all likelihood his father's successor as the highest priest of Memphis in the early second century BC and served probably under Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI.²⁰ He was the priest of both Arsinoe II and Philotera mentioned together (god's servant of the Goddesses of Two Lands Arsinoe and Philotera, *hm-ntr ntrjnwt3wjJrsn3t Pjldr3t*),²¹ which is in accordance with Greek literary tradition where a reference to the worship of both sisters together is preserved.²² Similarly, priests of Arsinoe II are attested in the family of high priest of Ptah for the first four generations: it seems that after the death of high priest Nesisti, the son of high priest Horemakhet, sometimes after 183 BC, this title was apparently transferred to Heru III (174-131 BC), high priest of Letopolis certainly sometimes after the deaths of his father, high priest Heru II, in 164 BC and probable brother, high priest Psamtik, before 131 BC,²³ probably related by marriage to the family of

¹⁷ For Philotera, see Pfeiffer 1922: 14–37; Macurdy 1932: 127–128; Troy 1986: 179; Carney 2013: 98.

¹⁸ PP III 5361 = PP III 5862 = PP III 5364 = PP III 5370; cf. Gorre 2009: 285–296; Panov 2017a: 101–108.

¹⁹ cf. Quaegebeur 1971: 246; Collombert 2008: 96–97; Gorre 2009: 293–294; Thompson 2012²: 119.

²⁰ PP III 5363. However, it should be noted that J. Quaegebeur (1980: 68) identified Nesistias his probable brother Pasherientah I, referring to him as Nesisti-Pasherientah, yet without any conclusive evidence. For the discussion of the career of Nesisti, see most recently Panov 2017b: 45–47.

²¹ cf. Panov 2017b: 43–49.

²² cf. Carney 2013: 176 n. 153.

²³ PP IX 5359a. Most recently, M. Panov (2017b: 47) is arguing that the high priest of Letopolis, Ahmose, the owner of the Bologna stela and a number of other monuments (see Panov 2017a: 261–286), himself being the grandfather of high priest Heru III, was involved in the cult of Arsinoe II during his lifetime. This is only partially correct, since Ahmose is designated only in the administrative capacity as a scribe of Ptah and Arsinoe, goddess, who is loving brother (*sš n Pth hmJrsn3tntrt mr.t-sn*) on a statue Strasbourg 1381 (Panov 2017a: 263–264) and a statue-base Louvre E 3036 (Panov 2017a: 270, 272), both from the Sarapieion at North Saqqara, but not as a god's servant of Arsinoe. Neither Ahmose's son Heru II (PP IX 5359) nor Heru II's elder son Psamtik (PP IX 5374 = PP IX 5877) were priests of Arsinoe II, only the titles of scribes of Ptah and Arsinoe are given. Ahmose's grandson Heru III is designated specifically as a god's servant of Isis and Arsinoe of the Arsinoeion (*hm-ntr 3stin.mJrsn3tprJrsn3t*) on his funerary stela Louvre C124 (Panov 2017a: 302, 303). The next priest of Arsinoe II in the family of high priests of Ptah was Pedubast III (PP III 5371), who lived between 121 BC and 76 BC.

high priest Nesisti.²⁴

The main question that arise from this reconstruction is whether Heresankh was the leader of the cult of Philotera *before* or *after* the appointment of Nesisti-Pedubast. Firstly, the death of Heresankh in 263 BC seems to match perfectly commonly accepted date of the appointment of Nesisti-Pedubast as a high priest of Memphis in 263/262 BC.²⁵ Thompson also comments that the *apomoira*, or “portion” tax, was assigned for the cult of Arsinoe II to be maintained in each temple in regnal year 23 of Ptolemy II (263 BC) and connects it to the appointment of new high priest.²⁶ If so, Nesisti-Pedubast would have succeeded Heresankh as leader of the cult of Philotera. The main objections to this scenario are (1) the date of Nesisti-Pedubast’s promotion as a high priest of Ptah, (2) his social status at Memphis before he was appointed to the highest priesthood, (3) his close cooperation with Ptolemy II and his court, and (4) temporal uncertainty of the introduction of the cult of Philotera in traditional temples and clear intention that two sisters need to be worshiped together, at least initially.

His funerary stela, London BM EA 379,²⁷ documents that, among many positions he received from the Ptolemaic king, Nesisti-Pedubast was appointed as the priest in the cults of *both* royal sisters, Philotera and Arsinoe II respectively, commemorating the introduction of the royal cult in Memphis. When exactly Philotera died and was deified are uncertain at present,²⁸ but she certainly predeceased her well-known sister Arsinoe II,²⁹ who may have died in 268 BC.³⁰ Since the mortuary cult of Arsinoe II started to appear outside Alexandria only after year 20 of Ptolemy II (266/265 BC),³¹ it seems more likely that Nesisti-Pedubast was a rather perfect candidate for the first priest of *both* king’s deified sisters, which again perfectly corresponds to Greek literary tradition and his personal promotion by Ptolemy II as the highest-ranking official in the ancient capital of Egypt and the centre of traditional kingship and culture.³² Since only three indigenous individuals are known to be officiating the cult of Philotera in Egypt, two of them together with her sister Arsinoe II, it is highly probable that her cult was introduced to the indigenous temples *together* with the cult of Arsinoe II, making Nesisti-Pedubast her initial priest and Heresankh his successor. Otherwise, after the death of Nesisti/Pedubast sometimes before 248 BC, the cult of Philotera would completely disappear from surviving records, only to be revived in the first half of the second century BC under his great-grandson Nesisti, three generations afterwards. Nesisti-Pedubast’s successors as high priests of Memphis, Anemhor II and his son Horemakhet, were only known as the priests of Arsinoe II.³³ Previous scenario would

²⁴ Thompson 2012²: 122 n. 121 states that priests of Arsinoe II are Ahmose, Heru II and Psamtik, which is incorrect.

²⁵ Maystre 1992: 180; Thompson 2012²: 119.

²⁶ Thompson 2012²: 119 n. 117. See also Manning 2003: 56–57.

²⁷ Panov 2017a: 101–102, 106.

²⁸ There is a possibility that a temple erected in honour of an unnamed sister of Ptolemy II (*mr.t sn.t*), mentioned in the Pithom Stele (Cairo CG 22183), apparently in connection with events of year 16 (270/69 BC), was a temple to Philotera; cf. Naville 1902: 73; for another interpretation, see Grzybek 1990: 74.

²⁹ Macurdy 1932: 127.

³⁰ cf. van Oppen 2010: 150.

³¹ Thiers 1999: 432–445; Thiers 2007: 178–180; Collombert 2008: 83–99.

³² cf. Thompson 2012²: 99–143.

³³ cf. Panov 2017a: 133, 134.

make unnecessary chronological gap in title holders, which could be successfully filled with the career of Heresankh as the priestess of Philotera. It is therefore plausible that the title returned to the main family branch of high priests of Ptah after Heresankh's death in 183 BC, when a high priest Nesisti, son of Horemakhet, succeeded the position from her and reunited the cult of Philotera with the cult of Arsinoe II.

2. The formal careers of Heresankh and Nesisti-Pedubast

Nesisti-Pedubast claims da he was chosen by the king among others in Memphis to fill the city's highest religious position, which seems to disappear from the records after the reign of the Persian king Xerxes I (486-465 BC).³⁴ He was probably well in his 40s when he was chosen as high priest of Memphis and priest of the dynastic cult by Ptolemy II.³⁵ Although his funerary stela London BM EA 379 lacks clear internal dating except the mention of 23 years of his office in Memphis (*m rnp 23.t*) in line 2 of the main text,³⁶ the sequence of numerous titles he had received from the Ptolemaic king specified in lines 3, 4 and 5 was certainly arranged according to their significance in administrative and cultic organization and unveils his supremesocio-political status at Memphis at the time: great [governor] of Memphis (*[h3tj-pʿt] wr m Inb-Hd*),³⁷ god's servant of the king's daughter, the king's sister Philotera (*hm-ntr n s3.t nsw sn.t nsw Pjllwtr3*), god's servant of the king's daughter, the king's sister, the king's wife, the daughter of Amon-Re, master of the Two lands, Arsinoe, the goddess who loves brother, beloved of Isis, the mother of Apis (*hm-ntr n s3.t nsw sn.t nsw hm.t nsw s3.t Imn-Rʿ nbt3.wjlr3jn3t ntr.t mr.t-smrj 3s.t mw.t Hp*), master of the secrets in the house of Ptah as chosen one at Memphis (*hrj s3B m pr Pth m stp m Inb-Hd*),³⁸ master of the secrets in Rutiset (*hrj s3t3 m Rw.t-jswt*),³⁹ chief director of craftsmen (*wr hrp hmw.t*).⁴⁰ His 23 years of office most likely preceded his appointment as high priest, especially since the preserved text on his funerary stela starts with outspoken statement that 'there were not found my faults since I governed Memphis during 23 years as chosen of king himself and his entourage (*nngmjwn=j dr hrp=j hw.t[-k3]-Pth m rnp.t 23.t m stpw n nsw ds=f hnʿsnwt=f*)', after he says that 'again, my master favoured me (*jw whm n nb=j hswwj*)', before he started to list all the titles he received from the unknown king. Bestowed titles and favours could be therefore interpreted as the reward for his good administration at Memphis, dating back to the reign of Ptolemy I.⁴¹ Indeed, the

³⁴ cf. Vittmann 2009: 89–91.

³⁵ One of his numerous sons, Anemhor II (PP III 5352 = PP III 5442 = PP IX 5442a), was born in 289 BC, while he also had one elder son, Pedubast I (PP IX 5370), who was very likely his immediate successor.

³⁶ cf. Gorre 2009: 293–295; Panov 2017a: 102 n, 131; contra in Collombert 2008: 96–97.

³⁷ Reading is according Gorre 2009: 290, 294, 456–459. On the other hand, M. Panov (2017a: 103 n. 133) choose to read this part as 'overseer of the great house of Memphis (*jmj-r3 pr wr m Inb-Hd*)', which clearly refers to the royal palace. However, both readings are pure speculations since this part of the stela is missing and large lacuna occupies the space before Gardiner signA19, 'great (*wr*)'.

³⁸ Translation is according Panov 2017a: 103.

³⁹ cf. Devauchelle 1998: 598–600; Devauchelle 2010: 49–50.

⁴⁰ cf. Maystre 1992: 4–13; Devauchelle 1992: 205–207; Klotz 2014: 722–723.

⁴¹ cf. Gorre 2009: 294. However, G. Gorre thinks that he was bestowed favours in return for his reconstruction of the Memphite temples. This is based on a suggestion, first made by E. A. E. Reymond (1980: 62), that in a clear break in line 2 should be written 'I governed [work in the house of] Ptah (*hrp=j [k3t m pr-]Pth*)'. However, after

appointment of Nesisti-Pedubast should be linked to the royal decree preserved on the so-called Sais stela, that summoned governors, local headmen, god's servants and divine fathers of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt to Alexandria in year 20 of Ptolemy II (266/265 BC) to establish the cult of Arsinoe II across the country.⁴²

On her funerary stela, Heresankh is designated only as a perfect sistrum player of Min (*jhjt nfr.t n.t Mnw*), but a text on her statue reveals priestly positions within the Sarapieion, the Osirion of Rutiset and the Anoubieion, all located at Saqqara and Abusir.⁴³ On the Louvre statue, she is designated as 'a perfect sistrum player of Min, lord of Senut, female god's servant of Isis and Nephthys, of house of Osiris-Apis, of house of Osiris at Rutiset and of house of Anubis who is on his hill, female god's servant of king's daughter Philotera (*jhjt nfr.t n.t Mnw nb Snwt, hm.t-ntr n 3s.t Nbt-hwtprWsjr-Hp prWsjr m Rw.t-jswt prInpwtjdw=f hm.t-ntrn s3.t nswPjllwtr3*)'. Also, her statue has been found within the Sarapieion itself.⁴⁴ Additionally, among all known female members of the priestly families at Memphis during the Ptolemaic era, her social status is still unprecedented: at present, Heresankh is the only known priestess of the temples within the Memphite necropolis. Her uppermost rank in the social hierarchy of Memphis must have been connected to her ancestry. All other known women in Memphis during the Ptolemaic period are usually only sistrum players of various divinities. For example, all known consorts of Ptolemaic high priests of Ptah were usually designated as sistrum players.⁴⁵ Besides, the only other known perfect player of the sistrum of Min, the lord of Senut,⁴⁶ is Berenice, the daughter of a priest Meryptah and his wife Arsinoe, who died probably sometimes between 141-132 BC after a life of 64 years, 8 months and 26 days.⁴⁷ Also, according to the currently available sources, access to the highest offices within the sanctuaries at Saqqara and Abusir has been restricted only to the family of high priests of Ptah and their closest relatives.⁴⁸ Therefore, both H. de Meulenaere and J. Quaegebeur were right when they presumed that Heresankh belongs to the same family as Nesisti-Pedubast,⁴⁹ though for different reasons than those presented here.

3. Who was Heresankh?

Several scenarios were proposed for the identity of Heresankh. H. de Meulenaere initially proposed that Neferibre and Herankh, Heresankh's parents,⁵⁰ were identical with

close examination of this break by the present author, it is highly plausible that the next sign should be Gardiner O6, 'mansion, temple, enclosure (*hw.t*)', while in a break could have been written Gardiner D28, 'soul (*k3*)'. A new reading would therefore be *Hwt-k3-Pth* ('Enclosure of the ka of Ptah'), the name of the main cult centre at Memphis, but from the New Kingdom onwards also used to refer to the city itself (cf. Sandman Holmberg 1946: 214–215; Badawi 1948: 6–7).

⁴² cf. Collombert 2008: 84–85.

⁴³ cf. Devauchelle 1998: 597–600.

⁴⁴ cf. PM III², 818.

⁴⁵ This will be discussed elsewhere.

⁴⁶ For the epithet, see LGG III, 732.

⁴⁷ Panov 2017a: 378 n. 751.

⁴⁸ This will be discussed in detail elsewhere.

⁴⁹ cf. De Meulenaere 1959: 245–246; Quaegebeur 1980: 60 n. 7; followed by Hölbl 2001: 103; Pfeiffer 2017.

⁵⁰ De Meulenaere 1959: 244.

the like named parents of a priest Neferibre, dedicant of the stela Vienna 130.⁵¹ According to assumptions that Heresankh died in year 22 of Ptolemy II and was a predecessor of Nesisti-Pedubast in the cult of Philoteria, she was placed in the generation of Nefer(ibre), the grand-father of Nesisti-Pedubast,⁵² who was therefore identified with Neferibre B of Vienna 130 (Fig. 1).

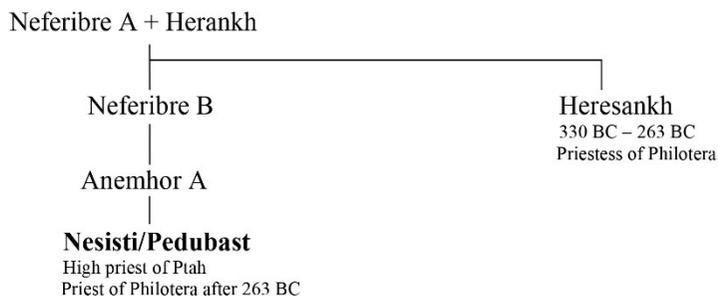


Fig. 1. The genealogy of Heresankh according to De Meulenaere

In that case, Heresankh would have been the great-aunt of Nesisti-Pedubast, who subsequently might have inherited her position in the cult of Philoteria. This reconstruction is solely based on the dating of Vienna 130 to the early fourth century BC by H. de Meulenaere. However, neither the dating of the stelae London BM EA 389 and Vienna 130, nor prosopographical information support this scenario. Since the stela London BM EA 389 is similar to the stela London BM EA 391 of high priest Horemakhet, as already mentioned above, the stela Vienna 130 shows striking similarities to another monument dedicated by a member of the family of high priests of Ptah, i.e. the so-called Saqqara stela of Nefertiti, the daughter of the same Horemakhet and his wife Nefersobek: instead of usual *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula on the beginning of the texts, both texts start with words of gods (*dd mdw jn*), while employment of hieroglyphic sign Gardiner W18 in noun *ḳbhw*, ‘libation’, instead of usual hieroglyphic sign Gardiner W15, and noun *mdt*, ‘ointment’, before *špst*, ‘ritual jar’ is consistent.⁵³ The *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula is also absent from the London stela of Horemakhet and the Bologna stela of Ahmose. On the other hand, P. Munro wrongly considered her as the daughter of high priest Anemhor II,⁵⁴ who was the father of high priest Horemakhet, assuming that Heresankhs of the London stela and the Louvre statue are two different women.⁵⁵ This idea is repeated recently, when M. Panov concluded that “there is no obvious close connections between the statue Louvre N 2456 and the stela [London] BM [EA]

⁵¹ Republished in Panov 2017a: 394–398 (with older literature).

⁵² cf. Kelley 1995: 35–36.

⁵³ Panov 2017a: 395. This has been already proposed by J. Quaegebeur (1974: 74–75).

⁵⁴ Munro 1973: 162.

⁵⁵ Coincidentally, the mother of Horemakhet had the same name as the mother of Heresankh, Herankh (PP III 6041 = PP IX 6052a), who is prominently attested on monuments of her sons. Nevertheless, these two women cannot be identical for various reasons, although are chronologically close.

389”.⁵⁶ Ultimately, it has been proposed that Heresankh could have been the daughter of another Neferibre, the son of high priest Nesisti-Pedubast,⁵⁷ which shall be revisited below.

The identification of her father should be a starting point for possible solution. Although it is almost certain that the name Neferibre was somewhat common during this period, it should be noted that the total number of leading priestly families at Memphis during the Ptolemaic era was, although impossible to calculate, rather small and that most of the preserved monuments in fact belong to them. Also, each of their members tends to have been connected to one another in a certain way since most of them had worked in the same or complementary state institutions and temples or moved in the same circles. Finally, certain families strictly controlled specific priestly offices at Memphis for generations and tended to extend their power to other priestly sectors in and beyond the city itself in various ways, using massively heredity, marriage and nepotism, as well as to combine their religious positions with different administrative offices.

If Heresankh was living as early as year 22 of Ptolemy II, either her father Neferibre A or her probable brother Neferibre B can be identified with Nefer(ibre), the grandfather of high priest Nesisti-Pedubast. Nefer(ibre) is known from the stela Vienna 82, dated to year 5 of Ptolemy XII (77/76 BC) dedicated by his descendant high priest Pedubast II,⁵⁸ and the statue Alexandria 27806,⁵⁹ probably depicting high priest Pedubast I identified here as the older son of Nesisti-Pedubast.⁶⁰ On the stela Vienna 82, Nefer(ibre) is ‘divine father, god’s servant, master of the secrets of the house of Ptah, of Rosetjau, of the Sarapieion, of the Osirion at Rutiset, and of the Anoubieion (*jt-ntr hm-ntr hrj sst3 n pr Pth R3-st3wprWsjr-Ḥp prWsjr m Rw.t-jsw.t prInpw*)’, while on the statue Alexandria 27806, he is ‘divine father, beloved of god, master of the secrets in the house of Ptah and of Rutiset (*jt-ntr mrj-ntr hrj sst3 n pr Pth Rw.t-jsw.t*)’. Both set of titles are given to the same person, showing moderate differences in the titulary. His son Anemhor is designated as ‘divine father, god’s servant, master of the secrets of the house of Ptah, of Rosetjau, of the Sarapieion, of the Osirion at Rutiset, and of the Anoubieion, hereditary noble, prince, god’s servant of Ptah, *setem*-priest (*jt-ntr hm-ntr hrj sst3 n pr Pth R3-st3wprWsjr-Ḥp prWsjr m Rw.t-jsw.t prInpw*)’ on the stela Vienna 82 and ‘divine father, beloved of god, master of the secrets in the house of Ptah and of Rutiset (*jt-ntr mrj-ntr hrj sst3 n pr Pth Rw.t-jsw.t*)’ on the statue Alexandria 27806. On both monuments, Nesisti(-Pedubast) is the first member of this family mentioned with the title of high priest. The titles of Nefer(ibre) roughly corresponds to the titles of Neferibre B and his father Neferibre A on the stela Vienna 130: the son is ‘divine father, *sem*-priest, god’s servant of Ptah, master of secrets of the house of Ptah and of Rosetjau (*jt-ntr smhm-ntr Pth hrj sst3 n pr Pth R3-st3w*)’, while his father is ‘divine father, god’s servant, master of secrets of the Sarapieion, of the Osirion of Rutiset, and of the Anoubieion (*jt-ntr hm-ntr hrj sst3 n prWsjr-Ḥp prWsjr Rw.t-jsw.t prInpw*)’. In fact, when combined, they correspond closely to the full set of titles given on the stela Vienna 82 and the statue Alexandria 27806. This means that the like named individuals mentioned on the stelae Vienna 82 and 130 and

⁵⁶ Panov 2017b: 48.

⁵⁷ cf. Quaegebeur 1980: 60 n. 7.

⁵⁸ Republished in Panov 2017a: 167-174 (with older literature).

⁵⁹ Republished in Panov 2017a: 157-158 (with older literature).

⁶⁰ cf. Bakry 1972: 75; Devauchelle 1983: 135, 138; Panov 2017a: 157.

the statue Alexandria 27806 respectively might be the one and the same. The main problem remains the dating of the stela Vienna 130. Earlier dating to the fourth century BC should be abandoned respecting already mentioned similarities to the Saqqara stela of Nefertiti, the daughter of high priest Horemakhet, who certainly died in the first half of the second century BC. Therefore, neither Neferibre A nor Neferibre B of Vienna 130 could be the same individual as Nefer(ibre), the grandfather of high priest Nesisti/Pedubast.

The connection between two families is Heresankh herself. As already mentioned above, the same sanctuaries in the Memphite areas specified in the titularies of the people attested on the stela Vienna 130 are mentioned in the titulary of Heresankh on her Louvre statue, showing that she served as the only known priestess in the same temples as her father Neferibre A and the two ancestors of high priest Nesisti/Pedubast respectively, while a full brother-sister relationship for her and Neferibre B is beyond certain. The internal organization of a text on the stela Vienna 130 is also helpful here. More specifically, the line 6 contains the names of Anemhor and Neferibre, the same ones of the father and grandfather of Nesisti/Pedubast, both holding the same sequence of Memphite priestly titles: ‘god’s servant of Ptah, master of the secrets of the house of Ptah and of Rosetjau (*hm-ntr Pth hrj sšt3 n pr Pth R3-sšw*)’. This set of titles covers the responsibilities for both the temple of Ptah within the city of Memphis and the Memphite necropolis, which perfectly corresponds to the titularies of Neferibre and his son Anemhor on the stela Vienna 82 and the statue Alexandria 27806 respectively. Nevertheless, the position of these names in the text of Vienna 130 is problematic. Both names hold the last and the penultimate position in a line of seven individuals: Neferibre son (*s3*) of Neferibre born to Herankh *s3* Psamtekmen *s3* Peteharendjotef *s3* Anemhor *s3* Neferibre. This would usually be interpreted as a linear ascent as it was already suggested by D. H. Kelley, who proposes to see here a linear paternal line of priests of Ptah reaching the First Persian Period (Fig. 2), hence identifying Neferibre son of Neferibre as the grand-father of Nesisti-Pedubast, but in reality only following the identifications made by H. de Meulenaere.⁶¹ However, the usual practice, when naming both parents and the ancestors of a father, was to name the father's ancestors before naming the mother.⁶² The problem was caused by the writing of the name of Neferibre’s mother between the name of his father and other names. H. de Meulenaere suggested that this could be an error and that it should be written ‘his son (*s3=f*)’ instead of only ‘son (*s3*)’ before four individuals named after Herankh, citing examples from the Sarapieion,⁶³ and transforming them into four sons of Neferibre B and not his ancestors. Additional argument for this proposal is the lineage of a priest Psamtekmen, attested on two undated statues Chicago F 31697 and Aquitaine 8636,⁶⁴ where he is designated as the son of Neferibre and Heru. This Neferibre is therefore identified with Neferibre B, the brother of Heresankh.

⁶¹ cf. Kelley 1995: 37.

⁶² Already discussed by De Meulenaere 1959: 244–245.

⁶³ De Meulenaere 1959: 245 n. 1.

⁶⁴ Republished in Panov 2017a: 390–393 (with older literature).

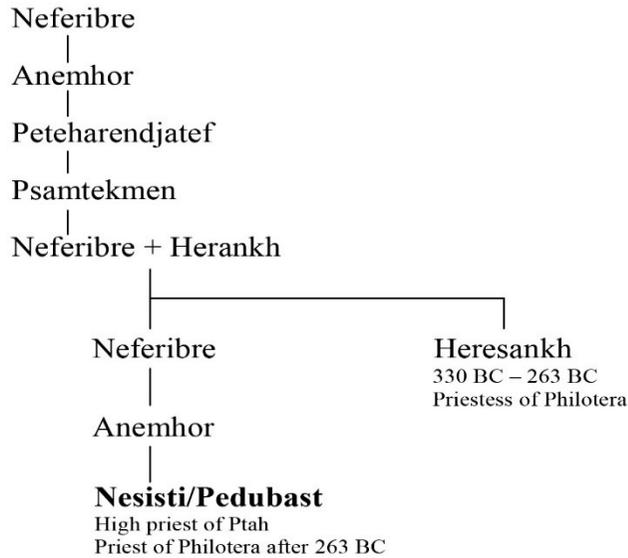


Fig. 2. The genealogy of Heresankh according to Kelley

Both of his arguments are unsustainable. In so far available non-royal stelae from the Sarapieion,⁶⁵ if the names of the children of dedicant are mentioned, they are always followed by the name(s) of their mother(s), which is clearly lacking on the stela Vienna 130. Possible solution is to suppose that a scribe originally intended to name the ancestors of the dedicant's mother, meaning that *s3* of Psamtekmen is an error for *s3<.t>* of Psamtekmen. This has already been proposed by P. Munro.⁶⁶ The feminine *-t* is found also omitted on the already mentioned Saqqara stela of Nefertiti, which is securely dated to the early second century BC.⁶⁷ If we add to these arguments that the funerary stela London BM EA 389 of Heresankh is similar to the funerary stela London BM EA 391 of high priest Horemakhet, the father of Nefertiti, it seems plausible that Heresankh and Neferibre were in fact contemporaries to high priest Horemakhet and his family. This only further speaks in favour of the death of Heresankh in year 22 of Ptolemy V, instead of Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III. As a result, Herankh, the mother of Heresankh, in fact belonged to the family of close relatives of high priests of Ptah, both lines having the joint ancestor in Anemhor, the father of high priest Nesisti-Pedubast (Fig 3.).

⁶⁵ For example, Louvre IM 4046 dated to year 34 of Darius I (Chassinat 1901: 84–85 cxlii), Louvre IM 4008 dated to year 34 of Darius (Chassinat 1899: 65–66 xxiii), Louvre IM 4072 dated to year 34 of Darius I (Chassinat 1899: 65 xxii) and others.

⁶⁶ Munro 1973: 342.

⁶⁷ cf. Panov 2017a: 195.

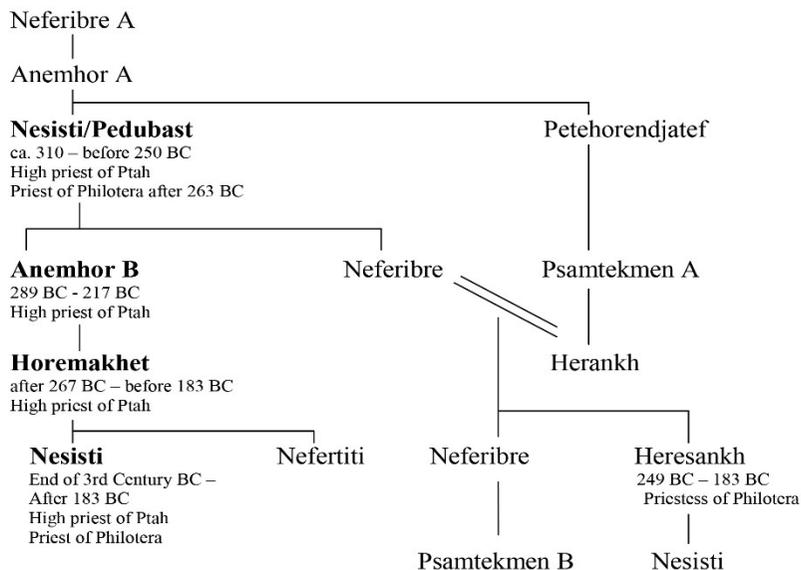


Fig. 3. The genealogy of Heresankh according to Marković

Additionally, the titles of Psamtekmen on the statues Chicago F 31697 and Aquitaine 8636 are slightly different from the titles mentioned for the like-named individual on the stela Vienna 130. Psamtekmen is ‘divine father, beloved of the god, *sem*-priest, [god’s] servant of Ptah, attendant of pleasant smell, one of big power, master of the secrets of the Osirion of Rutiset, god’s servant of Khnum, foremost of his bird trap (*jt-ntr mrj-ntr sm hm[-ntr] sdmndmstj wr b3w hrj sšt3 n prWsjr Rw.t-jsw.t hm-ntr Hnm hntjw3rt=f*)’⁶⁸ on both statues, while Psamtekmen of the stela Vienna 130 is ‘divine father, god’s servant, master of secrets of the Sarapieion, of the Osirion of Rutiset, and of the Anoubieion (*jt-ntr hm-ntr hrj sšt3 n prWsjr-Hp prWsjr Rw.t-jsw.t prInpw*)’, like his probable father Petehorendjatef, but distinctive from his probable grand-father Anemhor and his probable great-grand-father Neferibre. If we accept that individuals on Vienna 130 are maternal ancestors of its dedicant, that means that Psamtekmen on the statues Chicago F 31697 and Aquitaine 8636 could have been a son of Neferibre B, the brother of Heresankh, himself being named after his maternal great-grandfather, again a usual practice in Memphis for centuries.⁶⁹ If so, he should be designated as Psamtekmen B. His father is styled ‘the like-titled (*mj-nm*)’, meaning that he held all mentioned titles before them being transferred to his son. When we compare two sets of titles of Neferibre B of Vienna 130 and titles of the like-named individual on

⁶⁸ For the epithet, see LGG V, 795.

⁶⁹ The nice example is the stela Louvre IM 4097 dated to year 34 of Darius I (Chassinat 1901: 78–79 cxxxiii).

Psamtekmen B's statues, they are again fully complementary.

Positions 'attendant of pleasant smell' and 'one of big power' that are also missing from Vienna 130 are present on a papyrus Louvre N 3084 of Neferibre, son of high priest Nesisti-Pedubast and Nefersobek.⁷⁰ He is titled there 'god's father, attendant of pleasant smell, one of big power, god's servant'.⁷¹ That Neferibre of Chicago F 31697 + Aquitaine 8636 belonged to the family of high priests of Memphis imply the title of god's servant of Khnum, foremost of his bird trap. The only other two holders of this title are both named Anemhor, former being a high priest of Memphis that lived between 289 BC and 217 BC,⁷² and later being the Letopolite priest that lived between 217 BC and 132 BC.⁷³ High priest Anemhor was the full brother of Neferibre attested on Louvre N 3084. It is already proposed that this Neferibre could have been the same as the father of Heresankh,⁷⁴ which is a highly plausible scenario, since he is styled only as god's servant on her Louvre statue. In fact, when all titles are collected from all objects mentioning Neferibre (Table 1), all of his positions can be found already attested in the titulary of his brother, high priest Anemhor, attested on his funerary stela Vienna 153.⁷⁵ This would also explain the name of Heresankh's son Nesisti of unknown father: he was named after his paternal great-grandfather, high priest Nesisti-Pedubast. Close blood relation between two branches of the same family would therefore allow Heresankh to serve as a priestess of the most important Memphite sanctuaries and her birthdate around 249 BC fully corresponds to the time when her paternal grandfather, high priest Nesisti-Pedubast, died. After his death, the position within the cult of Philotera was only transferred to his granddaughter.

	<i>Jt- ntr</i>	<i>sm</i>	<i>hm- ntr</i>	<i>mrj -ntr</i>	<i>ḥrj sšṯ3 n prWsjr-Ḥp</i>	<i>ḥrj sšṯ3 n prInpw</i>	<i>sdmn dmstj</i>	<i>wr b3w</i>	<i>ḥrj sšṯ3 n prWsjr Rw.t-jsw.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr Ḥnm ḥntj wšrt=f</i>
Vienna 130	*	*	*	*	*	*	/	/	*	/
Chicago F 31697 + Aquitaine 8636	*	*	*	*	/	/	*	*	*	*
Louvre N 3084	*	/	*	/	/	/	*	*	/	/
Louvre N 2456 = IM 6165	/	/	*	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

Table 1 Titles of Neferibre B

⁷⁰ PP III 5647.

⁷¹ Panov 2017a: 129–130.

⁷² PP III 5352 = PP III 5442. PP IX also equates him to PP IX 5442a.

⁷³ cf. Panov 2014: 183–213.

⁷⁴ Quaegebeur 1971: 239, 246; Thompson 1988¹: 128.

⁷⁵ Republished in Panov 2017a: 132–135 (with older literature).

4. Conclusion

According to this reconstruction, Heresankh was the daughter of Neferibre, who was the son of Nesisti-Pedubast, a high priest of Memphis appointed by Ptolemy II. On the other hand, her mother, Herankh, was the grand-daughter of the brother of the same Nesisti-Pedubast, named Peteharendjatef, making this couple closely related: Neferibre married his first cousin's daughter. Heresankh also had a full brother, Neferibre B, who himself had a son named Psamtekmen B. Together with Heresankh's own son Nesisti, Psamtekmen B is the last known male member of this secondary branch. Heresankh herself lived very likely between 249 BC and 183 BC. Her significance as an offspring of two lines of the same powerful priestly family lies in the fact that she is the only known priestess of the most important sanctuaries in the Memphite necropolis, namely the Sarapieion, the Osirion of Rutiset and the Anoubieion, all located at Saqqara and Abusir. No other woman is known to have attained such high social standing in Memphis during the Ptolemaic period until Taneferhor or her daughter were named 'the great wife of Ptah (*t3 hm.t ʿ3.t Pth*)' in 44/43 BC.⁷⁶

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LGG = Leitz, Ch. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 8 vols, Leuven: Peeters, 2002-2003.

PM III = Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings IV: Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût)*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1934.

PP III = Peremans, W., E. van'tDack, H. de Meulenaere, and J. Ijsewijn, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica III: le clergé, le notarial, les tribunaux nos. 4984-8040*, Leiden: E. Nauwelaerts; E. J. Brill, 1956.

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⁷⁶ cf. Panov 2017a: 228–234 (with older literature).

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ЗАНИМЉИВ СЛУЧАЈ ХЕРЕСАНХ, „САВРШЕНЕ СВИРАЧИЦЕ МИНОВОГ СИСТРУМА” И „СВЕШТЕНИЦЕ КРАЉЕВЕ СЕСТРЕ ФИЛОТЕРЕ”

Резиме

Рад настоји да реши проблеме везане за идентификацију Хересанх, „савршене свирачице Миновог систрума” и „свештенице краљеве сестре Филотере”, и да предложи њен положај унутар бочне гране моћне породице врховних свештеника Мемфиса у време владавине династије Птоломеида. Истраживање указује да је она највероватније припадала бочној грани исте породице чије су обе линије имале заједничког претка у свештенику Анемхору, који је заправо био отац Несисти-Педубаста, првог Птаховог првосвештеника под хеленистичком династијом. Она је највероватније живела између 249. и 183. године пре нове ере. Брачна заједница њених родитеља, Неферибреа и Херанх, који су били у сродству морала је да утиче на њен друштвени положај у Мемфису будући да је Хересанх једина позната свештеница из најважнијих светилишта мемфиске некрополе - Серапеона, Озириона Рутисета и Анубиона, која се сва налазе у Сакари и Абусиру.

Кључне речи: Египат Птоломеја, домаће елите, Птахов првосвештеници, Мемфис, историја жена, свештенство.

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RELIGIOUS AGENCY, SACRALISATION AND TRADITION IN THE ANCIENT CITY

Abstract: Starting from a discussion against the notions of a unified ‘public religion’ my focus during the past decade has been on ‘religious individualization’ and the fluidity of religion captured by the concepts of ‘lived ancient religion’ and ‘religion in the making’. These concepts focus on the *inherent* dynamic qualities of those cultural products that I identify as religion in the course of historical analyses. And yet, the undeniable presence of traditions and even *canones* can be conceptualized beyond a world of individually fragmented religious practices and beliefs and incipient, ever-changing and also dissolving institutions that would be clustered together only in the form of narrative shorthand terms by historians. The paper offers a theoretical reflection on a concept of religion useful for the question of tradition and canonization, building on earlier proposals and developing those further by developing the notion of sacralisation. This will be framed by an historical assumption, namely that the processes of interest here are pushed in urban contexts. Here, my focus will be on the ancient Mediterranean.

Keywords: religious agency, sacralisation, urban religion, tradition, canon.

1. Introduction

Starting from the discussion against the notions of unified ‘public religion’ as entertained by ancient historians, one research focus during the past decade has been very much on ‘religious individualization’ and the fluidity of religion. This is captured by the sociological concept of ‘lived religion’ and its application to the study of ancient religion. To speak of ‘lived ancient religion’ is in accord with contemporary ‘lived religion’ by referring to individual religious practices beyond established traditions and institutionalized forms of religion.¹ However, ‘lived ancient religion’ does not stop at ancient ‘popular religion’, but includes the very making also of ‘public religion’, understood

¹ Such as proffered by Ammerman 1997; Hall 1997; Orsi 1997; McGuire 2008. – I am grateful to Elisabeth Begemann, Erfurt, for comments and the revision of the English text.

as strategies of members of the elite and their dramatically superior resources.² These resources typically dominate the archaeological and frequently also the textual records from these distant periods and obliterate our view on the dynamic character and situational meaning making even of these practices.

I have tried to capture this perspective onto religion by the phrase ‘religion in the making’. Rather by chance than by intention this is at the same time the title of an early work of Alfred North Whitehead, consisting of four lectures published in 1926. It did not come to my mind when I started to use the phrase, as I had read the book years ago in a German translation, entitled ‘Wie entsteht Religion?’.³ Whitehead’s title phrase is never repeated throughout the book, but helps to define my wording *ex negativo*, if read in the light of Whitehead’s formulation at the very beginning of the preface: ‘The aim of the lectures was to give a concise analysis of the various factors in human nature which go to form a religion, to exhibit the inevitable transformation of religion with the transformation of knowledge, and more especially to direct attention to the foundation of religion on our apprehension of those permanent elements by reason of which there is a stable order in the world, permanent elements apart from which there could be no changing world.’ Whitehead’s account is of a universal history of religion, its necessary change in the course of development of a rational world view and its permanent individual reproduction on the basis of aesthetic experiences that bring together the material and the noetic world. In historical terms, the religion of the Roman Empire is seen as the most advanced rational form of a ‘communal religion’ before the universal character of a rational religious world view necessarily distances the individual from every concrete social formation, helping her or him to arrange oneself in one’s solitariness, bringing a sort of transcendence into one’s limited and mortal immanence.⁴ If it is philosophical critique that questions the stability of religion and dogmas in Whitehead, my ‘making’, instead, focuses on the *inherent* dynamic quality of those cultural products that I identify as religion in the course of historical analyses.

All the more, the question remains of how the undeniable presence of ‘traditions’ and even ‘canons’ can be conceptualized beyond a world of individually fragmented religious practices and beliefs and ever-changing and also dissolving institutions that would be clustered together only in the form of narrative shorthand terms by historians. What I am going to offer in this paper is thus above all a theoretical reflection on a concept of religion that is able to capture both the fluidity of ‘religion in the making’ visible when focusing on religious agency and the notion of persistence, of trans-individual continuity, emphasized by the use of ‘tradition’. For this I am building on earlier proposals and developing these further. Necessarily, this is a historical enterprise, as both notions are used to account for historical and historically shifting phenomena. Focusing on circum-Mediterranean history, I assume that the most relevant historical factor is spatial rather than chronological. Thus, the second half of my article will be framed by an historical assumption, namely that the processes that are of interest here are pushed in urban contexts. Whether ‘pushing’ is a

² Rüpke 2016b; Albrecht *et al.* 2018.

³ Whitehead 1926, 1990.

⁴ Indeed, subchapter 6 ‘The Ascendance of Man’ of his first lecture dates the decisive shift to the first millennium BCE, thus approaching the notion of an ‘axial age’ *ante litteram* (1990, 31-33).

synonym for merely ‘furthered’ or ‘accelerated’ or amounts to ‘originated in’ needs to be discussed in the end on the basis of specific historical evidence.

2. Religious agency and sacralisation

For the study of the ancient Mediterranean world I have suggested to theorize religion as communication with special agents (sometimes including objects) – frequently conceptualized as god or gods, but in the period under consideration also ancestors or demons. These agents are accorded agency in a not unquestionably plausible way. Plausibility is as much a result of the rhetorical efforts of the speaker as of the situational circumstances and cultural notions shared by actors and observers. Communication with or concerning such ‘divine’ agents might reinforce or reduce human agency, create or modify social relationships and change power relationships.⁵ Religious agency, hence, is a) the agency attributed to such non-human or in this regard supra-human agents, and b) the agency of human instigators (and their human audiences) of such communication. I am quite aware that there is a lot of phenomenologically comparable ritual action that does not assume the inclusion of such non-human agents. However, I deliberately restrict my definition to studying the consequences of the invention of that type of agency, which I will call ‘divine agency’ (religious agency type A) in order to differentiate it from human religious agency (type B). In the eyes of the contemporaries the latter type of agency derives from the former and it might consequently be attributed to the one (respectively those) who took a primary role in the communication (whether conceptualized as ‘mediators’, ‘saints’ or just ‘pious’ and exemplary). It could also be attributed and arrogated by further participants or the peers, family, followers or contacts of the primary group. It might also be used in a reversed manner, by negating the power, legitimacy, honesty or piety of those excluded from the temporary or lasting relationship established in the initial or repeated act of communication.

It is the enlargement of the dyadic to a triadic model of communication that takes an audience into account, which leads back to the problem of plausibility, briefly raised at the beginning. Plausibility is a rhetorical category, tying the success of communication to an approving audience, as I have pointed out in my earlier piece.⁶ However, I suggest turning to semiotics for a more detailed description of what is going on. So far, I have deliberately avoided talking about media of communication and the use of signs, not least in order to start from a simple model, where the addresser’s own body and speech constitute the most basic form of what needs to be conceived of as symbolic communication. Again, I am aware that historically, ritual behaviour might well precede language.⁷

I will put off further details regarding signs for the moment, but of course admit that my initial dyad already has a triadic structure, including – to use Charles S. Peirce’s terms – the sign proper (*representamen*), the interpretant and the object represented.⁸ The interpretant

⁵ Rüpke 2015.

⁶ Rüpke 2015.

⁷ See Bellah 2011: 132-3.

⁸ See Peirce 1986; Peirce 1991. I am grateful to Anders Klostergaard Petersen to referring me to Peirce on multiple occasions.

is not simply the religious agent speaking, but her or his conception of the sign. This conception includes, in Peirce's pragmatic turn, all the possible practical effects of the sign, and thus ties in with the concept of this person's religious agency. The semiotic perspective and semiosis, that is, the creation of a chain of meaningful signs, do not stop here. The process of interpretation continues, as the interpretation is an interpretation for an audience now itself engaging in interpretation of the semiotic complex put before its eyes and ears.

The attribution of meaning as well as the imagining of effects do not come from nothing, but are drawing on previous experiences, shared meanings and imaginings, and shared strategies of interpretation.⁹ Even if limitless in principle, the probable range of interpretations is thus restricted, without excluding creativity.¹⁰ There is no zero point in an encounter between a user and a sign. Any articulation of this encounter – or more precisely of the experience, in which such a sign is involved – is already participating in language and shared meaning thus conveyed.¹¹ This is not to advocate a culturalist approach. Linguistic research has demonstrated the quickly changing character as well as the interpersonal and inter-group differences of language.¹² The varieties of often implicit meaning or meaning communicated in the form of narratives or images go far beyond the clear-cut dichotomies favoured in structuralist interpretations or the systematization attempted by indigenous or academic 'intellectuals'.

Evidently, I conflate the perspectives of articulation – focusing on the initiator – and interpretation – focusing on the audience – with the specific character of religious communication in mind. Religious communication is communication with divine agents that are not undeniably relevant. As it is the very communication that brings the divine agents into situational relevance and thus situational existence, the pragmatic efficiency and the plausibility of such communication is stressed for the agent as well as for the audience by the intensive use of media. In fact, the very act of communication and the massiveness of the media involved produce and further strengthen the existence of the otherwise invisible addressees.¹³ The media-intensity of religious communication is not the least reason for its presence in archaeological records from different regions and periods.

It is at this point of my argument that I would like to introduce the notion of sacralization and the sacred. I propose to use 'sacralizing' as referring to actions and processes that include elements of the situation – objects, space, time – into the act of religious communication and ascribe meaning to them. Sunrise or the day of the full moon are thus marked as specifically conducive, a hot spring or the top of a hill or a tomb are elements places of more successful communication; a torch, an animal killed, a valuable dress or a block of stone might support the formulation and conveying of one's message. Thus, the instigators make their communicational intention more relevant to the addressees and their communication as a whole more relevant to any audience. They are heard by the gods and seen by their fellow humans.¹⁴

⁹ For the latter see Fish 1995.

¹⁰ Joas 1996.

¹¹ See Jung 2005.

¹² Keller 1994; Bownen *et al.* 2015: 225-553; Brinton 2017; Filppula *et al.* 2017.

¹³ See Rüpke 2007a.

¹⁴ Sacralization is here developed on the model of Catherine Bell's 'ritualization' (Bell 1992).

The notion developed so far allows us to speak of ‘temporary sacralization’. A place is used for religious communication and subjected to specific interpretations, maybe even rules of behaviour for the duration of the communication (which would usually take the form of a ritual, but I try to avoid the introduction of a further concept right now). This might be a marketplace for a prayer or a street for a procession. Usually, such a temporary sacralization would not leave any traces, unless a bronze plaque commemorates the visit of particularly important religious actors, a guru, saint, pope or the like. Nor would such a place strengthen the character of an action as ‘religious’ in a future instance, unless great efforts are made to re-activate the former ascription of a special character by way of remembrance or full re-enactment. Sacralization need, however, not encompass the whole site. It could focus on single, even small objects that happen to be available or are consciously introduced into or produced within the situation. ‘Gifts’ or ‘tokens’ referring to the communicants involved or the message to be transferred are widespread.¹⁵ A particular dress or objects attached to the body – festive garments, crowns, ornaments, again also of temporary character like colours – are in use.

It is now easier to imagine the processes of interpretation in their temporal extension. Objects (places, times), sacralized to different degrees, would already create presuppositions for the processes of interpretation connected with the communicative action proper. Re-use or the addition of new objects into the process of framing could strengthen and would intensify the religious character. Sacralization is a matter of quantity and scale.¹⁶ Perhaps only under certain conditions and in specific cultural contexts could such processes produce debates about a dichotomic character as ‘sacred’ as opposed to ‘profane’ (literally: ‘in front of the sanctuary’).¹⁷ As is well known, these debates, reformulated as religion and its opposite, society, have been important in Europe and beyond up to the present day.¹⁸

The argument started from the notion of agency and has to come back to it. By invoking in specific situations agents or authorities held to be divine, human agents acquire extended possibilities for imagining and acting. In this way, religious agency, specifically the attribution of agency to ‘divine agents’ or the like, allows the human agent to develop ideas that transcend the situation in question. This may lead to creative strategies adequate to the situation, whether we are talking about principals in ritual performance or of individuals working through possession attributed to a divine being. Performing ritual action or claiming religious knowledge creates powerful allies, spaces, and audiences and, in the long run, even networks. But the converse is also possible. The same mechanism can also trigger an abjuration of personal agency, resulting in impotence and passivity, with agency being reserved for the divine agents. Quietism, or even voluntary death illustrate this.

Evidently, such agency or patiency could find expression and duration in processes of sacralisation and space, time or objects thus sacralized. *Vice versa*, such agency could be supported by means of employing or situating itself in sacralised context. Praying in a

¹⁵ See e.g. van Straten 1981; Linders *et al.* 1987; also Auffarth 1995; Rüpke 2018a.

¹⁶ Thus, concepts like ‘sacral topography’ or ‘sacred landscape’ (e.g. Cancik 1985; MacCormack 1990; Caseau 1999; Ando 2001; Steinsapir 2005; Ceccarelli 2008; Hahn 2008) need also to be discussed with regard to the degree of sacralization – as much as to visibility, readability and intentionality.

¹⁷ On *profanus* see Rüpke 2006; for Greek concepts see Casevitz 2010.

¹⁸ See e.g. Burchardt *et al.* 2013.

temple, sacrificing on a holiday, preaching in a priestly garment would enhance religious agency, if only the power position of the actor allows her or him to enlist such resources.¹⁹ It is a process of negotiating and appropriating such institutional resources: whether they are the outcome simply of previous, comparable actions of prestigious individuals or the outcome and shape of a powerful organization, such as a priesthood running a temple, or a magistrate or ruler who had dedicated places, buildings, altars etc. before and might use it again. Performance and novelty of religious agency interfere with institutionalized sacrality in many different and even potentially opposing ways. The new actor might also be regarded as an impostor, heretic, illegitimate or simply unworthy. All this depends on the audience present or indirect, later observers and their relationship to the human religious actor, whether they are neutral, perhaps mobilizable contemporaries, people obligated to existing institutional powers or just family and followers of the initiator. Growing degrees of publicity enlarge risks and potentials.

To briefly conclude my terminological proposal, it is obvious that such a concept of sacralization and resulting degrees of sacredness are very different from notions of ‘the sacred’ as used in sociological or theological reflections from Rudolf Otto through Mircea Eliade to Hans Joas.²⁰ It is inspired foremost by the Latin concept of *sacer*, describing property of the gods, but also by the Hebrew concept of *qadosh*, describing God and his radiance into the world with decreasing degrees of intensity. Stressing the transformation in the former case, *sacer*, my concept of sacralization inverts the agency of the latter concept, *qadosh*.

3. Selectivity and canonicity as intensification of sacralization

The notion of sacralisation so far developed allows for different degrees or intensity of sacrality. This might be further specified by introducing the term canonicity²¹ as it is being used in the historiography of religion. Here, a canon is produced by the selectivity and intensity of sacralization.²² Power is translated into decisions about the restriction of high degrees of sacredness. Within the framework of sacralization this can be easily illustrated by a few examples from ancient Rome:

* Only certain dates, by decision of the Roman senate, are qualified as *nefas* (*piaculo*), *NP*. Thus, a number of political and juridical activities are forbidden or made precarious, but other religious qualifications of days are denied these consequences.²³

* Only certain places are accorded the quality of being *sacer*. On the one hand, this depends on the decision and participation of officials, on the other, it is in terms of public property and in terms of geography Roman soil only that could be accorded such a quality, which excluded further economic transactions and private occupation – at least in principle.²⁴

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion see e.g. Patzelt 2018 (for praying) or Rüpke 2013 and Rüpke 2018b (for sanctuaries).

²⁰ Otto 1917, 2014 (dazu Deuser 2014); Eliade 1961; Urban 2003; Joas 2017.

²¹ I am grateful to the Leiden research group on canonical cultures and the opportunity to discuss part of this argument with them, in particular with Peter Bisschop, Ab de Jong and Elizabeth Cecil.

²² For concept of ‘canon’ see e.g. Assmann *et al.* 1987; Hahn 1987; Cancik 1997; Becker 2012b; Wallraff 2013; Folkert 1989; Citroni 2006; Thomassen 2010.

²³ See Rüpke 2011.

²⁴ Gai. *inst.* 2.3-5; on the problem Ando 2011; 2015.

* Only certain rituals (of course addressed to certain gods) are paid out of public funds, in the form of *sacra publica*. Again this does neither exclude other gods nor other forms of worship, but awards not only the necessary means but also the protection of tradition and respectability, demonstrated by the involvement of *magistratus* or *sacerdotes publici*, state officials and religious practitioners from the upper echelons of society legitimized by formal elections or cooptations.²⁵

* Knowledge that might be termed ‘canonical’ is defined by texts only in exceptional cases. For Rome, the notable exception I think of are the Sibylline books, oracular texts collected, reviewed and endorsed or alternatively burnt after the loss of the original collection at the time and by the authority of Augustus.²⁶ Otherwise, knowledge is conceptualized as traditional and hence bound to persons. It is the *mos maiorum*, which is typically invoked by claim-makers. This ‘tradition’ offers the flexibility of the unwritten as much as the varieties of a multi-vocal past of competing individuals and families.²⁷ In the conception of a regulated religion by M. Tullius Cicero in his treatise “On laws, it is the public priests who authoritatively ‘know’ about matters religious and accord or acknowledge the legitimate rituals and even gods.²⁸ In Tiberian times, Valerius Maximus fully endorsed this idea and built his collection of contemporary and earlier *exempla* – as far as religion is concerned – on this notion.²⁹

If canonization is a medium of control – not exclusively, but also *within* the realm of religion – it presupposes competition within this very field, that is, a form of conflict that cannot be solved by subduing, driving out or destroying the competitor as in the case of external enemies. Obviously, canonization does not include an ‘international’ field, the rules of which are described as ‘every state has its religion and we have ours’.³⁰ Universality comes in as a local argument only.³¹

The thesis that I will try to plausibilize in the following is that the formation of social groups in the form of religious traditions organized and controlled by processes of canonization is a phenomenon related to urbanity, to urban styles of life and the conditions of the city and proliferating into the countryside from here. Of course, such a far-reaching claim cannot be inductively proven. Hence, I will dedicate the rest of my paper to at least plausibilizing such a claim by way of reconstructing the characteristics of life in cities that make such developments seem adaptive, if I may choose a term redolent of the concept of (cultural) evolution.³²

4. Reflecting on the urban

The city as a focal point of movements and relations and as a particular social and spatial arrangement has never been a major concern of research as a condition crucial to the religious practices of antiquity and as the driving force of religious change. In almost all

²⁵ See Scheid 2003; Rüpke 2007b.

²⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 31.1.

²⁷ See Wallace-Hadrill 1997; 2008; Habinek *et al.* 1997; Habinek 1998; Rüpke 2012.

²⁸ Cic. *leg.* 2.20. See Rüpke 2016c: 29, 38-42.

²⁹ Rüpke 2016a.

³⁰ Thus formulated in Cic. *Flacc.* 69.

³¹ Rüpke 2009.

³² See Klostergaard Petersen 2012.

research on cities in the deep past (i.e. prior to the late medieval and early modern period) it is mainly assumed that the task is to illustrate how the viability of the city is grounded in a religious identity that is by the same token also a political one.³³ And yet, classic studies on ancient religion do offer valuable points of departure. Research on the relationship of religion and urbanity in a historical perspective was actually begun by a classicist, Numa Fustel de Coulanges's *La cité antique*.³⁴ Whereas in Urban Studies Fustel is acknowledged as a pioneer,³⁵ his name is surprisingly absent from many studies of ancient polis religion, even if some of his ideas are very present, above all in the complex model of centre and periphery (*chora*) proposed by François de Polignac for Greek poleis.³⁶ Polis religion has widely been used in order to capture the location of temples in critical, usually central places and the creation of public space for public rituals,³⁷ but the focus has been on civic identity rather than spatial practices.

It is evident that an equivocal concept of 'city' cannot grasp the different forms of larger or denser settlements, central places and functional centres offering multiple services³⁸ that have been addressed as 'cities' or are consciously denied the label of 'city'.³⁹ For the present argument, focusing on Mediterranean antiquity, this problem can be bracketed by falling back on a polythetic definition formulated in a tradition that originated in, and dealt with, modern American cities,⁴⁰ though modified according to this inquiry's interests.⁴¹ The common focus is the perspective on urban space as a 'lived space', a built environment that is appropriated, used and reshaped by agents who entertain their individual (and collective) notions of these spaces and their living therein.⁴² It is not the city, but life in the city, the way of life developed in and shaped by cities, that is focussed on.⁴³

First of all, 'city' is a spatial form that organizes and regulates phenomena of density on a larger scale. This high density as a basis for some of the following is in social terms above all an increase in the contact zones and contacts of inhabitants and visitors.⁴⁴ As urban growth relied above all on immigration, be it permanent or temporary, the attractiveness of cities was important; a city is hence a place offering specific opportunities and evoking certain hopes. This has been addressed by the concept of urban aspirations.⁴⁵

The heterogeneity of the city is an important dividing line with regard to even larger villages. The city is a place engendering diversity, not only as a result of the heterogeneous

³³ See the studies in Yoffee 2015; exception: Sinopoli 2015, focused on religion in cities dominated by competing merchants.

³⁴ Fustel de Coulanges 1864; 1956.

³⁵ See Yoffee *et al.* 2015: 7.

³⁶ de Polignac 1984.

³⁷ e.g. Zuiderhoek 2017: 65.

³⁸ e.g. Smith *et al.* 2015.

³⁹ Cf. Smith 2003.

⁴⁰ Wirth 1938: 1964.

⁴¹ Thanks go to Emiliano Urciuoli, Asuman Lätzer-Lasar, Maik Patzelt and Harry O. Maier as collaborators in the drawing of this list.

⁴² See Lefebvre 1974; Löw 2016.

⁴³ E.g. Manderscheid 2004; for antiquity e.g. Kolb 1984; Cunliffe *et al.* 1995.

⁴⁴ Löw 2008.

⁴⁵ See van der Veer 2015.

origins of its inhabitants but as its permanent production. Thus, conflict is endemic. As a consequence, homogenization and standardization are of interest for the government. To make the city 'legible', systems of documentation, writing above all, have been typically invented and furthered in the close quarters of alluvial plains or cities.⁴⁶ Cities are places subject to administrative attempts at comprehensive organization. It is in the service of the latter that ancient religion has been seen above all, resulting in a very narrow view of religion and above all religious change.⁴⁷

Characteristic is a division of labour, even if many city-dwellers' occupations' and/or livelihoods might be related to agriculture, whether as investments or actual practice. Even in Mediterranean antiquity, a city is usually a place inhabited by a substantial population of non-food-producing individuals pursuing different trades (including intellectual occupations) on the basis of an agricultural surplus. Intellectualization, based on urban writing systems, was a major effect. Such intellectuals are also important for the elaboration, but not instigation of the last characteristic: a city is a place that is recognized as city and defined contrastively against (culturally variable forms of) non-city. In the long run, imaginaries of cities, one's own and others', are developed. Certainly, economies of scale for such processes cannot be disregarded. In terms of intellectual production, cities like Antioch, Alexandria and Rome were exponentially productive. And yet basic institutional conditions like writing, books or even theatres and similar places of complex mass communication beyond rhetorical addresses of the rulers were present even in much smaller cities.

To sum up, given the quality of religious communication to produce a specific agency, religious practices might be intimately bound up with the dualism of strive for homogeneity, that is power and administration, and diversity, that is securing spaces for the preservation or development of specific ways of living and identities. This potential need not be exploited in every path of urbanization nor in every phase of a city's lifetime, but it certainly was important and much mobilized in classical Greek, Hellenistic and imperial phases of urbanization.⁴⁸ It is with a view at these periods and forms of urban life that I pursue my argumentation.

5. Urbanism and the formation of religious groups

As stated above, frequent encounters and dense networks, but also fluid and exchangeable relationships are typical of cities.⁴⁹ Religious communication, bringing the 'beyond' temporarily or permanently into communicative space, is a practice induced and shaped by and re-creating space.⁵⁰ In the ancient Mediterranean world, religious communication was reinforced by sacralizing objects or spaces and was manifest in material form even in non-religious uses of space.⁵¹ Creating religious space was part of an ongoing process of claiming and appropriating urban space as a whole. Within the many overlapping

⁴⁶ For the former Mann 1986; for the latter Law *et al.* 2015.

⁴⁷ See Rüpke 2018b.

⁴⁸ A short overview: Zuiderhoek 2017.

⁴⁹ Simmel 1917; Blum 2003.

⁵⁰ Becci *et al.* 2013; Rüpke 2017.

⁵¹ Insoll 2009; Droogan 2013; Raja, Rüpke 2015b.

spaces, religion thus could also create, over-determine and negate other spaces. This might be temporary in the case of dances or processions⁵² or permanent in the case of images and architecture. In both cases, the presence of signs or traces of religious practices shapes urban ‘lived space’ and stimulates memories of a particularly tenacious character.⁵³

The same holds true if we turn to the appropriation of time. Synchronization and de-synchronization are interests and activities that are present simultaneously. On the one hand, big spaces were laid out for religious action bringing together a multitude of people at the very same moment. ‘Games’, races as well as plays performed on *scaenae*, were a religious technique of centralization and synchronization that spread rapidly in the ancient Mediterranean world.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, for centuries ancient Rome shunned the building of permanent theatres in order not to provide space for any counter-publics.⁵⁵ The use of religion to produce such counter-publics is hardly visible in Rome during the republic, but appears in an exemplary manner and in exceptionally controversial form with the *Bacchanalia* closed down, destroyed or restricted by the legal and military efforts following the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 BCE.⁵⁶ Otherwise, it is the many small sanctuaries, frequently not as clearly identifiable in the archaeological record as the Mithraic caves, that appear in the imperial period along the circuses and amphitheatres that demonstrate the parallel strands of unity and diversity.⁵⁷

In Athens and other Greek poleis, Orphic groups might have developed early⁵⁸ as part of an urbanity that also found its expression of unity (above all of a male and freeborn citizen body) in rituals and monumentalized central places and architectures. For a long period, the development of different bodies of knowledge taking the form of texts was a means of developing and supporting diversity rather than unity. At least so it seems from the bird’s eye view. On the level of competing intellectuals and their attempts to forge stable networks of followers, the opposite is true. It is new texts that claim authority, investing in a self-canonization by means of authorial personae and narrative voices.⁵⁹

For all this competition, urban space was not simply a mere spatial *setting*. To capture this, a further term is of help. Recent urban studies have taken up the term ‘aspirations’ from studies of social mobility⁶⁰ to describe driving motifs and attitudes of immigrants as well as inhabitants, that is, the hopes and ideas connected with urban life and the employment of religion for such ends, resulting in ‘urban religious aspirations’.⁶¹ It is part of the way of life described as urbanity to develop an image of the chosen or given city that might motivate temporary or permanent migration and is a driving force of adaption and integration with regard to survival, economic success and possibly even the development of

⁵² See e.g. Connor 1987; Fless *et al.* 2007; Chaniotis 2013; Stavrianopoulou 2015.

⁵³ Rau, Schwerhoff 2008; Hurllet 2014; Dey 2015; Galinsky 2016; Latham 2016.

⁵⁴ Bernstein 2007.

⁵⁵ Dupont 1986; Sear 2006; Goldberg 2007; Manuwald 2011.

⁵⁶ See Pailler 1988; de Cazanove 2000; Flower 2002.

⁵⁷ Armhold 2015; Van Andringa 2015.

⁵⁸ See Guthrie 1966; Obbink 1997; Bernabé Pajares 2008 ; Burkert 2011; Edmonds 2011; Bremmer 2016; Jackson 2016 and Edmonds III 2013.

⁵⁹ Becker 2012b, a.

⁶⁰ Appadurai 2004.

⁶¹ Goh *et al.* 2016.

cultural capital. It is here that again religion and religious agency comes in, for instance, urban identities couched in religious terms even in the fourth to sixth centuries CE.⁶² The transactional tissue of high-density urban activities has plausibly been claimed to foster human reflexivity and led to cultural innovations by addressing problems in novel ways.⁶³

This creative stimulus is two-fold. On the one hand, religious innovations enlarge agency in attempting to deal with the specific problems raised and the opportunities provided by cities; the Attic drama of the Dionysiac festivals at Athens and the proliferating games of the Roman republic are cases in point. On the other hand, new cultural productions may generate new urban issues, challenge socio-political and religious leaderships, and eventually complicate the life of city dwellers instead of simply facilitating it. Prophecy and the struggle to contain it offers an example.⁶⁴ As outlined above, religious communication is part and parcel of this, reflection as much as resource and driving force. Non-urban space might invite religious communication in a plurality even of distant places like tombs or extra-urban sanctuaries that do not enter direct competition by the lack of diverse and institutionalized stake-holders and might enforce unity even in domestic space by way of social pressure in the overlapping of primary and secondary groups. In contrast, dense interaction and the carving out of particular spaces within city-space demands explicit forms of shared meanings or identities or networks. High visibility and a large range of aesthetic forms is characteristic for the iconic religion prominent in cityspace,⁶⁵ phenomena that can be captured by the concept of sacralization as developed above. In a way unknown to smaller settlements and their social groups, religious communication produces and depends on sacralizing space, time and material environment, and participates in shaping the built environment as well as social structures. It is cities and the urbanity developed therein that for such groups afford and necessitate the formation of recognizable traditions and maybe even the form of intensiveness and selectivity called 'canonization'. Here, sacralization is taken to a further degree of intensity and mobility at the same time. This does neither exclude creativity nor copying urban phenomena by non-urban actors. But it seems plausible that it was cities that asked for and offered the conditions for development, institutionalization and thus transmission.

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⁶² Caseau 1999; Dey 2014; Jacobs 2014.

⁶³ Soja 2000, 14-15; see also Storper 1997. I am grateful to Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli for these references.

⁶⁴ E.g. the Roman *carmina Marciana*, late republican and early imperial *vates* or Judaeo-Christian apocalypics, see Potter 1990; Momigliano 1992; Wiseman 1992; Bendlin 2002; 2011.

⁶⁵ See Knott *et al.* 2016.

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ЈОРГ РУПКЕ

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РЕЛИГИЈСКО ДЕЛОВАЊЕ, САКРАЛИЗАЦИЈА И ТРАДИЦИЈА У ДРЕВНИМ ГРАДОВИМА

Резиме

Овај рад представља теоретско разматрање концепта религије који је користан за питања традиције и канонизације у древној медитеранској религији. У истраживању се полази од појма религиозног деловања и динамике религије у изградњи улоге трајнијих предмета у религијској комуникацији. Уводи се појам сакрализације и различитих степена и темпоралности светог да би се обухватили процеси изградње традиције. У раду се тврди да се такви процеси најчешће дешавају у урбаним контекстима.

Кључне речи: религијско деловање, сакрализација, урбана религија традиција, канон.

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IDEAS OF STOIC PHILOSOPHY IN SERBIAN MEDIAEVAL LAW

Abstract: Although the textbooks of Stoic philosophers did not survive from the period of independence of the Serbian mediaeval State (from the 12th to the 15th century), some Stoic ideas emerged in Serbia through the texts of Roman lawyers, who in the period of the Principate wrote under the great influence of Stoic philosophy. However, Serbian lawyers did not read the original Latin works of Roman jurists, but rather their Greek translations and adaptations from Byzantine legal miscellanies. Some ideas of Stoic philosophy could be found in several chapters of the Serbian translation of the *Syntagma*, a nomokanonic miscellany put together in 24 titles (each title has a sign of one of the letters of Greek alphabet) by the monk Matheas Blastares from Thessaloniki. The fragments were taken from Roman *jurisprudentes* Gaius and Florentinus.

Keywords: Stoic philosophy, Roman law, Gaius, Florentinus, *Epanagoge*, *Syntagma* of Matheas Blastares, Serbian mediaeval law.

Although the textbooks of Stoic philosophers did not survive from the period of independence of the Serbian mediaeval State (from the 12th to the 15th century),¹ some Stoic ideas were present in the translated fragments of Roman *jurisprudentes*, who in the period of the Principate wrote under the great influence of Stoic philosophy. However, Serbian jurists (regrettably, we do not know their names) did not use the original Latin books from Roman lawyers. They translated several Byzantine legal miscellanies,²

¹ It is very possible that Serbian mediaeval scholars read the fragments of Stoic philosophers from the Byzantine compilations that did not survive because among the remaining literal sources we can find popular works from the antiquity such as “The Romance of Troy” (Ο Πόλεμος της Τρωάδος) and “The Romance of Alexander.” However, “The Romance of Troy” and “Romance of Alexander” could have come to mediaeval Serbia from Adriatic maritime towns, first of all Dubrovnik (Ragusa). See *Stara srpska književnost* 21, 1986.

² The Serbian law from the early 13th century developed under the direct influence of the Byzantine law. The first Byzantine legal miscellany that appeared in Serbia around 1219 was the *Nomokanon of Saint Sabba* or *Krmčija* (from Russian *Кормчая книга*, lit. *The Pilot's Book*). On his way back from Nicaea (Νίκαια, modern *Iznik* in Turkey), where the Serbian Church got its autocephalous, Sabba stopped in Thessaloniki where he probably

which contained some fragments of Roman *jurisprudentes* inspired by the ideas of Stoic philosophy.

In the 14th century the Serbian monarchy became more powerful than the Byzantine, but the ideal of a world Empire was still attractive to Serbs. The system of the hierarchical world order was still found,³ but the desire of the Serbian Kings was to become Emperors themselves. This was realized in 1346, when King Dušan proclaimed himself *the true-believing Tsar and Autocrat of the Serbs and the Greeks*. Educated as a young man in Constantinople, Dušan knew very well that if his State pretended to become an Empire, it should have, *inter alia*, its own independent legislation. Accordingly he began preparations for his own Law Code immediately after the establishment of the Empire, following the examples of his model, the great Byzantine Emperors and legislators Justinian I, Basil I and Leo VI. In a charter of 1346, in which he announced his legislative programme, he said that the Emperor's task was to *make the laws that one should have* (ЗАКОНИ ПОСТАВИТИ ЈАКОЖЕ ПОДОВАЉЕТИ ИМЕТИ).⁴ These laws are undoubtedly the laws of the type which Byzantine Emperors had, namely general legislation for the whole of the State's territory. In the social and political circumstances the Serbian Emperor (Tsar) had to accept the existing Graeco-Roman (Byzantine) law, although modified in accordance with the Serbian custom. A completely independent codification of the Serbian law without any Graeco-Roman law could not be produced and therefore Serbian lawyers created a special *Codex Tripartitus* codifying both the Serbian and Byzantine law. The Russian scholar Timofey Dmitrievich Florinsky (Тимофей Дмитриевич Флоринский) noticed this as long ago as 1888, pointing out that in the oldest manuscripts Dušan's Code is always accompanied by two compilations of the Byzantine law: the so-called "Justinian's Law" and the abbreviated *Syntagma of Matheas Blastares*.⁵ Dušan's Law Code, in the narrow sense, is the third part of a larger Serbo-Graeco-Roman codification.⁶

composed the famous *Nomokanon* (from Greek νόμος = law and κανόν = rule; ЗАКОННОПРАВИЛО in Slavonic translation). The ecclesiastical rules of the *Nomokanon* (Νομοκάνων) were taken from two Byzantine canonical collections, with the canonist's glosses: the *Synopsis* (Σύνοψις) of Stephen from Ephesus (beginning of the 6th century), with the interpretations of Alexios Aristenes (Ἀλέξιος Ἀριστηνός, about 1130) and the *Syntagma* (Σύνταγμα) in XIV titles (a work of an anonymous author composed between 577 and 692), with the interpretations of John Zonaras (Ἰωάννης Ζωναράς, first half of the 12th century). Among the Roman (Byzantine) laws (νόμοι), Saint Sabba's *Nomokanon* contains the whole *Procheiron* (Πρόχειρος Νόμος, *Handbook* or *The Law Ready at Hand*) of Basil I (ЗАКОНА ГРАДСКАГО ГЛАВЫ in Serbian translation) and a translation of 87 titles of *Justinian's Novels* (*Collectio octoginta septem capitulorum*). The author of this collection, done before 565, was the Patriarch of Constantinople John Scholastikos (Ἰωάννης Σχολαστικός). The *Nomokanon* of Saint Sabba has no prototype in any Byzantine or Slavonic codex and it retained its place within the Serbian legal system being neither challenged nor abrogated. However, it is really strange that until nowadays we have no critical edition of *Nomokanon*. The only edited fragment is the text from the *Procheiron* (*Zakon gradski*) based upon the transcript of the Morača monastery in Montenegro (Dučić 1877; 34-134). In 1991 appeared the photoprint reproduction of the *Iloviša* (monastery in Montenegro) *Manuscript* from 1262 (Petrović 1991). The translation into the modern Serbian language contains the translation of chapters 1-47, while the whole text has 64 chapters (Petrović, Štavljanin-Đorđević 2005).

³ Ostrogorski 1956: 11.

⁴ Novaković 1898: 5; SANU 1997: 430.

⁵ Florinsky 1888.

⁶ Šarkić 1990: 141-156.

The so-called “Justinian’s Law” was a short compilation of 33 articles regulating agrarian relations. The majority of these articles were taken over from the famous *Farmer’s Law* (Νόμος Γεωργικός), issued between the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th centuries. This law had been completely translated into the old Serbian language. Further articles were culled from the *Ecloga* (Ἐκλογή τῶν νόμων, lit. *Selection of the Laws*), the *Procheiron* and the *Basilika* (τα Βασιλικά). This collection also does not exist in a Greek version and so represents the original work of Serbian lawyers.⁷

The Syntagma, a nomokanonik miscellany put together in 24 titles (each title has a sign of one of the letters of Greek alphabet) by the monk Matheas Blastares from Thessaloniki, came to be known in Serbia in two translations, a full version and an abridged one.⁸ The compilers of Dušan’s codification radically abridged the earlier translation of the whole *Syntagma* from an original 303 chapters to 94. They had two reasons for abbreviating the earlier text in such a manner. The first was of a completely ideological character, as Matheas Blastares’ *Syntagma* expresses the political hegemony of the Byzantine Empire on ecclesiastical as well as constitutional terms. Accepting the commentaries of Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon (Θεόδωρος Βαλσαμῶν, 12th century), Matheas Blastares reflects the omnipotence of the Byzantine Emperor, his both spiritual and political *dominium*. He actually restricts the independence of the autocephalous Churches whilst emphasizing Byzantine hegemony over the Slavic States which at that time threatened Byzantine interests in the Balkans. The independence of the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches was denied (although both were autocephalous) as was the right of other nations to proclaim themselves Empires. We can scarcely believe that the complete translation of the *Syntagma*, expressing these opinions, was ordered by the Tsar. Rather it expressed the aspirations and interests of the pro-Greek party in Serbia, as well as of those Byzantine citizens who had come under Serbian control after Dušan’s conquests.⁹ Following the appearance of the full translation in 1347-1348, the work on the abbreviation of the *Syntagma* began. It should be noticed that there is no Greek original of the abbreviated version in which all the chapters referring to the hegemony of Byzantium are omitted.

The second reason for undertaking the abbreviation was more practical. The abridged *Syntagma*, as a part of Dušan’s Law Code, was designed for the use in ordinary courts. For this reason most of the ecclesiastical rules were omitted and only those with secular application were retained.¹⁰

The full version (D – 11) has a few passages taken from Roman jurists that contain some Stoic ideas. Those are the following fragments:

⁷ Edited by Solovjev 1928: 236-240. The new edition (Marković 2007) contains the original Old Slavonic text, a translation into the modern Serbian language, photographs of the manuscripts and a summary in English.

⁸ Edited by Novaković 1907; supplements by Troicki 1956; translation into the modern Serbian language by Subotin-Golubović 2013; edition of the Greek text Ralles, Potles 1859.

⁹ Troicki 1953: 155-206.

¹⁰ Solovjev 1928: 76-81; Šarkić 1990; 73-77; Panev 2003: 27-45; Minale 2009: 53-66; 2017: 187-211; Alexandrov 2012.

I

Gaius, Institutiones I, 9 = Iust. Institutiones I, 3; D. I, 5,3: *Et quidem summa divisio de iure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi.* (The main distinction in the law of persons is that all men are either free or slaves).¹¹

Gaius division was accepted in *Epanagoge* (Ἐπαναγωγή = “Return to the Point”), correctly *Eisagoge* (Εἰσαγωγή τοῦ νόμου = “Introduction to the Law”), a Byzantine legal miscellany from the 9th century and in Greek translation the text is:

Epanagoge XXXVII, 1; SyntagmaΔ – 11, Greek text: Τῶν προσώπων ἄκρα διαίρεσις ἐστὶν αὕτη· ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι.¹²

The translation in the old Serbian language follows the Greek text from *Epanagoge/Eisagoge* and it runs as:

Syntagma Δ – 11: Юже лицъ краиникъ раздѣланиѣ, се ксть отъчловѣкъ овы оубо соуть свободъны, овы же рабы.¹³

It seems that this distinction, taken from Roman law through *Epanagoge/Eisagoge*, had a more declarative character: legal sources in mediaeval Serbia did not allow the conclusion that the population had been divided into free persons and slaves. Even *Syntagma* of Matheas Blastares, a few chapters later, says that among those who are free exist *počteni* (почтенъни, noble, gentle, honest, in Greek text ἐντιμοὶ) and *sebrī* (себри), in the meaning of *common, vulgar, low, base* (εὐτελεῖς in the Greek original).¹⁴ In several articles (53, 55, 85, 94 and 106) of Dušan’s Law Code a commoner (*sebar*; себаръ) is opposed to a nobleman (*vlastelin*, властелинъ), providing different penalties for the same trespasses. It is said in the article 85 of the Prizren transcript besides other things: ...and if he be not noble, let him pay twelve perpers¹⁵ and be flogged with stics (...ако ли не боудѣ властелинъ, да плати .xii. перперъ и да се вѣе стапѣи).¹⁶ However, all other manuscripts of Dušan’s Law Code replace the words *if he be not noble* with terms *if he be commoner (sebar)*. One may conclude that the expression *sebrī* (commoners) was the general name for all dependent (mostly village) inhabitants of mediaeval Serbia. Therefore, two main classes in mediaeval Serbia were noblemen (*vlastela*) and commoners (*sebrī*).

II

Florentinus libro nono institutionum, D. I, 5, 4 = Iust. Institutiones I, 3: *Libertas est naturalis facultas eius quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid vi aut iure prohibetur. Servitus*

¹¹ Stanojević 2009: 30; Krueger, Mommsen 1895: 2, 7.

¹² Zepos 1931: II, 347; Ralles, Potles 1859: 236. Although they are very similar, the difference between the Latin and Greek text exists: Gaius says *summa divisio de iure personarum haec est*, while the *Epanagoge (Eisagoge)* uses the terms τῶν προσώπων ἄκρα διαίρεσις ἐστὶν.

¹³ Novaković 1907: 249.

¹⁴ Novaković 1907: 509-510; Ralles – Potles 1859: 481; On the meaning of the word *sebar* see Novaković 1886: 521-523. Cf. Šarkić 2006: 355-360; Mažuranić 1975: 1295-1296; Skok 1972: III, 210.

¹⁵ The “perper” was the Serbian money of account. The word is a corruption of the Greek ὑπερπρος meaning gold “tried in the fire.”

¹⁶ Burr 1949-50: 214; Novaković 1898: 67; SANU 1997: 122.

est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur (Freedom is one's natural power of doing what one pleases, save insofar as it ruled out either by coercion or by law. Slavery is an institution of the *ius gentium*,¹⁷ whereby someone is against nature made subject to the ownership of another).¹⁸

Epanagoge XXXVII, 2-3 = Syntagma Δ – 11, Greek text: Καὶ ἐλευθερία μὲν ἐστίν, εὐχέρεια φυσικῇ, ἐκάστῳ συγχωροῦσα πράττειν ἃ βούλεται, εἰ μὴ νόμος ἢ βία κωλύει. Δουλεία δὲ ἐστίν, ἐθνικοῦ νόμου διατύπωσις, καὶ πολέμων ἐπίνοια, ἐξ ἧς τις ὑποβάλλεται τῇ ἐτέρου δεσποτείᾳ, ὑπεναντίως τοῦ φυσικοῦ νόμου· ἢ γὰρ φύσις πάντας ἐλευθέρους προήγαγεν.¹⁹

Syntagma Δ 11, Serbian translation: И слобода оубо крѣтљодоб'ство крѣтљивно комоуждо праштаюшти д'ѣлати таже хоштети, развѣ аште законь или ноужда възбраняетъ; работа же крѣтљ кычыскаго закона изобразеніе и ратнок оумышланије, отъ нке же ктo подлагаетъ се иногo владычствoу сопротивнѣ крѣтљивномоу закону; крѣтљство во вѣхъ слобод'нѣхъ производе.²⁰

We have to remark that the Greek text and its Serbian translation are different from Florentinus' Latin original. They both add that slavery “is consequence of war” (πολέμων ἐπίνοια, ратнок оумышланије) and “that nature has created all men free” (ἢ γὰρ φύσις πάντας ἐλευθέρους προήγαγεν, крѣтљство во вѣхъ слобод'нѣхъ производе). As slavery is an institution of *ius gentium*, it is contrary to the natural law. The expression “natural law,” or *ius naturale*, was largely used in the philosophical speculations of the Roman jurists of the Antonine age. It was the law supposed to govern men and peoples in a state of nature, i.e. in advance of organized governments or enacted laws. The point of departure for this conception was the Stoic doctrine of a life ordered “according to nature,” which in its turn rested upon the purely supposititious existence, in primitive times, of a “state of nature,” that is, a condition of society in which men universally were governed solely by a rational and consistent obedience to the needs, impulses and promptings of their true nature.²¹

III

Gaius, Institutiones I, 10-11: *Rursum liberorum hominum alii ingenui sunt, alii libertini. Ingenui sunt qui liberi nati sunt; libertini, qui ex iusta servitute manumissi sunt* (The free are either freeborn or freemade. The freeborn was born of free parents; freemade

¹⁷ *Ius gentium* (“the law of nations”). That law which has been established by natural reason among all men is equally observed among all nations and is called the “law of nations,” as being the law which all nations use. Although this phrase had a meaning in the Roman law which may be rendered by the modern expression “law of nations,” it must not be understood as equivalent to what we now call “international law,” its scope being much wider. It was originally a system of law, or more properly equity, gathered by the early Roman lawyers and magistrates from the common ingredients in the customs of the old Italian tribes, those being the nations, *gentes*, whom they had opportunities of observing, to be used in cases where the *ius civile* (the civil law of Roman people) did not apply, i.e. in cases between foreigners or between a Roman citizen and a foreigner (BLACK 1990: 859, 860).

¹⁸ Krueger, Mommsen 1895: 2, 7.

¹⁹ Zepos 1931: II, 347; Ralles, Potles 1859: 236-237.

²⁰ Novaković 1907: 249.

²¹ Cf. Black's Law Dictionary 1990: 861, 1026.

was born of manumitted slave).²²

Epanagoge XXXVII, 4-5 = Syntagma Δ – 11, Greek text: Πάλιν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι διαιοῦνται εἰς δύο, εἰς εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἀπελευθέρους· καὶ εὐγενῆς μὲν ἐστίν, ὁ εὐθέως ἅμα τῷ τεχθῆναι ἐλεύθερος ὢν, καὶ μήπω τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς δουλείας γευσάμενος· ἀπελεύθερος δὲ, ὁ ἐκ δούλου ἐλευθερωθέντος γεννηθεῖς.²³

Syntagma Δ – 11, Serbian translation: Паки свободны раздѣляюць се на двѣ, въ благородніе и освободніе; и благородни оубо ксть иже авіе въкоупѣ кже родити се свободѣ сїи, и не оу пар'ма работи въкоуцивъ; освобод'нїи же иже отъ раба освобожден'наго родиви се.²⁴

It is easy to notice that the Greek text and its Serbian translation added the words “and were not grown under the slave yoke” (καὶ μήπω τοῦ ζυγοῦ τῆς δουλείας γευσάμενος, и не оу пар'ма работи въкоуцивъ). The condemnation of slavery was also according to the doctrine of Stoic philosophy,²⁵ and maybe under the Christian ideology.²⁶ Article 21 of Dušan's Law Code strictly forbids the selling of an *Christian*²⁷ into another faith: *And whoso shall sell a Christian into another and false faith, let his hands be cut off and his tongue cut out* (И кто прода христианина оу инѣ невѣр'ноу вѣрѣ, да се рѣка всече и еззыкѣ оуреже).²⁸

However, the class called *otroci* (отроци, singular *otrok*, отрокъ) occupied the lowest rank on the social ladder in mediaeval Serbia. The word *otrok* primarily means a child or a boy; it is obsolete in Serbian, but survives in Czech as a normal word for a slave and in Slovenian, Russian and Polish as a word for a child or a boy. The legal status of *otroci* was similar to slaves, but as *otroci* had certain personal rights it seems that they were a class of people with a social status between serfs and slaves.²⁹ Besides that, for slaves Serbian legal sources also use the word *rab* (рабъ, in modern Serbian language *rob*, *роб*), *čeljadin* (челѣдинъ) and *čeljad* (челѣдъ).³⁰ However, the mention of the term *rab* (slave in the antique meaning) was very rare in Serbian mediaeval sources, so we can conclude that the distinction on the freeborn and freemade, taken from Roman jurist Gaius, had a more declarative character.

²² Stanojević 2009: 30, 32.

²³ Zepos 1931: II, 348; Ralles, Potles 1859: 237.

²⁴ Novaković 1907: 249.

²⁵ Cf. Taranovski 1928: 160-170.

²⁶ However, we have to notice that Roman jurists from the period of Principate, whose fragments we have taken, were not Christians.

²⁷ The word *Christian* in the Code is always used in the sense of a member of the Greek Orthodox Church.

²⁸ Burr 1949-50: 202; Novaković 1898: 24; SANU 1997: 104

²⁹ Many questions concerning the legal status of *otroci* remain disputable, but they can not be the topic of this paper. For more details on *otroci* see Mihaljčić 1986: 51-57; LSSV 1999: 483-485, 622-685; Šarkić 2010: 37-51.

³⁰ When the translator of the *Nomokanon* of Saint Sabba came across several Greek terms denoting the word slave, male or female (ἀνδράποδον, δούλος, οἰκετής, παῖς, θεραπαινά), he simplified the Greek names reducing them to *rab* (male) and *raba* (female). Cf. Petrović 1990: 53-74.

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**ИДЕЈЕ СТОИЧКЕ ФИЛОСОФИЈЕ
У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОМ СРПСКОМ ПРАВУ**

Резиме

Оригинални текстови дела стоичких философа нису сачувани из времена политичке самосталности средњовековне српске државе, мада није искључено да су били познати. Ипак, неке од идеја стоичке философије продрле су у средњовековно српско право, преузимањем неколико одломака из дела римских правника, који су живели и стварали у време Принципата и били под јаким утицајем ове, тада врло популарне, философске школе. Треба напоменути да српски правници, чија имена нажалост не знамо, нису читали оригиналне латинске текстове римских јурисконсулта, већ су до њих долазили посредством грчких превода и прерада у византијским правним компилацијама. Утицај стоичке философије присутан је у три одломка из дела Гаја и Флорентина, који су у средњовековну Србију стигли преко *Епанагоге*, византијске правне збирке из IX века. Одломци наведени у раду (у латинском оригиналу, грчком и српскословенском преводу) дају дефиницију слободе и у духу стоичке философије осуђују ропство као последицу рата и установу права народа (*ius gentium*), супротну природном праву (*ius naturale*), јер је природа све људе створила слободнима. Чини се ипак да су ови текстови били више декларативног карактера, јер српски правни споменици не дозвољавају закључак да је у средњовековној Србији постојала подела на слободне људе и робове, као и на оне који су рођени слободни и ослобођенике. За најнижу категорију становништва користи се израз отроци, чији правни положај је био сличан робовском, мада постоје и значајне разлике.

Кључне речи: Стоичка философија, римско право, Гај, Флорентин, *Епанагоге*, *Синтагма Матије Властара*, српско средњовековно право.

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**MARIA FOLLIA, A COURT LADY
OF THE HUNGARIAN QUEEN ELIZABETH ŁOKIETEK,
ACCOMPANYING HER MISTRESS ON A JOURNEY TO ITALY***

Abstract: The journey and stay of the Hungarian queen Elizabeth Łokietek, mother of King Lajos the Great and widow of King Charles Robert, to the Kingdoms of Naples and Rome from June 1343 until May 1344, is a well-researched topic in historiography. On that journey the queen was accompanied, as a Hungarian chronicler noted, by her court, numerous ladies-in-waiting, girls of noble origin, Hungarian barons, knights and servants. Yet, of all the women accompanying the queen, only the identity of one of her court ladies is known, that of aristocrat Maria Follia. Her presence in the (closest) surrounding of the queen is testified by two diplomatic sources, one of Hungarian and another of Naples provenance. Maria was the widow of a recently deceased Hungarian palatine William Drugeth (who died in September 1342). The author in this paper investigates the causes and complex circumstances under which Maria Follia participated in the Italian journey of her mistress. The issue is all the more interesting since it is known that, after the death of palatine William, the Drugeth family, until then the most powerful Hungarian baron family, lost their wealth, fortune and positions in the royal court. One of the possible answers to this question is a conclusion that the palatine's widow, independent of her husband's family, stayed in good relations with Queen Elizabeth and kept her positions in the royal court.

Keywords: Maria Follia, Hungarian queen Elizabeth Łokietek, Drugeth family, William Drugeth, widows in the 14th century, Hungary under the Anjou rule, Hungarian-Naples relations.

Because of the royal splendor, pomp and wealth that followed it at every turn, the almost one-year stay of the Hungarian queen Elizabeth Łokietek (Łokietek Erzsébet) in Italy left a great impression on her contemporaries. The open political ambitions of this endeavour largely surpassed its religious intention of a pilgrimage to sacred places. In this dual context, the visit of Elizabeth Łokietek to Naples and Rome was

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duly researched in historiography, starting with the unavoidable studies of János Karácsonyi and Antal Pór, then in the work of Elizabeth's biographer Jan Dąbrowski, as well as in the works of István Miskolczy, Bálint Hóman and, more recently, Csukovits Enikő.¹ As for the contemporaries of Queen Elizabeth, i.e. narrative sources whose descriptions were used to a great extent by historians to formulate their descriptions and conclusions, there are two sources – the main chronicler of the rule of Elizabeth's son, King Lajos the Great, János Küküllei (Ioannes de Kykullew),² as well as the equally significant anonymous Roman chronicler who was a witness to the Queen's visit to the eternal city.³ Küküllei was also acquainted with the precious details regarding Elizabeth's Italian travels and it is likely he was a direct witness to those events.⁴

It had been half a year since King Charles Robert Anjou died in Hungary (16 July 1242), when a message from the Kingdom of Naples arrived to the Hungarian royal court in Visegrad saying that Charles' uncle, King Robert the Wise, died there (20 January 1343).⁵ In the meantime, the ambitious Hungarian queen Elizabeth took power in the country on behalf of her son young King Lajos so now she had to inevitably prepare for a trip to distant Italy. There was no discussion of peaceful days that would become a grieving royal widow.

The Queen mother was justifiably concerned about her younger son, Prince András, who was separated from her at the age of six and sent to live at the Naples royal court. That was dictated by the dynastic interests. Elizabeth's husband, Charles Robert, took his second son to Naples in 1333, where on 27 September an official engagement ceremony was held (i.e. a marriage which waited to be confirmed by "consummation") between the underage bride and groom, the little Hungarian prince András, who on that occasion became Prince of Calabria, and the seven-year-old Naples princess Joanna (Giovanna), a granddaughter of King Robert. This event was preceded by complex negotiations between the two sides mediated by the Roman Curia. According to the terms of the agreement that was reached, András as a representative of the older branch of the Anjou Dynasty that left its roots in Hungary (from 1301), through the marriage to Robert's granddaughter and successor Joanna, was determined to be the crown prince of the Naples kingdom. This meant that one day he would replace King Robert on the throne. Under these circumstances, Charles Robert left his son with a small Hungarian escort in the capital of Apulia, where he grew up to be prepared for the future role of a ruler, and returned to Hungary. At the court in Naples, however, Prince András was treated as a foreigner and an intruder. The arrival of this child ruined many of their plans. Surrounded by enemies who spun a web of intrigue around him, the young prince of Calabria remained deprived of all the honors that belonged to the heir to the throne and was kept away from the real power. The conflicting court parties, among which were the younger lines of the Anjou dynasty from the families of princes Taranto and Durazzo, fought to gain the affection of the grandchildren of King Robert, Princess Joanna and her younger sister Maria, who were essentially regarded as successors to the throne of

¹ Karácsonyi 1893: 50-63; Pór 1892: 46-54; *Id.* 1893: 680-683; Dąbrowski 1914: 51-57; Miskolczy, 1937: 48-50
Hóman 1938: 322-324; Csukovits 2003: 70-71.

² Ch.H: 162-165; SRH, I, 284-287.

³ Hist. Rom. Fragmenta: 316-320.

⁴ On Janos Küküllei with literature review: Köblös 1994: 387; Szende 2005: 336-337.

⁵ Kristó – Makk 1988: 49-50; Caggese 1930: 424-426.

the Kingdom of Sicily. Under the influence of the surroundings, before his death King Robert annulled the former agreement reached with his nephew, Charles Robert. In his will Robert stipulated that only his granddaughter could be crowned the ruler of the Kingdom of Sicily and that Charles' son was intended only to be the queen's husband. In the case their marriage produced no children, the succession of the kingdom would be passed to Joanna's younger sister. It was determined that until Joanna turned 25 the country would be run by a regency appointed by the Pope as a sovereign of the country, which would be formally led by Robert's widow. At the moment of King Robert's death at the court in Naples the struggle between the parties became even more intense. The Hungarian queen Elizabeth, who apparently did not lack information about the position of her son, took it as a sign to act quickly and, by appearing in Naples, to protect the legitimate rights of her dynasty.⁶

As János Küküllei informs us, the reason for Elizabeth's arrival to Italy was not only the queen's visit to a son who "still did not rule in Apulia," but her vow that, after the death of her husband King Charles she would visit the relics of the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome.⁷ If essential political reasons are left aside, it might be noticed that after ten years it was an opportunity for the queen to see her son, now already a young man, and to finally meet her daughter-in-law and her family, as well as to see a warm sea and a country in the heart of Christian Europe, probably for the first time in her life. The main political goal of the mission was determined beforehand: to put pressure on the court in Naples and the pope and, in accordance with the earlier agreement, to crown András the King of Sicily.⁸ For this purpose, Elizabeth brought with her a huge amount of money, the amount of which became a common place in historiography as a paradigm of successful financial reforms that Charles Robert (together with associates) conducted in Hungary.⁹ According to the aforementioned chronicler, the queen had at her disposal 27,000 marks of fine silver and 17,000 marks of pure gold. In addition, her son King Lajos sent her an additional 4,000 gold marks. Besides, she also had half a bushel (*media garleta*) of golden florins, not counting the change intended for giving to the poor on her journey.¹⁰ On the other hand, other luxurious gifts for the hosts and their sanctuaries were carefully prepared in Visegrad. Finally, enormous treasure in money and luxurious gifts was not only intended to buy support for Prince András' coronation, but also to demonstrate the power and prestige of the Hungarian branch of the Anjou dynasty.

At the beginning of a large court procession on 8 June 1343 Queen Elizabeth headed from Visegrad on the Danube towards the Adriatic Sea along the usual path of the old Roman road. On the shore two Venetian galleys were waiting for her. Crossing the steady sea the expedition arrived to Apulia, where Elizabeth was met by her son András and his wife Joanna. They took her to Naples, where she officially arrived on 24 July 1343.¹¹ It is not our goal to closely monitor Elizabeth's stay in Italy, as we have already noted, because

⁶ Miskolczi, *Magyar-olasz összeköttetések*, 21-31; Caggese 1922: 665-667, 671; Caggese 1930: 424-425; Hóman 1938: 318-322; Léonard 1954: 315-319, 343-344.

⁷ Ch. H: 162.

⁸ Karácsonyi 1893: 51-52.

⁹ For example: Hóman 1921: 179-180.

¹⁰ Ch. H: 162-163.

¹¹ Karácsonyi 1893: 53-54; Pór 1893: 681.

in this case we would only repeat facts known in historiography. In short, as far as the further itinerary of the queen is concerned, which is related to the topic of our paper, we will list the following facts. After directly seeing the position of her son on the Naples royal court, Elizabeth sent a distinguished delegation of Hungarian barons to the Pope in Avignon to get a consent for András' coronation, while she headed for Rome on 14 September with her entire court, accompanied by the aristocracy and clergy of Naples. During these three unforgettable days spent in the eternal city, where she was magnificently welcomed by Roman aristocracy and citizens, the queen visited the main churches and relics and returned to Naples on 11 October to stay with her hosts. Here she stayed here until the end of February 1344, when she and her escort went back to Hungary. The road led her through Bari, where she prayed to St. Nicholas, and she spent the first day of Easter (4 May) waiting for the ships in Manfredonia, to finally sail home after her son András sent her four galleys. On the other side of the Adriatic sea the queen landed at the port of Senj only to arrive home to Visegrad on the anniversary of her departure (et pervenit in domum suam in Wyssegrad in anniversario sui recessus), i.e. in May 1344,¹² where she was gladly welcomed by her sons, the King of Hungary Lajos and Prince István.¹³

It was noted that when Elizabeth arrived in Naples there were as many as 400 people in her company.¹⁴ As it became a queen (iuxta magnificentiam regiam), Elizabeth was accompanied by her entire court according to János Küküllei, which included numerous court ladies, girls of noble origin, barons, knights and protégés (clientes), and a large number of servants.¹⁵ Because of the first report of the aforementioned Hungarian chronicler, as well as because of preserved diplomatic sources, historiography has more than ten names of Hungarian secular and sacral barons and generals who accompanied the queen to Italy. Some of them continued to Avignon and then, independent of the queen, returned to Hungary. This group of dignitaries was led by two highest officials of the Hungarian royal court, palatine Nicholas (Miklós) Giletfy and the judge of the royal court Paul (Pál) Nagymártoni, and, when sacral dignitaries are concerned, by the bishop of Nitra and the count of the royal chapel (comes capelle) Vitus.¹⁶

However, of the female part of the queen's escort, which implied "multitudo dominarum et nobilium puellarum," again because of the available diplomatic sources, only the name of one Elizabeth's court lady was preserved, who was, truth be told, a distinguished aristocrat. This was Maria Follia, the widow of the palatine William Drugeth. Two documents, one Hungarian and another one of Naples provenance, testify to this fact. In the introductory part of our paper we shall rely on the description from the Hungarian source. On the basis of its content more than a hundred years ago Antal Pór (who, although he himself did not cite the source, obviously had it in mind) and Mór Wertner concluded that

¹² There are different opinions regarding the chronology of the queen's return to Visegrad: Pór 1892: 54; Mályusz 1988:103; Wertner 1905, 437; Dąbrowski 1914: 57; Hardi 2012: 368-369.

¹³ Ch. H: 163-164; Mályusz 1988: 100-103; also compare note no. 1.

¹⁴ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 680.

¹⁵ „Domina igitur Elizabeth regina Hungarie... iter arripuit versus Italiam cum honesta familia et multitudine dominarum et nobilium puellarum, baronum, militum et clientum, cum multo et magno apparatu...” Ch. H: 162.

¹⁶ For the identification of Hungarian dignitaries accompanying the queen: Karácsonyi 1893: 52-53; Pór 1893: 680-681.

the “widow of the palatine William Drugeth” was on that occasion in the queen’s escort.¹⁷ This is a court order issued by the office of the judiciary of the curia Paul in Visegrad on 17 March 1344 concerning the postponement of a court dispute over the possession of Radowanzech in the Zemplin County¹⁸ between Tamás de Zeech (Szécsy) and Mook, son of Kooch, to the 15th day of the return of Queen Elizabeth from the overseas regions (Italy) to Visegrad. Namely, the new hearing was scheduled because one side in the dispute, specifically the representative of the said Mook, pointed out that certain original copies of the royal charters that he wishes to present to the court were in the hands of the widow of the palatine William Drugeth (apud manus nobilis domine relicte domini Vyllermi Drugeth palatini) and that he would not be able to get them before the noble widow of the palatine, together with her mistress, returned to Visegrad from overseas countries (unacum domina nostra regina in Visegrad de partibus transmarinis veniret).¹⁹ Meanwhile, while exploring the extraordinary history of the Drugeth family and having insight into the works of the aforementioned older historians, we did not miss the “detail” that Maria Follia accompanied the queen in 1343-1344 during her stay in Italy.²⁰ This fact not only represented important material for the biography of Maria Follia as an exceptional Hungarian noblewoman of the Anjou period, but we also realized that this fact (we mean her journey to Italy as the nearest companion of the queen) as an important moment also related to the fate of the Drugeth family after 1342 in the light of the court politics of the successor Charles Robert.²¹ In any case, we felt that certain “contradictions” which will be discussed in the rest of the paper deserve a special discussion, whose conclusions could fit into the context of the preparations of Queen Elizabeth Łokietek concerning her visit to her younger son prince András and Anjou relatives in Naples.

Who was really Maria Follia? If we used the historiographic method of a typical identification of a medieval woman, and Hungary was not an exception in that respect, we would mention information on her marital status, namely that Maria was the wife of one of the most powerful Hungarian barons of that time, palatine William Drugeth. The representatives of the noble Drugeth family were French (in sources mentioned as “Gallici”) originating from the kingdom of Naples. William’s father Jean and Uncle Phillip had known the future king of Hungary Charles Robert since childhood, because they grew up together with him at the Royal Palace of Naples. When in 1300 Charles Robert as a pretender to the throne was sent to Hungary, his companion was Phillip Drugeth, who had a brilliant career in this foreign country. For many years, Phillip as the most faithful associate and military commander of Charles Roberts participated in the struggle of his master against other royal opponents and disobedient Hungarian noblemen who held true power in the country. Victorious in the end, Charles appointed Phillip the palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of 1323, which was the highest state position in the hierarchy of Hungarian barons. Previously, on behalf of the king, this Drugeth gained great power stretching over

¹⁷ Pór 1892: 46; *Id.* 1893: 680; Wertner 1905, 437.

¹⁸ Csánki 1890, 360; Uličný 2001, 418.

¹⁹ Z, II, 105-107; Anjou, XXVII, no. 244, 150-151; Z, VII/1, 100.

²⁰ Hardi 2012: 364-370; Hardi 2014: 2018; lately the path of Maria Follia accompanying the queen was also acknowledged by: Zsoldos 2017: 75.

²¹ We wrote on Maria Follia in Hardi 2012: 353-379.

the counties rich in silver which were located in the northeast of the country towards the border with Poland and Galicia and was rewarded with a royal donation of numerous properties in that territory. After Phillip's death (he died in 1327 without a male heir), Charles Robert invited other members of the Drugeth family to Hungary from France, where they stayed in the court service of his sister, the French queen Clementia of Hungary, the widow of Louis X. As the ruler decided, Phillip's large estate was inherited by his nephew William, while Phillip's older brother Jean took over the position of the palatine of the kingdom of Hungary. After his death his son William inherited this privilege. In this order, the Drugeths held the palatine rule for two decades (1323-1342) and at the peak of their power they managed 14 counties and, as their personal possession, kept as many as nine fortresses and at least as many others as royal barons. In a word, although foreigners, during the reign of Charles Robert (1301-1342) the Drugeths became the most powerful and richest baron family of Hungary.²²

The aforementioned Maria Follia belonged to this aristocratic family. Her identity as the wife of William Drugeth was revealed on the basis of the content of William's last will by the first modern historian of this family, a famous erudite, genealogist and publisher of Hungarian medieval sources which mostly referred to the past of the counties of Spiš and Šariš (present-day eastern Slovakia), Karl Wagner (1732-1790).²³ Regarding historical sources, Maria Follia came out of the shadow of anonymity on 9 August 1330, when she was mentioned in the aforementioned last will of her husband William, then the prefect of Spiš and Abaújvár. Although we have already analyzed the content of this document, because of deeper understanding of this topic we shall repeat, for the Hungarian circumstances of that time, a unique list of goods left by William to his wife in the case of his death.²⁴ Besides an impressive amount of money in the amount of 1,000 marks of fine silver, Maria was to inherit "... ten large vessels of silver, twelve silver cups with one handle, three silver jugs with a long neck and one large, two smaller and four those for pouring water. Also one golden crown decorated with precious stones in the value of 100 marks of fine silver, eight small salt shakers, ten spoons of silver, ten deep red fabrics with gold plated threads, nineteen deep red silk fabrics, three silver belts, two larger and one smaller, and other jewelry which was taken to the Gönc fortress for safekeeping. Also to my wife, a large gilded cross decorated with precious stones that are kept in the fortress of Spiš..."²⁵ As noted in historiography, the valuables of William's wife indicated not only direct wealth, but above all the difference in quality of life and the sense of luxury and sophistication, which set this family apart from the

²² Hardi 2012; also compare: Zsoldos 2017.

²³ Wagner 1802: 34; for Karl Wagner compare: Malovecká 2009.

²⁴ Compare Hardi 2012: 297-312; Hardi 2014: 212-223.

²⁵ „Item Domicelle Marie Foliye... decem magnas scutelas de argento, duodecim cifos argentateos in uno futo, tria angusturia argentea, unum magnum, duo minora et quartum illis minus ad fundendum aquam. Item unam coronam auream lapidibus pretiosis ornatam, centum marcis fini argenti comparatam, octo scutelas parvas argenteas pro salsa decem cochlearia de argento, decem cochlearia de argento, decem pannos de porphyraceis deauratis decem et nouem purpuras de serico factas... tres balteos, seu cingulos argenteos, duos maiores et unum minorem, et alia iocalia in castro de Gunch ad servandum deportata. Item eidem consorti mee unam crucem magnam de argento deauratam cum bonis lapidibus praeparatam in castro Scepus circa Magistrum Petrum custodiam... lego et relinquo.“ DI 71270.

rest of the Anjou aristocracy in Hungary at that time.²⁶ On the basis of the list of jewellery and expensive fabrics mentioned in her husband's will, we can rightly suppose that Maria Follia in her look and appearance was a role model in terms of fashion and aristocratic culture of daily life for many women at the royal court in Visegrad.²⁷

It is important to state now that Maria Follia, as a member of one of the most powerful aristocratic families of Hungary at that time, at a first glance already had the place in the company of Queen Elizabeth on her planned journey to Italy. Finally, as the wife and recently widow of the palatine of Hungary, who was the closest associate of King Charles Robert during the 1340's, she was also one of the most respected court ladies. However, this fact also covers the main problem and controversy of our paper, which we must resolve. Namely, as stated, Charles Robert died on 16 July 1342 and two months later, probably in mid-September (*date ante quem* 10. septembar), palatine William Drugeth unexpectedly left this world.²⁸ According to Maria Follia's own words, as we learnt from one of her orders of 28 January 1343, her husband was caught by a frenzied death (*festinum decessum*) and from the subsequent text it can be concluded that it was caused by an unnamed disease that progressed rapidly.²⁹ In the months that followed the death of William, the Drugeth family suffered a political and economic breakdown. Its male members lost their former high positions at the Royal Court, their main possessions and sources of economic and political power.

The cause of the fall of the Drugeths was the death of their main political protector, King Charles Robert, i.e. their previous enormous political power, because of which they apparently made many enemies. Their opponents now gathered around Queen Elizabeth and young King Lajos. While the old king was alive, we can conclude that the Drugeths' enemies were wise and silent. It was, in all likelihood, a political conflict between the "Gaelic" side or the Drugeths' side and the "Polish" side, which gathered around Queen Elizabeth. The cause, of course, was the death of William Drugeth and the circumstance that his marriage to Maria Follia produced no male heir, so it was believed that all of his belongings should be returned to the king. As it was first proven by Pál Engel – presenting a presupposition in historiography about the collapse of the political power of the Drugeth family after 1342 – the queen's people led by her cousin, the-then Duke of Transylvania Thomas Szécsényi, after the death of William, took not only those counties and fortresses that William held in the northeast of the country as a royal baron, but also all the estates he was once personally given by Charles Robert.³⁰ Despite the fact that William's last will named as the successor to all his fortresses and estates his younger brother Nicolas,³¹ this was not a sufficient legal argument for the Drugeths to keep their estates. On 7 January 1343, at the royal palace in Visegrad, William's two younger brothers Nicholas and Jean

²⁶ Kurcz 1988: 106-110, 139-140.

²⁷ On the Drugeths as the bearers of aristocratic culture in the society of new Anjou aristocracy: Hardi 2014: 212-223.

²⁸ More details on the date of the death of William Drugeth: Piti 2006: 435-441; compare Anjou, XXVI, no. 479, 331; no. 489, 336-337; no. 493, 338.

²⁹ Maria Follia's document was preserved as a copy in the confirmational charter of King Lajos. F, IX/1, 104; Anjou, XXVII, no. 47, 77; compare Hardi 2017: 167-173.

³⁰ On political and legal circumstances of the fall of the family of Drugeth: Engel 1997: 146; *Id.* 1997: 145-148; Also Piti 2006: 435-441; Hardi 2012: 340-152; Zsoldos 2017: 187-202.

³¹ DI 71270.

appeared before the highest court of the Hungarian kingdom – young King Lajos, his mother Queen Elizabeth, the prelates and barons of the kingdom – in an attempt to use valid documents to protect their hereditary rights after their brother’s death. After reviewing the charter, this court decided that Nicholas and Jean had no right (*nullum ius habere*) to the estates of William Drugeth that he personally acquired or inherited from his predecessors, palatine Phillip and father Jean, and that, therefore, it belonged to the “royal hands.” On that occasion it was also pointed out that William was “*absque haeredem solatio ab huius mundi ergastulo sublato.*” Still, taking into account the faithful service and merits of the three palatines, as well as both Nicholas and Jean themselves, and not wanting them to be left with nothing, Lajos decided to give the fort of Nevicka that was now his, the free settlement of Zemplin with customs and estates in the Zemplin County, as well as another two fortresses, Brekov and Jasenov in the same county to the magistrates Nicholas and Jean Drugeth and their heirs.³² It was a small and incomparably poorer part of the former wealth of the Drugeth palatine family. At the same time, Nicholas Drugeth soon lost his official position on the royal court among royal barons because 7 January 1343 was the last time he had the baron’s title of the royal cup bearer (*magister pincernarum eiusdem domini regis*), which he had had since 1332. After this ruling, the Drugeths were formally relegated from the court and in the periphery of the country their power was reduced only to the border county of Ung located below the wooded and uninhabited Carpathian mountains. In truth, for a short time Nicholas Drugeth would return to power and the court as the *iudex curie regis* (1354-1355) for his merit in the second Italian campaign of King Lajos (during which he was appointed the commander of Salerno), but this would not change the main the political current of marginalization of a once powerful family.³³ The character of these events, which we can estimate as an unscrupulous political conflict, is also indicated by an event from the biography of Nicholas Drugeth. Namely, it is well known that Nicholas was at one time a teacher (*pedagogus*) of the young princes Lajos and András and protected their lives during the assassination of Felician Záh on the royal family (1330).³⁴

The mere fact that Maria Follia, the widow of William Drugeth, followed Queen Elizabeth during her visit to the Kingdom of Naples and Rome challenges the generally accepted opinion in historiography regarding the collapse of power and the suppression from the Royal Court of the Drugeths after 1342. This should be somewhat corrected – Maria Follia was an exception in relation to her husband’s family. This was only one woman and a widow at that, but it is quite possible that this status, in addition to some other essential reasons, enabled Maria Follia to protect her interests. In fact, we can prove that Queen Elizabeth cared very much that William’s widow would accompany her during the upcoming, politically complicated and uncertain journey to Italy. This opinion is unequivocally confirmed by an announcement that came from the contents of a donation charter that King Lajos issued on 3 June 1343.

We have learnt from the charter that the king, “with the permission, advice and at the will of his mother,” because of the respect for the faithfulness and merit of the late palatine,

³² Molnár 1911: 134-137; compare Anjou, XXVII, no. 14, 51.

³³ Engel 1996: 7, 43, 219; Hardi 2012: 380-404.

³⁴ Szentpétery, SRH, I, 494; recent sources on the assassination of Felician Záh: Almási 2004: 191-197.

his orphans and widow Maria (“...Villermi Palatini orphanis... Nobili Dominae, Mariae, relictæ eiusdem Villermi Palatini...”), gave her an estate in Visegrad. This was an estate where wooden and stone structures were erected.³⁵ The charter is very important for several reasons for the history of the Drugeth family and the fate of Maria Follia. This is where we learn that Maria and William did have children, who were underage in 1343 and obviously female, which was indirectly indicated by the content of the previously shown royal charter of 7 January 1343. On the other hand, we also know that the Drugeth family had two curia (the palace with the office) in the capital of Visegrad.³⁶ One directly went to Maria as a widow and the other, at least formally, in the meantime came into possession of the royal crown along with other possessions of her husband. However, as we see, at the initiative of the Queen Mother this other estate in the capital was subsequently given to Maria and her children. The key detail regarding this royal donation is the date of its publication – 3 June 1343 – therefore, the privilege occurred only five days before Queen Elizabeth went to Italy. It was as if the goal of this donation was to reward the widow of the palatine Maria Follia for the upcoming journey. We believe that this was the proof of the prominent place intended for Maria in the queen’s company over the coming months. Finally, the friendly relationship between the Queen with the widow of William Drugeth, along with all the arguments already presented, can be proven by another gift given in Naples, which is also another source that confirms the stay of Maria Follia in Naples and Rome during 1343-1344.

After Queen Elizabeth returned from Rome to Naples, Maria Follia used the position of the Queen’s companion to exercise her alleged widow right to William’s family estate in Naples. So we learn that on 3 January 1344 in her quarters Queen Joanna, at the request of her loyal subject (*fidelem nostram*) Maria Follia, the widow of “Guillermi Drugetti Magni comitis Regni Ungarie,” on the basis of “*iribus suarum dotum*” gave to the same noblewoman the estate “Casalis Pascarole partium Civitatis Averse” with the obligation of giving feudal service. This donation was made by Queen Joanna, as stated in the charter, out of respect for “her mother,” the Hungarian Queen.³⁷ This was an additional confirmation of Queen Elizabeth’s affection for Maria Follia as she appears to have advocated at the Naples court that her lady acquire the right to the Pascarole estate. The medieval settlement of Pascarole in the area of the town of Averse belonged to the Drugeth family continuously since 1271 as their main family property in the Kingdom of Sicily. The last in the series of lords of the estate (*feudatarius*) was Maria’s husband William.³⁸ We are not at all sure that Maria had a widow’s right this entire estate in comparison to her late husband’s brothers Nicholas and Jean Drugeth, who we can rightly conclude did not receive an invitation to accompany the queen on her journey to Naples.³⁹ And finally, the question arises whether Maria consulted with them about her intentions or if she acted independently. There is a hypothetical possibility that in this way she actually wanted to save the Naples family estate, which, after the death of William without a male heir and in the absence of Nicholas and

³⁵ F, IX/1, 105-106; Anjou, XXVII, no. 374, 274.

³⁶ F, IX/1, 102-105; Anjou, XXVII, no. 47, 77; Hardi 2012: 359-360.

³⁷ Wenzel, *Acta extera*, II, 40-41.

³⁸ Hardi 2012: 40-369.

³⁹ On the widow’s rights in medieval Hungary and Europe with a detailed literature review: Hudáček 2013: 227-262; isto u: *Id.* 2014: 3-39.

Jean, also should have gone to the ruler of Naples. In any case, Maria was well acquainted with the property of her husband's family in the kingdom of Naples and did not lack entrepreneurial spirit.

In the absence of sources it will remain unknown if during 1343-1344 Maria took the opportunity to visit Pascarole, which was located near Naples, and force the local vassals and subjects to fulfill their obligations to the Drugeth family. Unlike this unsolvable question, it seems quite possible that Maria Follia followed her mistress during her magnificent visit to Rome, when Elizabeth was greeted with cheers by all the Roman people led by the representatives of the main families of Colona and Orsini located on opposite sides of the river Tiber.⁴⁰ According to an anonymous Roman chronicler, the Hungarian queen arrived in the city in a carriage with four horses. In the carriage opposite her there sat eight noblewomen (comitisse), who did not divert their eyes from their mistress. They were followed by a second carriage with noble Hungarian mistresses (mulieres Nobiles, Hungaricis) who, as this eyewitness noticed, had golden strips in their hair and scarves. The queen's carriage was surrounded by 50 knights with golden spurs, accompanied by numerous servants.⁴¹ There is no doubt that in the mentioned two carriages sat the most distinguished court ladies, wives or daughters of the most important Hungarian barons, who were at the same time the queen's friends and companions. At least according to the above-mentioned findings, it is possible to assume that one of them was Maria Follia. Of course, this is only our hypothesis, which is closely followed by another source.

Historians are well aware of the fact that during her stay in Rome, Elizabeth generously gave to the poor and endowed the church and priests with expensive gifts and through this prism should we understand the enthusiastic welcome of the Romans.⁴² In the *inventarium* of the Church of St. Peter compiled in 1361 a detailed description of the gifts that the Hungarian pilgrims brought to the Church of St. Peter was preserved. Elizabeth gave numerous gifts of sophisticated craftsmanship and great value. The catalogue of donated items "per reginam Ungarie" lists, among other things, a lavish wall carpet designed for the space behind the altar with nine paintings of saints, among which were the Hungarian saints; a purple silk tablecloth with the image of Mary with the dead Jesus; then a whole series of liturgical garments made of the most expensive materials – blue silk, Indian silk, silk with golden embroidery etc.; church cups and other dishes, among which was prominent a pure golden cup with precious stones and pearls, as well as a silver cup filled with 600 gold florins.⁴³ The editors of this source, Eugenio Müntz and Arthur Frothingham, already noted that the actions of their mistress were followed by the most distinguished courtiers, according to the principle *imitatio Reginae*.⁴⁴ It was listed that a purple riza sewn on a fabric called "diasperus" with gorgeous zoological and floral motifs decorated with pearls was

⁴⁰ Ch.H: 163.

⁴¹ „Regina haec Hungarie in rheda deducebatur. Rhedam quator equi vehebant. Octo Comitisse cum ipsa consedebant, vultuque ad Reginam converso, eam singulae intuebatur. In altero curru deductae prosequabantur aliae mulieres Nobiles, Hungaricis velis & corollis purioris auri in capite orantae. Quinquaginta Milites ad aurea culcaria circumstipabant Reginae rhedam. Famulitium aliud subsequebatur.“ Hist. Rom. Fragmenta: 318.

⁴² Karácsonyi 1893: 50-62; Pór 1893: 680-683; Dąbrowski 1914: 55-56; Csukovits 2003: 70-71.

⁴³ Müntz, Frothingham 1883: 14, 17, 32, 47, 48, 133; Karácsonyi 1893: 58-62.

⁴⁴ Müntz, Frothingham 1883: 51, footnote no. 2.

“donata per unam comitissam de Ungaria.”⁴⁵ The second gift, a fabric made of tatar silk with golden threads showing men, women, animals, flowers and plants was a gift “donat.[us] per quamdam comitissam sotiam regine Ungarie.”⁴⁶ That *comitissa* Maria Follia was the *sotia* of Queen Elizabeth on her journey to Italy is undisputed, but the possibility to identify her as a bestower of these gifts will remain a matter of a historiographical hypothesis.

On the basis of what has been said so far it remains in the final part of the paper to answer the question of why Maria Follia had a predetermined place in Queen Elizabeth’s company on her journey to Italy and why the widow of the palatine had avoided the fate of a political conflict with her husband’s family. Two answers or presuppositions spring to mind. The first one is that Queen Elizabeth and Maria were friends while their spouses were alive and that they remained relatively close after their almost simultaneous death. It is also possible that the queen, herself becoming a widow, had understanding with respect to the protection of Maria’s rights as a widow. Of course, we are not even considering idealizing their relationship and we must keep in mind that “the closeness with the queen” at the time of the loss of the power of the Drugeth family was, above all, in the interest of Maria himself in order to keep her position in the court and at least part of the wealth of her late husband. The second answer concerns the expectations and interests of Queen Elizabeth herself. We have neglected to say that we know the origins of the wife of the palatine William Drugeth.⁴⁷ She, like her husband’s family, originated from the kingdom of Naples and undoubtedly belonged to the circle of nobility (*Ultramontani*) who came to Italy with Carl I Anjou. Antal Pór, an expert on the history of Hungary in the Anjou era, made a laconic assumption that Maria was French.⁴⁸ Maria’s last name, which in the older literature was mistaken for a personal name, depending on the source was recorded in the orthographic forms of “Folya,”⁴⁹ “Follia,”⁵⁰ “Feulie.”⁵¹ Among the knights of Charles I, King of Sicily, in 1283 there was mention of a certain “Ernulfus de la Folia.”⁵² Four decades later, in 1324, the line of Anjou barons and feudatories from the Province of Principatus who were called into the war against the Aragonese included “dominus Everaldus Follia” and his son “Guillelmus de S. Severino,” as well as another feudal master “miles Geraldus de Follia.”⁵³ At least two branches of the Follia family, therefore, lived at that time in southern Italy in the city of San Severino. In all likelihood, Maria’s parents or brothers should be sought among the aforementioned noblemen and this implies that in her social status and origin she was equal to her husband, William Drugeth. Unfortunately, we do not know when and where Maria became William’s wife (*datum ante quem* 9. Avgust 1330), whether it was at the time when this branch of the Drugeth family lived at the court of the French queen Clementia, where

⁴⁵ Müntz, Frothingham 1883: 41; for the interpretation of the text in Latin compare: Karácsonyi 1893: 61.

⁴⁶ Müntz, Frothingham 1883: 44; Karácsonyi 1893: 62.

⁴⁷ More details in Hardi 2012: 253-355.

⁴⁸ Pór 1893: 428.

⁴⁹ Dl. 71270; F, IX/1, 102-103.

⁵⁰ Wenzel, *Acta extera*, II, 40.

⁵¹ Bossányi, *Regesta supplicationum*: no. 265, 137.

⁵² Durrieu 1887: 254, 320.

⁵³ Camera 1860: 299-300.

the future palatine of Hungary, William, was the queen's squire (*Escuyers*).⁵⁴ It seems probable that she arrived to Hungary along with William (about 1327).

To conclude, Maria was a foreigner in Hungary. However, she was not a foreigner in the Kingdom of Naples. According to available sources, she was perhaps not even among the rare but the only court lady of the Hungarian queen Elizabeth who understood without a mistake and spoke the language of the ruling elite in southern Italy. As the daughter-in-law of the Drugeths, a family that had been in the court service of members of the Anjou Dynasty for several generations, we can accept the assumption that Maria was also familiar with the court protocols and the culture of behaviour at the Naples Royal Palace. It is quite possible that she had direct ties to the local aristocracy and her relatives, from whom she could receive very important information. In comparison to the royal Visegrad on the Danube, the Royal Naples was a medieval megapolis and a political centre of Europe of that time. Queen Elizabeth Łokietek, born somewhere in the Slavic north of Europe, actually headed towards the unknown when she started her journey on 8 June 1343 and therefore it was very important to have with her, as her closest companion – *sotia* and counselor – her old acquaintance, distinguished Maria Follia.

Maria Follia most likely, as was expected, returned from the kingdom of Naples together with the queen to Hungary in May 1344.⁵⁵ We can conclude that her stay in Italy was successful, first of all because of the donations that accompanied it and they referred to the estates of her late husband that formally became Maria's property now. Although in the years to come we would not meet Maria in the immediate company of the queen, other sources indirectly indicate that she remained at the mercy of the ruling family. The last active mention of this aristocrat was on 5 June 1358.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Queen Elizabeth, besides her moments of glory, in the intricate diplomatic web of the Naples court and the papacy did not achieve much in terms of establishing the position of her younger son András in Naples. As it is well known, on 18 September 1345 in Aversa he would die as a victim of a cruel court conspiracy.⁵⁷

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⁵⁴ Hardi 2012: 242.

⁵⁵ Z, II, 106.

⁵⁶ DI, 87333; more details: Hardi 2012: 370-379.

⁵⁷ Miskolczy 1928: 766-800; Hóman 1938: 318-322; Léonard 1954: 315-319, 343-344.

- Dl = Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény (Collectio Antemohacsiana).
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МАРИА ФОЛИЈА
ДВОРСКА ДАМА УГАРСКЕ КРАЉИЦЕ ЕЛИЗАБЕТЕ ЛОКИЈЕТЕК –
У ПРАТЊИ ГОСПОДАРИЦЕ НА ПУТОВАЊУ У ИТАЛИЈУ

Резиме

Путовање и боравак угарске краљице Елизабете Локијетек, мајке краља Лајоша Великог и удовице краља Карла Роберта, у Напуљској краљевини и Риму од јуна 1343. до маја 1344. године, добро је истражена тема у историографији. Краљицу је на том путу, како бележи угарски хроничар, пратио њен двор, бројне дворске даме, девојке племенитог рода, угарски барони, витезови и слуге. Ипак, од целокупног женског дела краљичине пратње остао је познат само идентитет једне њене дворске даме, аристократкиње Марије Фолије. Марија је била удовица недавно преминулог угарског палатина Виљема Другета (умро у септембру 1342. године). О њеном присуству у (најближем) окружењу краљице сведоче два дипломатичка извора, један угарске, а други напуљске провенијенције. Први представља судску исправу јудекса курије Пала издату 17. марта 1344. године у којој се одлаже судски спор на 15. дан од повратка краљице Елизабете из Италије у Вишеград, јер је једна страна у спору тврдила да није у могућности да прикаже извесне повеље које се налазе у рукама удовице палатина Виљема, која се налазила заједно са краљицом на путу у „прекоморским земљама”. Други документ је повеља коју је 3. јануара 1344. године издала напуљска краљица Ђована у Напуљу на молбу Марије Фолије. У њој се удовици палатина, на име њених удовичких права, поклања породични посед Другета, „Casalis Pascarole partium Civitatis Averse“. Аутор рада истражује узроке и сложене околности под којима је Марија узела учешће на италијанском путовању своје господарице. Питање је тим занимљивије јер је познато да након смрти палатина Виљема (који у браку са Маријом није имао мушког наследника), породица Другет – као најмоћнија угарска баронска породица, губи власт, богатства и позиције на краљевском двору. Марија Фолија је након 1342. године избегла судбину породице свог супруга. Остала је у добрим односима с краљицом Елизабетом и сачувала је своје позиције на краљевском двору. Краљица Елизабета и краљ Лајош су чак настојали да придобију Марију за њено учешће у италијанској експедицији, о чему речито говори краљевска даровница издата Марији и њеним малолетним ћеркама, непосредно пре поласка на пут (3. јуна), за посед једне курије у престоном Вишеграду који је за живота припадао покојном Виљему, а у међувремену био враћен у краљевске руке. Намећу се две претпоставке с којима се може појаснити околност да је Марија Фолија сачувала своје друштвене позиције и део породичног богатства. Прва је да су краљица Елизабета и Марија биле пријатељице током живота својих супруга и да су остале релативно блиске и након њихове скоро истовремене смрти. Друга претпоставка има децидирани политички контекст. Марија је била Францускиња племенитог рода пореклом из Напуљске краљевине. Њено присуство током неизвесне посете Напуљу и Италији за краљицу Елизабету је било од изузетне важности, јер јој је Марија, као њена пратиља и дворска дама, у многим протоколарним и политичким стварима могла бити важна саветница.

Кључне речи: Марија Фолија, угарска краљица Елизабета Локијетек, породица Другет, Виљем Другет, удовице у 14 веку, Угарска под влашћу династије Анжујаца, угарско-напуљски односи.

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PREPARATIONS OF THE AUSTRIAN EXPEDITION TOWARDS INDIA 1775-1776

Abstract: During the second half of the 18th century Austria's trade policy sought to restore ties to India and other parts of Asia that had successfully existed during the period of the Ostend Company (1722-1731). In this respect, the increasingly successful activity of the British East India Company was an example for the Vienna government in indicating of which lucrative possibilities lay in the proper development of trade in the east. Austria soon decided to try to organize trade expeditions to India itself and the British experience was of primary importance to it. An indispensable link for the launch of such ventures was the opportunity for the representatives of the Austrian diplomatic network to meet directly with individuals from the group of traders who had already had extensive experience in trade with India. This was exactly the case in London in 1774, when the Austrian Ambassador Ludovico Luigi Carlo Maria di Barbiano di Belgiojoso met one of the most famous European entrepreneurs of the second half of the 18th century, William Bolts. It was the beginning of a new great Austrian adventure in Asia and at the same time an attempt to radically redefine the essential nature of the Habsburg position and philosophy. Immediately after the Austrian diplomatic network came into contact with Bolts, the sophisticated preparations of the expedition began, before the final take off in 1776.

Keywords: Austria, India, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, William Bolts.

During the 18th century the Habsburg Monarchy slowly, agonizingly, but ultimately uncompromisingly converted to Austria. The aspects of centralization in the frame of state institutions whose development was usually implied in the case of some other European state equivalents and opponents, mostly determined as national states, remained largely unknown to the concept of Viennese structures until the very collapse of the entire Habsburg system in 1918. Nevertheless, the second half of 18th century was the period when, through intense reforms, many of the dysfunctional Habsburgs milieus evolved into a coherent set with more pronounced functionality. Among others, the change was indicated by the positioning on the north western European coast, right after the outcome of the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Thanks to the possession of

Antwerp, Oostende and other coastal cities in Southern Netherlands, the perspectives of participation in the Western European trading conglomerate, comprising primarily Great Britain, the Netherlands and France, opened up for Austria at the very height of economic dominance of those nations in the planetary framework. In this way, Austria was actually given the opportunity to become a Western European state much more than ever before.

An additional dimension in such a transformation should have been represented by numerous Spanish advisers who were brought to the courtyard in Vienna by Emperor Carlo VI (1711-1740) after his episode in Catalonia (1705-1711) and unsuccessful attempts to gain the Spanish crown. Already a couple of centuries-old Spanish colonial experience was supposed to help Austria to organize its own colonial and trade policy more efficiently. In this context, Spanish consultants should have had a key role in projects aimed at establishing trade relations between Austria and very remote areas such as India and China.¹

Since the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 the mouth of the River Scheldt into the North Sea was under the firm control of the (northern) Dutch. In this way, they completely closed the possibility of Antwerp and Southern (Spanish) Netherlands to use the port, which during most of the 16th century was without any doubt the spot of most important and busiest world maritime and commercial crossroads and which made Antwerp the most important planetary economic centre.²

Due to the inability to use Antwerp, the Austrian authorities directed by Spanish advisers decided to choose Ostend (Oostende), a small town west of Bruges, to the northwest of Gent and Brussels, for the centre of its maritime efforts on the coast of Flanders, which at that time actually represented the only location with an acceptable harbour on the entire coast of the Austrian Netherlands. Although the attempt with Ostend was initially an improvisation, it was quickly proven that this place was an excellent choice since as early as 1715 Austrian merchant ships from this Flanders port were increasingly sailing towards Arabia, India and China.³

The Emperor put the Ostend Company under the full patronage of the state in December 1722 and enabled it to have a huge starting capital of six million guilders, with the capital being divided into 6,000 shares, each of which had a value of 1,000 guilders. Shares were put up for sale at the stock exchange in Antwerp on 11 August 1723. They were purchased mostly by local retailers from Antwerp and Gent so that in the end a group of 54 largest investors from Antwerp itself had as many as 3,037 shares or more than 50 percent of the total emissions. The election of the company director was done in accordance with this and they were largely recruited by the key local retailers. Jacques De Pret, Louis-François de Coninck and Pietro Proli represented Antwerp, while Jacques Maelcamp, Paulo De Kimp and Jacques Baut represented Ghent, and the Irish trader Thomas Ray figured as a representative

¹ Faber 1995: 51.

² Despite many Austrian attempts throughout the 18th century, the Scheldt was not open to maritime traffic. The Netherlands owned a monopoly on the trade at the mouth of the Scheldt until 1863. This relationship directed by the Dutch that resulted in Antwerp's few centuries of deliberate poverty had intense reflections on the relations between the Netherlands and Belgium, which in the war of 1830-1839 managed to diverge from the Netherlands and become an independent state. Israel 1995: 1013.

³ Keay 1991: 247.

of Ostend.⁴ One of the main shareholders was Leopold Philip, Duke of Arenberg. Although the ships sailed from Ostend, the company's headquarters were in Antwerp.⁵

The Austrian company thus became a surprisingly significant competition for British and Dutch merchants. Under pressure from Great Britain and the Netherlands, the Company's work was suspended for seven years on 31 May 1727. Soon it turned out that this was not enough for the traditional naval forces, so Charles VI, in a treaty with Great Britain of 16 March 1731 agreed to completely abolish the Ostend Company, with the permission to maintain a minimum trade with India (a possibility to send only two ship for India annually). Thus, the Habsburg ruler destroyed the most profitable Austrian trading company throughout the whole of the 18th century. The political decision related to an attempt to obtain the recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which was the reason for its liquidation only nine years later, was no longer significant because of the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748).⁶

In the coming decades came a complete collapse of Austrian trade towards the southern and eastern parts of Asia. The Austrian concentration on the events in Europe, and in particular the struggle with Prussia to overcome issues related to the organization of German affairs, completely dominated Austrian politics during the first three decades after the death of Charles VI in 1740. It was only in the late 1760s that there was more diversification in Austrian foreign policy, which was largely a reflection of the growing influence of Joseph II, the crown prince, i.e. from 1765 a co-ruler of his mother, Empress Maria Theresa. Austrian diplomacy around that time began a new phase of its institutional development manifested by the creation of sophisticated plans for new aspects of expansion towards the southeast.

An example of the success of Britain, as well as other West European maritime trading powers, in the first place of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands (Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden) and France, was a propellant for the creation of much wider projects in both geographical and economic contexts. Undoubtedly, implied by the results of its relatively short existence (1751-1765), the Emden East India Trading Company (Emder Ostasiatische Handelskompanie), owned by the Prussian rival,⁷ the Austrian government gathered around Prince Kaunitz (Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg, 1711-1794) was increasingly open to the creation of a diplomatic and economic policy with intercontinental dimensions.

One of the main points in the growingly sophisticated system of Habsburg diplomacy was the embassy in London. Its significance grew in line with the growing importance of Great Britain in the world. Since 10 March 1770 the head of the Austrian diplomatic mission in London was Ambassador Ludovico Luigi Carlo Maria di Barbiano e Belgiojoso (1728-1801). The Count of Belgiojoso was a descendant of an Italian aristocratic family, who had their headquarters in the same town in the south of Milan.⁸ His father and grandfather had

⁴ Baguet 2015: 51-52.

⁵ Michielsen 1937: 129.

⁶ Nagel 2007: 57.

⁷ Eberstein 2007: 23.

⁸ Today, Belgiojoso is actually one of the southern suburbs of Milan. The family name is most commonly written as Belgiojoso and the name of the place Belgiojoso originates from the family name. However, there are many

already performed very important functions in the system of Austrian administration and diplomacy during the past decades, which was in line with the fact that the Duchy of Milan from the 1713 (Utrecht peace) was also under the direct administration of the Habsburg Monarchy. From 1764 to 1769 Belgiojoso served as an Austrian ambassador to Sweden and after good results in the diplomatic field, with the satisfaction and personal recommendation of Empress Maria Theresa, he was transferred to the prestigious London position.

In the context of Austrian diplomatic attempts to open as many channels as possible to stimulate trade to various parts of the world, and especially to Asia, it was Belgiojoso who was fortunate to meet with William Bolts (1739-1808), who would prove to be an absolute crucial person in the development of Austrian trade towards the east in the course of the next fifteen years. In principle, this was a very logical outcome, primarily due to the fact that London was then an absolute centre of world trade and economy in general. The meeting with Bolts was considered as a direct hit for the Austrian ambassador. Given the current scrutiny of Vienna, however, it should not be forgotten that Bolts sought to meet him, and not vice versa.⁹ That was actually pretty much expected, because Bolts himself at that moment desperately needed sponsors and patrons to achieve his own grandiose plans.

William Bolts¹⁰ was born in Amsterdam in 1739 as a descendant of the Germans from Palatinate (Pfalz).¹¹ During the 1750s he worked in diamond trade in Lisbon. This experience significantly helped him to position himself well in diamond jobs later in India, where he arrived in 1759 as an employee of the British East India Company. From the very beginning of his stay in Bengal, in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Bolts achieved excellent results, among other things thanks to his exceptional language talent. In addition to speaking fluently five European languages, he quickly learned Bengali. Later on, Bolts moved more westward to the interior of the northern part of the Indian subcontinent and mostly operated in the Bundelkhand area, especially in Varanasi (formerly Benares), where he increasingly controlled the diamond trade.¹²

The ability to get involved in the fabulous financial transactions that were often conducted illegally in the framework of the East India Company enabled Bolts to quickly acquire quite a fortune. Consequently, he became a disruptive factor for the higher

contrary examples. Count Belgiojoso often signed himself as Belgijoso in his reports, which caused additional confusion, especially when he later acted in the area of today's Belgium, 1783-1787.

⁹ The confusion is somewhat still aroused by the views expressed in older works, according to which Belgiojoso first contacted Bolts. As such they are particularly reflected in Pollack-Parnau 1927: 18. The mistakes of this type are indicated already earlier – Aretin 1959: 364.

¹⁰ This form of the name has become dominantly recognizable in historiography precisely because of its British affiliation during a significant part of Bolts' business career. Due to German origin, Wilhelm Bolts would be more precise. Often there is a French form – Guillaume Bolts, as in his letters this merchant and adventurer was largely signed. In some older examples of German literature his surname is also listed in the more classic German form – Bolz.

¹¹ According to some sources he was born in 1738 and according to others earlier in 1735. However, in 1739, the prevalence of information was based on the Amsterdam register of baptisms, where he was entered on 21 February 1739. It is possible that his mother was English. His father was definitely German. Gough – King 2005: 10.

¹² Hallward 1920: 3-5. This book by Norman Leslie Hallward is the most complete presentation of Bolts' career in the period he spent in India. Unfortunately Bolts' projects and entrepreneurship in the coming decades are only sporadically touched upon in this work, whose value is further underlined by the fact that in 2015 Cambridge University Press published a reprint of the original 1920 edition.

positioned administrators of the Company in India, so the conflict with them was almost inevitable. According to Bolts, Harry Verelst (1734-1785), the commander of Fort William in Kolkata, 1767-1769, was particularly hostile towards him and problematic regarding the illegal dealing in the frame of East India Company, but at the same time he was the highest ranking company administrator in India.¹³ Problems for Bolts began in 1766 and they culminated during 1768 and 1769, when he was arrested by the company's representative and put on a ship to England. Immediately after the company ship "Valentine" sailed into the port of Plymouth on 30 April 1769 Bolts launched a lawsuit against the company's representative. Now settled on the British ground, he was not a convict anymore, i.e. the laws applied by the East India Company itself referring to his deprivation of liberty were valid only in the territory of India where they actually had administrative authority.¹⁴

Over the coming years, Bolts launched a massive propaganda campaign against the East India Company seeking to discredit as much as possible the methods of their work in India. In particular, he pointed to the widespread corruption and illegal trade. Apart from the personal desire for revenge against the leading people of the Company, the reasons for such a performance by Bolts laid also in the fact that a large amount of his wealth remained in Bengal, mostly in shares and real estate. He primarily cultivated the plan that he would somehow be able to return to India and that he would be able to re-occupy all those segments of his capital, which he earned primarily from 1760 to 1766, when he worked directly for the Company in Bengal and Bundelkhand.

Because of his problems with the Company in 1772 Bolts published a comprehensive study on the system of operation of the East India Company in the area of Bengal and other Indian regions under the title *Considerations on India affairs: particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its dependencies*,¹⁵ in which he revealed a whole range of machinations in the work of then definitely the most profitable British and even world company. The book quickly became a bestseller and William Bolts earned a fair glory for success, but not the desired wealth and all the dimensions of the vengeance he desperately wanted. The British public, thanks to Bolts, was much more concerned with corruption and criminality within the East India Company in India, but the company's economic and

¹³ In 1767 Verelst replaced Robert Clive as the commander of the Fort William fortress, who in 1757 after winning the Battle of Palashia (formerly Plassey) actually secured the dominance of the East India Company in Bengal. He performed the duty from May 1767 to December 1769. Later, in 1771, Verelst became the director of the East India Company. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785, ii., 920.

¹⁴ Hallward 1920: 45-99.

¹⁵ The first part of the book was published on 412 pages in 1772: William Bolts, *Considerations on India affairs: particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its dependencies: to which is Prefixed, a Map of Those Countries, Chiefly from Actual Surveys, Band 1*, Printed for J. Almon, P. Elmsly, and Brotherton and Sewell, London 1772. The second part was published on over 600 pages in 1775 and was primarily Bolts' triumph because Verelst was convicted in the meantime: William Bolts, *Considerations on India affairs, Part II. Containing a complete Vindication of the Author from the Malicious and Groundless Charges of Mr Verelest with a just Exposure of the Fatal Ignorance and Injustice of the late Courts of East India Directors in London and of the Oppressions and Iniquities of their late Governing servants in Bengal*, Printed for J. Dodsley, Pallmall; G. Robson, New Bond street; J. Almon, Piccadilly; Jefferies and Faden, Charing-Cross; P. Elmsly, in the Strand; W. Owen, Fleet-street; T. Evans, Paternoster row; Brotherton and Sewell, in Cornhill; and Richardson and Urquhart, under the Royal Exchange, London 1775.

political conglomerate was so powerful and so needed both by the British Crown and British trading circuits that there was no chance for the Company to be liquidated and neither its direct takeover by the Crown was in sight,¹⁶ which Bolts actually wanted to happen.¹⁷

In any case, the success of the 1772 publication meant that prospects of Bolts' possibility to return to India within the framework of British institutions was sealed. However, at the same time, Bolts made a breakthrough at the European level for now he was known as an expert in organizing trade issues with India. Consequently, the former British merchant expected an engagement by another European power that was striving to develop trade with Asia. Even more than that, Bolts sought to further develop his newly-gained fame and unquestioned expertise in Indian trade as soon as he entered into an arrangement with another European country. Carefully observing the evolution of the situation in Europe and the trends that were largely dictated to the relations that countries and regions had with Great Britain, Bolts decided to try to join Austrian diplomacy in order to possibly agree the details of the project of developing trade towards India with the Vienna court.

Bolts' decision to join Austria was based on several factors. Since he had excellent connections across Europe, because of his origins and business relations with the territories of Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain and Portugal, he was in a position to assess the geographical capabilities of Austria and its imperial conglomerate to develop trade with India. Bolts' connections were particularly strong with traders operating in the Netherlands and the Austrian Netherlands. However, he was aware of the restrictions that had been applied on Austria for decades regarding the trade from Antwerp or Ostend. That is why his idea for the development of trade from the perspective of Austria was focused on Austrian properties in the Mediterranean. In that sense, Port of Trieste was of particular importance and he conceived it as a central loading place for the entire Habsburg Monarchy. In addition, he was aware of the potential of Livorno, the main Tuscan port, which had a special position due to the fact that Tuscany had been in the Habsburg estate since 1737 as a *secundogeniture*.

Since 1765 Tuscany was governed by Leopold (1747-1792), the younger son of Empress Maria Theresa and brother to the heir to the throne Joseph II. His reign in Tuscany (1765-1790) was rather liberal and open to economic experiments that could improve the economic position of the province, which in the past few centuries had continuously deteriorated in relation to the position that it had had during the Renaissance period. For Bolts' plans the added advantage of Livorno (called Leghorn in most British sources of the

¹⁶ This would actually happen in the second half of the 19th century and the East India Company would finally be extinguished in 1874. Williams 2015: 182.

¹⁷ After the publication of Bolts' book, Harry Verelst hastened to publish his answer and in 1772 his book appeared – Harry Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Government in Bengal: Including a Reply to the Misrepresentations of Mr. Bolts, and Other Writers*, Printed for J. Nourse, Bookseller of His Majesty in the Strand; Brotherton and Sewell, in Cornhill; G. Robinson in Paternoster row; and T. Evans in the King-street, Covent-garden, London 1772. In this book Verelst managed to somewhat relativize some of Bolts' allegations and to present his counter-claims. However, this did not prevent the initiation of the trial which resulted in a verdict in December 1774 that Verelst had to pay a sum of 5,000 pounds due to the wrongfulness of many cases, including also Bolts' arrest in Bengal in 1768. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785, ii., 920.

18th century) over Trieste was reflected in the fact that sailing from Livorno through the western part of the Mediterranean was much safer than the trip from Trieste, as the maritime route from Livorno to Gibraltar was not so exposed to the attacks of Berber pirates from North Africa.¹⁸

Other reasons that Bolts put his efforts exclusively to the Austrian option lay in the fact that the Habsburgs ruled the Austrian Netherlands, the space where most of the potential investors for his planned trade organization with India actually lived, with some of the trading families from Antwerp and Ostend being involved in the organization of trade with Asia as early as the era of the Ostend Company. Many high-ranking Austrian officials had traditionally good connections with them and Bolts thought that the best way would be to exploit the Austro-Belgian milieu in that way. Connections and positions that the Chancellor Kaunitz himself had on the territory of the Austrian Netherlands were of particular importance¹⁹ and the similar case was with influential families of Cobenzl²⁰ and Starhemberg as well.²¹

In the end, Bolts saw the reason to opt with Austria because of the European geopolitical constellation of that time. The fact that Great Britain was in a position of certain diplomatic isolation after its great victory in the Seven Years' War implied that almost all European countries were in a way stunned and scared by the newly emerging British domination. Already during the first meeting with the Austrian ambassador in London,²² Bolts surprised his interlocutor with the richness of his ideas and in his exposed plans for the development of trade with Asia there were not only expeditions to India, but also towards China. After his first talk with Bolts, Ambassador Belgiojoso wrote to Vienna on 1 November 1774.²³ Immediately after the arrival of Belgiojoso's report, Chancellor Kaunitz developed a very intense discussion of Bolts' proposal in Vienna and ordered various departments to analyze it in detail, primarily the order was sent to the President of the

¹⁸ Frenzo 1998: 143-151.

¹⁹ From 1745 to 1748 Kaunitz served as an Austrian administrator and temporarily as a de facto governor in the Austrian Netherlands.

²⁰ Count Johann Karl Philipp von Cobenzl (1712–1770) held the position of the Plenipotentiary Minister for the Austrian Netherlands 1753-1770. It was, de facto, the post of prime minister within the administration headed by Governor – Prince Karl Alexander von Lothringen und Bar (1712-1780), the younger brother of Maria Theresa's husband, Franz Stephan, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1745-1765) and at the same time the husband of an Archduchess Maria Anne (1718-1744), the younger sister of Empress Maria Theresa. The son of Charles Philippe von Cobenzl, Count Johann Ludwig von Cobenzl (1753-1809), was one of the most important Austrian diplomats between 1772 and 1800. He held the position of the ambassador in Russia continuously between 1779 and 1797. From 1800 to 1805 he was the vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of Austria.

²¹ Prince Johann Georg Adam von Starhemberg (1724-1807) succeeded the count Karl Philippe von Cobenzel as the empowered minister for the area of the Austrian Netherlands and served as the key Austrian executive administrator in the present-day Belgium and Luxembourg areas between 1770 and 1783.

²² N. L. Halward, who did not use Austrian archive material at all, mistakenly considered that Bolts himself organized his journey to Vienna in early 1774 and that he had already met with Maria Theresa at that time. Hallward 1920: 151.

²³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (further: HHStA), Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 4: Diplomatische Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit der Kompanie (1774-1786), Fasz. Diplomatische Korrespondenzen der Staatskanzlei 1774-1776, Konv. 1 (1-8), Fol. 4.

Chamber of Commerce, Count Leopold von Kollowrath-Krakowski (1726–1809).²⁴

The next report about the meeting with Bolts by ambassador Belgiojoso was sent on 27 December 1774.²⁵ A new round of interest awakened in Vienna and the court excitedly developed thoughts about the perspectives that were implied by Bolts' promises. In the first months of 1775 there was a new wave of systematization. On 6 March Belgiojoso sent to Vienna a detailed proposal from Bolts regarding the project entitled *Expedition towards East India (Expedition nach Ostindien)*.²⁶ In his letters the Austrian ambassador testified about Bolts as a well-known celebrity in London, as well as an unparalleled connoisseur of opportunity in India. Obviously, Bolts was able to present himself as a much more important factor in London's circles than he really was. In any case, the concept proposed by the former employer of the East India Company concerning the organization of trade in India and China from Trieste was a surprise for circles in Vienna because they themselves had never thought about a possible use of their own Adriatic port²⁷ for such ventures, although Trieste was increasingly gaining importance in the context of the development of its pier during the 18th century.²⁸

Not everyone in Vienna was thrilled with Bolts' ideas. Joseph II expressed a certain suspicion regarding the project, which, in his view, could have cost Austria a lot and the possible profit was indeed very questionable.²⁹ His dilemma was shared by Count Karl von Zinzendorf (1739-1813), court adviser and one of the key economic theorists of the Habsburg Monarchy. After the detailed Bolts' study arrived to Vienna in March, Maria Theresa ordered the court office and the Chamber of Commerce to fully analyze the possibilities that came from the brave merchant's idea. The government in Vienna was aware that it had a very promising option ahead of itself and that it could not afford the opportunity for such an idea to slip into the hands of the opponents, who was logically at that time primarily Prussia. In order to prevent any possible competition, the Habsburg government sent an urgent letter to Belgiojoso in London requesting that Bolts should be directed to Vienna immediately. For the sake of the strict secrecy of the entire project, it was recommended that during the travel from London to Vienna he should be dressed and represented as a Portuguese trader, which was not a problem for Bolts because he was fluent

²⁴ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 3: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1788), Fasz. Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit Hofstellen 1774-1776, 1778-80, Konv. 1 (1-2), Fol. 1.

²⁵ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 4-5.

²⁶ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 6-7.

²⁷ It was Habsburg property since 1382. Faber 1995: 37.

²⁸ Markov 1961: 3-28; Beer 1899: 1-204; Erceg 1966: 300-308; Gasser 1954: 120-130.

²⁹ Such attitude of Joseph II will remain the rule in the context of the relationship with the project of William Bolts in all subsequent years, when the expeditions to India really took place and when the Austrian East India companies achieved some results. In all matters, he always required the submission of financial guarantees by external factors or investors and he explicitly refused to give Vienna money to finance expeditions or companies. Such reactions were also a response to Bolts' demands of 11 July 1782, when it seemed most likely that the newly formed company would achieve tremendous results in trade with Asia. HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 2: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1787), Fasz. Vorträge 1781-84, Fol. 42, 49-50.

in the Portuguese language.³⁰

In early May 1775 Bolts arrived to Vienna for preliminary talks about the implementation of his project. The first meeting, held on 13 May in Vienna, with a delegation comprising court advisors Kollowrath, Bender and Franz Anton von Raab (1722-1783), greatly helped the former representative of the East India Company to leave a very favourable impression on his interlocutors, who labelled him as a person who “by his external appearance, the freedom of his behaviour and his own views”³¹ represented something unusual. In order to gain the favour of the court in Vienna, he initially appeared very optimistical and in his “secret brief of 14 May 14”³² immediately claimed that his intention was “to supply two ships to East India that year and to direct his journey to Malabar, where all nations can trade freely.”³³

In the context of indicating the types of goods he intended to trade in India and the area of the Indian ocean, Bolts made a meaningful emphasis on the “products from hereditary lands,”³⁴ which meant products available from the then Habsburg hereditary countries Lower and Upper Austria, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Czech Republic, Hungary and others. Such orientation was probably most interesting in court circles in Vienna because they were almost all mostly fairly involved in the trade of goods related to the local geographical areas. In this sense, Bolts specifically sought iron, steel, rifles, cannons, glass and glassware, but silver and silverware too. On the other hand, from the territory of the Austrian Netherlands Bolts requested various fabrics, sail material and ship ropes.³⁵

Basically, Bolts was personally most interested in trading with Flemish products because he expected the largest influx of investors for his planned expedition from the Austrian Netherlands and especially from Antwerp. In addition, he knew that the trade with arms was very lucrative in the area he wanted to visit, especially in the situation when almost the whole Indian subcontinent was politically extremely unstable due to the aggressive action of the British East India Company.³⁶ However, he did not show his intention to reveal his plans for potential business partners in Vienna. In addition, he tried as much as possible to hide the real information about his assets, pointing out that he had left a fortune of 60,000 British pounds in Bengal.³⁷ The only partner, i.e. the assistant who was almost constantly

³⁰ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 4: Diplomatische Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit der Kompanie (1774-1786), Fasz. Diplomatische Korrespondenzen der Staatskanzlei 1774-1776, Konv. Ostindische Compagnie Correspondenz mit auswärtigen Höfen und Gubernien 1775, Fol. 8-9.

³¹ „...äusserliches Wesen, die Freimütigkeit seines Betragens, seine Einsicht...“, HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 10.

³² „In geheimen Vortrag“, HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 8.

³³ „Will er noch dieses Jahr zwey Schiffe nach Ostindien ausrüsten und seine Reise an die Küste von Malabar richten, wo alle Nationen frey handeln können.“ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 9-10.

³⁴ „...von erbländischen Productis“, Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Temple 1917: 278.

³⁷ Considering inflation of British pound, this value would amount to nearly 3.5 million today.

with him on display was a certain François Ryan.³⁸

After Bolts' stay in Vienna and his presentation of a rounded plan on the development of trade with Asia, the Austrian government, primarily through its diplomatic network, rushed to urgently finalize the options arising from Bolts' idea. As a skilled trader primarily sought an imperial sanction, that is, a charter or a patent ("Okroi"), which would allow him to position himself monopolistically on behalf of Austria in India and in the wider Indian Ocean, the reaction of Vienna was to be really quick. The Austrian diplomatic network collected additional information, among others, through its ambassador to the Netherlands, Baron Franz von Reischach (1732-1808). In this regard, the communication that Prince Kollowrath had with the ambassador in The Hague in the summer of 1775 was of particular importance.³⁹

Baron Peter Philipp von Herbert-Rathkeal (1735-1802) played a significant role in collecting data about Bolts and possibilities for the development of East India trade within the parameters proposed in Vienna. During the summer of 1775 he served as the court adviser within the framework of the Austrian administration in Brussels.⁴⁰ Herbert-Rathkeal was given the task of closely monitoring the development of the situation around the expedition's investors in the Austrian Netherlands and to follow Bolts until his very departure to the expedition in 1776.⁴¹ Chancellor Kaunitz, who had been in Luxembourg on several occasions in 1775, provided further useful information about the situation in Belgium and Bolts' position with the help of Prince Johann von Starhemberg from Brussels.⁴²

After Maria Theresa sublimated all the information she received, she decided to sign the required charter for Bolts despite the fact that in Vienna they were somewhat aware of the complexity of Bolts' position, primarily in terms of his continuing dispute with the British East India Company and problems that may arise for Austria from possible complications with the British institutions. The Empress considered that a significant benefit could have been derived from the East Indian enterprise. As early as 15 May Bolts

<http://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html> (accessed 14 April 2018, 21:37)

³⁸ Houtman-De Smedt 1999: 229.

³⁹ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 3: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1788), Fasz. Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit Hofstellen 1774-1776, 1778-80, Konv. 1 (1-2), Fol. 3.

⁴⁰ Peter Philipp von Herbert-Rathkeal was a descendant of an immigrant Irish family who left Ireland after the Revolution of 1688 and, like many Catholic emigrants from Britain, was under the banner of the Habsburg circles during the 18th century. In the context of scholarship Peter Philipp and his younger brother Thomas were personally supported by Maria Theresa. In the period from 1750 to 1760 Peter Philipp was a member of the Jesuit Order and after that he made a career in the Austrian administration. From 1779 to 1802 he served as an Austrian internuncio in Istanbul. Irish origins often gave him strong ties with British trading circles and his career in Brussels connected him with Belgian and Dutch traders, which was of great benefit to the Habsburgs in 1775 and later when he, as internuncio, would be for more than two decades one of the central points in coordination of the complete Austrian policy towards Asia. Bronza 2013: 329-338.

⁴¹ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 34.

⁴² HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 3: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1788), Fasz. Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit Hofstellen 1774-1776, 1778-80, Konv. 1 (1-2), Fol. 12-25.

took the oath as a subject of the Habsburg Monarchy and was officially allowed to receive a charter or a patent. The Empress finally signed it on 5 June. The Charter encompassed 18 articles and for the standards of the 18th century was basically pretty poor and limited in the context of the precise definition regarding Vienna's obligations and the scope of future authority of William Bolts.⁴³

By signing the patent for Bolts, Austria launched an institutional action that would promptly, in September 1775, lead to the formation of the Austrian East India Company, that is the "Imperial Asian Company Trieste and Antwerp" ("Société impériale asiatique de Trieste et Anvers"), immediately after the business merging of Bolts with investors from Antwerp⁴⁴ led by banker Charles Proli (1723-1786), whose father was one of the directors of an old Ostend company from the first half of the 18th century.⁴⁵

Relations between Bolts and Proli were of particular importance for the fate of the prepared expeditions, but from the very beginning they proved to be quite heavy. In essence, Proli was the main investor and wanted to have a crucial share in the decisions that dealt with the main expedition guidelines, while Bolts wished that he had complete control in that respect. Thus, Proli tried, without Bolts' support, to act completely independently in his contacts with Vienna, which was reflected in his many letters to Prince Kaunitz and other leading Austrian figures. In his report to Vienna on 2 November 1775 he emphasized the history of the involvement of his family in Austrian affairs since the time of the Ostend Company, which was intended to further show how he should be the key person in the context of the perception of the expedition for the Austrians.⁴⁶ During 1776 he was particularly concentrated on the development of his relations with the Tuscan duke Leopold as it was certain that Livorno would play a major role as the main port of the expedition.⁴⁷

Already during the autumn of 1775 Bolts and his associate Ryan continued with the elaborations of their trading plans in Vienna. Thus, on 30 October it was announced that Bolts' previous links, established in Lisbon some 20 years earlier, would play an important role in the context of logistics related to the expedition towards India.⁴⁸ Immediately after that, Bolts contacted the Austrian Ambassador to Lisbon, baron Adam von Lebzelttern (1735-1818).⁴⁹

⁴³ Bolts 1787: 44-49.

⁴⁴ On 25 January 1776 Herbert-Rathkeal explained from the Austrian Netherlands in detail to Marshal Haddik and other interested leaders in Vienna how Bolts systematically managed to gain confidence „*des bonnes maisons d'Anvers*“, HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 3: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1788), Fasz. Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit Hofstellen 1774-1776, 1778-80, Konv. 1 (1-2), Fol. 41-43.

⁴⁵ Houtman-De Smedt 1983: 12.

⁴⁶ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 4: Diplomatische Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit der Kompanie (1774-1786), Fasz. Diplomatische Korrespondenzen der Staatskanzlei 1774-1776, Konv. Ostindische Compagnie Correspondenz mit auswärtigen Höfen und Gubernien 1775, Fol. 28-31.

⁴⁷ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 38-41.

⁴⁸ „*Rapport Touchant les raisons qui ont obligé Bolts a changer les vries, qu'il avoit sur Lisbonne et les desirs de son associe Francois Ryan*“, HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 1: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen 1661, 1766-1789, Fasz. 1, Fol. 26-31.

⁴⁹ Adam von Lebzelttern was an Austrian ambassador to Lisbon practically for 50 years, 1768-1818.

Bolts' logistics network during these months involved intensive communication between London, Lisbon and Livorno. In September 1775 Bolts bought East Indian "Earl of Lincoln" in London, a ship that had previously belonged to the British East India Company and which had already been well tested during the travels to India.⁵⁰ In honour to the Austrian rulers, after the purchase of the ship Bolts changed her name to "Joseph and Theresa." It was to serve as a further demonstration of his loyalty to the Austrian dynasty, but also to send a message to all rivals that Austria stood firm behind all of his undertakings.

After that, with a ship that still carried the British flag and which was largely manned by British crew, Bolts headed for Lisbon. However, during the spring of 1776, the protagonists of the future Austrian Indian expedition remained in Portugal unexpectedly long due to a number of administrative problems. Basically that was a sophisticated action directed against Bolts from London, which was already a consequence of the actions of the British East India Company, i.e. Great Britain itself against unwanted Austrian competition, whereby Britain could count on its traditional alliances with Portugal. After many peripherals and an energetic action by the Austrian ambassador, Bolts could continue his journey to Livorno, where he would perform the main loading of goods for trade. Lebzelter's comprehensive report on all events was sent to Vienna on 4 June 1776.⁵¹ At the end of June Bolts finally arrived in Livorno, but the British ensured that his secret trade mission no longer had a tag of secrecy, which was reflected in numerous news about the expedition in the European newspapers of that time even before he took off on the trip.

After the rifles and cannons were embarked on the ship in Livorno, which were to be the key Austrian export items, and after further complicating of relations between Bolts and Proli, Bolts headed to India in late September 1776 with a crew of 152 sailors.⁵² In this way, the new Austrian Indian odyssey began and, as will be shown later, would last for five years in its first incarnation.

Although the whole complex of reanimation of the Austrian Asian trade was actually liquidated at the end of the 18th century in the turbulences of the French Revolutionary Wars, and during the 19th century it was never restarted in the way it was accomplished in the 1770s, an episode about a company founded by William Bolts (or two consecutive companies) left a big mark on the systematic development of the Austrian approach to various aspects of world politics. An attempt to encourage trade with India, and during the 1780s with China, Japan and the Pacific and north western North America, gave Austria a new dimension which Vienna actually greatly desired during the greater part of the 18th century and made it less provincial in the increasingly dominant context of European powers at the planetary level. The fact that perspectives from the 1770s and 1780s did not ultimately lead to a permanent transformation of Austria into a trade and maritime power – was linked

⁵⁰ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 4: Diplomatische Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit der Kompanie (1774-1786), Fasz. Diplomatische Korrespondenzen der Staatskanzlei 1774-1776, Konv. Ostindische Compagnie Correspondenz mit auswärtigen Höfen und Gubernien 1775, Fol. 62.

⁵¹ HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 3: Ostindische Kompanie Triest Antwerpen (1774-1788), Fasz. Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit Hofstellen 1774-1776, 1778-80, Konv. 1 (1-2), Fol. 56.

⁵² HHStA, Ostindische Kompanien (1661-1792), Triest-Antwerpen, Kart. 6: Korrespondenz der Staatskanzlei mit der Kompanie (1782-1788), Fasz. 1776-1785, Miscellanea.

to a series of structural weaknesses that the country carried and additionally accumulated in continuity that lasted already for a few centuries.

An example of the “engagement” of William Bolts was an indicator of the maturation of Austrian diplomacy in the second half of the 18th century and its instant modernization, which developed especially after 1763. The Austrian diplomatic network with its wider connections was in a position to follow political and economic trends much more efficiently. However, for example, its inability in 1775 or 1776 to perceive the development of a geopolitical constellation over the next few years, i.e. to see that, due to the rebellion of the British colonies in North America a major war for the dominance in the North Atlantic would over the years engage both Britain and France and at the same time paralyze their efforts elsewhere, which left enormous opportunities in terms of exploiting Asian trade to neutral states such as Austria – was a testimony that some aspects of Austrian modernization were still far from ideal.

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**ПРИПРЕМЕ АУСТРИЈСКЕ ЕКСПЕДИЦИЈЕ ПРЕМА ИНДИЈИ
1775-1776**

Резиме

Током друге половине XVIII вијека трговачка политика Аустрије је настојала да обнови везе са Индијом и другим крајевима Азије које су успјешно егзистирале у доба Остендске компаније (1722-1731). У том погледу је све успјешније дјеловање Британске Источноиндијске компаније представљало примјер за бечку владу какве лукративне могућности леже у адекватном развоју трговине на истоку. Неопходна карика за покретање таквих подухвата била је могућност директног сусрета представника аустријске дипломатске мреже са појединцима из реда трговаца који су већ имали богата искуства у оквирима трговине са Индијом. Управо такав случај се догодио у Лондону 1774. године када је аустријски амбасадор Лудовик Луиђи Карло Марија ди Барбиано ди Белгијосо (Ludovico Luigi Carlo Maria di Barbiano di Belgiojoso) сусрео једног од најпознатијих европских предузетника друге половине XVIII вијека Вилијама Болтса (William Boltsa). Био је то почетак нове велике аустријске авантуре у Азији и истовремено покушај радикалног редефинисања есенцијалне природе хабзбуршке позиције и философије. Непосредно након што је аустријска дипломатска мрежа ступила у контакт са Болтсом, почеле су софистициране припреме експедиције која ће на свој пут коначно кренути 1776. године.

Иако је цијели комплекс реанимирања аустријске азијске трговине фактички ликвидан већ крајем XVIII у турбуленцијама Француских револуционих ратова, те током XIX вијека никад није поново покрену на начин како је то било реализовано 1770-их година, епизода око компаније коју је основао Вилијам Болтс (односно двије узастопне компаније) оставила је велики траг у системском развоју аустријског приступа различитим аспектима свјетске политике. Покушај потицања трговине са Индијом, а током 1780-их година и са Кином, Јапаном и простором Пацифика и сјеверозападне обале Сјеверне Америке, дао је Аустрији нову димензију која јој је веома недостајала током већег дијела XVIII вијека, те ју је учинио мање провинцијалном у све експанзивнијим европским оквирима.

Примјер око „ангажмана“ Вилијама Болтса био је индикатор сазријевања аустријске дипломатије у другој половини XVIII вијека, односно њене инстантне модернизације, која се развијала нарочито после 1763. године. Аустријска дипломатска мрежа била је у позицији да својим везама прати све више политичких и економских трендова. Ипак, њена немогућност да нпр. 1775. или 1776. године проникне у развој геополитичке констелације у периоду од наредних неколико година, односно да увиди да ће због побуне британских колонија у Сјеверној Америци доћи до великог рата који ће Британију и Француску током неколико година преваходно везати за простор сјеверног Атлантика што је неутралним државама попут Аустрије остављало огромне могућности на плану експлоатације азијске трговине – била је свједочанство о томе да су наведени аспекти њене модернизације још увек били далеко од идеалног.

Кључне ријечи: Аустрија, Индија, Марија Терезија, Јосип II, Вилијам Болтс.

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TRAVELS OF THE SAVINA MONASTERY MONKS IN THE 18th CENTURY AND THEIR OBJECTIVE AND ROLE IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAY OF KOTOR*

Abstract: The text deals with the journeys of the Savina fraternity members in the 18th century, as well as their profound importance for the Savina Monastery and the local environment of Boka Kotorska. Establishing relations with distant Orthodox Christian lands and big spiritual centers, such as Russia or the Karlovci Metropolitanate, opened many possibilities. They collected donations for the Monastery maintenance and kept up with the Baroque religious and cultural models of the time. Thanks to the relations established during their journeys, the Savina monks transferred those models into the local community, shaping and strengthening the religious and ethnic identity of the Serbian Orthodox people in multicultural Boka Kotorska.

Keywords: monks' journeys, Boka Kotorska, Savina Monastery, 18th century, contacts, donations, identity.

Monks frequently travelled in the 18th century although their journeys were long, uncertain and difficult. The purposes of such journeys were most often collecting donations and various material means for the survival and development of monastic communities and monasteries. They, however, travelled for other reasons as well, such as education, establishing valuable contacts, connecting remote monastic communities with the spiritual centres of the time, following theological and art movements, which were later transferred from spiritual centres as established religious and cultural models to remote local communities. The contacts were significant for the other side as well, especially in the case of Orthodox Russia. With their arrival to Russia, monks brought fresh information about political circumstances in the areas occupied by other empires, enabling Russian authorities to develop an entire intelligence network about other Orthodox centres and remote areas. This was especially important for Russia because the country clearly perceived itself as the successor of the Byzantine Empire and protector of the entire

* The text is formed as an original scientific paper. It is a result of many years of research in the Bay of Kotor, for the purpose of writing a PhD thesis.

Orthodox Christianity.¹

Preserving monasteries was crucial for preserving the ethnic and religious identity under the foreign rule in the 18th century. Thus Orthodox Christians in the Bay of Kotor under Venetian rule were grouped around the Savina Monastery as their spiritual centre. The journeys of monks were most often very long, sometimes lasting for years due to technical means and undeveloped traffic infrastructure of the time, as well as due to the need to collect as many donations as possible for the poor monastic communities, mostly under the foreign rule. The travels, their duration and sometimes even purpose, were often determined by unforeseeable circumstances. One of the best examples of the monks' travels in the 18th century is the *Hagiography (Žumuje)* of the Archimandrite of the Krupa Monastery, Gerasim Zelić, a valuable document about an unexpectedly vivid road communication of monks from that time, as well as many other aspects of social relations and connections in the late 18th and early 19th century.²

During the practically constant wars in the second half of the 17th century (Candian and Morean wars), the Savina Monastery was apparently abandoned for a certain period. However, after Venetians conquered Herceg-Novi from the Turks (1687) and following the arrival of monks from Tvrdoš to Savina, after the destruction of the Tvrdoš Monastery (1693/1694), the monastery was revived.³ Since that time, during the entire 18th century, the Savina fraternity systematically and energetically fought for the survival of the monastery and the religious and ethnical identity of Serbian Orthodox Christians in the Bay of Kotor.⁴ As we will see, the material means collected during their numerous journeys, as well as the established connections and contacts, had a great significance and role in that fight.

Immediately after the Venetians conquered Herceg-Novi, the Savina Monastery became one of the important points from which the Metropolitan of Herzegovina Savatije Ljubibratić and somewhat later his nephew and successor Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić conducted their activities. It is known that Bishop Savatije and his nephew, then Deacon Stefan, set off to a journey to Jerusalem already at the beginning of the 18th century. His statement noted in the sanitary report compiled on July 18, 1705, after his return from the Holy Land to Herceg-Novi, testifies about it.⁵ In that period, Venetian authorities issued several permissions for commercial journeys to members of the Savina fraternity, as we discovered from Venetian documents from the first decades of the 18th century. Such permissions were granted to monk Stefan for Gacko (1705), Metropolitan Savatije escorted by four persons (1707), monk Đorđe from Savina with two companions (October 6, 1710).⁶

Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić, who succeeded his uncle, Metropolitan Savatije, continued defending the interests of the Serbian Orthodox community in the Bay of Kotor and Dalmatia. Since the intolerant Catholic bishops, protégés of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), tried to suppress them in all possible ways, he was forced to fight for survival for years. Following the recommendation

¹ Medaković 2006: 88–89.

² Zelić 1823.

³ Čorović 1999: 108.

⁴ Matić 2015a.

⁵ Šerović 1965: 137–140.

⁶ Milošević 1970: 114–116.

of Provveditore Mocenigo (Alvise Sebastiano Mocenigo), Bishop Stefan set off to a journey to Venice in order to directly, with his appearance, personality, eloquence, honesty and integrity, attempt to defend his rights before the Senate and dispel dishonest and tendentious attacks of Vićentije Zmajević and other Catholic bishops from Dalmatia.⁷ In mid-October 1720, Stefan arrived to Venice. However, he was not admitted directly by the Senate; the Senate only considered his written report.⁸ The final decision about his exile from the Bay of Kotor and Dalmatia was announced at the end of 1721.⁹

Archimandrite Leontije Rajović (Avramović) of Savina was a close associate of Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić, and his journey and connections with Russia were undisputed. Hence, from a document dated November 9, 1721, we discover that Leontije stayed in Russia at the time. According to official sources, the objective of his journey to Russia was returning 1.700 golden Venetian ducats, which Metropolitan Savatije and other priests gave as a loan to Colonel Mihailo Miloradović and Captain Pavle Arkulej during the Uprising in Montenegro 1711/1712.¹⁰ On May 30, 1722, Leontije and his monk brothers held a presentation before the Russian Senate, showing a document confirming the given loan of 700 golden Venetian ducats, with Miloradović's seal and signature.¹¹ Although Archimandrite Leontije was not able to settle the entire debt, the decree of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs of the Holy Synod, dated April 27, 1722, granted him many books for the monastery.¹² He himself also purchased many books during his stay in Russia, which can be seen in numerous notes he wrote in the books. We know for certain that he purchased the famous Russian adaptation of Caesar Baronius' *Ecclesiastical Annals* (*Annales Ecclesiastici*), printed in Moscow in 1719 in two volumes. This book was very popular in Orthodox monasteries during the 18th century and influenced the Serbian baroque iconography.¹³ In the same year he brought a copy of John Chrysostom's *Margarit* from Moscow, printed in Moscow in 1698, which he signed as Archimandrite of Trebinje.¹⁴ Archimandrite Leontije probably visited Russia in 1725 as well, as shown by the letter of Bishop Danilo to Count Golovkin dated October 20, 1725.¹⁵ The note of Archimandrite of Savina Leontije dated June 14, 1725 on the *Menaion* printed in Moscow in 1693 (now in the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in the village of Podi near Herceg-Novi) confirms

⁷ More about the fight of Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić for the Diocese of Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor, see: Matić 2016: 164–169.

⁸ Jačov 1984: 30–32.

⁹ *Ibid.* 36

¹⁰ Dimitrijević 1922: 56. We notice an interesting coincidence between his journey to Russia and the exile of Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić by Venetian authorities. Did Leontije have another mission during his journey to Russia? Or was that act supposed to, besides other things, indicate to the Venetian government in such an important moment that Orthodox people have a powerful protector?

¹¹ Narochnicky i Petrović 1984: 65–66.

¹² *Ibid.* 65.

¹³ Medaković 1978: 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 27. Monks from Savina often used the epithet “of Trebinje” with their names and titles, instead of “of Savina”, because the fraternity, as we have already stated, consisted mostly of monks from the Tvrdoš Monastery, who fled after their monastery was destroyed (1693/1694).

¹⁵ Mladenović 1996: 103–104.

that he was in Russia that year.¹⁶ We found a note on the *Gospel* printed in Lvov in Russia (now in the Church of the Holy Savior in Topla, Herceg-Novi), written on May 20 of the same year, 1725. The note states that the *Gospel* was brought from Russia by Archimandrite of Trebinje Leontije Nikolajev Avramović.¹⁷ It is possible that he visited Russia in 1729 as well. Leontije's inscription in the book of Gregory of Nazianzus dated July 18, 1729 led us to such a conclusion. He wrote that he had purchased the book in Moscow for one and a half sequin and donated it to the Savina Monastery.¹⁸ In the same year of 1729, on July 28, he signed his name in an *Octoechos* he brought from Russia and donated it to the Savina Monastery as sinful Leontije Nikolajev Avramović, Archimandrite of Trebinje.¹⁹

All the aforementioned leads us to a conclusion that Archimandrite Leontije, in the absence of a Serbian bishop for the Bay of Kotor and Dalmatia in the 18th century and other strongholds, fostered close relations with Orthodox Russia, the new hope of Orthodox Christians under the foreign rule. Such connections were established already by Metropolitan Savatije through his cooperation with Colonel Miloradović,²⁰ while Archimandrite Leontije and his successors ardently worked on preserving and deepening relations with the Orthodox empire, which was so important for them.²¹

As the Archimandrite of Savina, Leontije sent monk Savatije with three companions from Savina to Belgrade and other places in 1725 to collect donations for the monastery. For that occasion, Venetian authorities issued passports for them so that they could pass all the cities undisturbed and provided any help they might need.²²

The assignment of Hieromonk Simeon Marković Draguličić (Nikšićevski) from Savina was apparently mostly related to the affairs outside of the monastery including frequent travels for collecting charity.²³ He was engaged in it ever since his earliest days as a monk, as shown by several travelling permissions issued by Venetian authorities for the Ottoman Empire area (1729),²⁴ as well as for other countries.²⁵ One of the results of his active involvement and efforts was renewing a written *Chronographer* in Zadar, completed on December 20, 1746.²⁶ Hieromonk Simeon was also granted permission (October 17,

¹⁶ Pestorić 2005: 289.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 314–315.

¹⁸ Medaković 1978: 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ It is possible that Bishop Stefan Ljubibratić also maintained relations with Russia and that, according to some opinions, this was the reason of his imprisonment (before 1715) in Brescia (Jačov 1984: 26) or Verona (Petrović 1998: 20) by Venetian authorities (Ruvrač 1905: 397).

²¹ For more about relations between the Savina Monastery and Russia in the 18th century see: Matić 2017a.

²² Archive of Herceg-Novi, Political-administrative Venetian Archive (hereinafter AH, PUMA), F. 78, 34 (1). „Dovendo portarsi sino a Belgrado et altri luochi del Stato di V. in Cesarea alla cerca dell'elemosine il Monsignor Archimandrita Leontie Rajovich, abbate del Convento della B.V. di Savina, di questo Sabatie con suoi compagni trè, può li concedere libero e sicuro passaporti, raccomandandoli alli suoi comandanti di qualunque città e luoco ove oltrepassassero poichè non li sia inferior molestia alcuna...“

²³ Matić 2014a: 222–223.

²⁴ Another two monks from Savina were given permission to travel that same year. Monk Mojsije Dragičević for a trip to Dalmatia by boat [AH, PUMA, F. 103, no. 5(5)], and monk Isaija for a trip to the Piva Monastery [AH, PUMA, F.103, no. 265(1)].

²⁵ Milošević 1970: 115.

²⁶ Stojanović 1903 (no. 2924): 152.

1756) from the Metropolitan of Karlovci Pavle Nenadović to collect charity in the protoparishes of Surčin, Mitrovica and Irig.²⁷ However, Simeon's most important endeavor, agreed with the Savina Monastery fraternity, was his trip to Russia in an attempt to collect means for the construction of the Savina Big Church. He started off probably in late 1760 or early 1761. Documents stored in Russian archives, as well as Simeon Marković's will, reveal to us that he contacted the former Bishop of Dalmatia Simeon Končarević immediately upon his arrival to Russia.²⁸ Simeon Končarević, who had been living in Russia for several years already, wrote to the Synod in St. Petersburg from Moscow in July 1761 that Simeon Nikšičevski arrived to Moscow with a petition letter sealed by Dalmatian Orthodox monasteries. The petition letter wrote "about nationwide unrest in Dalmatia due to heavy Venetian repressions and oppressions, as confirmed by other reports arriving from there".²⁹ The petition letter was handed over to Count Mihail Ilarionovich Vorontsov in the Foreign Collegium. It shows that Marković, besides his assignment to collect charity, also had the intention and a task to plead for the status of his compatriots in Dalmatia.³⁰ Along with his personal plea to the Synod for permission to collect donations during three years, Simeon Marković states that he arrived secretly (probably due to the mentioned letter). Furthermore, Simeon actively prepared the departure of Hieromonk Jefrem Đakovski from Kiev to Dalmatia in order to teach Orthodox people and preach.³¹ After being granted permission to collect donations, he bought a *Synodicon* in St. Petersburg in 1762, where he listed all the donators during his several years stay in Russia.³² In his testament, Simeon himself states that he spent much time in the city of Starodub, in the home of Count Mojsej Vladislavić, as well as in the home of Simeon Končarević in Kiev.³³ Russian documents also reveal to us that Nikšičevski, after receiving the holy myrrh and books, set off to the Bay of Kotor from Kiev on June 25, 1772.³⁴ On his way to the Savina Monastery, ill and weak, he passed away in the Monastery of St. Demetrius in Kaldarashan (Wallachia). There, before his death, he wrote his will on January 20, 1773 listing all donations and collected gifts.³⁵ Several months later, on November 16, 1773, the Community of Topla³⁶ issued a travelling order and pass to Inokentije Bogdašić Dabović, a monk from Savina, for his trip to Hungary to take over the mentioned donations.³⁷

Although the biggest donations were collected in Russia, monks frequently travelled

²⁷ Grujić 1913: 65.

²⁸ Dimitrijević 1922: 183–184.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Archive of the Savina Monastery (hereinafter AMS) 1762; Nakićenović 1910: 199–203. More about the *Synodicon*, see Matić 2017b.

³³ Petranović 1882: 31–32.

³⁴ Dimitrijević 1922: 183–184.

³⁵ Petranović 1882: 31–32.

³⁶ The Community of Topla (municipality) represented authorities of the local population of the area of Herceg-Noví under Venetian rule. It was founded by a Venetian ducale on July 14, 1718, with its seat in Topla (part of Herceg-Noví). The municipality board was made of: captain, four judges and a counselor, all with one-year mandates (Radojičić 1994: 35–38).

³⁷ Petranović 1881: 31–32.

to other remote areas for the same purpose. The Savina fraternity diligently worked on collecting means for constructing the monastery's Big Church, which would, at least to a certain extent, satisfy the needs of the local Serbian Orthodox community.³⁸ Numerous permissions and passes Savina monks received from Venetian authorities, as well as inscriptions in the monastery books, testify about it.

In the early 1750s Arsenije Milutinović, a prior of Savina,³⁹ wrote a *Circular Letter* addressed to Orthodox people in the Levant asking for donations for renewing the monastery to be given to Ilarion Avramović and Danilo Joanorajović, monks from Savina.⁴⁰

Energetic Archimandrite Nektarije Ljubibratić⁴¹ received several travel documents to visit other countries and collect donations for the monastery. Thus, on April 17, 1753, Archimandrite Nektarije visited Bishop Dionisije Novaković in the Eparchy of Buda to ask for his permission to collect donations for the Savina Monastery in his eparchy (May 29, 1753).⁴² Since the Savina fraternity was very active in the political events during the 18th century, as well as the failed attempts to establish the Diocese of Dalmatia and the Bay and have a Serbian bishop, we might ask ourselves whether Archimandrite Nektarije had any other mission besides collecting donations?⁴³ On February 1759, Archimandrite Nektarije sailed to Venice⁴⁴ and on September 12 immediately set off to Vienna, "for his personal needs, in the interest of the monastery", as stated in the Venetian travel documents.⁴⁵ The Hieromonk of Savina, Inokentije Dabović, travelled with him. Upon his return from the mentioned journey Nektarije "from his efforts in the Empire (Habsburg Monarchy) contributed a hundred sequins to the monastery's treasury".⁴⁶ He apparently also travelled to Southern Romania and Hungary (1763, 1767).⁴⁷ Archimandrite Nektarije sent Hieromonk Isaija of Savina to a trip with the monastery's *Circular Letter* dated March 1, 1765, asking all Orthodox Christians to help the Savina Monastery fraternity, "which has the intention to build a new big church, if so be God's will and permission of the holy Virgin". The *Circular Letter* was signed by Nektarije Ljubibratić personally and sealed with the seal of the Monastery of Trebinje, as it was common then (Fig. 1).⁴⁸ Father Isaija

³⁸ More about the construction of the Savina Big Church, see Matić 2017c.

³⁹ Matić 2014b: 682–683.

⁴⁰ AMS, Decrees folder. From the *Circular Letter*: "Be ktetors to our holy monastery and decorators of the church, so that your souls would be decorated as well. Therefore, please give support in charity to the brothers of our holy monastery, Ilarion hieromonk and Danilo hierodeacon..."

⁴¹ More about Archimandrite Nektarije Ljubibratić in Matić 2011: 701.

⁴² Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts Sremski Karlovci (hereinafter ASASAK, MP-B), 1753/111.

⁴³ It should be kept in mind that the Orthodox people of the Bay of Kotor and Dalmatia tried to suggest a new candidate for bishop on November 20, 1754: the Bishop of Buda Dionisije Novaković. Bishop Novaković went to school in Savina Monastery, where he was later tonsured (Petranović 1864: 154–156). Since it was clear that the exiled Bishop of Dalmatia Simeon Končarević would not return, and since the atmosphere under Venetians was favourable for the Orthodox people at that moment, Archimandrite Nektarije was supposed to discuss Novaković's candidacy for bishop of Dalmatia and Bay of Kotor perhaps in Szentendre (only one month after Končarević had departed from Dalmatia on April 17, 1753) (Matić 2016).

⁴⁴ AMS 1755.

⁴⁵ AMS, Decrees folder.

⁴⁶ AMS 1755.

⁴⁷ Crnogorčević 1901: 70.

⁴⁸ AMS, Decrees folder.

travelled on similar missions in Dalmatia. In April 1764, after returning from his trip through Dalmatia, he brought thirteen sequins and twenty lira for the monastery.⁴⁹ On January 1765, after his return to Savina, “from his efforts in Dalmatia, he gave a new bark worth 245 sequins”.⁵⁰

In the year 1763, father Inokentije Dabović brought 60 sequins as a donation to the monastery from his “trip to the Empire (Habsburg Monarchy)”.⁵¹ Father Inokentije was granted permission on July 25, 1764, from the Bishop of Bačka, Szeged and Eger Mojsije Putnik, to travel to Banat of Temes and Šemljug Monastery.⁵² Sometimes they did not bring money from such journeys. Thus Teodosije Pavković, a monk of Savina, travelled to Corfu, where chief Protopriest Spiridone Bulgari gave him an unusual and big honour. In a document dated April 27, 1760, Bulgari confirmed that he had personally cut and gave Teodosije, because of his commitment and work on spreading the Christian faith, a small part from the shoes on St. Spyridon, the patron saint of Corfu (Fig. 2).⁵³

All mentioned endeavours of the Savina fraternity during their journeys and collecting donations were aimed at constructing the new Big Church. After social conditions were met and necessary means collected, at their meeting on January 15 (according to the Julian calendar), 1775, the Savina fraternity decided to send Archimandrite Danilo Joanorajović and monk Nikanor Bogetić to Venice, where they were supposed to address the Principe (Senate) with a plea for “the general benefit of the monastery and constructing a new church”, as stated in the letter written by the Savina fraternity dated January 26, 1775.⁵⁴ Although the construction of the Big Church commenced in 1777, money was already lacking in 1780, so Archimandrite Danilo Joanorajović and the monastery’s fraternity sent Hieromonk Inokentije Dabović to a journey equipped with the monastery’s *Circular Letter* addressing all Orthodox Christians “asking for charity and supporting the Church of the Dormition” (Fig. 3).⁵⁵ As we discover from the copy of the Venetian document in the monastery’s Archive, Dabović received travel documents from Agostino Soranzo, the extraordinary Provvadore of Kotor, on March 10, 1780, for undisturbed passing over the Venetian territory to travel to Belgrade.⁵⁶ Archimandrite Danilo Joanorajović also

⁴⁹ AMS 1755.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.* It is probably the trip to Vienna and the Habsburg Monarchy together with Archimandrite Nektarije, a year earlier (1762).

⁵² AMS, Decrees folder.

⁵³ AMS, Scattered documents. Original document in whole: „A Spiridione Bulgari per Divina Misericordia Gran Protopopà della Città er Isola di Corfù e sue Adiacenze Quisqui attestiamo qual.mente: noi a Gloria SS Sign: Iddio et ad onore del suo Santo Spiridione Vescovo Miracoloso e Protettore di questa città et Isola, colle proprie mani abbiamo reciso una particella dalli scarpini appoggiati nelli peidi di detto Santo e la diamo in dono al pred.to Sacramen. Theodosio Pavkovich dal Convento della B.V. denominato Savina sito a Castel Nuovo per sua divozione opure dispensare dalla medesima ad altri fedeli Cristiani. In fede dichè furono fatte le p.uti conrotorate colla propeia sottoscrizione; e solito sigillo ingliiefed.

Data della Nostra Sacra Bened.ni: Protopopio: li 27 Aprile 1760 SV

Spiridione Gran Protopopio di Corfù e Inspatronario

Georgio Polomarch Coadeto nella Com.ni Protop.to“.

⁵⁴ Đordan 1892: 37–38; AMS, Scattered documents.

⁵⁵ AMS, Decrees folder.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

travelled to remote areas to provide necessary means for continuing the construction works. Hence he addressed the rich Orthodox ecclesiastical municipality in Trieste and gave it a Russian *Gospel* printed in Moscow in 1697 as a gift.⁵⁷ The hard-working and dedicated archimandrite ended his life in a foreign land while collecting necessary donations. Death found him on November 23, 1789 in Pula.⁵⁸

Inokentije Dabović, very energetic in his wish to provide the necessary means for the construction of the new church, dedicated almost his entire life to it. We have already presented his numerous journeys to many different areas for that purpose.⁵⁹ Furthermore, his travels had a specific role in creating the idea and concept of the Savina Monastery Big Church.⁶⁰ Since he spent some time in the Fruška Gora monasteries, he gained necessary knowledge in theology, specific liturgical rites and baroque chanting, art movements, as well as the baroque visuality.⁶¹ After his return to the Bay of Kotor, his idea was to apply the novelties in Savina Monastery. Spending time in the spiritual centre of the Serbian Orthodox church at the time, in the Fruška Gora and other monasteries under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, Dabović was provided a necessary insight into the baroque theology and art models of that time. As the archimandrite of Savina, he had the opportunity to revive them in the architectural concept and art program of the Big Church.⁶² Thus the new church in Savina became the first example of an Orthodox church in the Bay of Kotor where the baroque concept with a paradigmatic function in the given environment was implemented systematically and consistently.

EPILOGUE

Based on the stated above, we have seen that the purpose of travels of Savina monks was, in most cases, collecting donations for the monastery, but there were also, as we have established, many other purposes and objectives. Thus Savina monks travelled as pilgrims to the Holy Land, to Venice to defend their right to a bishop and Diocese of Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor before the Senate, which they had longed for during the entire 18th century, or to the Eparchy of Buda for similar reasons. We find them in distant Corfu, dedicated to spreading and confirming the Christian faith. The travels and connections of Savina monks with Russia were multidimensional. Besides collecting donations, we have seen that Savina monks collected receivables in Russia, purchased and received books as gifts, pleaded for the status of Serbs in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor before Russian authorities, brought educated Russians to teach Serbs in those areas. By this means, the Savina monks, as well

⁵⁷ Stojanović 1926 (no. 10210): 123.

⁵⁸ AMS 1742: 92.

⁵⁹ According to preserved documents, we see that he mostly travelled to areas north of the Sava and the Danube under the spiritual patronage of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. We should remember that Dabović travelled “to the Empire” in 1762/1763, to the Eparchy of Buda and the Šemljug Monastery in 1764, to Hungary to take over the legacy of the late Hieromonk Simeon Marković in 1773, and in 1780 to Belgrade, which is only a small part of his travels, those with preserved written traces.

⁶⁰ Matić 2015: 184–185.

⁶¹ Popović 1910: 279–280.

⁶² Matić 2015b.

as the Orthodox clergy in general, had a significant contribution in establishing far-reaching, important connections with Russia, which led to the first mass emigration of Serbs from Montenegro, Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor to Russia in the 18th century, as well as, at the same time, to a more decisive involvement of Russia in the Balkans, especially after the Russo-Turkish war from 1768 to 1774. Also particularly important is the inclination of Savina monks towards the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, a Serbian spiritual center in the 18th century, where they took over the religious and cultural models of that period from the local setting and transferred them to their own local environment. The importance of such transfers was invaluable, both for preserving their own ethnic and religious identity in the multiconfessional environment of the Bay of Kotor under the foreign Venetian rule, and for forming a new theological and artistic language, uncharacteristic in the local environment, which, in time, in that same environment, developed into a hierotopy.

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Spiridone Bulgari per Divina Misericordia Gran Protopapa
della Città, et Isola di Corfu, e sue Arcidiocesi.

Quunque avestiamo qualunche noi a Dora d'Epifanio, et ad
onore del suo santo Spiridone Vescovo, miraculoso, e Protos-
papa di questa Città, et Isola, colle proprie mani abbiamo
reciso una particella dalle scampine appoggiate nell'uscio
di detto Santo, e la diamo in dono al R. P. Sacerdote Theodo-
sio Ruzovitch del Convento della B. V. Annunziata siccome
sotto a questo nuovo per sua diuote, o pure dispensare d'au-
torità d'altri Fedeli Cristiani. In fede di che siamo sacre-
te più corroborate colla propria sottoscrizione, e sigilla-
mento, in fede.

Dato e sigillato nel sacro sacro: Protopapa: li 27 Aprile: 1760 S. V.

Spiridone Gran Protopapa di Corfu,
e Jurisconsulto.

Leone Bianchi Sec. nell'uscio Protopapa:

Fig. 2. Confirmation-gift of father Spiridon Bulgarije, Corfu 1760

МАРИНА МАТИЋ

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**ПУТОВАЊА БРАТСТВА МАНАСТИРА САВИНА У XVIII ВЕКУ
И ЊИХОВ ЦИЉ И УЛОГА У ЛОКАЛНОЈ ЗАЈЕДНИЦИ БОКЕ КОТОРСКЕ**

Резиме

Текст се бави путовањима припадника братства манастира Савина у Боки Которској у XVIII веку. За локалну средину, као и за сам манастир Савина, жижду тачку српске православне духовности на подручју Боке Которске, та путовања попримала су слојевит значај. Имала су важан удео и за шире сагледавање друштвено-политичких и верских односа у том периоду. У највећем броју случајева сврха путовања савинаца била је прикупљање прилога за манастир, али како смо установили, и многи други мотиви и циљеви. Тако савинци путују у хаџилук у Свету земљу, одлазе у Венецију да би пред Сенатом бранили своја права на епископа и Далматинско-бокелску епископију, за којима су вапили читав XVIII век, или у Будимску епархију сличним потребама. Налазимо их и на далеком Крфу, посвећене циљевима ширења и утврђивања хришћанске вере. Путовања и везе савинаца са Русијом биле су вишезначне. Поред прикупљања прилога, видели смо да су савинци тамо потраживали дуговања, куповали и добијали књиге, залагали се код руских власти за статус Срба у Далмацији и Боки, доводили учене Русе да подучавају Србе на овим подручјима. На тај начин савинци, али и православно свештенство уопште, имало је знатног удела у успостављању веза са Русијом од далекосежнијег значаја и утицаја који ће током XVIII века довести до првог масовнијег иселјавања Срба са подручја Црне Горе, Далмације и Боке у Русију, али истовремено и до одлучнијих упуца Русије на Балкан, нарочито након Руско-турског рата 1768–1774. Од изузетног значаја јесте и упућеност савинаца ка српском духовном центру у XVIII веку, Карловачкој митрополији, одакле преузимају текуће барокне верско-културолошке моделе које преносе у своју локалну средину. Значај оваквих преношења био је од непроцењиве важности, како због очувања сопственог етничко-верског идентитета у мултиконфесионалној средини Боке Которске и под страном млетачком влашћу, тако и због формирања новог богословско-уметничког језика, несвојственог месној средини, али који се временом у истој тој средини показује као хијеротопија.

Кључне речи: путовања монаха, Бока Которска, манастир Савина, XVIII век, контакти, приложништво, идентитет.

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THE SETTLEMENT OF SLOVAKS IN KYSÁČ*

Abstract: The first Slovak colonists arrived in some villages of the landed estate of Futog around the middle of the fourth decade of the 18th century. The first Slovak evangelists came to Kysáč in 1773. Our research focuses on the beginning and on the first decades of the arrival of Slovaks to this settlement. The aim of the research is to understand the beginnings and the basic social and economic circumstances at the time of the arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč from the 7th decade of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century using authentic data, primarily from František Jesenský's Chronicle of the Evangelical Church in Kysáč (1773) and the data from the Archive of Vojvodina, which have been rarely used in previous research, as well as the registers from the archives of the Evangelical churches in Báčsky Petrovec and Kysáč and the existing written documents.

Keywords: "Lower Land", settlement of Slovaks in Bačka, landed estate of Futog, Kysáč, Evangelists.

1. Written Documents on the Arrival of the Slovaks at the Lower Land

The work of Ján Sirácky¹ represents the basis of modern historiography of Slovaks on the Lower Land.² Before him, some Slovak priests and teachers, historians, ethnographers and local chroniclers, such as Félix Kutlík,³ Jozef Maliak,⁴ Karol Lilge⁵ and others tried to shed light on the history of Slovaks of Vojvodina. It was mainly

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¹ *Lower Land* is a historical term relating to the district of Southern Hungary up to 1918, modern day Vojvodina, part of Hungary and Romania, where the Slovaks live.

² Sirácky 1963a; *Id.* 1963b ; *Id.* 1966a; *Id.* 1966b; *Id.* 1974; *Id.* 1980; *Id.* 1983; *Id.* 1985; *Id.* 2002.

³ Kutlík 1887; *Id.* 1888; *Id.* 1981.

⁴ Maliak 1889; *Id.* 1908; *Id.* 1921; *Id.* 1925; *Id.* 1939.

⁵ Lilge 1932.

publicistic work published in Slovak cultural and religious publications and journals. In the 20th century and in recent times many people wrote about the past of Slovaks on the Lower Land: Ján Ormis,⁶ Andrej Mráz,⁷ Ján Botík,⁸ Samuel Čelovský,⁹ Samuel Jovankovič,¹⁰ Miroslav Kmeť,¹¹ Ján Jančovic,¹² Ján Babiak,¹³ Jaroslav Miklovic¹⁴ and others.

A lot of articles, studies and collections of papers on the arrival of Slovaks and their life on the Lower Land were presented at different meetings and scholarly conferences and later published in various collections, some of them in professional journals.¹⁵ There were a few monographs and publications of professional literature on the national, regional, cultural and religious history of Slovaks of Vojvodina.¹⁶ In some of them articles were published on various aspects of the history of Kysáč.¹⁷ In addition, on the occasion of the anniversaries of the establishment of Slovak settlements in Vojvodina, independent publications came out.¹⁸ One of such publications was a collection of studies and articles *Kysáč 1773–2013*,¹⁹ in which Janko Ramač²⁰ has an article on the older past of Kysáč, and Samuel Čelovský²¹, Ján Babiak²² and Jaroslav Miklovic²³ write about the arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč. There are also manuscripts of local chroniclers, former school principals, teachers and amateurs who in their own archives keep valuable documents, photographs and notes which are primarily related to the 20th century.

The basic source on the settlement of Slovaks in Kysáč is a manuscript chronicle of František Jesenský *Pamätnica historických zápisov, starších a novších, o povstaní a ďalšom zveľadovaní cirkvi, počnúc od r. 1773* (henceforth *Pamätnica*).²⁴ Jesenský was the second Evangelical priest in Kysáč who served there from 1794-1805. He made the census in which he listed the names of the “heads” of families, the county and the village from which they came to Kysáč and the year of their arrival. This chronicle was the basic source of research

⁶ Ormis 1935.

⁷ Mráz 1948; *Id.* 2004.

⁸ Botík 1980; *Id.* 1988; *Id.* 1994; *Id.* 1999; *Id.* 2007; *Id.* 2008; *Id.* 2009; *Id.* 2011.

⁹ Čelovský 1980a; *Id.* 1980b; *Id.* 1980c; *Id.* 1982; *Id.* 1996; *Id.* 2010.

¹⁰ Jovankovič 2014.

¹¹ Kmeť 2006; *Id.* 2008; *Id.* 2010a; *Id.* 2010b; *Id.* 2012.

¹² Jančovic 2003; *Id.* 2004; *Id.* 2009.

¹³ Babiak 2002; *Id.* 2015.

¹⁴ Miklovic 2002; *Id.* 2006.

¹⁵ Ambruš, Hlásnik 2013; Čáni 2001; Dudok 1996; Kmeť 1981; Krajčovič 1994-1997; Ormis 1946; Šišmiš 1995; Kolény 1892; Seberiny 1906; *Id.* 1907; Tomanová - Mkanová (ed.) 2014.

¹⁶ Auerhan 1921; Bielik, Sirácky, Baláž, (ed.) 1984; Čaplovič 1928; Vereš (ed.) 1930; Kmeť 1994; Svetoň 1943.

¹⁷ Babiak, 2015a: 289-310; Čelovský, 2010b: 326-348; *Id.* 2010c: 442-457; Turčan 1930.

¹⁸ Bartoš 2001; Benková 1998; Boldocký (ed.) 1995; Bukurov, Chrtan 1979; Cicka 2002; Čukan (ed.) 2010; *Id.* 2011; *Id.* 2013; *Id.* 2014; Fekete a kol. 1986; *Id.* 1998; Gašparovský 1998; Hučoková-Klinková 2005; Kišgeci (ed.) 1997; Kotváš 1996; Listmajer 2010; Matúch (ed.) 2008; Petrás 1996; Stupavský 2010; Turčan 1972; Valentík (ed.) 2008.

¹⁹ Valentík (ed.) 2013

²⁰ Ramač 2013: 28-41.

²¹ Čelovský 2013: 41-52.

²² Babiak 2013: 52-66.

²³ Miklovic 2013: 66-72.

²⁴ *Pamätnica* can be found in the Archives of the Evangelical a.c. Church in Kysáč. It was written in the Latin language, whereas some parts were written in the German and Slovak languages. Further details can be found in the works of S. Čelovský (2013: 44) and J. Babiak (2013: 59).

of numerous authors who wrote on the past of Kysáč. In a short overview in a “booklet,” as he calls it, Félix Kutlík was the first Slovak at the end of the 19th century to publish basic information on Slovaks in Kysáč²⁵. At the beginning of the 20th century Jozef Maliak analyzes *Pamätnica* more systematically and publishes more detailed information from it.²⁶ Since the above mentioned census of F. Jesenský appeared twenty years after the arrival of the first settlers, some of them were not alive at that time or they moved elsewhere so the information on the arrival the Slovaks in Kysáč had to be completed with the data from the urbarial records and from saved registers. Unfortunately, no register books were found for the period from 1773-1783 when Slovaks in Kysáč belonged to the Roman Catholic parish in Novi Futog. From 1783-1788 Slovaks from Kysáč belonged to the Evangelical Church in Petrovec (today Báčsky Petrovec) and in that period they were registered in the books of the baptized, married, and deceased. After the arrival of the first evangelical priest Michal Slamay in Kysáč, from 1 January 1787, the register books of the faithful were regularly kept in that church. No records of canonical visitations of the evangelical parish in Kysáč from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, which probably contain very significant data on the arrival and life of Slovaks in this settlement in the first decades after the arrival, have been found to date.

2. The Arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč

In the historiography of Slovaks on the Lower Land authors mostly agree that the arrival of Slovaks to Kysáč started in 1773, which at the time was the place with predominantly Serbian population belonging to the landed estate of Futog.²⁷ As a populated place, Kysáč was mentioned for the first time around the middle of the 15th century: in 1461 under the name Alch (Alcs), in 1464 – as Kys Alcz, and later in 1457 and in 1504 as Nagalcs.²⁸ As a populated place Kysáč was also mentioned in Turkish defters in 1553. After that, it was not mentioned for a while. Therefore, Samuel Borovský (Samuel Borovszky) believes that the settlement had been destroyed.²⁹ In the Hungarian censuses from 1715 and 1720 Kysáč was not mentioned.³⁰

²⁵ Kutlík 1998: 60-61.

²⁶ Maliak 1925: 41-50.

²⁷ According to J. Babiak, the feudal estate of Futog spanned 24000 acres of land. The district administration was located in Futog to which, besides Kysáč, belonged also Petrovec, Hložany, Rumenka i Kamendin. Around 1703, Baron Jozef Nehem took over this feudal estate from the military administration in Bačka. Further owners were constantly shifting. In 1721 it was Count Buterur, and in 1726 the estate was taken over by the Royal Chamber. A year later (1727), it comes to the hands of Jozef Odvajer, in 1731 its owner was Count Fridrih Cauvriani (Babiak 2013:53). Serbian family Čarnojević got this Chamber property for rent in 1740, during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-80). The Čarnojevićs turned with a request to the counties of Turoc, Hont, Novohrad and Pest to send them Slovak working families (Maliak 1921: 113). In 1745 farmers from Slovakia came to their estates in Petrovec (Sirácky 1980:66). In 1771 the estate was given to Count Field Marshal of the Austrian Army Andreas Hadik (1710-1790). According to Z. Ďere, Count Hadik is known for perfecting the economy of Southern Bačka, building a church, a school, and a castle in Futog, and for his contribution in settling the Germans and Slovaks on the “Lower Land” (2014: 229)

²⁸ Csánki 1894: 142.

²⁹ Borovszky 1909: 96.

³⁰ Jakšić 1966: Kysáč as a populated place is not mentioned in the two censuses, and its closest populated places were Alpar and Piroš (Rumenka). In 1715 there were 4, and in 1720 - 9 households in Alpar; in 1715 Piroš is

Živan Sečanski states that “after the expulsion of the Turks” Kysáč was abandoned and that the new settlement was founded in 1758.³¹ Isidor Nikolić states that in 1722 there were 110 houses of Orthodox Serbs and an Orthodox church, but S. Borovszky considers this to be unreliable information and says that the landowners of Futog settled down in Kysáč not before the middle of the 18th century.³² From that time it was practically possible to follow the massive arrival to Kysáč. During the urbarial regulation in 1770, by answering nine questions (*Ad novem puncta urbarialia examinibus et responsa possessionis Kisacs...*), the inhabitants of Kysáč stated that they had arrived to that settlement about fifteen years before and that they had signed the first contract with the landowners Jovan, Simeon and Pavle Čarnojević/Crnojević.³³ The inhabitants of Kysáč, 19 native Serbs, signed a contract with Arsenije Čarnojević as the owner of the landed estate of Futog on 17 November 1758. The contract states that in the period from 1757-1760 they were exempted from all taxes and that beginning with 1760 they would pay annually 400 forints as a census/rent in two installments – the first one had to be paid by Pentecost, the second one by Mitrovdan (St. Demetrius, on 26 October according to the Julian Calendar, i.e. 8 November according to the Gregorian Calendar). Until the seventh decade of the 18th century and the beginning of the arrival of Slovaks to this settlement, arable land occupied a small area of the Kysáč district, significantly smaller than the area of arable land in the neighbouring settlements Petrovec and Kulpín.³⁴

In the above-mentioned answers to nine questions benefits and disadvantages for the inhabitants of Kysáč were stated. The benefits were: arable land was fertile, but it could not be tilled with two oxen; it took two hours to reach the Royal free city of Novi Sad by carriage, where the peasants/farmers could sell their products; there was enough water for the cattle in the district; on the other bank of the Danube were the vineyards of Srem, where they could work as day labourers and earn their money; in Futog, near the Danube, there were watermills; in search for work they went to Novi Sad as carriers from where they transported merchants as far as Budapest. The disadvantages for the inhabitants of Kysáč were as follows: there were few pastures so the cattle grazed in the fallows; there was no wood nor reed in the district; arable land was annually distributed to the peasants in such a way that the “best farmer” would get 25 acres, and the “smallest farmer” 3 acres;³⁵ as far as meadows were concerned, the “best farmer” would get 20 scythes, and the “smallest one” 5 scythes;³⁶ two thirds of the land were estimated as fertile and one third as medium fertile; for the purposes of his manor each farmer ploughed three days annually without being paid, worked during the harvest and transported the crops; one seventh of the crops was given to the landowner; they had the right of free moving.³⁷ The mansion fiscal submitted later his comments on the urbarial census in nine points and on the circumstances in the municipality of Kysáč.³⁸

not mentioned, and in 1720 there were 13 households in it.

³¹ Sečanski 1952: 108.

³² Borovszky 1909: 96–99.

³³ Ramač, 2010: 145.

³⁴ Look at the historical map First Military Survey (1763-1787). Available at: <http://mapire.eu/en/>

³⁵ Hungarian acre spanned in average 1200 square feet, the first class land 1100 square fathom.

³⁶ The surface a mower can mow in a day, which in average was 400 square fathom.

³⁷ Ramač, 2010: 146

³⁸ The Archives of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Bač-Bodrog County (abbrev. AV BBŽ) no. 361–372/1772.

At the beginning of the seventh decade of the 18th century, the number of the inhabitants of Kysáč significantly rose: according to the Urbarial Census of Kysáč in 1772, a year before the arrival of the first Slovaks there were 107 households in the village, mostly Serbs. The nationality of the inhabitants is not mentioned and on the basis of the written form of their names it can not be ascertained with accuracy whether these were Serbian, Hungarian, Romanian or Slovak names.³⁹

According to the Urbarial Income List of the chamber feudal ground estates of Futog from 1772 (*Conscriptio et aestimatio Cameralis Domini Futak*), the landed estate received 400 forints from the municipality of Kysáč that year in the name of census/land rent. The manual work annuity of the subjects was 1248 days, counting the day by 112/3 kreuzers, this obligation was 145 forints and 60 kreuzers a year. Two inns were obliged to pay a total of 356 forints annually. The owner of a shop paid an annual fee of 12 forints. Besides that, the subjects gave 1/7 of their crops, which made for the year: 564 p.m. (Peace of Pressburg) of wheat, i.e. 376 forints; 720 p.m. of barley – 48 forints; 247 p.m. of oats – 74 forints and 10 kreuzers; 287 p.m. of corn – 95 forints and 66 2/3 kreuzers; 104 p.m. of millet – 34 forints and 66 2/3 kreuzers; 16 bee hives – 16 forints; 140 lambs – 70 forints. The total was 1628 forints and 3 1/3 kreuzers.⁴⁰

In addition, the subjects also paid the county surtax and contribution – a state tax for the maintenance of the army. The contribution was paid in money or in kind. Very often military authorities disposed a number of soldiers into counties for the winter or for summer camping, the counties further disposed them to settlements, and in the settlements they were distributed for overnight stay to households. This obligation was a heavy burden, because the subjects had to provide a lot for the full maintenance of this army – for the officers, soldiers and military horses and to put up with all kinds of their offenses. Besides, the state determined maximum prices of all the produce that were regularly lower than the real prices on the market, to the subjects' disadvantage.

According to the Theresian Urbar from 1767 that was introduced in Bačka in 1772, the peasants, apart from other duties, had an obligation of the so called long rides, which meant the transportation of various goods for the needs of a feudal lord. In 1798 the landowners of Futog signed with the inhabitants of Kysáč a purchase contract of long rides for the price of 5 forints for a ride, which for the annually anticipated 24 2/16 rides made 120 forints and 37 2/4 kreuzers, of which the subjects paid the first half by 24 April and the second by 29 September.⁴¹

In the Topographic Lexicon of Hungary from 1773 stays that the inhabitants of Kysáč mainly used the Vlach, i.e. Romanian language – *lingua vlachica* and that in the village there was an Orthodox (*schismaticus*) priest and a teacher.⁴² In this source, as well as in other documents on the history of Kysáč, it was explicitly stated that in the second half of the 18th century Romanians, too, lived in the village. However, judging by the forms of names and surnames from the known censuses and other documents of that time it is evident

³⁹ OL, E szekció 156 - a. - Fasc. 158. - No. 024.

⁴⁰ OL, E szekció 156 - a. - Fasc. 188. - No. 025.

⁴¹ AV BBŽ April 16, 1798, the village prince was Serb Gaja, and the jurors were two Serbs and two Slovaks.

⁴² *Lexicon locorum Regni Hungariae...*1773: 24

that the vast majority of the population were Serbs, and only few of them could be assumed to be the Romanians.⁴³

The list of the believers of the Greek Catholic parish in Novi Sad from 1802 shows that there were six Greek Catholics in Futog and according to the lists of the believers of that parish from the first decades of the 19th century, there were Greek Catholics in Kysáč, too: in 1810 there were 5 of them, and in 1825 9 Greek Catholics, i.e. Ruthenians.⁴⁴ After that, in all likelihood, there were no more Ruthenians in Kysáč.

The literature on the very beginning of the arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč highlights the role of Count Andras/Andrej Hadik who, probably being of Slovak origin, wanted to bring to his estate in Futog as many compatriots as possible.⁴⁵ Due to the lack of the original material, insufficiently precise interpretation of some sources and a vivid imagination of some authors, there were some doubts or insufficiently founded claims concerning this historical issue. Therefore, we will pay more attention to this issue.

In the historiography of Slovaks on the Lower Land it is widely accepted that the arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč started in 1773, but there is some dilemma about who came first. František Jesenský in his *Pamätnica* (chronicle) of Kysáč from 1794 says that first to arrive in Kysáč was the father of the then inhabitant of the village Ďuro Vardžík, but he does not cite his name.⁴⁶ Jozef Maliak says that the first Slovak to settle in Kysáč was Ďuro Vardžík from Pilíš⁴⁷ and although he cites the aforementioned Chronicle by F. Jesenský, he obviously did not read his text carefully enough. Later, some other authors also used that information from J. Maliak.⁴⁸ It is true that on the list of the believers of the Evangelical Church in Kysáč, during the canonical visitation on 15 September 1798 it was written that Ďuro Vardžík came to Kysáč in 1773, but it is omitted that he was still underage at that time and it is not said that he had come with his father Michal, who died in 1792.⁴⁹ That is why some authors wrongly stated that Ďuro Vardžík was the first Slovak to arrive in Kysáč in 1773.

Samuel Čelovský correctly states that the first Slovak to arrive in Kysáč was in fact Michal Vardžík (1736-29 November 1812),⁵⁰ but the date of M. Vardžík's death is misleading here.⁵¹ Michal Vardžík, the son of Ján and Ana Vardžík, died on 29 November 1792 when he was 56, from the exhaustion of his body (Cachexia).⁵² So, F. Jesenský could

⁴³ Obviously, this confusion is due to the term Valach, i. e. lingua valachica, under which the authors mainly imply the Romanian nationality, i.e. the Romanian language, neglecting the fact that at that time, these terms were also used for the members of other nationalities in the Balkans who were engaged in cattle breeding, mainly for the Serbs. However, it is stated here that in the neighboring settlements Zmajevo (Kér), Despotovo (Deszpot Sz. Ivan), and partly in Kucura (Kuczora) lived the Orthodox population (Shismatics) who spoke the Serbian language (lingua Illirica). It is obvious that the criteria for understanding nationalities and languages were not sufficiently differentiated.

⁴⁴ Gavrilović 1977: 177, 181.

⁴⁵ Borovsky I: 128; Borovsky II: 353.

⁴⁶ Jesenský 1773: 7.

⁴⁷ Maliak 1925: 42.

⁴⁸ Babiak 2015: 291.

⁴⁹ Jesenský 1773: 8.

⁵⁰ Čelovský 2013: 45.

⁵¹ Obviously this is a printing error because in a former work the author gives the exact date of Michal Vardžík's death. (Čelovský 2010: 443)

⁵² The first register of births, deaths and marriages in Kysáč was kept from January 1, 1787 to December 31, 1831

not have known him because he came to Kysáč in 1794. That is why he wrote in the Chronicle that the first Slovak to arrive in Kysáč was “the father of Ďuro Vardžík.”⁵³ Half a year after the death of her spouse Michal, his widow Eva (born Malík) married Tomáš Sabadoš on 17 June 1793. She died of old age when she was 70 years old on 20 November 1812. Čelovský states that Michal Vardžík came to Kysáč with his son Ján and his daughters Judita (1771) and Mária (1773).⁵⁴

We did not find any information about Ján Vardžík in the record books in Báčsky Petrovec at the time when the evangelists from Kysáč made a branch of the Evangelical Parish in Petrovec, from 1783-1787, nor in the record books of the Evangelical Church in Kysáč, which were kept there since 1787.

However, there is a lot of information referring to the family of Michal Vardžík in the aforementioned record books in Báčsky Petrovec and Kysáč. Since he was the first Slovak to arrive to Kysáč, we are going to pay a little more attention to this family.

Adam, the son of Michal and Eva Vardžík, was born on 13 March 1785. His godfathers were Štefan and Zuzana Pap, who moved from Futog to Kysáč in 1772. This shows a strong bond of the first evangelists who came to Kysáč in 1772-1773. After that, on 4 March 1784, the son of Michal Vardžík, two-year old Pavel, died. In the birth registry there is no information on his birth, because the data on the evangelists in Kysáč were not kept in the record books in Petrovec until 1783. After that, on 19 July 1789, Michal Vardžík, the son of Michal and Eva, was born and the godfathers again were Štefan and Zuzana Pap.

In order to have a broader picture of the family of Michal Vardžík, the first Slovak to arrive in Kysáč in 1773, here are some more data on his children. On 21 November 1791 his daughter Mária married Ján Cefer from Kysáč. His other daughter Judita married Ján Virág from Futog on 23 June 1794. After she had been widowed at the age of 35, she was remarried to Pavel Streda, a 42-year old widower from Novi Sad on 20 April 1806. On 17 November 1806 Michal's 19-year old son Adam married 16-year old Mária Selská from Kysáč. On 24 November 1808 his 19-year old son Michal married Zuzana Faďoš from Kysáč. On the same day 19-year old Pavel Vardžík, son of his brother Ďuro/Juraj (whose wife was Judita Vozár), married 17-year old Mária Šranka.

Despite a lot of data found in the preserved register books, there are some questions, though, to which we do not have answers. We could not find any information on Ján, son of Michal Vardžík, who, according to S. Čelovský, came to Kysáč with his father in 1773.⁵⁵ Likewise, there are no data either on the birth or on the wedding ceremony of Michal's son Ďuro, but there are data on the birth and death of his children in his marriage with Judita Vozár: on 8 January 1787 Pavel was born; on 29 January 1789 Ďuro was born and he died on 12 March that same year; on 12 January 1790 Judita was born and she died on 20 December that same year; on 3 August 1793 Eva was born and she died the next day; on 7 October 1794 Judita was born; on 16 April 1797 Ďuro was born; on 8 November 1800 Zuzana was born and she died on 7 January 1801; on 7 January 1802 Mária was born; on 9

and can be found in the Archives of the Slovak Evangelical Church in Kysáč.

⁵³ Jesenský 1773: 7.

⁵⁴ Čelovský 2013: 45.

⁵⁵ Čelovský 2013: 45.

March 1805 Zuzana was born. The example of Ďuro Vardžík's family, his son Michal, the first Slovak to arrive in Kysáč, shows that death rate among children was very high, especially among newborn babies: out of eight children four of them died in the first year of their life.

Jozef Maliak, referring to F. Jesenský's Chronicle of Kysáč, states that Count A. Hadik had moved from Futog, from the lower forest, to Kysáč four Hungarian families, who had lived there in dugouts.⁵⁶ Čelovský, too, refers to the Chronicle of F. Jesenský, and states that on the order of landowners, from Futog to Kysáč were transferred three Evangelical families in 1773 – Čižmadia, Német and Pap, who were brought to Kysáč by Count A. Hadik from Transdanubian Hungary, i.e. from Sent Lorinc and Mislan (Szent Lőrinc, Miszla), Tolna County.

He further states that these families first lived in the dugouts near the Futog forest, where they watched over the bricks and tiles from the brick plant of Futog.⁵⁷ There are several imprecisions and false claims, though. S. Čelovský does not cite the source of his claim that Count Hadik brought the four aforementioned families with him to Futog. The village of Sent Lorinc was in the Baranja County, west of Pečuj (Pécs), not in the Tolna County. Likewise, it is unknown where he came across the information about these three people watching over the arranged bricks and tiles belonging to the landlords of Futog.

In his Chronicle, F. Jesenský clearly states that Štefan Pap and his brother Ďuro Pap were noblemen. They first lived in the Lower Forest near Futog, in dugouts, but then Count Hadik, the landlord of the Futog ground estate, ordered them to move to Kysáč, because they lived near the place where their landlord planned to build a brick plant.⁵⁸

Samuel Čelovský says that Count Hadik had the aforementioned four people transferred to Kysáč at the very time of the arrival of the first Slovaks in it, in accordance with the state practice of the time to settle the people of the same religion into the same village.⁵⁹ With this we can only partially agree because the facts show that these four people came to Kysáč before Michal Vardžík. Namely, in the Urbarial Census of the inhabitants of Kysáč from 1772, three, according to Maliak, "Hungarian"⁶⁰ families were recorded: Štefan Pap, Ďuro Pap and František Német under the ordinal numbers 103, 104 and 105, however, Michal Vardžík is not on the list.⁶¹ However, according to the *Lexicon locorum Regni Hungariae populosorum anno 1773*, no Hungarians, Slovaks or Evangelists lived in Kysáč at that time. The majority of the population were Orthodox people who spoke the "Vlach" language.⁶² It is possible that Count Hadik had already had a plan to settle Kysáč with a larger number of evangelical Slovaks. But, he first settled the aforementioned four

⁵⁶ Maliak 1925: 42.

⁵⁷ Čelovský 2013: 45.

⁵⁸ „Aliquot familiae Hungaricae, nominatim Stephanus Pap, nobilis, Georgius Pap, prioris Frater, ibidem Nobilis, Franciscus Német, Joannes Czizmadia quos Sua Excellentia Andreas Hadik, qua Domini Futtak Terrestris Dominus a Sylva Futtakiensi inferiori, ubi in Subterraneis domibus, vulgo zemnica, dictis, non procul ab eo loco, ubi Dominium tegulas conficiendas curat, degebant, ad Kiszáts transire iussit” (Jesenský: 1773:7).

⁵⁹ Čelovský 2010: 448. In the urbarial census, as citizens of Kysac were recorded the families of František Német, Štefan and Ďuro Pap. So, they came before Michal Vardžík.

⁶⁰ Maliak 1925: 42

⁶¹ OL, E szekció 156 - a. - Fasc. 158. - No. 024.

⁶² *Lexicon locorum Regni Hungariae populosorum anno 1773...*, Budapestini, 1920: 24.

evangelical Hungarians, perhaps even magyarized Slovaks. Here we should point out that Count Hadik's family was evangelical and that only much later did they become Catholics.⁶³

According to F. Jesenský's *Pamětnice*⁶⁴ the intensive arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč was carried out until the end of the 18th century, during the whole quarter of a century, in the period from 1773 to 1798. They arrived from 55 settlements, from the following counties: most families came from Novohrad, then from Hont, from Liptov, from the Nitra County, from Turec, from the Zvolen County, the Pest County, the Békés County, the Tolna County, as well as from Slovak settlements in Bačka: Petrovec, Hložany, Kulpín, Selenča. On the basis of his own research S. Čelovský claims that Kysáč was settled by the population from 89 different villages and from 19 counties.⁶⁵

In 1779, a list of evangelical Slovaks in Kysáč was made on which there were 52 inhabitants/families who gave their donations for the construction of the Evangelical Church.⁶⁶

The first wave of the arrival of Slovaks in Kysáč extended over ten years with the climax in 1776/1777. In this period came around 90 Slovak families, which was twice the number of the native Serbian families.⁶⁷

On the basis of the names and surnames recorded in the second urbarial census (under the name *Tabella Urbarialis Secundum Geometricam Efective Confectam Dimensionem Benigno Urbario Conformites elaborata Possessionis Kiszacs*) from 1781, it can be assumed that in Kysáč there were 64 Serbian houses, 58 Slovak and 7 Hungarian ones. However, two surnames, on the basis of their Latin version, cannot be classified into any group. The number of family members was not recorded.⁶⁸

The issuing of the Patent on Tolerance (1781) prompted the arrival of a new wave of migrants in 1783. The migration reached its climax in 1786, when as many as 74 families arrived in Kysáč.⁶⁹ According to the notes of the commissar of the Bačka County Andrej Virág, in 1789 there were 919 Slovaks in Kysáč. They had their school which, at the same time, served as a place for prayer and a parish home. It was agreed that each resident would pay 1 forint and 30 kreuzers for the maintaining of the school and the parish.⁷⁰

Since the area around Kysáč was very small, the lack of free land stopped the arrival of new Slovak migrants.⁷¹ The last large group of Slovaks, including 35 families, came into this settlement in 1790. In the last decade of the 18th century a smaller, symbolic number of Slovak families arrived to Kysáč.⁷²

The Chronicle of F. Jesenský contains quite a lot of data on the social structure of Slovaks in Kysáč at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th centuries. The first preserved census of Slovaks in Kysáč was made by priest F. Jesenský at the beginning of

⁶³ Dere 2014: 230.

⁶⁴ Čelovský 1996: 61.

⁶⁵ Čelovský 2013: 47.

⁶⁶ AV BBŽ, 1092/1780.

⁶⁷ Babiak 2013: 56.

⁶⁸ Miklovič 2013: 68.

⁶⁹ We do not know how many citizens of Kysáč there were in 1785, when they got a teacher. F. Jesenský claims that M. Slamay, the first evangelical priest in Kysáč, took the data away when he was transferred. (Jesenský 1773: 7)

⁷⁰ AV BBŽ no.167/1789; AV, BBŽ no. 123/1789; Jesenský 1773: 7.

⁷¹ Čelovský 2013: 47

⁷² Babiak 2013: 56.

1795, who also recorded the data into his Chronicle. At the time, this Evangelical parish had 1289 believers, 681 male and 608 female, of which 419 male and 371 female believers received confirmation. In the current year another 29 male and 15 female believers should have received confirmation. In children under the age of 12 who did not receive confirmation there were 223 boys and 222 girls. There were 279 married couples, 26 widowers and 20 widows. Of that, 175 families had their own houses and 68 families did not have them. The church community had 102 believers who lived on homesteads.⁷³ The following similar censuses recorded the increase of the number of the inhabitants of this church community: in January 1798 there were 1317 Evangelists in Kysáč and on the homesteads near Novi Sad another 113 Slovaks Evangelists. According to the list of the canonical visitation performed by superintendent Martin Hamaliar on 15 September of the same year, there were 1332 Evangelists in Kysáč and on the homesteads near Novi Sad 128 Evangelists. In the following year, 1799, there were 1326 Evangelists in Kysáč, and on the homesteads near Novi Sad – 110; in 1800 – in Kysáč there were 1360 and on the homesteads near Novi Sad – 71; in 1801 – in Kysáč there were 1349 Evangelists, on the barren areas around Novi Sad – 71 Slovaks Evangelists.⁷⁴ This slight decline in the number of the inhabitants in 1801 might be the consequence of increased mortality as well as increased migration. From 1794 on, Jesenský recorded precisely for each year the new immigrants and emigrants, always citing the places from which they were coming or to which they were going.

In the first decade of the 19th century the number of Slovaks in Kysáč was slightly increased: in 1802 there were 192 households in the village and 70 homeless families. There were 303 married couples, 18 widowers, 30 widows. Of the total number 824 received confirmation, 55 were going to receive it in the current year and there were 520 children under the age of 12 who received no confirmation. There were 1399 Slovaks Evangelists in the village and on the homesteads around Novi Sad another 81.

The census from 1805 gives more details on Slovaks in Kysáč. There were 188 houses, including Teodor's mill, the mill of Andrej Pavlov and Pavel Filko, the evangelical school and the parochial home, the landowner's inn and a home for tramps. The whole land session was attended by 4 households, the $\frac{3}{4}$ of the session by 10 households, half a session – 63 households, $\frac{1}{4}$ session – 105 households. There were 81 subinquiline families.⁷⁵ These facts give a rather unfavourable picture of the social and economic position of Slovaks in Kysáč. 321 married couples lived in 180 houses. The most numerous were the households who used $\frac{1}{4}$ of a session, those with $\frac{3}{4}$ or the whole session being very rare. On the homesteads around Novi Sad there were 113 Slovaks who belonged to the Kysáč Evangelical community. They had 24 houses, but they worked and lived on homesteads. There were only 182 rural households in Kysáč, which meant that in one household there might have been two or three married couples, married sons or daughters who lived together with their parents. On average, one rural household possessed 0.37 land session, which was barely enough to survive taking into account that in one household there were sometimes

⁷³ Jesenský 1773: 7

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 18.

two or even three married couples, and families often had 3, 4 and more children. In the list there are no details about craftsmen, only two mills are mentioned. Obviously, a significant number of those who had not received the land to use were day labourers, male and female servants, but there are no details on how they provided for their families. Difficult social and economic circumstances for the citizens of Kysáč did not attract new colonists.

At the beginning of the settlement of Slovaks in Kysáč colonists belonged to various social and economic categories. Peasant farmers made the majority of the population, but there were noblemen, too, as well as evangelical priests, teachers, later craftsmen, civil servants and others. The first noblemen, in all likelihood, were the first Evangelists who moved from Futog to Kysáč in 1772/1773: of the aforementioned four, two of them, brothers Štefan and Ďuro Pap, were noblemen. In the list of armalists of the Bačka County from 1791, two noblemen armalists were recorded in Kysáč: Štefan Pap and Pavel Hankuš. Ďuro Pap is not mentioned here.⁷⁶ The Súdi family was, too, of noble origin, which was always highlighted in the first register of the Evangelical Church in Kysáč. Bačka County officially requested and obtained the confirmation from Hont County that the Súdi family was of noble origin.⁷⁷ František Jesenský, the second in rank evangelical priest in Kysáč, was also of noble origin. He sent a petition to the assembly of the Turoc County to issue him a certificate that he was of noble origin, so that he might have proof of that in the Bačka County and nearby counties and use the noble title and all the privileges coming out of it. On June 13, 1796 Turoc County sent a letter to Bačka County certifying that the family Jesenský de Jeszen was indeed of noble origin.⁷⁸ However, as it is often the case, there are black sheep in every flock. Unpleasant events and various disorders were not rare in Kysáč. For instance, the authorities of the Bač-Bodrog County sent a request in 1785 for catching robber Jovan/Ján Fábör who allegedly hid in Kysáč.⁷⁹ After that, in 1793, a bandit from Kysáč Ján Kováč was caught with his accomplices in Debrecin, so the authorities asked from the Bač-Bodrog County information on them, which this county gave.⁸⁰ Sometimes even soldiers who were settled in villages started riots. All kinds of disorders happened, even during the recruitment period. Thus, during a recruitment in Kysáč in 1804, a commander's assistant killed Jovan Obrovčanin, after which an investigation was conducted with the examination of the witnesses.⁸¹

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century the largest part of the population in Kysáč were peasants, who were divided into several categories, depending on whether they owned a house and whether they got land to use from their landlords. The most numerous were the peasants (colons), who had their own houses and a certain area of land acquired for use. The basic unit for the allocation of land was a session. The whole

⁷⁶ AV BBŽ, 246/1791, 89–90 – the list of armalists of the Lower District of Bačka County.

⁷⁷ AV BBŽ, kut. 352, 25/1804; AV BBŽ, kut. 355, 27/1804.

⁷⁸ AV BBŽ, 170/1796 – the copy of a letter from Turoc County sent to Bač-Bodrog County. At the same time the same letter/testimony arrived to Bačka County and to Peter Jesenský, evangelical priest in Hložany, the son of Dávid, the son of Tobiáš, evidently a relative to F. Jesenský (AV BBŽ, 169/1796).

⁷⁹ AV BBŽ, kut. 139, 72/1785.

⁸⁰ AV BBŽ, kut. 139, 72/1785.

⁸¹ AV BBŽ, kut. 265, 99/1793; AV BBŽ, kut. 266, 37/1793.

⁸¹ AV BBŽ, kut. 355, 27/1804.

session consisted of 54 acres outside the built-up areas (extravilan) and 1 acre around the house (intravilan). The peasants usually got the whole session from their landlords, 3/4, a half or 1/4 of a session, but rarely more than a session. Accordingly, they paid the rent/census and other obligations in kind and work annuity. The peasants who owned a house but had no land, or had less than a fourth of a session, were not considered to be true peasants and they belonged to the category of tenants (inquilines). Subtenants (subinquilines) were those who had neither their own house nor land. Subinquilines were mostly day labourers or they worked as workers and servants on the estates/homesteads, farms around Novi Sad, homesteads belonging to the ground estates of Irmovo, Alpar, Dragovo, Bodonj. Some used to work as day labourers in vineyards in Srem, where there was work for day labourers during almost all year round.⁸² The vicinity of the free royal city of Novi Sad offered the possibility for day labourers, servants, maids and physical workers to look for and find some job. Some made their living as hired coachmen who transported merchandise for salesmen wherever it was needed, very often, as we have mentioned, as far as Pest.

Disputes between the peasants and landlords or between the administration and officials were not rare at the time. It is a well known fact that the family Čarnojević, the owner of the ground estate of Futog (1744-1769), had many disputes with its subjects. The reasons for the disputes were various, but at their core was always the intention of the landlord to get from his subjects as many taxes and obligations as possible.

In 1771, the citizens of Kysáč sent an appeal to the Bač-Bodrog County against a former mediator of the Čarnojević ground estate of Futog complaining about the non-implementation of the urbar.⁸³ After that, in 1774, an accusation was raised against an inspector of the Latinović ground estate of Futog because of the overburdening of the peasants and urbarial disorders.⁸⁴ In some cases, the state, i.e. its authorities, had to defend their citizens, admitting that they were often overburdened, much more than it was expected by the urbarial acts. Thus, for instance, in 1782, the Regency Council returned the urbarial table to the ground estate landlords of Futog for a revision, with a note that a 1000 acres more were shown in it,⁸⁵ which meant that the citizens paid for a bigger land area than they had really been given to use. We do not know how this revision was completed. Obviously, the ground estate landlords of Futog tried to settle as many Slovaks as possible in Kysáč and at the same time to be very frugal in allotting the land. Due to that, the citizens were often forced to take on lease of the land that had not yet been allotted. The citizens of Kysáč in such a way took on lease 11 free sessions (1 session consisting of 55 Hungarian acres) from the ground estate of Futog.⁸⁶

In the 80's the ground estate of Futog signed each year with every municipality an urbar which precisely previewed all the obligations of the subjects. Thus, the representatives of the municipality of Kysáč signed the statements in three consecutive years – 1784, 1785 and 1786 – that the municipality received the urbar and that they had no remarks against the

⁸² Čelovský 2013: 47.

⁸³ AV, BBŽ, 1141–1142/1771; AV, BBŽ, 1143–1150/1771.

⁸⁴ AV, BBŽ, 362/1774.

⁸⁵ AV BBŽ 345/1782.

⁸⁶ AV BBŽ, 588/1783 – the contract of the citizens of Kysáč with Futog landowners on land lease of 11 free sessions.

landlords and their officers.⁸⁷ However, they were still having a dispute with a former landlord Čarnojević, who owed them 1132 forints and 30 kreuzers for the cattle he had bought.⁸⁸

Regardless of very unfavourable social and economic circumstances, the Slovak Evangelists in Kysáč, already in the first years since the beginning of settlement, found forces and ways to organize themselves as an ethnic and religious community and to collect money, by their own engagement and renunciation, for the first fund for establishing their own school and a church. Thus, already in 1779 a fund was created for building an Evangelical Church in Kysáč, when 52 families collected 206 forints and 54 kreuzers.⁸⁹

The arrival of such a large number of Slovaks in Kysáč on the basis of the Patent of Tolerance⁹⁰ enabled in 1785 the creation of the conditions for establishing a school and engaging the first teacher. S. Čelovský emphasizes that the Patent of Tolerance had a great impact on the national and cultural life, on the development of the evangelical national education because it enabled the communities with at least 100 evangelical families⁹¹ and 500 inhabitants to establish a school and get a teacher.⁹² The Slovak citizens of Kysáč belong among those Slovak native people who first established a school and only in the following years called a priest and started building a church.⁹³

SOURCES:

The Archives of Vojvodina Novi Sad, Fund: Bač-Bodrog County (AV BBŽ)

The Archives of the Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Religion in Kysáč (SECAVK/SECARK)

The Archives of the Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Religion in Báčsky Petrovec (SECAVBP/SECARBP)

Országos Levéltár, Budapest (OL) – The State Archives of Hungary, Budapest

⁸⁷ AV BBŽ, 725/1784; AV BBŽ, kutl 147, 176/1785; AV BBŽ, kut. 147, 160/1786.

⁸⁸ AV BBŽ, 137/1913/1785; AV BBŽ 971/976/1785.

⁸⁹ AV BBŽ, 286a/1778; AV BBŽ, 1092/1780.

⁹⁰ The Patent of Tolerance of the emperor Josef II is an enlightenment church reform issued in 1781. 16 items of the patent precisely determine the religious freedom of non-catholics – evangelists of the Augsburg and Calvinist religion, as well as Orthodox Christians, who, if only formally, were equated with the Catholics. Among the important determinants of the Patent was the possibility of building their own church, school, parish, performing church rites in order to be able to publicly confess their faith (Pavlík, 2. diel, 1985: 444).

⁹¹ The paragraph 2 of the Patent of Tolerance refers to where and under which conditions Evangelists can establish their church municipality and build a church, parish and school. The condition was that there would be 100 houses in which the Evangelists would live Evangelist.

http://ecav.sk/?p=info/INFHistória/udalosti/tolerancny_patent_-_230_vyrocie__
Source: Tranovský evanjelický kalendár na rok 2011. Miloslav Gdovin | 25.10.2011

⁹² Čelovský 1996: 61

⁹³ *Ibid.* 2013: 74

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ДОСЕЉАВАЊЕ СЛОВАКА У КИСАЧ
(ОД 70-ТИХ ГОДИНА ХVIII ДО ПОЧЕТКА ХIХ ВЕКА)

Резиме

Први словачки колонисти долазе у поједина насеља Футошког властелинства од средине 40-их година ХVIII века. Први Словаци евангелици долазе у Кисач 1773. године. Наше истраживање је усмерено на почетак и прве деценије досељавања Словака у ово насеље. Циљ истраживања јесте да се на основу изворне грађе, првенствено Хронике кисачке евангелистичке цркве (1773) Франтишка Јесенског и грађе из Архива Војводине, која је била веома мало коришћена у досадашњим истраживањима, матичних књига из архива евангелистичких цркава у Бачком Петровцу и Кисачу, као и постојеће литературе, сагледа почетак, ток и основне социјално-економске прилике у време досељавања Словака у Кисач од 70-их година ХVIII до почетка ХIХ века.

Кључне речи: „Доња земља”, досељавање Словака у Бачку, Футошко властелинство, Кисач, евангелици.

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**POLITICS OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE 1870-1875
(END OF NEUTRALIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA.
LEAGUE OF THE THREE EMPERORS)**

Abstract: The Treaty of Paris signed on 30 March 1856 was humiliating for Russia. Especially grave were the articles of the Treaty that concerned the Black Sea. The provision on the neutralization of the Black Sea forbade Russia to have a fleet in its waters, as well as to build forts and infrastructure. In the Treaty of 15 April 1856 Great Britain, France and Austria pledged to supervise if Russia would honour the conditions of the Treaty of Paris, which created the “Crimea Coalition.” After the defeat in the Crimea War Russia did not “lose the status of a great country,” but it was forced to give up on its earlier role in Europe, which weakened its international position. After taking over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Alexander Gorchakov defined the aim of the Russian external politics: “I am looking for a man who will annul the provisions of the Treaty of Paris which refer to the issue of the Black Sea... I am looking for him and I will find him.” Thus, after the Paris Congress Russian politics had a unique purpose – it intensely sought the revision of the Treaty of Paris excluding everything else. Since France was not prepared to support Russia, St. Petersburg turned to Prussia, which showed good will to change the provisions on the Black Sea. This mutual rapprochement conditioned the subsequent formation of the League of the Three Emperors between Russia, Germany and Austria.

Keywords: Russia, Europe, 19th century, League of the Three Emperors, Bismarck, Gorchakov.

“Between France and us there will never be peace,
with Russia war will never be necessary,
under the condition that the circumstances are not changed
by liberal nonsense and dynastic absurdities.”
(Otto von Bismarck)

The end of the war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 did not end conflicts in Europe, but foreshadowed “fundamental changes in the balance of power.” After successful wars against Denmark and Austria Prussia decided “to challenge French hegemony in Europe.” Namely, under the auspices of Berlin the North German Confederation was created on 10 August 1867 and it included 22 German states. Russia had to decide, not only because of the fact that the victory of France, as they believed in St. Petersburg, would consolidate the position of Napoleon III on the continent, but also

because this implied a new “impulse to the Crimea coalition.” The Russian government believed that it would open up a path to the alliance between France and Austria. St. Petersburg estimated that, in case that succeeded, France would not agree to changes in the Treaty of Paris, whereas Prussia hinted it was ready to “pay the price” and support Russia in their intention to change the provisions on the neutralization of the Black Sea. Gorchakov could only note with pleasure that “all the countries are now directed towards west” and that it was necessary to use that circumstance in order to solve “vitally important interests in the east.”¹ In November 1866 the Prussian heir to the throne Wilhelm visited St. Petersburg and on that occasion they re-confirmed the agreement regarding the support of Prussia to Russia concerning the changes of limitations imposed by the Treaty of Paris.

The Russian-Prussian rapprochement, which Gorchakov did not accept, “became a fact.” At the Special Counselling, held during the presidency of Alexander II in November 1866, Gorchakov suggested a unilateral declaration in which Russia would revoke the realization of articles of the Treaty of Paris regarding the neutralization of the Black Sea. However, this proposal did not get any support, whereas against it were the great prince Constantine Nikolayevich, the minister of defence Dimitri Milyutin and the finance minister M. H. Reytern, who spoke of the fleet and the army being unprepared, as well as the finances of the country in case of the possible deterioration of international relations. The emperor added that he fully agreed with the vice-chancellor but was forced to lean towards the will of the majority. In April 1867 Gorchakov supported Prussia by saying that Russia was ready to create “serious trouble” for Vienna in case there was an alliance between France and Austria. After that Bismarck sent a dispatch to St. Petersburg in which he hinted that “Prussia could support the desires and intentions of Russia” in relation to the Treaty of Paris. In 1867 Alexander II and Gorchakov visited the World Exhibition in Paris, where they stayed from 1 until 11 June, whose “shine could not hide the cracks in the edifice of the imperial France.” Their intention was to start negotiating with Napoleon III, but the meeting of the two emperors was not successful even though Gorchakov said upon the arrival to France: “I brought with me the entire office to create new deeds.” Napoleon III refused to talk about the changes in the provision on the neutralization of the Black Sea, which indicated that Russia could not count on the support of France. Gorchakov was led to conclude that “a serious and decent agreement with Prussia is the best combination.”²

The departure of the Russian emperor happened at the moment when isolated France was forced to forsake the pretensions over Luxembourg. The conference held in London in May 1867 recognized its neutrality, so the Prussian garrison was taken out of the fort and then it was demolished. Russia and France then again tried to find a common ground, but “no deeds,” as Gorchakov put it, followed. Russian-French relations were again overshadowed by “the seal of the Polish issue.” Before Emperor Alexander departed for

¹ Even when it came to France Bismarck tried to “give a good twist to the Eastern issue” so in January 1867 he suggested that it should be made “available and peaceful” through a system of compensation in the Middle East. However, the initiation of the Eastern issue could not reconcile French interests on the Rhine, instead it made it even more acute. Napoleon III refused the Prussian offer of friendship in the Middle East without any compensations in the west with the following words: “You offer us lands without salt and Luxembourg has salt.” This ended the negotiations between Prussia and France without any success.

² AVPRI: 1866-1867, тт. 12–15, 95–96; Ignatev 1997: 75.

France, at the suggestion of the head of the gendarmerie corps count Peter A. Shuvalov, the participants of the 1863 uprising were amnestied. Alexander II signed the act of amnesty on 29 May 1867 just before he went to France. This measure was taken “counting on good reception” in France of “its Polophilic liking and a significant Polish colony.” However, these expectations were not confirmed, because during his visit to the Court of Justice in Paris the emperor was met with the cries “Long live Poland!” Two days later, on 6 June, in the Bouis de Boulogne Beresovsky attempted an assassination on Alexander I. His trial then turned into a demonstration of the French support of Polish revolutionaries. The results of the negotiation of Gorchakov with Napoleon on 3 June 1867 were also not encouraging because the most important issue for Russia – the changes in the status of the Black Sea – was not mentioned in a single word.³ Therefore, the journey of Emperor Alexander and Gorchakov to Paris did not lead to an improvement of the Russian-French relations. At the end of 1867, when he summed up the results of the ten years of attempts to solve the problem from 1856 with reference to the cooperation with Paris, Gorchakov was forced to admit: “The cooperation with the Tuileries cabinet was, to be honest, insincere and quite limited.”

After returning from Paris the Emperor and Gorchakov began to act much more decisively in the terms of rapprochement with Prussia. At the same time, Bismarck did everything to convince Russia of the benefits of the alliance with Prussia. In February 1868 in a letter to Wilhelm I Alexander II expressed his desire “to continue an agreement made during the reign of Alexander I and Friedrich Wilhelm III” with Prussia. It was a signal to begin the negotiations between the two countries, which encouraged Russia to seek support from Prussia to change the Paris Treaty regarding the neutrality of the Black Sea. Bismarck promised Gorchakov that he would “support Russia’s main request in exchange for benevolent neutrality in the event of a war with France and the obligation to paralyze the main military forces of Austria.” The consent of the chancellor regarding the key issues made it possible for the two countries to make a general agreement in March 1868. The agreement stipulated that in the case of the Prussian-French war Russia would maintain neutrality and would “demonstratively send to the borders of Austria an army of 100,000 soldiers,” with which Emperor Alexander II agreed on 13 December 1868. A formal alliance was not concluded – both sides restricted themselves to an oral agreement. In return, Prussia officially confirmed the earlier promise to support Russia in its efforts to change the provision of the Paris Treaty on the Black Sea. As before, the entire foreign policy of the government in St. Petersburg was dedicated to this goal, while Bismarck knew better than Napoleon how to use that. In August 1868 Bismarck told St. Petersburg that Russia could count on the support of Prussia in changing the Paris Treaty. “We will gladly do everything possible for it,” the chancellor said. When in the wake of the French-Prussian war Alexander met Wilhelm I and Bismarck in Ems for four days from 1 to 4 June 1870 “there was no mention of the war against France. No insurance was requested, nor was any given. The meeting was basically anti-Austrian, but certainly not anti-French.”⁴

³ Thus, the main purpose of Gorchakov’s foreign political programme remained unattained although already on 16 June 1867, on the occasion of his fifty years in diplomacy, he received a promotion to the position of the state chancellor.

⁴ Tatischev 1902: 474–475; Obolenskaya 1977: 58–73.

Overestimating his military power, Minister Leboeuf said that the Prussian army “does not exist and that he does not recognize it.” After that, on 19 July 1870 France declared the war on Prussia.⁵ On 27 July Russia unveiled the *Declaration of Neutrality*: “His imperial Majesty is determined to preserve strict neutrality in relation to the warring states, but only until the war endangers the interests of Russia.” The Declaration also emphasized that “the imperial government is always ready to provide the most sincere assistance to any endeavour aimed at limiting the situation of war, to shorten their duration, and to bring Europe the benefits of peace.” A message was then sent from St. Petersburg to Vienna and Paris that, if Austria-Hungary entered the war, Russia would follow its example. Gorchakov told the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in St. Petersburg: “If Austria joins mobilization, Russia will do the same; if it takes part in the war, we will be able to protect our own interests.” On 23 July Alexander II warned the Austrian ambassador, saying that he regarded the Polish issue as “the main interest of Russia” and that it would be raised immediately in case Austria took a hostile position against Prussia: “Then I will be obliged to forsake armed neutrality and I will send an army to your border.” Furthermore, on behalf of the King of Prussia, Alexander guaranteed the inviolability of the Austrian border, which was also confirmed by Bismarck. Vienna subsequently took a neutral position, as did Britain and Italy. In August 1870 Bismarck informed St. Petersburg that he could count on the support of Prussia with respect to the Paris Treaty. “We will voluntarily do everything possible for it.” Prussian army proved superior on the battlefield. After the disaster of Sedan on 2 September 1870, when Napoleon III was captured along with his army, France was practically defeated. The official body of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Journal de St. – Petersbourg* responded to that with an article whose author, with the approval of

⁵ France counted on its own strength and on the old “political combinations tested by time,” but the politics of Napoleon III led the Second Empire to a complete isolation. Having missed the possibility of an agreement with Russia, France also lost Britain’s favour. In addition, France was the only country standing on the path to the final union of Italy. Its garrisons secured the existence of the Pope’s authority in Rome, so Paris could not count on the benevolent neutrality of its Italian neighbour. When Austria was concerned, which would also very quickly show, Napoleon greatly overestimated the ability of that partner. In such extremely unfavourable circumstances France entered into a new crisis which was opened up by the revolution in Spain. When Queen Isabel was banished from the country in September 1868, the Provisional Government decided to offer the crown to a new dynasty. On 6 June 1869 a new Constitution was introduced in Spain and the crown was offered to Leopold von Hohenzollern. French diplomacy decided to use the Spanish question as a cause to start a war since Napoleon III was in need of a “little war victory.” On 28 June King Wilhelm I stated that he did not oppose the takeover of the throne from Prince Leopold. Subsequently, on 9 July France’s ambassador to Prussia Benedetti, on the occasion of his reception, handed over to the Prussian King a request to demand Leopold to renounce the Spanish throne. The request was non-tactical and humiliating, representing a “public provocation of the war.” Wilhelm did not want to risk a new war with a country like France that had a solid military organization. On 12 July 1870 Prince Leopold renounced his claim to the Spanish crown, but on 13 July Bendetti met again with the king in Ems and handed him the new demands of Paris. King Wilhelm was supposed to approve the resignation of Prince Leopold and to assume an obligation not to allow him to change his decision. The king was shocked by the request, but he promised that he would revisit that issue, after which he travelled to Berlin. The king’s response, as well as transcripts of talks with Benedetti, were then sent to Bismarck, who had lunch with the Minister of the Military von Ron and Chief of general staff von Moltke. Having read the text in front of them and having been reassured that in the event of a war France would be defeated, Bismarck “extracted” the final part which spoke of the possibility of continuing negotiations and then sent a telegram whose meaning was completely changed. It was the famous “forgery of Ems,” which gave Paris the long-awaited cause for war.

Gorchakov, emphasized the results of what had happened. Russia could not look forward to changing the European balance, but “words do not help here” – France was paying for its political mistakes and “its national vices.” It did not let Europe “live peacefully” since the time of Napoleon I, “... 1807 ... caused 1870.”⁶ General dissatisfaction in France led to the formation of the government of the National Defence, the overthrow of Napoleon and the proclamation of the republic on 4 September 1870. In St. Petersburg “they did not expect such a rapid defeat of France” and were “unpleasantly surprised by Prussia’s claims to the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.” Emperor Alexander wrote to the Prussian King suggesting that he would not impose a humiliating peace on France, but Wilhelm I replied that “public opinion would not allow him to give up annexation.”

On 4 September the citizens of Paris occupied the building of the Legislative Assembly and demanded immediate dethronement of Napoleon III and his dynasty. The second empire collapsed and the rule went to the hands of the government of the National Defence. On 6 September the government made a statement that it would hand over to the Germans “not an inch of their land nor a stone from their fortresses.” Following the decision of the government, Thiers was sent on a journey to the capitals of European countries. He first went to London on 27 September 1870 and then to Vienna.⁷ When the President of the French Republic Thiers visited St. Petersburg, Gorchakov told him “to have courage and make peace.” At the end of the conversation he added: “We will later deal with the rapprochement of France and Russia.” On 29 September 1870, in a conversation with Thiers Emperor Alexander pronounced the words that announced the future alliance between Russia and France, which was concluded twenty years later. “I would much like to create such an alliance with France. An alliance of peace, not an alliance for the sake of war and conquest,” said the emperor during the talks.⁸ Nevertheless, his plea for Russia to stand up for France did not meet with support – “Russian diplomacy could not go below the borders of civility.” The Russian Emperor only chose to advise Wilhelm I to show moderation when dictating the conditions of future peace. Austria-Hungary and Great Britain did not even do as much while Italy benefited from the departure of the French army from the Papal State. On 20 September 1870 its troops occupied Rome and after that the Italian kingdom did not show the desire to interfere with such a dangerous conflict. On 20 October Thiers returned to France “empty-handed” – his mission ended in failure. The north-western part of France was occupied by the Prussian army – Paris was under siege. In the fortress of Metz under siege were 73,000 French soldiers under the command of Marshall Bazin. The garrison in Metz surrendered on 27 October, after which France remained without an army. It was not possible to create a new army at that moment.

The interest in supporting Berlin in terms of the Paris Treaty did not allow Emperor

⁶ At the beginning of August the French Army of the Rhine, which had around 120,000 soldiers, under the command of Marshall Mac Mahon started advancing with the aim to help the army of Marshall Bazin, which was surrounded in the fort of Metz. The success of that quest could have been France’s chance of salvation but between 29 and 31 August the Army of the Rhine was stopped, defeated and suppressed to Sedan. The Prussian army under Moltke’s command began the siege of the fort on 1 September and on 2 September Sedan capitulated. They captured around 300,000 French soldiers and officers.

⁷ Howard 2003: 225, 336, 353, 433.

⁸ Narochnickaya 1978: 71–96; Shneerson 1976: 91–122.

Alexander II to oppose the Prussian demands. Thus, the war between Prussia and France indicated to St. Petersburg the right moment to change the articles in the Paris Treaty, which restricted their rights in the Black Sea. After Sedan, Gorchakov believed that the moment had come “to wash away the stain that remained on Russia since the Crimean War.” Gorchakov then told the emperor that it was time to raise the question of the “justifiableness of the demands” of Russia. Gorchakov’s proposal was discussed on 27 October 1870 at the Council of Ministers, but there was no single opinion.⁹ Although Chancellor Gorchakov felt that the opposition of European states would only be reduced to the “war on paper,” the Russian minister claimed that the opportunity was extremely favourable because France, as one of the guarantee powers of the Paris Treaty, “was down” and without it Austria-Hungary “could not risk standing against Russia.” Because of the change in the balance of powers, “it was highly unlikely that Turkey would stand up against Russia.”¹⁰ Only United Kingdom remained, but it was now in “a certain isolation.” It was therefore necessary for Russia to act quickly, while support was still important to Prussia. Emperor Alexander II, who presided over the council, supported Gorchakov’s proposal.¹¹

Gorchakov made the first step with a decision of 7 September, which hinted at Russia’s intentions regarding the further implementation of the Paris Treaty. On 31 October 1870 the Russian Chancellor sent a circular¹² to diplomats accredited in the capitals of the signatory states of the Paris Treaty. In the circular Gorchakov reminded everyone that Russia consistently fulfilled all the articles of the contract, as did other countries, and emphasized that under the changed circumstances it “could not allow for the contract, violated in many individual and general articles, to remain binding in those articles which are concerned with its interests.” “The fifteen-year experiment proves that this principle [neutralization], which the security of the borders of the Russian Empire depends on in its entire length on that side, has only a theoretical meaning.” Russia, therefore, returned to itself the right to hold a fleet in the Black Sea and did not oppose giving the same right to

⁹ The council was held in the imperial court and was presided by Alexander II. There they discussed the issue of the possible directions of action of Russia. The emperor came forth with the opinion that it was necessary to change the difficult provisions of the Paris Treaty and, this time, like in November 1866, the Minister of Finances M. H. Reytern suggested taking a very careful position. He was supported by the Minister of the Interior A. J. Timashev. The Minister of the Military D. A. Milyutin recommended that Russia be limited only to the statement on establishing rights in the Black Sea, which would not lead to force in case Romania decided not to agree with the solution. Finally a suggestion was accepted which did not concern the issue of south Besarabia and demilitarization of the Åland Islands. Ignatev 1999: 176-177.

¹⁰ In August 1870 the Russian ambassador in Turkey Count N. P. Ignatyev, while negotiating with the Grand Vizier Ali-Pasha, raised the issue of the changes in the borders in the Black Sea on the basis of the Russian-Turkish agreement. The Turks did not rush with the response – the Grand Vizier, remaining oriented towards France, obviously did not expect its defeat. On the other hand, Gorchakov did not want to wait for the ending of the French-Prussian war because he did not believe in Bismarck’s benevolence. The Russian chancellor hurried to solve the issue which stemmed from the treaty provisions from 1856. In the report to Alexander II Gorchakov wrote: “To build a political score on sentimentality implies giving over to illusions.”

¹¹ AVPRI: 1870, ll. 24–25; Bushuev 1961: 91–98; Ignatev 1997: 77.

¹² After the circular Gorchakov was considered the “saviour of the country” in Russia. Prince Gorchakov wrote this circular in French. In a talk with Kiselyev prince Gorchakov again formulated his politics by saying that he “looked for a man who would help him annul the paragraphs of the Paris Treaty which concern the fleet in the Black Sea and the borders of Besarabia...”

Turkey. So the agreement brought Russia to a disadvantageous and dangerous position, which is why the Russian government, Gorchakov warned, no longer consider itself bound to respect the provisions that limited its sovereign rights on the Black Sea. He, therefore, demanded of the Russian diplomatic representatives to clarify with the governments with which they were accredited that the aim of his demarche was only to protect the security of Russia – with the promise that Russia would “consistently fulfil” all other articles of the Paris Treaty – which meant that it would not “open the East issue either.”

This was done at the time of the capitulation of the French army in Metz, which “confirmed that France was eliminated as a factor of opposition to Russia.” Britain and Austria-Hungary remained and they resolutely opposed Russia’s intentions, but did not have the realistic possibilities to prevent anything. Great Britain vigorously protested, but since it did not have a continental ally, it could not do anything. Not being able to count on the active attitude of Paris and Vienna and not wanting to risk the war, London turned to support Berlin. What followed was a categorical refusal and the question of the possible neutrality of Berlin in case of the deterioration of English-Russian relations was followed by a completely vague answer. The result was that Great Britain had to reconcile with the politics of the *fait accompli* and then enter negotiations. The United States of America supported Russia, however, of the highest importance was the behaviour of Prussia. Emperor Alexander had previously revealed to the Prussian King the “hidden thought” concerning the modification of the provision on the neutralization of the Black Sea and contacted him on 31 October 1870 with a request for support.¹³ Bismarck later claimed that in 1870 he supported Russia because the prohibition of free navigation in “their own sea was unacceptable for him:” “We gladly sided with Russia ... to release it from the constraints imposed by the Treaty of Paris. They were unnatural and the ban on navigation along its own seashore was unsustainable for a longer period for such a state as Russia because it was humiliating.” Bismarck discovered the real meaning later when he said that for Germany it was more desirable that Russia turn to the East than to the West.¹⁴

In Europe this circular was a surprise. English Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the Russian government should not have come forward with a unilateral statement, but that it should have addressed the other states which signed the Paris treaty with a proposal for the change of its provisions. Chancellor Bismarck, although unhappy as he spoke about Gorchakov “untimely” outburst, was determined to fully keep his promise to Russia. King Wilhelm was of the same opinion when he told his advisor Schweinitz that “the *Declaration* itself is quite right.” Prussia subsequently proposed a meeting with the signatory states of the Paris Treaty in order to discuss the issues raised by Gorchakov in the circular. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary agreed with the proposal “provided that the results of the

¹³ Bismarck advised Russia to build war ships in the Black Sea and wait “for others to complain.” This was an irrelevant piece of advice for Russians; they wanted other countries to recognize their rights to have a war fleet in the Black Sea.

¹⁴ During the war of 1864 Poet Fyodor Tyutchev very clearly formulated the task of Russia’s foreign policy: “Unique, natural politics of Russia in comparison with western states – this is not an alliance with this or that state, but separate, a division between them. Thus divided, they stop being our enemies – they become powerless. This is a cruel truth, possibly it will affect sensitive souls, but eventually this is the law of our existence.” Tatischev 1902: 478–479.

conference are not decided beforehand” and that it involved all states that signed the Paris Treaty. Russia accepted the conference, but on the condition that it only sanction the decision of the Russian government. The government and the Emperor, in addition, counted on Bismarck’s support and favourable international circumstances.¹⁵

The London Conference of European states, organized at Bismarck’s initiative, which Gorchakov considered to be “short and purely practical,” was held from 17 January to 13 March 1871. At the conference Great Britain was represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Grenville, while “other countries were represented by diplomatic representatives accredited in London.”¹⁶ The task of the Russian ambassador Brunov was to make Gorchakov’s decision from the circular “international.” In addition, Gorchakov instructed Brunov to be “moderate and cautious, to direct the attention of the conference participants to the horrible consequences of the Paris Treaty for Russia’s internal development, its agriculture, industry, security.” The most important discussions were held on the conditions of regulating sailing through straits. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary finally accepted an agreement to amend the provisions of the Paris Treaty on the Black Sea neutralization.¹⁷ The navigation regime through the straits because of this suffered “for Russia not entirely acceptable changes.” The Sultan was given the right to regulate the navigation regime of the straits “in peace in favour of military ships of friendly and allied states,” if Turkey “finds it necessary to ensure the fulfilment of the provisions of the Paris Treaty.” “This article worsened Russia’s position in its defence plans in comparison to the 1841 convention,” which stipulated that in times of peace, the straits would be closed to military vessels of all states, except for light ones. What followed was signing the convention between Russia and Turkey, which annulled the convention of 1856. The change in the provision on the neutralization of the Black Sea was a personal success of Gorchakov’s,¹⁸ who was able to use the international circumstances for “saving Russia from the most difficult provisions of the Paris Treaty.” Russia re-established its sovereign rights on the Black Sea thereby regaining the prestige of a great power. The London conference thus agreed with the change of all the restrictions that it had so far, which meant that Russia could “keep the fleet in the Black Sea and build fortifications.” It was a “diplomatic victory without a war,” important for its position in Europe. During the fifteen years that it took Russia to annul the provisions of the Paris Treaty the situation in Europe changed – “Germany became an empire.” Emperor Wilhelm did not hide the role of Russia in this, as

¹⁵ Ignatev 1997: 78.

¹⁶ Prussia was represented by Bernstorff, Austria-Hungary by Apponyi, Italy by Cardona, Turkey by Musurus-pasha. The representative of France Broley, who replaced Favre, arrived “only at the last session.” The relation of powers at the conference was as follows: the representative of England, who chaired the conference, was in agreement with the representatives of Turkey and Austria; Prussia supported Russia, which greatly weakened England’s anti-Russian position; Italy and France did not have a significant impact on the work of the conference. A representative of Turkey Musurus-pasha, an experienced diplomat, was known for his anti-Russian tendency.

¹⁷ Representatives of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary in return asked for a change in the “limiting article,” a change in navigation regime through the straits “to their advantage,” as well as the possibility to form their military naval bases on the territory of Turkey. It is natural that these proposals jeopardized the security of the Ottoman Empire, so not only Russian but also Turkish representatives opposed them.

¹⁸ Gorchakov’s programme was realized on the day of ratification of the London Treaty and, after the emperor’s orders, he got the title of His Holiness.

he admitted in a letter to Emperor Alexander. “Prussia will never forget that it is obliged to you that the war did not spread. May the Lord bless you for that!”¹⁹

The union of Germany was proclaimed in Versailles on 18 January 1871,²⁰ when the “South, which held the neutral position for a long time, united with the North,” which led to a “new distribution of forces on the continent.”²¹ Russia now had a powerful neighbour on its borders, so the further weakening of France did not suit it. In the Russian public voices were heard in favour of another rapprochement with France. Gorchakov also had this opinion as he understood the importance of France as a counterweight to the restored Germany. “We need a strong France,” Gorchakov admitted although the French government was aware of the closeness of the “courts in St. Petersburg and Berlin.” Foreign Minister Jules Favre felt that France could not expect anything from Russia at that moment but it would sooner or later show that “the new German Empire could no longer expand without compromising Russia’s security.” In the meantime, Russia began with active politics in Central Asia, which aggravated its relationship with Great Britain. Because of that, it now needed a solid support in Europe, which she could only find in Germany. The Russian government counted that with the help of Germany it would disable the expansion of Austria-Hungary into the Balkans, where it “directed its activity” after the defeat of the war in 1866. The Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Andr ssy also sought Germany’s support against Russia, which he saw as the main opponent. Bismarck also encouraged Austro-Hungarian activity in the Balkans, thus wanting to draw its attention from Central Europe. However, he did not want Austria-Hungary to completely distance itself from Germany as in the future he assigned it the role of an ally. At the same time, he was ready to enter into an agreement with Russia to prevent it from approaching France. According to the Russian diplomat Count Pyotr Shuvalov, Bismarck was haunted by the “nightmare of a coalition.” This “nightmare” did not disrupt the peace of the German Chancellor by accident; international relations in the early 1880s provided a basis for a possible convergence of Russia with Austria-Hungary and France. After 1871 Bismarck did everything to preserve what he had accomplished, showing a “mature political wisdom.” Austria-Hungary was an “ideal partner” for him because this alliance guaranteed German dominance in Central Europe.

The Russian government closely followed the relations between Berlin and Vienna and counted on Germany as “a desirable ally” and at the same time as a mediator in resolving problematic issues with Austria-Hungary. The rapprochement of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany should have been formalized in September 1872, when Emperor Franz Joseph planned to visit Berlin. In order to prevent the creation of a dual alliance, Alexander II wrote in the letter to Wilhelm I that he wanted to participate in the meeting of the two

¹⁹ Kozmenko 1952: 107–110; Geller 1997: 133.

²⁰ Therefore, the German empire was proclaimed in Versailles and it included 22 states and three free towns of Hamburg, Bremen and L beck under the dynasty of Hohenzollern. The King of Prussia Wilhelm I became the Emperor of Germany Wilhelm I.

²¹ The Frankfurt Peace Treaty was signed on 10 May 1871, when France lost Alsace and eastern Lorraine, territories with the majority German population, which the French annexed in 1648 after a Thirty-year War. Besides that, the defeated had to pay a contribution of five billion golden francs and until the final payment the German occupying army stayed in the French territory and it was also supported by Paris.

monarchs. The Russian emperor feared the possibility of the Austro-German alliance, so Wilhelm I, after Bismarck's advice, agreed that the Russian emperor attend the meeting. Alexander II, therefore, travelled to Berlin in early September 1872. The negotiations in Berlin led to the rapprochement between Gorchakov and Andrassy's attitudes. When it came to the Balkans, an agreement on the status quo was reached. The agreement was also supplemented by a joint statement "that neither side will interfere with Turkey's internal affairs." Bismarck supported the agreement and during his meeting with Gorchakov he said he would accept those actions in the Balkans that were agreed by St. Petersburg and Vienna. The exchange of opinion confirmed the advantage of the position of Berlin, "which had no special interest in the region" and could have acted as an arbitrator in the Russian-Austrian conflict. Later Gorchakov wrote that there was nothing new in the conversation with Bismarck, which reduced Bismarck's intervention, as Gorchakov wrote, "only ... to a greater unity between Russia and Austria." Namely, Bismarck had planned an alliance with the recently defeated Austria and he intended to involve Russia in the new alliance.²²

The meeting in Berlin laid the foundation for the final agreement of the three countries. At the beginning of May 1873 Wilhelm I, accompanied by Bismarck and Field Marshal Moltke, arrived in St. Petersburg. The result of the encounter between the German and Russian emperors was the conclusion of a military convention signed on 6 May 1873 by the chiefs of general staff Berg and Moltke. Both sides accepted the obligation that if one of the European states would attack one of the signatories of the convention, the other would "immediately hire an army of 200,000 people." The convention "did not contain anything hostile to any nation or government." Bismarck wanted Vienna to join the agreement so he claimed that the convention "would not have the strength if it was not joined by Austria." In June 1873 Alexander II, accompanied by Gorchakov, arrived in his first visit to Vienna after the Crimean War in an effort to persuade Franz Joseph to join the Russian-German military convention. During the negotiations a Russian-Austrian convention of "consultative character" was signed. The two countries agreed that, in the event of a threat to European peace from a third country, they would not conclude a new alliance until they reached a mutual agreement on "the course of joint action." In case, however, there was a necessity of resorting to force, it was planned that the representatives of the two countries meet to specify the obligations regarding mutual support. In that case only two countries would resort to the conclusion of a military convention. The agreement which meant to "consolidate peace" was signed on 6 June 1873 in the Castle of Schönbrunn. This was a political, not a military convention since the Austrian government did not want to give it a binding character.²³ The new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary Andrassy told Gorchakov that his country was a "defensive state" and that Hungary was overloaded with rights and privileges "so the Hungarian ship would immediately sink if the smallest cargo was added, whether it was gold or mud." Gorchakov answered him that he opposed any kind of intervention in the Middle East. Emperor Alexander II was pleased, as he confirmed in the letter to Wilhelm I. "I got, not without much effort, the result that we

²² AVPRI: 1872, ЛЛ. 2606–27; Geller 1997: 133–134.

²³ Russia had a military convention without a political agreement with Germany, and a political agreement without a military convention with Austria-Hungary.

wanted ... neither the Emperor nor Andrassy wanted to consent that the agreement gets the form of a military convention equal to that signed by two of our marshals.”²⁴

Finally, on 22 October 1873, the convention was signed by the German emperor during a visit to Vienna, creating a “consultative pact between the three countries, which Europe called the League of the Three Emperors.” This was not an agreement on the alliance, but an agreement between three conservative states in which each of its signatories followed its own foreign policy goals. In practice, a formal contract was not concluded by the emperors; instead, they limited themselves only to changing the note on three problems: preserving the existing borders in Europe, the Eastern issue, and taking joint measures against a revolution “that could endanger all three countries.” The agreement was signed, but the disagreements between the states, in particular between Russia and Austria-Hungary, remained. Each of them sought to prevent the other’s dominance in the Balkans and each of them counted on winning Germany over for the support of its politics. On the other hand, Germany wanted to use the disagreements between Russia and Austria-Hungary to get a *carte blanche* in Western Europe. Germany strove to gain domination on the continent and to finally eliminate France as a rival.²⁵

Emperor Alexander II and Chancellor Gorchakov, who formally led Russian foreign policy, “saw the possibility of Germany transforming into a mighty empire as a danger to Russia.” But Alexander II made the final decision because he saw a true ally in the empire of his uncle Wilhelm I, not only in the struggle against the revolution, but in the solution of the Eastern issue. The strengthening of Germany and its transformation into an empire resulted in the outbreak of anti-German sentiments by the representatives of “various” social circles in Russia. Slavophiles persistently reiterated that Germany was the main enemy of the Slavs. However, this primarily referred to Austria, but the strengthening of the power of Prussia began to “seriously aggravate diplomats and soldiers.” Publicist Mikhail Katkov, who played an important role in public and political life – “until he came along Russia did not know a publicist who had such an impact on the country’s politics” – believed that an alliance with Germany was dangerous for Russia and he characterized it as an “enemy of the Slavs.” General Mikhail Skobelev, celebrated in the wars in Central Asia and Turkey, was no less emotional in expressing his views. For General Skobelev everything was clear: “Yes! The foreigner is with us everywhere. His hand is present everywhere. We are a toy of his politics, a victim of his intrigue, the slaves of his power ... and you want me to tell you who this foreigner is ... he is an intriguer, the enemy of Russia and the Slavs, I’ll tell you that it is the German. I repeat and please do not forget – our enemy is the German.”²⁶

For Russia the treaty with Germany and Austria ensured the security of its western borders thus facilitating its politics in Central Asia. Bismarck’s intention to establish the hegemony of Germany in Europe because of Russia’s focus on the Eastern issue proved elusive. The Russian government understood well the danger of German hegemony on the continent and therefore did not want to support it. This was especially prominent in early 1872, when Bismarck, in an effort to further weaken France, began with a policy of

²⁴ Tatischev 1902: 494–499; Kozmenko 1952: 124, 126–127; Shneerson 1984: 91–107.

²⁵ Gall 1990: 508–509.

²⁶ Geller 1997: 126, 135–136.

provoking a new conflict. The cause for such move from Bismarck was the proclamation of the Law on the General Military Obligation on 28 July 1872, through which France wanted to renew its army. The process of restoring France was fast. After the Law on the Military Obligation in the spring of 1873 ended the payment of the contribution defined by the Frankfurt Peace Treaty. In September the German occupying army left France. Bismarck did not want such a quick renewal of France and “gloomy clouds again appeared on the European sky.” It was extremely important for St. Petersburg to maintain friendly relations with Berlin. This desire corresponded to Bismarck’s plans to the extent that France was kept in international isolation. An important part of that plan was the preservation of the republic, against which the supporters of the restoration of the Bourbons and Orléans “actively worked” with the full support of the monarchist General Mac Mahon, who became president of the Third Republic in 1873. On 2 May 1874 Bismarck told the Austrian Prince Hohenlohe: “We primarily have to strive for the internal opportunities of the country not to increase and that it does not get respect abroad, which would give it the opportunity to gain allies. The Republic and the inner disorder are the best guarantee of peace.” For the French Foreign Minister Decazes “the only hope was the search for protection of the Russian emperor.” In a conversation with Leflo which subsequently followed Gorchakov sided with France: “I have told you already, and now I repeat that – we need a strong France.” Russia thus made it clear that it did not want any further weakening of France and that it did not support Germany.

Thanks to Russia’s attitude, the crisis was overcome, but the relations between Berlin and Paris were again aggravated in 1874. The French ambassador in St. Petersburg Leflo emphasized to Gorchakov the danger that threatened his country from Germany. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Decazes demanded protection from St. Petersburg and Gorchakov promised that Russia would protect France. Emperor Alexander II gave an almost identical answer to the French diplomat. Russia did not take any action as it counted on Bismarck’s moderation, just like Queen Victoria, who wrote to Wilhelm I on 10 February 1875 and urged him to “be generous.” In the spring of 1875, disconcerted by the rapid recovery of France, Germany began preparing for a new war so that, as Bismarck said, “sick France would not get better.” In February 1875 the French government adopted a law on the increase of the size of its army. The military strengthening of the Third Republic was obvious, but it did not cause concern for Emperor Wilhelm and the German general staff. Nevertheless, Bismarck decided to use it in order to defeat France again. In April 1875 Bismarck inspired the publication of an article entitled *Is the war in sight?*, which greatly resonated in the German press.²⁷ There was a new military alert, which should have diverted France from thinking about the possibility of revenge and the return of Alsace and Lorraine. Russian chancellor Gorchakov categorically opposed the consent for a preventive war against France, which Bismarck demanded from him. The war was thus avoided, but Bismarck blamed Gorchakov for his failure saying that “the only guarantor of the continuity of Russian cooperation with Germany was the personality of the emperor.”²⁸

Bismarck thought that, because Russia was busy in Central Asia, he would have full freedom of action in his dealings with France. In February 1875 he requested from the

²⁷ Gall 1990: 509.

²⁸ Ignatev 1997: 82–83; Bismarck 1928: 516, 528.

Russian government a friendly neutrality in the event of a new conflict with France through his diplomatic envoy Radowitz. In return, he promised cooperation in the East. Bismarck, therefore, asked Russia to abandon France in return for the support in the East, but he was told that St. Petersburg “had nothing planned but general peace and tranquility.” At the same time, the emperor and the chancellor announced to the French ambassador in St. Petersburg that they would give his country diplomatic support. Emperor Alexander told the French ambassador that Germany would “take on a great risk” if it acted without a real cause. Alexander II confirmed his position when travelling through Berlin in May 1875 on his way to Ems, when, during the meeting with Wilhelm and Bismarck, he spoke against the new German-French war, which, he said, would be Germany’s responsibility. Russia received support for its peaceful politics from other European countries, above all Great Britain and Austria, which, like St. Petersburg, “were not interested either in the final or partial disappearance of France as a state,” because it would represent the demolition of the European balance for the benefit of Germany. After that, Bismarck was forced to withdraw, convinced that he could not take advantage of the alliance with St. Petersburg and Vienna in order to achieve his goal directed against France. In a conversation with Emperor Alexander II Bismarck then said that “no aggressive action against France was planned.” The Chancellor shifted the responsibility for war preparations to the generals, whom he accused of “understanding nothing about politics.” Russia thus eliminated Bismarck’s intention of a “preventive” war against France.²⁹

After the war danger was finally eliminated, leaving on 10 May 1875, Gorchakov sent a laconic message to Russian diplomatic representatives in European capitals: “From now on, peace is secured.” This caused an outburst of indignation with Bismarck, who saw this as an open humiliation of Germany, which had to stand down under the pressure from Russia. The “war alert” of 1875 contributed to the cooling of relations between Russia and Germany,³⁰ but it did not lead to the collapse of the League of the Three Emperors because both sides were interested in preserving the original agreement. The eruption of the Eastern Crisis of 1875 showed all the depth of the contradiction and all the “fragility” of the League of the Three Emperors. When Gorchakov was able to persuade Alexander II to the danger that potentially came from Germany, Russian politics also changed. Bismarck did not hide his disappointment and warned Gorchakov: “I am telling you openly – I am a good friend to my friends and a good enemy to my enemies.” Bismarck’s enemy was Gorchakov’s potential ally – Emperor Alexander II.³¹

²⁹ Gall 1990: 509-512.

³⁰ Gorchakov’s telegram echoed considerably, but it did not necessarily imply the tension in Russian-German relations. It is natural that he was undesirable for Bismarck himself, but it was received in France with care. President Mac Mahon expressed his gratitude to Emperor Alexander “for this blessing and great influence” that the Emperor had on the direction of European events. According to Bismarck, in those days he began to have a nightmare about anti-German coalitions, whose contours began to occur unexpectedly as a result of his own actions directed against Paris. In December 1875, while reviewing the past year, Bismarck had to admit: “We can oppose... France. All the danger lies only in the coalition and this last thing will, no doubt, come for France.” More importantly, Bismarck realized that such a situation could be created, recognizing that “there was nothing incredible in the old coalition of Kaunitz (created) between France, Austria and Russia.”

³¹ Lord Disraeli believed that it was necessary to unite “hand in hand” with the Russian government against Bismarck. “Bismarck – he is truly the new Bonaparte, he should be restrained.” Then he added: “An alliance

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between Russia and us is possible for that specific goal.” And in 1875 Germany had to give up Bismarck’s goal of a preventive war in order to limit French military power. Tatischev 1902: 505–509; Borisov 1951: 218–253; Hvostov 1974: 51; Geller 1997: 137.

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**ПОЛИТИКА РУСИЈЕ У ЕВРОПИ 1870-1875.
(КРАЈ НЕУТРАЛИЗАЦИЈЕ ЦРНОГ МОРА. САВЕЗ ТРИ ЦАРА)**

Резиме

Париски уговор, закључен 30. марта 1856, био је понижавајући за Русију; посебно су тешки били чланови уговора који су се тicali Црног мора. Одредба о неутрализацији Црног мора забрањивала је Русији да у његовим водама држи флоту, гради утврђења и инфраструктуру. Уговором од 15. априла 1856. Велика Британија, Француска и Аустрија су се обавезале да ће надгледати да ли Русија поштује услове Париског мира, чиме је створена „кримска коалиција”. Поразом у кримском рату Русија није „изгубила статус велике државе”, принуђена је, додуше, да се одрекне своје раније улоге у Европи, чиме је њен међународни положај ослабио. Преузимајући Министарство иностраних дела, Александар Горчаков је дефинисао циљ руске спољне политике: „Тражим човека који ће поништити клаузуле Париског уговора које се односе на питање Црног мора Тражим га и наћићу га.” Тако је руска политика после Париског конгреса имала јединствен циљ, окомила се на ревизију Париског уговора, искључујући све друго. Како Француска није била спремна да подржи Русију, Петроград се окренуо Прусској која је показала вољу да се измене одредбе о Црном мору. То међусобно приближавање условило је и потоњи настанак Савеза три цара, између Русије, Немачке и Аустрије.

Кључне речи: Русија, Европа, XIX век, Савез три цара, Бизмарк, Горчаков.

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THE DEATHS OF THE OBRENOVIĆ FAMILY IN SERBIAN HISTORY AND REMEMBRANCE*

Abstract: The political scene of Serbia is scientifically well studied. Historical literature about Serbia in the 19th century is vast and interesting. This article aims to present the rulers of the Obrenović dynasty in the light of their tragic deaths mostly through memoir historical sources. The lives and deaths of the Serbian rulers affected both the interior and foreign policy of the country. The Obrenović dynasty died out except for their female branches and even those have not been researched enough. This paper will explain the chain of events that led to the end of the Obrenović family.

Keywords: Serbia, Prince Miloš Obrenović, Princess Ljubica, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Princess Ljubica Obrenović, King Milan Obrenović, King Aleksandar Obrenović, death, expatriation, conspiracy, assassination.

In ethnological and anthropological research, culture is defined within two different concepts: elite culture and popular culture. Elite culture is that of educated classes, while the popular one is that of popular masses. Historical sources can tell us a lot about the life and death of the Serbian rulers and dynastic family members.

This article will try to depict some aspects of the lives and deaths of the Obrenović dynasty outside the usual political context. The Obrenović family, especially during the rule of Prince Mihailo,¹ was the most prominent family in Serbian growing social elite.

There is one more angle to this paper. Most deaths of the Obrenović family were surrounded with tragedy, prophecies and folk tales. That is why the author decided to

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¹ Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868) was the Prince of Serbia from 1839 to 1842 and again from 1860 to 1868. His first reign ended when he was deposed in 1842 and his second when he was assassinated in 1868. He is stated as being the most enlightened ruler of modern Serbia. He advocated the idea of a Balkan federation against the Ottoman Empire.

include in this text some of the Serbian folk prophecies and superstitions.

There are many historical sources that can give us insight in to the private lives and deaths of the Obrenović dynasty, usually written by their contemporaries or eye witnesses like Sreten L. Popović,² Filip Hristić,³ Mileva Alimpić,⁴ Dragiša Vasić,⁵ British consul in Serbia John Augustus Longworth,⁶ Vladan Đorđević and others.

The most valuable stories told in this historical manner are those about the private lives and deaths of Prince Miloš, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Princess Ljubica, King Milan Obrenović and King Aleksandar Obrenović.

1. Prince Miloš Obrenović

In his book *The Travels Around New Serbia* published in 1879, Sreten L. Popović notes the following event. The story about Prince Miloš⁷ starts with folk beliefs and superstitions at the time of the First Serbian Uprising. The future Prince Miloš, at that time a servant to a Turkish lord – *subasha* was plowing his field in Brusnica. Around noon they unharnessed the oxen so that they could feed them and give them water. Miloš and his former master also sat down to have lunch together. At that moment, a solar eclipse started. Prince Miloš recalled the story like this: “The Turk saw it and asked: ‘What is this, Miloš?’ – And I told him: ‘It is a solar eclipse, of course.’ ‘It won’t be good,’ answered the Turk.” And he was right. The Turk would not be Miloš’s master and the future Prince would not be his servant anymore. From his father’s writings Popović dated this event to 30 January 1804 by the old calendar.⁸

Prince Miloš rarely came to Belgrade between 1820 and 1830, before the Serbian declaration of autonomy. He visited Ostružnica, the monastery in Rakovica and Topčider but did not go to Belgrade. Even after that he preferred to be in Kragujevac. When Prince Miloš finally came to Belgrade in 1830, the citizens saw a uniformed guard and a military orchestra for the first time.⁹

² Sreten L. Popović was a writer, a personal Secretary of Princess Ljubica and later Avram Petronijević, and a judge of the Court of Cassation. He lived from 1820 to 1890. He was a well-known author of stories about old Belgrade (*The Memoirs of a Belgrader*). He spent years collecting old books, maps, letters, deeds and memoirs. His most famous work was a book *The Travels around New Serbia* published in 1879.

³ Filip Hristić (1819–1905) was the Prince’s Representative (President of the Government of Serbia), Minister of Education, Governor of the National Bank, kapucehaja and then first Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Minister (ambassador) of Serbia in Constantinople, Vienna, Berlin and London, and an honorary member of the Serbian Royal Academy.

⁴ Mileva Alimpić was the daughter of Princess Ljubica’s brother Petar Vukmanović and one of the first Serbian women writers.

⁵ Dragomir “Dragiša” Vasić (1885–1945) was a Serbian lawyer, writer and publicist.

⁶ John Augustus Longworth was a British consul in Serbia from 1867–1875.

⁷ Miloš Obrenović (1780–1860) was Prince of Serbia from 1815 to 1839, and again from 1858 to 1860. He participated in the First Serbian Uprising, led Serbs in the Second Serbian Uprising, and founded the House of Obrenović. Under his rule, Serbia became an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. Prince Miloš ruled autocratically. At the end of his life he shared the power with his son. During his rule, he was the richest man in Serbia and one of the richest in the Balkans.

⁸ Popović 1950: 189.

⁹ *Ibid.* 132.

In 1837 S. L. Popović was a state trainee in Smederevo. His home was in Belgrade. He was allowed only 10 to 15 days of vacation per year. He happened to visit some friends and encountered a fortuneteller. The friends suggested to him to have his fortune told with cards. The fortuneteller foretold him that he would travel home and would never come back to Smederevo again. Popović told the fortune teller: “If your cards are right about everything like they are right about my going home, you can just toss them into the fire.” She answered: “You are most certainly going home and with some great man like Prince Miloš who is going to visit Smederevo.”

And as the fortune teller predicted, a couple of days later there came a horseman carrying a message that Prince Miloš would be visiting Smederevo. The news that the Prince was coming caused a sensation in the town.

The Prince was joyfully welcomed and a lot of people came to pay their respects, kissing his hand and raising their hats. Popović was acquainted with Miloš because he was a member of a *vertep* theatre company.¹⁰ With his friends from the Kragujevac high school – Lyceé he joined a masked processions that made rich people laugh around Christmas time. They also performed before Prince Miloš in the Kragujevac Theatre. The director of the theatre was Joakim Vujić.¹¹ The Audience was the Prince himself, the members of his court and lower-ranking clerks. The high lords were sitting while the rest of the audience was left standing. Actors and actresses were young apprentices and schoolboys like Popović and his friends Jovan Marinović¹² and Filip Hristić.¹³ There were no women participants in the plays and the beardless boys played the women’s roles. They were dressed by a female costume designer. The dresses and jewelry were borrowed from rich ladies in Kragujevac, who were not happy about that at all. But when Joakim Vujić complained to the Prince about the lack of costumes, Miloš sent Popović and Stevan Knićanin¹⁴ to go canvassing from door to door to get pretty dresses and jewelry by requisition. Of course, the things were only being borrowed for the play and then returned to their owners.¹⁵

Prince immediately remembered Popović when he came to Smederevo and asked him: “Why are you so pale?” and Popović replied that he often had nose bleeds. The Prince answered “So does my Mihailo.” The Prince told the judge in charge that he did not look after Popović properly and took Popović home with him to his parents. This was the last visit of Prince Miloš to Smederevo because he was soon forced to abdicate and leave Serbia until his return in 1858.¹⁶

Popović’s notes contain another prophecy about Prince Miloš around 1845-1846.

¹⁰ F. Hristić 2015: 95, 71.

¹¹ Joakim Vujić (1772–1847) was a Serbian writer, dramatist (musical stage and theatre), actor, traveler and polyglot. He was one of the most accomplished Serbian dramatists and writers of the 18th century, director of *Knjaževsko-srpski teatar* (The Royal Serbian Theatre) in Kragujevac 1835/36. He is known as the *Father of Serbian Theatre*.

¹² Jovan Marinović (1821–1893) was a Serbian politician and diplomat, who introduced several enlightened reforms in the Serbian political system.

¹³ See: Hristić 2015: 71–94; Paunović 2015: 8–14.

¹⁴ Stevan Petrović, known as Stevan Knićanin (1807–1855), was a Serbian *voivode* (commander) of the Serbian volunteer squads in Serbian Vojvodina during the 1848 revolution.

¹⁵ Popović 1950: 195.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 190–193.

After Prince Miloš was forced to leave Serbia in 1839 and Prince Mihailo abdicated in 1842, he did not come back to the Principality until 1858. Miloš sent a friend to another fortuneteller who read cards. She guessed that the reading was not for the friend but for King Miloš himself and then she said that the Prince would not be coming back to Serbia for another ten to twelve years.¹⁷

When Prince Miloš and Prince Mihailo came back to Serbia and visited Smederevo in 1858 his friend said: “The fortune teller was right! This is the twelfth year since your departure.”

There were even some rumours in Serbia that there was a prophecy about Prince Mihailo’s death. At the time when Prince Mihailo was born it was foretold that his life would not end well and that it would not be a happy one.¹⁸

The roads in the Serbian Principality were safe for travel back then. It was even safe to travel by night. Popović states that he himself took the same road many times carrying bronze and silver money for state business. Prince Miloš’s power was based on the principles of a patriarchal monarchy. The administration in the Principality, after the breakdown of the Turkish power, was left in hands of the local chieftains – pashas appointed by the Prince among the local elders. In his household Prince Miloš ruled with a tyrannical hand. He himself approved all the marriages, decided whose children were to be christened and who he was going to help in their money troubles. Miloš Obrenović had organized homeland security. This situation enabled Serbia to become a desirable route for diplomatic correspondence.

At the time of the first diplomatic relations between Serbia and Great Britain, probably in connection with Colonel Hodges’s¹⁹ consular appointment, there was a story about a passage of couriers from Great Britain through Serbia. They were sent to Constantinople, carrying gifts from Queen Victoria for the Sultan and his harem. Somehow they managed to lose their bags with the costly presents. They had to return to Prince Miloš in Kragujevac, explaining to him what had happened and regretfully admitting the incident. They said that they had lost what they had been supposed to guard with their lives. Prince Miloš listened to their story and then reprimanded them for their poor performance. The Serbian ruler then asked them if maybe they would be able to recognize their bags and took the couriers to a room where their belongings were already safely kept. The British servants declared their enormous admiration for the Prince. Their stuff had been found by the Serbian military national service even before the British realized that they had lost them in the first place.

Prince Miloš recruited his male servants from the wealthiest Serbian houses. After they took good care of him for a few years, the prince would choose those who would be appointed captains. After that, they could advance in the state administration and gain the best positions and wealth. Miloš’s recruits became the Special Prince’s Red guard.²⁰

The old Prince cared very much for his people. He was even interested in their folk beliefs. The 19th century Serbian people were very superstitious, believing in witches, vampires and werewolves. At some point there was a story about a one-eyed werewolf who

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 193.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 190

¹⁹ Pavlowich 1961: 32–33.

²⁰ For more about Prince Miloš Special Prince’s Red Guard see: Milićević 2018: 87–102.

was appearing, attacking women around Kragujevac. Prince Miloš sent his guard and a masked peasant was caught and punished with beating. Thus, the Prince stopped the fear that was spreading among his farmers and villagers.²¹

2. Princess Ljubica Obrenović

It is said that Princess Ljubica²² was born with two dark marks in the shape of a hand on her back. The marks were visible from her birth until her death.²³

By the time of Miloš's departure from Serbia in 1839 Princess Ljubica joined the opposition against Prince Miloš. Constitutional opposition started to form when Serbia gained autonomy from the Porte. Their goal was for Serbia to become a constitutional state and to restrict Prince Miloš's power. Unhappy with the Prince as a husband and a ruler, the Princess joined the opposition. Prince Miloš's heir to the throne, Prince Milan, while still alive and Jevrem Obrenović,²⁴ Prince Miloš's brother, supported the opposition trying to restrain Prince Miloš's autocratic rule. When Princess Ljubica joined the conspirators, most of the state officials stopped wavering and declared themselves against the Prince.²⁵

Prince Miloš did not want to change his despotic reign and he left the country when the Turkish constitution of 1838 was declared. He abdicated on 1/13 June in favor of Prince Milan Obrenović. He took Prince Mihailo with him.

When Prince Miloš was leaving, he said to his wife: "Ljubica, I have made you angry many times, please forgive me. I am taking Mihailo with me and you stay with Milan and see that he gets well soon. If God lets him recover you will be living with him well."²⁶ Princess Ljubica stayed behind in Belgrade.

But Prince Milan Obrenović died shortly after only 25 days of rule from tuberculosis and the power was left in the hands of his brother, a minor, Prince Mihailo Obrenović. Mihailo Obrenović was with Prince Miloš in Vlaška and he came back to Serbia in March 1840. During his absence Serbia was under the First Regency of Jevrem Obrenović, Avram Petronijević and Toma Vučić Perišić.²⁷

After the death of Prince Milan, the Porte declared Mihailo Obrenović the Prince of Serbia on 21 October 1839. Princess Ljubica was sent from Serbia to bring Prince Mihailo back to Belgrade. When the declaration came from the Porte she was already with Prince Miloš on his estates in Vlaška. The Princess then got a new obligation to follow her son to Constantinople. Prince Mihailo came to Constantinople with his mother and his entourage

²¹ Popović 1950: 52.

²² Ljubica Vukomanović (1788–1843) was Princess consort of the Principality of Serbia as the wife of Miloš Obrenović I, Prince of Serbia, and the founder of the Obrenović dynasty, which ruled Serbia in an almost unbroken line from the time of his election as Prince to the May Overthrow in 1903. Ljubica married Miloš in 1805 and became Princess of Serbia on 6 November 1817 until her husband's abdication on 25 June 1839. She had at least seven surviving children.

²³ Ljušić 1997: 33.

²⁴ Jevrem Teodorović (1790–1856) later known as Jevrem Obrenović, was the youngest brother of Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović and was also the youngest of his nine siblings. He was a long term foreman of the Šabac nahije.

²⁵ Ljušić 1997: 127–128.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 133.

²⁷ Ljušić 1995: 29–37.

in early November 1839. After waiting for an audience with the Sultan for a month, the Prince saw the Sultan on 23 December 1839. The mother and son left Constantinople in February 1840 and came back to Serbia in March of the same year.²⁸ They were not in good relations with each other because Ljubica changed sides while in Vlaška and became a supporter of the older Prince.

The first ball in Serbia was organized in 1841 during the first rule of Prince Mihailo Obrenović and it was held in a building called Cumrkuk.²⁹ The ball was a public event, a magnificent one, and all the Serbian officers from the neighbouring Austria were invited. On that occasion champagne was served in Serbia for the first time. Three military orchestras were playing.³⁰ This was one of the first signs that a European way of life was starting to be accepted in Serbia.

During the same year Prince Mihailo declared St Sava the Patron of Serbian education and this holiday was celebrated in the Principality for the first time. On 13 January by the old calendar Prince Mihailo set up a school fund.³¹

Sreten L. Popović was an unofficial secretary to Princess Ljubica. He read to her the secret letters of Prince Miloš. He was constantly corresponding with the Princess. At that time a Russian diplomat baron Liven was sent to Serbia to reconcile Prince Mihailo with Vučić's party and Princess Ljubica.³² When baron Liven came to Serbia, the Princess asked Popović if he was acquainted with the Baron. Popović said that he was too young to know him but he knew his secretary. Then the Princess told him to go and find out from the Baron's secretary if the Baron knew that the Prince's mother lived in Belgrade near her son. Since he came to Belgrade, Baron Liven had been living in the Princess's Residence. He did not make an audience or visit the Princess. Baron Liven did not know about the Prince's mother and nobody told him about her. Two days later Baron scheduled an audience with the Princess. Popović asked the Princess what kind of audience it was going to be when the foreign diplomat did not have where to sit. The Princess's room was decorated in an old fashion way, veiled with carpets. Along the two corners of the room walls there were raised seats, covered with cushions. She used to sit there and those who visited her had to sit on the lower ones. The baron would not be able to sit there in his suit and stretch his legs. So Princess Ljubica ordered two chairs to be brought in. When the Baron came, he kissed Ljubica Obrenović's hand and she kissed his forehead. Popović was ready to interpret the Princess's words but the Baron stopped him and said that he understood the Princess because she spoke quietly and clearly. The Princess tried to persuade the Baron to speak to Prince Mihailo and his advisors, Vučić and Petronijević, to let the old Prince to come back to Serbia so that he could die in his homeland. Finally, the Princess asked the Baron if he would take her letter to the Russian Empress and he agreed that he would. Popović wrote a letter that the Princess dictated. Princess Ljubica did not have a table in her house, so Popović wrote a letter holding a board on top of a cushion on his lap.³³

²⁸ *Ibid.* 144–147.

²⁹ Turkish for costumes. It was first built in 1834.

³⁰ Popović 1950: 74.

³¹ *Ibid.* 136.

³² *Ibid.* 82–85, 125–126.

³³ *Ibid.* 383–386.

Prince Miloš had an idea to build a family Mausoleum of the Obrenović Family and a church in Kragujevac. The Princess started to collect the material and bricks in 1841. But the idea was not accomplished because Prince Mihailo was also exiled from Serbia in 1842. That was the end of his first rule. Apart from Prince Miloš, no other ruler of the Obrenović dynasty supported the idea about the Mausoleum and the graves of the Obrenović family were scattered all over Serbia and abroad.³⁴

In the book about her husband *Life and Work of General Ranko Alimpić* Mileva Alimpić described the last moments that Princess Ljubica spent in Serbia. Prince Mihailo left Serbia and crossed over to Zemun on 25 August 1842. Princess Ljubica stayed behind. She was ordered to leave Serbia three days later on 29 August. Even though the two diplomats, the Austrian and the Russian consul, were present in the court Vučić's captain who was ordered to deport the old Princess was rude and insulting to her. The captain and his men came to the Princess's home like a barbarian army. They found the Princess crying for her deceased son Prince Milan Obrenović in the presence of the two consuls. The captain shouted at the Princess: "Take your things and leave the country as soon as possible like your son did. You cannot take anything valuable with you. This is national property." He started to take things out of the suitcases searching for hidden gold. In the cases they found only the Princess's clothes. In the end, the Austrian consul told the captain that the two representatives of the diplomatic corps would escort Princess Ljubica across the Serbian border.

Since the captain continued with his threats, Princess Ljubica answered: "It will be hard for Serbian people when they see their Princess under guards and defended from her sons and brothers by foreigners." She also said that Vučić would live to pay his respects at her grave if she was buried abroad.

This turned out to be true. In 1855 when Vučić traveled to Vienna for an eye treatment, he first went to the monastery of Krušedol where he kissed the Princess's grave and prayed to God. He also went to see old Prince Miloš in Vienna but he could not face young Prince Mihailo.³⁵

Vučić's messenger left the Princess's room with his gang. They started to break and destroy expensive things around the court. In the yard they found barrels with wine and oil and smashed them. The Princess said goodbye to the room where her first son died and left the Serbian Principality never to come back.³⁶

The supporters of the Obrenović dynasty settled themselves on the Austrian side near the Serbian border, mostly in Zemun. But the new government in the Principality was not comfortable with that situation. They insisted that the Obrenović family and their followers move further into the Austrian land. In the end, Prince Mihailo moved to Banat to his sister's estate and Princess Ljubica went to Novi Sad. All the former government servants that crossed over to Austria with Princess Ljubica and Prince Mihailo lived there with a support of Prince Miloš's money.³⁷

The main pillar of the Obrenović dynasty collapsed suddenly. Princess Ljubica died

³⁴ Ljušić 1997: 157–158.

³⁵ Alimpić 1892: 36–37.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 36–37.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 55.

at the age of 58. She was sick for a short time when she moved to Novi Sad but she quickly recovered. The weakness came over her again and she died from a sickness to her stomach. This was the biggest blow to the Obrenović followers. They all counted on Princess Ljubica's energy to return the Serbian throne to Prince Mihailo. The young Prince was sent by his father back to Novi Sad and he managed to say goodbye to his mother before she died. The Princess was buried, as it was already mentioned, in the monastery of Krušedol.

The Prince stayed in Novi Sad and gave his mother another proper church service after 40 days. Only then were the Princess's family members who remained in Serbia allowed to visit her grave. Prince Mihailo was weak and sad. His aunts and their daughters were very worried about him. After the service, the family had a minute with the Prince alone. Princess Ljubica's sisters asked the Prince: "What was my sister's illness?" and the Prince answered: "Didn't you know? She was probably poisoned." The opposition did not succeed in their plan to poison the young and old Obrenovića but there was a possibility that they did it to Princess Ljubica.³⁸

3. Prince Mihailo Obrenović

When Prince Miloš came back to Serbia in 1858 and settled in Belgrade, a lot of people came to visit him. He was always glad to receive them and talk to them. The Prince was already old and forgetful and at some point he thought that a man, whom he forbade to come because he had visited him too many times, came to see him once again. He got angry and chased him away. His son Mihailo, at that time already ruling along with his ageing father, went to see him and asked: "Why did you chase that man away? He was Stojan Veljković, an Appellate Court judge; he is your friend from a long time ago!" Prince Miloš did not recognize his friend. Prince Mihailo found the judge and took him back to his father. After that the Prince had a long talk with his friend about the old days.³⁹

When Prince Miloš returned to Serbia, he had the same kind of work energy that he had had during his first rule. He himself looked for work and created it. When he saw that his secretaries or ministers did not have work or were doing nothing, he would tell them "Make your own work." He would go out to Košutnjak to see how things were going. He could never get over the fact that one of his favourite meadows was ruined and made into Topčider Park. He said that there was enough woods in Košutnjak and wanted to cut down trees in Topčider Park.⁴⁰

Prince Miloš's health worsened in 1859. His secretary and one of the best friends of Prince Mihailo from his youth, Filip Hristić, took care of the old Prince. Hristić read to him papers and attended to his every need. The old Prince went to the spa in Aleksinac 30 km from Niš trying to get well. The treatment did not work and he only got worse. He went to another spa in the far east of Serbia, the Brestovac spa. The spa was 272 km east of Belgrade and the journey was difficult. When the old Prince got to Brestovac he stayed in a residence built by Prince Aleksandar Karađorđević. The Prince could not get out of bed any more.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 61–66.

³⁹ Popović 1950: 222–223.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 234–235.

Filip Hristić telegraphed Prince Mihailo to come quickly to Brestovac. The young prince came to the spa the next day. Filip Hristić in his Memoirs already addressed Mihailo Obrenović as a Serbian Prince. Prince Miloš wanted to die in Belgrade. He asked his son to take him to the Serbian capital. Prince Mihailo did what his father had asked him to. In Negotin, the settlement 237 km away from Belgrade, Prince Miloš rested in the church residence. He could not climb to the second floor so he stayed on the ground floor.

At the same time, during the night, a telegram came from Belgrade that fighting had started between Turks and Serbs on the Sava river in Belgrade. Filip Hristić woke Prince Mihailo up and informed him about the news. Prince Mihailo said: “Go, tell my father, he will know what to do.” So Hristić went to wake up the old Prince. Prince Miloš was awake and a candle was burning. He asked who was coming. Filip announced himself. He told Prince Miloš about the fighting between Serbs and Turks. The old Prince was not interested anymore. All his life-long energy had already drained. He said to Hristić: “Go, tell Mihailo, I will die in a few days. Mihailo will know what to do.” Hristić, not really listening to the old Prince, automatically answered “God’s will, master, God’s will.” Hristić understood what he had said the moment he left the old Prince’s room. He unintentionally said that he was praying for the old master to die. He got very scared and ran to Prince Mihailo to tell him what he had done. Prince Michel said to Hristić: “I have never seen you frightened like this. I thought that something had happened to my father. We have already ordered what was necessary.”

From Radujevac, a place near Negotin, the two Obrenović Princes travelled by boat to Belgrade. By the time they got to the residence in Topčider, the old Prince was so sick that Prince Mihailo had to carry him upstairs in his arms. Prince Miloš died on the Holy Cross Day, 27 September 1860.⁴¹

At the beginning of his travels, Popović gave a beautiful description of Banovo Brdo. Writing about his travels towards the end of the 19th century, he said that the landscape was especially picturesque, wild looking and desolated. On the foothill there were two Matija Ban’s⁴² houses built of brick and beautifully looking with a view that spread all the way to the rivers Sava and the Danube with their new bridges and steamboats passing by. The view from the houses covered both Zemun and Belgrade.

This was the favourite hunting area of Prince Mihailo and his friends. In 1866 the Prince went hunting with the last Belgrade Vizier, Ali Riza Pasha. They went hunting in winter. Even though there were no flowers or green leaves, the Prince was delighted by the winter idyll of the forest. The Belgrade Vizier was also surprised by the beauty of the place and asked the Prince if he could come back again with his harem in the spring. In the summer of 1867 the Grand Vizier was forced to give up the keys of the Turkish fortresses in Serbia to Prince Mihailo and the Turks and their wives left Serbian lands for good.⁴³

According to the British consul in Serbia John Augustus Longworth, Pan-Slavic ideas in the Principality had existed long before 1867. The idea was fully accepted during

⁴¹ By the new calendar; Hristić 2015: 140–141

⁴² Matija Ban (1818–1903) was a Serbian poet, dramatist, and playwright, born in the city of Dubrovnik, who became known as one of the first Catholics from Dubrovnik who declared a Serbian nationality. He settled in Serbia in 1844 and engaged in various diplomatic missions in service of the Principality of Serbia. Ban was a strong advocate of Serbian unity and independence, but was also a pan-Slavic.

⁴³ Popović 1950: 113.

the first rule of Prince Mihailo in 1841-42.

Near the end of Prince Mihailo's second rule and his unfortunate life in Serbia, Pan-Slavism was fully accepted in the Principality. By that time Prince himself was not in favour of those ideas anymore. According to some English sources published in a Serbian semiofficial paper called "Vidovdan" on 20 January 1867, Prince Mihailo declared himself against the Yugoslav or South Slavic idea. He had bigger plans. His idea was a Confederation between Turkey and Austria. The idea probably came from Count Andrassy.⁴⁴ It originated from Prince Eugen of Savoy as a barrier against the Turks. But Prince Mihailo took it further. He wanted to unite all the Slavs of the Danube region into one federation regardless of their faith.⁴⁵

Soon came another report from Consul Longworth: "Prince Mihailo was assassinated this evening, at five past six in Topčider Park, while taking a walk with the ladies of his family. His cousin, Madame Konstantinović was also killed."⁴⁶ British Consul Longworth also happened to be present in Topčider, taking a walk at the same time. Topčider Park was three miles from the city centre of Belgrade. Longworth walked all the way to the gates of Košutnjak, a Belgrade forest, where he was informed that Prince Mihailo Obrenović was murdered. Longworth was met by Milutin Garašanin, a son of an ex-minister Ilija Garašanin, who usually accompanied the Prince on his walks as his semiofficial guard. He was wounded as well.

Shortly after that, Longworth ran into Tomanija Obrenović, the oldest member of the Obrenović family and Prince Mihailo's aunt. She was disoriented and scared. She told the British consul that Prince Mihailo was killed together with her daughter Anka Konstantinović and her granddaughter Katarina Konstantinović. Fortunately, Katarina was not killed, only wounded.

Longworth was soon joined by his French colleague Engelhardt and they quickly ran to the spot where the Prince was killed together with his aunt. The Prince was lying down on the ground "extended, stiff and lifeless, on the path with his face shockingly mangled by sword cuts, and his body with bullet holes in several places from shots from a revolver."⁴⁷

His cousin Anka Konstantinović was lying by his side mortally wounded through her head. It may be assumed that Anka Konstantinović was shot first. Her plans to marry her daughter Katarina Kostantinović to Prince Mihailo and to finally destroy his already non-existing marriage with Julija Obrenović was not well accepted in the Serbian political circles. Maybe Prince Mihailo tried to defend his cousin. Because of that he was killed. He might have lived and ruled Serbia much longer if he had not accepted his sister's offer. The Topčider walk was an opportune moment and an occasion for the planned conspiracy.

The Prince's body was not disposed of until midnight the same day. He was left out in the woods for six hours. Consul Longworth reported to the British Minister that the greatest two mysteries surrounding the murder of Prince Mihailo were: why his dead body was left so long in the woods and why the woods in Košutnjak and Topčider Park were so poorly guarded.

⁴⁴ Count Gyula Andrassy de Csíkszentkirály et Krasznahorka (1823–1890) was a Hungarian statesman, Prime Minister of Hungary (1867–1871), Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary (1871–1879).

⁴⁵ TNA, 782033, Longworth to Palmeston 31 December 1867.

⁴⁶ TNA, 78033, Longworth to lord Stanford, 11 June 1868; According to new calendar the date was 29 May.

⁴⁷ TNA, 78033, Longworth to lord Stanford, 11 June 1868, Belgrade, Serbia.

The ministers who were devoted to the Prince and were believers in his foreign policy were certainly confused at the time of Prince Mihailo's untimely death. Those two ministers were Jovan Marinović and Prince Mihailo's greatest adviser, ex-minister Ilija Garašanin.⁴⁸

Finally, Prince Mihailo was succeeded by Prince Milan Obrenović, a son of Miloš Obrenović, who was a son of Jevrem Obrenović, brother of Miloš Obrenović. This means that Milan Obrenović was a grandnephew to Miloš Obrenović. Regency was arranged to rule in place of the minor prince, consisting of Jovan Ristić, Milivoje Petrović Blaznavac and Jovan Gavrilović.

Soon enough, the British and French consuls were joined by the representatives of the Serbian government but nobody knew what protocol to implement at the scene of the crime. They waited for almost an hour and a half for the disposal of the bodies. In the end, Longworth suggested that the bodies should be placed in the prince's carriages and transported to the old residence of the late Prince Miloš (*Milošev konak*). At that moment British and French consuls were joined by their Russian and Italian colleagues. The conclusion of the English diplomat was that this was Prince Mihailo's faith and that it could not be avoided. Serbian politicians were shocked by the event.

4. Prince and King Milan Obrenović

There are many accounts of prince Milan's life in Serbian historical sources and literature, but more research is to be expected. The Prince and the first King of Serbia was a controversial royal figure. He divorced his wife, abdicated his throne and left the country in the hands of his under-aged son Aleksandar Obrenović. Prince Milan grew up without his parents and was actually an abandoned child. That fact affected his whole life. One of the reports about the end of King Milan's life and his death was left by doctor Vladan Đorđević.

When a very respectable Serbian politician Vladan Đorđević came back to Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century he was immediately accused of planning a coup against the Obrenović family, against King Aleksandar Obrenović and his, in Serbia very hated wife, Draga Obrenović. Đorđević was first accused of working for King Milan, but by that time King Milan had been very sick and angry with his son for not having an heir to the Serbian throne. His abdication was unconditional. Đorđević was also accused of preparing Prince Milan's assassination in 1876, when he was in his greatest favour.

Vladan Đorđević pretended to be so honest that he actually expected an honest trial for the mentioned accusations but King Aleksandar did not want to grant him one. In another place in his writings, Đorđević said that when King Aleksandar took from him his military privileges and recognitions from Serbo-Turkish wars and the Serbo-Bulgarian war, he was immediately accused of infiltrating in the Principality of Serbia. Đorđević noted that the King did not have enough decency to marry a lady of reputation but he married a simple peasant laundry-woman.⁴⁹

At the same time Prince Milan was near his death in Vienna but he was also preparing to take a trip to Egypt. Vladan Đorđević went back to Vienna, wishing still to be near his

⁴⁸ TNA, 78033, Longworth to Stanford, 23 June Belgrade, Serbia.

⁴⁹ Đorđević 1906: 705–717

elected king in case he suddenly died. Unfortunately, Vladan Đorđević got sick himself and he forgot to take two Russian letters that declared that King Milan's accommodation in Vienna might have been paid by the Russians. So when the Prince decided to travel to Cairo, Vladan Đorđević was warned that the old Serbian king could completely lose his ruling quarters in the Austrian capital. From the writings of Vladan Đorđević it can be presumed that Aleksandar Karađorđević approved of this arrangement.

When King Milan Obrenović heard this in a Jockey Club in Vienna he fainted, saying: "Je suis un homme fini" ("I am finished"). In his writings Đorđević cites the old king saying that he had declared that his own son King Aleksandar had killed him morally.⁵⁰

When Vladan Đorđević went to see King Milan again, he found him in his cabinet in Vienna, identical to that in Belgrade, reading the *Serbian Paper* (*Srpske novine*), the official state paper in Serbia, and crying. Even in his illness, Vladan Đorđević visited his old King. He noted that the king's condition changed in a couple of days. He was a completely changed man.

It has to be noted that Vladan Đorđević was first of all a doctor and then a politician, so he diagnosed King Milan's condition immediately. King Milan looked 10 years older. Vladan Đorđević noted that before King Milan had always looked his best. King Milan was ten years older than Vladan Đorđević.

There were some thick rugs on the floor and the king did not hear Đorđević enter his rooms. In those moments before the King noticed Đorđević, Đorđević looked around the room and noticed that King Milan had all the pictures of his family on his walls: Miloš, Jovan and Jevrem Obrenović, including the pictures of all the members of Vladan Đorđević's government.

When the King saw Vladan Đorđević in his quarters, he first complimented him on the behaviour of his son Milan Đorđević. Vladan Đorđević was already aware that Milan Obrenović was a disappointed and sad father. The King complimented Đorđević on his sons, but he did not want to talk about his own son.

Then Vladan Đorđević said: "You are not well, Your Majesty. After all these years, let me be what I had been from the start, your doctor. Let me take your pulse." King Milan refused saying that he had better doctors in Vienna and that he was recovering from influenza. King Milan had already been diagnosed with pneumonia and had a high fever. King Milan told Vladan Đorđević that all the doctors could not cure the sickness that he had and he banged his fist on the *Serbian Paper* that he had been reading when Vladan Đorđević walked into his cabinet. King Milan also said that he was alone and had no one in his life any more. It was also true that he could never go back to his homeland, Serbia. But he also noted that Đorđević had beautiful and smart children and had something to live for. King Milan did not have the same in his life since his own son King Aleksandar Obrenović did not morally respect him.

The king said: "I cannot live this traveller's life any more. I have only one son and even he wants to kill me. I had a homeland that my forefathers freed from the Ottoman Empire and I made it a Kingdom but I am banished even from there. The same people that

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 720–723.

supported us, you and me, Vladan, now support my son who is a patricidal.”⁵¹

Vladan Đorđević tried to pull King Milan away from those black thoughts of his, but the king asked Đorđević to let him get all his problems off his chest. King Milan also said that Vladan Đorđević was the only one he could talk to. Everybody else was far away. As a highly intelligent man, King Milan asked Đorđević how the Serbian state-educated intelligence (for most of them King Milan himself approved their education) could turn against him.

During his visit to King Milan, Đorđević concluded that even if the old King was confused and hypertensive because of his sickness, he could be completely right about his son and completely sane. King Milan suffered from chills. His flu was back again. Doctor Vladan Đorđević’s diagnosis was correct. A council of physicians that convened that afternoon put the same diagnosis as Vladan Đorđević, that King Milan was suffering from pneumonia.

In the end, Vladan Đorđević said to King Milan what the whole Kingdom of Serbia thought that by abdicating on the night of 21-22 February 1889 he threw his Kingdom into a new political turmoil once again, giving his power to his uneducated and underage child, his son Aleksandar. His entire cabinet spent the whole night begging Milan Obrenović not to abdicate. Vladan Đorđević told King Milan that he was betraying his Kingdom wishing to marry Artemiza Hristić, the wife of Milan Hristić, son of the aforementioned Phillip Hristić, one of the best friends of Prince Mihailo Obrenović.

Đorđević described the last thoughts and acts of King Milan saying that he believed that every man was respectful until proven otherwise. King Milan believed differently. The king believed that every man had the right to be *a bohemian*, a unique individual and that every man could enjoy his own private happiness. King Milan as a father and a king was actually teaching his son that love was more important than the dynasty and King Aleksandar followed such directions. King Aleksandar married, for love and devotion, Draga Mašin, later Obrenović, a barren woman who could not produce an heir to the throne. Vladan Đorđević blamed Milan Obrenović for setting a bad example to his son.

The following day the council of physicians convened again and concluded that the King’s life was in danger. Vladan Đorđević believed that King Aleksandar Obrenović would take the first fast train to Vienna to come and kiss his father’s hand before his death, but Aleksandar Obrenović did not even come up with that idea. Đorđević said that it was possible that Queen Draga was against it.

King Milan died from pneumonia on 11 February 1901 without saying goodbye to his son and that was the only thing that he wanted to do before he died. Prince Miloš at least managed to die in his Serbia with his son standing by his bed. King Milan Obrenović did not get that luxury. His son Aleksandar Obrenović did not even give him that courtesy.⁵²

5. King Aleksandar and Queen Draga Obrenović

After King Milan’s abdication in 1889, the number of soldiers and officers doubled. Most of them were schooled in Russia. King Aleksandar favoured Russia more than his

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 725–727.

⁵² *Ibid.* 719–736.

father, King Milan.

At the time of the Third Regency in Serbia⁵³ disorder and disobedience in the Serbian army was seen for the first time. Queen Natalija, King Milan's ex-wife, noticed that soldier bands marched through the streets of Belgrade without their commanders. Divorced ex King and Queen stayed in the country after King Milan renounced his throne. Their constant fighting disturbed the first years of King Aleksandar's reign. He sought comfort and peace in the arms of his future wife Draga Mašin.

Soon after King Aleksandar's wedding on 16 August 1900, a regulation was implemented that prescribed that the whole military administration was to be put under the Minister of the Serbian Army. Having military education, King Aleksandar tried to put the entire army under his command. Unfortunately, younger officers were against King Aleksandar's marriage to the future queen of Serbia, Draga Mašin, later Obrenović.⁵⁴ King Milan was (even though he later accused King Aleksandar of patricide) ready to kill his own only son if he married the future Serbian queen, Draga Mašin. That is why he left Serbia never to return.

King Aleksandar cancelled his trip to Russia because the Russian Tsar was not ready to receive the King's fiancée. The rumours that Nikodije Lunjevica was the next heir to the throne and the scandalous articles in the Habsburg papers about King Aleksandar's private life were harmful to the king's wedding.

The unrest in the army started after Queen Draga Obrenović announced her false pregnancy on 1 May 1901. Riots on the streets directed against Aleksandar and Draga started on the date when Draga Obrenović was due to deliver the baby and lasted from the 1 January 1902 until 29 May 1903.

One of the main political conspirators against the royal couple was a politician Đorđe Genčić.⁵⁵ Military "leadership" under Genčić's command conspired against Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović.⁵⁶ Genčić was the Minister of the Interior at the time of Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović's wedding. Genčić's role in the mentioned events could not be denied. He was opposed to the King since the time the King took away Genčić's army position. He was arrested in 1900. His challenging position against the King cost him his army service but his political influence remained intact.

The nucleus of the Serbian army conspirators were Đorđe Genčić's nephew Antonije Antić⁵⁷ and Dimitrije Dragutinović Apis.⁵⁸ They agreed about the conspiracy on 19 September 1901. The conspiracy was planned for almost two years. When the rumours started about the King's divorce, the conspirators decided to speed up their plans. There

⁵³ See: Vlade Srbije 2005: 159.

⁵⁴ Rajić 2011: 291–313.

⁵⁵ Đorđe Genčić (1861–1938) started as an industrialist, an owner of a mine. He was the Minister of Interior at the time of King Aleksandar's wedding under the government of doctor Vladan Đorđević. Genčić was also a Mayor of Niš, the new Serbian territories (1894–1899).

⁵⁶ Rajić 2011: 331–339.

⁵⁷ Antonije Antić (1878–1953) was a colonel in the cavalry and a nephew of Đorđe Genčić.

⁵⁸ Dragutin T. Dimitrijević 'Apis' (1876–1917) was a high ranking officer in the army of the Kingdom of Serbia, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He was one of the main organizers of the assassination of King Aleksandar Obrenović and his wife Queen Draga.

was also a chance that the plot against King Aleksandar and his wife could be discovered. A definite plan for the attack on the Court was made on 9 June 1903,⁵⁹ a day before it was put into motion. Forty officers from the capital and ten from the interior of Serbia took part in the assassination of the King and Queen, the last members of the Obrenović Dynasty.

The attack was carried out at night between 10 and 11 June.⁶⁰ It was on the same date that Prince Mihailo Obrenović was killed in 1868. Right before the attack on the Court was executed, the officers who were involved in the conspiracy against the King and Queen gathered in the Officers' Chamber. There were already armed with explosives and dynamite. Somebody asked for the Queen's dance and soldiers danced like they had the outmost respect for their female ruler. A raid was launched at 1.45 AM. The cavalry was also included in the plot. Two military horseback regiments joined the officers and surrounded the Royal Court.

Officers stormed the Palace and killed everybody who resisted them. They set up dynamite in front of the door of the Arabian Salon adjoining the Royal couple's bedroom. The explosion was huge and shook up the Palace to its foundation. The conspirators marched through the salon and entered the King and Queen's bedroom. It was empty with only a warm cover lying on the floor. That was the evidence that the Serbian rulers had escaped.

While the officer searched the Court trying to find the King and the Queen, the battle started between the attackers and the King's guard. The cavalry stopped the King's guard and they laid down their weapons.

Searching the Court, officers engaged in the plot came back to the royal bedroom. They took with them the King's adjutant, who was not involved in the conspiracy. Looking around the bedroom one of the officers spotted a hidden door and realized that the King and the Queen must have been hiding there the whole time.

One of the officers immediately asked for an axe to break down the door but the adjutant asked his Majesty the King to come out peacefully. The officers lied that they were still respecting the oath they gave to the King and he came out of the secret chamber in his wife's boudoir. It is said that the King and the Queen looked like two white shadows clinging to each other. The officers opened fire immediately. The King died from the first shot and it took ten shots to kill the Queen.

The assassination of the last Serbian ruler from the Obrenović dynasty and his wife took an hour and a half to execute. The assault was finished at exactly at 3.50 AM. Shortly after the murders, two younger officers threw the naked dead bodies of the King and the Queen out of the window to the yard of the Royal Palace so the rest of the troops could see that the tragic deed had been done.⁶¹

The new Serbian Kingdom demanded a more stable king than Aleksandar Obrenović had been. The Obrenović family could not provide a successor to the dynasty. The last rulers of the Obrenović dynasty could not offer or deliver what was asked and demanded from them. The Serbian historical stage needed a successor. The Obrenović family could not provide one under any circumstances. King Aleksandar Obrenović, born

⁵⁹ According to the new calendar.

⁶⁰ According to the old calendar on 29 May 1903.

⁶¹ Vasić 2003: 65–86.

and raised in Serbia, represented a typical personality of his homeland. He was the last light of the Obrenović family and the last representative of the Obrenović Dynasty.

The Serbian official newspaper, the *Serbian Paper* proclaimed that the murder of King Aleksandar Obrenović was a fortunate event. The paper published various congratulations to the new Government of the Kingdom of Serbia from all over the country. The death of King Aleksandar announced a new era in the Serbian history.

After the horrible events of 11 June, two days later, on 13 June at 1 AM, the bodies of Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović were taken to the graveyard of the Church of St Marko, the newest Belgrade church, and were buried on the church cemetery. Before the burial, King Aleksandar and his Queen Draga had an Orthodox Church burial service. They were buried in the grave of Anka Obrenović, Prince Mihailo's sister and King Aleksandar's grandmother, who was killed in 1868 alongside Mihailo Obrenović.⁶²

The first memorial service was held for Prince Mihailo on 11 June 1904 and for Aleksandar and Draga Obrenović the memorial service was held immediately after that. The most interesting fact and an absurdity in the Serbian history was the fact that the Austrians raised a monument for the last members of the Obrenović family in 1917. When the remains of the last of the Obrenovićs were finally placed in the renovated church of St. Marko in 1942, they were put in a very small crypt and it is how their remains are kept even today.

6. Conclusion

The Obrenović Dynasty ruled Serbia for seventy-two years. Most deaths of the rulers and their family members were tragic and caused the country to sink into turmoil. There were four assassination attempts on King Milan's life even though in the end he died of an illness. The tragedies in the Obrenović Dynasty culminated with the murders of the King and the Queen, the last representatives of the family that gave Serbia its independence and expansion of its territories. In the words of one of the Serbian most prominent intellectuals, Milan Piroćanac, at the end of the 19th century the destiny of Serbia and its rulers was indeed sad. The first of the country's rulers, Karađorđe (a founder of the other Serbian ruling dynasty, the Karađorđević family), was killed, Miloš was expatriated, Mihailo expatriated and killed, Milan abdicated and Aleksandar was murdered along with his wife. Another member of the Serbian educated elite, already quoted in this article, Dragiša Vasić, concluded that when Prince Mihailo was assassinated, the whole of Serbia was in mourning. Contrary to that fact, the Kingdom of Serbia was excited and satisfied with a prospect of bringing a new dynasty to the throne, the so-called national dynasty. Unfortunately the history showed that the rulers of the Karađorđević Dynasty had a similar faith as their predecessors. Still, it must be indicated that two of the rulers in the Obrenović Dynasty were executed, all political reasons aside, because they failed to secure an heir to the Serbian throne.

⁶² Vasić 2003: 88–89.

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СМРТИ ЧЛАНОВА ПОРОДИЦЕ ОБРЕНОВИЋ У ИСТОРИЈИ И СЕЋАЊИМА

Резиме

Српска владарска породица Обреновић имала је трагичну судбину. Иако је државотворни допринос владара ове династије развоју српске државе неспоран, кнежеви и краљеви из поменуте породице су имали несрећне животе.

Родоначелник Обреновића кнез Милош Обреновић предводио је Други српски устанак и успео да се избори за аутономни статус Србије у оквиру Османског царства. Живот му међутим није био лак. Протеран је из сопствене Кнежевине због аутократског начина владавине, најстаријег сина и наследника изгубио је због туберкулозе, имао је мноштво љубавница због чега је стално био у сукобу са својом законитом женом, првом српском кнегињом, Љубицом. Ипак доживео је да се после дванаест година изгнанства врати у домовину и мирно оконча свој живот уз свог другог сина и наследника кнеза Михаила.

Кнегињу Љубицу је изгнаство кнеза Милоша 1839. године и Михаилово 1842. године коштало живота. Кнегиња је прво своју подршку дала Уставобранитељима против кнеза Милоша и Михаила али је затим променила стране поново се приклонивши кнезу Милошу. Уставобранитељи су јој наредили да напусти земљу три дана на после сина. Ускоро је преминула у Новом Саду могуће од последица отрова.

Кнез Милош и будући кнез Михаило, сада већ на неки начин вршећи функцију савладара, вратили су се у земљу 1858. године. Већ 1860. године на Крстовдан преминуо је стари кнез.

Смрт кнеза Михаила је била трагичнија. Иако најпросвећенији српски владар до тада са најобимнијим и добро осмишљеним спољнополитичким планом није стекао у потпуности поверење српске образоване елите. Због несрећног брака са кнегињом Јулијом, могућношћу другог брака са рођаком Катарином Константиновић и недостатка наследника у Србији су преовладале патријархалне вредности и Михаило Обреновић је убијен приликом шетње у Топчидерском парку. Убиство никада није разјашњено.

Кнез Милан је као малолетан наследио кнеза Михаила. Милан Обреновић је такође имао тежак живот, несрећан брак који се завршио разводом и мноштво љубавница. Иако је имао успеха у спољној политици Србије, проширио је њене границе и обезбедио јој статус Краљевине, Краљ Милан је после развода абдицирао и предао српски престо свом сину, малолетном кнезу Александру.

Александар Обреновић је наставио да влада на начин на који је то чинио и његов отац. Војска је била под његовом контролом али кнез није обезбедио њено поверење. Веридба и женидба са Драгом Машин, касније Обреновић и немогућност да обезбеди наследство српског престола династији Обреновић довело је до војно – политичке завере и убиства краљевског пара. То је уједно био и крај владарске породице Обреновић.

Кључне речи: Србија, династија Обреновић, смрти, народ, сећања.

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FACULTY OF LAW IN SUBOTICA – “NORTHERN STAR” OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA*

Abstract: The paper presents the results of the research on the conditions, aims and outcomes of the establishment of the Faculty of Law in Subotica immediately after the First World War, at the time when the southeastern part of former Hungary considered Serbian Vojvodina became the northeastern part of the newly established Yugoslav state. This is the first institution of higher education in this area. At the beginning of the 1920s two branches of the University of Belgrade were established away from the capital, one in the northeast, and the other in the southeast of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS). The establishment of the Faculty of Law in Subotica and the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was explained by the need to enable young people living far from Belgrade to gain higher education in the closer surroundings. In reality, the Faculty of Law in Subotica had the task of becoming a clearly recognizable and dignified border fortress. University teachers and students were expected to be sophisticated guardians of the north-eastern border of the Yugoslav kingdom. At approximately the same time, two reputable universities in Hungary, whose headquarters after the First World War remained outside Hungary, in Romania and Czechoslovakia, moved to towns near the new southeastern borders. The paper presents examples that in a special way testify of the problems and dilemmas that teachers and students of the Faculty of Law faced during the interwar period, as well as arguments to support the claim that the national mission of the Faculty of Law in Subotica significantly limited the academic autonomy of this institution of higher education.

Keywords: Kingdom of Yugoslavia, higher education, university, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Law in Subotica, Subotica, Novi Sad.

The development of university education in the territory of present-day Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the 20th century is directly related to the history of higher education in the modern Serbian state. Although the oldest Serbian gymnasiums were established in Sremski Karlovci (1791) and Novi Sad (1810), only a small number of

* The paper presents the results of research within the scientific project *Vojvodinian space in the context of European history* financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Republic Serbia and the scientific project *Historical bases of the autonomy of Vojvodina* financed by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Culture of AP Vojvodina.

selected boys were educated here for decades and university studies were an unachievable dream for many talented Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. The need for university education was expressed at the time of the First Serbian Uprising, when the Great School (1808) was founded on the initiative of Dositej Obradović. Historical circumstances caused discontinuity in the work of the Great School. Twenty years later, the Lyceum was founded in Kragujevac (1838) and it took almost a hundred years after the establishment of the Great School to fulfill the conditions for establishing the University of Belgrade (1905). The University of Belgrade played a significant role in founding the first faculties in the area of the present-day Vojvodina in the 20th century and in founding the University of Novi Sad (1960). However, the study of the history of this institution was long signified in Serbian historiography by the devotion of scientists to “a detailed factual reconstruction of the events” relying on archival and narrative historical sources and periodicals. The most common texts were written and published on the occasion of marking significant anniversaries, which often resulted in narrow (or imposed) thematic frames of research. However, in Serbian historiography starting from the end of the 20th century, significant steps have been made towards overcoming traditional methodological and thematic patterns in the field of studying the history of higher education in Serbia.¹ This created the foundations for the study of the social role and historical significance of institutions of higher education established in the Yugoslav kingdom as organizational units of the University of Belgrade, but their headquarters were far from the Rectorate, in the far northeast and the southeast of the Yugoslav kingdom, in Subotica and Skopje. The history of the Faculty of Law in Subotica and the Faculty of Philosophy in Skoplje reflect the main goals of the Yugoslav educational policy in the field of higher education, the problems that the state faced and the solutions it sought to achieve in the period between the two world wars.²

The official beginning of the work of the University of Belgrade in the autumn of 1905 was not in accordance with the modest conditions for the development of higher education in the Kingdom of Serbia. There were no conditions for celebrating the first decade of work. Even if the international crises that preceded the First World War were ignored, only seven years after its establishment in Belgrade the Balkan Wars were waged and in 1914 the Great War started, during which the work of the University had to be completely suspended. After 1918 the Kingdom of Serbia no longer existed. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (hereinafter: Kingdom of SCS) was proclaimed. In the new state, the University of Belgrade was no longer the only institution of higher education. Universities in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, traditional educational and cultural centers of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, received a very important role in the process of national and state integration. Nevertheless, the University of Belgrade was expected to be “the highest educational institution for professional education, scientific exploration and the rise of the Yugoslav national culture.”³

Classes at the University of Belgrade, despite the fresh and painful traces of the First World War, were continued in the winter semester of the academic 1919/1920. In the autumn

¹ Bondžić 2005; Id. 2006.

² Jovanović 2011b.

³ Dimić 1997c: 339-371.

of 1919 about 3000 students arrived to Belgrade from various parts of the country (from the “province”). They faced high costs of living in the capital, whose population at the end of 1919 almost doubled in comparison to the situation before the start of the Great War.⁴ Of the tens of thousands of “new” citizens of Belgrade most of them arrived to the capital of the new state in search of a better life, which in reality most often meant – in search of a state administration job. The lack of living space jeopardized all the newcomers, but the students thought they had to rebel publicly if they wanted to stay until the end of the winter semester in Belgrade. Students’ pressure on educational authorities was so great that in mid-October 1919 the Minister of Education at the time, Pavle Marinković, was forced to publicly promise to students that the state authorities would “requisition” rooms in private homes and apartments in the capital for the purpose of their accommodation. The Belgrade newspaper *Politika* noted that on 24 October 1919 police scribes went around the town “in the company of one or two students” and looked for “flats that were not full and in which a room can be spared for students.” The report in *Politika* pointed out that the “police-student committees” caused protests of apartment owners and “many hostile housekeepers,” and not just of those whose apartments were considered fit for student accommodation.⁵

Public opinion was divided in relation to students’ demands that the cost of studies at the University of Belgrade (scholarship, housing, food) should be borne by the state. A comment published on the cover page of the daily informative-political newsletter *Politika* in mid-November 1919 can be considered indicative. The commentator assessed that it could already be argued that higher education in the Yugoslav kingdom would be regarded as the fastest shortcut to “clerical and other lucrative positions that ultimately lead to bureaucracy and fruitless office jobs.” The state should not encourage such beliefs, it was pointed out in the commentary, and it was indicated that in most countries of the world “the issue of secondary and higher, professional and university education is mostly a private matter of those who are educated and their parents.” The arguments of poor students from the province were refuted with a note that it was widely known that in America “students work as waiters in taverns, as field workers, as footwear cleaners and workers of all kinds,” ready to make a sacrifice “to make for themselves a better place in the society.”⁶

Already at that time, there were plans to establish the Faculties of Medicine, Religion and Agriculture in addition to the Faculties of Philosophy, Law and Technology, which were part of the University.⁷ This meant that the number of students in Belgrade would further increase in the coming years. With this in mind educational authorities decided to establish two new faculties with the seats far from the capital, one in the northeast and one in the southeast of the Yugoslav kingdom. The Belgrade daily *Politika* announced on 4 December 1919 that Skopje would soon “complete all previous preparations for the opening of the Faculty of Philosophy.” It was announced that there was a possibility that “the same kind of the Faculty of Philosophy opens in Sarajevo.” It was also expected that in Subotica there would be one institution of higher education “equal to the faculty, perhaps only with the difference that it

⁴ *Politika*, Belgrade, 10 February 1920, 2.

⁵ *Politika*, Belgrade, 25 October 1919, 3.

⁶ *Politika*, Belgrade, 15 November 1919, 1.

⁷ Bondžić 2004: 7, 19-23.

will not be possible take a doctorate there.” The plan was for it to be the “Legal Academy.” The establishment of new faculties was considered a suitable solution to “overcrowding at the Belgrade University,” but a faculty in the north of Bačka would also have a special mission. The contemporaries realized that the education of lawyers who would be familiar with the peculiarities of the former Hungarian legislation was necessarily predominantly “for the purpose of discussing and liquidating legal affairs in the territory of Vojvodina.”⁸

Immediately after the First World War Vojvodina was considered the embodiment of the idea of a Serbian autonomous territory in the Habsburg monarchy, although in 1918 Serbs did not represent the absolute majority of the population in any of the areas considered to be its parts: Baranja, Bačka, Banat and Srem.⁹ Until 1918, these areas had all the characteristics of the “neglected economic, cultural and educational peripheries” of the former Habsburg Monarchy. Nevertheless, it was often pointed out in the Kingdom of SCS that Vojvodina was an area in which the cultural and educational awareness of the population was at a significantly higher level than in other regions.¹⁰ At the same time, the fact that the majority of the population in Vojvodina was made up of Germans and Hungarians was intentionally disregarded, as well as the fact that since the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867), the state education system was developed in this area with the main goal to create loyal subjects of the Hungarian kingdom.¹¹ Since the founding of the Kingdom of SCS the documents of the Ministry of Education emphasized that “one of the basic duties of cultural and educational policy is to eliminate the harmful consequences of Hungarianization, Germanization, Italianization, Bulgarization, Turkish and Albanian influences spread by earlier regimes through school and the educational system.” Therefore, one of the main goals of educational policy in Vojvodina was overcoming the educational heritage from the time of “foreign authorities.”¹² The realization of this goal was not easy in Baranja, Bačka and Banat, where just before the First World War classes were held almost exclusively in the Hungarian language in several hundred religious, primary (“national”) schools, mostly Roman Catholic, but also Reformational, Lutheran and Jewish, as well as in municipal (state) schools. Hungarian was also the teaching language in both religious and municipal preschool institutions. In addition, in several dozen secondary schools the prevalent language of instruction was Hungarian until 1918 and only in some schools it was German. The classes in the Serbian language were held only in several primary and secondary religious schools. Among them the most important were the two oldest Serbian religious gymnasiums in Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad.¹³

The “deconstruction” of the Hungarian education system in Vojvodina was started by the National Administration, the executive body of the Grand National Council of Serbs, Bunjevci and other Slavs from Baranja, Bačka and Banat, a provincial government of a kind. The National Administration had a Department for Educational Issues, with the usual authority of the Ministry of Education. The management of this Department was entrusted

⁸ *Politika*, Belgrade, 4 December 1919, 1.

⁹ Popović 1925: 9-10; Popović 1990; Palić 1964: 157; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 9-10, 19-22.

¹⁰ Dimić 2003: 230; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 11-12.

¹¹ Dimić 1997a: 41, 50; Rokai, Đere, Pal i Kasaš 2002: 518-524.

¹² Dimić 1997b: 432.

¹³ Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 183, 287-290.

to Dr Milan Petrović, a young teacher in the Serbian Orthodox Great Gymnasium in Novi Sad.¹⁴ His main task was to implement the decision of the National Administration brought in December 1918, which stipulated that all schools in Bačka, Baranja and Banat, in the area delimited by a “demarcation line that stretched north of Baja, Pécs, and Subotica” introduce classes in the mother tongue of the students.¹⁵ In reality, this meant the abolition of teaching in Hungarian “in all schools where Hungarian children were not a majority.”¹⁶ In the spring of 1919, when the National Administration resigned, the responsibility for the implementation of this decision was taken over by a special Department of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of SCS in Novi Sad. Continuity was secured by the fact that Milan Petrović retained the position of the superintendent in this Department as well. About a year later, in June 1920, it was decided that the management of educational issues be fully centralized and that the validity of the *Law on National Schools*, passed in 1904 in the Kingdom of Serbia and somewhat amended in July 1919, expand into the territories of Bačka, Baranja and Banat since the beginning of the new school year. With this law, the educational system in the territory of present-day Vojvodina became fully nationalized.¹⁷

In the spring of 1919 the Department of the Ministry of Education in Novi Sad was assigned the task of providing conditions for the establishment of the first institution of higher education in Vojvodina. The idea that, “in the north of the new country, where specific private Vojvodinian law was applied,” the Faculty of Law be established as a special unit of the University of Belgrade seemed quite justified.¹⁸ The need for university-educated lawyers was indisputable, primarily because in Bačka, Baranja and Banat, i.e. in Vojvodina, “trials were still held under the laws from the Austro-Hungarian times” and precisely in these areas there were not enough competent and loyal clerks “in the state administration, and justice system.”¹⁹ There were not enough adequately educated candidates for judges in other parts of the young state either, but in Vojvodina they had to fulfill the requirement to speak the Hungarian language and know former “Hungarian laws,” which remained in effect even after 1918, primarily in order to avoid “undesirable disruptions in the legal life of these regions.”²⁰ On the other hand, the establishment of the Faculty of Law in Vojvodina could also be understood as a clear and unequivocal expression of the recognition, respect and appreciation of the contribution of Serbs from Vojvodina (“*prečani*”, Serbs living on the other side of the Danube, Drava and Drina rivers) in the construction of the modern Serbian state.²¹ Similarly, the particularities of the “newly liberated regions” in the south-east of the Yugoslav kingdom were used to argue and explain the founding of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which was expected to play a significant role in transforming the utterly uneducated province, but also to be the centre of studying its historical, social and cultural features.²²

¹⁴ Šimunović-Bešlin 2009: 351-366; *Id.* 2016: 9-66.

¹⁵ Radašin 1986: 4.

¹⁶ Mesaroš 1981: 187.

¹⁷ Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 185-188.

¹⁸ Radovanović 2008: 131-133.

¹⁹ Bjelica 2008: 158.

²⁰ Drakić 2015: 9-16.

²¹ Nikolić 2005: 131-137.

²² Jovanović 2002: 333-340.

It seemed logical that the seat of the new Faculty of Law be in Novi Sad. After the creation of the Yugoslav kingdom in the regions of former Hungary a kind of “mixed legal system of state regulation” was developed. For the development of this system especially important were the courts whose seats were in Novi Sad.²³ The network of courts in Vojvodina included seven district courts with the seats in Novi Sad, Subotica, Sombor, Veliki Bečkerek, Velika Kikinda, Bela Crkva and Pančevo. The county courts were in the jurisdiction of district courts. At the end of 1919 the Court of Appeals was established in Novi Sad, which had a supervisory authority in relation to all district courts in Vojvodina.²⁴ The establishment of the Court of Appeals in Novi Sad was necessary because the jurisdiction of the former second instance Hungarian courts was suspended in the area of Vojvodina, i.e. in areas that were “seceded” from former Hungary and included in the new Yugoslav kingdom.²⁵ However, the choice of the seat of the Faculty of Law was carried out at the time when in France there were still difficult negotiations on the demarcation between the Kingdom of SCS and Hungary and when it was still not certain that the Yugoslav delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris would lose a diplomatic battle to merge a significant part of Baranja, especially the town of Pécs with the surrounding area, which was extremely rich in important natural resources.²⁶ In the first half of 1919 the inhabitants of these regions daily faced the possibility of “waking up in Hungary or Romania one morning.” Milan Petrović was well acquainted with the situation, especially in the “controversial” areas negotiated at the peace conference. And the “most problematic region” negotiations with Hungary was the so-called “Baja triangle” in Baranja and Subotica with its surroundings.²⁷

After the First World War, Subotica was the largest city in the north of Bačka and closest to “controversial” areas that were the subject of heated discussions at the Peace Conference in Paris. Since the end of the 19th century, when a millennium was celebrated since Hungarians settled into the Pannonian Plain, Subotica had many modern edifices with electricity, cobbled roads, sidewalks and tram lines to the nearby Palić Lake. Before 1918 Subotica was the third largest city in Hungary (after Budapest and Szeged) and in the Yugoslav kingdom only Belgrade and Zagreb had more residents. Immediately after the First World War in the “northernmost region” of the Kingdom of SCS, more than half of the citizens were of South Slavic origin (mainly Bunjevci). Hungarians accounted for about a third of the population and there were also Germans, Jews, Russian refugees and members of other ethnic groups.²⁸ However, most of the residents of Subotica communicated in the Hungarian language.²⁹ Despite the heterogeneous structure of the population and the significant share of citizens of Slavic origin, this city was justifiably seen as an informal centre of the national and political assembly of Hungarians in the Yugoslav kingdom.³⁰

²³ Drakić 2004: 399-409; Cvetić 2008: 21-22.

²⁴ Drakić 2015: 17-25.

²⁵ Drakić 2008: 368.

²⁶ Horvat 2013: 373-389; Mihaldžić 2000: 49.

²⁷ Petrović 2016: 237.

²⁸ Mačković 2013: 9-10.

²⁹ Grlica 1997: 346-347.

³⁰ Mesaroš 1981: 150-152; Janjetović 2005: 122, 178.

The Hungarians in Subotica did not hide their dissatisfaction over the systematic destruction of the state education system in the regions of former Hungary, which were included in the new Yugoslav state. This was not influenced by the fact that, even after 1918, it was possible to acquire primary and secondary education in the Hungarian language precisely in Subotica.³¹ The Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of SCS almost daily received warnings from Subotica that teachers of the Subotica gymnasium publicly incited Hungarian students to violent behavior and destruction of school property. Milan Petrović thought that for this reason Subotica should be the seat of a new institution of higher education, a branch of the University of Belgrade. He was confident that the faculty with university teachers and students loyal to the new Yugoslav state could play a significant role in the fight against the transformation of the town in the north of Bačka into the centre of “enemy propaganda” and “the natural centre of counter-state elements that maintain a permanent link with the Hungarians across the border.”³² Milorad Nedeljković, the Deputy Minister of Education at the time, agreed with Milan Petrović. Nevertheless, in December 1919 a committee was formed whose task was to personally make sure that Subotica fulfilled the conditions to become an academic centre. The Minister of Education at the time, Pavle Marinković, the Rector of the University of Belgrade, Slobodan Jovanović and the Commissioner of the Department of the Ministry of Education in Novi Sad, Milan Petrović, were part of that committee. Considering that Milan Petrović was most familiar with the cultural and political circumstances in Vojvodina, it can be assumed that precisely his arguments in favour of Subotica as the seat of the new Faculty of Law were crucial.³³

Soon, the first university teachers arrived in Subotica, among them were: one full professor (Dr Milutin Miljković), two associate professors (Dr Milorad Nedeljković and Dr Čedomir Marković), and three part time professors (Dr Grigorije Vasiljević Demčenko, formerly Professor of the University in Kiev, Dr Sergije Viktorovič Troicki, formerly Assistant Professor at the University of Odessa, and Dr Ivo Milić, President of the County Court of Subotica).³⁴ The first students came to the town, about a hundred of them, mostly young men. Most of the students in the first generation enrolled at the Faculty of Law were state scholarship holders “from passive regions,” predominantly from southern Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. Only every fourth student was originally from the vicinity, i.e. from Vojvodina. Among the students, as well as among the teachers, there were a considerable number of Russian refugees.³⁵

Although the conditions were not ideal, classes at the Faculty of Law in Subotica began in the spring of 1920, at the time when uncertainty about the peace negotiations with Hungary was at its peak. By the autumn of 1920 it seemed that it was not certain if the newly founded Faculty of Law would remain in Subotica. During that year Novi Sad slowly became a judicial centre for Vojvodina. At the beginning of September 1920 the president of the Court of Appeals in Novi Sad requested adequate space for the newly established “Department B. at the Belgrade Cassation Court.” The task of this court, whose judges had

³¹ Janjetović 2005: 233-234.

³² Simić 1998: 118-119; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 203-205.

³³ Simić 1999: 32; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 203-204; Bjelica 2008: 159.

³⁴ Radovanović 2008: 133-135.

³⁵ Simić 1998: 122, 128-129.

to meet the criteria that also applied to the Court of Cassation in Belgrade, was to solve cases that until the creation of the Yugoslav kingdom were under the jurisdiction of the highest court in former Hungary, the Royal Curia in Budapest.³⁶ Apart from the fact that this court represented the highest instance in civil and criminal cases, it was competent to perform “supervision over material and formal legal regulations applied by the courts of lower jurisdiction” in the area of Vojvodina.³⁷ It can only be assumed that the significance of Novi Sad in the judicial system of Vojvodina and the Yugoslav kingdom prompted the town authorities in Subotica to speed up the activities and manage to provide a special building for the Faculty of Law before the academic year 1920/1921. It was a very spacious, two-storey building of the former preparandia, built at the end of the 19th century. However, due to neglect during the war years, teaching conditions in the building and accommodation for teachers, clerks and students were very modest. However, inadequate space was not the biggest problem at the beginning of work of the Faculty of Law in Subotica.

Students came to the town in the plain near the border with Hungary from various parts of the Yugoslav kingdom. Although at first there were only about a hundred of them, they were met with distrust and indignation.³⁸ This was also confirmed by a report published in the spring of 1921 on the cover page of the Belgrade daily *Politika*. In an article entitled “Shame in Subotica” readers were informed that an incident occurred in the town on the north of Bačka on Tuesday 3 May, on “the third day of Easter.” Several students of the Faculty of Law were charged with threatening public order and peace and disregarding the city police. Namely, on 3 May “town police officers, 40 to 50 of them,” using excessive force, at least according to the reporters’ estimates, arrested and sent to prison several students of the Faculty of Law. The reasons for the arrest and imprisonment were not entirely clear. Allegedly, everything started with the students renting two coaches, riding through the town, shouting and making the horses gallop. The police reacted because, again allegedly, in front of the Subotica town hall they shouted: “Down with Yugoslavia! Long live Great Serbia!” The students claimed that they shouted: “Long live Yugoslavia! Long live Serbia!” They were released from prison only when the Dean of the Faculty of Law “intervened” with the town authorities. The news was found on the title page of the prominent daily paper because the event testified in some way that “the institution that every other town would have wished for” was considered a “burden and a thorn in the eye” in Subotica. The editorial board of *Politika* assessed that the main obstacle to the development of the Faculty of Law in Subotica was the fact that the inhabitants were “in the majority Bunjevci and Hungarians, while the students in Subotica are, in the majority, Serbs.”³⁹

The incident in Subotica occurred at a time when the Constitutional Assembly worked intensively on the draft of the first constitution of the Kingdom of SCS, which was adopted on 28 June 1921. It can be assumed that the social and political context significantly influenced the fact that the event attracted great public attention. At the end of the same week, two “delegations” from Subotica requested the reception with the Minister of

³⁶ Drakić 2008: 368.

³⁷ Drakić 2015: 27-33.

³⁸ Mačković 2013: 11.

³⁹ *Politika*, Belgrade, 7 May 1921, 1.

Education at the time, Svetozar Pribičević. First, the representatives of students arrived in Belgrade. They asked “an expert committee to be appointed, which will accurately examine the entire Easter event and find the culprits who caused it.” They named the grand *župan* of Subotica as the main “culprit” and demanded that he be replaced and that “the Subotica police force be replaced by the state gendarmerie.” Immediately after them, “one delegation of people from Subotica” arrived in the capital and asked the Minister of Education to move the Faculty of Law “from Subotica.” Due to the seriousness of the situation, the representatives of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education were sent to Subotica “to open a poll regarding the attack of the Subotica municipal police on the students of the Faculty of Law.”⁴⁰ The results of the “poll” clearly showed that the state had no reason to give up the plan to make Subotica a university centre in the northeast. Already in the following year, more than 500 students enrolled at the Faculty of Law in Subotica.⁴¹

In the Yugoslav kingdom, the main goal of educational policy in the northeastern parts of the country was the annulment of the results of the Hungarian education system. In contrast, in Hungary the main goal of educational policy in the southwestern part of the country was to highlight the cultural and educational superiority of Hungary in relation to the new Yugoslav kingdom. According to the testimonies of the contemporaries, in Hungary after 1918 it was publicly stated that the mission of state institutions of higher education “is to be the outpost of Hungarian science and Hungarian national consciousness.”⁴² In this context, the decisions regarding the establishment of two universities near the Hungarian-Yugoslav border can also be observed, precisely in the areas that were the subject of dispute between the two countries at the Peace Conference in Paris. Namely, the universities from former Hungary, which according to the peace treaty belonged to Romania and Czechoslovakia, were moved to the immediate vicinity of the Yugoslav-Hungarian border: to Szeged (1921) and Pécs (1923). The University of Kolozsvár (Hun. Kolozsvár, Ger. Klausenburg, Serb. Kluž, Rom. Cluj, and since 1974 Cluj-Napoca) was moved to Szeged from the town which in 1918 became one of the economic and cultural centres in the Romanian province of Transylvania (Rom. Transylvania, Hun. Erdély, Ger. Siebenbürgen). The University of Pozsony (Hun. Pozsony, Serb. Požun, Czech. Prešpurk, Slov. Prešporok/Prešporek, and Ger. Pressburg) was moved to Pécs from the town which was named Bratislava after the First World War and the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. The universities which were moved to Szeged and Pécs should have testified to the long-standing tradition of university education in Hungary. However, this tradition was marked by discontinuity in the development of higher education, which gained momentum only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and can be considered primarily the result of the systematic work of agile ministers of education and educational reformers, Eötvös József and Trefort Ágoston. The University of Kolozsvár was founded in 1872 by the decision of Emperor Franz Joseph, only five years after the Compromise. This institution of higher education was considered to be the successor of the Great Jesuit School, which was founded in 1581 by Báthory István, the prince of Erdély, but the fact that Kolozsvár or

⁴⁰ *Politika*, Belgrade, 8 May 1921, 3.

⁴¹ Mačković 2013: 11.

⁴² Konstantinović 1929: 84-86.

Cluj was the birthplace of the famous Hungarian king Hunyadi Corvin Mátyás and Cultural Centre of Transylvania was not insignificant for the founding of a modern university.⁴³ When Transylvania became part of Romania after the First World War, the Hungarian state authorities decided to move the University of Cluj Kolozsvár i.e. to Szeged, a town only twenty kilometers from Subotica. In the process of choosing the destination for relocation, it was not without significance that until 1918 Szeged was also the seat of one of the two second instance courts (“Royal Table”) in Hungary. The seat of the other was in Timisoara (Hun. Temesvár, Ger. Temeswar, Temeschwar, Rom. Timișoara, Serb. Temišvar), which, like Cluj, was given to Romania after the First World War.⁴⁴

An even more pronounced demonstration of Hungary’s cultural and educational superiority in relation to the Yugoslav kingdom should have been the founding of the University of Pécs in 1923. Since the oldest university in medieval Hungary was founded in this city in 1367, when this modern university was established an emphasis was put on the many centuries of tradition and prestige of Hungary in the field of higher education. At the same time the fact was deliberately neglected that the work of numerous religious educational institutions in Pécs, established after 1367, was marked by discontinuity and that Pécs failed to achieve the status of a prestigious European university centre and the reputation of the universities in Prague, Krakow or Vienna. About a hundred years after the founding of the University of Pécs, Hungarian King Mátyás Corvin supported the founding of the University of Istropolitana (Universitas Istropolitana) in Pozsony. Even that university did not manage to survive for a long time. Only in 1911 was the modern Hungarian Royal University Erzsébet (A Pozsonyi Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem) founded in Pozsony or Prešporok. It was only four years after the Hungarian Parliament voted the law according to which the Hungarian language became mandatory in all schools in Hungary. This law, named after one of the champions of the Hungarian National Party, Count Albert Apponyi, provoked the outrage of the members of minority communities. Only seven years after the founding of the University Pozsony became Bratislava and the Hungarian authorities decided to move the Hungarian royal university Erzsébet to Pécs. Count Albert Apponyi, who led the Hungarian delegation at the peace conference in Paris, lived to see the fall of the idea of the Hungarian political nation. A hope remained that Pécs, which, unlike Kolozsvár and Pozsony, remained in Hungary, would be the right place to preserve for the future the belief of the cultural prestige of the Hungarians in relation to their neighbours.⁴⁵

The realization of the national mission of the Faculty of Law in Subotica became much more complicated and difficult after the founding of the universities in Szeged and Pécs. The University of Belgrade was far away and Hungarian universities were too close. For the survival of the Faculty it was important to have competent teachers among the staff, who were expected to equally contribute to the quality of teaching and scientific research, as well as to the realization of the national mission of this institution. One of the most promising young teachers from whom so much was expected was Mirko Kosić. He was

⁴³ Rokai, Dere, Pal i Kasaš 2002: 230, 520, 646.

⁴⁴ Drakić 2008: 368.

⁴⁵ Rokai, Dere, Pal i Kasaš 2002: 121, 167-168, 625, 630.

elected assistant professor in 1920. Born in 1892 in Velika Kikinda, Kosić was a volunteer in the Serbian army during the First World War and he received a doctorate in Switzerland in the field of sociological sciences.⁴⁶ After the war he was very active in the scientific and social life of Belgrade. He drew the attention of the scientific circles with the launch of the journal *Social Life – Social Scientific Journal for Politics, Economics, Legislation and Social Sciences* [Društveni život – socijalni naučni časopis za politiku, ekonomiju, zakonodavstvo i socijalne nauke] (1920), which almost one hundred years later is still considered to be the first sociological journal in Serbia, “which fulfilled the highest standards of the European periodicals of the time.”⁴⁷ The reputation of the young scientist in academic circles is also testified by the fact that the Scientific Department of Matica Srpska published his work in 1922 under the title *Sociographic Instructions for Investigating Villages* [Sociografska uputstva za ispitivanje sela]. Although it was a pocket-size booklet, the author was praised and compared with Jovan Cvijić, who initiated sociological, anthropological and ethnological studies of the Serbian villages in 1896.⁴⁸ In January 1923, another assistant professor arrived in Subotica. It was Fedor Nikić who worked closely with Kosić during his studies in Belgrade. A young man from a village in Srem called Grgeteg, only two years younger than Kosić, had only just defended his doctoral dissertation on the theory of public administration at the University of Belgrade when he was appointed assistant professor at the Faculty of Law in Subotica by the decree of Minister of Education Miloš Trifunović, with the consent of the prime minister Nikola Pašić, a radical champion.⁴⁹

Since his first day in Subotica Nikić was aware that the future of this institution of higher education was uncertain. He resolutely advocated the survival of the Faculty of Law with the explanation “that any thought of its abolition presents great damage and danger to our cultural life and national prestige.” He agreed with the belief that Vojvodina needed an institution of higher education primarily because in the border areas “a struggle with the Hungarians is imposed, which will mainly be cultural struggle.”⁵⁰ However, he was aware that the conditions for conducting such a fight, i.e. for the work of the Faculty of Law in Subotica were not good. He believed that it would be very beneficial to adapt part of the premises in the large building of the Faculty for the needs of housing and nutrition of students, because it would solve the problems of poor students, especially students “from Montenegro, who were numerous.” According to his estimates, the students “lived in inadequately equipped rooms and without the necessary discipline, order and cleanliness.” Soon after his arrival in Subotica, the young assistant professor chose a solution that had been constantly imposed since the founding of the Faculty: relocation to Novi Sad. He publicly stated the arguments that had already been widely accepted: Novi Sad was “the natural, administrative and cultural centre of Vojvodina, with the seat of appeals and cassations, with Matica Srpska and its library, with a fund and a legacy for the faculty of law etc.”⁵¹

⁴⁶ Jovanović 2018.

⁴⁷ Trkulja 2018: 26.

⁴⁸ Popov 2001: 207-212.

⁴⁹ Krestić 1992.

⁵⁰ Nikić 1928, 163.

⁵¹ Manuscript Department of Matica Srpska, Novi Sad, M.12.447. *Biography of Dr. Fedor Nikić, retired university professor. With the bibliography.* [Biografija dr Fedora Nikića, profesora univerziteta u penziji. Sa

The advocates of the relocation of the Faculty of Law from Subotica to Novi Sad gathered in the Novi Sad Town Hall in late January 1924. At that meeting, the opinions of the representatives of the Serbian intellectual and political elite about the seat of the Faculty of Law were divided, but the unanimous will was expressed to send a letter to the Ministry of Education regarding the necessity of the existence of at least one higher education institution in Vojvodina. The initiative to move the Faculty of Law from Subotica to Novi Sad was not met with understanding from the Yugoslav educational authorities, but the arguments in favour of resettlement were very convincing. In December 1925 they were used (it could also be said: abused) by the Minister of Education at the time, Stjepan Radić. The leader of the Croatian Peasant Party was entrusted with the educational sector during the short-term cooperation with the Radical Party and the Prime Minister Nikola Pašić. For Radić, the Faculty of Law in Subotica was the right “complication of a faculty.” He did not hide that this institution should simply be abolished, as well as the Faculty of Philosophy in Skoplje. Perhaps it would have happened had Radić stayed in the position of the Minister much longer. However, even after Radić’s dismissal, the debate on the relocation of the Faculty from Subotica to Novi Sad was continued.⁵²

In 1928 the Cultural and Humane National Society “Northern Star” was founded in Subotica, and Mijo Mirković, one of the most talented and most productive Yugoslav theorists and historians of economics of the first half of the 20th century, joined the Faculty of Law. Mirković arrived in Subotica after studying economics and social sciences in Zagreb and defending his doctoral dissertation in Frankfurt, leaving the previously significantly better paid job of the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Novi Sad. He was elected assistant professor at the proposal of Fedor Nikić and Mirko Kosić. Mijo Mirković was an exemplary teacher and while he lived and worked in Subotica he wrote his most important scientific works that were used as university textbooks for subjects in the field of economic sciences. He lived very modestly in Subotica together with his family. In the first few years they used one of a dozen flats for teachers in the Faculty building. In the same building there was his office, but also some twenty “collective rooms” for students. When the state “cancelled” those apartments to teachers in 1931, Mirković was forced to rent an apartment for his family (father, mother, wife and four sons).⁵³

Unlike Mijo Mirković, many teachers at the Faculty of Law were not satisfied with the modest income and living conditions in Subotica. Mihailo Konstantinović, who was elected assistant professor at the Faculty of Law in Subotica just a year after Fedor Nikić, admitted in 1929 that the Faculty “with a fair number of its nationally aware students,” gave a “vivid look” to the town in the north of Bačka. However, he concluded that in the town where the majority of inhabitants “are farmers who spend winters in Subotica and summers on the grange,” an institution of higher education “feels like a transplanted plant that cannot release roots and that a town is sought in which this faculty could merge with the local life, get energy from it, sail and form life around it.” In Konstantinović’s opinion, Novi Sad was a “much more cultural and enlightened town” and “a nationally more aware place than

bibliografijom.] (ROMS, M.12.447)

⁵² Jovanović 2002: 339; Bjelica 2008: 161-163.

⁵³ Mačković 2013: 6-8.

Subotica.” Obviously, he himself was not willing to “grow roots” in Subotica and he publicly pointed out that other teachers of the Faculty of Law in Subotica felt like “transplanted plants” and considered this town to be a “passing place,” while Novi Sad could have attracted them to “permanently settle there.”⁵⁴

Opponents of the emphasis of the cultural superiority of Novi Sad in comparison to Subotica, among whom the loudest was the lawyer and Radical Party MP in the National Assembly Jovan Manojlović, publicly expressed their suspicion about the sincerity of the “national motives” of the professors of the Faculty of Law.⁵⁵ Manojlović warned that in spite of the fact that Subotica was inhabited by the majority Slavic population, Bunjevci and Serbs, it was only after 1918 that it was “nationalized.” In this process, according to Manojlović, “Serbian settlements” in the vicinity of the town played a significant role, i.e. colonies of volunteers and optants. Nevertheless, Manojlović believed that the Faculty of Law mostly contributed to the “spiritual transformation” of the town with its distinguished teachers and enthusiastic students.⁵⁶ The mayor of Subotica in 1933, Stipan Matijević, who was the *grand župan* at the time of the founding of the Faculty, was also against the relocation of the Faculty of Law from Subotica. In his opinion, the Faculty of Law conducted an extremely important “national task” and was “a permanent guardian of national awareness” in Subotica. He believed that it was not necessary to prove that “foreign propaganda” “penetrated in the borderlands” easiest and fastest, nor that the “student youth, full of idealism and a national spirit” was best suited for its suppression.⁵⁷

One of those teachers whose strong “national motives” and the commitment to “nationalizing” Subotica could not be denied was Fedor Nikić. This was especially true after the Dictatorship of 6 January was proclaimed. The university teacher launched an informative political paper in Subotica in which he expressed unconditional support for the regime of King Aleksandar and Yugoslav nationalism.⁵⁸ Because of Fedor Nikić’s reputation as a scientist, his national enthusiasm and political reliability, the Faculty of Law in Subotica could also be proud by the fact that the Ministry of Education trusted in one of its professors and engaged him in the process of the unification of school legislation. Unified laws on primary (“national”), secondary (general and occupational) and teacher schools were not adopted in the Yugoslav kingdom until 1929 and on 28 June 1930 a law was passed which generally regulated the rules for the work of state universities in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.⁵⁹

In an attempt for the Regime of 6 January and the ideology of Yugoslav nationalism to gain the affection of members of minority national communities, primarily Hungarians and Germans, on Nikić’s initiative the Faculty of Law in Subotica made a decision to establish a special institute for the study of the position of national minorities. It is difficult to estimate whether the idea of establishing such an institute contributed to the improvement of inter-ethnic relations in Subotica, but it certainly affected the success of Nikić’s political

⁵⁴ Konstantinović 1929.

⁵⁵ Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 203-207; Bjelica 2008: 163-164.

⁵⁶ Manojlović 1929: 284-285.

⁵⁷ Bjelica 2008: 159; Mačković 2013: 11.

⁵⁸ Popov 1983: 283-298.

⁵⁹ Dimić 1997b: 339-340.

cooperation with the representatives of minority communities, who were willing to publicly show loyalty to the Yugoslav authorities: Szántó Gábor and Nikolaus Hasslinger. In the early 1930s the so-called “loyalty manifestations” of Hungarians and Germans were organized in honour of King Aleksandar throughout Bačka and Banat. These activities, however, did not encounter the general support of members of minority communities in the Yugoslav kingdom.⁶⁰

Nikić’s publicist and political engagement meant that the Faculty of Law was left without one teacher after just eight years of teaching. The ambitious and talented lawyer and a ferocious Yugoslav nationalist believed that a publicist and political career was socially more beneficial and attractive than the teaching and scientific work. In the early 1930s he actively participated in the organization of local boards of the new regime party – Yugoslav Radical Peasant Democracy (JRSD). Not doubting that he had made the right decision, he submitted a request to be retired so that he could be a candidate in the elections, which were supposed to formally prove that the time of the monarchist dictatorship and administration of the state without the representatives of the people was in the past (1931). He did not return to the Faculty of Law in Subotica even when, after the death of King Aleksandar, it looked as if his political career was not successful as it seemed at first.⁶¹ Mirko Kosić, a close associate and friend of Nikić’s, was also excluded from the Faculty of Law in Subotica in 1931, when he simply did not return to Subotica after the expiration of the approved leave of absence.⁶² Kosić’s decision to leave the Faculty of Law in Subotica was preceded by an unsuccessful action that he organized together with Fedor Nikić with the aim to remove the management of Matica Srpska, which they both saw as conservative and impassive. Both Kosić and Nikić worked intensively with Matica Srpska and were members of its departments and committees. After proclaiming the Dictatorship of 6 January, they decided that it was time to take over the administration of the oldest Serbian cultural institution. In the autumn of 1929, Mirko Kosić was supposed to be elected president at the regular assembly of Matica Srpska. It was planned for Matica Srpska to become the fortress of Yugoslav nationalism under Kosić’s leadership with Nikić’s cooperation. At the beginning of 1929 in the *Matica Srpska Annual* Nikić announced that he would begin the fight with Mirko Kosić “for a new spirit proclaimed by the Royal Manifesto of the Christmas Eve.” However, despite the support from the top state authorities, the plan of the young professors of the Faculty of Law in Subotica to “win over” Matica Srpska was not achieved at the next assembly held in the autumn of 1930.⁶³ Although in 1934 he published the first comprehensive textbook of sociology in the Serbian language,⁶⁴ Kosić, like Nikić, chose a political career and replaced the university chair with

⁶⁰ Mesaroš 1989: 43, 46-49; Bešlin 2001: 78-83; Janjetović 2005: 198-199; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007a: 89-91, 94-95.

⁶¹ After the death of King Aleksandar Fedor Nikić did not participate in the social and political life (1935-1939) because he was not trusted by the new political elite led by Milan Stojadinović, the founder of the new party – Yugoslav Radical Community. He was temporarily re-instated to the position of the assistant of the Minister of Education during the rule of Dragiša Cvetković’s government but in July 1939 he was again retired. ROMS, M.12.447.

⁶² Mačković 2013: 14.

⁶³ Šimunović 1997: 30-32; Popov 2001: 275-276, 369-392.

⁶⁴ Jovanović 2018: 53.

a parliamentary bench.⁶⁵ Unlike Nikić and Kosić, Mijo Mirković devoted himself to scientific work and university career. In 1933 he was elected associate professor and in 1938 full professor at the Faculty of Law in Subotica. In his later works, published after the Second World War, he pointed to the frequent cases of abuse of the position of state officials in the Yugoslav kingdom, especially top officials (ministers, assistants and deputy ministers, chiefs, etc.), who exclusively because of political connections and activities managed to transform themselves from “nothing” to “bourgeois” almost overnight.⁶⁶

At the beginning of the 1930s it was obvious that the interest of young people in studying at the Faculty of Law in Subotica, the educational lighthouse “at the northernmost border of the United Motherland,” was relatively weak. The Faculty of Law in Subotica recorded an almost negligible increase in the number of students year after year in comparison to the first enrolled generation. There was even less interest in studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.⁶⁷ At the same time, the number of students at the University of Belgrade grew steadily, precisely at the Faculty of Law as well as at the Faculty of Philosophy. Young people from Vojvodina preferred to study law in Belgrade, where an association for mutual assistance was established under the name “Vojvodinian table.” The poor interest in the studies in Subotica was, among other things, influenced by the continuing uncertainty regarding the survival of the Faculty “at the northernmost border of the United Motherland.” However, during the first ten years of the work of the Faculty of Law in Subotica, approximately 500 students acquired the law degree. In the academic 1927/28 362 students, mostly young men, were enrolled. There were less than 10% female students. Among them there were no more state funded students.⁶⁸ Opposite to that, at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, in the far southeast of the Yugoslav kingdom, girls were dominant, while there was barely 20% of young men. Even among them every subsequent year there were fewer and fewer of those who received scholarships or “benefits” and financial help for living expenses.⁶⁹ Still, students in Skopje could count on the “special semester assistance” of the Ministry of Education due to the specificity of studying and living conditions.⁷⁰

The staff of the Faculty of Law in Subotica persistently struggled to keep this institution of higher education alive. At a meeting of the Council of the Faculty held on 9 February 1932 the *Memorandum* of “survival” was adopted, which was printed with the support of Fedor Nikić and his printing house as a sort of an “open letter” to King Aleksandar.⁷¹ At that time, however, in the northeast of the Yugoslav kingdom there were no adequate conditions for the development of a system of general primary education. Primary schools and gymnasium buildings in Baranja, Bačka and Banat were largely unsuitable, inadequate in size and poorly equipped, but at the time of the economic crisis there were no funds for repairs and maintenance of old schools and the construction of new

⁶⁵ Končar 1995: 91-92, 341-342.

⁶⁶ Mačković 2013: 6-9.

⁶⁷ Jovanović 2011b: 26.

⁶⁸ Mačković 2013: 11.

⁶⁹ Jovanović 2002: 394-395.

⁷⁰ Jovanović 2011a: 435.

⁷¹ Simić 1998: 140-142.

ones either in the state or in the municipal budgets.⁷²

Although the idea of moving the Faculty of Law from Subotica to Novi Sad was still present in mid 1930s, the students from Subotica were prevalently young people from the surrounding area and Vojvodina. There were fewer and fewer state funded students among them. The situation was similar at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, except that the daughters of local officials were predominant there.⁷³ Student Miloš St. Stevanov wrote for the *Voice of Matica Srpska* [Glas Matice srpske] in the summer of 1935 that since the founding of this institution of higher education in the north of Bačka until the end of the 1920s students were mostly state funded and were “sent to Subotica as war orphans in *order to give it national colour* (emphasis in the original, author’s note).” Students from the surrounding area were opting for studies in Subotica only if they had no other choice. In Stevanov’s opinion, the prejudices about the Faculty were based on superficial impressions about the teachers who were mostly not “from here” and among them there were those who did not try too hard to get to know the setting to which they came as well as students who “were not from these parts of the country.” Stevanov believed that the interest of young people in the studies at the Faculty of Law in Subotica would significantly increase if students who were originally from Vojvodina were guaranteed civil service in their home towns. He explained his proposal with the attitude that it was the task of the fathers “to position their child in their surroundings.”⁷⁴ It can only be assumed that Stevanov was aware that at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje most of the students were Serbs from Kosovo, Prizren, Sandžak, Montenegro and Serbia, and that the candidates who declared themselves as Macedonians or Bulgarians were charged with a higher tuition fee in order to motivate them to quit enrollment of their studies.⁷⁵

The establishment of the Faculty of Law in Subotica in 1920 and the survival of this institution of higher education until April 1941 can be considered the first and true success in the history of higher education in Vojvodina. There could be no thought about the further development of higher education in this area during the Second World War.⁷⁶ Unlike the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, the Faculty of Law in Subotica was not restored even after the war. In the revolutionary transformed Yugoslav state, Serbia became one of six federal units and Vojvodina became an autonomous province within Serbia. The new Yugoslav political elite had a new ideology, but did not hesitate to apply (and perfect) the already tried system of ideological and political instrumentalization of education, science and culture in the field of higher education.⁷⁷

⁷² Šimunović-Bešlin 2004.

⁷³ Jovanović 2011b: 27-28.

⁷⁴ Šimunović-Bešlin 2007b: 238-263.

⁷⁵ Jovanović 2002: 337.

⁷⁶ Popov 1984: 393-425.

⁷⁷ Bondžić 2008; Id. 2010; Bjelica 2014.

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**ПРАВНИ ФАКУЛТЕТ У СУБОТИЦИ – „СЕВЕРНА ЗВЕЗДА“
ВИСОКОГ ШКОЛСТВА У КРАЉЕВИНИ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈИ**

Резиме

Оснивање Правног факултета у Суботици непосредно после Првог светског рата, у време када је југоисточни део некадашње Угарске, сматран за Српску Војводину, постао североисточни део новостворене југословенске државе, имало је врло сложене циљеве и исходе. То је прва високошколска установа на овом подручју. Почетком двадесетих година 20. века основана су два огранка Универзитета у Београду и то далеко од престонице, један на североистоку, а други на југоистоку Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца (СХС). Оснивање ових установа требало би посматрати као одговор државе на уочену потребу да се младим и талентованим особама које живе далеко од Београда омогући да стекну високо образовање у свом ближњем окружењу. У стварности је Правни факултет у Суботици имао задатак да постане јасно препознатљива и софистицирана погранична тврђава. Од универзитетских наставника и студената очекивало се да буду поуздани и достојанствени представници државних власти и да својим присуством и активностима покажу колико се далеко на североистоку протежу границе југословенске краљевине. Приближно у исто време су у Мађарској два угледна универзитета, чија су седишта остала ван граница Мађарске (у Румунији и Чехословачкој Републици), пресељена у градове близу југоисточних граница нове Мађарске, у Сегедин (Szeged) и Печуј (Pécs). Национална мисија Правног факултета у Суботици може се сматрати фактором који је значајно ограничавао академску аутономију ове високошколске установе. Оснивање Правног факултета у Суботици 1920. године и опстанак ове високошколске установе до априла 1941. године представљају прави успех у историји високошколског образовања у Војводини, ако се имају у виду изазови са којима су се наставници и студенти свакодневно суочавали. О високом образовању у Војводини за време Другог светског рата није могло бити ни помисли. За разлику од Филозофског факултета у Скопљу, Правни факултет у Суботици није обновљен ни после рата. У револуционарно трансформисаној југословенској држави Србија је постала једна од шест федералних јединица, а Војводина аутономна покрајина у њеном саставу. Нова југословенска политичка елита имала је нову идеологију, али се није устручавала да примени (и усаврши) већ опробани систем идеолошке и политичке инструментализације високог школства.

Кључне речи: Краљевина Југославија, високо образовање, универзитет, Универзитет у Београду, Правни факултет у Суботици, Суботица, Нови Сад.

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**SLOVAKS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND IN ITS TERRITORIES
UNDER FOREIGN OCCUPATION DURING WORLD WAR II
(an overview of dominant features of a minority life)**

Abstract: Slovak minority has been co-creating a multicultural character of contemporary Serbia since the first half of the 18th century. The Slovaks living in former Yugoslavia as an integral part of the Yugoslav society also had to experience the turbulent events at the turn of the 1930s and 1940s. After the Axis invasion and destruction of Yugoslavia in April 1941 the Slovak community, historically settled in Bačka, Banat and Srem, was divided into three countries/occupational zones. Slovaks living in Srem became the citizens of independent Croatia, Slovaks living in Bačka became the citizens of the Hungarian Kingdom and Slovaks from Banat lived in territories under direct German occupation. The paper portrays main features of this minority's political and cultural life in wartime Yugoslavia and its territories under foreign occupation, core problems of existence within changing regimes and the attitude of the Slovak minority towards the Slovak State (Slovak Republic) established on 14 March 1939 with an emphasis on religiously motivated conflicts between the mostly Lutheran Slovak minority in Yugoslavia and the Catholic regime of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (the ruling and only allowed political party in the Slovak State/Republic).

Keywords: Slovaks in Yugoslavia, Vojvodina, Slovak-Yugoslav relations, Slovak state, occupation of Yugoslavia.

1. Preface: Slovaks in Yugoslav territories before World War II and the consequences of the country's partition in April 1941

The history of the Slovak community in Vojvodina (currently the second largest minority in the province) dates back to the 1740s. The Slovak colonization of the former Hungarian Kingdom's southern territories, which started at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, was stimulated by a critical social situation in the Upper-Hungarian

counties (*Felvidék*/contemporary Slovakia). The main reasons why thousands of Slovak peasant families and individuals decided to migrate were economic damage to their properties caused by soldiers during the war campaign against the Turks and during the anti-Habsburg uprisings, lack of fertile soil in mountainous regions, famine accompanied by epidemic diseases (especially the plague, typhoid fever and redbreast), economic oppression practiced by landowners and by the state and the religious oppression of the Lutherans.

Ethnic Slovaks settled in Vojvodina mostly in the *third phase* of their colonization from 1740 (1745) until the beginning of the 19th century.¹ In this period, Slovak settlements were founded in Bačka, Srem and Slavonia following Serbian, Bunjevci, German and Hungarian colonization since the 1730s. In 1715 only 1.202 Serbian, 35 Hungarian and 30 German families lived in 58 settlements in Bačka (excluding the Military Frontier territories). In 1720 Bačka was inhabited by no more than 31.000 residents and the population density reached only 3–5 persons/km².

During the 18th and 19th centuries the Slovak settlement, in the form of homogenous enclaves as well as lonely villages, was completed in the large areas of the “Lower Land,”² neighbouring with and encircled by Hungarian, Romanian, German, Serbian and Croatian ethnic communities. Yet, since the first colonization flow, the Slovak settlers created their own social and cultural structures bound to their church affiliation. Because of the preservation of the Slovak language in churches, schools and community life, the Slovak culture survived almost untouched even after the period of intense Magyarization at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Slovak community that settled in Vojvodina did not suffer from the lack of wealthy and self-confident peasant elites and educated intelligentsia. Slovaks gained respect and recognition from the neighbouring population thanks to their success in farming, their diligence and cultural achievements.

After 1918 the Slovaks in Yugoslavia remained a minority not only in terms of their quantity but in terms of their religion, too. In a multicultural state which was until its destruction in April 1941 a “Babylon” of nations and confessions, the Orthodox (Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians), Roman Catholics (Croats, Slovenes, Italians, Istro-Romanians) and Muslims (Bosniaks, Albanians, Turks) dominated over the Lutherans. Ethnic diversity of Yugoslavia was complemented by Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Ruthenians, Romanians, Aromanians, Bulgarians and Romani. Slovaks inhabited mostly the regions of Bačka, Srem and Banat, i.e. Vojvodina in general, where they belonged to well established communities. According to statistics from 1937, most Lutheran Slovaks lived in Bačka (27.421), followed by Banat (18.229) and Srem (15.184). In total, 60.834 Lutheran Slovaks lived in Yugoslavia, which was a growth by 6.181 people compared to

¹ Sirácky 1980: 32.

² The term *Lower Land* (*Dolná zem* in Slovak; *Alföld* in Hungarian) is commonly used in the Slovak and Hungarian historiography. For Slovak historians this term means, in a broader sense of word, the extensive areas of former pre-1918 Hungarian counties south of present-day Slovak borders and, in a narrower sense of word, territories south of the line Budapest – Miskolc – Sátoraljaújhely, which approximately coincides with the Hungarian perception. The consequences of the social and economic processes in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries led to a massive migration of Slovaks to the Lower Land territories. The colonization of new areas by Slovak settlers was supported by pragmatic interests of the Habsburg dynasty and landlords, mainly after the expulsion of Ottoman Turks from Southern Hungary and after the suppression of Francis II Rákóczi's uprising.

the numbers from the 1927 census.³

Yugoslav Slovaks were the only “Lower Land” Slovak community in the interwar period with their own national high school. Their cultural identity remained unshaken even after the introduction of Alexander I’s personal dictatorship in January 1929. The tendencies of Serbianization from the beginning of the 1930s, which included appointing Serbian professors, artificially increasing the quantity of Serbian students and restricting the leisure activities of Slovak students who attended the Slovak grammar school in Bački Petrovac, did not last long.⁴

Apart from this transitional period characterized by assimilation tendencies, the approach of the Yugoslavian state authorities towards the Slovak minority was very tolerant both in national and religious issues. After the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, Slovaks founded three Slovak Lutheran seniorates in Vojvodina: in Bačka and Banat (August 1920) and in Srem (Spring 1921). At the conference held in Stara Pazova on 20 June 1921 these seniorates decided to merge into a single district, which would have protected Slovak Lutherans from Hungarian influences in the province represented mainly by Hungarian Calvinists.⁵

Since the Lutheran faith shaped the identity of the Slovak minority in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia’s disintegration after the Axis invasion in April 1941 marked a fatal milestone for the community’s national and religious life. Yugoslavia vanished from the map of Europe and Slovak Lutherans, merged in a united Lutheran district, were suddenly divided into three different countries/zones. Slovaks living in Srem became the citizens of independent Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatska* – NDH), the Hungarian Kingdom became a new motherland of Slovaks living in Bačka and Slovaks from Banat lived in the territories under direct German occupation.⁶

2. A complicated relation: The Yugoslav Slovaks in the occupied territories and the involvement of the Axis Slovak Republic

2.1. Slovaks in Yugoslavia and occupied Bačka

The relations between the Slovak community in Yugoslavia and the Slovak Republic, established on 14 March 1939, had been tense due to confessional misunderstandings and Yugoslavia’s pro-Czechoslovak stance. Even though Yugoslavia recognized the Slovak Republic *de iure*, up to its disintegration in April 1941 the country gladly provided a political shelter for Czechoslovak emigrants and their supporters. Because of this unofficial support, the bilateral Slovak-Yugoslav diplomatic, cultural and economic relations had never fully developed.

Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia had been maintaining extremely good relations

³ ‘Vymierame...’ 1939: 2.

⁴ Kmet’ 2012: 281–284.

⁵ *Ibid.* 284-285, 287.

⁶ Due to a lack of sources dealing with the life of minor Slovak communities in Banat under German occupation this issue will not be part of this paper and remains a challenge for further research. For basic information see Völkl 1991.

throughout the interwar period. A base ground for these relations was an image of “common interests” in the field of foreign policy, traditional historical cooperation and anti-Habsburg resistance before 1918, the idea of Slavic proximity and shared antipathy towards separatism (mainly towards Slovak and Croatian separatist tendencies⁷ within Czechoslovakia/ Yugoslavia).⁸

Yugoslav Slovaks had an attitude to the Slovak Republic similar to the Belgrade governmental institutions. Slovak chargé d'affaires in Belgrade Jozef Cieker failed to establish closer contacts with the Slovak community in Yugoslavia. On the contrary, Cieker had been only escalating the latent conflict between the Catholic-profiled regime of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak community in Yugoslavia, who were mostly of Lutheran denomination.

Cieker complained to the Yugoslav government regarding the activities of the *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia, the activities of the associations with the adjective “Czechoslovak” in their name and regarding the production of publishing houses and journalists of Yugoslav Slovaks’ press. The Slovak chargé d'affaires blamed mainly the newspaper *Národná jednota* (*National Unity*) for spreading pro-Czechoslovak propaganda. Since the Yugoslav government did not respond to Cieker’s interventions, he directly asked *Matica slovenská* in Slovakia to delegate a propaganda team with a task to organize a promotion tour in Vojvodina. The propaganda campaign sought to promote the regime and ideology of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party (the ruling and the only allowed Slovak party in Slovakia) among the Slovak minority community in Yugoslavia.

Matica slovenská reacted quickly and delegated three reputable persons for the propaganda mission: a linguist and cultural activist Henrich Bartek, a literary scientist Andrej Mráz (a native of Bački Petrovac) and a journalist Vilo Kovár. Kovár immediately attempted to get in touch with the local intellectual, attorney Janko Bulík who used to serve as the first chair of *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia in the past. During his visit to Belgrade in February 1940 Kovár, however, found out that mood of Yugoslav Slovaks towards Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party’s regime was not positive and their attitude was not about to a change in the future.⁹

In his reports to Bratislava Cieker described the Yugoslav Slovaks in a bad light and pejoratively called them a “Lutheran group impregnated with Czechoslovak ideology.”¹⁰ Cieker blamed local intellectuals for this situation, mainly the representatives of the Slovak Lutheran Church in Yugoslavia, the representatives of the *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia, the journalists of the *Národná jednota* and professors of the grammar school in Bački Petrovac who, according to Cieker’s view, manipulated the Slovak minority and indoctrinated it with anti-regime ideology.

Cieker’s attempts to establish closer contacts with Slovaks in Yugoslavia finally partially succeeded in the summer of 1940.¹¹ As Cieker stated, despite the initial setbacks he never considered the Lutheran Slovaks in Yugoslavia to be a “hopeless case” and

⁷ The discourse of the Slovak and Croatian nationalistic movement in the interwar period, however, labelled itself as a movement for *emancipation*, not separation.

⁸ Brummer 2013: 47–48.

⁹ Škorvanková 2017: 86–87.

¹⁰ See e. g. the Document nr. 1 in the Appendix to this paper.

¹¹ Škorvanková 2017: 87–88.

believed that “there is a good will among Slovaks in Yugoslavia to correct their attitude to Slovakia and its head leaders.”¹²

The Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared several options how to guarantee the presence of official delegates of the Slovak Republic at the general assembly of *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia, which was planned to be held in Bački Petrovac on 15 August 1940. *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia, however, showed no interest in inviting the delegates of Jozef Tiso’s regime and sent an invitation only to poet Ján Smrek (who was, by the way, a Lutheran). Cieker was afraid that his unexpected private visit to Bački Petrovac may have raised controversies or caused a possible *faux-pas*. Slovak chargé d’affaires therefore deputed only an informer to Bački Petrovac and stayed at home.¹³

Out of all political and cultural leaders of the Slovak minority in Yugoslavia, Cieker maintained the best contacts with Vladimír Hurban Vladimírov, a Lutheran priest in Stara Pazova. Hurban Vladimírov invited Cieker for a visit in the autumn of 1940. They had been maintaining correspondence and as a speech of sympathy Cieker invited Hurban Vladimírov for celebrations of Slovak independence in Belgrade organized on 14 March 1941. Hurban Vladimírov, despite being a Lutheran, was a supporter of Slovak statehood and took part in a ceremonial mass held under the auspices of the Slovak embassy on this occasion. He commented his journey to Belgrade using the following words: “I am going there exclusively in my name being convinced that a Slovak has to share his joy over the Slovak Republic, its existence and rise and that God, even despite tribulations, did not let our Family die out.”¹⁴

Vladimír Hurban Vladimírov belonged to a negligible group of Yugoslav Lutheran Slovaks concentrated in Stara Pazova and Ljuba, who appreciated the establishment of independent Slovakia in March 1939.¹⁵

In general, the political and cultural elites of Yugoslav Slovaks reflected the attitude of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party towards Lutherans in Slovakia very sensitively. They considered themselves to be a sort of “distant part” of the Lutheran Church in Slovakia and due to an unenviable position of Lutherans in Slovakia they could not have identified with the idea of Slovak statehood linked to a confessional intolerant rule of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party.

Apart from that, there were many bonds between Yugoslav Slovaks and Slovakia. Slovak Lutheran priests serving in Yugoslavia studied theology in Bratislava. During the divine services they used the same liturgy like the Lutherans in Slovakia. The same applied to liturgical books and a use of the same Church name. It is a paradox that the Slovak Lutheran community in Yugoslavia did not sufficiently enhance its contacts with Lutheran communities in Slovakia. *Cirkevné listy* (*Church Letters*) published in Slovakia remarked: “The Lutheran Slovak Church in Yugoslavia is our closest one in terms of faith and blood too... However, it is strange that we do not have any contacts with it. Our Slovaks [in Yugoslavia – the authors’ note] – who are all Lutherans – are visited by various academic, cultural and football associations. But in the field of religion we do not visit each other, not

¹² Jarinkovič 2012: 19–20.

¹³ *Ibid.* 20.

¹⁴ Škorvanková 2017: 87–88. For itinerary of Hurban’s trip see ASEAVCS, Stara Pazova, *Vladimír Hurban Vladimírov – články*, nr. 224. Report on trip to Belgrade (15 March 1941).

¹⁵ Sovilj 2016: 166–167.

taking the latest episcopal installation into consideration, when our and their Church representatives greeted each other...”¹⁶

The Slovak Lutherans in Yugoslavia had been openly criticizing the discrimination policy of the Slovak government against non-Catholic minorities thanks to whom they had become a “thorn in flesh” of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party’s regime.¹⁷ Anti-regime resentments were often expressed on the pages of *Národná jednota* (*National Unity*) published in Bački Petrovac. *Národná jednota* frequently published critical and mocking articles, making fun especially of the Prime Minister Vojtech Tuka, who was addressed in the newspaper by his authentic Hungarian name *Béla* instead of Slovak *Vojtech*. *Národná jednota* had an inclination to label the Slovak state/Slovak Republic and its representatives in quotation marks, emphasizing their puppet character (“Slovak state,” “independent” state, “leader” Tiso). Similar daring articles could be found in religious press too, e. g. in the monthly magazine *Nádej* (*Hope*) published in Kisač or in *Evanjelický hlásnik* (*Lutheran announcer*) published in Erdevik. As historian Milan Sovilj stated, in 1939 and partly in 1940 the press of Slovak Lutherans in Yugoslavia used every single opportunity to verbally “kick” the government.¹⁸ Mainly the anonymous section *List zo Slovenska* (*A Letter from Slovakia*) offered the editorial board an ideal opportunity to express their anti-regime sentiments.

The animosity of Yugoslav Slovaks towards Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party’s regime was not just a matter of Slovak press published in Yugoslavia. The regime not only failed in its attempts to ideologically indoctrinate the Slovak Lutheran minority in Yugoslavia but suffered serious setbacks within these activities, too. For example, the initiatives by the Student Union of the Slovak-Yugoslav League (*Študentský odbor Slovensko-juhoslovanskej ligy*) to organize promotional lectures about the Slovak state for Yugoslav Slovaks in July 1939 were a complete disgrace.¹⁹ The members of the Union’s delegation from Slovakia experienced a very embarrassing, almost ignoring reception.²⁰

The position of the Slovak minority in Bačka dramatically changed after April 1941. While the authorities of the NDH in general did not cause any major inconveniences to Slovak Lutherans, Slovak Lutherans in Bačka occupied by Hungary had to confront the radicalized Hungarian minority policy. After regaining the territories in April 1941 which were part of the Greater Hungary before 1918, the Hungarian minority policy reached a new level. According to some estimates, around 5.000 citizens became victims of persecutions committed by Hungarian military units thanks to which the Hungarian administration had an even more brutal character than the Nazi national policy in the annexed part of Slovenia.²¹ Besides violence on local citizens, especially during the first weeks after April 1941, the new Hungarian administration had been attempting to decimate the minorities culturally.

During the Hungarian occupation Bačka was inhabited by approximately 35.000

¹⁶ Košťial 1992: 83; ‘Evanjelická slovenská cirkev v Juhooslávií’ 1939: 178.

¹⁷ Sovilj 2016: 158.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 62, 161–163; Škorvanková 2017: 88–89.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Jarinkovič 2012: 54.

²¹ Ther 2017: 125–126.

Lutheran Slovaks²² (cca. 85% of all Slovaks living in Bačka).²³ Yet in 1941 the Hungarian authorities closed the Slovak grammar school in Bački Petrovac. Lower classes were transformed to a Hungarian royal burgher school. The political and cultural activities of Slovaks in Vojvodina were significantly weakened.²⁴ The publication of the *Národná jednota* was stopped. Activities of the *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia, formerly led by a Lutheran priest Samuel Štarke, were substituted by the Hungarian-Slovak Educational Association (*Magyarországi tót közművelődési egyesület – MTKÉ*).²⁵ *The Slovak citizens of Bački Petrovac and Pivnice, the centres of the Slovak national life in Vojvodina, however, preferred a membership in the Party of Slovak National Unity (Strana slovenskej národnej jednoty) instead of being the members of the mentioned pro-Hungarian association, well-known for its support of Hungarian patriotism. The Party of Slovak National Unity was not a classical political party but kind of a “national front” of all Slovaks in the Hungarian Kingdom. The party coordinated political activities as well as religious and cultural life until the liberation and restoration of Yugoslavia.*²⁶

2.2. Slovaks in the NDH

Before April 1941 the Slovak ambassador Cieker positively reported to Bratislava only concerning the groups of Catholic Slovaks living in Croatia and Slavonia who were, however, only a torso of the Slovak minority in the multicultural Balkan kingdom. After the establishment of the NDH these small communities were politically and culturally organized by the Slovak National Unity (*Slovenská národná jednota*) led by Jozef Stupavský. The Slovak National Unity with a centre in Ilok was, after April 1941, a kind of liaison body between the Slovak community in the NDH and the Slovak embassy in Zagreb (or, in a broader sense, between Slovaks in Croatia and in the Slovak Republic).²⁷ Cultural activities of the Slovak minority in Croatia were intensified by the Slovak Reader Association (*Slovenský čítací spolok*). The newly opened Slovak embassy in Zagreb also supported cultural life and, in cooperation with the Slovak National Unity, helped to supply the minority with the newest Slovak books, magazines, calendars and study materials. Since the Slovak National Unity was founded on 9 April 1942 it did not have sufficient time to develop notable activities.²⁸

The Slovak community in wartime Croatia never crossed the marginality of a tiny minority. According to rough estimates cca. 20.000 Slovaks lived in the territory of the NDH.²⁹ For example, according to the 1940 census, Ilok as a centre of Slovak community

²² Sirácky 1980: 197.

²³ See Svetoň 1943: 52–55.

²⁴ Kmeť 2013: 327.

²⁵ On the activities of the *Matica slovenská* see Boldocký 2013: 352–362.

²⁶ Sirácky 1980: 199.

²⁷ On the activities of the organization see: Archive of the Slovak Evangelical Church in Serbia [Archív slovenskej evanjelickej a. v. cirkvi v Srbsku – ASEAVCS], Stara Pazova, *Matica slovenská*. Statute of the Slovak National Unity in the Independent State of Croatia (18 August 1942). See also: ‘Dokumenty’ 1943: 45–49.

²⁸ Ušák 1978: 14–15.

²⁹ Tkáč 2010: 668.

in Croatia was inhabited only by 1.505 Slovaks.³⁰ Other groups of Slovak communities lived in Našice, Đakovo, Pakrac, Požega, Orahovica, Osijek and the surrounding settlements inhabited mostly in the second half of the 19th century. Because of these low numbers and Ustasha regime's friendly relations with the Slovak Republic the Slovak minority in the NDH did not suffer any systematic ethnic or religious persecution like the Serbs, Jews or Romani people did – all the more, the position of the Slovak minority was guaranteed and protected by a mutual cultural agreement which strengthened Slovak-Croatian relations.

The initial sketch of the cultural agreement was drawn up on 7 July 1941 by Anton Bonifačić, the head of cultural section of the NDH's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite the existence of this agreement the Slovaks in Croatia, contrary to the German *Volkdeutsche*, never obtained an official status of the *Slovak national group*. The rights of the Slovak community, however, remained untouched including the right to preserve national elementary schools teaching the pupils in the Slovak language. Cultural cooperation between the Slovak Republic and the NDH was enhanced due to the founding of the Croatian-Slovak society on 13 August 1941.³¹ The society, however, focused primarily on boosting the cultural relations on a higher diplomatic level and did not pay major attention to a numerically insignificant Slovak minority in Croatia and the Croatian minority in Slovakia. On the other hand, the establishment of the reciprocal Slovak-Croatian society on 13 March 1942 enabled the intensification of the bilateral cooperation in the field of education as a part of cultural life. According to the *Agreement on Cultural Cooperation between the Slovak Republic and Independent State of Croatia* prepared in Zagreb, both parties agreed on the founding of a lectureship of the Croatian language, literature and history and of a Department of Croatian language and literature at the Slovak University in Bratislava followed by the founding of a parallel institute at the university in Zagreb. This agreement opened up a possibility for Slovaks from Croatia to continue studying in the Slovak language at the university as well even though the selection of fields of study was very limited.³²

From time to time Slovak-Croatian relations were disturbed by incidents on the regional level based on obstructions from local authorities. Part of Slovaks in the NDH had a problem with obtaining the Croatian citizenship due to their affinity with the Yugoslav regime prior to April 1941. Only those who had been holding a Yugoslav citizenship and had been living on the territory of the NDH for more than 10 years were granted a new Croatian citizenship.³³ Minor conflicts with the local Ustasha leaders accompanied by poor living conditions on the periphery of the state raised the interest of the Slovak minority to repatriate back to Slovakia. Although this question was discussed mainly during the summer of 1941 the Slovak government never asked for a mutual exchange of Slovaks from Croatia to Slovakia and Croats from Slovakia to Croatia.³⁴

One of the most successful missions of Slovak diplomacy regarding the Slovak minority in Croatia was the rescue of several hundred Slovak POWs from German prison

³⁰ Kuric 2002: 15.

³¹ Michela 2003a: 114–115.

³² Michela 2003a: 117.

³³ Tkáč 2010: 668.

³⁴ Michela 2003a: 117–118.

camps. From June 1941 the Slovak ambassador in Zagreb Karol Murgaš requested the OKW via General Glaise-Horstenau to release Slovak prisoners originally from Slok, Stara Pazova, Ljuba, Lug and Ilok who fought in the Yugoslav army during the short war against the Axis powers. Thanks to diplomatic effort around 200–300 Slovaks from the NDH were allowed to go back home which, however, was not a total number of imprisoned former Yugoslav citizens of Slovak nationality.³⁵

After the April of 1941 new state borders had a remarkable impact on religious life as well. Redrawing the state borders shattered the existing ecclesial administration structure of Slovak Lutherans in former Yugoslavia, mainly in Srem. According to a new border line some of Slovak Lutheran congregations in Srem belonged to the German protectorate zone while some other congregations and minor philias to the newly established NDH. The Srem seniorate of Slovak Lutherans formally existed further. However, during the first months after the occupation it remained in passivity and Srem Lutheran Slovaks did not intend to rush with the reorganization of the seniorates structure until December 1941. In December 1941 the senioral delegates from Stara Pazova came up with an idea to establish a new church organization in the NDH. The Lutheran convocation, held in Bingula on 19 June 1942, agreed to dissolve the old Srem seniorate and addressed an impulse to create a new independent Church of Slovak Lutherans in the NDH. After the election of the Administrative Committee responsible for preparatory works the Syrmian seniorate officially ceased its existence and all its competences were taken by the interim Administrative Committee. The process of establishing a new Slovak Lutheran Church in the NDH suffered from various administrative obstacles and internal conflicts within the parish offices. The Slovak Lutheran Church in the NDH therefore started its activities only in March 1944, shortly before the Front rolled through the territory of the Ustasha Croatia. Due to this reason the Church did not have an opportunity to develop any activities.³⁶

* * *

Hatred against fascism and the Axis regime brought many Slovaks living in the territories of the former Yugoslavia into resistance. A key figure of the resistance in the first months of the occupation was Ján Bulík, a lawyer and the first chair of *Matica slovenská* in Yugoslavia (1932–1935). Bulík, who organized foreign anti-fascist and pro-Czechoslovak resistance in Belgrade before the occupation, was arrested in June 1941 by the Gestapo and was deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp, where he was brutally murdered on 30 January 1942.³⁷ Slovaks in the occupied territories of Yugoslavia also joined partisan units. A flat landscape of Bačka did not allow anti-fascists to organize armed resistance except minor sabotage actions. In Srem the Slovaks founded the first partisan unit consisting of 80 men in November 1943. The company called “Juraj Jánošík” after the famous Slovak outlaw was subordinated to the 1st Vojvodinian Brigade of the 16th Vojvodinian Division. Slovak partisans were fighting within this unit in the territories of Bosnia, Herzegovina,

³⁵ Michela 2003b: 109–110.

³⁶ Kmeť 2017: 109–111.

³⁷ See the biographical conference proceedings: Bajanik 2007.

Sandžak and Montenegro, where it was finally disbanded. The 16th Vojvodinian Division led the long-lasting heavy fights in the mountains against the 7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division “Prinz Eugen” and the 13th Waffen Mountain Division of the SS “Handschar” (1st Croatian). At the end of World War II the headquarters for Vojvodina merged all ethnic Slovaks into a single unit in the strength of 3.000 men.³⁸ Most of the towns and villages with notable Slovak population had been liberated from October to December 1944.³⁹

3. Conclusion

As the Czech historian Miroslav Hroch stated, from 1918 to 1941 the Slovak minority in Yugoslavia had a unique position within the country comparable only to the position of minorities in Czechoslovakia or Estonia. A high level of cultural autonomy provided by Belgrade let the minority live its own national life almost unshaken and express their ideas freely, despite repeated interventions by the Axis authorities of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs with its chargé d'affaires Jozef Cieker, calling for the suppression of pro-Czechoslovak and anti-Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's tendencies.⁴⁰ In general, Yugoslav Slovaks thus represented an “island of nonconformity” which the government in Bratislava had to tolerate. Hlinka's Slovak People's Party completely failed to change their attitude towards the political regime in Slovakia and to the Slovak statehood establishment which was, in the minds of Yugoslav Slovaks, inseparably linked to the will of the Nazi Germany. The ideological gap abyss between Hlinka's Slovak People's Party's regime and most Yugoslav Slovaks was rooted in religious issues. Yugoslav Slovaks who were informed about the verbal attacks, discrimination and distrust to Lutherans in Slovakia had no reason to spiritually identify themselves with such a regime. The situation had not changed a bit even after April 1941. Slovak communities in the occupied territories lived their own life and did not show any desire to take part in “exemplary” Slovak foreign national policy in the national-socialistic “Neueuropa.

APPENDIX

Document 1

Our Standpoint to Events in Our Old Motherland

After 20 years of nonpareil progress, the motherland of our ancestors is again enslaved and divided. Both Czech and Slovaks are destined to be humiliated by our common enemies. To master us more conveniently they again split our two fraternal nations, handing us pro forma states, with an aim to let our nations die without pain and even without protest or revolt against this cruel verdict. And, also, they were trying to convince the world that the Czechs and Slovaks had a share in their national death too as a natural consequence of various events.

An open-minded spectator must see that contemporary situation in our old motherland – in the Czech lands and in Slovakia as well – has no prospects of a bright future for Czechs or Slovaks. We do not

³⁸ Klátik 1945: 40–43.

³⁹ For details regarding the liberation of Kovačica, Kisač, Bački Petrovac, Gložan, Kulpin, Stara Pazova, Ilok, Erdevik and Bingula see the article: ‘Oslobodenie našich obcí’ 1945: 58–63.

⁴⁰ Hroch 2016: 275.

want to enumerate (and it is not even needed) everything that fills us with pain! We would just like to remind that we cannot gloat and have a joy over the birth of the “Slovak state.” Praise God that we have an opportunity to express our feelings and say what worries us.

Therefore, we fully support the standpoint held by the Národná jednota concerning the events in our old motherland from Munich verdict up to these days because we are all convinced that Slovaks and Czechs can freely develop and live only in one shared motherland. We beg the Národná jednota to withstand and further defend the fair cause of our old motherland like it had been doing it until today. We believe that if all the Slovaks and Czechs join our efforts, our old motherland will rise from the ashes again and will thrive for itself and for mankind. The main order is: to keep going in our work!

Stara Pazova, 26 June 1939

Karol Lilge, teacher – catechist; Katarína Opavská, Michal Filip, Michal Krajčí, M. Litavský, teacher; Mišo Bohuš, Ďuro Zelenák, Ján Havran, Ján Dovčoš, Jozef Šago, Ján Ruman, Mišo Mikľan, Tomáš Petran nr. 632, Jano Kováč, Samuel Mand’an, Ján Chalupka, teacher, V. Ječmen, teacher, Pavel Šuster, teacher, Ana Šusterová, teacher, Maria Litavská, teacher, Terka Ječmeňová, teacher, Anka Gengaľacká, teacher, Štefánka V. Ječmenová.

(‘Naše stanovisko k udalostiam v našej starej vlasti’. *Národná jednota*, vol. 20, 8. 7. 1939, nr. 27, 1)

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ПЕТЕР МИЧКО

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СЛОВАЧКА МАЊИНА У ЈУГОСЛАВИЈИ И ЊЕНИМ ТЕРИТОРИЈАМА ПОД СТРАНОМ ОКУПАЦИЈОМ ТОКОМ ДРУГОГ СВЕТСКОГ РАТА (преглед доминантних особина живота једне мањине)

Резиме

Историја словачке заједнице у Војводини (тренутно друга најбројнија мањинска група у покрајини) почиње четрдесетих година XVIII века. Након 1918. године у Краљевини Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца Словаци су остали мањина, не само у смислу њихове бројности, већ и у религијском смислу. У вишекултурној држави која је до распада у априлу 1941. године била „Вавилон“ народа и вероисповести, Православци, Римокатолици и Муслимани су били бројчано надмоћнији у односу на Лутеране. Према подацима из 1937. године већина Словака Лутерана живела је у Бачкој (27,421), потом у Банату (18,229) и у Срему (15,184). дакле, у то време у Југославији живело је 60,834 Словака Лутерана.

Пошто је лутеранска вера обликовала идентитет словачке мањине у Југославији, распад државе након инвазије Сила осовина у априлу 1941. године значио је прекретницу у националном и религијском животу за ову мањинску заједницу. Југославија је нестала са мапе Европе и Словаци Лутерани, који су дотад живели у јединственој лутеранској области, изненада су подељени у три државе/зоне. Словаци који су живели у Срему постали су држављани Независне државе Хрватске (НДХ), Словаци који су живели у Бачкој постали су држављани Мађарске краљевине, а Словаци из Баната су живели на територијама под немачком окупацијом.

Односи између словачке заједнице у Југославији и Словачке републике основане 14. 3. 1939. били су напети због религијских неспоразума и про-чехословачког става Југославије. Иако је Југославија *de iure* признала Словачку републику, до њеног распада у априлу 1941. године она је прихватала политичке емигранте из Чехословачке и људе који су их подржавали. Због ове незваничне подршке билатерални дипломатски, културни и економски односи између Словачке и Југославије се никад нису у потпуности развили. Словачки отпавник послова у Београду Јозеф Цицер није успео да успостави ближе контакте са словачком заједницом у Југославији. Његове активности су само погоршале латентни сукоб између католички профилисаног режима Словачке републике и словачке заједнице у Југославији, чија је вероисповест била већином лутеранска. Уопштено, политичка и културна елита југословенских Словака одражавала је став Хлинкине словачке народне партије према Лутеранима у Словачкој. Они су се видели као „удаљени део“ Лутеранске цркве у Словачкој и, због незавидног положаја Лутерана у Словачкој, нису могли да се идентификују са идејом словачке државе која је била повезана са нетрпељивом владавином Хлинкине словачке народне партије..

Кључне речи: Словаци у Југославији, Војводина, словачко-југословенски односи, словачка држава, окупација Југославије.

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TWO RADIO DRAMAS OF LOVE, HATE AND REVENGE

Abstract: The topic of this paper is an ancient and everlasting story of love, hate, and vengeance. This archetypal narrative was recreated and staged in the 1960s in the form of two radio dramas by two Serbian (at the time Yugoslav) playwrights Jovan Hristić and Velimir Lukić. By means of those plays the two renowned scholars and playwrights achieved the revival of the previously mentioned ancient myth in the contemporary circumstances and rewrote the old story using modern features and language.

Keywords: ancient myth, love, hate, revenge, radio drama, *Orestes*, *Medea*.

1. Introduction

Jovan Hristić (b. 1933, d. 2002) and Velimir Lukić (b. 1936, d. 1997) are distinct drama representatives belonging to the well-known group of Serbian playwrights with a characteristic reflexive-poetic orientation, who emerged in the 1960s and enriched Serbian dramatic literature with a new approach to the world based on the relocation of the ancient myths in the contemporary reality and on the rational analysis of the burning social and moral issues of their times. At the time Yugoslavia was already open to the West and

published literary works which appeared to be radically detached from the doctrine of Socialist Realism. Those were the years when the ruling ideology discreetly but consistently began to support modern tendencies in all art forms. *Orestes* and *Medea* are plays that were “above” the problems imposed by everyday life and did not openly criticize phenomena of the contemporary society.

By the time Hristić's and Lukić's first plays were staged at the theatres of Belgrade, dramas based on ancient myths had already been written¹ in Yugoslavia by authors like: Marijan Matković (*Prometej* [Prometheus], 1952, *Heraklo* [Hercules], 1957), Dominik Smole (*Antigona* [Antigone], 1959), Miroslav Krleža (*Aretej ili legenda o svetoj Ancili, rajskoj ptici* [Aetaeus, or the Legend of St. Ancilla, the Bird of Paradise], 1959), etc.

Coming from a similar educational background, both Jovan Hristić and Velimir Lukić attended the prestigious Second Belgrade Gymnasium and then studied philosophy. However, while Hristić graduated from the Department of Philosophy, Lukić received his degree in Dramaturgy. Jovan Hristić was a poet, dramatist, essayist, literary and theatre critic, translator, professor at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts and the head of the Serbian Literary Association as well as of the Serbian PEN centre.² Charles Simić wrote in a blurb of the front dust jacket of Hristić's 2003 radio drama edition that “Jovan Hristić is perhaps the last great Eastern European poet who is completely unknown in the West. One may say of him, what Auden said of Cavafy, that his attitude toward the poetic vocation was the one of an aristocrat. He wrote as if ancient Greek and Roman poets were his contemporaries. A wise man living in troubled times; he left us poems of extraordinary eloquences and great beauty.”³

Velimir Lukić wrote poems along with dramas and in the period of eighteen long years he served as the director of the National Theatre in Belgrade as well as the artistic director of the prestigious Belgrade theatre – *Atelje 212*.

Both those playwrights started out writing poetry, together with Borislav Radović, as members of the same Literary Society of the Second Belgrade Gymnasium. They were close friends who admired poets like Elliot, Spender, Hugh Auden, Mallarmé, and Baudelaire and it was their poetry that propelled them to drama. Due to this specific poetic heritage, Jovan Hristić and Velimir Lukić imposed themselves as mature authors of

¹As Gilbert Highet 1985: 532-533 writes in his book *The Classical Tradition, Greek and Roman influence on Western Literature*, (chap. *The Reinterpretation of the Myths*): “Also, since the French intellectuals are always defending themselves against the Olympians, Gide and Cocteau and the others find a certain relief in humanizing, debunking, and even vulgarizing some of the formidable old traditions. By bringing the myths nearer to humanity they make them more real. On the other hand, they also find the myths to be an inexhaustible source of poetry. One of the gravest defects of modern drama is that it lacks imaginative power. It is quick, clever, sometimes thoughtful, always realistic. But the great dramas of the world do not stay on the ground. They leave it and become poetry. Because of the modern world's emphasis on material power and possessions it is extremely difficult to write a contemporary play which will rise, at its noblest moments, into poetry; but contemporary problems, treated as versions of Greek myths, can be worked out to solutions which are poetic, whether the poetry is that of fantasy or that of tragic heroism.”

²He was also a candidate for the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Unfortunately, neither the credibility, nor the authority of three respectable academicians, Predrag Palavestra, Matija Bećković and Ljubomir Simović, not to mention their excellent-introductory report, did help. Jovan Hristić never became even a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy.

³Hristić 2003: front dust jacket of the book.

neoclassical provenience⁴ which was obvious from their very first plays.

It is interesting and most likely a mere coincidence that both playwrights wrote radio dramas with the same subject of taken and untaken revenge in two years' lapse. But is it also a coincidence that both of them were inspired by the ancient myth? It is also worth mentioning that Jovan Hristić wrote two more dramas inspired by Greek myths⁵: *Čiste ruke* (*Clean Hands*) in 1960 and *Sedmorica: kako bismo ih danas čitali* (*The Seven, and How We Would Read Them Today*) in 1969, while Velimir Lukić wrote a few more dramas with classical motifs: *Okamenjeno more* (*The Petrified Sea* in 1962), *Dugi život kralja Osvalda* (*The Long Life of King Oswald* in 1963), *I smrt dolazi na Lemno* (*Death Also Comes to Lemnos* in 1970), *Zavera ili dugo praskozorje* (*Conspiracy or the Long Daybreak* in 1974), *Zla noć* (*The Evil Night* in 1976) and *Tebanska kuga* (*The Theban Plague* in 1987).⁶

However, in the two dramas in question, *Orestes* and *Medea*, this taken and untaken revenge premise is marked by the dominant motif of a love-hate relationship.

We have to bear in mind here that a radio drama is deprived of the visual effect. Instead of the visual impact that an image conveys, a radio drama is entirely contained in the verbal expression, in the one or two silent pauses, as well as in the music that underlines its atmosphere in a discrete manner. "The *verbal theatre* of Jovan Hristić and Velimir Lukić has thus entered this media's very dimension without any difficulty, being enveloped within the well-known mythical story (either destroying or recreating it)."⁷

Jovan Hristić was penniless when he was discharged from the army and one day he bumped into the editor⁸ of the radio program of the Belgrade State Radio, who suggested that he should write a radio drama. Jovan Hristić did so. The resulting drama, *Orestes*, was written⁹ almost as a pre-ordered text and won Sterija's prize in 1961 and three years later the

⁴ Marjanović 1998: 93.

⁵ Several decades later, in the 1990s, in Serbia appeared several young authors who – under the pressure of the war and turmoil that were raving over the territory of former Yugoslavia – once again reached out to the ancient myths and motifs. Mimir Petrović, a playwright and author of a drama with an ancient motif entitled *The Argive Incident*, in the *Serbian playwrights of the 20th century* analyzed and explained his dramaturgical approach, as well as those of his fellow colleagues, especially the ones inclined towards ancient myth and antiquity in general, such as Boško Milin in *Ad Kalendas Graecas*, Ivan Panić in *The Testament of Socrates* and Gordan Maričić in *Brutus*. He says that "now at the end of the century, domestic playwrights once again turn towards the Serbian heroic Epics and its monarchist past. After whatever disputably ethical in them turned into elements equally powerful as aesthetical, there would appear, as Petrović believes, polemic or anti-mythical dramas with ancient topics, the ones referring to Kosovo and other archetypes, which would be highly ranked in the Serbian dramaturgical literature. Such dramas, just as those of Jovan Hristić and Velimir Lukić, will win their originality in spite or rather just because of the mythical membrane which wraps them," Marjanović 1997: 205.

⁶ In the interview "Generacija darovitih reditelja" (Generation of Talented Directors) of the daily newspaper *Politika* (20 Jun 1998) p. 17, Jovan Hristić answered Zoran Radisavljević's question: "Much has been said on introducing the myth into drama. There is a master thesis which analyzes the use of ancient myth in contemporary drama and a dissertation is being prepared on the same topic. Ancient myths have been in use since the 16th century. For some period of time they were the common languages of the educated classes. To be honest, we (sc. in Yugoslavia) have no tradition of using the ancient myth to convey messages. In our milieu Velimir Lukić and I started using it and this attracted more attention than it deserved. In France for example, there are many dramas that use ancient mythology. Ancient myths are perfect tales to support various different interpretations."

⁷ Maričić 2006: 586.

⁸ Steva Majstorović.

⁹ Hristić reveals how this radio drama was written in his "Skica za fotobiografiju": 119.

prize for a best stage performance of the National Theatre of Croatia in Zagreb. The impact this radio drama had on the social and cultural life of the time echoes in the report written on the occasion of Jovan Hristić's candidacy¹⁰ for a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts: "This tragedy exists beyond time and space, immanent to the very core of human nature. Being the scene of intellectual paradoxes and moral clashes, Hristić's play may indeed look somehow apocryphal but only in relation to myth and history, whose material the playwright uses as his handy solution, a well-known and exhaustively examined tool. With regard to the literary and theatrical qualities his dramas have authentic values. They introduce modern and unconventional poetical dramaturgy into Serbian drama and an uncommon, extraordinary and untraditional concept of the theatre and its function, namely the concept of theatre and its roles, with their primary concern being to use theatre as a grandstand for poetic transposition of philosophical attitudes and beliefs."¹¹

Velimir Lukić, on the other hand, did not deny that his plays indeed deal with a domestic and global situation. If not political, neoclassical dramas are mere comments.¹² Velimir Lukić says that we look upon them in two ways. In the first perspective, for instance, we recognize an ancient story and in the second one we perceive the way the writer interprets it.¹³

2. From mythical times to our ears

The use¹⁴ of Greek mythology serves contemporary writers and artists in many ways. Most importantly "...the myth enjoys a unique existence outside the flux of time, its aesthetic images are not bound to time and space. Such elasticity allows modern dramatists to create events and characters that are believable and relevant to contemporary experience. Once the situations around which the ancient tales spin are abstracted, they are found to be of general interest and significance. The Orestes myth, to give one example, reduces itself to the tale of a man who returns home after an absence of a number of years, sets right an old grievance within his house and departs again. Starting with this bare outline, the modern artist begins to add certain elements which result in creating an entirely new view of the hero's experience."¹⁵

¹⁰ See note 2 above.

¹¹ Predrag Palavestra, Matija Bećković, Ljubomir Simović, *Čini nam čast i zadovoljstvo... (It is Our Honor and Pleasure...)*, on the Assembly for the inauguration of new members for the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, Language and Literature Department.

¹² Some critics, one way or another, found political implication in Hristić's dramas (see among others: Marjanović 1997: 189).

¹³ This interpretation, according to Hristić (1969: 200-201), is what we see as comments of the ancient tale which is in the background. "We do not experience it as something that is going on, in front of us, in its physical concreteness and obviousness, we experience it as something uttered and said afterwards. The Antigone of Anouilh is never alone in the scene, behind her (and the drama itself) there is always Sophocles' Antigone, and she (it) exists only in this relation."

¹⁴ Jovan Hristić himself explains in his article "Antički mit i savremena drama" (Ancient and Contemporary Drama): "Myth is an instrument of exploring human fate: a constant of innumerable varieties of life that we see around us; a formula by which the meaning, that, we believe, is writer's task, could be revealed." p. 199.

¹⁵ Belli 1969: 185.

Hristić's drama *Orestes* begins when the hero comes to Mycenae. Orestes faces his action provoked by the crime of the others', a crime which is meant to become his own. The situation in the drama takes place in the present tense, but it is the past that determines it and the future that is announced. It is independent from the hero's character, imposed in a completely new way from the outside.¹⁶ At her home, which became the palace of her stepfather and mother, Electra works hard as if she were a servant, not complaining at all, utterly devoted to memories and oblivion of her past life. She neither hates them nor is she hurt by her mistreatment. On the other hand, Clytemnestra acts as an evil stepmother while waiting to be sure that the child her daughter carries is not Aegisthus'; the child that is supposed to give meaning to her life. Aegisthus is constantly hot and cares for nothing else but for a bath in order to cool down a bit. Pylades and Orestes arrive in Argos as voluntary refugees. Pylades has already brought into question the justification of Orestes' revenge. The girl, Electra's fellow sufferer, recognizes Orestes and lets him secretly into the palace. Electra sways Orestes by her recollections of Agamemnon:

ELECTRA: Do you remember them, Orestes? Do you remember them the way I remember him? I loved him, while you hated them. Love remembers for a lifetime, while hate only for an act.¹⁷

Similarly as in Hristić's first drama *Clean Hands*, where Oedipus represents a modern hero with humane tendencies, whose main goal is to stay clean no matter what misery and humiliation of life he suffers, as well as to stay distant from any kind of human necessity, in this drama Orestes also decides to stay innocent, in Rousseau's sense. He is not capable of taking revenge for his father's death. By doing so he would violate the moral balance of the world whose inviolability Orestes cares so much for.¹⁸ He does not kill Clytemnestra and Aegisthus since they are not what they used to be seven years ago. Instead, time has taken its revenge instead of him.¹⁹ This is so vividly described and yet again hidden in Orestes' words that follow. After having finished their breakfast, he and Pylades start off for another tour of Greece, while Aegisthus takes his bath. The tragic situation is overcome by the very character of Orestes and with the help of the dialogue illustrating how time alters and erases memories and events that are recorded by our conscience:²⁰

¹⁶ Kott 1974: 249-250.

¹⁷ Hristić 1970: 112. All the translations of the lines, verses and quotations into English are of the authors unless it is differently noted.

¹⁸ Cf. Finzi 1965: 281-282.

¹⁹ Similar are the views of the above mentioned Eli Finzi: "The motifs of quitting revenge, given by Hristić only very summarily, I would say... are not of *human order*, have no psychological interference, but are entirely of *moral and intellectual order*. There are several motifs, clearly defined and interwoven, which would be enough, any of them taken separately – to disturb Orestes' easily taken decision and his mentioned loose passion for justice. I would excerpt two amongst them, since I believe they are important for Hristić's moral contemplation: the first (motif) is that the assassins (...) are not what they appear to be seven years after they had committed the crime and the vengeance would only do harm to other people (the sense of time as the essential component of human existence) and the second (motif), the moral deed of vengeance cannot change anything since the killed has gone for good (sense of inviolability of life hierarchy as it is), the belief that a human cannot change anything by his action even if he wants to." *ibid.*

²⁰ As Kott sees it, the tragedy is determined by the situation and not by the characters such as Antigone, Oedipus

ORESTES: There are so many towns that we do not recognize. Our memory is vivid at times, but then again it fades. We go on and forget, and come back again. Still, places are always different, yet always resembling one another.²¹

Hristić's Electra is quite extraordinary. She has nothing to do with her original counterpart in Aeschylus or Euripides. She is neither stirred nor put into motion by her vengeful urge. In Hristić's adaptation, she "turned into a resigned shadow living in memories, reminiscence, showing interest only in routine quotidian matters."²² Electra no longer hates, she only remembers her love for her father and does not want Orestes to destroy himself by submission to the laws of the myth. By observing Aegisthus and Clytemnestra gradually turning from tragic criminals into a middle-aged disintegrated couple, in despair – turning from figures of action into those who have slowly become subjugated to the time that destroys them by its mere flow and reminds them of the crime they committed – Electra is the first one to understand the fact that neither she nor Orestes would have gained a thing by the very act of revenge. In a couple of scenes dedicated to Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, Hristić completed the psychological portrait of those who contemplated revenge for seven years with the psychology of the people whose conscience is guilty of a crime and had been doing nothing but waiting for revenge to come for seven long years.²³ At the beginning of the drama, Hristić's Orestes is still eager to be a genuine avenger, similar to Orestes in classical tragedies. Nevertheless, he is not the kind of man who easily decides to commit a murder, in the same fashion that Hamlet is not. Through the conversation with Pylades and Electra and the contemplation of a bloody deed, he sees that by committing it, he himself would become like Aegisthus. In the final stage, upon reaching his maturity, Orestes becomes a character capable of manipulating the myth. Contrary to the classical tragic poets who portray Clytemnestra as a murder accomplice, Hristić categorically states that she is the one and only murderer. Seven years later, she is tired of past, indifferent towards life, desperately looking for something that would help her continue living. Aegisthus has gained weight and shrunk, his hair is no longer black and he shaves his beard. He constantly takes baths, enjoys his breakfasts and wine, too. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, the royal couple sullied by crime, are no more than mere shadows of the people they used to be. Hristić deals with them approximately as much as he deals with Orestes and Electra. Aeschylus' and Sophocles' tragedies were focused on the brother and sister – the avengers. Aegisthus and Clytemnestra were only superficially depicted in them, through the emphasis of those features that incited the audience to hate them, in order to justify their slaughter. "However, Hristić resorted to an inverse treatment: not only did he achieve to justify the act of revenge at the end of the drama, but to reaffirm his principal idea through the analysis of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus contained in the fact that revenge was unnecessary since the crime itself against Agamemnon has, for seven long

or Orestes. The situation is independent even from the dialogue itself. The dialogue serves only to inform us about the entire situation. V. Kott 1974: 250.

²¹ Hristić 1970: 113.

²² Frajnd 1971: 350.

²³ *Ibid.*

years, been subsequently performed even before Orestes stepped in.”²⁴

Hristić’s characters reject the heroic and mythical dimension through their common daily routine – dealing with trivial activities of the household such as washing the dishes, making the bed, having breakfast, taking a bath. Those usual activities replace the extreme ones: murder, revenge, heroic deeds. Even conversations on revenge are reduced to the real, quotidian, almost “domestic” life. Thus, the mythical values are being persistently and faithfully twisted in a non-intrusive manner.

Silences, or more precisely, pauses in conversation, are not only absent after the exchange of lines,²⁵ but characters quite often remain silent in the course of their own lines. All those pauses represent important parts of the text. They appear either when the dramatic tension grows, or when the preceding sentence is marked by some kind of pathos or a tragic tone. Silences make these elements wane and fade without leaving an echo. In this way Hristić diminishes tragic and heroic elements in the drama and we again find those quotidian and real-life features predominantly dispossessed of pathos. Consequently, the final catastrophe seems like a natural, logical and unique outcome of the drama, although in utter contrast to the classical myth and Orestes’ intentions. Jovan Hristić reminds us from the beginning that myth equals a fairy-tale, but that human relations, observed through the prism of everyday life, are profoundly opposite to that of a tale. Even at the very beginning, the Girl speaks about Princess Electra’s grim fate, and she replies: “That manner of speaking is to be found only in fairy-tales.”²⁶

The question is if it is possible, after having taken their revenge and after a seven-years’ lapse, that Electra and Orestes would have become like Clytemnestra and Aegisthus? Quite probably it is. “Revenge is a jolly idea, but murder is a terrible thing to do,” Pylades says.²⁷ And Marta Frajnd adds: “Revenge is, in fact, most appropriately and painlessly taken by time; it continues its deed even upon the second Orestes’ leaving from Argos that marks the end of Hristić’s drama.”²⁸

In classical times, Hristić’s *Orestes* would, most likely, have been characterized as some kind of an “inter-genre.” Due to the reversed catastrophe it portrays, it could also be played as the fourth part of the tetralogy in place of a satyr play but since it is highly reflective and delicate it would not be so closely related to it. Instead, there obviously are some similarities with Euripides’ happy-ending plays such as *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Helen* and *Alceste* that critics are prone to call “pro-satiric” or “para-tragedies,” in which the basic “tragic” tone has been altered.²⁹ *Modus operandi*, more or less parallel to the one represented in a satyr play, is to be found in the plays of our analysis too. Contrary to the other two Hristić’s dramas – *Clean Hands* and *The Seven: The Way We Would Read Them Today* – that have equally been inspired by ancient myths and classical tragedy, the chorus³⁰ is absent from *Orestes*. Thus, the action has become more condensed and accelerated and

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.* 348. Cf. also Milin 2004: 20-21.

²⁶ Hristić 1970: 81.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 109.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 351.

²⁹ Maričić 2008: 17–20.

³⁰ Cf. Maričić, Milanović 2016: 58-69.

the play more contemporary and modern; up-to-date, just like every well-written drama always is.³¹ Nevertheless, its relevance is to be observed in Orestes' eagerness to persevere in forgiving. Forgiveness is something that thwarts the spiral, perpetual, vicious circle of evil. Violence always begets violence. Forgiveness is the only possible way of stopping it – no matter how hard or terrifying it may seem.

Hristić's sentence in *Orestes* is pure, clear, his thought never wanders, punctuation marks do not disturb it. His dialogue is well balanced, minimalistic most of the time, but always functional:

ELECTRA: This is timeless, in fact. The overall time has been void since you have gone. The time is dead, never moving, always the same. It contains neither the past, nor the future or present, but only the memory. Exactly seven years have passed since then. That number does not indicate a thing to me. Maybe we should go to the cemetery, but I don't know where he lies. There is nothing under that stone.³²

These words might come back and finish the play in the form of a refrain since they contain remembrance and oblivion that put its characters into motion and withhold them from acting. But oblivion is also an indispensable part of the memory.³³

Under the strong impression of Hristić's drama, we still try to fathom what the role of sound in it is. According to Natalija Jelić-Jovanović in *Orestes* the poet achieves special effects with silences, clamour, and noise of water. The dialogues of revenge dramas are often "interrupted by silences, which slow down the action and calm down the passions, giving thus a special tone to the entire play."³⁴

With the sound effects Jovan Hristić tries to illustrate that the heroes of his plays are not isolated, but part of the entire community, residents of the city of Argos. Being always in harmony with the events of the play, murmur is enhanced or diminished. This "external influence," the daily life of the city, makes the play more human, moving it away from the bloody and tragic plot and the ordeal its heroes are experiencing: "Murmur intensifies. Sounds of the green market," or "Murmur. Cries of sellers," to mention only a few notes we read in the Didascalia of *Orestes*.³⁵ Then suddenly soldiers appear on the scene dispersing citizens and freeing the space for the royal couple to pass. This is the moment when we think that a conflict is about to take place; at the same time we expect the characters to put

³¹ Maričić 2006: 588–589.

³² Hristić 1970: 81.

³³ There is an analogy of Hristić's thoughts on memory and oblivion as well as on the perception of time found by Natalija Jelić-Jovanović 2010: 55 in T.S. Eliot's poetic work *Four Quartets*:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps in time future
And time future contained in time past (*Burnt Norton*, I, 1-3);
In my beginning is my end (*East Coker* I, 1);
What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make beginning (*Little Gidding*, V, 1-2).

<http://www.davidgorman.com/4Quartets/notes.htm>

It is noteworthy adding that in 1963 as the editor in *Prosveta*, Belgrade's famous publishing house of the time, Jovan Hristić published a book of T. S. Eliot under the title *Selected texts*, translated by Milica Mihailović.

³⁴ Hristić 1970: 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 86, 87.

on their tragic masks, for, as we read in the Didascalía “a tumult suddenly dies out.”³⁶ However, this scene is followed only by a short and isolated burst of Orestes’ anger: “To free space! To clear out of here! So that they can pass! They.”³⁷ Then, suddenly everything quiets down, again: “Street murmur again, then silence,”³⁸ as is stated in another Didascalía.

Such a reversal approach that actually betrays our expectations is quite common in *Orestes* as if Hrstić suggests that the end of the play is supposed to be equally unexpected.

The sound of the water and the slaps of the barefoot Aegisthus are heard often in the play.³⁹ Aegisthus, Clytemnestra’s accomplice in the murder of Agamemnon, takes a bath quite often revealing thus his desire to wash the blood and guilt from his hands, while it conveys some other symbolic⁴⁰ values as well.

Orestes is a memorable radio drama. The Drama. Remarkably written, it tells a universal story, universal in a sense that it could be read as an alternative version of the myth of Orestes and Electra, a myth recomposed so many times in literary history and criticism.

On the other hand, hatred, much more concrete and palpable than love, maybe most of the time, triumphs in Velimir Lukić’s *Medea*. This radio drama performed in 1962 was written with an exceptional poetic drive and dramaturgic endowment. *Medea*, convincingly following the path of Euripides’ tragedy, seems to have originated from Jason’s lines which are directed towards the heroine Medea in the aforementioned tragedy:

You are famous; if you still lived at the ends of the earth
Your name would never be spoken. Personally, unless
Life brings me fame, I long neither for hoards of gold,
Nor for a voice sweeter than Orpheus! (Euripides, *Medea* 539-44).⁴¹

Similarly, at the beginning of the play, Lukić’s Medea says:

MEDEA: What do you think, Nanny, how can I take revenge
On Jason the unfaithful? On that damned husband,
The man of greed, whose mind got obscured by fame.
He sees no more due to his ambition
Of a beast, and he forgets all about love, children, marriage,
All that is sacred and precious, all for the sake of gaining some
Silly honours as such is to be called king’s son-in-law.⁴²

But some lines later, Jason confirms that:

JASON: To have a wife is not an achievement to a Greek man.
His goal is fame. For name is what remains, chiselled in the stone.⁴³

³⁶ *Ibid.* 88.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* 89.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 86, 93, 95, 102, 106, 107, 108, 114.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gerbran, Ševalije [Gheerbrant, Chevalier] 2004: passim.

⁴¹ Philip Vellacot’s translation of the 1963 Penguin edition.

⁴² Euripid, Anuj, Lukić, 2009: 99.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 113.

The gap between Greeks and the barbarians is insurmountable. Jason and Medea have been overcoming it by love, but when Jason betrays her, Medea's hatred gets inflamed; hatred that grows even bigger since it contains all the scorn and disgust that a "savage barbarian woman" and a stranger could feel towards the Greeks and their way of life, the Greeks who, as Medea puts it, justify crimes and mitigate them by their culture, amphorae, statues, and dramas, the Greeks whose fickleness she despises. Jason, Aegeus, Nanny, a Chorus of Corinthian girls and a Chorus of Athenians all speak about the change and justify the temporariness. However, after having committed the crime, blasphemous Medea says: "Death alone brings change and silence."⁴⁴ Medea's "absolute love" loses its battle with the fickleness of Greek nature. She, the barbaric woman, "brought up to love only once," would not accept what other Greek women would:

NANNY: Look around, the place is full of Hellenic wives
that have accepted the haughty face of their husbands.⁴⁵

And when Jason and Nanny tell her that her sons will resemble their father and put their trust only in him, Medea decides to kill them: "I would rather throw my sons to dragons than bring them up as Hellenes!"⁴⁶

Motifs that lead to a child slaughter make Lukić's *Medea* different from Euripides'. Consequently, Lukić's Medea decides more promptly to commit the crime. It might seem that the pace and duration of the radio drama influences that velocity, but the decision is equally well-motivated and painful as is the original one:

MEDEA: That blood will cause me pain more than anyone could ever imagine.
I do not fear anyone's anger as I do my own solitude
When it is their screams I shall remember
And those fragile necks whose blood is to be shed.⁴⁷

Lukić's Medea tries to end her solitude once again: Athenian king Aegeus offers her a shelter and a bed. However, he throws her away as he satiates his lust for her.⁴⁸ Medea punishes the newly-emerged Greek fickleness with a fresh murder. She comes to Jason afterwards. They both have changed. Jason is crushed by the death of his children, his new bride and his father-in-law; deaths that accentuated the worthlessness of his former fame:

JASON: Isn't this change but a negligence
That my forefathers the Hellenes have planted in me,
the essence of this world and its ways?
If nothing valuable will abide for eternity,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 107.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 102.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 114.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 119-120.

⁴⁸ Let us remember that in the original mythical story, Medea asks Aegeus to give her shelter, promising him an heir in exchange. Aegeus marries her and she gives him son, called Medus. However, when she tries to poison Theseus, Aegeus chases her away from Athens.

Isn't it all just a silly, dazzled futility?⁴⁹

Resigned, he gets drunk during day-time and has conversations with his dead sons and Medea at night. He says he has killed for fame and out of boredom, while, on the contrary, Medea killed in order to defend her world since the desires of her lust, love and revenge were telling her that her thinking was correct.⁵⁰ But that was the case once. Now, Medea has implemented in her barbarian nature the Greek desire of fame. She knows one can “wane by grief for a myriad times; grief, caused by a warm-hearted love” but that it would be to no avail. Nevertheless, “a five corps’ poison” is sufficient to be remembered upon. Poets will sing of her revenge and Jason will be a living witness to it: “If only you could hate me and every day commemorate me.”⁵¹

Not a trace of love abides in her, love that Jason hopes to find. He, as well as Aegeus, used to call her a fruit, a pomegranate one suckles, and then throws away.

MEDEA: A fruit, senseless but useful fruit they profited from, and then threw away and forgot about; the fruit that left a bloody trace behind...⁵²

These are the very words of Medea, depicting herself from her own point of view.

Jason does not take up his spear; instead, he sees Medea off with the words: “You do not exist anymore, since you became just like me.”⁵³

And finally Velimir Lukić ends his drama with the following dialogue:

NANNY: Where is the barbarian woman? I stirred Corinthian people up,
And they will come here to tear her apart!

JASON: No barbarian woman has been here, Nanny,
But a Hellenic one, brilliant and shrewd, that learnt our game
by heart and after having built up her fame,
She will step into her death in peace.

NANNY: I do not understand.

JASON: No one understands anything anymore, Nanny.⁵⁴

It would be interesting to read and listen to a drama in which Medea, just like Hristić's Orestes, has not taken her revenge, but simply left Corinth with her sons. How would the time take its revenge on treacherous Jason?

When we speak of the characters, one cannot but notice the absence of Euripides' Teacher in Lukić's play, not to mention that his Chorus of Corinthian girls as well as the one of Athenians, scrutinize, interpret, conclude and transmit the action further on. Euripides' Creon is more powerful, self-conscious, decisive, but more fearful in Lukić's drama. Nevertheless, he magnificently minimalistically characterizes Medea with the one and only

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 129.

⁵⁰ See Euripid, Anuj, Lukić 2009: 133.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 139.

⁵² *Ibid.* 136.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 140.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 140.

line:”Your brain is too swift, your love sincere, but your vanity immortal.”⁵⁵

In his bitter anthology (that proved to be his last) entitled *Budne senke tame* (*The Wake Shades of Darkness*), Velimir Lukić turns back to Medea and her deed in his poem⁵⁶ “Predskazanja” (“Predictions”):

Upon putting Colchidian dragon to sleep,
Medea, in spite of her second sight,
Failed to grasp that thus she has just opened the gates
To her horrific undeath
More fearsome than the very dying.

Why did the wind in Colchidian gardens
Weep in a childish voice –
She carelessly failed to ask herself
Medea, the beloved and the cursed.⁵⁷

As far as the other characters in the drama are concerned, Nanny’s is one of the most expressive in Lukić’s drama. Compared to the kind and pious Nanny in Euripides, the old compassionate woman portrayed by Velimir Lukić is shaped into a genuine Greek patriot who, at the end, stirs Corinthians up against Medea. Jason is depicted as arrogant both by the Greek and the Serbian poet. In Euripides, he tries to hide his ambition and greed under the veil of his concern for the children, while in Lukić, he is a “love usurer,” and almost completely unscrupulous at the beginning – compelled by Creon’s wine, he comes to Medea not to justify himself but to laugh at her. Both characters are equally crushed by the tragedy. Therefore, in the same mode, a third Jason should be joined to the aforementioned two, the one from Jean Anouilh’s *Medea*. His Medea is not only a deceived woman, but authentically evil as well. When Jason is about to marry another, the Colchidian sorceress does not desire him any longer, but she does not want to abandon him for Creusa either. Jason wants to free himself from everything that binds him to Medea – he does not think of power and fame at all – and wants to make a clean start in a modest and simple way by putting his hopes in good fortune:

Je veux être humble. Ce monde, ce chaos où tu me menais par la main, je veux qu’il prenne une forme enfin. C’est toi qui as raison sans doute en disant qu’il n’est pas de raison, pas de lumière,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 107.

⁵⁶ Many of Lukić’s dramatic characters appear in his poems as well. *Filoktet* (*Philoctetes*) of the anthology *Madrigal i druge pesme* (*Madrigals and Other Poems*, 1967) appears to be announcing the drama of the mythical archer *I smrt dolazi na Lemno* (*Death Comes to Lemnos*, 1970). Lukić published *Iphigenia* in *Književne novine* on 28 July 1961, which would some time later, modified to a certain extent, represent the final monologue of Kalhas the prophet in the drama *Okamenjeno more* (*The Petrified Sea*). The Anthology *Budne senke tame* (*The Wake Shades of Darkness*) also contains a poem “Neposlato pismo Lucija Aneja Seneka” (“Unsent Letter of Lucius Anneus Seneca”), which could stand for an untold monologue of a stoic and a tragic hero on his deathbed of the drama *Zavera ili dugo praskozorje* (*Conspiracy or the Long Daybreak*). In the epilogue “U traganju za Itakom” (Searching for Ithaca) of Lukić’s poetry book *Rub* (*Borderline*) Slobodan Rakitić says: “Successful lyric poems always remind us of dramatic monologues in many features. Likewise, numerous Lukić’s poems have features of dramatic monologues; as if they have been taken from one of his dramas...” Lukić 1982: 73.

⁵⁷ Lukić 1994: 72.

pas de halte, qu'il faut toujours fouiller les mains sanglantes, étrangler et rejeter tout ce qu'on arrache. Mais je veux m'arrêter, moi, maintenant, être un homme. Faire sans illusions peut-être, comme ceux que nous méprisions; ce qu'ont fait mon père et le père de mon père et tous ceux qui ont accepté avant nous, et plus simplement que nous, de déblayer une petite place où tienne l'homme dans ce désordre et cette nuit.⁵⁸

The lyrical dialogue in which Medea and Jason are questioning their love is imaginative and strong, just like the whole Anouilh's play. He speaks about great love between two people that vanished through time, but also about Medea's wicked vanity that prepared a blood feast upon the remnants of love.

However, Lukić's drama is interwoven with Heraclitus' philosophy stating that the only everlasting phenomenon is change itself. All the Greeks have been led and their deeds justified by this thought.⁵⁹ Poets themselves represent the instrument of that "philosophy of change." Medea is firstly disgusted with them ("heartless bards"), but afterwards, "upon having become a Hellenic woman," she accepts the fact that they are those who are to spread the news of her "bloody fame":

MEDEA: And then your poets will engender their hexameters
And sing of Medea's ugliness,
And mention her name forever and ever.⁶⁰

Pessimistic feelings and view of the world prevail in Velimir Lukić's dramas and poetry. His characters lose on a regular basis in collision with the world, with power and with their own nature. The only possibility is to preserve one's own dignity in death (such as Iphigenia in *Petrified Sea*) or by paying off a shameful life (as Scevinus in *Conspiracy or the Long Daybreak* and Publius in *Evil Night*). Oedipus, on the other hand, as a victim of gods' plot in the *Theban Plague*, refuses even death and thus remains a "groundless God."

Lukić's story of Medea's bloody fame is echoing, painfully updated, in our reality and our time that creates and spreads legends of criminals, resolutely striving to reshape our memories.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Anouilh 1953: 70.

⁵⁹ One cannot avoid mentioning this leading motif of an everlasting change in Herodotus' *Histories* depicted in several excursuses such as is the one with Croesus who, being put on a pyre, cried out Solon's name three times and only at the time of his death experience he understood Solon's words stating that no one should be considered fortunate before his end (Hdt. 1.86. 3–4). The same motif of the fickle fate is so powerfully expressed in Chorus's words that echo through centuries in the final verses of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1526–31): "See into what a stormy sea of troubles he (sc. Oedipus) has come! Therefore, while our eyes wait to see the final destined day, we must call no mortal happy until he has crossed life's border free from pain." (English trans. by Sir R. Jebb of the 1887 Cambridge edition).

⁶⁰ Euripid, Anuj, Lukić 2009: 137.

⁶¹ In the interview with Slobodan Kostić, a respectable Croatian film director Rajko Grlić, commented on fate and drama in "Yugoslav" circumstances: "One cannot but notice that the premiere of *Karaula (The Border Post)* took place after Slobodan Milošević (b. 1941, d. 2006), Franjo Tuđman (b. 1922, d. 1999) and Alija Izetbegović (b. 1925, d. 2003) – those who led the three peoples into the Yugoslav clashes – were finally gone from the political and life scene... But I am afraid that people here, even after their departure, have not yet seen the third act of their drama. We always start with the hope to reach a Utopia. In the second act – as Miroslav Krleža once said – happens the curse of the dreams that are coming true. Every transfusion of dreams into life usually proves

3. Conclusion

The recent⁶² Jan Fabre's 24 hour spectacle *Olympus* – a mix of all ancient dramas – proves how ancient myth is “alive and kicking” capable of shaking and shocking us today in order to pass a message in accordance with the concept of the contemporary theatre, the concept which was actually the same from the period of the genuine tragedies. That is why Hristić's and Lukić's radio plays should be recorded again and aired in line with the worldwide tendency of history repeating itself or they should be even staged. Hristić's *Orestes* will teach us how to love and forgive and Lukić's *Medea* will warn us not to stain our hands with blood for fame, underlining the meaninglessness of the very act of revenge. Finally, both radio dramas show that our time is in need of constant dialogue with the past, no matter if it is remembered as a historical or mythical one.

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to be very bloody around here. Instead of leading to final solutions, all actions are somehow cut without any catharsis and with no final scene. The corpses are not being carried out in the final act, nor are they followed by the final words. Here heroes simply vanish, things are somehow put into a phenomenal order and nobody wants to think any more about the things that happened in the first and second acts until someone, fifty years later, comes up with an idea to bring to mind all those unfinished acts and to start stirring them. This seems to be the curse of this region of ours.” Slobodan Kostić, “Arheologija bivših života” (Archeology of Past lives), *Vreme* 794, p. 23 March 2006, <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=447329> (accessed 6 March 2017).

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ДВЕ РАДИО ДРАМЕ О ЉУБАВИ, МРЖЊИ И ОСВЕТИ

Резиме

Аутори рада обрађују два античка мита везана за љубав и мржњу, испричана на савремени начин у две радио драме Јована Христића и Велимира Лукића, истакнутих српских, односно југословенских драмских писаца из друге половине XX века. Христићев *Орест* и Лукићева *Медеја* баве се темом освете, остварене/извршене и неостварене/неизвршене, дајући нам једну нову интерпретацију Еурипидових познатих трагедија, које су много пута рекомпоноване и декомпоноване у књижевној хипертекстуалној историји и критици. Питање освете у ове две радио драме преплиће се с односом *љубав-мржња*. У модерном *Оресту* и *Медеји*, то питање и тај однос дати су на потпуно другачији начин у поређењу са оригиналним Еурипидовим трагедијама, тако да се Христићев Орест на крају не свети, док Лукићева Медеја ипак врши одмазду с драматичним последицама.

Транспоновани у свет античког мита који је и део наше „надреалне стварности“, само захваљујући звуку, усредсређени једино на оно што чујемо и осећамо, слушаоци катарзично усвајају горку лекцију живота и историје о бесмислености славе и освете, истовремено прихватајући да праштају, али не и да заборављају. Недавна двадесетчетворочасовна Фаброва представа *Олимп* указује на то колико је антички мит жив, а наше две радио драме које поново треба преслушати и наново снимити, а зашто не и поставити на сцену, доказују да савремено доба има сталну и незауостављиву потребу за дијалогом с прошлошћу, без обзира на то да ли је она историјска или митска.

Кључне речи: антички мит, љубав, мржња, освета, радио драма, *Орест*, *Медеја*.

REVIEWS

Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Monarchy, A New History*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2016, pp. 567.

Habsburgology as a branch of modern historiography on the global level has engendered a book by one of the greatest contemporary experts, Pieter M. Judson, which represents a model of how to write, in a modern and original manner, about complex and complicated topics of integration and disintegration of the Monarchy that lasted for entire four centuries. The author rationally and systematically lays the foundation of the new and original interpretation of the Habsburg history on the basis of archive material and a great number of sources in a manner that captures the reader with new interpretations, new views and ideas, accompanied by the author's conclusion and assessment concerning the causes of the rise and fall of the Habsburg dynasty in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

As far as the titles of chapters are concerned, the concept of the book goes beyond the usual pattern and offers the headings that intrigue the reader. The chapters are even in the number of pages and make up a harmonious whole. Judson himself has tried not to miss a single detail from the history of the Monarchy or some of the processes that shaped the direction of the political and economic history of mid-18th century until 1918. Already in the introduction the author writes in detail about the complicated terminology which has to be mastered in order to define the state framework of the Monarchy, and then about his predecessors who thoroughly investigated the Habsburg dynasty thus offering a complete picture of Habsburgology from several decades ago until today.

Judson very bravely ventures into a process of deduction of the 18th century by analyzing the integration of the Monarchy into a unique whole,

which was a demanding and difficult administrative task and which is why the Monarchy was late in comparison to France and Great Britain. The great era of Maria Theresa and Joseph II was especially analyzed and the author tried to use numerous examples to illustrate all the diversity of life in cities and villages, as well as the difficulty of economic problems that the Monarchy had, mutual distrust of religious communities, a complicated relationship of the state hierarchy based on historical law. Judson provides vivid images and descriptions of every part of the Monarchy substantiated by serious examples of creating an absolutist supranational state of the Habsburg dynasty. The author competently presents new ideas and thoughts on the interpretation of the 18th century in terms of interior and exterior politics of the Monarchy. The chapters *The Accidental Empire, Servants and Citizens, Empire and Fatherland, 1780-1815, An Empire of Contradictions 1815-1848* illustrate an entire era of attempts to first transform and modernize the Monarchy and then to preserve it during the era of Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in the period 1792-1815. Subsequently, in the era of Metternich, they would again work towards a stronger state integration and attempts of economic reforms – stabilization of merchant and monetary ties and especially processes to suppress national tensions that started occurring.

An especially illustrative chapter *Whose Empire? The Revolutions 1848-1849* is nuanced and presents in layers all the issues connected with the organization and fight for the survival of the multinational Monarchy which rested on the foundations of a dynastic and historical legitimism in an era of national revolutions. The author uses dozens of examples to analyze the ideological postulates of the revolutions in Italy, Hungary and Croatia as well as events in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Galicia, so he could make important conclusions concerning the

crucial events regarding the survival and different internal organization of the Monarchy. The full, dynamic chapter convinces the reader that the author perfectly knows the events he is writing about with mathematical precision in clear and accurate theses.

The following chapter, *Mid-Century Modern: The Emergence of a Liberal Empire*, is written in a similar manner and testifies of attempts to transform the Monarchy in the economic and social sense through the coherent factor of the Habsburg dynasty with Emperor Franz Joseph, who would be one of the main symbols of its existence until the very end. The economic progress that the Monarchy would go through in the era of controlled liberalism, with great individual success in the fields of art, culture, theatre with a new and different image of the ruling family, did not lead to a solution of the national issue which would again be re-ignited in the 1860s and would lead to a final constitutional redefinition of the relations in the state through the Settlement of 1867. On the basis of the politics of historical Hungarian law and the laws defined in the Revolution of 1848-1849 Hungarian liberals managed to use the political opportunity after the defeat of the Monarchy in the wars for Italian and German union (1859, 1866) and impose themselves as an unavoidable factor in solving the internal constitutional issue. The formation of the new Dual Monarchy Austria-Hungary permanently defined its direction of both interior and exterior politics. National politics would be left to Austria and Hungary as separate wholes, which would be one of the factors of disintegration in its end (Hungarization, economic nationalism, unsolved Slavic issue), while external affairs and the army would remain mutual. Even in that respect the situation was often problematic.

The author, however, offers a completely different approach to this issue through the analysis of integrative factors in the field of economic development, economic expansion of the Monarchy on the Balkans, unprecedented development of the Vienna University, then a huge number of artists and scientists who would emit an image of a stable and successful state. The

author has not omitted a single segment of the social, cultural or daily (political) life in his analysis. In the chapters *Culture wars and Wars for Culture, Everyday Empire, Our Empire 1880-1914*, Judson illustrates vividly the decades of the rise of the Monarchy – its attempts to transform the political system, the fight for the general right to vote, the press, new impulses in architecture and art, the changing image of the Monarchy, the unification of towns and the improvement of living conditions. The author uses dozens of examples to paint the picture of Austria-Hungary at the turn of the century fitted into the system of European states as a community which in daily life, despite national opposites, resonated stability and prosperity.

Separate chapters on Austria-Hungary in the First World War and its disintegration, *War and Radical State-Building 1914-1925, Epilogue: The New Empires*, were written in a unique manner of the analysis of war events through the decisions of crucial people, military-strategic mistakes, defeats on the front, daily life during the war and national movements that intensified since 1917. The death of Franz Joseph in November 1916 was a symbolic blow to the body of the fallen Monarchy. Its peoples and intellectual elites of Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs and Romanians felt that the moment had come, after the USA had entered the war, to present more clearly the demands for a total reorganization of the Monarchy and since the summer of 1918 for the formation of national states. The association of the Monarchy to Germany since May 1918 additionally worsened its chances of survival. The moves that the ruling elites in Austria and Hungary made were late and wrong and disintegration was inevitable since October 1918. In only one month the Monarchy ceased to exist. New national states were made – Czechoslovakia, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland was renewed, Romania extended its territory, while Austria and Hungary were reduced to a small portion of its former territory. The challenges of national states proved to be both great and hard to cope with. Unsolved national issues, lack of democracy, narrow freedom of public speech were even more prominent in the

new hereditary states, which would gradually slip into interior problems, economic crises and open up a path to dictatorships and nationalism.

The author Pieter M. Judson has written a praise-worthy monograph without which we cannot imagine the study of the history of the Habsburg Monarchy and which represents an inspiration for thinking and researching the place of national historiographies when this complex issue is concerned, and especially when national historiographies in the region of the Balkans and Central Europe are concerned. On the basis of this research and writing, a whole new school of historiography can be based which tackles the Habsburg Monarchy and its strong foundations and basis were laid by Pieter M. Judson with his book and research.

Goran Vasin

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Nenad Ninković, *Mitropolit Pavle Nenadović*, Novi Sad – Sremska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, Historical Archive Srem, 2017, pp. 536.

(Nenad Ninković, *Mitropolit Pavle Nenadović*, Novi Sad – Sremska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, Istorijски Arhiv Srem, 2017, 536 str.)

Assistant professor Nenad Ninković, PhD, has already published several monographs and capital books of Serbian historiography as a coauthor (*Istorija Srba u Crnoj Gori 1496-1918* [History of Serbs in Montenegro 1496-1918] with G. Vasin and D. Mikavica, *Srbi u Habsburškoj monarhiji 1526-1918* [Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy 1526-1918] vol. 1-2, with D. Mikavica, N. Lemajić and G. Vasin) and now he has made an additional effort to present to the scientific public the result of several years of research in a valuable and monumental monograph (previously his PhD thesis) on Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović. Ninković invested a lot of effort, time and energy in archive research in order to find out all the details on the life and several decades of work of

the great Serbian Metropolitan, whose biography is at the same time the history of the Serbian church and society in the 18th century.

The monograph is organized chronologically and thematically so that it follows Nenadović's biography in detail. On dozens of introductory pages the author writes about and meticulously analyzes the data on Nenadović's birth, childhood, how he became a monk, his first church missions and many political problems that marked the life of Serbs in the Monarchy. Ninković expertly contextualizes Nenadović, his life and the church mission with respect to the position of Serbs in the Monarchy, thus painting a unique whole. He retains this manner of writing throughout the entire monograph, thus completing the image of the Church and Serbs in the Monarchy, which only increases the value of the book. Let us also add that the author has used archive documents in German and Serbian on every page of the monograph, as well as all available and relevant literature, which completes the image of a monograph important for Serbian historiography.

The first large segment, *On the way to the metropolitan throne* (pp. 11-79), offers information on the family, childhood and education of young Nenadović, as well as his first steps in the church organization, his first problems in life and relationships with other people he had as a young Exarch in the Metropolitanate. Devoted, persistent and thorough, Nenadović spared no strength or energy to try to transform the Church as an institution, to try to improve the living conditions of priests, to provide better education for monks and help Metropolitan Vićentije (1731-1737) to calm down vain bishops. The path of Nenadović, who was seen as one of the most talented Serbs of his generation, inevitably led to the position of a bishop, which would be his first great church position in the important diocese of Upper Karlovci. Since the first day after his ordaining by Patriarch Arsenije Šakabenta in 1742 Nenadović demonstrated that he would fiercely and energetically defend Serbian privileges and bring order among priests and monks, but he also showed great ambition for the highest position of

the archbishop – metropolitan, on the path to which stood his bitter opponent bishop Isaija Antonović. With a lot of nuances, conclusions and picturesque examples the author describes the period when Nenadović was a bishop, especially painting a picture of antagonism with the future metropolitan Antonović, who remained in that position for only a few months. As the author himself emphasized, Nenadović got the opportunity after Antonović's death and took it to run the Serbian church for entire 19 years. The elective synod and the events concerning the confirmation and enthronement of Nenadović are presented very vividly by the author.

The second large segment, *More than an archbishop, less that caput nationis* (pp. 79-171) describes the essence of Nenadović's church and political battle for Privileges, but for much more as well, having in mind the trouble that would befall the metropolitan after he sat on the church throne – Kijug's rebellion, migration of Serbs to Russia, the Severin rebellion and unrest in Slavonia. Nenadović successfully coped with all of these obstacles, positioned himself as an avoidable factor in solving the Serbian issue, he built authority and imposed himself as a crucial figure of Serbs in the Monarchy in the eyes of the Court, Ninković states substantiating his claim with hundreds of archive sources from Vienna, Zagreb, Budapest and Sremski Karlovci. The period of the Seven-year war (1756-1763) led to new pressure on the Karlovci Metropolitanate. The reforms that Kaunitz started gave reason to the wise and rational Nenadović, on the basis of the participation of the Serbian army in the victories of the Austrian army, to ask from the Court, Empress Maria Theresa and Baron Bartenstein the respect for the church and Privileges as well as to resolutely refuse all attempts of the Court to interfere with the church-canon affairs. Nenadović's resoluteness was often misunderstood by the high court, which is the state that would last for many decades – a fight for one concession after another, the author concludes. The very effort of Maria Theresa to reform and finally centralize the Monarchy, to turn it into an efficient system, to modernize it, which the author writes in detail about, provided

an opportunity for Nenadović to assume the position of a spiritual and secular leader of Serbs in the Monarchy. Ninković devotes a lot of attention to this issue and this phase of Nenadović's life considering it important for understanding this turbulent period of Serbian history.

The author devotes the third chapter, *How much do they like faithful non-Unites* (pp. 171-255), to the process of Uniation and attempts by the Catholic church to take over monasteries, churches, land and the congregation from the Karlovci Metropolitanate, against which Nenadović fiercely fought for two decades. Using the examples of the monastery of Marča and the union in Žumberak the author demonstrated that the Court often used double standards with the support of General Petazzi to convert under pressure the few Serbs or steal some of their important holy places. What is especially symptomatic is that these first big examples could be noted in the territory of Croatia and Slavonia, which would symbolically resonate during the 19th century. A great challenge lay in the Arad diocese, where Nenadović together with bishop Sinesije Živanović tried to protect the Orthodox people, very often Romanians, from the attacks of Hungarian noblemen and the Catholic church. The author verifies this process with dozens of archive documents. Ninković especially emphasizes that Nenadović managed to completely protect Romanians from Erdély and preserve their national identity thus later enabling the creation of a modern Romanian nation although the Court did not allow him to bind this great church area more permanently under his jurisdiction.

The evangelical meekness of a rigid autocrat (pp. 255-371) is an inspiring title of the next chapter in which the author mostly tackles the canonic issues from the history of the Karlovci Metropolitanate and the important relationship between Nenadović and the Patriarchate in Peć, as well as the Greeks in the Habsburg Monarchy. With a lot of care and details the author analytically approaches this subject and assesses correctly the position of the Karlovci Metropolitanate in the Orthodox world. He pays

special attention to Nenadović's attitude to the Greeks in the Monarchy, who were under his jurisdiction. He firmly held onto the canonic principles and did not allow the possibility to lose his congregation through the decisions of the state government, which he made clear to the Court. In a similar fashion the author writes about the renewal of the Serbian diocese, the problems that Nenadović had with the Court during the selection of new bishops, the persistence of the Serbian Metropolitan in these problems that spanned several years, as well as the difficulties within the diocese itself and the conflicts among bishops. The author presents in detail the finances of the Metropolitanate during the rule of Nenadović clearly stating that the Metropolitan left full vaults and a plethora of funds which solved many problems in churches, monasteries and newly founded schools.

The fifth large chapter *Organization and reorganization in the Archdiocese* (pp. 371-427) reveals information on the organization of religious life within the very Metropolitanate of Karlovci. The author analyzes in detail the state of affairs in Serbian monasteries and among the monks, especially presenting information on their education, way of life and many anecdotes which stemmed from interpersonal relationships in the monk communities. The author applies a similar pattern when he writes about the priests and their daily life, as well as the enormous efforts of Metropolitan Nenadović to bring order into the system, to educate monks and priests and to motivate them to perform their service with diligence and devotion. Nenadović spared no time nor knowledge to visit monasteries, talk to the priests and do anything in his power to repair the situation and establish a better church organization which he would leave to his heirs.

The last great chapter *For people to look mindfully through their sons* (pp. 427-490) contains descriptions and events from the final years of the life of Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović. The author offers a retrospective of Nenadović's ideas – the establishment of schools, his great effort to maintain those schools, his great desire to fit Serbs as well as possible into the system of the Habsburg Monarchy, followed by his

insistence that priests know theology and numerous epistles that he wrote for his priests and congregation. Theological issues were a particularly important point in Nenadović's rule in the church. The author emphasizes that the Metropolitan especially respected canons, knew them well and did everything in his power to bring them closer to the priests and the congregation as part of the Serbian church legacy. The Metropolitan invested as much time and energy in church painting, the restoration of monasteries, in the creation of Serbian baroque ideology which relied on the tradition of the Middle Ages, thus providing a basis for the development of the Serbian national thought and ideology, which would inspire the idea on the renewal of the Serbian state at the end of the 18th century.

The author Nenad Ninković in his book about the Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović shifts the borders of the familiarity with church history in Serbian historiography in every sense with his exquisite analysis of historical sources, his approach to writing the book, a modern methodology, and his familiarity with the language of original documents. For those reasons the book about the Metropolitan Pavle Nenadović is absolutely unavoidable when it comes to knowing the Serbian national history of the 18th century, the history of the Karlovci Metropolitanate and the history of south-eastern Europe in the period when Pavle Nenadović sat on the throne of Serbian Metropolitans (1749-1768). For those reasons we recommend the book with a belief that this valuable work of Serbian historiography is the author's introduction to a great new task which, we are sure, he will tackle with great success, and that is the biography of Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović.

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Boris Kršev, *Securitas Res Publica – A Short History of Security*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2017, pp. 393.

(Boris Kršev, *Securitas Res Publica – kratka istorija bezbednosti*, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2017, 393 str.)

The challenges of the 21st century that we have faced with inevitably put security issues in the focus of scientific research and education. Unfortunately, in our society we have only recently started thinking in that direction so each contribution to learning about all the aspects of the complex concept of security, including its history, is more than welcome. For that reason both professionals and a wider public will undoubtedly find invaluable this comprehensive review of the development of security issues through the history of mankind written by professor Boris Kršev. Because of him our science will be included more intensely in the world trends of extending and redefining the research field of the multidisciplinary security studies, which include law, historiography, sociology, psychology, economy, as well as ecology, geography, meteorology, etc.

Guided by the thought of the famous French philosopher Michel Foucault that security is “a skill and technique of controlling people and things which are organized to lead to a certain goal”, professor Kršev begins his study by describing the primal human community, first forms of religion and primitive law. He continues to lead the reader through the history of mankind and successfully intertwines general and legal security as well as the history of security. In the course of the book we learn about security problems in the states of the Old East, ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, and later in medieval European monarchies (with special reference to the dominant role of the church in the society of the time). What follows is the review of the periods when security was defined as natural law, which is the era of humanism, reformation and great geographical discoveries. As we learn from the chapter dedicated to the revolutionary waves of the 17th and 18th centuries, the further

development of the concept of security was influenced by crucial events in the Anglo-Saxon world and France (1776, 1789, etc.). The Vienna Congress from 1815, as Kršev explains, represented the first attempt to create a system of collective security. In the chapter on the so-called long 19th century, i.e. the period when capitalism became the world system, in addition to security issues in the developed European countries the author writes about the state of security in the Serbia of the Obrenović and Karadorđević dynasties, making a connection with the previous chapters when he wrote about security issues in the Serbian medieval state. In accordance with his own wide scope of scientific research, professor Kršev portrays the economic and geopolitical image of the world in the 19th and even more so in the 20th century as crucial for understanding security systems and services. Even in the chapters dedicated to the tumultuous events of the past century (world wars, the Cold War and integrative and disintegrative processes that followed in Europe), the author conducts a parallel analysis of the security issues in the world and in the region of former Yugoslavia. He pays special attention to the international organs of collective security – the League of Nations, the organization of the United Nations, CSCE/OSCE, and their success and failure in performing their projected role. The last, tenth chapter is devoted to the author’s perception of security in the contemporary, global society of the so-called new world order.

Concluding his not so “short history of security”, professor Kršev emphasizes that “the modern society is almost impossible to understand without knowing its security aspects”, which have, in his opinion, been generated by the sheer human need for self-preservation. Analyzing the phenomenon of security and its development through history, the author notices an evolution in the relationship of the state with its subjects/citizens, which is best reflected in the understanding of the function of security: from the “police state” of Louis XIV and “Leviathan”, through “The Schwabenspiegel” and the American “Declaration of Independence”. The image of security as a condition, system and

function, which was described by Boris Kršev in the period of five millennia (with a focus on those events that left a mark on the era) and which is based on numerous and relevant scientific sources, will undoubtedly help students as well as all interested readers to understand the contemporary state of global security jeopardized by international terrorism, organized crime, etc.

Slobodan Bjelica

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Niall Ferguson, *Kissinger: 1923-1968. The Idealist*, New York: Penguin Press, 2015, 987 pages.

(Nil Ferguson, *Kisindžer 1923-1968: Idealista*, knjiga 1, Beograd: CIRSD, 2016, 987. str.)

The complexity of researching the history of international relations in the second half of the 20th century is most visible through the example of a biographical overview of one of the most important individuals of that time – Henry Kissinger. Scottish historian Niall Ferguson spent a significant amount of time during 2011 interviewing the doyen of world diplomacy. Walking in Kissinger's footsteps throughout Harvard, his intention was to present, as best and most accurately as he could, the unorthodox life and the role of this diplomat in the American and world politics.

Even though he was not, at first, that much interested in writing Kissinger's biography, he accepted this job and as the main reason for doing so he stated Kissinger's exceptional graduation thesis "The Meaning of History" 388 pages long. In this thesis, Henry Kissinger focused most of his attention on the analysis of three philosophers – Spengler, Toynbee and Kant, who, according to the author, had the most profound effect to the development of Kissinger's political thought.

Today many historians and political scientists describe him as an opportunist, pragmatically applying unethical Machiavellianism, especially when compared to Nixon's and Trump's foreign

policy and relations with the USSR (present-day Russia) and China. During the past 50 years, these two superpowers have interchanged their roles when it comes to their main enemy – the USA. Ferguson does not agree with his critics but believes that it was his mentor professor William Elliott who directed him towards Kant's philosophy. According to him, Kant's work *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* from 1785 had a special influence on him.

The book *Kissinger: 1923-1968. The Idealist* depicts the journey of the American diplomat from Fürth to Hanoi, which he somewhat often underlies with a Latin saying *per aspera ad astra*. It seems that the author wishes to assign (unnecessary) importance to his (already complex) biography, but on the other hand to also justify, through distant past, his "diplomatic chess games" which this philosopher played with his "red" opponents.

Growing up in a small Bavarian town, known only for the significant export of goods *per capita* and the construction of the first German railway on the relation Fürth – Nuremberg in 1835, left a deep trace in the evolution of his personality – from a very radical Jew in the beginning, who became deeply transformed by his escape to the USA and his war experience, in a Nietzschean sense – what did not kill him made him stronger. In times when Nazism flourished, Fürth became a place where power was being demonstrated, a small town in which the old German ideal *Ruhe und Ordnung* lost its meaning and the reflection of the events in Berlin became an inevitable quotidian. Before the elections in 1933 Fürth was known as *Rote Stadt* and *Verjudet*, but shortly after it became a *Judenfrei* town.

The Kissinger family has left Bavaria on 20 August 1938, catching the "last train" and chance for emigration. Ten days later they took a boat from Southampton to New York. It seemed at first that whilst fleeing from one crisis they landed into another. The American society was not overly receptive of new immigrants at the end of the 1930s. Since then a lot of time had passed until Afro-Americans were granted their true rights. Neither were Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, American Indians, Hindus in a better position.

Apart from the existing segregation and the new economic depression, the biggest obstacle for the Kissinger family was the linguistic barrier. In these moments the author described the rocky road that Heinz had to pass to become Henry, while World War II and mobilization were, paradoxically, the main catalysts of Heinz's Americanisation.

Having in mind his past and an excellent Bavarian accent, Henry Kissinger found his place as a counterintelligence officer of the US Army corps. He had the chance to witness *in situ* the meaning of the word *holocaust*, of which he was aware ever since August 1938. The Alamo camp left a lasting mark on Henry Kissinger's personality, especially the events which occurred after the encounter with the Soviet army on Elba, the visit to his hometown Fürth and the conversation with his grandfather, an immigrant in Sweden. The young man who, before and during the war, saw the world in black and white, mentioned in his letter in 1948 that during the battles he encountered "many nuances" from black to white, so he perceived the war as his personal victory, not over Nazism itself but over his Orthodox Judaism.

During his education he was supported by the state as were the remaining 2 million American soldiers who were awarded a full scholarship by The Service Readjustment Act of 1944. Ferguson describes Kissinger as a clumsy, asocial bookworm without any sense of humour, sitting in a big chair in the hall next to the fireplace, reading books and biting his nails until they bled. As it was mentioned, he received his philosophical formation during the years he spent at Harvard under the mentorship of William Elliott. He distinguishes, as the most significant moment of his education, the "Beginning" – the final diploma-awarding ceremony for the graduate students. On that day, 22 June 1950, Dean Acheson and John von Neumann held speeches. Two different views from two speakers on the future of Europe and Asia had a profound resonance with Kissinger, especially having in mind Neumann's speech, who warned that "the same model of democracy cannot be applied to both Europe and Asia." Three days later, North

Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel.

From this moment onwards the so-called "fear generations," who did not believe in the existence of the "lasting peace" until 1989, started to mature. From today's perspective the behaviour and contemplation of a naturalized American of Jewish descent, an immigrant from Nazi Germany, is completely understandable. Just from this description we can realize the complexity and burden he carried and is still carrying to this day. Ferguson sees, as an important turning point in his political career, the publishing of his book "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy." From the moment that book was published, Kissinger gained public attention, especially from the tight political circles, which either liked him or disdained him. There was almost no one who was indifferent or uninterested.

Chalmers Roberts from the Washington Post proclaimed his work as The Most Important Book of 1957. He mainly criticizes Kissinger's politics as either too harsh or describes it as insufficiently intelligent, except the moment Kissinger published this book. It is evident that the book left a positive impression on Ferguson since he tried to show, in his descriptions, the influence it exerted on the American politics of today as well, so he often made comparisons with Thucydides and even with Sun Tzu. At certain times, it seems that he saw the book as the pinnacle of Kissinger's thoughts, concretely in the part where Kissinger speaks about the "limited nuclear war." From a time distance, he justifies and explains that view by stating examples of localized wars like Korea and Vietnam as "limited wars, but without the use of nuclear weapons."

One of the results of the book's popularity was the friendship that emerged between Kissinger and Nelson Rockefeller, who was raptured with this piece of work. Kissinger earned his first managerial role in the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, managing The Special Studies Project and therefore living between Boston and Washington. In the upcoming campaign he became a regularly cited intellectual, and after Kennedy came to power, a man whose opinion was always welcomed in the Oval Office. Apart

from the Vietnam situation, Kennedy's administration was marked by the Berlin and Cuban crises as well, which revealed two, hitherto unfamiliar Kissinger's shortcomings. The first one was that he knew about Germany better than the USA, while the other was that he could not estimate all of Moscow's moves at that moment. But if we look back at Vietnam and the policy of fear from the domino effect maintained by presidents Kennedy and Johnson, we could say that those were the most criticized Kissinger's moves, but those which brought him to Hanoi and the well-known *Vietnam negotiations*.

Kissinger went through his biggest personal transformation during the 1960s, having in mind turbulent events on his personal and professional plan. His divorce in 1964, Oedipal experiences, Rockefeller's unsuccessful nomination as the Republican candidate etc., paradoxically empowered and rationalized Kissinger. Because of his actions during the 1968 campaign, he became disliked and earned an epithet of an opportunistic politician. The position of the advisor of the United States National Security Council gave him ample opportunities to develop his own career, as well as control over many events and people. The National Security Council was, at that moment, the most important political institution of the USA. In the book Ferguson expected from the 40-year-old Kissinger to be Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin, while to the ordinary reader it seemed that at that moment Kissinger himself did not know where he was. He just tried to seize the opportunity that emerged as much as he could. From 1965 onward and the first visit to Vietnam, he realized that the USA could come out of this unsuccessful war only by the means of diplomacy. The article *Vietnam Negotiations* proved to possibly be the move of his career, even though he tried everything at first to prevent its publishing. This is the period of Kissinger's life when he showed his idealism less and less in favour of real pragmatism. Maybe this was the reason why the author Niall Ferguson chose the year 1968 as the ideal division of his life and career.

The biography he compiled is without a doubt a brilliant synthesis of a diplomat and the time he

lived in. Actors of today's international relations and historians investigating this subject have in front of them an exquisite piece of work which does not represent a panegyric made out of praises, but a critical review of Kissinger's scientific work and political actions at the beginning of the strained Cold War situation and immediately before the pinnacle of his political career.

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IN MEMORIAM

Nachruf auf Helmut Rumpler (1935–2018) Kurzbiographie

Am 10. Februar 2018 ist emeritus o. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Helmut Rumpler in 'seiner' ehemaligen k. u. k. Staatsmetropole Wien verstorben, in der der renommierte Österreich-Historiker am 12.9.1935 als Sohn eines Gewerbetreibenden geboren worden war. Nach dem – kriegsbedingten – Besuch der Hauptschule in Poysdorf und der Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Strebersdorf/Wien folgte ein Studium der Geschichte und Germanistik an der Alma Mater Rudolphina Vindobonensis, das 1961 mit der Lehramtsprüfung abgeschlossen wurde (Dipl.-Arbeiten: Die Ideen des „Dictatus Papa“ Gregors VII. und Der Tod des Theoderich in den mittelalterlichen Geschichtsquellen und in der Sage). Im selben Jahr ehelichte der damals Sechszwanzigjährige Maria Novák; der Ehe entsprossen in der Folge zwei Töchter und ein Sohn. 1963 schloss Helmut Rumpler, der parallel zum Doktorats-Studium seit 1961 als Sekretär der Kommission für die Geschichte der Habsburgermonarchie fungierte, seine Dissertation ab (Max Hussarek. Nationalitäten und Nationalitäten-politik in Österreich im Sommer des Jahres 1918). Anschließend besetzte der junge Wissenschaftler am Institut für Geschichte an der Alma Mater Rudolphina Vindobonensis eine Assistentenstelle, eine Tätigkeit, die von zahlreichen Archivforschungen und Auslandsstudien (u.a. als Alexander Humboldt-Stipendiat 1968/69) in Berlin, Dresden, München, Rom und Sarajevo begleitet wurde. 1973 folgte die Habilitation bei Heinrich Lutz (Die deutsche Politik des Freiherrn Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust 1848–1850). Zwei Jahre später berief die heutige Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt Helmut Rumpler auf die Lehrkanzel für Neuere und Österreichische Geschichte. Hier wirkte der Ordinarius – über seine Emeritierung im Jahr

2003 hinaus – maßgeblich am Aufbau des Geschichtstudiums mit und setzte zudem wichtige Impulse zur Weiterentwicklung der internationalen, nationalen und regionalen Historiographie. Hinsichtlich der Lehre blieb das Wirken des Geisteswissenschaftlers keineswegs nur auf Klagenfurt beschränkt: Gastprofessuren an der Diplomatischen Akademie Wien und an der Universität Ljubljana sowie eine reiche – vor allem vielfältige – Publikationstätigkeit als Monograph, Herausgeber, Rezensent, Studienautor und wissenschaftlicher Leiter zahlreicher Projekte, zudem als wesentlicher Mitgestalter der Kommission für die Geschichte der Habsburgermonarchie bei der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften haben nachhaltige Spuren in der science community hinterlassen. Dabei beschäftigte sich H. Rumpler zu allererst mit Themen der Geschichte der Habsburgermonarchie, hier besonders mit der 'Deutschen Frage' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, aber auch mit Problemen der österreichischen Zeitgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert und mit Forschungsfeldern zur politischen, sozioökonomischen und kulturellen Entwicklung des Alpen-Adria-Raumes sowie der Kärntner Landesgeschichte.

Beispiele für die dabei gewonnenen Erkenntnisse zu diesen Forschungsbereichen liefern das Standardwerk zur Geschichte Österreichs im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert (Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa: Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie, 1997) und zahlreiche Veröffentlichungen bei welchen H. Rumpler als Kurator und Herausgeber im Rahmen des umfangreichen Publikationsprojektes die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918 (zuletzt post mortem, Hgg. gem. mit Ulrike HARMAT: Bd. XII: Bewältigte Vergangenheit? Die nationale

und Internationale Historiografie zum Untergang der Habsburgermonarchie als ideale Grundlage für die Neuordnung Europas, 2018) zumeist federführend tätig war.

Das Wirken des ungemein arbeitssintensiven Wissenschaftlers wurde schon zu Lebzeiten honoriert. U.a. erhielt Helmut Rumpler 1990 den Österreichischen Staatspreis für die Geschichte der Gesellschaftswissenschaften (Karl von Vogelsang-Preis), 1993 erfolgte die Aufnahme als Auswärtiges Korrespondierendes Mitglied der Slowenischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, 1995 wurde der Historiker wirkliches Mitglied der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Nicht nur, aber vor allem die Österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft, hat mit dem Tod von Helmut Rumpler einen hoch engagierten Wissenschaftler verloren, der seine Ansichten mit Verve und Überzeugung vertreten hat, auch wenn ihm dabei mitunter ein heißer Wind der aktuellen (Gesellschafts-) Politik entgegenblies.

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