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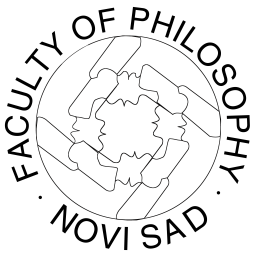

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THE RITUAL ROLE OF HONEY IN ANCIENT EGYPT, HATTI AND GREECE

Abstract: This is a comparison between the uses of honey in ritual contexts in the cultures of ancient Egypt, Hatti and Greece. Strong differences are illustrated. In Egypt, more particularly Lower Egypt, honey plays an important role in royal rituals linking the power, health and fertility of gods and pharaohs. By contrast among the Hittites honey, though involved in important rituals, especially those intended to 'sweeten' gods and make them appear amongst the gods or men, is only one ingredient among many. In Greece there appears to be a difference between Mycenaean times, when as far as the sparse evidence allows us to see honey was not restricted to particular types of god, and the Archaic and Classical periods, when it was very substantially confined to rites of an abnormal kind, rites evoking past ages and rites concerning the Underworld and the dead. The article ends with reflections on the limitations of such a comparison as this, and speculation on the reasons for the differences noted. Though the evidence must perforce be laid out very selectively, a range of original sources is quoted.

Keywords: Honey, ancient Egypt, Hittites, Crete, ancient Greece, kingly authority, chthonic ritual, *evocatio* of gods, curses, normal and abnormal ritual.

This article is an attempt to compare the use of honey in the ritual activities of three cultures. I am not a specialist in all three cultures, and the topic is enormous, so no attempt has been made at comprehensiveness, and I have had to rely on secondary sources especially for Egypt.[1] I have tried to deal with the major cases of the use of honey, setting out the main sources I have found. In the study of ancient cultures, there is the problem of whether words translated 'honey' actually refer to the substance created by bees or whether other kinds of sweetener are involved,[2] but the three civilisations I discuss had been major bee-honey producers for many years. I have not included the Mesopotamian peoples, where honey had to be imported, because of the difficulty of knowing which sweet

[1] For broad general treatments of honey in ancient times, see Chauvin 1968: 35–60; Crane 1975: 453–462.
[2] On the history of Indo-European terms for honey and the problem of what exactly may be meant by the different terms see Le Sage 1975; on the question of other sweeteners, see also Kelhoffer 2005.

substance is meant.[3] The concentration on honey when it is used with other substances can be a little artificial. However, broad outlines of its use in these civilisations should appear.

1. Egypt

The earliest honey (*bit*) discovered in Egypt dates from the tomb of Tutankhamun (c. 1342–25),[4] and artistic evidence for bee-keeping starts around 2400 on the temple of Newoserre Any near Abusir, though the practice went back long before that. Harvesting honey goes back at least to 6000 and Egypt, especially Lower Egypt, seems to be the first civilisation to have used large-scale beekeeping.

The importance of honey in Egypt can be seen in the way it appears in one myth at the very creation of the world by Re:[5]

> The god Re wept, and the tears from his eyes fell to the ground and became a bee. The bee made his honeycomb and attended to the flowers of every plant: thus wax was created and honey from the tears of Re.

The bee is thus connected with primordial fertility, and it is in the rituals and cults of fertility and ithyphallic deities that honey plays an important part, and by extension in rites involving the after-life. This seems to have been particularly the case in Lower Egypt, where apiculture was especially wide-spread. Furthermore, the bee represents Lower Egypt in the royal title 'He of the reed and bee', and the same word is used of the red crown of the latter region.[6]

The following examples come from Ptolemaic Egypt, but they have nothing Greek about them. For instance, the statue of Min, the god of fertility and male potency, was covered in honey and he had temple bee-keepers and 'honey-hunters' (*bityw*). In scenes on the temple at Edfu, Ptolemy IV Philopator offers honey to the god, 'his father', and accompanying texts emphasise the beauty of the god and the way 'the goddesses rejoice at his phallus', which he himself also boasts about.[7] In this scene fertility and kingship are thus united, the king and god in a filial relationship. There is a similar scene at Dendera, where the king in two crowns offers honey to ithyphallic Min-Re, who 'gives him the Two Lands': honey again ensures the king's authority. In another scene of a rite covered in secrecy, the fertilising power of honey is expressed in a different way: Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon offers honey to the ithyphallic Manes Banebdjed, a deity also associated with Re, and the title says 'raising up the vase containing honey without knowing it, reviving the

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3 What seems certainly to be honey is offered after the purification of the Temple of Bal in the Temple programme for the Babylonian New Year festival, along with other delicacies, aromatics and wine; the day ends with a rite at a pit in the Exalted Courtyard, where honey is offered as the king immolates a bull. Honey is used too when a temple is repaired, poured on the brickwork along with cream, milk, beer, wine, and good oil (*ANET* 340). I omit too the many examples of honey-cakes being offered to deities, which is a wide-spread phenomenon.

4 The earliest known honey comes from Georgia and is dated to c. 4300.

5 *Papyrus Salt* 825 II 5–7 (ed. Derchain 1965); c. 300 B.C.E. The use of honey in Egyptian rites has not been widely studied: see the small bibliography in Zecchi 1997: 71 n.2, and in general Moret 1902: 70–73, Laclant 1968, 1975; on technical matters Kuény 1950, Kritsky 2015; on Ptolemaic Egypt also Chouliara-Raïos 1989: 154–158.

6 See Zecchi 1997: 79–83.

7 See for the details Zecchi 1997: 72–74.

phallus of the ejaculating bull'.[8] Similarly, in a further scene, Ptolemy IV Philopator offers ithyphallic Amon honey 'to make bright' 'the great eye' of Horus,[9] and Amon gives him 'every circuit' of the two eyes. Also at Edfu Ptolemy IX Soter II gives honey, figs and wine to Thoth and the goddess Nehemet-awayt and the former gives him '[many fields] in the world with all kinds of sweet fruits', so it is not only regal power but the fertility that a good king should bring which is ensured by honey and other sweet gifts. The presence of Thoth, god of truth, also allows a link to be made here between honey and truth and justice.[10]

The important connection of honey with funerary rites and the after-life can be considered in the light of this association with fertility and health. It is used in tombs as offerings and food for the dead from the Old Kingdom onwards, as in the sealed pots of honey found in Tutankhamun's tomb. To begin with it seems to be associated only with kings and deities, but later with private individuals too. Rameses III gave large quantities of honey to the god Hapy, one of the 'Four Sons of Horus', who are found exclusively and ubiquitously in mortuary contexts: their heads formed the lids of canopic jars, and they mediated the movement of the dead to the after-life.[11] The goddess Neith, a primordial goddess, 'father of fathers, mother of mothers', had a temple at Saïs which was called the 'House of the Bee': she too was involved with funerary rituals and, as a goddess of weaving, gave mummy-shrouds to the dead; in myth she guarded Osiris' coffin along with Isis and other deities.[12]

The way in which honey acts as a kind of revivifying material can be seen in the rituals to be carried out by the king at the temple of Osiris, god of the dead, dedicated by Seti I.[13] Other gods were also associated with this cult of Osiris, including Amon, to whom the king has to say:[14]

> Ah, Amon-Ra, lord of Karnak, I throw you honey, the eye of sweet Horus, secretion of the eye of Ra, best of offerings and provisions… It is sweet to the heart of Amon-Ra, lord of Karnak, and beneficial on the day when Amon rests his heart on it; it opens his flesh, it puts in order his bones, it assembles his limbs, and Amon breathes in its perfume, just as Ra unites himself on the horizon.

The words recall the use of honey in embalming-fluid and the 'opening of the mouth' of the dead man: the anointing of the god with honey thus symbolically 'revives' him, as the sun rises again on the horizon. The revival recalls those of Min and Horus discussed above.

Honey can also actively protect against the malevolent forces of death, as in a magical spell to protect a child:[15]

> You have come in the darkness, who have entered stealthily—his nose turned backwards, his face averted (i.e. the dead)… I will not let you take it away from me. I have ensured its protection against you with

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8 See Zecchi 1997: 76–77.

9 More than half of some 900 Egyptian medicinal recipes contain honey, which though primarily consisting of sugar and water contains about 200 substances, including amino acids, vitamins, minerals and enzymes.

10 See Zecchi 1997: 79–82.

11 See Heerma van Voss 1980, Dodson 2001.

12 See Schlichting 1980, Simon 2001.

13 See Moret 1902: 70–77.

14 Borghouts 1978: §20 (Papyrus Berlin 3027).

15 Borghouts 1978: §65.

clover—that means, use of force, —with garlic—which harms you—, with honey—sweet to the people, but bitter to those-there (i.e. the dead).

In these examples honey, the primordial substance of fertility, not only displays fertilising, healing and protective powers, but also ensures a close reciprocal relationship between the power and merits of the king and that of the gods, especially those associated with the Sun-god Re, the ultimate source of honey. The gods may give the king his power, fertility to his fields, truth and justice, but through gifts of honey the king also appears to revive the powers, sexual and other, of the gods.

2. Hatti

Honey and to some extent the bee thus played a highly significant role in the rites of Lower Egypt, but the situation is almost the opposite in Hurro-Hittite religion.[16] In Hittite ritual and mythical texts[17] honey (*milit*-, Luwian *mallit*-, Sumerogram LÀL) not only does not have the same central importance as in Egypt, but is found less frequently than say wine and oil with which it is often combined. Rather, it features in myth and ritual as one of a number of substances which are combined to achieve a particular aim, especially the appeasing and bringing back of gods who have disappeared in dudgeon or for some other reason. This is well exemplified in the appeal made to Telipinu: 'just as honey (*milit*-) is sweet … so let the soul of Telipinu become sweet (*miliddu*-) in the same way'.[18]

Why honey is so much less important is uncertain. That bee-keeping and honey was a feature of Hittite culture from early times is suggested by Law 92,[19] which contrasts the later, financial penalties for stealing hives with the earlier more brutally physical ones:[20] 'if anyone steals two or three bee hives, formerly (the offender) would have been exposed to bee-sting. But now he shall pay six shekels of silver'. However one would not expect bee-keeping to have had much of a place amongst nomadic Indo-European peoples, unlike in a settled country like Egypt, and it does not seem to have been so economically important as in Lower Egypt. This may explain too why, though the bee has close connections with mother-goddesses,[21] and in one place bees are called 'children of the Sun-God',[22] honey does not have the same kind of very close relationship with a deity suggested by the Lower Egyptian myth of the tears of Re.

When deities disappear and devastation hits the world, and gods and eagles have

16 On the Hittite use of honey, see *in primis* Haas 2003: *passim* but especially 497–502, Akkaya and Alkan 2007, also Hoffner 1974: 123–124.

17 For texts, translations and commentaries on Hittite texts see https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index-en.php.

18 Hoffner 1998: no. 2 version 1, §14 (CTH 324.1 §22".143–145). One might compare the Chinese custom of anointing the lips of the Kitchen God Zao Jun's statue with honey to 'sweeten' his words before he goes to heaven to inform the Jade Emperor about the family's behaviour that year.

19 For text and translation see Hoffner 1997: 91, also Haase 2001: 124–128.

20 On this shift which is found in a number of the laws see Hoffner 1997: 5–8. The only specific reference to honey in the Laws gives the price of a bottle as one shekel (Hoffner 1997: 144, Law 181 (13)).

21 See Haas 1981: 112–113; also Haas 2003: 497–498.

22 See Haas 2003: 497.

failed to find the god, it is a bee which, often sent by the Mother Goddess Ḫannaḫanna,[23] succeeds in finding the deity and aiding in his or her return.[24] As we shall see, honey is one of the substances used in ritual to attract gods, but it is not clear that that is why a bee is sent. In a myth about the disappearance of an unknown god, the bee is told: 'O … (?) [bee], you hold honey in your heart. So you should search the high mountains',[25] but the honey may there indicate the bee's stamina rather than the importance of honey: in version 3 of the Telipinu myth, the bee nearly runs out of energy, 'the honey was exhausted [in its …]. But it found him…' (§2).[26] Furthermore honey is not itself used in rousing Telipinu, as the bee performs its task in a more robust way and uses wax:[27] Ḫannaḫanna tells it, 'when you find him, sting his hands and feet and make him stand up. Then take wax and wipe him off. Then purify him and make him holy again. Then conduct him back here to me'.[28] In the same way, on the disappearance of the Hattic goddess Inara, the bee brings a hunting-bag of good things, not including honey, to tempt her and is told to use wax to soothe her.[29] It is at this point that Telipinu is told to become sweet like honey and mild like ghee (see above), but again honey is only one of a number of substances used to attract him back.[30]

This idea of appeasement also figures in a human context in the very long and elaborate Hittite Funerary Ritual *sallis wastais*, 'Great Misfortune', referring to the king's death.[31] It occurs in the rite of 'conciliation' (*li-la*), where the bones of the king are taken to the 'stone-house':[32]

> They include the conciliation in his stone-house. With .... Yet again oily loaves of one-half *upnu*-measure, *tarnaš*-measure of honey, ... right thigh likewise. They arrange it alongside the soldier loaf. They wrap ... and carry them into the stone-house, ... in what inner chamber they have placed the bones. They dig the ground. One h.-vessel ... They pour … into the h-vessel the honey ... They have held a figurine for conciliation... They have held … for conciliation.

Much emphasis is laid at this point on the notion of conciliating the king's spirit: the honey is thus used at an important moment to placate the death king's soul, but apart from one other unplaced fragment this is the only reference to it in the evidence.[33]

The most prominent role played by honey is found in the *Evocatio* ritual aimed at

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[23] For her connection with bees and honey see also CTH 403.2 where an 'Old Woman' (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, a regular designation for one who carries out such rituals) with the Luwian name Malidunna 'Lady Honey' performs a ritual concerning her, but honey is not mentioned in the surviving text; see Haas 2003: 19.

[24] See Hoffner 1998: no. 2 version 1 §7 (CTH 324.1 §9'.75); version 2 §5 (CTH 324.2 §5); version 3 §§1–2 (CTH 324.3 §1–2; all Telipinu); no. 3 §13 (CTH 325 §13.115–9; Storm God); no. 9a (CTH 336.1 §8'.36; Inara); no. 13b §3 (CTH 335.2 §3'.26–7; unknown god). Cf. also no. 11 §1 (CTH 457.7.1 §1.8–18; the immortal human soul), where the bee brings requisite objects. On the connection of the bee with Ḫannaḫanna and other mother goddesses in the Near East and Greece see Haas 1981: 113–116.

[25] Hoffner 1998: no. 13b §3 (CTH 335.2 §3'.26–27).

[26] Hoffner 1998: no. 2 version 3 §2 (CTH 324.3 §3.15–16).

[27] On the ritual use of wax see Haas 2003: 498–9.

[28] Hoffner 1998: no. 2 version 2 §5 (CTH 324.2 §5'.30–37).

[29] Hoffner 1998: no. 9 (CTH 336).

[30] Compare the use of honey alongside flour, bread, cheese, fruit, rennet and salt in the placating of the thundering Storm God (Hoffner 1998: no. 12 §4 (CTH 727)).

[31] CTH 450; see Kassian et al. 2002.

[32] Day 3, Rs.10–19 (Kassian et al. 2002: 281).

[33] Indeterminate fragment 2 IV 6 (Kassian et al. 2002: 669).

the Cedar Gods.[34] The absence of the gods is imagined as being caused by someone, foreigner or Hittite, having lured them away (i 66–72) or by their absence in 'the enemy country [and] evil uncleanliness' (ii 5). The rite is used 'when the diviners attract the god by means of nine trails from the meadows, the mountains and the rivers from the sea, from the springs, from fire, from heaven and from the earth' (i 1–2). The celebrants go out of the city to a road and a wickerwork table is set up with a basket on it and a fireplace in front.

> They draw a length of cloth down from the wickerwork table and make it into a trail. Then they draw a trail in fine flour in front of the cloth; on the one side of the flour trail they draw a trail in honey, but on the other side they draw a trail in wine and fine oil mixed together. [Various food-stuffs are added to the trails which symbolise an obstacle-free path for the gods. A diviner prays:] 'Let the vigorous Cedar-gods eat and drink the trails! Let them satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst'. (§§ i 22–5, 48–9)

As in the appeals to Telipinu and the Storm God the food-stuffs offered have a symbolic function: 'just as this fine oil is soothing … even so let the king and queen of Hatti land be agreeable to the gods' (ii 29–32). Honey is then, with wine, fine oil, bread and fruits, poured out at the feet of the gods' statues to tempt them in.[35]

Similar techniques are used to summon deities from the underworld,[36] but with the symbolic differences that they tend to take place in darkness or at dawn not in broad daylight and, instead of putting the offerings at the feet of the gods' statues, a pit is specially dug and foodstuffs and other offerings including honey are put down into it.

A good example is the Kizzuwatnean *Relocation of the Temple of the Goddess of the Night*.[37] On the second day, at the pits called *āpi*, for the 'ritual of the blood' they take amongst other items (§12)

> two *mulati* breads–a half-handful, a small cheese, a little fine oil, a half-handful of vegetable oil, a half-handful of honey, one and a half handfuls of clarified butter, a *wakšur* measure of wine, a lamb or a goat.

The following dawn, 'the *šankunni*-priest calls the goddess from the *āpi* pits seven times' (§13).[38]

Finally, in this category honey has its place in a prayer and ritual not aimed at actually attracting gods but preparing the way for the king to lay before them the problems he faces.

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[34] I quote *ANET* 351-3 as CTH 483 is not yet edited and translated in Hethport; see Haas 2003: 96–97, and 94–97 on such rituals of attraction. I am grateful to Christopher Metcalf for help on this passage.

[35] For a similar procedure inviting the gods of an enemy town along nine paths each of oil, honey and porridge see CTH 423 §3".20–21; also 484 §4.31 (Fates and Mother Goddesses; see Haas 2003: 94–95, 501), 631 Rev.1'–7' (?Storm God) and 670 Rev. 15'–19' (Storm God; on these last two see Barsacchi 2016).

[36] There are similar rites in Akkadian and Sumerian sources: see Hoffner 1967.

[37] CTH 481; Mouton 2016: 334–373.

[38] For another example of the putting of honey with other substances into the *āpi* pits, cf. the *Incantation of Infernal Deities* (KUB VII 41++, iii 13; see Hoffner 1967: 391); in CTH 484 §4.31 *et al.* honey provides one of the paths along which the Fates and Mother Goddesses are to travel having come out of the pits (72ff.). Honey does not however appear in the summoning of Ishtar in CTH 716 (see Hoffner 1967: 391–392), nor of the Storm God of Nerik (Hoffner 1998 no. 4 (CTH 671).

For instance, in a *Rite Conducted in an Emergency*, king Muwatalli states:[39]

> When things get too much for a man he sets before the gods his circumstances. On the roof, in the direction of the Sun-god, he sets up two offering-tables covered with wickerwork. He sets up one table for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and one table for the male gods. Upon them there are found 35 loaves made of one handful of damp flour, a shallow bowl of honey and fine oil inside, a pot filled with a fat-cake, meal packed in a bowl, 30 pitchers of wine. When he has got all of this ready, the king ascends to the roof and bows before the Sun-god of Heaven.

Honey has its place among the generous offerings, but without standing out.

Honey is also found in apotropaic rituals, though again it is only one aspect and not a central feature. In a ritual performed to resolve a domestic quarrel involving sorcery within the family,[40] a considerable number of items and animals are used to assume and remove the malediction. At one point, a black sheep is brought in, which The Old Woman (who officiates at the rite) waves over the participants and says:[41]

> 'For your heads and your complete person, the black lamb is the substitute. The maledictions are also behind its mouth and tongue!' She turns it above them. The two sponsors of the ritual spit in its mouth, then they slaughter the lamb. Then they dismember it. They make a hearth and burn it entirely. They pour over it honey and virgin olive oil. She breaks a big sweetened loaf and throws it in the hearth. She also makes a libation of wine.

Later she takes seven recipients of an uncertain nature and fills them with honey, wine, figs, raisins, a tendon, salt and fat, then shatters them, symbolically destroying the tongue and mouth that made the malediction (§§34–5). These are however the only two uses of honey in a long and complicated rite and they do not occur at moments of particular significance.

Here the honey plays a minor role in the removal of the curse, but it can also be more central. In a rite against the malediction of Tudhaliya and his family by one Ziplantawiya tongues representing those which uttered the curse are made and the official prays:[42]

> the evil and bewitching tongues which Ziplantawiya made we here have presented in honey: Sun-God of Blood and Weather-God be appeased! May these evil and bewitched tongues leave my lord, his wife, his sons and his house.

Honey thus functions in a manner reminiscent of the way it was used to 'sweeten' the temper of disaffected gods discussed above: the evil tongues are transformed and the gods appeased by the honey.

The apotropaic quality of honey is also clear in a cleansing rite of the city of Šamuḫa. Various 'sympathetic' rites are carried out, and finally a basin is dug with a channel to the river:[43]

> into it they put a boat made(?) of a little silver and gold. They also make small 'oaths' and 'curses'

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[39] CTH 381. The translation is mine of Rieken's on Hethport.

[40] Mouton 2016: 374–419 (CTH 404.1).

[41] §§ 22–3; the translation is mine of Mouton's French version.

[42] CTH 443.2 §5.40–44 (my translation of Görke in Hethport); cf. Haas 2003: 92–93 on such transformation rituals where honey is often found.

[43] CTH 480.1 §20–21; the translation is mine of Görke and Melzer's in Hethport.

> of silver and gold and put them into the boat. Then the ditch which empties the basin carries the ship from the basin into the river. Afterwards, he pours out a little fine oil and honey and while doing so speaks as follows: 'Just as the river has carried away the ship and no trace of it can be found any more—whoever has uttered an evil word, perjury, curse or uncleanliness in the presence of their god—even so let the river carry them away! ... See! I have poured out fine oil and honey after them. The trail behind them is anointed with fine oil and honey. Let the evil word be turned away to beyond.

Here the honey functions in a way similar to that in the Egyptian spell discussed above: what attracts the good deities is anathema to the bad and to perjury, curses etc.

Though honey plays a regular role in these rituals, that role must not be over-emphasised: it is just one among many attractive foodstuffs which will bring the arrival of the desired god or gods.

3. Greece

3.1 Mycenean Greece

Honey (Myc. *me-ri*) was a valued commodity in the Bronze Age Aegean,[44] and was a major element of offerings and festivals especially in Mycenean Knossos,[45] where we hear of *melidamarte(s)* ('superintendents of honey'), who may have had religious functions. Unfortunately, there is not a great deal of evidence about which gods it was offered to, the rituals or the guise in which they may have received it.

Tablet 702 from the series of tablets from Knossos Gg (1),[46] which seems to be part of a calendar, records 'one amphora of honey for all the gods / one amphora of honey for the Mistress of the Labyrinth';[47] Gg (3) 705 records one for Eleuthia (*e-r-u-ti-ja*; cf. Cretan *Eleuth(i)a*), the goddess of child-birth associated with Amnisos on Crete's northern shore, and for all the gods; and 717 one for the gods and]*si-da-o-ne*, usually restored to *e-ne-si-da-on-e*, Poseidon in his chthonic aspect as 'Earthshaker' (later Greek *Ennosigaios*).[48] At Chania, a single tablet, Gq 5, records that Zeus receives an amphora of honey and Dionysus two at Zeus' shrine.[49] Finally, 19 litres of honey appear on tablet Un 02 which may relate to a royal initiation: the quantities of all the items are enormous (1574 litres of barley, 26 rams, for instance), so provisions rather than offerings may be meant, though both may have been be involved.

From this scarce evidence it is hard to draw any conclusions about Mycenean usage of honey. The list of gods does not reveal anything in detail about the kind of gods to whom it was offered: the reference to the sacrifice to 'all the gods' need not suggest that any god

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44 See e.g. Melas 1999.

45 On honey in Mycenean locations see esp. Weilhartner 2005, Bendall 2007: 140–152.

46 On the Gg tablets see Weilhartner 2002–2003, Bendall 2003: 140–143.

47 This translation is not entirely certain. The tablet reads *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*: an *l*/*d* alternation can be paralleled in Greek in *laphne* / *daphne*, but it would be unusual; see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 310, 475.

48 See Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 204–206. Poseidon may also receive honey (possibly in an aromatic form) in a list of contributions made by 'Sarapeda' (a tract of land?) at Pylos (Un 718), but honey is not certainly involved: see Ventris and Chadwick 2003: 171. On the Fs series, which may possibly record offerings of honey to local deities, see Weilhartner 2002–2003.

49 Bendall 2007: 149–150. The evidence for Pylos is very uncertain (Bendall 2007: 150–152).

could get honey, since offerings 'to all the gods' are a feature of Knossos ritual (and indeed are found in later times). Nor can we say anything about the kind of rites honey was used in.

3.2 Homer, Archaic and Classical Greece

Honey appears in ritual contexts in Homer in three places.[50] Twice it is used in burning on a pyre: when Achilles conducts Patroclus' burial, he leans against the bier set upon the pyre 'amphoras of honey and unguent',[51] and Agamemnon tells Achilles in the Underworld that 'you were burned in the clothes of the gods and with much unguent and sweet honey'.[52] This accords with the archaeological evidence: such vessels are found in Proto-Geometric cremations.[53]

More significantly for our comparison, when Odysseus is instructed on how to make contact with the ghost of the seer Teiresias in the Underworld, Calypso advises him as follows:[54]

> dig a pit a cubit's length this way and that, and in it pour a libation to all the dead, first of milk and honey (*melikraton*), then of sweet wine, and thirdly of water; sprinkle on them white barley meal… But when you entreat with prayers the glorious tribes of the dead, then sacrifice a ram and a black ewe, turning their heads toward Erebus but turn yourself backward and look towards the streams of the river.

What is striking here is the similarity to the Hittite pit-rituals we discussed above. In the Kizzuwatnean *Relocation of the Temple of the Goddess of the Night* and the *Incantation of Infernal Deities* honey was used to summon the deities from the *āpi* pits.[55] In the ritual summoning the Former Gods honey is not involved, but a pit is dug into which the blood of a lamb is poured, followed by oil, beer, wine and cereals. The Sun-goddess of the Earth is invoked to send the gods up, which include a seer Aduntarri, who will enjoy the offerings.[56]

The Hittite influence on this Odyssean passage is clear,[57] but at the same time it prefigures a distinctive feature of Archaic and Classical Greek religion, which is very different from what we have seen so far, whereby honey was generally offered in contexts of death and the Underworld: it is not usually offered to the Olympian gods, except in their guises as gods of the Underworld, but to heroes and other deities with such 'chthonic' connections.[58] Honey, pure or mixed with water or milk, and unmixed wine, water and oil[59] formed the *nēphalia* 'wineless libations' usually proper to such figures,[60] and were seen to

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50 Other references are *Il.* 1.249, 11.631, 18.109, *Od.* 10.234, 20.69.
51 *Il.* 23.170.
52 *Od.* 24.67.
53 See Andronikos 1968: 92–93, Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 74; on drink-offerings to the dead generally see Stengel 1910: 183–186.
54 *Od.* 10.517–20, 526–529.
55 See n.37 and n.3 for Mesopotamian parallels.
56 CTH 446; see Otten 1961, also West 1997: 426–427. In CTH 409 a black lamb is used.
57 On the question of how far the Hittite *sallis wastais* rite may have influenced the burial of Patroclus in *Il.* 23 see Rutherford 2007.
58 On the use of honey and oil, water and unmixed wine in 'abnormal' rites see especially Graf 1981; on Greece generally also Usener 1902, Schuster 1931: esp. 364–366, Ziehen 1934, Detienne 1971.
59 On oil in classical antiquity see Bowie 1993.
60 See Henrichs 1984.

be the opposite of normal libations of wine.[61] Empedocles and Theophrastus saw such offerings and the absence of wine as characteristic of earlier times,[62] and as is well known milk and honey were seen as characteristic of the Golden Age.[63] They are attributed (milk more so than honey) also to marginal races,[64] and also to the Pythagoreans.[65]

The chthonic connections of honey in Greece can be seen from its particular association with the goddess Demeter, and especially with rites connected with the return of her daughter Persephone from the Underworld after her rape by Hades. Indeed, women dedicated to the rites of Demeter were called *Melissai* 'bees'.[66] Thus Pausanias in his tour of Greece describes a sacrifice, made outside a cave on Mount Elaeus in Arcadia, to Demeter the Black, so named because she donned sombre clothes on the rape of Persephone and hid herself there:[67]

> I sacrificed nothing to the goddess, which is the custom of the natives. But it is the custom for private persons, and at the annual sacrifice by the community of Phigaleia, to offer cultivated (ἡμέρων) fruits and especially grapes and honeycombs and unworked (τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἥκοντα) wool still full of its grease, which they place on the altar built before the cave, and when they have put them there they pour oil over them.

Unlike in a 'standard' sacrifice, the offerings are vegetable not animal, honey and wool are offered in their natural states, and unprocessed grapes but not wine are used. The use of such offerings is very common in Greece to mark abnormal periods, such as here of the withdrawal of the goddess in charge of agricultural fertility.

The myth of Persephone's abduction and rebirth was also the central myth of the Thesmophoria festival, one of the most widely attested Greek rituals and recorded for thirty towns in Greece, Africa, Asia Minor, Italy and Sicily from the eighth century B.C.E. until the fourth century C.E. Thus, at this festival in the Attic deme of Cholargae, two *kotulai* of honey figured alongside various grains, fruits, seeds and cheese in offerings for Persephone's return:[68] again, the offerings are natural products not domesticated animals, and wine is excluded.

In his rite in Hades, Odysseus offered honey to the ghosts in the Underworld, and this continues to be a regular feature of such rites: Atossa in Aechylus' *Persae* uses honey, milk, water, unmixed wine and oil to summon Darius.[69] We saw the same in Hittite ritual but, though the use of a pit by Odysseus may be due to Anatolian influence, the prevalence

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61 See Plut. *Mor.* 671C for the distinction; for *melikraton* see 464B, 671B, also Ziehen 1934.

62 Porph. *Abst.* 2.20 = Emp. fr. 31 B 128 and Theophr. *de pietate* fr. 12 (for which see Pötscher 1964: 62–82, 105–106).

63 See Usener 1902.

64 E.g. the milk- and cheese-eating Cyclopes (*Od.* 12.219–23), the 'milk-drinking' *Hippomolgoi* ('Horse-milkers'; *Il.* 13.5-6), and the milk- and honey-eating Scythians (Trogus, *ap.* Justin. 2.2) and men in the Moon (Lucian, *VH* 1.24).

65 D.L. 8.19.

66 See scholia to Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.106a (II 112.17–113.6 Dr.). In the story told there the *Melissai* got their name for persuading men to eat not meat, which mirrors the way that living on honey is often opposed to meat-eating in rituals. See also Guiman 2008: 157–169.

67 8.42.11.

68 IG II^2 1184.3–6, 10–11 (334/3 B.C.E.).

69 A. *Pers.* 611–617; cf. e.g. E. *IT* 159–165, *Or.* 115.

of the use of honey in later Greek rites suggests this is a Greek feature.

Honey could not only summon figures from Hades but also ease the entry of ordinary mortals into Underworld contexts. For instance, at the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia those consulting the oracle had to undergo rites which Pausanias describes from personal experience:[70]

> The shape of this structure is like that of a bread-oven… They have made no way of descent to the bottom, but when a man comes to Trophonius, they bring him a narrow, light ladder. After going down he finds a hole between the floor and the structure… The descender lies with his back on the ground, holding barley-cakes kneaded with honey, thrusts his feet into the hole and himself follows, trying hard to get his knees into the hole.

Once inside the answer to his question is given him by sight or hearing, and he miraculously comes out feet-first.

A more complex example is found in a Sacred Law from Selinous in Sicily, in which the *Tritopatores*, figures representing the ancestors of the people there, received an offering of *melikraton*, poured through the roof of an underground sanctuary:[71]

> To Zeus Eumenes [and] the Eumenides sacrifice a full-grown (sheep), and to Zeus Meilichius in the (plot) of Myskos a full-grown (sheep). (Sacrifice) to the *Tritopatores*, the impure, as (one sacrifices) to the heroes, having poured a libation of wine down through the roof, and of the ninth parts burn one. Let those to whom it is permitted perform sacrifice and consecrate, and having performed aspersion let them perform the anointing, and then let them sacrifice a full-grown (sheep) to the pure (*Tritopatores*). Pouring down a libation of honey mixture, (let him set out) both a table and a couch, and let him put on (them) a pure cloth and crowns of olive and honey mixture in new cups and cakes and meat; and having made offerings let them burn (them), and let them perform the anointing having put the cups in.

Here the *Tritopatores* to whom the honey is given are associated with Zeus in his chthonic guises as Meilichius, a word of uncertain origin but connected with *meli* by folk etymology,[72] and Eumenes 'the Kindly One' and with the Furies, who live in the Underworld and are also given their similar euphemistic name. Involved too is a chthonic deity called *Elasteros*, who is probably connected with the Zeus Elasterus to whom honey is offered on Paros.[73]

Like the Trophonius rite this one involves underground chambers, but it also displays features which contrast with more 'normal' sacrifices. The libations are not poured on the ground or on the offerings but into pits, and the burning of the offerings and apparently the table and couches is unusual.[74] These abnormal features can sometimes be found in the same ritual, distinguishing its different parts. On Cos at the festival of Zeus Polius an ox was brought in to be sacrificed to him, but before that happened a rite was performed to Hestia

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70 9.39.10–11.

71 Jameson et al. 1993: 15 (A8–16).

72 Cf. μειλιχίων ποτῶν in S. *OC* 159, explained by the ancient commentators as referring to honey mixed in the drink-offerings.

73 The reading is uncertain: in IG XII 5 1027.1–2 (undated) Ἐ[νδένδ]-ρο, is read, but see SEG 13:449a, c for Ἐ[λαστέ]-ρο.

74 See Jameson et al. 1993: 30–31, who also record a late-Archaic hypogeum dedicated to Hera at Paestum-Poseidonia in which six bronze vessels filled with honey were discovered.

Hetaereia in which again unusual actions were carried out.[75] The priest poured a libation of mixed wine before the bull and the Hestia rite began with a *phyllobolia* (throwing of leaves), an archaic rite involving a natural product in contrast to the normal throwing of cultivated corn; a pig was burned unusually as a holocaust (καρπῶντι)[76] on the altar, and *melikraton* was poured over it and the *splankhna*; the *entera* are washed and burnt by the altar 'without libation' (ἄποτα), then *melikraton* is poured on the fire. After all this the feast of Zeus Polius is announced and a libation first of unmixed then mixed wine is made. The transitions into and out of the 'abnormal' rite for Hestia are thus marked by offerings of mixed wine, which frame a rite where honey and neat wine are used.

If honey can distinguish different parts of a ritual it can also mark a distinction between deities. For instance, on Delos the birth-goddess Eleithuia is given a variety of foods including honey,[77] but Poseidon, whose rites are described before these and involve a number of different offerings, does not. The goddess of the margins has honey, but not the major Olympian god of the sea. Similarly heroes receive honey but not gods in their Olympian guises. For instance Heracles is the heroic figure *par excellence*, and he is in receipt of a honey-offering on Cos: after a bull has been sacrificed, barley, wheat, ewes' cheese and four *kotulai* of honey are offered to him.[78]

There are cases where the Olympians in their guise as Olympians do receive an offering involving honey, but they are very rare.[79] In Miletus, Dionysus, Hera, Zeus, Leukos (a hero?) and Apollo together receive offerings, but it is only Dionysus, as far as the text allows us to see, who gets honey (along with a male sheep, an *ecteus* of grain, an *ektē* of wine, wood and unguent).[80] If he was the only one, we do not know why. Closer to the normal pattern is a rite in Elis:[81]

> each month the Eleans sacrifice once on all the altars I have enumerated. They sacrifice in an ancient manner (ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον); for they burn on the altars incense with wheat which has been kneaded with honey, placing also on the altars twigs of olive, and using wine for a libation.

Again, this unusual sacrifice avoids animal offerings and employs natural foodstuffs and plants, but it is notable that this rite is specifically described as 'archaic', these offerings being characteristic of earlier or even Golden Age life, as we have seen.

Finally, moving to later times, honey can feature significantly in imported cults. In the cult of Mithras, in the initiation into the 'Lion' and 'Persian' grades, Porphyry records that:[82]

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75 IG XII 4.1.278.33–36 (= Sokolowski 1969: no. 151 A 27–44; mid 4th century B.C.E.): this is the subject of Graf 1981.

76 On the meaning of this word see Sokolowski 1969: 256 on ll. 31–32.

77 ID 401.23 (c. 190 B.C.E.); cf. also 440 A 70 (179 B.C.E.), 445.4 (178 B.C.E.), 464.14 (c. 170 B.C.E.). In Paus. 6.20.2 she shares a shrine where honey-cakes are offered to a snake-divinity (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 310 are inaccurate on this).

78 Iscr. di Cos ED 140 (4th cent. B.C.E.).

79 I base this on a search of PHI. There are of course many places where μελι appears where we can say nothing about the context, deity or ritual.

80 204.4, 11 McCabe 1984 (= Sokolowski 1955: no. 41 A; 525–500 B.C.E.).

81 Paus. 5.15.10.

82 *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 15 (tr. Geden and Ronan 1990).

> the votaries use honey for many and diverse symbolic purposes, because of its variety of properties, since it possesses both purgative and preserving virtue. For by honey many things are preserved from corruption and wounds of long standing are cleansed. It is also sweet to the taste and is gathered from flowers by bees which are regarded as born of cattle. When therefore into the hands of those initiated into the lion grade honey is poured for washing instead of water, they are charged to keep their hands clean from all wrong and injury and defilement; the offering of actual water to the initiate is avoided as being hostile to the fire with its purifying qualities. The tongue also is purified from all sin by honey. And when honey is offered to the Persian as the guardian of the fruits, its preservative virtue is symbolically expressed.

Here the ritual, medicinal and purificatory aspects of honey which we have discussed are seen in their full array.

4. Summary

Where then does this leave us? In a way, the article shows the problems of focussing on a single substance. To understand the uses of honey, especially in Hatti and among the Greeks, one needs to see how it operates with other substances in order to get a fuller picture of its significances: in Greece its close connection with oil, water and unmixed wine makes clearer its meaning in a ritual and in Greek religious thinking.[83] A further problem is that the paucity of evidence in all three cultures means one has rather to neglect chronology and run together pieces from very different periods. This is a particular problem with the question concerning Greece to be discussed below.

On the other hand, very striking differences have been shown between the three countries: in Lower Egypt (but much less so in Upper) honey clearly plays a major role in important royal rites involving kingly authority, the reciprocal relationship between king and gods and the fertility of the kingdom; in Hatti it is less prominent but its principal uses are to attract beneficial deities of the Underworld and heaven by 'sweetening' them and to dispel curses; in classical Greece there is the perhaps surprising restriction of its use to rites to do with the dead, to the deities of the Underworld and to festivals involving unusual rituals or evoking the ancient past.

The reasons for these differences are not easy to determine. In Lower Egypt the presence of the bee in the royal title and its sharing a word with the crown, alongside the ritual importance of honey, must be related in some way to the long-standing economic and social importance of bee-keeping in that area. By contrast, the fact that the Hittites seem to have settled in their lands only around 1650 B.C.E. may mean that bee-keeping did not have time to achieve the importance it had in Lower Egypt.[84]

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Greek use of honey is the difference that seems to have grown up between Mycenean Greece and later, in that, from the very limited evidence we have for the Mycenean period, there does not seem to have been the distinction found later whereby honey was largely reserved for deities other than the Olympians or for Olympians in their chthonic guises. In Knossos and Chania Zeus, Dionysus and probably

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[83] As demonstrated by Graf 1981.

[84] On the complex question of the settlement of Bronze Age Anatolia see Brice 2005: 8–20.

Poseidon Ennosigaios, 'Olympian' deities at least for later Greeks (though as Ennosigaios Poseidon may have a chthonic aspect here), receive honey, alongside the goddess of childbirth Eleuthia and the enigmatic Mistress of the Labyrinth. Of these only Zeus in his chthonic guise, Dionysus and Eleuth(er)ia receive honey in the later period: Poseidon never does in any guise.

If there was a change it very likely took place in the period after the collapse of the Mycenean and other states around 1200 B.C.E. One possibility (and it is no more than that) is that it was associated with the rise of 'hero' cults, that is cults of great individuals whose exploits in diverse areas led to their being considered as divine figures. They were distinguished from the Olympian gods as being effective locally rather than universally, and occupying places under the ground rather than in heaven. This distinction was also made by the general practice of offering heroes black victims in contrast to the white ones given the Olympians, and doing so on altars that were flat as opposed to the raised altars of the Olympians.[85] It may be therefore that honey, like unmixed wine, wineless sacrifices and other natural products, was chosen as the distinguishing offerings for the new deities. New cults demanded new rites and ones that would distinguish them from the rites of other gods. There may have been a political dimension to all this at a time of rapid political and social change: were heroes used to legitimise new political groupings and organisations, so new rites were established by new authorities? Honey would thus have moved from a substance with important roles in a number of rituals to more specific areas in archaic and classical Greece. We shall probably never know.

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ID	Inscriptions de Délos, 7 vols., Paris: H. Champion, 1926–1972.
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KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.
PHI	https://epigraphy.packhum.org/.

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[85] The distinction is not absolute: see generally Scullion 1994.

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РИТУАЛНА УЛОГА МЕДА У ДРЕВНОМ ЕГИПТУ, ХЕТИТСКОМ ЦАРСТВУ И ГРЧКОЈ

Резиме

Овде је представљено упоређење употребе меда у ритуалним контекстима култура древног Египта, Хетитске државе и Грчке и показане су важне међусобне разлике. У Египту, или прецизније Доњем Египту, мед је играо важну улогу у краљевским ритуалима који су повезивали моћ, здравље и плодност богова и фараона. Супротно томе, код Хетита, иако укључен у важне обреде, нарочито оне којима је намеравано 'омекшавање' богова и привољавање да се појаве међу боговима и људима, мед је само један од много чинилаца. У Грчкој је изгледа постојала разлика између микенског периода, када мед (судећи у мери коју дозвољавају оскудни извори) није био ограничен на посебне типове богова, и архајској и класичној Грчкој, када је у значајној мери био везан за ритуале атипичне врсте, тј. обреде који су евоцирали древна времена или оне који су се тицали подземног света и мртвих. Чланак се завршава разматрањем ограничења која су својствена оваквим компарацијама и спекулацијама о разлозима за уочене разлике. Иако је грађа морала бити представљена са одабиром, наведен је широк распон оригиналних извора.

Кључне речи: мед, древни Египат, Хетити, Крит, античка Грчка, краљевски ауторитет, хтонски ритуали, дозивање (evocatio) богова, клетве, нормални и 'абнормални' ритуали.

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ON THE MIRROR OF TYRANTS: XENOPHON'S *HIERO* AND ITS CONTEXT(S)*

Abstract: This article argues that in the *Hiero*, Xenophon skilfully combines elements of wisdom literature, epinician poetry, the Mirror of Tyrants and *logoi Sōkratikoi*. In doing so, he pursues two objectives. One is to link his reflections on leadership to respected and influential traditions in order to give his views additional weight and render them interesting for a wider audience. The second objective is to respond to Plato's challenge to the traditional way of doing politics and, more specifically, the view that it is irremediable. For these reasons, this paper attempts to reconstruct the influence of wisdom literature (*hypothēkai*, Seven Sages), the Mirror of Tyrants (Isocrates), epinician poetry (Simonides, Pindar) and Plato's dialogues on the *Hiero*.

Keywords: The *Hiero*, Seven Sages, Praise and Didactic Poetry, Mirror of Tyrants, Xenophon, Simonides, Plato, Isocrates, Pindar.

Time and again, Xenophon's *Hiero* has been a source of fascination for modern scholars. Ever since Leo Strauss' influential study *On Tyranny* (1948), this dialogue has been mainly regarded as distinctively idiosyncratic.[1] Its oddity is manifested chiefly in its positive attitude toward tyranny.[2] In the opening part, the poet and wise man Simonides glorifies the benefits of tyrannical power, only to be corrected by Hiero, the tyrant. In the second part, Simonides rejects Hiero's pessimism and demonstrates how to overcome the disadvantages of autocratic rule. It is, however, my belief that viewing this

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For the notion Mirror of Tyrants and its relation to the Mirror of Princes, see Jordović 2019: 11–14, 160–164.

1 Strauss 2000: 29–30; see also Buzzetti 2015: 234–235. Strauss' influence is mirrored in the fact that in scholarly circles there is a noticeable tendency to link the *Hiero* with his study; see, e.g., Buzzetti 2015: 227–257; Burns – Frost 2016; Nippel 2017: 254 with n. 53. Nino Luraghi (2013: 140) notices that the very different interpretations of the *Education of Cyrus* can be credited to its puzzling nature.

2 See, e.g., Levy 2018: 29–30.

idiosyncrasy as key to understanding the *Hiero* has reached its limits. Despite the manifold and often intricate solutions it provides, the motives that inspired Xenophon to write *Hiero* are still much in dispute.[3]

Three features of Xenophon's writings are important for an understanding of *Hiero*: diversity of genre, consistency of political and ethical opinion, and the relatively short time it took him to write it. Several works on the same or a related topic by a single author may be explained by slight, or not so slight, changes of opinion over time. Writing works that differ from one another may be a consequence of examining widely varying topics. The first explanation will not do for Xenophon because of the consistency of his views. The second might serve for works such as the *Apology of Socrates, Hellenica, Agesilaus*, etc. However, neither interpretation explains the origins of *Cyropaedia* or *Hiero*. It is not possible to pin them to an exact date (the late 360s or early 350s B.C.E.), but they were certainly not written more than a few years apart.[4] Both revolve around an autocratic ruler and the issue of retaining power, or rather, how to achieve good rule. Cyrus, indeed, serves as a paradigm of a good, successful, and happy monarch, and Hiero as one of an unhappy tyrant. However, we must not forget that even before describing Cyrus's rise, Xenophon makes it clear that the rule of the founder of the Persian Empire serves as a counterexample of failed exercise of authority in a democracy, oligarchy, monarchy and tyranny:[5]

> ἔννοιά ποθ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως βουλομένων πολιτεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ὅσαι τ᾽ αὖ μοναρχίαι, ὅσαι τε ὀλιγαρχίαι ἀνῄρηνται ἤδη ὑπὸ δήμων, καὶ ὅσοι τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ κἂν ὁποσονοῦν χρόνον ἄρχοντες διαγένωνται, θαυμάζονται ὡς σοφοί τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι.
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> The thought once occurred to us how many democracies have been overthrown by people who preferred to live under any form of government other than a democratic one, and again, how many monarchies and how many oligarchies in times past have been abolished by the people. We reflected, moreover, how many of those individuals who have aspired to absolute power have either been deposed once and for all and that right quickly; or if they have continued in power, no matter for how short a time, they are objects of wonder as having proved to be wise and happy men (*sophoi te kai eutycheis andres*).

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[3] See, for example, Sordi 2004: 71–78, esp. 73–74 (Desire to instruct the contemporary rulers of Syracuse); Sevieri 2004: 277–287 (A recourse to a complex of thoughts current in epinician poetry); Gray 2007 (A blueprint for philosophers interested in how to reform a tyrant and a mirror for autocratic rulers); Schorn 2008: 177–203 (Inconsistencies in argumentation and allusions to Xenophon's Socratic works indicate that the reader interested in this topic should consult the *Memorabilia* and *Oeconomicus*); *Id*. 2010: 38–61 (Simonides' advice in Part 2 is based on Philistus' idealisation of Dionysios I); Leppin 2010: 77–89 (Part of the political discourse which aims at a depersonalisation of politics in favour of techniques of governance); Gaile-Irbe 2013: 93–105 (A response to Plato's depiction of tyranny in Book 8–9 of the *Republic*); Takakjy 2017: 49–73 (A negative critique of the epinician genre and the presumption that praise poetry can mask tyranny and other ethical failings); Zuolo 2018: 564–576 (Its purpose is to provide guidance for potential or actual tyrants. For this reason Socrates is not included in the dialogue, despite its partially Socratic structure); Parks 2018: 385–410 (Instructs on how to turn a faulty leadership system around on the basis of self-interest and by means of pragmatic reform); Levy 2018: 29–50 (By presenting Hiero's dissatisfaction with tyranny and Simonides' advice, Xenophon indicates the essentially defective character of the *bios tyrannikos*).

[4] See Aalders 1953: 208–215; Breitenbach 1967: 1742, 1746.

[5] Xen. *Cyr*. 1.1.1 (trans. W. Miller, with minor changes); see also Gray 1986: 117.

It follows that any divergence in the content matter of *Hiero* could fit without much difficulty within the frame of *Cyropaedia*, and even more so since, in addition to the new Assyrian King embodying the prototype of the worst type of tyrant, it also features several "half-bad" or "half-good" autocrats such as Astyages, Cyaxares, Croesus and the King of Armenia.[6] Furthermore, in the episode about the "half-bad" Armenian king, a wise man (*sophistēs*) is mentioned and his depiction coincides with the image of Socrates.[7] All this leads to the assumption that we should look for Xenophon's impetus for writing the *Hiero* not so much in the content of the work but in the form.

On these grounds, this study deliberately opts for a different approach. It argues that Xenophon never composed the *Hiero* to be puzzling. On the contrary, his intention was to compose a sophisticated work with a clear message.[8] It is our lack of understanding of this dialogue's generic context that creates an impression of oddness. Francis Cairns' observation summarizes perfectly the logic adopted by this study:[9]

> The logical incompleteness and apparent internal inconsistencies of many ancient writings are consequence of their non-individual character, that is, their membership of genres in the sense defined. These writings assume in the reader a knowledge of the circumstances and content of the particular genre to which they belong, and they exploit this knowledge to allow logical connexions and distinctions to remain implicit or be omitted altogether. In ages and civilizations where, as is the case today, writer and audience do not share a common body of knowledge and expectation, such features of literary works may well be faults of composition. But in situations where, as in classical antiquity, writer and audience do have this common background, they can be part of a greater sophistication in the conveying of information.

If a work subtly combines elements of several genres, it is reasonable to assume that the perception of inconsistency can evolve into an impression that one is dealing with an extremely perplexing or even odd text. For these reasons, this paper will focus on Xenophon's subtle playing with different genres and his dialogue with other classical authors, rather than on a dialectical engagement with other modern interpreters of the *Hiero*. It will also refrain from a thorough examination of Xenophon's reflections on the nature of leadership, since it assumes that all of his writings in this respect represent one and the same view.[10]

This study is divided into four sections. The basic premise of the first part (Hiero *and the Wisdom Literature*) is that Xenophon modelled *Hiero* after motifs typical for

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6 Assyrian King (Xen. *Cyr*. 1.4.16–17; 4.6.2–6; 5.2.27–28, 3.6–8, 4.30–31; 6.1.45; 7.5.29–30); Astyages (Xen. *Cyr*. 1.3.2, 4–5, 10, 16, 18); Cyaxares (Xen. *Cyr*. 2.4.5–6; 4.1.13–21, 5.8–12, 27–34; 5.5.2, 6–36, 39, 44; 6.1.1); Croesus (Xen. *Cyr*. 4.1.8, 2.29; 6.2.19, 7.2.5, 9–29; 8.2.15–19); King of Armenia (Xen. *Cyr*. 2.4.12, 22; 3.1.1–2, 9–40); *cf*. Eder 1995: 166–167.

7 Xen. *Cyr*. 3.1.38–40; see Gera 1993: 27, 86–88, 91–93.

8 *Contra* Strauss 2000: 26,

9 See Cairns 1972: 6–7; see also Ford 2019: 57-73. Vivienne Gray (1998: 159–160) quotes the same lines with regard to the *Memorabilia*. A complicating factor is the phenomenon called generification. Andrew Ford (2019: 57–81) draws attention to the fact that genres are not timeless, pristine or pure, as the production of a genre is an ongoing process. Authors learned early to revise and exploit literary tradition in order to present their work as new and old at the same time. As a result of this, genres gradually evolve. Glenn Most (1994: 131–134, 148–150) gives a very interesting account of the principles and problems that guide the recontextualization of ancient texts.

10 See, for example, Schorn 2008: 179; 188–193, 195, 199–200.

wisdom literature in order to give additional weight to his views and render them interesting for a wider audience. It will show that the tradition of the Seven Sages was popular and fictitious, its ethic was traditional and leaned toward the practical, the contrast *sophos – tyrannos* played an important role, and that there is a link to poetry as the most popular tradition of pre-philosophical wisdom. Because of this, in the Classical age individuals and groups who were engaged in cultivating knowledge tended to associate their teachings with the Seven Sages in order to bolster their authority with their audience (e.g., Simonides). Plato, Isocrates and the Peripatetics are illustrations of this tendency being augmented by an additional aspect: invoking the Seven Sages as part of the debate over what type of knowledge and educational scheme might be subsumed under the term philosophy.

This would suggest that *Hiero* shares many commonalities with wisdom literature: it is in essence an "outsized" anecdote about an encounter between a wise man and a tyrant; no serious effort is made to give the discussion at least a pseudo-credible historical background; the sage is a poet; its practice-oriented ethic is reflected in the fact that advice to the tyrant focuses on mechanisms of rule rather than on the ruler's ethical improvement;[11] the strong emphasis on reciprocity shows that, in key areas, its ethic is in accordance with Greek popular morality. Finally, *Hiero* was written with an intense dispute between rival political thinkers in mind, which will be discussed later in greater detail.

The second section (*Simonides and Plato*) examines why Xenophon chose Simonides. It pursues three lines of argument and elucidates the influence of the *logoi Sōkratikoi*. One of these is that, in the fourth century B.C.E, there was a strong anecdotal tradition involving Simonides that was appealing to Xenophon for several reasons: it focuses on Simonides' personality rather than his work, placing him between the Seven Sages and the Socratics; the *apophthegmata* ascribed to Simonides exhibit commonalities with proverbs attributed to most renowned poets and to Socratics. Due to these features it made sense for Xenophon to choose Simonides as an interlocutor in the *Hiero*, because his figure could serve as bridge between the old (poetry, Seven Sages) and new traditions of wisdom (sophistry, philosophy). The second line of argument posits that the same tradition incited Plato to strongly criticise Simonides, which in turn provoked Xenophon to respond. In the *Protagoras* and the *Republic*, several of Socrates' interlocutors invoke Simonides as an intellectual authority in order to substantiate their arguments. This forces Socrates not only to refute their standpoints, but also to contradict the view that Simonides is wise and claim that he was not truly free. In this context it is significant that Plato is in complete opposition to Xenophon regarding several important notions and concepts (the hard path of virtue and easy path of vice; re-education of the tyrannical man; justice is to harm one's enemies and help one's friends; the response to the *doxa-alētheia* challenge). And finally, Xenophon chose Simonides because parallels were drawn even in the Platonic tradition between Plato's links to the Dionysii of Syracuse, Simonides and Hiero, as well as to Solon, Croesus and Cyrus.

The third section (*The Mirror of Tyrants, Encomium and Epinicion*) addresses why Xenophon opted for Hiero as the other interlocutor and examines the impact of the Mirror of Tyrants and praise poetry. An analysis of Isocrates' Mirror of Tyrants reveals several

[11] *Cf.* Leppin 2010.

important features of this genre: the contrast *bios tyrannikos – bios idiōtikos* plays a major role and its origins can be traced back to Plato's response to the democratic controversy *polypragmosynē – apragmosynē*; the tyrannical life is eulogised, yet this is not to be confused with its advocacy, as its purpose is to repudiate Plato's view that the traditional way of conducting politics is incorrigible; there is a link between the encomium and the moral precepts of the poets, which in turn are related to wisdom literature; advice is to be dispensed in an interesting manner; the ruler being praised should overcome the dichotomy *public – private*; this type of text is philosophical in nature; the advice is to be directed at a contemporary (not mythical) ruler; the historical context serves as a backcloth, and because of this, its visibility can vary noticeably; and finally, Dionysios I and Cyrus belong to the most popular figures of this genre.

Almost all of these elements can be detected in the *Hiero* and may be interpreted as a sign of Isocrates' influence. Nonetheless, Xenophon did not just depend upon Isocrates, but also went back to the epinician poets who praised Hiero. They contributed greatly to his rule remaining in the memory of subsequent generations in a considerably more positive light than that of the Dionysii. Given the fragmentary state of Simonides' work, the impact of epinician poetry on Xenophon (and Isocrates) can be determined above all from Pindars' victory odes. An examination of Pindar's Mirror of Tyrants-like passages illustrates how he anticipated some of the key elements of this genre: the character of the ruler takes precedence over the type of constitution; the positive image of the tyrant reveals itself in benevolence towards citizens; the inconsistency of the ruler's happiness and the envy of his subjects are important topics; moral conduct is seen as prerequisite for successful rule; and the juxtaposition of positive and negative patterns of behaviour is a key technique by which ruler is praised.

The fourth and last section (*The Principal Message of the* Hiero) argues that the main aim of *Hiero* is to rebut Plato's radical break with the traditional way of doing politics. A comparison of relevant passages from the *Hiero*, the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* reveals significant concurrences between Plato and Xenophon: praise of the *bios tyrannikos* reflects general opinion; the term *zēloûn* is used to denote a positive attitude towards tyranny; the illusory nature of the notion of a happy tyrant is revealed through Socratic argument; every aspect of the tyrant's life is determined by his position; the tyrant is absolutely unfree as he is least likely to do what he really wants; etc. Nevertheless, there is one crucial difference, and it makes clear that the function of these parallels is to underline Xenophon's fundamental disagreement with Plato. The principal message of the *Hiero* is that the tyrant can change and achieve a happy life by following the *sophos*' instructions. In contrast, Plato argues in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* that the traditional *bios politikos* ultimately leads to the *bios tyrannikos*, and the tyrannical man is deaf to all words of truth. Consequently, traditional politics must be rejected and replaced with philosophy. By saying that the tyrant can be transformed, Xenophon claims that even the worst aberrations of traditional politics can be corrected, thus dismissing Plato's stance that (traditional) politics and philosophy are diametrically opposed.

1. The *Hiero* and Wisdom Literature

The *Memorabilia* are modelled on the tradition of *chreiai* and *apophthegmata*—the pithy, sage proverbs and the actions of wise men. This was a favoured and greatly venerated tradition in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.[12] In antiquity, over twenty people were counted among the Seven Sages.[13] All *hoi hepta sophoi* were famous people who lived in the seventh and sixth centuries. The tradition, however, did not emerge until the late sixth and early fifth centuries.[14]

Xenophon's affinity for the wisdom literature genre is also evident in the *Hiero*. The reader is immediately aware that this is not a dialogue between just any two people, but between a tyrant and a poet, and the latter is explicitly referred to as a wise man:[15]

> Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· ἆρ᾽ ἄν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγήσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ; καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὁποῖα δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός; οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ, πῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.
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> Simonides, the poet (*poiētēs*), once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot (*tyrannos*). When both found time to spare, Simonides said: "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?" "And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise (*sophos*) as yourself?" "I know you were born a private citizen (*idiōtēs*)," he answered, "and are now a despot (*tyrannos*). Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives (*bios*) of the despot (*tyrannikos*) and the citizen (*idiōtikos*) differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."

In addition to the contrast sage – tyrant, there are two more aspects typical of wisdom literature. From the opening sentence we learn only that Simonides "once upon a time" came to Hiero, but everything else is left in the dark.[16] This makes it clear that the conversation's historical context is merely a backdrop. The other aspect is the information that the sage visited the ruler. Herodotus illustrates that both aspects were characteristic of anecdotes about encounters between the sage and the tyrant.[17]

In the first half of the fourth century, several important thinkers thematised the sayings of the Seven Sages, and associated them directly or indirectly with their own teachings. The first reliably known to have done so is Plato. The *Protagoras* is not only the oldest surviving source in which the Seven Sages form a homogeneous *collegiums*; in addition it declares that Solon is the wisest among them. Plato is also the first to show that,

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12 See Gray 1998: 105–122, 159–177, 191–192.

13 Diog. Laert. 1.40–41; see White 2001: 204; Leão 2010: 409. For the notion Seven Sages (*hoi hepta sophoi / sophoi / sophistai / hoi hepta / hepta philosophoi*; Diog. Laert. 1.22; 9.71) see Barkowski 1923: 2242–2243; Martin 1998: 109; Engels 2010: 7, 9.

14 See Martin 1998: 112–113; Bollansée 1999: 65–75; *contra* Fehling 1985: 12–19.

15 Xen. *Hier*. 1.1–2 (trans. E. C. Marchant); see Gray 2007: 31–32. Federico Zuolo (2018: 568) observes: "In 2.5 it is said that Simonides holds *gnomē*, a traditional form of wisdom".

16 See Strauss 2000: 36.

17 Hdt. 1.27.2, 29.1.

in the Classical period, the Seven Sages served as a means of identification and legitimacy for various groups devoted to the cultivation of knowledge (*Wissenspflege*). Plato's Socrates introduces his genealogy of *philosophia* as a countermodel to Protagoras' history of sophistry. While the sophist lists renowned poets (inlcuding Simonides) as predecessors of the *sophistikē technē* and as crypto-sophists, Socrates explains that philosophy has its most ancient roots in Crete and Lacedaemon, and counts the Seven Sages among the crypto-philosophers.[18] It is not surprising then, that numerous collections of sayings by the Seven Sages appeared in the fourth century. More importantly, as philosophy began to delimit from sophistry, rhetoric, poetry, traditional religion and the specialized sciences, there was debate concerning which types of knowledge could be subsumed under the term philosophy and which could not.[19] It appears the debate prompted additional interest in the wisdom of the Seven Sages, which would explain the different roles assigned to them by tradition. Diogenes Laertius says that they were designated as philosophers, poets, men of practical wisdom, and legislators.[20] In the *Antidosis*, Isocrates contests the application of the term philosophy to the abstract study of reality. At the same time, he associates his conception of philosophy with the Seven Sages and in particular with Solon.[21] The Peripatetics show that, even within one philosophical school, there were diverging opinions, which gave rise to scholarly quandaries over the nature of these divergences. Some believe that Aristotle and Theophrastus saw the Seven Sages as representing *bios theōrētikos*, but that Dicaearchus believed them to represent *bios praktikos*.[22] Others, again, assume that Aristotle saw the oldest form of philosophy in their sayings,[23] and that Dicaerchus believed them to be wise but not philosophers as the term was generally understood from Plato onwards.[24]

Another important feature of the tradition of the Seven Sages, as noted by Richard Martin and Leslie Kurke, is its connection to the most popular tradition of pre-philosophical (and thus pre-Platonic) wisdom: poetry.[25] A number of ancient sources took pains to portray the Seven Sages as writers of poems.[26] It is particularly remarkable that not only is Solon depicted as a composer of didactic poems (*hypothēkai*), which is not really surprising, but so, too, is Periander, who, despite having a reputation of being a ruthless tyrant, was counted among the Seven Sages.[27] The ancient world, as Monica Gale remarks, "at most periods

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18 Pl. *Prt*. 316d–317c, 342–343b; *Chrm*. 164d–165a; *Hp. mai*. 281c–d; *Ti*. 20d–e; see Wehrli 1973: 195; Rösler 1991: 361; Martin 1998: 112–113, 120–121, 125 n. 16; Manuwald 1999: 140–144, 324–326, 330–331, 335–337; Althoff – Zeller 2006: 8; Asper 2006: 90–91, 95, 98–101; Engels 2010: 13–15; Leão 2010: 409–414. Rudolf Hirzel (1895: 133–135 with n. 2) argues that the sophists considered themselves to be successors of the Seven Sages; *cf*. also Barkowski 1923: 2262–2263.

19 See Nehamas 1990: 3–16; Nightingale 2004: 17–19, Nebelin 2016: 310–333, esp. 310–314.

20 Diog. Laert. 1.40; see White 2001: 202; *cf*. also Martin 1998: 109.

21 Isoc. 15.183–188, 235, 261–262, 265–271, 312–313; *cf*. Nehamas 1990: 4–5; Moore 2019: 213–215.

22 See Jaeger 1928: 1–34, esp. 3–4, 6, 9–10, 25–33; Scholz 1998: 204–211; Fechner – Scholz 2002: 116–118; *cf*. also Nightingale 2004: 18–26, esp. 21.

23 See Flashar 2004: 262–263; Althoff 2011: 47–49.

24 See White 2001: 195–236; *cf*. also Nebelin 2016: 58–59.

25 See Martin 1998: 113–115; Gray 2007: 33; Kurke 2011: 101–108, esp. 105–108; Nebelin 2016: 49–50, 75–77.

26 Diog. Laert. 1.29, 35, 40, 61, 68, 89–90, 97, 101; esp. 40. For Diogenes Laertius as a source see Martin 1998: 109; Nebelin 2016: 55.

27 Diog. Laert. 1.61, 97; see also Solon fr. 4.30 W; *cf*. Wehrli 1973: 200–201; Martin 1998: 111, 115; Kässer 2005: 96.

tended to regard *all* poetry as educational."[28] As a result, ancient literary criticism never devised a category labelled didactic poetry,[29] and it was not at all unusual for poets to be portrayed as bearers of wisdom.[30] Therefore, it is no coincidence that Plato associates his most severe criticism of Simonides with the tradition of the Seven Sages (see below). Furthermore, in this same context, Plato rejects Hesiod's notion of two paths (see below). This is significant insofar as Hesiod was one of the first and foremost representatives of the *hypothēkai* genre.[31]

Tradition does not depict the Seven Sages as teachers of abstract principles. Their wisdom is practical, it resolves difficult questions or situations, and they demonstrate a manifest concern for others. As a rule, their sayings are pithy, without justification, timeless, unrelated to a singular situation, intrinsically imperative and not directed at anyone in particular; several wise men are frequently cited as the authors of one and the same adage. These qualities point to the conclusion that they reflect Greek popular wisdom and general norms of behaviour.[32] It follows that these maxims were only later associated with certain individuals and it is from this that the tradition of the Seven Sages emerged. There are various hypotheses on the causes that gave rise to it (a defence mechanism of Greek identity, the strengthening of Panhellenic unity, the expansion of Delphic influence, the need to adjust the concept of the wise and cunning individual to new challenges, a vehicle for transmitting a typology of aristocratic principles, etc.).[33]

Because the sayings of the Seven Sages represent a practical ethic based on insight into the general *conditio humana*, it is to be expected that, in a society dominated by the polis, their wisdom would often touch on social and political matters. They condemned self-serving, wilful and violent behaviour, so the original intention for many of them was to curb or quash egotistical grasping after honour and power in domineering individuals, as it endangered the stability of the polis. It was thus not unusual for the best-known of the Seven Sages to be associated with public life and political activity in various ways.[34]

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28 Gale 100–104; see also *Id*. 2005: 101–103; Kässar 2005: 95.

29 See Kässer 2005: 95–96.

30 Pl. *Prt*. 316d–e; Diog. Laert. 1.12–13; see also Solon fr. 13 W (ll. 51–52); Pind. *Ol*. 1.8–9, 116; 9.38, *Pyth*. 1.12; 4.248; 6.49; *Nem*. 7.23; *Isthm*. 7.18; *Pae*. 7b; Thgn. 19, 769–770, 789–790, 995; Xenoph. B 2 DK (ll. 12, 14); see Thayer 1975: 6–10; Mülke 2002: 305; Kurke 2011: 105–106; Itgenshorst 2014: 116–120.

31 Hes. fr. 283–285 M–W; Pind. *Pyth*. 6.19–27, 66–69; schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 6.22; Ar. fr. 239 KA; Cratinus fr. 250, 252–253 KA; Pherecrates fr. 155, 162 KA; Quint. *Inst*. 1.1.1; Ath. 8.364a–b; ARV^2 329.134; IG VII 4240; see also Ar. *Ran*. 1030–1036; Pl. *Prt*. 316d; 325e–326a; Isoc. 2.3, 42–44; *cf*. Friedländer 1913: 558–572, esp. 564, 571–572; West 1978: 3–25, esp. 23–25; Martin 1984: 32–33, 38–39; Kurke 1990: 89–95, esp. 90–93 with n. 23; 192; Kässar 2005: 96; Gale 2005: 101–104; Ford 2010: 146–152; Stamatopoulou 2017: 7–8, 114–115, 118–121, 188–192.

32 See Rösler 1991, 357; Asper 2006: 86–87, 89; Engels 2010: 94–97.

33 See Rösler 1991: 361–364; *Id*. 2003: 111–113; Asper 2006: 93–95; Leão 2010: 404, 411. Winfried Schmitz (2004: 311–330, esp. 319–29) has shown that the influence of didactic literature from the ancient Near East on the Greek wisdom tradition was neither strong nor direct.

34 Sayings: „νόμῳ πείθου – obey the laws" (S 2; D III. 19; Diog. Laert. 1.70); „ἄρχεσθαι μαθὼν ἄρχειν επιστήσῃ – when you learn how to be ruled, you will learn how to rule" (D II. 10; Diog. Laert. 1.60); see Martin 1998: 115; Asper 2006: 87–88, 91; Engels 2010: 13, 90, 92, 94, 97–98. Solon (mediator and lawgiver), Chilon (high-ranking official) and tyrants (Pittacus, Periander); see also Dicaearch. fr. 30, 31 Wehrli; Diog. Laert. 1.40–1; Cic. *Rep*. 1.12; *De or*. 3.137; see Martin 1998: 115.

Quite early on, encounters between sages and a powerful tyrant became a distinctive aspect of this tradition.[35] It is seen first in Herodotus, where four sages, who are always counted among the seven, converse with Croesus.[36] According to Herodotus, the Spartan sage Chilon foresaw Peisistratus's rise to power.[37] Later sources say that Solon warned of Peisistratus's tyranny and left his native city of his own accord, since none of his fellow citizens believed him.[38] After seizing power, Peisistratus generously invited the famous statesman to return to Athens. Solon admitted that, of all the tyrants, Peisistratus was the best, but nevertheless refused to return because he rejected tyranny as a matter of principle.[39] Legend has it that Pittacus wanted to renounce power out of the fear of becoming a tyrant.[40] Plato is said to have stricken Periander from the list of the seven since he believed that no tyrant could be a sage.[41]

Notions of the sages not permitting themselves to become blinded by the power and opulence of tyranny, remaining loyal to a government based on law, and showing themselves to be more far-sighted than the tyrants, are in sync with wisdom literature as a genre. However, something else in the depiction of these encounters stands out from the ordinary: These same sages, frequently presented as politically active, when meeting with a tyrant are usually described as having distanced themselves from politics.[42] This was probably to emphasise the degree to which the sages disapproved of tyrannical rule or, more specifically, the abuse of political power. The best-known story of a meeting with a wise man – the dialogue between Solon and Croesus in Herodotus – goes a step further. In this anecdote not only has the sage turned his back on political life, but he plainly prefers the life of the common people to all the boons of a tyrant's life by describing a few *idiōtai* as the happiest of people while refusing to say the same of the despot Croesus:[43]

> κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα κατά θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, […] θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· 'ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ᾽ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἵμερος ἐπειρέσθαι με ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον. […] Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· 'ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ᾽ ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;

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35 See Gray 1986: 118–121.

36 Bias, Pittacus (Hdt. 1.27.2–5 *cf*. Diod. 9.25, 9.27.3–4); Solon (Hdt. 1.29–33; cf. Diod. 9.1.2–2.4, 9.27.1–2); Thales (Hdt. 1.75.3–6); *cf*. also Diod. Sic. 9.2.1–4, 26.1–27.4. Bias, Pittacus, Solon and Thales are always counted among the Seven Sages (Dicaearch. fr. 32 Wehrli; Diog. Laert. 1.41); see Barkowski 1923: 2244; Rösler 1991: 357–359; Martin 1998: 125 n. 16; Asheri – Lloyd – Corcella 2007: 96; Leão 2010: 405; Engels 2010: 12; Kurke 2010: 104.

37 Hdt. 1.59.1–3; *cf*. also FGrHist 105.1.

38 Diog. Laert. 1.44, 49–50, 93, 113; *cf*. Diod. 9.4.1–4, 9.20.1–4.

39 Diog. Laert. 1.53–54, 66–67.

40 Schol. *Hp*. *mai*. 304e; Zen. 6.38; see also Diog. Laert. 1.75, 77; Diod. 9.11.1, 9.12.2–3; *cf*. Wehrli 1973: 199–201.

41 Pl. *Rep.* 335e–336a; *Prt*. 343a; Dicaearch. fr. 32 Wehrli; Diog. Laert. 1.106–108; Diod. 9.7; Paus. 10.24.1; *cf*. Manuwald 1999: 336.

42 See also Pl. *Hp*. *mai*. 281b–d; cp. Leão 2010: 407–408.

43 Hdt. 1.29–33 (trans. A. D. Godley); see Gray 2007: 32–33; Jordović 2019: 132–134.

> and after these were subdued and subject to Croesus in addition to the Lydians, all the sages (*sophistai*) from Hellas who were living at that time, coming in different ways, came to Sardis, which was at the height of its property; and among them came Solon the Athenian, who, after making laws for the Athenians at their request, went abroad for ten years, sailing forth to see the world (*theōria*), […] After Solon had seen everything and had thought about it, Croesus found the opportunity to say, "My Athenian guest, we have heard a lot about you because of your wisdom (*sophia*) and of your wanderings, how as one who loves learning (*philosophein*) you have travelled much of the world for the sake of seeing it (*theōria*), so now I desire to ask you who is the most fortunate (*olbiōtatos*) man you have seen." […] Thus Solon granted second place in happiness to these men. Croesus was vexed and said, "My Athenian guest, do you so much despise our happiness that you do not even make us worth as much as common men (*andrōn idiōteōn*)?"

We may therefore conclude that the *bios tyrannikos – bios idiōtikos* dichotomy was already present in wisdom literature. This conclusion is reinforced by Herodotus' depiction of the meeting between Solon and Croesus becoming a paradigm for the encounter between the sage and the tyrant.[44]

Even this cursory glance at the tradition of the Seven Sages points to several elements that would have prompted Xenophon to write a work referring to wisdom literature:[45] it was very popular and widely read, it was obviously fictitious, its ethic was a practical one that summed up behavioural norms traditionally considered desirable, and, finally, the wise man and the tyrant were shown as two antipodes. Through the *Hiero*, Xenophon associated his own views and teachings with the wisdom tradition, thus providing them with additional significance.

An inquiring mind is not a sufficient explanation of the diversity of Xenophon's opus. It is possible that the decision to write *Hiero* was influenced by something else: the desire to acquaint the broadest possible readership with his views. The *Apology*, *Memorabilia* and *Symposium* were intended for those interested in philosophy and Socratic literature; the *Hellenica* was for history lovers; *Agesilaus*, besides satisfying readers of history, would also please those interested in encomia. *Anabasis* is an autobiographical and historical work as well as a military handbook. The *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* can be considered as a *politeia* writing and was certainly read by those who looked to Sparta as a model. The *Cyropaedia* belongs to the Mirror of Tyrants genre with elements of an encomium, a historical novel, and a military handbook. Bearing in mind that Xenophon had covered most of the literary genres meant to educate, one might ask why he would not try to meet the needs of those seeking advice and knowledge in wisdom literature. He was obviously aware of it, as he otherwise would not have mentioned its influence on the young, knowledge-thirsty *kaloi kagathoi* in the *Memorabilia*.[46] If the *Hiero* was written under the influence of wisdom literature, it would explain why Xenophon once more felt the need to use the subject of autocratic rule as he had in the *Cyropaedia*.[47]

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44 See Snell 1971: 44–45; Leão 2010: 405, 411–412; Jordović 2019: 131–135.

45 See Gray 1992: 60, 66.

46 Xen. *Mem*. 1.6.14 (*tous thēsaurous tōn palai sophōn andrōn, hous ekeinoi katelipon en bibliois grapsantes*); 4.2.1 (*grammata polla syneilegmenon poētōn te kai sophistōn*); 4.2.9 (*tas de tōn sophōn andrōn gnōmas*); see also Aeschin. 3.134–136; Isoc. 1.51–52; 2.13; Pl. *Leg*. 810e–811a, 886b–e; Diog. Laert. 6.31; *cf*. Horne & Fritz 1935: 78; Barns 1950: 132.

47 See Gray 1986: 118–121.

Nonetheless, there are some questions that are still left unresolved. Uncertainty persists as to why he avoided writing a dialogue between one of the Seven Sages and an infamous tyrant. For this, there are two complementary explanations. The first is that by choosing a poet of renown but never counted among the Seven Sages, Xenophon cleverly evaded having his work reduced to yet another anecdote of an encounter between a sage and a tyrant. Secondly, as shown in the *Cyropaedia* and *Agesilaus*, he tended to merging several genres in one work.[48] By not quite adapting the *Hiero* to the standards of wisdom literature, he left room for the subtle inclusion of elements from other genres, as for instance the Mirror of Tyrants and Socratic literature.

2. Simonides and Plato

Despite all this, the question remains of why Xenophon chose Simonides and Hiero as the main and only protagonists of this work. Regrettably, the scant sources available only allow us to make assumptions.

In the Archaic era, poets developed various strategies to bolster their authority with their audience. One of these was to claim they were endowed with wisdom.[49] This is probably why Simonides is the oldest known source to speak of the Seven Sages as bearers of wisdom.[50] In the *Wasps*, Aristophanes tells us that Simonides competed with Lasus, whom some sources counted among the Seven Sages.[51] In addition, Simonides enjoyed the reputation of being extremely clever.[52] Although considered to be a great poet, there were numerous anecdotes in circulation that did not always present him in the best light.[53] He was believed to have been a miser and to have enjoyed the company of unscrupulous power mongers.[54] There are brief anecdotes linking him with Themistocles.[55] It is said that he stayed at the court of the Peisistratids.[56] He established close connections with the Scopades in Thessaly.[57] Simonides spent the last years of his life in Sicily. He is said to have resided some time at the courts of the tyrants Gelon and Hiero, where he helped bring about

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48 See Gray 1986: 122–123. Genre mixing is from a very early stage a widespread practice in Greek literature; see Foster – Kurke – Weiss 2019: 10–19.

49 See Thayer 1975: 6–10; Itgenshorst 2014: 116–120.

50 See Wehrli 1973: 199.

51 Ar. *Vesp*. 1401–1410, Diog. Laert. 1.42; see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913: 142, 148; Wehrli 1973: 203.

52 Aristot. *Rhet*. 1391a8–12; Cic. *Nat. D*. 1.60; *De or*. 2.86; Plut. *Quomodo adul*. 15c–d.

53 *Anth. Pal*. 6.213; Theoc. *Id*. 16.42–7; *Vit. Aesch*. (p. 332 Page O.C.T.); Callim. *Aet*. fr. 64.1–4; Dion. Hal. *Comp*. 23; *De imit*. 2.420; Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.64.

54 Xenoph. DK 21 B 21; Ar. *Pax* 695–698; Aristot. *Rhet*. 1405b24–7; Chamael. fr. 32 Wehrli; Plut. *An seni* 786b; *De curios*. 520a; Ath. 14.656d–e; P. Hibeh 17; see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913: 142, 148–149; Wehrli 1973: 203–204; Bell 1978: 31–39, 44, 61–62, 70–71; Lefkowitz 1981: 50–53.

55 Cic. *Fin*. 2.32.104; Plut. *Vit. Them*. 1.1, 5.6, 15.3–4; see also Simon. T. 104, fr. 252, 325 Poltera [536, 627 PMG]; *cf*. Bell 1978: 40–43.

56 In the Pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus* Socrates says that the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus retained the services of Simonides with large fees and gifts. The son of Peisistratus did this with a view to educating citizens, so that he might rule over them as better men (Pl. *Hipparch*. 228c); see also Aristot. *Ath. Pol*. 18.1; *cf*. Bell 1978: 43; Gray 2007: 33; Rawles 2018: 165–166.

57 Pl. *Prt*. 339a; Callim. *Aet*. fr. 64.1–4; Ath.13.125; Cic. *De or*. 2.86; Quint. *Inst*. 11.6.11–17; *cf*. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913:142–143; Poltera 2008, 455.

reconciliation with Theron, the master of Acragas. According to tradition, Simonides died in Acragas in 468, the same year as his patron Hiero.[58]

Apart from pointing out Simonides' contacts with tyrants, there are three other significant features of the tradition surrounding him. First, as Mary Lefkowitz notes, anecdotes began to spread about him as early as the fifth century, and in the fourth century the story of his life outstripped interest in his poetry.[59] Secondly, as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has observed, Simonides as a biographical subject is placed between the Seven Sages and the Socratics.[60] Thirdly, as remarked by Fritz Wehrli, Simonides' *apophthegmata* belong to the same tradition as the *chreiai* of the Seven Sages and the proverbs of Hesiod and Homer. Unlike these, Simonides' *apophthegmata* are intrinsically linked to specific situations and reveal individual character traits. They share this feature with anecdotes about the Socratic and post-Socratic philosophers (e.g. Aristippus).[61] These reasons seem to have led Xenophon to include reworked anecdotes about Simonides in his *Symposium*.[62]

Coincidentally or not, Plato can contribute to a better understanding of the background to Xenophon's choice of Simonides as Hiero's interlocutor. The famous philosopher shows that Simonides wanted to be associated with the tradition of the Seven Sages, and in this he was successful. In the eponymous dialogue, Protagoras includes Simonides with Homer and Hesiod among the predecessors of the sophistic movement:[63]

> ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν σοφιστικὴν τέχνην φημὶ μὲν εἶναι παλαιάν, τοὺς δὲ μεταχειριζομένους αὐτὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, φοβουμένους τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῆς, πρόσχημα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ προκαλύπτεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ποίησιν, οἷον Ὁμηρόν τε καὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Σιμωνίδην, […]
>
> Now, I maintain that the sophist's art is an ancient one, but that the men who practiced it in ancient times, fearing the odium attached to it, disguised it, masking it sometimes as poetry, as Homer and Hesiod and Simonides did, […]

Further on in the *Protagoras*, after naming the Seven Sages, Socrates explains how Simonides, ambitious to be known for wisdom, deliberately disputed Pittacus's saying *it is hard to be good*:[64]

> τούτων ἦν καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιττακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεύς, καὶ ἕβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων. […] καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Πιττακοῦ ἰδίᾳ περιεφέρετο τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν, τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι. ὁ οὖν Σιμωνίδης, ἅτε φιλότιμος ὢν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ἔγνω ὅτι εἰ καθέλοι τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὥσπερ εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἀθλητὴν καὶ περιγένοιτο αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσει ἐν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις.

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58 Schol. Pind. *Ol*. 2.29d; 2.86–88; Timae. FGrHist 566 F 93; Pl. *Ep*. 2.311a; Cic. *Nat. D*. 1.60; Paus. 1.2.3; Ath. 14.656d–e; see also Diod. 11.48.7; *cf*. Lesky [3]1971: 219; Lefkowitz 1981: 67; Molyneux 1992: 220–233, esp. 224–225, 231–233; Poltera 2008: 7; Morgan 2015: 93–96.

59 Lefkowitz 1981: 56; Molyneux 1992: 233–236; see also Nagy 1989: 69–77, esp. 69–72.

60 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922: 112–113; see also Wehrli 1973: 202–203; Gray 1998: 106; Poltera 2008: 7.

61 See Wehrli 1973: 202–205.

62 See Gray 1992: 58–75, esp. 59–67, 70–71.

63 Pl. *Prt*. 316d (trans. S. Lombardo & K. Bell); *cf*. Bell 1978: 83.

64 Pl. *Prt*. 343a–c (trans. S. Lombardo & K. Bell with minor changes); *cf*. Bell 1978: 77–80, 85; Manuwald 1999: 143; Kurke 2011: 277–287, 303–305; Rawles 2018: 164.

> We're talking about men like Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, our own Solon, Cleobulus of Lindus, Myson of Chen, and, the seventh in the list, Chilon of Sparta. […] It was in this context that the saying of Pittacus—*It is hard to be good*—was privately circulated with approval (*enkōmiazein*) among the sages. Then Simonides, ambitious to get a name for wisdom, saw that if he could score a takedown against this saying, as if it were a famous wrestler, and get the better of it, he would himself become famous in his own lifetime.

Obviously stating a commonly-held opinion, Socrates ironically observes in the *Republic* that Simonides is a wise and godlike man (*sophos ... kai theios anēr*); later, in a discussion with Polemarchus, he counts him as one of the wise and blessed to whom Pittacus and Bias belong.[65]

Other places where Plato mentions Simonides are no less significant. In the *Protagoras*, Socrates associates him with Prodicus in the context of Hesiod's and Prodicus's notion of the hard path of virtue and the easy path of vice, which, as illustrated by the *Memorabilia*, plays an important role in Xenophon's thought:[66]

> καὶ ἴσως ἂν φαίη Πρόδικος ὅδε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καθ' Ἡσίοδον γενέσθαι μὲν ἀγαθὸν χαλεπὸν εἶναι· τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἱδρῶτα θεῖναι· ὅταν δέ τις αὐτῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, ῥηϊδίην δὴπειτα πέλειν, χαλεπήν περ ἐοῦσαν, ἐκτῆσθαι.
>
> And if being is not the same as becoming, Simonides does not contradict himself. Perhaps Prodicus and many others might agree with Hesiod that it is difficult to become good:
> *The gods put Goodness where we have to sweat*
> *To get at her. But once you reach the top*
> *She's as easy to have as she was hard at first.*

The *Protagoras* dialogue perhaps contributed in yet another way to Xenophon's decision to choose Simonides as Hiero's interlocutor. Here, the controversy on the meaning of Simonides' ode addressed to Scopas is key:[67]

> ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπόν,
> χερσίν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ τετράγωνον, ἄνευ ψόγου
> τετυγμένον.
>
> *For a man to become good truly is hard,*
> *in hands, feet and mind foursquare,*
> *blamelessly built*.

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65 Pl. *Rep.* 331e, 335e; *cf.* Thayer 1975: 8.

66 Pl. *Prt*. 340c–d (trans. S. Lombardo & K. Bell); see also 325e–326a, 339d–340d (Prodikos, Homer, Hesiod, Simonides); *Rep*. 363d–364d (Adeimantus, *bios adikos vs*. *bios dikaios*, Hesiod, Homer); *Leg*. 718d–e (Hesiod); Simon. fr. 256, 257 Poltera [541, 579 PMG]; Hes. *Op*. 285–292, esp. 290–292; DK 84B2; Xen. *Mem*. 2.1.20–34; Ar. *Ran*. 1030–1036; Isoc. 2.42–44; *cf*. Friedländer 1913: 563–564; West 1978: 229–230; Manuwald 1999: 320; Poltera 2008: 197–201, 435–448; Ford 2010: 150; Stamatopoulou 2017: 119–120; see also Jordović 2019: 108–120.

67 Pl. *Prt*. 339a–346d, esp. 339b (Simon. fr. 260 Poltera [542 PMG]; trans. S. Lombardo & K. Bell); see also Arist. *Met*. 1.2, 982b24–983a11; *cf*. Poltera 2008: 203–209, 454–467, esp. 455–457; Kurke 2011: 121–122.

Opinion is divided as to the sort of ethic Simonides advocates in the poem.[68] The answer to this question, however, is less germane to an understanding of *Hiero* than is Plato's response to it. Following a prolonged debate on how the verses should be interpreted, Socrates takes the view that Simonides was not so uneducated as to say that he praised all who did nothing bad willingly, as if anyone actually did bad things willingly. Socrates is convinced that none of the wise men think anyone does wrong or bad of his own volition; they only do so unwillingly. Even Simonides did not eulogise tyrants voluntarily; he was compelled to:[69]

> οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτος ἦν Σιμωνίδης, ὥστε τούτους φάναι ἐπαινεῖν, ὃς ἂν ἑκὼν μηδὲν κακὸν ποιῇ, ὡς ὄντων τινῶν οἳ ἑκόντες κακὰ ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ γὰρ σχεδόν τι οἶμαι τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡγεῖται οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἑκόντα ἐξαμαρτάνειν οὐδὲ αἰσχρά τε καὶ κακὰ ἑκόντα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ εὖ ἴσασιν ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ποιοῦντες ἄκοντες ποιοῦσιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης οὐχ ὃς ἂν μὴ κακὰ ποιῇ ἑκών, τούτων φησὶν ἐπαινέτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει τοῦτο τὸ ἑκών. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἄνδρα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπαναγκάζειν φίλον τινὶ γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐπαινέτην [φιλεῖν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν], οἷον ἀνδρὶ πολλάκις συμβῆναι μητέρα ἢ πατέρα ἀλλόκοτον ἢ πατρίδα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων.
>
> For Simonides was not so uneducated as to say that he praised all who did nothing bad willingly, as if there were anyone who willingly did bad things. I am pretty sure that none of the wise men thinks that any human being willingly makes a mistake or willingly does anything wrong or bad. They know very well that anyone who does anything wrong or bad does so involuntarily. So also Simonides, who does not say that he praises those who willingly do nothing bad; rather he applies the term 'willingly' to himself. He perceived that a good man, an honorable man, often forces himself to love and praise someone utterly different from himself, one's alienated father perhaps, or mother, or country.

The unspoken message is that the famous poet was not truly free. This standpoint mirrors Plato's line of thinking in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* that the tyrant's evildoings stand in direct correlation to his complete lack of freedom.[70] As will be later shown, Xenophon adopts this view in the first part of the *Hiero*, only to dispute it in the second part by letting Simonides elaborate how a tyrant can be re-educated.

Socrates' conclusion that discussing poetry is similar to second-rate drinking parties of the agora crowd brings an end to the controversy over the meaning of Simonides' verses in the *Protagoras*. The *kaloi kagathoi* avoid such discussions, because almost everyone has a different opinion about what the poets say. Men of culture prefer instead to converse directly with each other, and rely on their own powers of speech to test one another. It is these people who should be imitated. Therefore, all participants in the discussion should put the poets aside and converse directly with each other to test the truth and their own ideas.

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[68] See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913: 159–191, esp. 165–180; Bowra 1934: 230–239; Woodbury 1953: 135–163, esp. 151–163; Adkins 1960: 166–167, 196–197, 355–359, esp. 355–359; Donlan 1969: 71–95, esp. 82–90; Thayer 1975: 20–25; Dickie 1978: 21–33; Schütrumpf 1987: 11–23; Most 1994: 134–147; Beresford 2009: 185–220, esp. 195–214; Manuwald 2010: 1–24, esp. 6–23.

[69] Pl. *Prt*. 345d–346a (trans. S. Lombardo & K. Bell), 346b; see Manuwald 1999: 328–329, 347–351; Rawles 2018: 164–165. Giovanni Ferarri (1989: 102) notes that Socrates interprets the poem in a manner that "Simonides sounds suspiciously like Socrates himself."

[70] See Jordović 2019: 64–66, 96, 98, 161.

The moral is that analysis of poetry is of questionable didactic value; the right path is philosophy.[71]

Polemarchus in the *Republic* declares that, according to Simonides, it is just to give to each what is owed to him. As the discussion continues, Socrates calls Simonides wise and places him on par with Pittacus and Bias. However, Socrates disputes that the famous poet really meant what Polemarchus' said. According to him, the proverb that it is just to benefit friends and harm enemies belongs to people such as the tyrant Periander, the Macedonian King Perdiccas, the Great King Xerxes and the Theban politician Ismenias, who (mistakenly) believed themselves to have great power.[72] In Socrates' view it is never just to harm anyone, which is why a wise man cannot present the view that it is just to render to each his due. The tacit conclusion is that Simonides was not truly wise, since he perceived justice in the same way as do unscrupulous and power-hungry individuals.[73] The *Memorabilia* show that the tenet to harm one's enemies and help one's friends (reciprocity) occupies a central position in Xenophon's scale of values.[74] It is therefore not surprising that in the *Hiero* Simonides is designated as the wise man, and that his crucial advice to the master of Syracuse is to treat his subjects according to the principle of reciprocity.[75]

Following Thrasymachus's speech on the nature of justice in the *Republic*, Glaucon goes on to contrast the fates of the perfectly just and the perfectly unjust man, which in wisdom literature corresponds to the encounter between the sage and the tyrant.[76] His argument is augmented by Adeimantus, who, with the help of the antithesis *dokein-einai*, or *doxa-alētheia*, shows the destructivity of the conventional lauding of justice, since it praises justice for the benefit it brings rather than for itself.[77] Adeimantus's quotation from Hesiod's verses on the hard road of virtue and the easy road of vice points to a connection between this idea, which Xenophon invokes in the *Memorabilia*, and Glaucon's story about the perfectly just and perfectly unjust man.[78] Among the poets cited by Adeimantus but not explicitly named is Simonides. In an allusion to him, Adeimantus ironically observes how the *sophoi* have said that *seeming masters the truth and is lord of happiness* (*to dokein kai tan alatheian biatai kai kyrion eudaimonias*). This saying coincides with the message of the first part of *Hiero*, in which Simonides speaks of the happiness of a tyrant, and Hiero reveals its illusory nature.[79] Like Plato, Xenophon was aware that the *doxa-alētheia* dichotomy is one of the

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71 Pl. *Prt*. 347c–348a; see also *Hp. mi* 365d; *cf*. Ferarri 1989: 102–103; Manuwald 1999: 354–355. Socrates remarks in the *Apology* that the poets compose their poems without any understanding of what they say, but by some inborn talent and inspiration (Pl. *Ap*. 22a–b).

72 Pl. *Rep.* 331d–e, 335e–336a (Simon. T. 86 Poltera [PMG 642]); *cf*. Poltera 2008: 76–77. This standpoint is in the *Gorgias* rebutted with the antithesis *doxa–alētheia* (*Grg*. 466b–467b, 470d–471d); see Jordović 2019: 60, 64–65, 146–147, 151–153, 235.

73 *Cf*. Pl. *Tht*. 152b. In the *Greater Hippias* the distinction between the sophists and the ancient wise men (Bias, Pittacus, Thales etc.) is that the latter kept away from the affairs of state (*Hp*. *mai*. 281b–282a).

74 See, e.g., Xen. *Mem*. 2.1.28, 2.1–3; 4.2.16–19, 4.21–25.

75 See, e.g., Xen. *Hier*. 8.2–7; 9.1–11; 10.13–15; *cf*. Sevieri 2004: 282.

76 Pl. *Rep.* 360e–362c, see Jordović 2019: 55, 161–163.

77 Pl. *Rep.* 362a–367e; see Jordović 2019: 154.

78 Pl. *Rep.*364c–d; Hes. *Op*. 287–291; *cf*. also Beresford 2009: 198–214, esp. 211–212.

79 Pl. *Rep.* 365b–c; Simon fr. 308 Poltera [PMG 598]; *cf*. Donlan 1969: 90–95, esp. 93 with n. 53; Thayer 1975: 19; Bell 1978: 80; Poltera 208: 243, 554–555.

foundations of the *nomos-physis* antithesis, but unlike Plato, he resolved it by means of the term *benefit*.[80] Xenophon, in deciding to portray Simonides as a sage in *Hiero*, lets us know that his views on the four important value notions (the hard path of virtue and easy path of vice; re-education of the tyrannical man; justice is to harm one's enemies and help one's friends; response to the *doxa-alētheia* challenge) are in complete conflict with Plato's.

Another contribution towards a better understanding of the background to Xenophon's choice of Simonides may be Plato's *Second Letter.* Scholars generally tend to consider it inauthentic, but it nonetheless occupies an important place in the Platonic tradition.[81] It is addressed to Dionysius II and the dramatic action takes place sometime after 360.[82] The *Second Letter* is significant because it, in the context of the symbiosis of ruler and poet, points to the need to merge wisdom (*phronēsis*) and great power (*dynamis*). Among the corroborating examples mentioned are Simonides and Hiero. Although neither the author of this text nor the exact date of its origin is known, it shows that, even in antiquity, parallels were drawn between Plato's links to the masters of Syracuse, Simonides and Hiero, as well as to Solon, Croesus and Cyrus:[83]

> πέφυκε συνιέναι εἰς ταὐτὸν φρόνησίς τε καὶ δύναμις μεγάλη, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἄλληλα ἀεὶ διώκει καὶ ζητεῖ καὶ συγγίγνεται· ἔπειτα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι χαίρουσιν περὶ τούτων αὐτοί τε διαλεγόμενοι καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούοντες ἔν τε ἰδίαις συνουσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ποιήσεσιν. οἷον καὶ περὶ Ἱέρωνος ὅταν διαλέγωνται ἄνθρωποι καὶ Παυσανίου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου, χαίρουσι τὴν Σιμωνίδου συνουσίαν παραφέροντες, ἅ τε ἔπραξεν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον καὶ Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ὑμνεῖν εἰώθασιν ἅμα, καὶ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ Κροῖσον αὖ καὶ Σόλωνα ὡς σοφοὺς καὶ Κῦρον ὡς δυνάστην. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα μιμούμενοι οἱ ποιηταὶ Κρέοντα μὲν καὶ Τειρεσίαν συνάγουσιν, Πολύειδον δὲ καὶ Μίνω, Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ καὶ Νέστορα καὶ Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Παλαμήδη …
>
> It is a law of nature that wisdom and great power go together; they exert a mutual attraction and are forever seeking to be united. And men love to converse with one another about them, and to listen to what the poets say. For example, when men talk of Hiero and Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, they like to recall Simonides' connection with them and what he said and did. Likewise they usually celebrate together Periander of Corinth and Thales of Miletus, Pericles and Anaxagoras, and again Croesus and Solon, as wise men, with Cyrus, as ruler. In the same strain the poets couple Creon and Tiresias, Polyeidus and Minos, Agamemnon and Nestor, Odysseus and Palamedes.

Whether these parallels were in vogue before Xenophon wrote the *Hiero* or after is of no great matter. In either case, Xenophon undeniably made the right choice. In the first, he merely added to something already existing, while in the second, it can be presumed that contemporaries had no difficulty understanding *Hiero*'s tacit message. Here one must not lose sight of Plato's and Aristippus' visits to the court of the Syracuse tyrants, which undoubtedly increased interest in meetings between wise men and tyrants as a motif. The extent to which the reception of Plato and Aristippus in Antiquity was marked by these visits

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80 Xen. *Mem*. 1.7.1–4; *cf*. also 2.6.39; *Symp*. 8.43; DK 89.2; see Gigon 1953: 166.

81 See Neumann 1967: 165–167; Erler 2007: 309, 311.

82 See Neumann 1967: 164–165; Erler 2007: 311.

83 Pl. *Ep*. 2.310e–311b (trans. G. R. Morrow); *cf*. Bell 1978: 84–85; Erler 2007: 311; Gray 1986: 121; *Id*. 2007: 31–32; Rawles 2018: 167–169.

to Sicily is illustrated by Diogenes Laertius, Diodorus of Sicily and Plutarch.[84] It would seem that here again the same saying is attributed to different sages (philosophers). According to Diogenes Laertius, Aristippus responded to a question from Dionysius the Elder as to why philosophers go to rich men's houses, while rich men no longer visit philosophers, by saying that while the former knew what they needed, the latter did not. According to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Simonides replied in similar fashion to Hiero's wife. In the *Republic* Plato condemns this saying without revealing its initiator.[85] Finally, Isocrates shows that the writers in the Mirror of Tyrants genre had Dionysius the Elder in mind when they wrote their works. While in *Evagoras* he emphasises that the master of Salamina was a greater ruler than Cyrus the Great, in *Nicocles or the Cyprians* he praises the achievements of Dionysius I.[86]

3. The Mirror of Tyrants, Encomium and Epinicion

What defines the *Hiero* is that it was written in dialogue form. The significance of this becomes more apparent when we consider that it is Xenophon's only true dialogue. At the outset, he makes it clear that this literary form interacts with two noteworthy circumstances: first, it is a conversation between a poet (*poiētēs*) or wise man (*sophos anēr*) and a tyrant; secondly, the difference between the *bios idiōtikos* and the *bios tyrannikos* opens the discussion on tyranny.[87]

The conceptual pair *tyrannos – idiōtēs* points to Xenophon's skilful combination of genres. The influence of wisdom literature is indicated by the fact that in Herodotus, the Lydian tyrant Croesus, in conversation with Solon, objects that the renowned Athenian statesman (sage) ranks his happiness below that of common people (*idiōtai*), such as Tellus, Cleobis and Biton.[88] In *Hiero*, too, the difference between *idiōtēs* and the tyrant uses the example of the gladness and happiness (*eudaimonia*), which the tyrant enjoys.[89]

The dichotomy *tyrannos – idiōtēs* is also a distinctive feature of the Mirror of Tyrants genre.[90] I have elaborated in detail in other studies that the main impetus for this development came from Plato's *Gorgias* and *Republic*.[91] In these dialogues the issue of re-educating the tyrannical man and instructing young, outstanding individuals is elucidated in the context of the antithesis *bios praktikos* (*politikos*) – *bios theōretikos* (*idiōtikos*). This contrast is in turn congeneric with the dichotomies *bios tyrannikos – bios philosophikos* and *rhetoric – true politics* (*philosophy*), and they all originate from the controversy over the role of *polypragmosynē* and *apragmosynē* in Athenian political life. In other words, Plato's

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84 Diog. Laert. 2.66–67, 69, 73, 78–82; 3.9, 18–23, 25, 29–30, 34, 36; Diod. 15.6–7, esp. 7.1; Plut. *Dion* 5; *cf*. Gray 1986: 120.

85 Diog. Laert. 2.69; Aristot. *Rhet*. 1391a8–12, Pl. *Rep.* 489b; *cf*. Bell 1978: 44–47; Rapp 2002: 709. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913: 148 with n. 1, 150 with n. 2) points to further concurrences between the anecdotes on Simonides and Aristippus.

86 Isoc. 3.23; 9.37–39.

87 Xen. *Hier*. 1.1–2; *cf*. Gray 2007: 106–107; Levy 2018: 29–30.

88 Hdt. 1.32.1; *cf*. Gray 1986: 120; Jordović 2019: 132–134.

89 Xen. *Hier*. 1.8, 2.3–5.

90 For the notion Mirror of Tyrants and its relation to the Mirror of Princes, see Jordović 2019: 11–14, 160–164.

91 Jordović 2018; *Id*. 2019.

analogous application of these dichotomies makes clear that he associates *bios praktikos* (*politikos*) with *polypragmosynē* and rhetoric, and that, in his opinion, this path ultimately leads to the *bios tyrannikos*.

polypragmosynē/polypragmōn (politically active)	***apragmosynē/apragmōn*** (politically inactive)
rhetoric (simulacrum of true politics)	**philosophy** (true politics)
bios praktikos/politikos (traditional politics)	***bios theōretikos/idiōtikos*** (philosophy)
bios tyrannikos	***bios philosophikos*** (philosopher-king)

It follows that, by rejecting tyrannical life, Plato also utterly repudiates the traditional way of doing politics and makes rhetoric (embodied by Isocrates' teacher Gorgias) co-responsible for the appearance of individuals such as Callicles.[92] It seems quite logical to assume that Isocrates would regard this as a direct affront to his concept of education, and even more so because, by discussing the (im)possibility of re-educating the tyrannical man, Plato addresses the question of the correct education of young, ambitious individuals.

In the fourth century, Isocrates wielded especially powerful influence with respect to the Mirror of Tyrants and the encomium. He wrote his three Mirrors of Tyrants (*To Nicocles, Nicocles or the Cyprians*, and *Evagoras*) around 370.[93] The brief period it took him to write all three may be a good indicator of the attention the genre recieved at the time.[94] Again, this might have prompted Xenophon to consider it desirable or even necessary to write the *Hiero* in addition to the *Cyropaedia*.

The opening sentences of *To Nicocles* point out the difference between the life of a private person and the life of a tyrant.[95] In it, one can observe the attitude of the common people towards tyranny as being ambivalent. Because of the reputation, riches, and power it brings, they perceive it to be godlike; on the other hand, when they reflect on the terror and dangers that ensue from tyrannical power and how monarchs are forced to inflict injustice on their nearest and dearest, then they believe that any life is better than ruling over all of Asia at the price of such misfortune:[96]

> τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτας ἐστὶ πολλὰ τὰ παιδεύοντα, μάλιστα μὲν τὸ μὴ τρυφᾶν ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκάζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ βίου καθ᾽ ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν βουλεύεσθαι, ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ νόμοι καθ᾽ οὓς ἕκαστοι πολιτευόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι δ᾽ ἡ παρρησία καὶ τὸ φανερῶς ἐξεῖναι τοῖς τε φίλοις ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἁμαρτίαις· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑποθήκας ὡς χρὴ ζῆν καταλελοίπασιν· ὥστ᾽ ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς βελτίους γίγνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ᾽ οὓς ἔδει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσιν, ἀνουθέτητοι διατελοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς οὐ πλησιάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ τοι κύριοι γιγνόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων πλείστων καὶ πραγμάτων μεγίστων, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι ταύταις ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς πεποιήκασιν ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πότερόν ἐστιν ἄξιον ἑλέσθαι τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἰδιωτευόντων μὲν

[92] See Jordović 2018: 369–385; *Id*. 2019: 108–120, 158–163, esp. 161–162.

[93] See Eucken 1983: 213–215; Blank 2014: 273 with n. 1.

[94] See Eucken 1983: 215; Alexiou 2010: 37–39.

[95] Isoc. 2.2–6, 8; see also 15.69.

[96] Isoc. 2.2–6 (trans. G. Norlin). George Norlin points out that: "The priestly office in Greece demanded care in the administration of ritual, but, apart from this, no special competence; it was often hereditary and sometimes filled by lot."

ἐπιεικῶς δὲ πραττόντων, ἢ τὸν τῶν τυραννευόντων. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀποβλέψωσιν εἰς τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἰσοθέους ἅπαντες νομίζουσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντας· ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἐνθυμηθῶσι τοὺς φόβους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ διεξιόντες ὁρῶσι τοὺς μὲν ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἥκιστα χρῆν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠναγκασμένους, τοῖς δ᾽ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα συμβεβηκότα, πάλιν ὀπωσοῦν ζῆν ἡγοῦνται λυσιτελεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὥσπερ ἱερωσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὃ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων μέγιστόν ἐστι καὶ πλείστης προνοίας δεόμενον. καθ᾽ ἑκάστην μὲν οὖν τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις μάλιστα δύναιτο κατὰ τρόπον διοικεῖν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττειν τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγειν, τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ συμβουλεύειν· καθ᾽ ὅλων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὧν χρὴ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἃ δεῖ διατρίβειν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.

For when men are in private life (*idiōtai*), many things contribute to their education: first and foremost, the absence of luxury among them, and the necessity they are under to take thought each day for their livelihood; next, the laws by which in each case their civic life is governed; furthermore, freedom of speech and the privilege which is openly granted to friends to rebuke and to enemies to attack each other's faults; besides, a number of the poets of earlier times have left precepts (*hypothēkai*) which direct them how to live; so that, from all these influences, they may reasonably be expected to become better men. Kings (*tyrannoi*), however, have no such help; on the contrary, they, who more than other men should be thoroughly trained, live all their lives, from the time when they are placed in authority, without admonition; for the great majority of people do not come in contact with them, and those who are of their society consort with them to gain their favor. Indeed, although they are placed in authority over vast wealth and mighty affairs, they have brought it about because of their misuse of these advantages that many debate whether it were best to choose the life (*bios*) men in private station (*idiōteuontes*) who are reasonably prosperous, or the life of princes (*tyranneuontes*). For when men look at their honors, their wealth, and their powers, they all think that those who are in the position of kings are the equals of the gods; but when they reflect on their fears and their dangers, and when, as they review the history of monarchs, they see instances where they have been slain by those from whom they least deserved that fate, other instances where they have been constrained to sin against those nearest and dearest to them, and still others where they have experienced both of these calamities, then they reverse their judgement and conclude that it is better to live in any fashion whatsoever than, at the price of such misfortunes, to rule over all Asia. And the cause of this inconsistency and confusion is that men believe that the office of king is, like that of priest, one which any man can fill, whereas it is the most important of human functions and demands the greatest wisdom. Now as to each particular course of action, it is the business of those who are at the time associated with a king to advise him how he may handle it in the best way possible, and how he may both preserve what is good and prevent disaster; but as regards a king's conduct in general, I shall attempt to set forth the objects at which he should aim and the pursuits to which he should devote himself.

This passage twice emphasises the benefits of *bios idiōtikos* over *bios tyrannikos*, only to demonstrate that this view may not necessarily be correct. The first advantage of the life of a private citizen is that there are many circumstances which contribute to his correct education (the absence of luxury, laws, freedom of speech, precepts of poets etc.). Tyrants, however, suffer from a lack of adequate education and honest communication.[97] The second advantage is that tyrannical rule only appears attractive because it inevitably entails many dangers and fears. However, the correct education by means of the Mirror of Tyrants can make up for both disadvantages of the *bios tyrannikos*. This idea has far-reaching implications, because if it is

[97] See Eucken 1983: 218–219 (with parallels to Plato).

possible to eliminate the deficiencies of tyrannical life, then Plato's argument that the traditional way of conducting politics is doomed to fail loses its validity. It is therefore not surprising that several scholars have pointed out that Isocrates' passage on the ambivalence of the many in respect to *bios tyrannikos* echoes Socrates' and Polus' discussion in the *Gorgias* as to whether the life of the unjust man (*tyrannos/rhētōr*) is better and happier than the life of the just (*idiōtes/philosophos*). This debate, in turn, announces the argument between Socrates and Callicles on whether *bios praktikos* or *bios theōrētikos* is preferable.[98]

The famous orator advises the young ruler to associate himself with renowned poets and sages.[99] Isocrates says that poets have given precepts for the common people (*idiōtai*) concerning how one should live, but they have neglected to lay down such principles for tyrants.[100] He admits that many of his counsels and proposals have been voiced earlier. He also points out that all people consider the most useful works of poetry and prose to be those that advise us on how to live. However, in spite of how much they stand to gain by them, the people do not like to listen to moral precepts. Hesiod, Theognis and Phocylides are said to have been the best counsellors on human conduct, but the people still prefer trifles to instructions (*hypothēkai*). And if someone were to compose a selection of the finest maxims (*hai kaloumenai gnōmai*) from the leading poets, even then the people would rather read the cheapest comedy.[101] It is human nature to prefer what is pleasing to that which is useful. Therefore, the majority would rather listen to fiction than to the most profitable advice. For these reasons, we should admire Homer and the first inventors of tragedy, because, by merging myth and useful advice, they succeeded in getting people to listen to them.[102]

In *To Nicocles*, Isocrates advises the tyrant to overcome the dichotomy *public – private*, as all his subjects' estates (in the end) belong to the ruler, and therefore he needs to take good care of them:[103]

> φυλακὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡγοῦ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τήν τε τῶν φίλων ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ φρόνησιν· διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ σώζειν τὰς τυραννίδας μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις δύναιτο. κήδου τῶν οἴκων τῶν πολιτικῶν, καὶ νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς δαπανῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν ἀναλίσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰ σὰ πλείω ποιεῖν· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖα τῶν καλῶς βασιλευόντων ἐστί.
>
> Believe that your staunchest body-guard lies in the virtue of your friends, the loyalty of your citizens and your own wisdom (*phronēsis*); for it is through these that one can best acquire as well as keep the powers of royalty. Watch over the estates of your citizens, and consider that the spenders are paying from your pocket, and the workers are adding to your wealth; for all the property of those who live in the state belongs to kings who rule them well.

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98 Isoc. 2.4–6, esp. 5; Pl. *Grg*. 466a–480e, esp. 470d–472a; see Teichmüller 1881: 19; Ries 1959: 84–85; Eucken 1983: 221–222; *cf*. also Jordović 2019: 54–55, 108–120, 158–161, esp. 161.

99 Isoc. 2.13; see Papillon 1998: 43.

100 Isoc. 2.3, 7–8; see also 15.71; *cf*. Eder 1995: 155–156.

101 Isoc. 2.3, 7, 40–4; *cf*. Dihle 1962: 89–91. On the subject of *hypothēkai*, see Friedländer 1913: 558–603; Jaeger 1944: 103; Merkelbach & West 1967: 143–145; Martin 1984: 29–48, esp. 32–33; Kurke 1990: 90–94, 104–107; Nightingale 1995: 140–142, esp. 141. On the issue of *gnōmai*, *chreiai*, *apophthegmata*, see Horne & Fritz 1935: 74–89, esp. 74–80 (Isocrates, Xenophon: 78), 87–89.

102 Isoc. 2.45–49.

103 Isoc. 2.21 (trans. G. Norlin); *cf*. 10.37.

In *Nicocles or the Cyprians,* Isocrates says that a major difference between a monarchy and other forms of government is that in the latter, men who enter office for an annual term retire to private life at the end of their term in office. It would then follow that only the tyrant is a true *homo politicus*, since his "term" is not time-limited. Thus in his case alone the antithesis *public – private* does not apply, because only monarchs understand the common good (*koinon*) as their own (*idion*), and not anyone else's (*allotrion*) concern.[104] Isocrates in his encomium takes Dionysius the Elder and the Persian Emperor as an example of how autocrats can raise their countries to great power through war.[105]

In *Evagoras*, Isocrates points out some other important features of the Mirror of Tyrants. Again, the conceptual pair *idiōtēs – tyrannos* takes on an important role. At the beginning of the encomium, Isocrates tells how the ruler of Salamina gave signs of his exceptional nature from an early age, so that everyone believed he would not spend his life as an *idiōtēs*. The kings of that time rightly feared him, and Evagoras ultimately did indeed achieve the position of a tyrant:[106]

> παῖς μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἔσχε κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἅπερ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρεπωδέστατα τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστίν. καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ἄν τις ποιήσαιτο, τῆς μὲν σωφροσύνης τοὺς συμπαιδευθέντας τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦ δὲ κάλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἰδόντας, τῆς δὲ ῥώμης ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐκρατίστευσεν. ἀνδρὶ δὲ γενομένῳ ταῦτά τε πάντα συνηυξήθη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνδρία προσεγένετο καὶ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐ μέσως οὐδ᾽ ὥσπερ ἑτέροις τισίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς ὑπερβολήν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς διήνεγκεν, ὥσθ᾽ ὁπότε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁρῷεν οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡγουμένους οὐχ οἷόν τ᾽ εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἰδιώτου μέρει διαγαγεῖν, ὁπότε δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς τρόπους ἀποβλέψειαν, οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύειν, ὥστ᾽ εἰ καί τις ἄλλος τολμῴη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν, νομίζειν Εὐαγόραν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι βοηθόν. καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς δόξης παραλλαττούσης οὐδετέρου τούτων ἐψεύσθησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἰδιώτης ὢν διετέλεσεν οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνους ἐξήμαρτεν, […]
>
> When Evagoras was a boy he possessed beauty, bodily strength, and modesty (*sōphrosynē*), the very qualities that are most becoming to that age. Witnesses could be produced for these assertions: for his modesty—fellow-citizens who were educated with him: for his beauty—all who beheld him: for his strength—all the contests1 in which he vanquished his age-mates. When he attained to manhood not only did all these qualities grow up with him, but to them were also added manly courage, wisdom (*sophia*), and justice (*dikaiosynē*), and that too in no ordinary measure, as is the case with some others, but each of these characteristics in extraordinary degree. So surpassing was his excellence of both body and mind, that when the kings of that time looked upon him they were terrified and feared for their throne, thinking that a man of such nature could not possibly pass his life in the status of a private citizen (*idiōtēs*), but whenever they observed his character, they felt such confidence in him that they believed that even if anyone else should dare to injure them, Evagoras would be their champion. And although opinions of him were so at variance, they were mistaken in neither respect: for he neither remained in private life (*idiōtēs*), nor did them injury: […]

In this encomium it is also said that eulogies should praise contemporary figures. Isocrates explains the reason why this was not the case up until then by the human tendency to envy

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104 Isoc. 3.17–21; see also 31, 49, 51.

105 Isoc. 3.23.

106 Isoc. 9.22–5 (trans. La Rue van Hook), 27–8; see also 66, 72. Isocrates designates Evagoras several times as a tyrant (Isoc. 9.27, 32, 66); see Eucken 1983: 219–220.

contemporaries. This envy demanded that the subject of praise should be heroic deeds dating from the Trojan War or even earlier.[107] The unspoken reason is, presumably, Isocrates' intention to dissociate the Mirror of Tyrants from democratic political imagery. It often used mythical kings as a mouthpiece for pro-democratic views and as a means to discuss the unity of the city and the position of great men in public life.[108] This is substantiated by the fact that Isocrates uses the figure of the mythical king Theseus, but only in order to create a model for the Athenian demos to imitate. Isocrates' Theseus exercised supreme rule (*tyrannein*), but as a good, popular leader and not through the coercion typical of autocrats. He was even willing to hand over power to the Athenian people.[109]

Isocrates refers to Evagoras as *basileus*, *monarchos*, *tyrannos*, *dynastēs*, *archōn* and even *politikos*. The simultaneous use of these terms, and that they also apply when referring to Nicocles, indicates that their use as synonyms must be intentional.[110] The purpose is to transform the negative term tyranny into a positive one. In this way it is suggested that absolute power need not always corrupt absolutely. Isocrates goes even so far as to use tyranny as an umbrella term that encompasses important notions of good rulership. He notes that Evagoras possessed all the qualities of a king (*basileus*), he was democratic (*dēmotikos*) in his service to the people, statesmanlike (*politikos*) in his administration of the city as a whole, an able general (*stratēgikos*) in his counsel in the face of danger, and princely (*tyrannikos*) in his superiority in all these qualities.[111] Isocrates' usage of the word tyranny to show that it is possible to exercise supreme rule without yielding to the temptation to abuse it, is even more visible in the *Helen*. In this encomium, which was never intended to be a Mirror of Tyrants, Isocrates emphasises that Theseus did not oppress and enslave his fellow citizens. The mythical king did not strive (*zēloûn*) for such a life in spite of its external blessings, because he was cognisant that the inner being of such rulers is miserable and full of fear. At the same time, Isocrates explicitly says that Theseus ruled as a monarch, tyrant and good leader of the people (*dēmagōgos*), and he disputes the idea that those who rule by force can be called *archontes*.[112]

The famous orator also emphasises in *Evagoras* that, before him, encomia were not written in prose. The reason was that poets enjoyed a considerable advantage over prose writers due to the diverse figures of style at their disposal (poetic licence, fiction, metre, rhythm etc.). He therefore had an understanding of those who engage in philosophy and write on numerous subjects but do not compose encomiums:[113]

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[107] Isoc. 9.4–7; *cf*. Bruns 1896: 116–118; Münscher 1920: 14–16.

[108] See Atack 2012: 1–19; *Id*. 2014: 341–343.

[109] Isoc. 10.18–37, esp. 32–37; 12.126–129; see Atack 2014: 330–363; esp. 330–331, 339–340, 343–354.

[110] *Basileus/basileia* (Isoc. 2.1–2, 6, 9–11, 13, 18–19, 22, 31–32, 36–37, 50, 53; 3.10, 23–26, 28–29, 33, 35, 38, 41–42, 56, 60; 9.20, 24–25, 35–36, 39, 41, 43, 46, 51, 69, 71, 78), *monarchos/monarchia* (Isoc. 2.5, 8; 3.15, 17–18, 22, 25–26, 54) *tyrannos/tyrannis* (Isoc. 2.4, 21, 34–35, 53; 3.11, 16, 22, 24–25, 28, 55; 9.27, 34, 40, 46, 64, 66, 78) *dynastēs/dynasteia* (Isoc. 2.5, 8; 3.10, 36, 44; 9.19, 26, 59); *politikos* (9.46); *archōn/archē* (Isoc. 2.31, 40; 3.10, 13, 63; 9.24, 26, 35, 43, 49). The opening passages of *To Nicocles* make especially clear that Isocrates' simultaneous use of these terms is hardly a coincidence (Isoc. 2.1–5).

[111] Isoc. 9.46. La Rue van Hook (*ad loc*.) remarks that in this passage the influence of Gorgias on Isocrates' style is obvious.

[112] Isoc. 10.32–37.

[113] Isoc. 9.8–13, 35–6, esp. 9.8 (trans. La Rue van Hook).

> οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστιν ὃ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν λέγειν τολμῶσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδεὶς πώποτ᾽ αὐτῶν συγγράφειν ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ποιηταῖς πολλοὶ δέδονται κόσμοι· [...]
>
> I am fully aware that what I propose to do is difficult—to eulogize (*enkōmiazein*) in prose the virtues of a man. The best proof is this: Those who devote themselves to philosophy (*philosophia*) venture to speak on many subjects of every kind, but no one of them has ever attempted to compose a discourse (*syngraphein*) on such a theme. And I can make much allowance for them. For to the poets is granted the use of many embellishments of language, [...]

One of the chief reasons why Isocrates dedicated his work to the ruler of Salamina is because he acquired his throne through his own strength rather than through inheritance. The famous orator then cites Cyrus the Great as a historical figure who, in fact, existed and usually elicits the greatest admiration. While the first fact is not in dispute, the second one is since, according to Isocrates, Evagoras has in all respects surpassed the founder of the Persian Empire:[114]

> ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γ᾽ ἐπὶ τάδε γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἁπάντων, Κῦρον τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, Πέρσαις δὲ κτησάμενον, καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν τῷ Περσῶν στρατοπέδῳ τὸ Μήδων ἐνίκησεν, ὃ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ῥᾳδίως ἂν ποιήσειαν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὰ πλεῖστα φαίνεται τῶν προειρημένων διαπραξάμενος.
>
> Nay, of those who lived later, perhaps indeed of all, the one hero who was most admired by the greatest number was Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their kingdom and gained it for the Persians. But while Cyrus with a Persian army conquered the Medes, a deed which many a Greek or a barbarian could easily do, Evagoras manifestly accomplished the greater part of the deeds which have been mentioned through strength of his own mind and body.

Finally, Isocrates' *Euagoras* shows a different approach to the historical context than *Ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles*. The latter contain only a rudimentary outline of the historical background, so the deliberation on the ideal ruler seems more abstract. In *Evagoras* the historical figure and his achievements are far more tangible but do not diminish the paradigmatic nature of the reflections it presents.[115]

Isocrates' opinions, as cited in *To Nicocles*, *Nicocles or the Cyprians* and *Evagoras*, allow for several conclusions. The contrast *bios idiōtikos – bios tyrannikos* in Isocrates' Mirror of Tyrants has, as already noted, an undoubtedly Platonic background. But Isocrates gives a response diametrically opposed to this controversy. *To Nicocles* deliberately accentuates the downsides of *bios tyrannikos* in order to extol the benefit the Mirror of Tyrants brings to the ruler (reader). The possibility of (re-)educating the tyrant is also implied by Isocrates' intentional use of different terms to denote the power of the ruler of Salamis, as it indicates that absolute power need not necessarily corrupt absolutely. The fact that the tyrant can actually be taught highlights not only the paradigmatic quality of this

[114] Isoc. 9.35–39, esp. 37 (trans. La Rue van Hook); *cf.* also 2.5. For the encomiastic character of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, see Zimmermann 1989: 103–105.

[115] Isoc. 9.12–18 (ancestry), 19–21 (the history of the kingdom of Salamis), youth (22–24), achievements and rule (41–46), the impact of his government on the state (47–50); see Eucken 1983: 214, 265 with n. 157.

idealized *bios tyrannikos*, but also the belief that all the shortcomings of the traditional way of doing politics can be remedied. Moreover, Isocrates' tyrant is obviously willing to embrace philosophy. However, Isocrates' vision of philosophy is in many aspects the inverse of Plato's.[116] The conclusion that Isocrates implicitly establishes a tyrant-philosopher paradigm as a contrast to Plato's philosopher-king concept is therefore not entirely unfounded.[117] *To Nicocles* also shows an affinity between the encomium and the poetic tradition of dispensing advice on how life should be lived. The use of the terms *hypothēkai* and *gnōmai* clearly indicate that he understands this tradition as being close to wisdom literature.

However, the establishment of a connection between his work, poetry and wisdom literature does not prevent Isocrates from saying that the Mirror of Tyrants is still a new literary genre. Its primary novelty is not that it is written in prose, although this too is significant, but that it advises rulers (*tyrannos / monarchos / dynastēs*) rather than private persons (*idiōtai*). Isocrates also points out that success in dispensing advice does not depend merely on the degree of its usefulness, but also on whether it has been delivered in an interesting manner. This work shows that a good ruler should not make a distinction between his own estate and the property of the citizens, or in other words, he should not succumb to the dichotomy *public – private*. In *Nicocles or the Cyprians* Isocrates explains that the conceptual pair *tyrannos – idiōtēs* is akin to the distinction between political and apolitical, and that a connection exists with the *public – private* dichotomy. By remarking in *Evagoras* that those who devote themselves to philosophy have written on many subjects but failed to compose encomiums, Isocrates not only criticizes those philosophers (presumably Plato), but also makes clear that this type of writing should be categorized as philosophical. Isocrates emphasises in the same work that one of the central features of the Mirror of Tyrants should be the celebration of contemporary figures. The comparison of Evagoras with Cyrus the Great shows that the notion of contemporary does not have to be taken in the narrowest sense, but covers any figure who does not spring from the distant past or mythical tradition.[118] The same comparison shows that Cyrus the Great was included in the circle of personalities addressed by the Mirror of Tyrants genre, and the choice of the Great King as a subject of praise was not entirely advantageous. It should also be pointed out that both *To Nicocles* and *Evagoras* say that the majority of people perceived tyrannical power to be godlike and as the greatest and most perfect happiness.[119] This shows that the Mirror of Tyrants as a genre adopted the subject of a tyrant's extreme happiness not only from Athenian political experience but also from wisdom literature. Finally, Isocrates' writings make clear that the visibility of the historical context is not fixed. The author can give it a more prominent role in one Mirror of Tyrants, only to put it aside in another.

Even a cursory reading tells us that Xenophon's *Hiero* matches all the features of the Mirror of Tyrants in Isocrates: it is a work of prose; the *idiōtēs – tyrannos* distinction plays

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116 See Ries 1959: 21–35, 87; Eucken 1983: 238–239; *Id*. 2003: 39–40; Nehamas 1990: 4–5; Walter 1996: 437–440; Ober 1998: 251–252, 261; Morgan 2004: 131, 136; Böhme 2009: 21–43; Atack 2014: 344–345; Moore 2020: 210–217.

117 Isoc. 2.35, 50–51; see also 3.1–10; 4.10; 9.77–78, 81; 10.5; 12.26–29; 13.19–21, 261–266; 15.85, 266–267; Pl. *Grg*. 463a–d, 482a, 485a–d, 502d–503a, 517b, 526e–527d.

118 *Cf*. Bruns 1896: 118.

119 Isoc. 2.85–6; 9.40.

a key part; the first part of the dialogue emphasises the disadvantages of the tyrannical life, only to show in the second part how to overcome them; the tyrant is a contemporary figure; there is a link with poetry through the character of Simonides, and depicting the poet as *sophos anēr* connects it to the wisdom tradition; useful advice is wrapped in an intriguing scenario (a dialogue between a famous tyrant and a celebrated poet); and the topic is that of the tyrant's exceptional happiness. Xenophon's Hiero is also a complete *homo politicus*, chiefly reflected in his inability to ever again become an *idiōtēs*, and because every aspect of his life is marked by the fact that he is a tyrant.[120] The keynote of Simonides's advice to Hiero in the second half of the dialogue on how to avoid the negative features of tyranny is to overcome the *public – private* dichotomy and to be concerned with the common good, not as if it belonged to someone else, but as if it were his own.[121] The possibility of transforming the tyrant is also indicated through the terminology referring to the ruler. The *Cyropaedia* is arranged around historical events, while in the *Hiero,* the historical context is almost completely sidelined.

Apart from *Nicocles* and *Evagoras*, Isocrates mentions only two autocratic rulers by name in his Mirrors of Tyrants: Cyrus the Great and Dionysius the Elder, which shows the powerful attraction both rulers held, directly or indirectly, for writers of this genre. It may be one of the reasons why Xenophon chose to write a Mirror of Tyrants with Cyrus the Great as his principle hero. Furthermore, it is worth recalling that Isocrates wrote a letter to Dionysius I. In the surviving prooemium, Isocrates explicitly states that credence cannot be given to the claim that the master of Syracuse honours only flatterers and despises those who offer him advice. The allegation was made by certain persons associated with Dionysius the Elder. Unlike them, Isocrates is convinced that Dionysius' judgement (*gnōmē*) and action (*praxis*) reveal the spirit (*dianoia*) of a learner, a listener and a discoverer.[122] Unfortunately, we have no detailed information on the nature of his advice to Dionysius the Elder, but it seems to have had a Panhellenic tenor.[123] There is, however, a more subtle alternative to Isocrates' approach, especially if there is no need to explicitly address specific and current political issues such as Panhellenism.

Despite being the most powerful Greek of his age, Dionysius the Elder was infamous even during his lifetime.[124] This contradiction, however, might have favoured the selection of some other successful but less infamous tyrant of Syracuse for the main *dramatis persona*. Indeed, it makes sense to take Hiero as a tacit counterexample to Dionysius the Elder. Although he introduced a sterner regime than his elder brother Gelon, Hiero was never included among the more notorious tyrants such as Phalaris or Dionysius I.[125] There were telling circumstances in his favour. He took part in the victory over the Carthaginians at Himera (480) and defeated the Etruscans in the naval battle at Cumae (474). Very soon,

120 Xen. *Hier*. 1.2, 12–13, 15, 17–19, 27–30, 33–34, 37–38; 2.8, 10–11; 3.8–9; 4.2, 7–9; 5.1, 3; 6.1–8, 12–13; 7.6–9, 12–13; esp. 7.12–13.

121 Xen. *Hier*. 9.11; 10.4–8; 11.1–11, 13–15; *cf*. Sevieri 2004: 284; Azoulay 2018: 53–54.

122 Isoc. *ep*. 1.4.

123 Isoc. *ep*. 1.7, 9; *or*. 5.81; see Jaeger ^{2}1963: 240–241; Eucken 1983: 135.

124 See Diod. 14.2, 109.

125 See Berve 1967: 147–152, esp. 148–149.

both victories came to be equated with those of Plataea and Salamis.[126] Gelon and Hiero undoubtedly worked hard at presenting themselves and their success in the best possible light and in Panhellenic dimensions, with the younger brother doing his utmost to push the elder into the background.[127] The Deinomenids gathered numerous poets and intellectuals to their court, but Hiero surpassed all other members of the ruling house.[128] His guests were the greatest poets of the age: Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, and Epicharmus,[129] who contributed greatly to creating and disseminating his image not only as a rich and powerful tyrant, but also as an ideal ruler and patron.[130] The net result was that both contemporaries and later generations tended to view him in a generally favourable light (for a tyrant, that is).

It is also possible that Xenophon's choice of Hiero as *dramatis persona* was influenced by epinician poetry.[131] One of the most significant pieces of advice from Simonides to Hiero is that the breeders of chariot horses and competitors in chariot races should be drawn from the whole city, because this would bring the ruler the greatest fame and the willing obedience of his subjects.[132] Although the historical Hiero never behaved in this manner, the historical context of his rule is probably most palpable in this advice.

Pindar and Simonides undoubtedly belonged to different generations. Nonetheless, Pindar's poetic memorialisation of Hiero's successes coincides with the years when he, Simonides and Bacchylides were the main exponents of praise poetry in the Greek world. Pindar was the most renowned representative of epinician poetry; Simonides, however, was reputed to be the one who invented the genre.[133] Pindar's poems survived and enjoyed fame, while in Simonides' case the memory of his personality outshone his work.[134] Since the latter's epinicians survive only in fragments, an alternative is to take a closer look at the Boeotian poet's victory odes.

There are signs of a link between Pindar's poetry and the Mirror of Tyrants. Pindar, as observed by Leslie Kurke, has "adapted the subject matter and conventions of *hypothēkai* to the genre of epinician."[135] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff noted that Pindar anticipated the *peri basileias* literature in his advice in *Pythian Ode 1* that was dedicated to Hiero.[136] Werner Jaeger remarks that, "The eulogy on Evagoras is a prose parallel to the Pindaric encomium—as is shown by Isocrates' deliberate introduction of the old name,

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126 Hdt. 7.157–163, 165–167; Diod. 11.20–26, 11.51; Pind. *Pyth*. 1.47–55, 71–80; schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 1.152; see Harrel 2006: 119–133, esp. 131–132, Mann 2013: 30; Morgan 2015: 25–30, 36–44, 134–162, 326–327, 329–332, esp. 25–30, 155–157, 329–332.

127 See Cummins 2010: 1–19.

128 See Morgan 2015: 91–92.

129 See Morgan 2015: 87–132, esp. 87–118, 131–132.

130 See Mann 2013: 25–26, 43–45; Morgan 2015: 16, 92–93, 131–132.

131 *Cf*. Gray 2007: 35.

132 Xen. *Hier*. 11.4–12.

133 See Lesky ³1971: 219–220; Bell 1978: 61; Sevieri 2004: 277.

134 See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1913: 137; Nagy 1989: 69–77; Hornblower 2004: 22–25, 37; Morgan 2015: 72.

135 See Kurke 1990: 85–97, esp. 103: *cf*. West 1978: 24; Martin 1984: 32.

136 See Wilamotwitz-Moellendorff 1922: 303; Jaeger, 1944: 85–86; Hornblower 2006: 159–162.

encomium".[137] Other scholars did not restrict themselves to general observations and presented strong arguments that Pindar's odes to Hiero influenced Isocrates's Mirror of Tyrants.[138] William H. Race went furthest in this respect. He observed the overlapping of structure (a eulogy of a father framed by addresses to the son), themes (the advantages of earlier writers, the difficulty of praising contemporaries, the problems of *phthonos*, the superiority of poems over statues) and intention (exhortation to the next generation to maintain the high standards of their fathers' achievements).[139]

If correspondences indeed exist, then we may well ask why Isocrates did not want his Mirrors of Tyrants to be linked to Pindar. In *To Nicocles*, he cites Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Phocylides and the first inventors of tragedy as representatives of didactic poetry but conspicuously omits Pindar.[140] In his entire opus, Isocrates mentions Pindar only once, in *Antidosis* 166, and then as a rival who has undeservedly outshone him. While Pindar was richly rewarded for a single line praising Athens, Isocrates' native city behaved shabbily towards him, though he eulogized (*enkōmiazein*) it much more amply and nobly.[141] At the beginning of the *To Nicocles*, Isocrates tries to introduce his Mirror of Tyrants as a new genre, not only because it is written in prose, but also because it addresses rulers rather than private persons. However, as the dialogue develops, the famous orator admits that many of his counsels and proposals have been uttered earlier.[142] This inconsistency indicates that Isocrates was aware that the Mirror of Tyrants was not a total novelty. In view of this, the conspicuous avoidance of Pindar's name was meant to forestall the possibility of an annoying rival once more overshadowing Isocrates' achievements. It is possible that Xenophon was aware of all this. If so, in choosing Hiero he wished to show that his Mirror of Tyrants did not blindly follow Isocrates but instead harkened back to an older tradition. The implicit invocation of Pindar's authority has an added advantage in that it further substantiates Xenophon's position in relation to Plato, since the latter admired Pindar and liked to recite his verses.[143] In his odes, Pindar often resorts to expressions and ideas familiar to the typology of tyrants and the Mirror of Tyrants, and thus portrays a model of a just ruler.

In *Olympian 1*, Pindar sings of wise poets arriving at Hiero's blessed hearth (*makaira hestia*) and that, like a good shepherd, he wields his sceptre in Sicily of many flocks.[144]

In *Pythian 1*, Pindar advises Hiero not to heed the citizens' envy (*phthonos*) of his fine deeds, since they perceive them as the successes of others (*esloisin allotriois*), but to

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[137] Isoc. 3.7; 9.8, 11, 65; 15.166; Pind. *Ol*. 2.47; 10.77; *Pyth*. 10.10, 53; *Nem*. 1.7; 6.32; 8.50–53; Jaeger 1944: 85–86, 308 with n. 7–8; see also Race 1987: 131. Simon Hornblower's (2004: 27) explanation that "the impetus to extravagant praise poetry came from the edges of the Greek world where outsize individuals demanded outsize celebration" indicates a close link between this genre and Sicily; see also pp. 17–18, 21–28.

[138] See Race 1987: 131–155 with n. 3; Papillon 1998: 48–54, 61; Hornblower 2004: 63–64 with n. 24, 66; *Id*. 2006: 159–160.

[139] Race 1987: 131–155. Terry Papillon (1998: 48–54, 61) and Simon Hornblower (2004: 63–64, 66; 2006: 159–160) also offer several observations in support of this influence.

[140] Isoc. 2.43, 48; see Jaeger 1944: 85, 96, 98, 104; Hornblower 2006: 159.

[141] Isoc. 15.166; Pind. fr. 76.2; *cf*. Jaeger 1944: 85–86, 308 with n. 7–8; Race 1987: 131.

[142] Isoc. 2.40–41.

[143] See Hornblower 2004: 65–66; *Id*. 2006: 160–162.

[144] Pind. *Ol*. 1.8–13; *cf*. Hom. *Il*. 2.243, 9.96–102; Aesch. *Pers*. 73–76, 241–242; Xen. *Mem*. 1.2.31–38; 3.2.1; *Cyr*. 8.2.14; see Mann 2013: 28–29; Morgan 2015: 92, 217, 225–227.

steer his men with the rudder of justice. There are many witnesses of both good and bad; if someone wants to enjoy a good reputation then let him be generous (towards the poets) and like a helmsman, set his sail to the wind and not allow himself to be deceived by glib profit seeking (*kerdos*).[145]

The poet in *Pythian 2* tells his patron that he can display his success with a liberal spirit (*eleuthera phrēn*), as he is rich in possessions and in wisdom.[146] The poet further emphasises that Hiero's judgments are mature, and they allow him to praise the lord of Syracuse with a riskless utterance on every account.[147] Pindar calls on Hiero to learn what kind of man he is and to show himself to be so, to not fall for the schemes of insincere flatterers and deceitful citizens, and to exercise caution towards profit dishonestly acquired.[148] A feature of *Pythian 2*, which is important for Greek political thought, is that it contains the earliest tripartite classification into the government of one, of the few, and of the many. Pindar clearly holds that the personal qualities of the individual are more important than the characteristics of the constitution. His standpoint is that the straight-talking man excels in every form of government; at the same time, he avoids any ranking of the three types of rule.[149] In the closing verses of *Pythian 2*, the poet says that, although human fate is in the hands of the god who now raises a man up and then again gives great glory (*mega kydos*) to others, this does not heal the mind of the envious (*phthoneroi*). Therefore, it is best to bear this yoke lightly and to keep the company of good men (*agathoi*).[150]

In *Pythian 3*, Pindar says that Hiero holds sway like a king (*basileus*) in Syracuse, is gentle with the citizens, does not envy the good (*agathoi*) and is a marvellous father to strangers.[151] He is not merely a tyrant (*tyrannos*); he is a leader of the people (*lagetas*).[152] He is attended by good fortune (*moir' eudaimonias*), but at the same time, the poet warns him that a secure life was not granted to either Cadmus or Peleus, who of all mortals had enjoyed the greatest happiness (*olbos*). Hiero should know that, for every blessing, the immortals grant men grief two-fold. Fools cannot bear this with dignity, but good men (*agathoi*) can by turning their better side outward.[153]

The verses from Pindar anticipate some key elements of the Mirror of Tyrants. The ruler's personality outweighs the type of government in importance. A positive image of the tyrant is expressed by comparing him with a shepherd and a helmsman; the parallel use of terms such as *tyrannos*, *lagetas* and *basileus*; and by pointing out his righteousness, wisdom and graciousness towards fellow citizens (both the multitude and the elite). A recurring theme is the inconstancy of the ruler's (human) happiness, which is in the lap of

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145 Pind. *Pyth*. 1.83–93; *cf*. 4.272–274; Bacchyl. 4.3; 5.6; Xen. *Mem*. 1.7.3; 2.6.38–39; 3.3.9, 11; *Cyr*. 1.6.21–22; Pl. *Rep.* 488a–489a; see Morgan 2015: 341–344.

146 Pind. *Pyth*. 2.55–57; see Bischoff 1938: 95–96; Morgan 2015: 190, 357.

147 Pind. *Pyth*. 2.65–67; see Morgan 2015: 121–123, 191–193.

148 Pind. *Pyth*. 2.72–83; see Morgan 2015: 194–196.

149 Pind. *Pyth*. 2.86–88; *cf*. Isoc. 9.46; 12.132–133, 138; Xen. *Cyr*. 1.1.1; *Vect*. 1.1; see Ostwald 2000: 15–16; Hornblower 2006: 152–153; Morgan 2015: 197–198.

150 Pind. *Pyth*. 2.89–97; *cf*. also Bacchyl. 5.49–55; see Morgan 2015: 121–123, 199–208.

151 Pind. *Pyth*. 3.70–71; see Mann 2013: 29–30; Morgan 2015: 283.

152 Pind. *Pyth*. 3.85; *cf*. 4.107; *Ol*. 1.89; see Hornblower 2006: 155; Mann 2013: 29; Morgan 2015: 289.

153 Pind. *Pyth*. 3.82–89; *cf*. Hom. *Il*. 24.527–528, 535–540; Bacchyl. 5.53–55; Hdt. 1.32, 86.3–6; see Morgan 2015: 287–290.

the gods. The poet calls on Hiero not to strive for dishonest gain, to suffer the blows of fate with grace and dignity, speak straightforwardly, quietly suffer the burden of other people's envy, associate with the *agathoi* and not to listen to flatterers and their slander, which can be understood as advice on the importance of moral conduct for a good and successful rule.

Pindar's odes dedicated to the ruler of Syracuse can help us understand Xenophon's *Hiero* in yet another aspect. The juxtaposition of positive and negative patterns of behaviour is one of the key methods by which Pindar praises the tyrant. While Croesus (kindly excellence and good reputation) and Pelops (eternal glory) serve as models for individuals and rulers who have sufficient self-knowledge to establish a good relationship with both gods and people, Tantalus (insatiable nature), Typhon (attempted to overthrow the divine order of things), Phalaris (burned men in a brazen bull), Ixion (ingratitude and disregard for the distance between gods and mortals), Coronis (unfaithful to a god and tried to deceive him) and Asclepius (longed for what is out of reach: immortal life) serve as counterexamples of individuals guided by unrestrained and deluded ambition.[154] By this quite simple method, Pindar succeeds in distancing the *laudandus* from all the negative features of a tyrant and associating him only with what is positive in human behaviour and that of a ruler. The best example of this approach is the use of Croesus as a positive paradigm in *Pythian 1*.[155] Herodotus and Xenophon demonstrate that the Lydian king usually served as a negative model in Greek literature.[156] Pindar, however, overcomes this obstacle by placing Croesus in opposition to the worst possible tyrant in the image of Phalaris. When compared with an autocrat who allegedly burned people alive in a bronze bull, all deficiencies of the Lydian king seem petty. Even though he does not compare Hiero with any other tyrant, Xenophon essentially uses the same method. With the aid of Simonides's mirroring of established opinion on tyranny and Hiero's criticism of it, Xenophon separates the Syracusan tyrant from all the negative features of tyrannical power; in the second part of the dialogue, by means of Simonides's advice on how to become a happy tyrant, he goes on to associate him with the positive characteristics of a good ruler.

4. The Principal Message of the *Hiero*

From what has been said so far, we see that the composition and message of the *Hiero* were influenced by wisdom literature, epinician poetry and the Mirror of Tyrants. The characterisation of Simonides as a wise man was also strongly influenced by Plato. His unfavourable opinion of the celebrated poet involves a noticeably clear rejection of key

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154 Pelops and Tantalus (Pind. *Ol*. 1.23–98; Tyrt. 12.6–7); Typhon (Pind. *Pyth*. 1.15–35; Hes. *Thgn*. 820–880); Croesus and Phalaris (Pind. *Pyth*. 1.94–98; Bacchyl. 3.21–66; Diod. 9.18–19); Ixion (Pind. *Pyth*. 2.21–48); Asclepius and Coronis (Pind. *Pyth*. 3.6–66); see Hornblower 2004: 64–65; *Id*. 2006: 156; Mann 2013: 35–37; Morgan 2015: 119–121, 180–188, 217–218, 234–251, 309, 313–320, 341–345, 347, 353, 355–357.

155 Bacchylides makes in his *Third Epinicion* a positive parallel betwenn Croesus' and Hiero' generous veneration of the gods (Bacchyl. 3.11–70); see Mann 2013: 33–35.

156 Hdt. 1.26–56, 69–92.2, 155–156, 207–208, esp. 30–34, 44, 46–47, 53, 55, 85–92.2, 207–208; Xen. *Cyr*. 4.1.8, 2.29; 6.2.19; 7.2.5, 9–29; 8.2.15–19; see Gera 1993: 206, 277–278; Bichler 2000: 244–255, 267–268; Lefèvre 2010: 401–417; Jordović 2016: 175–177; *Id*. 2019: 132 n. 349.

values in Xenophon's thought. However, the congruities between Xenophon and Plato do not end there.

The *Hiero* consists of two parts. In Part 1 (1–7), Simonides extols the blessings of tyranny, while Hiero claims that it is all an illusion and that a tyrant fares much worse in reality than the common man does. Having accepted this point of view, in the second part of the dialogue (8–11), Simonides explains what the other ought to do in order to rule to his own and the general satisfaction. The composition of the first part of the *Hiero* differs widely from the customary – the wise man praises tyranny and the tyrant condemns it. Moreover, in the course of the dialogue, the tyrant succeeds in demonstrating to the wise man that he is wrong. There is a simple explanation for these peculiarities. Simonides' lauding of the benefits of *bios tyrannikos* is easier to understand if we note that in several places he admits that it reflects the views of the masses,[157] so in the first part of the dialogue he is not so much presenting a personal viewpoint as repeating established opinion. Hiero's rebuttal of the theory of the tyrant's happiness is not a refutation of Simonides but rather of a common perception that tyrannical rule is a blessing for the potentate, because it brings him power, wealth, and pleasure.[158]

That Hiero does not refute Simonides is important for yet another reason. Besides the fact that in Part 2 Simonides uses Socratic arguments, it directly challenges one of Plato's main points of critique. This concerns Socrates' deduction in *Progatoras* that Simonides did not eulogise tyrants voluntarily. He was compelled to, from which it follows that the poet was neither a sage nor a truly free man.[159] In this respect, it is no less significant for an understanding of the *Hiero* that Simonides' praise of autocratic rule coincides with Polus's glorification of tyranny in the *Gorgias.* Here, again, Plato emphasises that this is based on common belief.[160] Plato's Socrates reveals that conventional opinion on the tyrant's happiness is nothing other than a misconception.[161]

Two other circumstances indicate that Xenophon had the *Gorgias* in mind when he wrote. First, Hiero uses Socratic argument to reject the illusory notion of a happy tyrant.[162] Secondly, in a context that discards this widely held opinion, it is stated in the *Hiero* that because of this impression that tyrants are happy, many yearn (*epithymein*) for tyrannical power and envy (*zēloûn*) the tyrant.[163] Envy, however, is a predominantly negative feeling and does not necessarily imply a profound desire for its object. The importance of this difference may be perceived in Isocrates's use of *phthonos* and *zēloûn* in *Evagoras*. He applies the first term when he says that, out of sheer envy, no writer so far had praised his

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157 Xen. *Hier*. 1.9, 16–17; 2.3–5; *cf*. Gray 2007: 36–37, 109, 112–113, 120.

158 Archil. fr. 19 W; Sol. fr. 33 W; Aesch. *Pers*. 709–714; Bacchyl. 5.49–55; Pind. *Pyth*. 1.46; Soph. *Ant*. 506–507; *OT*. 1525–1526; Hdt. 1.30.2–4, 32–33; 3.40–44.1; Eur. *Alc*. 653–654; *Phoen*. 506, 549; fr. 286, 605; DK II B F 251; Isoc. 2.5; 9.40, 71–72; Xen. *Cyr*. 1.1.1; see Jordović 2019: 74 with n. 137–138.

159 Pl. *Prt*. 346b–347a; see Manuwald 1999: 328–329, 347–351.

160 Pl. *Grg*. 469a, 470d–e, 471e–472b, 473c–e.

161 Pl. *Grg*. 474c–480e.

162 V. J. Gray (1986: 115): "The identification of Simonides as a wise man who nevertheless seeks wisdom from others establishes his Socratic nature from the start. [...] Simonides uses the typical Socratic manner, 'thinking' and 'supposing' things are as he describes them. But the main Socratic feature is Simonides' irony."; *cf*. also 116–117, 120; *Id*. 2007: 34, 36; Schorn 2008: 188–193; Zuolo 2018: 567, 575.

163 Xen. *Hier*. 1.9.

contemporaries; he uses the second to show that his praise of Evagoras is meant to encourage others to imitate this ruler.[164] The fact that *zēloûn* appears in *Hiero* in conjunction with *epithymein*, a term which is clearly positive towards the object of the feeling, shows that *zēloûn* cannot be translated as merely a feeling of envy, and that the emotion subsumes other meanings (to emulate, strive towards, look up to). For this reason, Xenophon also used the verb *phthonein*, rather than *zēloûn*, when he speaks of negative envy of the tyrant's happiness.[165] This versatile use of *zēloûn* in the *Hiero* fully matches the manner in which it is used by Polus and Socrates in the *Gorgias*.[166] We should bear in mind that Simonides also says that the most capable yearn for tyranny, a thought which would certainly have been more than acceptable to Callicles.[167]

In addition to these similarities between the first part of the *Hiero* and Plato, there are others that are no less important. Frequently in the sources, and simultaneously with the celebration of the tyrant's happiness, reference is made to its transience, thus accentuating its illusory nature.[168] When Hiero points out the mere semblance of the tyrant's happiness, this does not depart from the traditional typology of tyrants. In one respect, however, it diverges, and this can be explained by Plato's influence. According to Hiero, every aspect of the tyrant's life and activity is determined by his position. Part 1, almost two-thirds of the entire dialogue, includes examples from all spheres of the *bios tyrannikos* (freedom of movement, bodily pleasures, love, respect for others, family, friendship, everyday joys, sleep, personal safety etc.). These show how he only seemingly possesses great power, for it is precisely this power which prevents him from achieving what is truly good for him.[169] Whatever he does, the tyrant will always act to his own detriment. He only appears to have complete freedom of action, because he does not enjoy true freedom of will. Compulsion (*anankē*) rules his life and he is forced to act unjustly.[170] The complete loss of control over every area of his life is expressed in Hiero's sentence that the tyrant spends his days and nights like someone whom all men have condemned to death. The way out is not a return to the life of a private person, as this is impossible – once a tyrant, always a tyrant.[171] If there is any doubt left that Hiero is referring to anything other than absolute loss of freedom of will, it is dispelled by his conclusion that tyranny is a great evil from which the only real escape is suicide:[172]

> καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μή τι πάθῃ καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι᾽ ἀδικίαν ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως,

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164 Isoc. 3.6–7, 77–78; *cf*. 2.59.

165 Xen. *Hier*. 11.15.

166 See Jordović 2019: 74–77.

167 Pl. *Grg*. 483b–e, 488b–490a; see Gray 2007: 110.

168 See notes 153, 158.

169 Xen. *Hier*. 1.10–7.10.

170 When Xenophon, as noted by Melina Tamiolaki, speaks of the tyrant's life, on 15 occasions he employs derivates of the term *anankē*; see Tamiolaki 2012: 577 n. 53: "It is astonishing how many times derivatives of the word ἀνάγκη appear in this context: *Hier*. 1.28, 2.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 5.3, 6.5, 6.15, 8.9, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.10, 10.7, 10.8."; see Jordović 2019: 63–64, 68–69 (tyrannical man), 94 (Alcibiades), 96–97 (Callicles).

171 Xen. *Hier*. 7.10–12.

172 Xen. *Hier*. 7.10–13 (trans. E. C. Marchant). In 8.1 the phrase *athymōs echein* is used; see Gray 2007: 35, 135.

ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττῃ οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ ἂν ἅπαξ κτήσαιτο; ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχων ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

And, for myself, I count him a happy man (*makarizein*) who is honoured thus; for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness (*eudaimonōs*). But what is the despot's (*tyrannos*) lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness (*adikia*)." When Simonides had listened to all this he asked: "Pray, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile (*ponēros*), and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil (*megalos kakos*), and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?" "Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning misery (*athliōtatos*) of despotic power (*tyrannis*), that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? Ah, Simonides," he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is: a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit."

The thought that a tyrant is actually a wretched man (*athlios*) who has lost all freedom of will is an important moment in Plato's condemnation of tyranny.[173] In the *Gorgias*, Plato's Socrates says that tyrants (rhetors, i.e politicians) are the least able to do what they really want, because even though they can kill or banish whomever they like and seize any property they wish, they do not do what is genuinely best for themselves. The very fact that, in this discussion, Socrates rejects Polus' idea that the power of the tyrant to kill whomever he wants or take the property he desires should be emulated (*zēloûn*) goes against any accidental coincidence with the *Hiero*:[174]

Σωκράτης: φημὶ γάρ, ὦ Πῶλε, ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους δύνασθαι μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν σμικρότατον, ὥσπερ νυνδὴ ἔλεγον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν ὧν βούλονται ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν· ποιεῖν μέντοι ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ βέλτιστον εἶναι.

Σ. πότερον οὖν τὰ μεταξὺ ταῦτα ἕνεκα τῶν ἀγαθῶν πράττουσιν ὅταν πράττωσιν, ἢ τἀγαθὰ τῶν μεταξύ; Πῶλος: τὰ μεταξὺ δήπου τῶν ἀγαθῶν. [...] Σ. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀποκτείνυμεν, εἴ τιν᾽ ἀποκτείνυμεν, καὶ ἐκβάλλομεν καὶ ἀφαιρούμεθα χρήματα, οἰόμενοι ἄμεινον εἶναι ἡμῖν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἢ μή; [...] Σ. οὐκοῦν εἴπερ ταῦτα ὁμολογοῦμεν, εἴ τις ἀποκτείνει τινὰ ἢ ἐκβάλλει ἐκ πόλεως ἢ ἀφαιρεῖται χρήματα, εἴτε τύραννος ὢν εἴτε ῥήτωρ, οἰόμενος ἄμεινον εἶναι αὐτῷ, τυγχάνει δὲ ὂν κάκιον, οὗτος δήπου ποιεῖ ἃ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ· ἦ γάρ; Π. ναί. Σ. ἆρ᾽ οὖν καὶ ἃ βούλεται, εἴπερ τυγχάνει ταῦτα κακὰ ὄντα; τί οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ; Π. ἀλλ᾽ οὔ μοι δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται. Σ. ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως ὁ τοιοῦτος μέγα δύναται ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, εἴπερ ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα δύνασθαι ἀγαθόν τι κατὰ τὴν σὴν

[173] *Athlios* (Xen. *Hier*. 2.3; 4.10; 7.12); *kakodaimonein* (Xen. *Hier*. 2.4); see Jordović 2019: 55, 63–65, 78 n. 165,
[174] Pl. *Grg*. 466d–e, 468a–469a, 478d–479a (trans. D. J. Zeyl with minor changes); see Jordović 2019: 23–24, 64–65, 74–76.

ὁμολογίαν; Π. οὐκ ἔστιν. Σ. ἀληθῆ ἄρα ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, λέγων ὅτι ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον ποιοῦντα ἐν πόλει ἃ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ μὴ μέγα δύνασθαι μηδὲ ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται. Π. ὡς δὴ σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο ἐξεῖναί σοι ποιεῖν ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μή, οὐδὲ ζηλοῖς ὅταν ἴδῃς τινὰ ἃ ἀποκτείναντα ὃν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀφελόμενον χρήματα ἢ δήσαντα. Σ. δικαίως λέγεις ἢ ἀδίκως; Π. ὁπότερ᾽ ἂν ποιῇ, οὐκ ἀμφοτέρως ζηλωτόν ἐστιν; Σ. εὐφήμει, ὦ Πῶλε. Π. τί δή; Σ. ὅτι οὐ χρὴ οὔτε τοὺς ἀζηλώτους ζηλοῦν οὔτε τοὺς ἀθλίους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐλεεῖν.

Σ. τί δέ; ἀθλιώτερος πότερος δυοῖν ἐχόντοιν κακὸν εἴτ᾽ ἐν σώματι εἴτ᾽ ἐν ψυχῇ, ὁ ἰατρευόμενος καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ, ἢ ὁ μὴ ἰατρευόμενος, ἔχων δέ; Π. φαίνεταί μοι ὁ μὴ ἰατρευόμενος. Σ. οὐκοῦν τὸ δίκην διδόναι μεγίστου κακοῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἦν, πονηρίας; Π. ἦν γάρ. Σ. σωφρονίζει γάρ που καὶ δικαιοτέρους ποιεῖ καὶ ἰατρικὴ γίγνεται πονηρίας ἡ δίκη. Π. ναί. Σ. εὐδαιμονέστατος μὲν ἄρα ὁ μὴ ἔχων κακίαν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐφάνη. Π. δῆλον δή. Σ. δεύτερος δέ που ὁ ἀπαλλαττόμενος. Π. ἔοικεν. Σ. οὗτος δ᾽ ἦν ὁ νουθετούμενός τε καὶ ἐπιπληττόμενος καὶ δίκην διδούς. Π. ναί. Σ. κάκιστα ἄρα ζῇ ὁ ἔχων ἀδικίαν καὶ μὴ ἀπαλλαττόμενος. Π. φαίνεται. Σ. οὐκοῦν οὗτος τυγχάνει ὢν ὃς ἂν τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικῶν καὶ χρώμενος μεγίστῃ ἀδικίᾳ διαπράξηται ὥστε μήτε νουθετεῖσθαι μήτε κολάζεσθαι μήτε δίκην διδόναι, ὥσπερ σὺ φῂς Ἀρχέλαον παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τυράννους καὶ ῥήτορας καὶ δυνάστας; Π. ἔοικε.

Socrates: I say, Polus, that both orators and tyrants have the least power in their cities, as I was saying just now. For they do just about nothing they want to, though they certainly do whatever they see most fit to do (*dokein*).

S. Now whenever people do things, do they do these intermediate things for the sake of good ones, or the good things for the sake of the intermediate ones? Polus: The intermediate things for the sake of the good ones, surely [...] S. And don't we also put a person to death, if we do, or banish him and confiscate his property because we suppose that doing these things is better for us than not doing them? [...] S. Since we're in agreement about that then, if a person who's a tyrant or an orator puts somebody to death or exiles him or confiscates his property because he supposes that doing so is better for himself when actually it's worse, this person, I take it, is doing what he sees fit, isn't he? P. Yes S. And is he also doing what he wants, if these things are actually bad? Why don't you answer? P. All right, I don't think he's doing what he wants. S. Can such a man possibly have great power in that city, if in fact having great power is, as you agree, something good? P. He cannot. S. So, what I was saying is true, when I said that it is possible for a man who does in his city what he sees fit not to have great power, nor to be doing what he wants. P. Really, Socrates! As if you wouldn't welcome being in a position to do what you see fit in the city, rather than not! As if you wouldn't be envious whenever you'd see anyone putting to death some person he saw fit, or confiscating his property or tying him up! S. Justly (*dikaiōs*), you mean, or unjustly (*adikōs*)? P. Whichever way he does it, isn't he to be emulated (*zēlōtos*) either way? S. Hush, Polus. P. What for? S. Because you're not supposed to emulate (*zēloûn*) the unenviable (*azēlōtos*) or the miserable (*athlios*). You're supposed to pity them

S. Very well. Of two people, each of whom has something bad in either body or soul, which is the more miserable (*athliōteros*) one, the one who is treated and gets rid of the bad thing or the one who doesn't but keeps it? P. The one who isn't treated, it seems to me. S. Now, wasn't paying what's due getting rid of the worst thing there is, corruption (*ponēria*)? P. It was. S. Yes, because such justice makes people self-controlled, I take it, and more just. It proves to be a treatment against corruption. P. Yes. S. The happiest man (*eudaimonestatos*), then, is the one who doesn't have any badness (*kakia*) in his soul, now that this has been shown to be the most serious kind of badness. P. That's clear. S. And second, I suppose, is the man who gets rid of it. P. Evidently S. This is the man who gets lectured and lashed, the one who pays what is due. P. Yes. S. The man who keeps it, then, and who doesn't get rid of it, is the one whose life is the worst (*kakista*). P. Apparently. S. Isn't this actually the man who, although he commits the most serious crimes and uses methods that are most unjust, succeeds in avoiding being lectured and disciplined and paying his due, as Archelaus

according to you, and the other tyrants, orators, and potentates have put themselves in a position to do? P. Evidently.

In the *Republic*, Plato emphasises that the tyrannical man is least likely to do what he wants; his soul is insatiate, full of disorder, repentance and fear. The only one who is even more wretched (*athliōteros*) than him is the tyrannical man who does not live a private life (*bios idiōtikos*) but succeeds in becoming an actual tyrant.[175] Such a state of mind entirely corresponds to the condition described by Xenophon's *Hiero*.[176] There are other considerable coincidences between Part 1 of *Hiero* and the description of tyrannical rule in the *Republic*.[177]

If the correspondences are well founded, the question arises as to why Xenophon's Hiero would advocate the same point of view as Plato's Socrates, as this might lead to the assumption that Xenophon actually agrees with Plato's negative opinion of Simonides.[178] However, this is contradicted by two facts. The first, as was previously mentioned, is that when Simonides speaks of the happiness of tyrants, he is presenting a general belief rather than his own. The second is connected to Part 2 of *Hiero*. One of the main conclusions of *Gorgias* and the *Republic* is that tyrannical man cannot change. For this reason, Socrates, despite all his efforts, fails in getting through to Callicles.[179] Part 2 of *Hiero*, however, describes a completely different situation. The on-going dialogue between Simonides and Hiero shows that a tyrant can change and achieve a happy life by following the poet's instructions, which are in fact nothing other than Xenophon's own ideas. This is reflected in Xenophon's terminology. The word tyranny is omnipresent in Part 1.[180] Yet, in Part 2 it is used only in respect to Hiero or in the context of the traditional type of tyrannical rule. For the model of rule proposed by Simonides the neutral word ruler is used.[181] Thus, the purpose of Hiero's utter despair is not to conjure up the impossibility of a transformation for tyrannical man, but to be the introduction to it.[182] It is obvious that, when writing the

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175 Pl. *Rep.* 578a–c; see also 575a–576b.

176 Pl. *Rep.* 577c–578a; *cf.* Adam 1902: 339; Gray 1986: 117–118.

177 The good and wise are not his friends (Pl. *Rep.* 567b; Xen. *Hier*. 5.1–2); surrounded by bad people (*Rep*. 567d; *Hier*. 5.2); forced to rob temples (*Rep*. 568d, 575b; *Hier*. 4.11); at war with his city (*Rep*. 575d; *Hier*. 2.7–8); is actually poor (*Rep*. 573d–574a, 579e–580a; *Hier*. 4.8–11); acts against his own kin (*Rep*. 574a–c; *Hier*. 3.7–8); most wretched/unhappier than the private citizen (*Rep*. 576c, 578c; *Hier*. 1.8; 2.3, 6; 5.1; 8.10; 12–13); cannot travel (*Rep*. 579b; *Hier*. 1.11–12); cannot satisfy his desires (*Rep*. 579d–e; *Hier*. 4.7; 6.3–6, 8); the majority of people erroneously think that he is blessed (*Rep*. 576; *Hier*. 2.3–5). The concurrences between these two dialogues were already identified by Jean Luccioni (1948: 19–20). Agnese Gaile-Irbe (2013: 97–101; see also 93 n. 1) has recently given a detailed and instructive account on the parallels between Xenophon's *Hiero* and Plato's *Republic*; see also Gray 2007: 214–216.

178 Vivienne Gray (1986: 116–117): "The action of the *Hiero* is unusual in that the interlocutor inflicts an apparent defeat on the Socrates figure and uses the Socratic method to inflict it, like the questioning mode."

179 Pl. *Rep*. 561b–c: "καὶ λόγον γε, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, ἀληθῆ οὐ προσδεχόμενος οὐδὲ παριεὶς εἰς τὸ φρούριον, [...]. – And he doesn't admit any word of truth into the guardhouse, [...]." (trans. G. M. A. Grube, rev. C. D. C. Reeve); cp. also *Grg*. 492c; see Jordović 2019: 72–73, 103–104, 132–135.

180 Xen. *Hier*. 1.1–2, 7–9, 11, 13–14, 18, 21, 26, 28–30, 38; 2.4, 7–8, 10–12, 14; 3.1, 6, 8; 4.2, 4–9, 11; 5.1–4; 6.8, 11, 13; 7.2, 4–5, 11–13.

181 Xen. *Hier*. 8.2–3, 5, 6; 9.3–5, 10.1 (*archōn/archē*); 8.4 (*dynatos*); 11.5, 7 (*prostatēs*); 8.1–2, 6, 10; 11.2, 6 (*tyrannos/tyrannis/tyrannein*); see also Schorn 2010: 47–48.

182 Cp. Levy 2018: 32–33.

Hiero, Xenophon was guided not only by the desire to cover the genres of the Mirror of Tyrants, the encomium, and wisdom literature in another way; the work also directly criticises Plato's thinking that tyrannical man is incapable of change, a position explicitly linked to the view that the philosopher (the true wise man) should renounce the world of traditional politics in order to pursue genuine *politikē technē*.[183] Thus, Xenophon's refutation of Plato's standpoint is not to be confused with an advocacy of tyrannical rule. If it is indeed possible to teach the unteachable and to remedy the deficiencies of the worst type of political rule, then despite all its shortcomings, the traditional way of doing politics is not obsolete, provided of course that the advice of the author of the Mirror of Tyrants is taken to heart. It also means that, in Xenophon's view, philosophy and politics are not two antipodes, as Plato believes.

In conclusion it can be said that Xenophon's *Hiero* is a truly sophisticated work. It combines elements of several genres while subtly but uncompromisingly criticising a rival political thinker. Both Xenophon and Isocrates composed Mirror of Tyrants writings in order to counter Plato's complete break with traditional politics. This circumstance reveals not only the importance of this rift for the emergence of this genre, but also that Plato's contemporaries were already well aware of its radical and far-reaching effect on political thought.

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[183] See Jordović 2019: 72–73, 131–135, 158–159, 163.

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КСЕНОФОНТОВ ХИЈЕРОНТ И ЊЕГОВИ КОНТЕКСТ(И)

Резиме

Ксенофонтов *Хијеронт* спада у дела античке политичке мисли која стално изнова привлаче пажњу и то пре свега зато што се његова порука чини изразито вишезначном. Бројне и често међусобно противречне интерпретације не само да сведоче о томе, већ показују колико тешко је растумачити смисао овог дела само на основу његове садржине. Из тих разлога се ова студија определила за приступ који најпре жели да разуме његову форму, односно одговори на питање којем жанру овај дијалог уопште припада. Анализа текста показује да Ксенофонт у њему врло вешто спаја неколико жанрова: мудрачку књижевност, епиникију, тиранско огледало и сократовску књижевност. На такав приступ се превасходно одлучио из два разлога. Први, да своју политичку и етичку мисао повеже са цењеним и утицајним традицијама. На тај начин је својим погледима дао додатну тежину и учинио их интересантним за још шири круг људи. Други разлог је да одговори на Платонов радикални раскид са традиционалним начином вођења политике, тј. на његов став да је она апсолутно непоправљива. Испитивање утицаја мудрачке књижевности (*hypothēkai*, Седам мудраца), тиранског огледала (Исократ), епиникије (Симонид, Пиндар) и *logoi Sōkratikoi* (Платон) на Хијеронта показује да се ради о истински софистицираном делу које своју поруку (осуду Платона) вешто уклопило у више различитих жанрова. Ксенофонтовим савременицима, којима су ти жанрови били блиски, није било тешко да разумеју поруку Хијеронта, док се она савременим научницима, који нису навикли на овакав приступ, често чини вишезначном и недореченом.

Кључне речи: Хијеронт, Седам мудраца, похвала и дидактичка поезија, тиранско огледало, Ксенофонт, Симонид, Платон, Исократ, Пиндар.

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ANCIENT GREEKS AND SUICIDE IN THE TRAGEDIES: SOPHOCLES' *AJAX*[1] AND EURIPIDES' *HERACLES*[2]

Abstract: This paper analyzes attitudes towards suicide in ancient Greece as presented in Greek tragedies. Although suicide as a social phenomenon was a common motif in various ancient plays, the focus here will be on two tragedies, Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles*, in which suicidal tendencies motivated by a loss of honor are most clearly depicted. In these plays, the two heroes are faced with a dilemma: choosing between an honorable death or a life spent in shame. In accordance with the ideals of his creator and the strict heroic code, Sophocles' *Ajax* decides to commit suicide. Euripides' *Heracles*, however, broken and devastated, chooses life by relying only on himself and his friendship with Theseus.

Keywords: suicide, Ajax, Heracles, Sophocles, Euripides, solitude, the Peloponnesian War, self-reliance, friendship, Theseus.

1. Introduction

Ancient literary, historical, and philosophical sources show that, despite of being full of vigor, cheerful, and devoted to life, the Greeks never denied a man his right to choose to live or to die of his own free will.[3] Although suicide was an act directed against the gods, in Greek society of the fifth century B.C.E., and even earlier, it was a

[1] The beginnings of this research can be found in Maričić 2009: 15−22.

[2] The passages from Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles* quoted in the present paper are from Sophocles, Electra and Other Plays, Ajax, Electra, Women of Trachis, Philoctetes, translated by E. F. Watling, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondswoerh-Middlesex, 1973, and Euripides, *Medea and Other Plays*, *Medea*, *Hecabe*, *Electra*, *Heracles*, Translated with an Introduction by Philip Vellacot, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondswoerh-Middlesex, 1971.

[3] For a complete account of all instances of suicide in ancient literary and historical sources, see: Hirzel 1908: 75ff, 243ff, 417ff.

frequent phenomenon.[4] Suicide was a means of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy, and Spartan suicidal heroism in battle was the most common form of altruism.[5] Many women committed suicide after the tragic deaths of their children or husband either as a sacrifice due to unrequited love, which left an indelible mark on both Greek mythology and Greek tragedy.[6] Pythagoreans condemned suicide for religious reasons, or more precisely, out of fear of committing sacrilege.[7] For Philolaus, it was a crime committed not only against the human body (σῶμα) but against the human soul (ψυχή).[8]

Passages in Plato's and Aristotle's works indicate that their position regarding suicide was based on legal rather than ethical principles.[9] In *Nicomachean Ethics*,[10] Aristotle regards suicide as a crime against the community, although he does not specify the nature of this crime nor does he demonstrate any concern for individual well-being. First in *The Phaedrus*[11] and later in *The Laws*,[12] Plato states that suicide is disgraceful, yet he recognizes some exceptions to this principle: when suicide results from an extreme and unavoidable personal misfortune or shame caused by participation in utterly unjust activities.[13] Only suicide committed under these circumstances can be excused, but, according to Plato, it is otherwise an act of cowardice or laziness undertaken by individuals too delicate to manage life's vicissitudes. In this regard, the case of Socrates is particularly instructive.[14] Having been found guilty of impiety and corruption of Athenian youths, Socrates was given the opportunity to decide his own punishment.[15] He could probably have avoided death by choosing to go into exile; however, this would have resulted in the loss of Athenian citizenship. Socrates thus opted for the death penalty, thereby remaining faithful not only to his teaching of civic obedience to the law but also to his values and beliefs. With the circumstances of Socrates' death in mind, Plato insists that taking poison as a means of carrying out the death penalty is not an act of suicide but rather one of martyrdom.[16] Unlike

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4 On suicide in ancient Greece, see Garrison 1991: 1−34; Dover 1974: 168−169; Van Hooff 1990; Bremmer 1983: 91−104.

5 Isocrates, an Athenian orator, essayist and rhetorician, starved himself to death in despair after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.E., in which Greek independence was lost and Philip II of Macedon became the master of all of Greece. Demosthenes, a famous orator, after the defeat of Athens in the Lamian War in 323 B.C.E., escaped to a sanctuary on the island of Kalaureia, where he was later discovered by Archias, a confidant of Antipater. He committed suicide before his capture by taking poison from of a reed by pretending he wanted to write a letter to his family. See Ps. Plut. *Isoc*. 838; Plut. *Dem.* 29. On suicide in Spartan society, see: Hdt. 7. 104, 134, 231−232; Xen. *Hell.* 4. 8. 38−39. Cf. David 2004 : 25−46.

6 Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4−7; Diod. 5. 55; Hyginus *Fables* 166, 243; Paus. 1. 18. 2; 9. 17.1; Plut. *Thes*. 20.1; Apollon. *Arg*. 1.1063-104; Eur. *Supp*. 1015−1020, 1065, 1070−1071; Eur. *Alc*. 15−27, 33−36; Soph. *Ant.* 1220−1, 1301; Soph. *Trach.* 920−930. For more about the suicide of women in ancient society, see: Arjava 1996; Faber 1970.

7 Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorae* 86, Diels-Kranz 58c, vol. I, 465. 5–6. Cf. Plat. *Laws* VI, 773e. See also Cooper 1999: 520−521.

8 Naiden, 2015: 92.

9 On moral attitudes towards suicide through the ages, see: Battin 1982. Cf. Adkins 1960.

10 Arist. *Eth*. *Nic*. *1138a5–14.*

11 Plat. *Phd.* 60−63c.

12 Plat. *Laws* IX, 873c.

13 *Ibid*. 873c–d.

14 Plat. *Apol.* 29−30. Cf. Frey 1878: 106−108.

15 *Ibid*. 26.

16 Plat. *Phd.* 115.

Plato, Epictetus, a Stoic philosopher, in *The Discourses*, approves of the desire to end one's own life if it has become overly difficult and painful.[17] At the same time, he characterizes a act of suicide not motivated by any reason at all as shameful destruction, because no higher goal is supported or achieved by it.[18] All of these attitudes correspond to two principles, shame and honor, which are in opposition to one another and derived directly from an individual's relationship with the moral values of his time.[19] Due to a sense of honor or disgrace, many Greeks were driven to put an end to their lives, as has been recorded by historians[20] and is evident in nearly all cases of suicide depicted in Greek plays.[21]

2. Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles*

The rise of the Athenian Empire and its collapse after the end of the Peloponnesian War not only brought distrust and destruction but also challenged the entire system of moral values.[22] It comes as no surprise that, during this period, there are numerous examples of death by suicide from all over the Greek world. At the same time, the motifs of bravery, cowardice, shame, and honor became common in the works of Sophocles and Euripides. In Sophocles' seven extant tragedies, Ajax, Haemon, Antigone, Jocasta, Eurydice, and Deianira all die by suicide. Oedipus asks for a sword, and the chorus[23] wonders why he did not use it.[24] Philoctetes tries to commit suicide on stage but is forcefully prevented. Electra begs anyone in the house to slay her (ʻfor, death will bring me joyʼ).[25] In Euripides' tragedies, Phaedra in *Hippolytus*, Evadne in *The Suppliant Women*, and Jocasta and Menoeceus in *The Phoenician Women* all die by suicide. Euripides abandons the common view of his time, while Sophocles supports it. Thus Euripides' Iphigenia says: ʻTo see this sunlight is for us all dearest love! / Below is nothing; and to wish for death, madness.ʼ[26] In all these plays, suicide is presented as a sublime act that comes as a response to the pressures the victim has been exposed to. Of all the these plays, two tragedies particularly stand out. They present the fates of two Greek heroes who disgrace themselves while experiencing a

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17 Epict. *Discourses* 1. 24. 20; 1. 25. 18; 2. 6. 17−19.

18 *Ibid*. 2. 15. 4−12.

19 Plato and Aristotle make a clear distinction between acceptable and unacceptable suicide, which for them meant a distinction between honorable and cowardly suicide. The punishment for these must vary according to motives and circumstances. If an act of self-destruction was motivated by cowardice, love suffering or laziness (Ἀργεία δέ *kaí* ανανδρίας δειλία) – Aristotle uses the word μαλακία to describe the character of such a person – it is a dishonorable act and as such deserves nothing but condemnation and punishment. Plat. *Laws* 761a 1-2; Plato. *Symp*. 182d 3–4; Plat. *Phd.*259a 2–3; Arist. *Eth*. *Nic*. 3.111ba 12–15. Cf. Garrison 1991: 13, 15−19; Stalley 1983: 144.

20 Hdt. 7. 220−221; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 56; 6. 4−7; Plut. *Them*. 22. 2; Thuc. 1. 138. 4−5; Plut. *De mul. vir*. 249.

21 Katsouris 1976: 5−26.

22 Tzanetou 2012: 67−73.

23 Soph.*OT* 1368: Χορός**:** οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως σε φῶ βεβουλεῦσθαι καλῶς: κρείσσων γὰρ ἦσθα μηκέτ᾽ ὢν ἢ ζῶν τυφλός.

24 Segal 1995. Cf. Loraux 1991.

25 Soph. *Phil.* 1000: Φιλοκτήτης: κρᾶτ᾽ ἐμὸν τόδ᾽ αὐτίκα πέτρᾳ πέτρας ἄνωθεν αἱμάξω πεσών. See Henry 1974: 3−4; Soph. *El.* 820: "πρὸς ταῦτα καινέτω τις, εἰ βαρύνεται, τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων: ὡς χάρις μέν, ἢν κτάνῃ, λύπη δ᾽, ἐὰν ζῶ: τοῦ βίου δ᾽ οὐδεὶς πόθος. Cf. Ringer 1998.

26 Eur. *I.A*. 1250–1252.

state of insanity sent by jealous gods. One of them decides to kill himself, the other to live with what he did. The former is Sophocles' Ajax and the latter is Euripides' Heracles.

Ajax is one of the greatest Greek heroes of the Trojan War. Therefore, after Achilles dies, he expects to be given the son of Peleus' beautiful, handmade armor. But the council of Achaean princes makes a different decision, and the armor is given to Odysseus.

ODYSSEUS: What can have possessed him
To do such a senseless thing?
ATHENA: He was crazed with jealousy
For the armour of Achilles, which was given to you.[27]

MESSENGER: I know what I saw. The leaders were in council;
Calchas was there, and soon he left his place
And went to speak to Teucer, out of earshot
Of Menelaus and Agamemnon, took his hand
In a friendly grip, and begged him earnestly
By hook or crook to keep Ajax at home,
Not let him out of sight this whole day long,
Or else he'd never see him alive again
For on this day, no other, he was doomed
Too meet Athena's wrath. For, said the prophet,
The gods have dreadful penalties in store
For worthless and redundant creatures, mortals
Who break the bounds of mortal modesty.
And Ajax showed he had no self-control
The day he left his home. 'Son,' said the father –
And very properly – 'Go out to win,
But win with God beside you.' 'Oh,' said Ajax
With vain bravado, 'any fool can win
Glory and honour on my own account.'
A terrible boast. And then another time
Divine Athena came to urge him on
And told him where to lay about his enemies;
He answered blasphemously 'Holy One,
Give your assistance to some other Greeks;
The line won't break where I am in command.'
This kind of talk it was that broke the bounds
Of mortal modesty; and his reward
Was the full fury of Athena's anger.
But if he lives today, there: is a chance
We may yet save him, with the help of heaven.
When Calchas told him this, Teucer at once
Called me to where he sat, and sent me off
With these instructions for you. If we've lost him,
Ajax has not an hour to live, or Calchas
Is no true prophet.[28]

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[27] Soph. *Aj.* 40: Ὀδυσσεύς: καὶ πρὸς τί δυσλόγιστον ὧδ᾽ ᾔξεν χέρα? Ἀθήνα: χόλῳ βαρυνθεὶς τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὅπλων.

[28] *Ibid*. 750–780: Ἄγγελος: τοσοῦτον οἶδα καὶ παρὼν ἐτύγχανον. ἐκ γὰρ συνέδρου καὶ τυραννικοῦ κύκλου. Κάλχας μεταστὰς οἷος Ἀτρειδῶν δίχα, εἰς χεῖρα Τεύκρου δεξιὰν φιλοφρόνως θεὶς εἶπε κἀπέσκηψε, παντοίᾳ

Ajax is deeply shaken, disappointed, desperate, and disgusted. He belongs to a Homeric world in which public recognition is crucial; courage must be confirmed by others' opinion and reward.[29] Since Ajax is not a resolute Stoic but a short-tempered warrior: he must spill blood to clear his name. However, by killing sheep instead of the Atridae and Odysseus, he has disgraced himself even more, so he essentially goes into solitude forever. Sophocles' Ajax thus provides the most appropriate starting point for a study of suicide triggered by the loss of honor.[30] All Sophocles' tragedies commence with a man of superhuman, heroic proportions, highly developed ethics, and psychological strength.[31] As Zdeslav Dukat states, he has to choose.[32] One option is that of common mortals, which is a compromise with the demands of the worldly order guarded and governed by the gods. Yet, for Sophocles' tragic hero, a compromise represents a betrayal of his own nature and heroism. Therefore, he chooses another option, which involves suffering, potential or certain disaster, and physical destruction. Once he makes his decision, the tragic hero adheres to it, while dramatic suspense is provided by attempts from those around him to dissuade him. Such attempts vary in nature from friendly persuasion to brutal force. The hero, however, indifferent to the consequences, turns a deaf ear and remains resolute. This results in his increasingly greater isolation: those around him start considering him delirious, unreasonable, and terrible (δεινός[33]), so he has no other choice but to turn to nature (Ajax invokes clamorous paths, sea caves, coastal meadows) or beasts as the only possible interlocutors.[34]

Ajax is representative of a negative relationship between the individual and society and displays a certain degree of noncompliance with society's expectations.[35] His decision to commit suicide is motivated by intense shame, but at the same time he also desires revenge.[36] Because he holds onto traditional values that no longer prevail, he commits suicide, believing this act will direct attention to moral values that are no longer respected.

τέχνῃ εἶρξαι κατ᾽ ἦμαρ τοὐμφανὲς τὸ νῦν τόδε Αἴανθ᾽ ὑπὸ σκηναῖσι μηδ᾽ ἀφέντ᾽ ἐᾶν, εἰ ζῶντ᾽ ἐκεῖνον εἰσιδεῖν θέλοι ποτέ. ἐλᾷ γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇδε θἠμέρᾳ μόνῃ δίας Ἀθάνας μῆνις, ὡς ἔφη λέγων. τὰ γὰρ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα πίπτειν βαρείαις πρὸς θεῶν δυσπραξίαις ἔφασχ᾽ ὁ μάντις, ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν βλαστὼν ἔπειτα μὴ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον φρονῇ. κεῖνος δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οἴκων εὐθὺς ἐξορμώμενος ἄνους καλῶς λέγοντος ηὑρέθη πατρός. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐννέπει: τέκνον, δόρει βούλου κρατεῖν μέν, σὺν θεῷ δ᾽ ἀεὶ κρατεῖν. ὁ δ᾽ ὑψικόμπως κἀφρόνως ἠμείψατο: πάτερ, θεοῖς μὲν κἂν ὁ μηδὲν ὢν ὁμοῦ κράτος κατακτήσαιτ᾽: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ δίχα κείνων πέποιθα τοῦτ᾽ ἐπισπάσειν κλέος. τοσόνδ᾽ ἐκόμπει μῦθον. εἶτα δεύτερον δίας Ἀθάνας, ἡνίκ᾽ ὀτρύνουσά νιν ηὐδᾶτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φοινίαν τρέπειν, τότ᾽ ἀντιφωνεῖ δεινὸν ἄρρητόν τ᾽ ἔπος: ἄνασσα, τοῖς ἄλλοισιν Ἀργείων πέλας ἴστω, καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς δ᾽ οὔποτ᾽ ἐκρήξει μάχη. τοιοῖσδέ τοι λόγοισιν ἀστεργῆ θεᾶς ἐκτήσατ᾽ ὀργήν, οὐ κατ᾽ ἄνθρωπον φρονῶν. ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ ἔστι τῇδε θἠμέρᾳ, τάχ᾽ ἂν γενοίμεθ᾽ αὐτοῦ σὺν θεῷ σωτήριοι. τοσαῦθ᾽ ὁ μάντις εἶφ᾽: ὁ δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἕδρας πέμπει με σοὶ φέροντα τάσδ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς Τεῦκρος φυλάσσειν. εἰ δ᾽ ἀπεστερήμεθα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ κεῖνος, εἰ Κάλχας σοφός.

29 Kitto 1962: 224. Cf. De Jong 1999: 239−332.

30 Garrison 1995: 46−49.

31 Dukat 1981: 102.

32 *Ibid.* 103.

33 Also of note is the deep dualistic meaning of this epithet: terrible, fearful, dangerous, but also: marvelous, strange, marvelously strong, powerful, clever, skillful. Hence the dilemma regarding the translation of its comparative form, added to the noun ′man′ in verse 333 of *Antigone*. Cf. Soph. *Ant*. 333.

34 For interpretations that emphasize the role of Ajax's social isolation, see: Knox 1961: 1−37; Knox 1964; Sorum 1986: 361−377.

35 Sicherl 1977: 67−98.

36 Soph. *Aj.* 458ff.

Thus, the armor of Achilles is awarded to Odysseus, who is intelligent, treacherous, and corrupt – in short, a true Euripidean Odysseus, a Levantine sponger, rather than a noble and idealized Homeric nobleman, πολύτροπος.[37] Ajax believes that his suicide will be his revenge. He apparently belongs to a heroic, Homeric society in which ἀρετή stands above all else, and in the play the reward goes to Odysseus, who symbolically represents a new society with a different system of values. By committing suicide, Ajax wants to avoid mockery, to reconcile himself with the gods, and also to prove to his family that he is anything but a coward.[38] In terms of his relationship to society, his suicide will allow him to retain his honor and avoid shame. Besides these ´positive' reasons for committing suicide, Ajax also has negative motives, which spring from his rejection of his culture's values and are revealed by his growing, self-imposed isolation from the gods and men.[39]

To emphasize the individuality of tragic heroes more forcefully, Sophocles creates their opposites – characters of modest, mortal dimensions: Antigone is accompanied by Ismene, Electra by Chrysothemis, and Ajax by Odysseus.[40] These characters are exponents of traditional Greek moderation, σωφροσύνη: they do not strive for the impossible and therefore fare well.[41] Our sympathy, however, lies with a tragic hero, no matter how unrealistic the aspirations are in which he stubbornly perseveres. Powerless and miserable before the gods, misunderstood and humiliated by men, a tragic hero wins, through suffering and disaster, a somewhat strange moral victory. The price is paid by those around him, whom he ignores: he cannot be distracted even by troubles of his fellow men. Unlike in more extreme situations such as war, [42] in everyday life he is not a paragon of good behavior; in fact, he is often a horrifying example of antisociality.[43]

The most important characteristic of Sophocles' tragedy is the strict separation of the divine and human spheres.[44] The actions of his characters, and especially those of a tragic hero, are not induced by gods: the causes and motives come from the characters themselves. And they are the ones who bear full responsibility for the destructive consequences of their own actions. A self-reliant and arrogant man makes a decision in accordance with his own nature and then tries to act on it, despite the resistance of the gods and men.[45]

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37 Hristić 1982: 194.

38 Soph. *Aj.* 396ff ; 589–590. Cf. Garrison 1995: 46.

39 Garrison 1995: 47.

40 Which is an especially strong contrast, since Odysseus has everything Ajax lacks: inner strength, poise, and stamina. See Škiljan 1973: 13. Ajax, unlike Odysseus, cannot bear shame, humiliation, or rage and therefore lashes out at his closest friends and family. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 650−653.

41 The term σωφροσύνη literally means ´sound mind' and denotes the state of being mentally mature. Aeschylus (Aesch. *Sept*. 610) considers every person who is σώφρων to be just (δικαιος), good (ἀγαθός) and pious (εὐσεβής). Cf. North 1966: 101−114; Suvak 2017: 50−97.

42 Hom. *Il.* 3. 229; 6.5; 7. 211.

43 On the depiction of Sophocles` Ajax as a kind of ancient Don Quixote who inspires respect and admiration but is excluded from the normal processes of society, see Jouan 1987: 67−73.

44 Kitto 1962: 9.

45 "The whole scenario of the tragedy represents a boat with Ajax`s tent; the chorus consists of sailors, Ajax too is a sailor, the helmsman of the ship. Thus, beginning by sailing in, at the end Ajax sets off for 'ablution' and 'the meadows on the banks'. It is clear what these waters and 'banks' are; but the 'ship' too has unambiguous semantics in myth. The personification of waters beyond the grave, Ajax`s ship, the chorus of his friends, and

Sophocles wrote *Ajax* between 449 and 442 B.C.E., when the power and glory of Athens were at their highest. Euripides, however, wrote *Heracles* between 424 and 418 B.C.E., during the Peloponnesian War, when Athens suffered her first great defeats and was stricken by a terrible plague. It therefore comes as no surprise that *Heracles* is a tragedy about survival. It portrays the moral courage of a man who eventually accepts the punishment for his crime in spite of the fact that his life sentence of emotional pain is unbearable. This tragedy takes us to the city of Thebes where, during Heracles' absence, Lycus assumes the throne by killing Creon, the father of the hero's wife, Megara. Now, fearing revenge, he intends to slay her, her children, and Heracles' father, Amphitryon. Heracles arrives in the nick of time and kills him. He saves his family after completing his final labor. Just then, when he is at his happiest, old Hera's hatred catches up with him. In a fit of madness induced by Hera, Heracles kills his wife and three sons. After regaining consciousness, he wants to commit suicide, but Theseus stops him.

HERACLES: ...Now, for a last affliction,
I have topped our house of crime with murder of my sons. No choice is left me. I am too much defiled to live
In my beloved Thebes. Even if I stayed, I could
Enter no temple, join no company of friends.
Cursed as I am, no one would dare to speak to me.
In Argos, then? It's Argos I am banished from.
Then must I try some other city? – and meet the glance
Of timid ill-will, a marked man, the prisoner
Of barbed allusions – 'Is not that the son of Zeus
Who killed his wife and children? He's not wanted here,
Among his fellows, change is a most bitter thing.
A man settled in ill luck feels no pain; to him
Enduring it is second nature.
Oh, I see
What fate waits for me. Earth herself will speak, and cry
'Don't touch me!' Sea will roar, 'Keep off!' and leaping
streams.
I see myself – Ixion, driven round endlessly,
Chained to his wheel. Oh, better far that Hellas, where
I have been great and happy, should not see me thus.
Why should I live? What profit is there in a life
So beggared, so polluted? Now let Zeus' wife,

Ajax himself and his madness − all of these express death in image. Storm, murky waters, dirt, winter with its cold rain and icy wind – all these images of the physical world lie beneath the ethical concepts of the tragedy. Ajax` insanity is called 'a cold' by Tecmessa; in her words, sung in melos – and melos always contains the layer of most ancient images – 'Ajax lies dirty, ill with bad weather'. Of course in Sophocles we understand this image in the form of stormy misfortune from defamed honor, but the fact is that the figurative meaning of the concept sprang from the mythological image and is expressed in its terms. And this case is not unique. Ajax himself calls what has happened to him 'a wave of a bloody sea storm that circles, coming from all sides.' He has perished for his impudence of his audacity, for hubris; Agamemnon at the end of the tragedy speaks figuratively of Ajax where he cites the parable of the impudent sailor seafarer who forces the sailors to sail in a winter storm and who perishes from a foul weather illness (both terms for 'cold' are untranslatable in their meanings that are sometimes liberal, sometimes figural). Thus the whole story of Ajax and his insanity is an impudent (in respect to the gods) sailing in a boat against the current in a storm, in the severe cold of winter. Here is the 'dirty winter' that Tecmessa uses to designate Ajax` illness." *(Freidenberg* 1997: 149).

Glorious Hera, shake Olympus with her shoe,
Dancing for joy! She has achieved her heart's desire,
Toppling to earth, pedestal and all, the foremost man
Of Hellas. Who could pray to such a god? For spite
Towards Zeus, for jealousy of a woman's bed, she hurls
To ruin his country's saviour, innocent of wrong![46]

As opposed to his depiction as an indifferent father in some other tragedies such as Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*,[47] the Heracles in Euripides` tragedy is a loving and responsible parent who suffers the worst fate of a father: he becomes the murderer of his own children. Starting from this act, Euripides lucidly tells the story of the famous hero, whose life's central point is the ethical question of undue suffering.[48] After he realizes he has committed a terrible crime, the tragic hero is faced with a dilemma: either live the rest of his life filled with unbearable emotional pain and shame,[49] or commit suicide and put an end to the suffering. Heracles is cast in Greek myths and cults as having not only his own character but also an elaborate and motivated psychology.[50] He represents the universal best friend, the divine figure with whom the Greeks associated the advanced human capacity to love those who are non-kin.[51] In Euripides' tragedy, this principle is particularly emphasized through Heracles' relationship with other humans, and this friendship alone can offer some protection against the vindictiveness of the gods.

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[46] *Ibid.* 1279−1310: Ἡρακλῆς: ἄκουε δή νυν, ὡς ἀμιλληθῶ λόγοις πρὸς νουθετήσεις σάς: ἀναπτύξω δέ σοι ἀβίωτον ἡμῖν νῦν τε καὶ πάροιθεν ὄν. πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦδ᾽ ἐγενόμην, ὅστις κτανὼν μητρὸς γεραιὸν πατέρα προστρόπαιος ὢν ἔγημε τὴν τεκοῦσαν Ἀλκμήνην ἐμέ. ὅταν δὲ κρηπὶς μὴ καταβληθῇ γένους ὀρθῶς, ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν τοὺς ἐκγόνους. Ζεὺς δ᾽ — ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς — πολέμιόν μ᾽ ἐγείνατο Ἥρᾳ — σὺ μέντοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῇς, γέρον: πατέρα γὰρ ἀντὶ Ζηνὸς ἡγοῦμαι σὲ ἐγώ: ἔτ᾽ ἐν γάλακτί τ᾽ ὄντι γοργωποὺς ὄφεις ἐπεισέφρησε σπαργάνοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἡ τοῦ Διὸς σύλλεκτρος, ὡς ὀλοίμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σαρκὸς περιβόλαι᾽ ἐκτησάμην ἡβῶντα, μόχθους οὓς ἔτλην τί δεῖ λέγειν; ποίους ποτ᾽ ἢ λέοντας ἢ τρισωμάτους Τυφῶνας ἢ Γίγαντας ἢ τετρασκελῆ κενταυροπληθῆ πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξήνυσα; τήν τ᾽ ἀμφίκρανον καὶ παλιμβλαστῆ κύνα ὕδραν φονεύσας μυρίων τ᾽ ἄλλων πόνων διῆλθον ἀγέλας κἀς νεκροὺς ἀφικόμην, Ἅιδου πυλωρὸν κύνα τρίκρανον ἐς φάος ὅπως πορεύσαιμ᾽ ἐντολαῖς Εὐρυσθέως. τὸν λοίσθιον δὲ τόνδ᾽ ἔτλην τάλας πόνον, παιδοκτονήσας δῶμα θριγκῶσαι κακοῖς. ἥκω δ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἐς τόδ᾽: οὔτ᾽ ἐμαῖς φίλαις Θήβαις ἐνοικεῖν ὅσιον: ἢν δὲ καὶ μένω, ἐς ποῖον ἱερὸν ἢ πανήγυριν φίλων εἶμ᾽; οὐ γὰρ ἄτας εὐπροσηγόρους ἔχω. ἀλλ᾽ Ἄργος ἔλθω; πῶς, ἐπεὶ φεύγω πάτραν; φέρ᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ἄλλην δή τιν᾽ ὁρμήσω πόλιν; κἄπειθ᾽ ὑποβλεπώμεθ᾽ ὡς ἐγνωσμένοι, γλώσσης πικροῖς κέντροισι κληδουχούμενοι: Οὐχ οὗτος ὁ Διός, ὃς τέκν᾽ ἔκτεινέν ποτε δάμαρτά τ᾽; οὐ γῆς τῆσδ᾽ ἀποφθαρήσεται; κεκλημένῳ δὲ φωτὶ μακαρίῳ ποτὲ αἱ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν: ᾧ δ᾽ ἀεὶ κακῶς ἔστ᾽, οὐδὲν ἀλγεῖ συγγενῶς δύστηνος ὤν. ἐς τοῦτο δ᾽ ἥξειν συμφορᾶς οἶμαί ποτε: φωνὴν γὰρ ἥσει χθὼν ἀπεννέπουσά με μὴ θιγγάνειν γῆς καὶ θάλασσα μὴ περᾶν πηγαί τε ποταμῶν, καὶ τὸν ἁρματήλατον Ἰξίον᾽ ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἐκμιμήσομαι. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἄριστα μηδέν᾽ Ἑλλήνων μ᾽ ὁρᾶν, ἐν οἷσιν εὐτυχοῦντες ἦμεν ὄλβιοι. τί δῆτά με ζῆν δεῖ; τί κέρδος ἔξομεν βίον γ᾽ ἀχρεῖον ἀνόσιον κεκτημένοι; χορευέτω δὴ Ζηνὸς ἡ κλεινὴ δάμαρ † κρόουσ᾽ Ὀλυμπίου † Ζηνὸς ἁρβύλῃ πόδα. ἔπραξε γὰρ βούλησιν ἣν ἐβούλετο, ἄνδρ᾽ Ἑλλάδος τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοῖσιν βάθροις ἄνω κάτω στρέψασα. — τοιαύτῃ θεῷ τίς ἂν προσεύχοιθ᾽; ἢ γυναικὸς οὕνεκα. λέκτρων φθονοῦσα Ζηνὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας Ἑλλάδος ἀπώλεσ᾽ οὐδὲν ὄντας αἰτίους.

[47] In *The Women of Trachis*, Heracles threatens to wait for his son Hyllus, even in the underworld, with wrath and a curse unless he puts him out of his misery and burns him alive on the pyre. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1232−1240.

[48] Hall 2010: 265.

[49] Eur. *Her.* 1295: ἐς τοῦτο δ᾽ ἥξειν συμφορᾶς οἶμαί ποτε: φωνὴν γὰρ ἥσει χθὼν ἀπεννέπουσά με μὴ θιγγάνειν γῆς καὶ θάλασσα μὴ περᾶν πηγαί τε ποταμῶν, καὶ τὸν ἁρματήλατον Ἰξίον᾽ ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἐκμιμήσομαι.

[50] On Heracles' cult and place in the Greek mythology, see Burkert 1979.

[51] Hall 2010: 267.

The main characteristic of Euripides' entire oeuvre is indeed his anthropodicy. Heracles chooses Amphitryon, a profoundly tragic figure, as his true father[52] rather than Zeus, and Theseus rushes to his assistance at the most difficult time.[53] As Philip Vellacott writes:

> The world presented here is the familiar world where neither birth nor wealth, piety nor courage nor innocence, gives any guarantee against the power of wickedness or the malevolence of chance. What the spirit of man can aim at achieving is a dignity which remains when the gods have withdrawn or joined the side of evil, a serene despair which knows that the world contains no higher hope than the human spirit can find within itself. And in *Heracles* a further encouragement is given: the firmness of human friendship as the one resource available in the depth of suffering.

And also:

> In this play Amphitryon in particular illustrates what must have been the progress of many religiously-minded Athenians, from belief in divine goodness and a rather smug confidence in divine favour, to a conviction that the whole concept of moral goodness begins, operates, and ends in man alone.[54]

Due to this idea, of all the surviving Greek tragedies, only *Heracles* deserves the epithet 'humanist' in the truest sense of the word.[55] Even though it is a play that provides a mythical explanation for a traditional hero's place in the Athenian cult, *Heracles* truly calls traditional religion into question and replaces it with more human-centered ethics.[56] Euripides' contemporaries could have associated such ideas with Protagoras, and later ancient tradition believed that it was in Euripides's home where the philosopher read out his famous treatise on the gods, beginning with the sentence: 'Man is the measure of all things.'[57]

After a long debate, Heracles, once a powerful and victorious hero, now defeated and broken, decides to accept Theseus' counsel and support and thus, once again, becomes a rescuer, this time of his own life.[58] Heracles dismisses suicide and opts for a life full of compromises and limitations, as recommended by Theseus. He says that he has become 'a wrecked ship taken in tow'[59]. But Heracles is no wrecked ship. He is a child of his author and

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52 Eur. *Her.* 1260−1265: πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἐγενόμην, ὅστις κτανὼν μητρὸς γεραιὸν πατέρα προστρόπαιος ὢν ἔγημε τὴν τεκοῦσαν Ἀλκμήνην ἐμέ. ὅταν δὲ κρηπὶς μὴ καταβληθῇ γένους ὀρθῶς, ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν τοὺς ἐκγόνους. Ζεὺς δ' — ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς — πολέμιόν μ' ἐγείνατο Ἥρᾳ — σὺ μέντοι μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῇς, γέρον: πατέρα γὰρ ἀντὶ Ζηνὸς ἡγοῦμαι σὲ ἐγώ: ἔτ' ἐν γάλακτί τ' ὄντι γοργωποὺς ὄφεις ἐπεισέφρησε σπαργάνοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἡ τοῦ Διὸς σύλλεκτρος, ὡς ὀλοίμεθα.

53 *Ibid*. 1170: ἥκω σὺν ἄλλοις, οἳ παρ' Ἀσωποῦ ῥοὰς μένουσιν, ἔνοπλοι γῆς Ἀθηναίων κόροι, σῷ παιδί, πρέσβυ, σύμμαχον φέρων δόρυ…

54 Euripides, *Medea and Other Plays* (*Hecabe, Electra, Heracles*), Translation with an Introduction by Vellacott 1971: 14−15. Cf. Hall 2010: 267.

55 Hall 2010: 267.

56 Hall 2010: 267. The terrible consequences of the Peloponnesian War, and especially the Athens plague, for the spirit of the Athenians and their attitude to religion and traditional cults are also evident in the Greek dramas. More on Euripides` tragedies and religion and the so-called 'Euripides` atheism', see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 291−294. Cf. Mikalson 1991: 29−69, 144−147, 225−236.

57 Diog. Laert. *Vit. Phil.* 9. 8. 5.

58 Yoshitake 1994: 135−153.

59 Eur. *Her.* 1424: εἰς Ἀθήνας πέμψομαι Θηβῶν ἄπο. ἀλλ' ἐσκόμιζε τέκνα δυσκόμιστα γῆ: ἡμεῖς δ' ἀναλώσαντες αἰσχύναις δόμον, Θησεῖ πανώλεις ἐψόμεσθ' ἐφολκίδες. ὅστις δὲ πλοῦτον ἢ σθένος μᾶλλον φίλων ἀγαθῶν

his times. In *Heracles*, Euripides forces his hero (who denies that gods can be vindictive and calls myths mere poetic fiction) and his audience to leave heroic myths behind and step into the more exalting world of adults, which is admittedly full of disappointments, but is also a world of moral responsibility, integrity, and reliability.[60] In this world man must find support in his fellow humans, who are not necessarily his kin but are of a kindred spirit and mind.

3. Conclusion

Ancient philosophers made a clear distinction between honorable and dishonorable suicide with regard to motives and circumstances. The question of honor seems to be the main issue for Athenians and also a common denominator of various discussions on the subject. Despite religious and social sanctions, suicide was very often an individual's the response to social pressures, and it was usually done out of a desire to defend one's honor, out of fear of embarrassment, or for the common good of the community and other interest groups. Unlike the philosophers, Greek tragedy directs attention not toward the act of self-destruction itself, but instead toward the inner world of those who choose suicide and their thoughts and state of mind, thereby giving Athenian audiences a taste of their agony.

Written in two different epochs, the plays of Euripides and Sophocles depict the character and spirit of two different personalities, Heracles and Ajax, who, when faced with severe life blows and personal emotional suffering, take opposing views on life. *Heracles*, written at the time of crippling Athenian defeats during the Peloponnesian War, is a tragedy of survival. Hence the main character takes a contemplative approach toward suffering: he thinks it through and comes to his senses. He accepts himself and he accepts life as it is. Ajax is a child of a different era, of heroic and chivalrous times, and his author was enamored of Pan-Hellenism, which celebrated heroic victories and believed in a just order. Ajax has no true friend, no one who would support him and dissuade him from his suicidal thoughts. Teucro, his half-brother, is absent and, besides, has a weak character. Tecmessa, however loyal, is still a former slave and his unlawful wife, and the way he speaks to her reveals how little psychological intimacy they share. The Salaminian sailors stand by their captain but are still his subordinates. Perhaps no friend would have been of any value to him, as Sophocles' Ajax is too vain and obstinate. He is indeed the loneliest figure in Greek tragedy, and therefore it is not surpising that he is the only man to kill himself on stage. For Euripides, as well as for his Heracles, everything is shaken and much of it is destroyed. Amid the despair and hopelessness of the Peloponnesian War, he only has his own self and his heroes. Just a crumb of glory. Thus, his Heracles has Theseus, a friend of the kind that Ajax does not: a matching hero, whose support is both moral and material,[61] and whose

πεπᾶσθαι βούλεται, κακῶς φρονεῖ.

60 Hall 2010: 268.

61 Theseus says (1322–1339, translated by Vellacott): ʹWell, then: obey the law, leave Thebes; and come with me / To Pallas' fortress, Athens. There I'll purify / Your hands from blood, provide you money and a house, / And give you those possessions which my citizens / Gave me when I had killed the Minotaur, and saved / Their fourteen children. Plots of land assigned to me / Throughout my country henceforth shall be yours, and while / You live shall bear you name. When you depart to death / The State of Athens shall revere your memory / With solemn sacrifice and monuments of stone. / Our citizens count it their pride to have a name / Among

advice Heracles, although at first he disputes and objects to it, eventually accepts. And he accepts it profoundly, as he accepts his own self the way he is. It is very difficult, but one can live with one's own self.

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the Hellenes for help given to a brave man. / You saved my life. Now you need friends; then I will show / My gratitude. When the gods honour us, we have no need / Of friends. Divine help is enough – when it is given.' And then, in a dialogue, after Theseus had already convinced Heracles (1394–1402):

´THESEUS: My suffering friend, stand up now: you have wept enough.
HERACLES: I cannot; I am rooted here.
THESEUS: Yes, even the strong / Are crippled by misfortune.
HERACLES: Could I but stay here / Changed to a rock that feels no sorrow!
THESEUS: Say no more. / Give me your hand; I'll hold you.
HERACLES: No! Take care; my touch / On your clothes means pollution.
THESEUS: Then wipe off on me / All your uncleanness, all; I do not shrink from it.
HERACLES: I have no sons now; but I take you for my son.
THESEUS: Put your arm round my neck; lean on me as you go.'

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ДРЕВНИ ГРЦИ И САМОУБИСТВО У ТРАГЕДИЈАМА: СОФОКЛОВ *АЈАНТ* И ЕУРИПИДОВ *ХЕРАКЛЕ*

Резиме

Самоубиство, упркос томе што је санкционисано и религијским и друштвеним мерама, често је било одговор древних Грка на притиске у оквиру заједнице, било да је реч о одбрани части, страху од срама или о жртви за опште добро полиса или неке интересне групе. Античка драма, за разлику од философа, преносила је центар занимања са самог чина на унутрашњи свет самоубице, на стање духа и на сплет мисли, допуштајући Атињанима да на непосредан начин доживе њихову агонију. Еурипид и Софокле су у својим трагедијама, насталим у две различите епохе, приказали карактер и дух две различите личности, Херакла и Ајанта. Они, суочени са тешким ударцима и емотивним страдањем, заузимају супротне ставове према животу. Ајант је чедо херојског и витешког доба када је Атина била на врхунцу моћи, а његов творац живео је у полету свехеленства, славио херојске победе, веровао у праведни поредак. За разлику од Херакла, Ајант нема правог пријатеља, особу која би га подржала и од самоубилачког наума одвратила. Теукро, његов полубрат није присутан, а и слабији је карактер; Текмеса, колико год била одана, бивша је робиња, а начин на који Ајант са њом разговара открива колико мало психолошке блискости они деле; морнари, Саламињани, свом душом су уз заповедника, али су му ипак подређени. Најзад, да такав пријатељ и постоји, мало би могао да утиче на Ајанта, јер је он проблематична личност, горд, сујетан, тврдоглав и бескомпромисан. Ајант је уистину најусамљенија личност грчке трагедије, те отуда можда и није изненађење да је његово самоубиство једино које је приказано на сцени. Еурипиду, као и његовом Хераклу, све је пометено и доведено у питање. У очају и безнађу Пелопонеског рата, „најтрагичнији" има само себе и своје јунаке. Тек мрвицу славе. Зато његов Херакле има Тезеја, пријатеља каквог Ајант нема. Себи равног јунака који даје моралну подршку и материјалну потпору. Његову реч и савет, иако их прво оспорава, очајава и јогуни се, Херакле на крају прихвата. Прихвата дубински јер је успео да прихвати себе таквог какав је. Много је тешко, али може се са собом.

Кључне речи: самоубиство, Ајант, Херакле, Софокле, Еурипид, самоћа, Пелопонески рат, самодовољност, пријатељство, Тезеј.

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REGES, REGULI, DUCES: SOME REMARKS ON THE INDIVIDUAL AND POWER IN LATE IRON AGE PRE-ROMAN BRITAIN*

Abstract: The paper considers one of the most significant changes in late pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain—the emergence of individual power, usually labeled as kingship. The modern perception of this sociopolitical phenomenon has been largely determined according to texts from Greek and Roman authors. This paper argues that this image is distorted and says more about the ancient writers than it does about ancient political leaders, their status, or the essence of their power. Avoiding terms like king to prevent a general misunderstanding of the phenomenon is reasonable; nevertheless, coins from so-called dynasties and tribes as well as other material sources show the emergence of individual power from the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. This new phenomenon should be analyzed with new (and re-worked) theoretical frameworks. Additionally, comparative studies can play a significant role in exploring the nature of what is referred to as Iron Age kingship in Britain.

Keywords: Iron Age kings, Pre-Roman Britain, rex, Caratacus, Togidubnus, kingship.

1. A tale of kings and kingdoms

The end of the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain witnessed quantitative changes that affected many (if not all) aspects of life on the island.[1] In the political sphere, these transformations were manifested in its most visible form in the southeastern region.[2] It was here that proto-state entities emerged that are often referred to in scholarly literature

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1 Haselgrove, Moore 2007: 1. For a review of socio-cultural transformations in pre-Roman Britain southeast Britain, see Hill 2007, *Id.* 2012.

2 Hill 2007: 30–33; Champion 2016: 164–166. We must not however forget that the changes in the southeast of the island become visible due to the state of the evidence, including material culture. It is likely that future archeological research into the north and west of Britain will change the current situation.

as kingdoms. Their emergence was due to a process of centralizing power in the hands of the elite and their individual representatives, and to the inception of personal, "kingly power". The inscriptions on coins and the texts of ancient authors enable us to become familiar with some rulers of pre-Roman Britain. The degrees of such acquaintance differ considerably, as in some cases we know only names or parts of names, while in others the information is sufficient to reconstruct specific moments in the biography and rule of one figure or another. The fragmentary character of the existing data, the difficulty of interpreting them, and researchers' zeal to fill in the gaps make the emergence of varying suppositions that differ in their justification and daring rather inevitable.[3]

Two dynasties occupy a central place in the narrative of the political history of pre-Roman Britain: the southern, which dates back to the Atrebate Commios, and the eastern, founded by Tasciovanus.[4] The representatives of these dynasties are the main figures in the majority of researchers' reconstructions, and the relations and conflicts between them (either real or assumed) are often at the center of stories about the late Iron Age in Britain. The rulers of other regions remain nameless and voiceless, and only some of them (Prasutagus and Boudica, Cartimandua, Venutius, and Calgacus) appear in the descriptions of events following the year 43 C.E. On the whole, contemporary scholarship seems to have formed a certain standard of narrative about the political history of pre-Roman Britain, which—with some elaboration or other—is replicated in the majority of publications.

This paper attempts to analyze personal power in Britain in the late Iron Age. I believe special attention should be given to the nature and the character of the rulers' authority, as well as their status, functions, and possibilities in pre-Roman communities.[5]

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[3] I believe that the "Togidubnus issue" may serve as a good example of this. Its essence lies in the question of how many Togidubni were involved in the events of the year 43 C.E. Two British rulers named Togidubnus are known. One is mentioned by Tacitus and is in an inscription from Chichester. He was the successor to Verica and incorporated the territories of the southern dynasty (Tac. *Agr.* 14; *RIB* i 91). The other Togidubnus (also spelled Togodumnus) is mentioned by Cassius Dio. This Togidubnus, son of the king Cunobelinus, acts as an ally of his brother Caratacus in the resistance to the Romans, during which he is killed (Cass. Dio 60.21.1). Some researchers think the report of Togidubnus' death to be false and therefore Togidubnus, son of Cunobelinus, may be identified as the Togidubnus the pro-Roman ruler of the Southern Britain—in which case he was not killed fighting against the Romans but had sided with them in good time. A choice between one or two kings turned out to be a choice between two different reconstructions of the events of the year 43 and between the history of conquest and the history of treason. At the same time, the existing sources do not shed full light on the question, and Togidubnus remains a paradox similar to Schrödinger's cat. See Mattingly 2011: 90.

[4] Creighton 2000: 55–79. Creighton's book remains the most well-grounded and important for those beginning to study kings and kingly rule in pre-Roman Britain. His extensive analysis of numismatic evidence is crucial for the reconstruction of political links between Rome and British rulers. It shows how members of British elite (many of whom were *obsides* in Rome) became familiar with Augustan political and ideological discourse, learned to use it, and adopted kingship to become clients and allies of Empire. Other comprehensive narratives of political history of Late Iron Age Britain, include chapters in the books by Braund (his careful examination of literary sources benefited Romano-British studies, which are usually focused on material evidence), Mattingly and Hoffmann (who made a thought-provoking attempt to compare archaeological data with the information from written sources), and an article by Creighton: Braund 1996: 67–90; Mattingly, 2007: 47–86; Mattingly 2011: 76–93; Creighton 2011; Hoffmann 2013, 14–105.

[5] On the difficulties of understanding the phenomenon of kingship in the pre-Roman Britain, see: Champion 2016: 164; Haselgrove 2004: 12.

2. Lost in translation: Ancient authors and modern terminology

The accounts of Greek and Roman authors concerning the rulers of Britain are interesting but require a cautious and critical approach. The characteristic features of such sources have been mentioned more than once in the literature: they are biased, stereotypical, Rome-centered, and full of rhetoric.[6] Despite these peculiarities, the texts of ancient authors are of undoubted value for the study of polities in Iron Age Briton. Even the profoundly Roman (or Greek or, at any rate, Imperial) view of the Britons' society is extremely important for understanding the issue, not only because the sources are limited, but also because such a view, notwithstanding all distortion, does present some aspects of historical reality.

In order to understand the specifics of individual rule in pre-Roman Britain, it is important to not reinterpret what Greek and Roman authors commented on concerning the rulers of the island, but instead to analyze *how* they did it, and *what terminology* they used to identify their positions in the system of power relations.

Among the various sources, one of the most significant is the Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, as Caesar was the only author to have experienced direct communication with the Britons. His descriptions of his Gallic campaign and two expeditions to Britain reveal several local rulers' identifications.[7] Caesar uses the word *rex* six times, and four of these kings—Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax—ruled in Cantium (Caes. *B. Gall.* 5.22.1). The name of the king of the Trinovantes, who was killed by Cassivelaunus, is not known; nor is it known whether or not his son Mandubracius received individual rule after having returned to his lands on Caesar's instructions (*B. Gall.* 5.20.1). The sixth king connected to Britain—Commios—initially did not have kingly rule on the island, but became, in large part to Caesar's assistance, the ruler of the Atrebates in Gaul (*B. Gall.* 4.21.7).[8] Along with the kings, Caesar mentions the *principes Britanniae*, representatives of the local nobility, who were present in his camp (*B. Gall.* 4.30.1). The title *dux nobilis* is given to Lugotorix, who was captured during the battle with troops of the kings of Cantium (*B. Gall.* 5.22.2).[9]

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[6] Mattingly 2007: 36–7; Leins 2012: 17–18. The excessive influence of written sources on the reconstruction of ancient and early medieval communities has led to an argument of "the tyranny of historical record"; see: Champion 1990: 90; Thurston 2002: 20.

[7] For an analysis of fragments from Caesar on the noble Gauls (and, to a lesser extent, on the Germans and Britons), see: Barlow 1998. See also the classic work by Rambaud 1966; Mutschler 1975: 147–198.

[8] Our conceptions of Commios' fate are based on passages in Hirtius (*B. Gall.* 8.48), Frontinus (*Str.* 2.13.11) and on the coins he had minted in Britain. Briefly, this was as follows: Commios and the Atrebates had joined the anti-Roman resistance. After a series of defeats, he fled to Britain, where he became a king and founded the southern dynasty. For more detail, see Creighton 2000: 59–64; Braund 1996: 72–73. For Caesar's mentions of Cassivellaunus and the rest of the British nobles, see Barlow 1998: 147; Rambaud 1966: 78, 81, 95, 167, 195, 302, 327.

[9] Lugotorix appears in this passage only, and the special attention Caesar paid him is somewhat surprising, especially since it concerns a captive ruler rather than a military leader, albeit one high-born. Probably the special mention of the captive Briton is related to the composition of the story about the second expedition to Britain. In describing the initial stage of this operation, Caesar says that the military tribune Q. Laberius Durus fell in battle (*B. Gall.* 5.15.5). The capture of the leader of the Britons is the second part of the antithesis, and a certain answer to balance the loss of the officer.

The most mysterious and striking figure in Caesar's work is Cassivellaunus, his principal adversary in the British campaigns. This was a ruler whose authority and influence are evident, as he had been chosen to command all of the Britons' forces, he had given orders to the kings of Cantium, and he had ruled the lands beyond the Thames (*B. Gall.* 5.11.8–9, 18.1, 22.1). Nevertheless, Caesar does not refer to him as *rex*, name him as one of the *principes*, or use the word *dux* when referring to him (as was the case with Lugotorix).[10] However, Cassivellaunus' title and status are mentioned in later works. He must be a "king", as mentioned by Plutarch (Plut. *Caes.* 23.3), and Cassius Dio calls him the most powerful of the dynasts of the island (Cass. Dio 40.2.3). I'm inclined to think that Plutarch's message presents some simplification, whereas Dio was more precise and tried to follow Caesar himself in characterizing Cassivellaunus' status.

All this, however, does not resolve some important questions: Who was Cassivellaunus? Why did Caesar recognize his role in the conflict and negotiate with him but never mention the title and position of the ruler of the Britons? It seems that Caesar had no political motives for hiding this kingly status. The *Bellum Gallicum* mentions a number of rulers with the title of *rex* for both those who supported Rome and those who were against it (sometimes even alternating between pro-Roman and anti-Roman positions). The use of the kingly title envisages no distinct formal criteria: Caesar referred to as kings those who had received their powers from Rome (*rex sociusque et amicus*) and those individual rulers who had attained their power by their own efforts and authority in the community.[11] Moreover, the logic of propaganda would seem to have lead Caesar to perhaps exaggerate: winning a victory over a leader of the Britons is one thing, while driving a powerful king of a far-away island into submission is another.

We could also take a risk and suppose that the terminology used by in the *Bellum Gallicum* could be have been influenced by two scenarios. In the first, Cassivellaunus killed the legitimate ruler of the Trinovantes and banished his son, Mandubracius. Caesar took the expelled Briton under his protection and then returned him to his motherland after the victory (*B. Gall.* 5.20.1, 22). In this version, Cassivellaunus turned out to be a usurper, and there was no possibility of referring to him as a king. In the second scenario, Cassivellaunus might have had no permanent power, but instead might have held some magistracy (similar to the *vergobret* of the Aedui: *B. Gall.* 1.26.5). Caesar might not have been overly interested in the specifics of his adversary's position; it was enough for him to know that Cassivellaunus, without being a king, was chosen by the Britons as the leader of the allied forces.

The nameless rulers of Britain in the second half of the first century B.C.E. appear in the works of two Greek authors: Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who wrote sometime later than Caesar. These passages are short and do not allow for any far-reaching conclusions. Diodorus writes that kings and dynasts ruled on the island (Diod. Sic. 5.21.4), but Strabo was more skeptical. He identifies the Britons' rulers as dynasts of local significance but not

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[10] Creighton 2000: 57; Braund 1996: 64; Rambaud 1966: 92, 100, 191.

[11] E.g., kingly power was received from Caesar by Commius (*B. Gall.* 4.21.7) and Cavarinus (5.54.2); Casticus strove for kingly power independently although unsuccessfully (1.3.1–3). The latter was the son of Catamantaloedes, a king and friend of the Roman people. Leins rightly notes the problematic nature of *reges* mentioned by Caesar: Leins 2012: 17. For a full list of kings and aristocrats mentioned in Caesar's narrative, see: Barlow: 159–64. On *rex sociusque et amicus* see the book by Braund, now a classic: Braund 1984.

very powerful rulers, which matches well with his general depiction of Britain as an underdeveloped, peripheral territory (Strabo 200/4.5.2).[12] Nevertheless, Rome did officially consider some of rulers of the island at the time to be kings (*Mon. Anc.* 33.1).

The works of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio contain information about British rulers of the first century C.E. The most informative are surviving passages from Tacitus. There are names of several prominent leaders of Britons in *Agricola, Annales* and *Historia*: Caratacus (*Ann.* 12.33.1–2, 34.2, 35.7, 36, 38.1–2, 40.3; *Hist.* 3.45), Cogidumnus (meaning Togidubnus—*Agr.* 14.2),[13] Cartimandua and Venutius (*Ann.* 12.36.1, 40.3–4; *Hist.* 3.45), Prasutagus and Boudica (*Ann.* 14.31.1–3, 35.1, 37.5; *Agr.* 16.1), and Calgacus (*Agr.* 29.4). Tacitus seems to have been more preoccupied with the choice of the words used to describe British rulers than Caesar (or any other ancient author).[14] The author's precision in using the title of *rex* (and its female form *regina*) is readily apparent. It is predominantly borne by the allies of Rome: Cogidumnus (*Agr.* 14.2), Prasutagus (*Ann.* 14.31), Cartimandua (*Ann.* 12.36). The adversaries of Rome do not receive any kingly compliments. Tacitus mentions only Boudica's kingly origin (*Agr.* 16), whereas he only alludes to the rest—Calgacus, Venutius—as military chiefs or noble commanders rather than as individual rulers.[15] The only exception is the case of Caratacus. When he fights Rome, he is never referred to as a king, but he is labeled as *rex* in the famous description of his speech before Claudius and, through the senator's speeches rather than by Tacitus directly, in one line with the past kings defeated and captured by Scipio and Paulus. This pattern seems to be a part of Tacitus's general agenda. In most cases involving foreign rulers and leaders mentioned in his works, Tacitus's choice of terminology and descriptive tools are determined by the political position of the person and his/her relationship with Rome. If a leader could be labeled "pro-Roman" or was officially recognized by Rome, Tacitus uses the term *rex* and related words.[16] Those who fought against the Romans are not be given this title. It is not clear (at least for me) if this terminological strategy was created by Tacitus or if he carefully followed the texts of his sources, but it is amply evident that his descriptions present purely Roman perspectives of more complex sociopolitical phenomena.

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12 Braund 1998: 80–6. Strabo's concept of Britain falls well within the general image established in the ancient literature. See Stewart 1995.

13 Murgia 1977; Coates 2005.

14 Going illustrated through the example of Marobodus how skillful and careful Tacitus could be when constructing a narrative about barbarian rulers. Both the choice of words and the composition of the narrative structure were well-thought out and determined by the general concept of Tiberius's reign and policies. See Going 1990. It is reasonable to suppose that the Roman historian not only described the political relations between British communities and Rome but also created an artificial narrative (which was itself only a small part of the grand historical narrative) in which factual evidence was reworked according to Tacitus' views and those of some of his contemporaries.

15 Caratacus, Tac. *Ann.* 12.33.1; Calgacus, *Agr.* 29.3; Venutius, *Ann.* 12.40.3. In their actual position in the system of power, the following individuals might have been quite equal to the king Prasutagus: Caratacus, son of king Cunobelinus, who started minting his own coins not long before the invasion, and Calgacus who, in the words of Tacitus, was of prominent ancestry among the rulers of Caledonia.

16 Tacitus uses *rex* and related words in three cases: a) when he writes about the distant past, mythological kings (e.g. *Ann.* 2.60.1), or kings who interacted with Republican Rome (e.g. *Ann.* 2.88.2); b) when he describes general, theoretical aspects of one-man rule (e.g. *Hist.* 1.16.4); c) when he depicts relations between Imperial Rome and foreign rulers. All of Tacitus's writings contain about 220 usages of the term *rex*, and approximately 10% of them are related to the first two cases.

There are two more interesting terms Tacitus uses with respect to the rulers of the British Isles. In his wording, there was a time when Britain was ruled by "kings", but now the Britons obey their *principes* (*Agr.* 12.1). Besides, Agricola had given shelter to a "minor king" (*regulus*) of Hibernia, who had to flee after an upheaval (*Agr.* 24.3). Unnamed British *reguli* are also mentioned in the *Annals* in the description of the fate of Roman captives from Germanicus's army (*Ann.* 2.24.5).[17] In several places, Tacitus identifies British leaders as *ductores* and *duces* (*Ann.* 12.34.1; *Agr.* 29.4).

Works by Suetonius and Cassius Dio complement information Tacitus provides rather than contradicting it. Both authors mention Cunobelinus, possibly the most powerful king on the island during the pre-Roman period (Suet. *Calig.* 44.2; Cass. Dio 60.20.1). In the stories of Claudius' conquest of Britain and Boudica's uprising, Dio uses generally the same approach as Tacitus. Kingly titles are not used in relation to the adversaries of Rome, but the writer does make the point that the Britons obeyed a kingly power rather than having self-government.

The works of Greek and Roman authors seem to leave no room for doubt concerning the existence and evolution of individual power in Britain. The rulers of the island possessed enough power to gather troops, fight, enter into alliances with one another, and support relations with Rome. Regretfully, it is not clear to what extent the various terms used by ancient writers to refer to the British rulers reflect real differences in the amount of power and the status these individuals had. Did the *rex* have greater power and authority than the *princeps* or the *dux*? According to the texts, Cassivellaunus, whose title is not given by Caesar, was superior in power to Cingetorix, and Caratacus and Calgacus were not less powerful than Prasutagus. It is likely that the choice of term in each case depended on the author's own judgment (and the sources used) and reflected a particular author's specific understanding of the British reality by rather than the reality itself.

This interpretation of the Britons' society and polity in the eyes (and the texts) of ancient authors is further complicated through the processes of further translation and employment of Greek and Roman terminology in contemporary research. A good example of this is the term *rex*. It is translated in English as king and in Russian as *царь* (tzar). Both translations may fairly be deemed imprecise. The use of such words (specifically the use of the Russian *царь*) places the British rulers on the same level as later monarchs who did indeed have individual rule. Moreover, the status of the British "kings" was much less "kingly" than that of their contemporaries in the east, which probably explains Strabo's reluctance to refer to noble Britons as kings.

The term *principes* also presents similar difficulties. In English-language research it is usually translated as chieftains or with the Greek synonym dynasts (and less often potentates or leading men). In Russian-language writings the translations (and the understanding) of the word are different: In the translation of Caesar's work the *principes* became *князи* (*knyaz* or princes), and the translation of Tacitus calls them *вождями* (*vozhd* or chieftain). The variability of translations is mainly due to the lack of a definition for the source word. It is

[17] It is interesting that *regulus* is quite rare in Tacitus's surviving texts. I found only five instances of this term. Apart from British and Irish rulers, it is used to define leaders of Cilicia (*Ann.* 2.78.3, 2.80.2) and Iberia and Armenia (*Ann.* 6.33.1).

difficult to understand who the people were whom the ancient authors called *principes Britanniae*—small rulers, hereditary aristocrats in general, or some other social groups—and it is clear only that they belonged to the highest strata of British communities.

The problems in translation mentioned here may seem insignificant, but only at first glance. In a situation where the nature of individual rule is not clear, and when the rulers of Britain can be understood only through authors belonging to a different culture, precision in the choice of terminology becomes especially important.[18] By following the Greeks and the Romans, and by using plain, conventional words, one may distort the reality one is studying.[19] In this sense, the use of neutral expressions that are not burdened with a plethora of involuntary associations and analogies seems more appropriate: for example, words like ruler or a leader.[20] However, in some cases (first and foremost, when considering rulers who received formal recognition from Rome) the use of the Latin term *rex* could be considered correct. This is even more so, since this title, for some of them, was a part of their public self-presentation.

3. The "kings" and material culture: Coins, *oppida*, and burials

Among the material evidence related to the rulers of pre-Roman Britain, coins struck on the island even before Caesar's expeditions are of particular significance.[21] Sometime after the collision with Rome, and very likely under the influence of external factors, the coins underwent a very special change: inscriptions begin to appear on them.[22] The majority of these are the personal names (or parts of names) of rulers of various regions of the island.[23] The very fact that these inscriptions appeared points to the existence of many individuals who possessed enough wealth and ambition to maintain their power and authority by new methods.

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[18] Some of the most recent publications show increasing awareness among researchers of the potential effects of using such terms in historical narratives and archaeological interpretations. E.g., see: Collis, Karl (forthcoming).

[19] M. V. Garcia Quintela (Garcia Quintela: 518) was very clear: "When... we refer to kings in the Celtic world, these had little to do with the social, institutional, and political image of European monarchs from the mediaeval period to the present day, or even with the models offered by Hellenistic royalty or the Roman emperors." See also Thurston 2010: 234 (who cites the passage of Garcia Quintela and agrees with him on this).

[20] It is to be noted that this paper does not follow a pattern in which the power of the leaders in the ancient communities would be replaced with the power of rulers; here these terms are treated as close in meaning (though not full synonyms). For the leader—ruler pattern and its connection with the development of community and the formation of the state, see: Haas 2000.

[21] Extensive research has been dedicated to the coins of pre-Roman Britain. Some main works and catalogues include Haselgrove 1987; Van Arsdell 1989; Cottam et al. 2010; Leins 2012. For a detailed analysis of the iconography, distribution, language, political meaning, and social impact of coins from the southern and eastern dynasties, see: Creighton 2000: 55–79; Leins 2012: 79–108, 124–146.

[22] Creighton 2000: 146. For inscriptions and the specifics of the language, see Mays 1992, Williams 2001.

[23] I have counted 46 names. This should be considered an approximation, since what is found in some inscriptions may something other than the name (e.g., a reference to a title unknown to us). See, for example, the Nash Briggs's doubts about the interpretation of ESVPRASTO- and -PRASTO: Nash Briggs 2011: 93–95, Talbot 2017: 266.

In the southeast of the island the names of such rulers sometimes come with the contraction *F(ilio)*, references to kinship (real or desired) with preceding rulers, reference to the location where the coin was probably struck (three such locations are known: Camulodunum, Verlamion, Calleva), and the title *rex*.[24] Four rulers in Britain officially called themselves kings: Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus from the eastern dynasty, and Eppillus and Verica from the southern.[25] The use of the title is an unambiguous indication of diplomatic relations with Rome, recognition by the imperial authority, and the status of *rex sociusque et amicus*.

The appearance of a Roman term in the British context indicates that some rulers of the island did indeed represent themselves as *reges*. However, this raises some questions: How important a part of public representation was the title struck on the coin? And how often did the British rulers use them in their coinage?

Creighton's calculations demonstrate that most of the rulers seldom used the title *rex*. It is seen most frequently on the coins of Verica's type (19% of the total number) and more seldomly on Tasciovanus' (8%), Eppillus' (4%) and Cunobelinus' (1%) types.[26] This distribution shows that, for the majority of rulers, the use of the title was less important than the reference to the dynasty or where it was struck.[27] Creighton's explanation is most likely correct: He interpreted the situation on the assumption that the title was not of much importance for those who were ruled by these "kings".[28] The number of people who understood the meaning and the significance of the term *rex* was rather limited and could have included some representatives of the local elite, mercenaries, merchants, and craftsmen from the continent. The most important foundations of the British *reges'* authority must have been rooted in local traditions and social relations rather than in formal recognition from Rome.

One more type of material evidence related to the phenomenon of individual rule is elite burials.[29] The first that should be mentioned are the Lexden, Stanway and Folly Lane burials.[30] The rich inventory (which included imported items), their size and location, and the complexity of funeral rites (specifically in the case of Folly Lane) indicate the deceased's

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[24] Aside from the Latin word, its Celticized variants were also used: *rig*, *ricon(i)*. See Creighton 2000: 169, Braund 1996: 71.

[25] For the most recent summary of personal coinages, see: Leins 2012: 95–97 (Tasciovanos), 99–106 (Cunobelin), 139–141 (Eppillus), 141–143 (Verica).

[26] Creighton 2000: 170, tab. 6.1.

[27] Creighton mentions that a reference to a "mint" is almost never seen together with a declaration of dynastic affiliation and the title *rex*. Based on analysis of the distribution of coins from Cunobelinus and Tasciovanus, he suggests that the selection of coin legends reflected the various ways in which power had been legitimized. Thus, in the area of Camulodunum, in the very heart of his domain, Cunobelinus had no need whatsoever to declare his dynastic affiliation with Tasciovanus. In the area of Verulamium, the center that Tasciovanus once relied upon, the situation was different. Here it was necessary to emphasize his affiliation with the family of the former ruler of the eastern dynasty: Creighton 2000: 172–173.

[28] Creighton 2000: 170.

[29] Niblett 2004; Harding 2016: 127–162. For mortuary rites in southern Britain in the late Iron Age see Lamb's thesis: Lamb 2018.

[30] Foster 1986; Crummy 2007; Niblett 1999. The Folly Lane burial may be dated to a time either before or after the conquest: Creighton 2001: 402. In the latter case the aristocrat buried at Folly Lane might not be connected to the local nobility but represent the Roman garrison situated in Verulamium. This perspective is justified by Pitts, see Pitts 2014: 160–161.

high social status. Hypothetically these burial complexes could be linked to the eastern dynasty and its various branches. These quite possibly could have been the kinsmen of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus, but certainly there are no direct arguments to support such hypotheses.[31] The appearance of burial complexes of such significance, and the earlier occurrence in the southeast of Britain of other Welwyn type burials, allow us not only to witness the processes of social and property stratification, but also to confirm the emergence of elite groups from the local communities—groups that were to hold significant shares of property and power.[32]

Finally, many researchers have linked these so-called kings and the dynasties that appeared to the development of settlements organized after 20/10 B.C.E. and are traditionally referred to as territorial *oppida*.[33] The most important of those were located in the areas of St. Albans, Colchester, Bagendon, Chichester, Fishbourne, Silchester, and Stanwick.[34] They occupied large areas whose boundaries were marked with ditches and ramparts, and they had a sophisticated internal structure with separate buildings, fenced plots and burials. The *oppida* differed greatly from the urban settlements of the continent, but they played an important role as trade and craft centers. Their connection with the rulers of Britain is obvious but not very clear. Very likely, *oppida* were the strongholds of the *reges* and other representatives of the nobility, which they inhabited on a relatively permanent bases, and were the centers that united the areas governed by the dynastic elite in both real and symbolic ways.[35] It is not clear whether the inhabitants of such centers were an independent community that could act as a political subject (this may be indicated by the appearance of the names of the cities on the coins minted by the "kings"), or they were an overgrown sort of court for the "king" with all the nobility, their clients, mercenaries, tradesmen, and craftsmen who had decided to settle closer to the source of power and money. I believe the first possibility is more plausible, but it is impossible to prove or disprove it based on existing information.

These aspects of material evidence deserve much more attention, and this section is merely a sketch. Nevertheless, it is clear that coins, rich burials, and *oppida* show that the development of individual rule was essential to the whole process of social and cultural transformation in Britain in the late Iron Age. It seems that the rulers known to us from the ancient texts as *reges* and *principes* did indeed occupy important positions in a changing society, possessed authority and military power, and gradually consolidated their wealth. Some of them had coins struck, had access to (and some taste for) items imported from the continent, and were connected with the Gaulish communities and the Empire through a

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31 The connection of burials with the rulers of Britain is suggested by Creighton 2006: 135. As far as I can judge, his opinion is generally shared in modern publications. See: Fitzpatrick 2007; Harding 2016: 154.

32 On the Welwyn type burials and their occurrence in pre-Roman Britain, see: Stead 1967; Niblett 2004: 31–32; Hill 2007: 29–30.

33 Hill suggests that at least some of these settlements could be referred to with more precision as royal sites rather than *oppida*: Hill 2007: 32. On the connection between *oppida* and dynasties of the southeast, see: Pitts 2010.

34 For a list with necessary references, see Pitts 2010: 36, tab. 1. To the papers listed by Pitts I would add a recently published book summarizing the research carried out at Stanwick: Haselgrove 2016.

35 Recent research shows the origins and nature of the *oppida* and their functions are more complex than previously thought. See Moore 2012, 2017; Garland 2017: 205–227; *Id.* 2020.

complicated network of political and cultural contacts. That being said, it must be taken into consideration that the "kings" in the southeast of Britain that are known to us are only the tip of the iceberg: there were many more rulers and leaders of various kinds and levels.[36] Alas, owing to the actual state of the sources, these remain in the shadow of their luckier contemporaries.

4. Research methods and some concluding remarks

The progress undoubtedly made in archaeological studies of late Iron Age Britain allows a fuller reconstruction of the evolution of individual rule in local communities. Nevertheless, many questions related to the *reges*, *principes*, and the British specifics of individual rule remain unclear and controversial. What Braund wrote twenty years ago is still relevant: "not only do we know nothing in detail of the lengths of the 'reigns' of those rulers who appear on coins, but we are also usually in the dark as to the extent and nature of their power".[37] This, however, is not a reason to be discouraged. I believe that further research into the power of the "kings" may be pursued in several directions.

Firstly, the development of Iron Age studies requires a holistic approach to the contemplation of societies and polities in prehistoric Britain. Understanding the development of the "kingdoms" and "dynasties" in the southeast and other regions of the island becomes possible through analysis of all the changes that occurred during this period.[38] Thus the appearance of borders limiting households and settlements, changes in how land was organized, and the emergence of signs of both private and collective identity, together with a tendency for the number of individual burials to grow (as Lamb mentions) leads to a bold proposal (and therefore one calling for a critical treatment).[39]

Essentially, the identification of the *reges* and *principes* within the structure of power relations was not simply a political process, but rather part of a deeper, more general shift in social consciousness and a part of individualization that led to the onset of individual rule at very different levels, including household, village, community, and polity. Besides, the general historical context must also be taken into account: changes in the late Iron Age did not start from scratch, and Caesar and Tacitus's "kingdoms" and "kings" had been preceded by other polities and rulers. Which sometimes raises the question of if the slain father of Mandubracius was a king, then what had his grandfather and great-grandfather been?

Secondly, I believe that turning to comparative studies could be of much use. A rather obvious choice for comparison is early Ireland, which is rich not only in archaeological data but also in evidence from epic and legal texts (e.g., *Críth Gablach*).[40] Another important

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[36] Rare cases of two personal names inscribed on the same coin (like Eppillus and Anarevito on a coin found in 2010) highlight the complex and dynamic nature of power structures in the late Iron Age. The fluid nature of British communities and polities is clearly outlined in recent works on ancient British coinage by Ian Leins. See: Leins 2012: 18; *Id.* 2015.

[37] Braund 1996: 68.

[38] For a brief review of new opinions on the late Iron Age Britain and the changes during that period, see: Haselgrove, Moore 2007: 2–15.

[39] Haselgrove, Moore 2007: 8; Lamb 2016.

[40] The potential effects of comparison with Irish evidence can be found in Creighton: Creighton 2000: 20–25,

step in this direction was made by Tina Thurston, a specialist in the Scandinavian Iron Age.[41] By analyzing material from pre-Roman Italy, Gaul, Germany, and Scandinavia, she attempted to identify the essence of "kingly" power. In Thurston's opinion, European Iron Age societies were rather decentralized, and power within them was not concentrated among a few autocratic rulers but "was spread through many facets of society".[42] A heterarchical structure was characteristic for Iron Age societies, wherein power belonged not only to the representatives of the corporate elite (warriors and priests), but also to simple members of the community who voted in people's assemblies.[43] The position of the ruler in such a reconstruction is far from solid: the ruler is rather the first among the nobles.[44] In my opinion, the Thurston's observations should not only stimulate a re-interpretation of existing information but also assist in incorporating data from other regions of the world. In particular, potential interest seems to lie in an analysis of the *realia* of the Kievan Rus—the reconstruction of the position held by *князи* (*knyaz* or princes), their capabilities and responsibilities, and interactions with their troops, *дружина* (*druzhina*), and the nobility known as *бояре* (*boyars*). These can be of no less use than the Scandinavian Thurston actively made use of.

Thirdly, under conditions of limited evidence, special importance must be attached to a rethinking of theoretical approaches towards interpretation. The problem of individual rule in Britain has always been part of broader questions such as what the character of sociopolitical development of the island's communities was, and at what stage they were in the development of statehood. These issues deserve the closest attention because here, as in the case of the "kings", we see a variation in terminology (and respectively in theoretical interpretations). We encounter in papers such terms as kingdoms, chiefdoms (mainly in the descriptions of Caesarean and pre-Caesarean Britain), tribes, dynasties, the Roman *civitates*, and the neutral proto-states and polities. Some of these terms, e.g., chiefdom, have been heavily criticized and are now used much less frequently, while others are still in the research vocabulary.[45]

135–136, 147. For common features of the development of Iron Age Britain and Ireland see Hill 2012. Though Hill is cautious about the degree of similarity between southeast England and other parts of Britain and Ireland, and notes that kingship could have been be an experiment specific to the southeast. I think a well-thought out comparison of ancient British and Early Irish communities will enrich our understanding of the essence of kingship and the nature of the kings' power. Useful specifically for the study of the kingship phenomenon (among many others) are observations by Byrne and Gibson: Byrne 1973, Gibson 2008.

41 Thurston 2010.

42 *Ibid.* 207.

43 *Ibid.* 227. See also: Hill 2007: 21; Leins (on Iron Age communities of the northeastern region) 2012: 244–247. On heterarchy see: Crumley 1987; *Id.* 1995; *Id.* 2001: 25–28.

44 Thurston's opinion that is worth noting (Thurston 2010: 207): "The power of those we typically imagine as rulers, the warrior elite, lay at a nexus between camaraderie and incentive, self-abasement and aggrandizement, and much like the indirect expressions of power described by Gramsci, Lukes, Benton, and Townsend couched in highly ideological frameworks of brotherhood, devotio, and fate. It was a dangerous space within which to live, with death in battle the result of a successful balancing act, and death at the hands of one's own kin or followers for those who strayed outside its narrowly defined bounds."

45 On the difficulties of using the term chiefdom with regard to the Iron Age in Europe, see: Randsborg 2015: 41–44. The term tribe, so frequently used in descriptions of pre-Roman Britain, has been subjected to justified criticism in Moore 2011.

However, in these attempts to re-conceptualize we must not succumb to the extremity of total unification and choose one notion or one theoretical model that would provide a label to suit all the phenomena being analyzed.[46] We must not only turn to the new (new if only to researchers of pre-Roman Britain) ideas and concepts, such as a "corporate state with a heterarchic structure" proposed by Thurston, but also closely review existing or obsolete concepts.[47] The need for a pluralism of concepts and approaches is dictated by the complexity of the problems in question. This complexity, in turn, is formed by the special dynamism of the epoch. We must remember that in studying late Iron Age Britain we do not encounter a single society whose transformation can be characterized as universal and consistent, but rather some heterogeneous communities undergoing changes under the influence of a wide range of internal and external factors not completely known or understood. Consideration of these circumstances, elaboration of new approaches, and involvement of information concerning other Iron Age societies seems to me would enable a better understanding of the rulers of pre-Roman Britain.

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[46] I agree with Collis, who insists on the need for a pluralism of approaches: Collis 2007: 524.

[47] It is possible that it would be of use to exculpate some of them: e.g. the once-popular notion of military democracy that was actively used by Soviet researchers who followed Morgan and Engels. See Khazanov 1974.

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REGES, *REGULI*, *DUCES*: НЕКА ЗАПАЖАЊА О ПОЈЕДИНЦУ И МОЋИ У КАСНОГВОЗДЕНОДОПСКОЈ ПРЕРИМСКОЈ БРИТАНИЈИ

Резиме

У раду се разматра једна од најзначајнијих промена у касногвозденодопској преримској Британији - појава индивидуалне моћи, често означаване као краљевске. Модерно разумевање ове друштвено-политичке појаве било је највећим делом одређено слеђењем текстова грчких иримских писаца. У раду се предлаже да је таква слика искривљена и говори више о античким ауторима него што сведочи о британским политичким вођама, њиховом статусу или суштини њихове моћи. Избегавање појмова као што је „краљ“ да би се спречило опште неразумевање овог феномена је оправдано. Међутим, ковани новац такозваних династија и племена, као и други материјални подаци, показују појаву моћних појединаца у периоду од првог века пре н.е. до првог века нове ере. Овај нови друштвени феномен би стога требало да се анализира помоћу нових и допуњених теоријских оквира. Додатно, компаративне студије могу да играју значајну улогу при истраживању природе појаве која се назива „гвозденодопска краљевска власт“ у Британији.

Кључне речи: гвозденодопски краљеви, преримска Британија, rex, Каратакус, Тогидубнус, краљевска власт.

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THE BAKIĆES AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOCIAL RISE OF VLACH FAMILIES IN THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD

Abstract: During the period of Ottoman penetration and stabilization in the Balkans, one community within what was then Serbian society gained importance. They were pastoralists who were referred to in documents of the time as Vlachs. Vlach communities that specialized in extensive pastoralism are recorded in the oldest documents related to medieval Serbia from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Over time, these groups took on a Serbian ethnicity. The collapse of classical feudalism and the specific Ottoman system, especially in the hinterlands and sparsely populated areas, gave the Vlach communities opportunities for meaningful social progress. The paper analyzes the rise of the Vlach Bakić family, who rose to power during the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, first within the Ottoman Empire and then later within Habsburg Hungary.

Keywords: Vlachs, Bakići, pastoralism, migrations.

The Ottoman invasion of what is now the Balkans ended several states, including the medieval Serbian successor states of Nemanjić Serbia. The Ottoman government replaced the higher social strata, which had grown out of the centuries-old development of Serbian medieval society, including their economic, cultural, and value systems. From the ruins of that medieval world, only remnants of the medieval church remained, leaving the area without significant protectors. Minor Christian nobles, who tried to fit into the new circumstances brought about by the Ottoman state, and the Vlach population emerged during this period and underwent significant social and economic expansion. Some representatives of Vlach families attained important positions in the social hierarchy of the new state, and among them one of the most important, if not the most important, was Pavle Bakić, a member of a family who began to rise within the Ottoman Empire and continued to do so later within the rival Habsburg monarchy.

1. The Vlachs

Mentions of the Vlachs of in the Balkans date to the early Middle Ages. Questions

about their origins, social organization, language, ethnic structure, and many others still remain unanswered. The reasons for this are twofold. The first is due to the small number and poor quality of historical sources that make reference of them, and the second is that for a long time they were not considered to be of much interest for the national histories of the various Balkan countries that created themes, directions, and research methodologies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which there was not much room for the study of Balkan Vlach communities.[1]

With the arrival of the Ottomans and the introduction of a specific kind of administration through census books created to serve the fiscal needs of the state, which have been preserved in large numbers, it became possible to gain a sense of the scope and importance of the Vlach communities in this area. Moreover, for various reasons, these communities experienced a true expansion in the early Ottoman period, and some Vlach families made significant advancements within the new society.

Experts now agree that the Vlachs were descendants of the Balkan Peninsula's Romanized pre-Slavic population. Over time, they were slavicized, but over time, this process was very uneven, and cannot be traced through historical sources. Most of the Vlachs were absorbed into Slavic culture, but some smaller groups have, until recently, maintained their linguistic and ethnic distinctiveness.

The first reliable mentions of Vlachs date from the eleventh century. They are mentioned as a very important group in Thessaly that took part in the Greek, Vlach and Slav uprising.[2] A brief description from mid-twelfth century of their area by the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela still survives.[3] During the Bulgarian uprising against Byzantium at the end of the twelfth century and in the following decades, the Vlach element proved to be a very important factor in the restoration of the Bulgarian state.[4] According to several historical sources, the Vlachs occupied large parts of Thessaly at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[5]

Vlachs were first mentioned in the medieval Serbian state at the end of the twelfth century, but since there are no diplomatic sources predating this period, this does not necessarily mean they were not present earlier.[6] Moreover, existing documents, which include the charters issued by the rulers of the Nemanjić Dynasty to various monasteries, indicate the process of slavicization was fairly advanced by then. Judging by the names of the Vlachs mentioned at that time, those in the Nemanjić state had already been slavicized.[7]

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1 For a review of literature about the Vlachs see: Mirdita 2002: 201–218; 2004; 2009; Mužić 2010; Miljković 2010: 5–22.

2 VIINJ, III, 2007, 213–215. This information is valuable not only because the Vlachs are mentioned as a significant ethnic group, but also because of descriptions of transhumance in the Balkans during this period.

3 Adler, N, M, 1907, 11.

4 VIINJ, III, 2007, 154–156, 158–159, 161–162, 170–171.

5 Anonymous Description of Eastern Europe, 102–103 and 155–156. provides a more detailed overview of sources and literature on this issue.

6 Zbornik, 2011, 69. Vlachs are mentioned in one of the oldest medieval diplomatic Serbian documents, *the Chrysabull/Golden Bull of the Monk Simeon to the Hilandar Monastery* issued sometime between June 1198 and February 13, 1199.

7 Monumenta serbica, 12–13, and 58–61. Zbornik, 2011, 91–92, 230, 279–280, 371–375, Fostikov 2014. In the late twelfth-century *Žiča Charter*, the mid-thirteenth century *Chrysabull/Golden Bull of King Stefan Uroš to*

Analyses of the territorial distribution of the Vlachs in the Nemanjić state show they lived in an area stretching from modern-day North Macedonia, through Kosovo, and into Herzegovina and Montenegro. Since the surviving church charters provide the most information about the eastern areas of the Nemanjić state, it can also be assumed that there were a significant number of them in the westernmost areas, as can be seen from the earliest Ottoman documentation dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. Material from the Dubrovnik archives, from the time when the documentation of the Republic was kept in more detailed series, records Vlachs in the wider vicinity of Dubrovnik in the first half of the fourteenth century.[8] Information about the Vlachs in medieval Croatia from the beginning of the fourteenth century confirm their very early presence in the westernmost parts of the Balkan Peninsula.[9]

The decline of medieval feudalism and the Ottoman state's need for multiple forms of expansion greatly affected the Vlach's then already partially feudalized and territorialized organization, which became predominant in some areas and expanded significantly in others.

The brutal war with which the Ottomans conquered some areas of the Balkans and the Pannonian Plain left a vacuum, which the Vlachs filled with significant support from the state. The Ottomans' need to stabilize the new regions economically, demographically, and in terms of security greatly benefited the demographically strong Vlach communities from Herzegovina, Stari Vlach, and other areas. In a short period of just a few decades, the Vlach *katuns* (pastoralist villages) from these areas expanded into the Sanjak of Smederevo, areas of the former Bosnian state and, in the first decades of the sixteenth century, into southern Hungary, the Dalmatian Hinterland, Lika, today's western Slavonia and other areas.[10] Thus, according to a census of the Sanjak of Herzegovina from the second half of the fifteenth century, 7,000 Vlach households lived there. A census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1476 recorded 7,600 Vlach houses in comparison to 15,000 households located on other types of holdings. According to the 1516 census, there were around 12,000 Vlach houses in this sanjak. Internal Vlach self-government became more organized in the early Ottoman period. During the colonization process, the organization of *knezinas* was strengthened. Its leaders were referred to as *knez* or *primikür* and sometimes as *katunar* or *voyvoda*. *Filuri* privileges, which consisted of paying taxes per house rather than by the number of adult males, were a significant social advantage that was maintained during colonization process.[11]

During this process, powerful Vlach families emerged who not only progressed economically as resettlement organizers, but also managed to find places in the Ottoman security and administrative structures. At the end of the fifteenth and in the first decades of

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the Monastery of the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul on the river Lim, and in the *Chrysobull/Golden Bull of King Stefan Uroš II Milutin to Hilandar* (probably from 1282) and its transcript in the mid-fourteenth century Collective *Charter of Kings Milutin and Stefan Dušan to the Hilandar Monastery*, most of the Vlach names have a Slavic basis.

8 Skok 1919: 306. The Vlachs were mentioned twice in 1305.

9 Klaić 2010: 9–18. The Vlachs were a significant military factor in Mladen Šubić's army, which clashed with a coalition of Croatian feudal lords near Bliska in 1322.

10 Vasić 2005a: 33–50. Hrabak 1990: 84–85.

11 Vasić 2005a: 102–103.

the sixteenth centuries, the Bakić family also rose to prominence.

The earliest information concerning this family comes from the period when the Ottomans delineated the Sanjak of Smederevo in the area where the former Serbian Despotate had been.

The Ottomans fully applied their policy of tolerance toward the conquered Christian population while they organized the sanjak. Various groups from the local population were included in the Ottoman feudal system and were used for further military expansion. Numerous Serbian petty feudal lords and soldiers then received small *timars* (land possessions). The process of integrating into the new Ottoman state was gradual and without a radical transformation in the basic system of spiritual values.[12]

In many areas, and especially in the western parts of the Balkans, the Ottomans faced a serious shortage of peasants, and in some parts it took almost a full century after the conquest to resolve these issues.[13] Because of their mobility and way of life, entire groups of Vlach pastoralists were an ideal element for colonizing depopulated areas. This process, despite not taking place evenly and simultaneously, ended with large groups of the population being relocated closer to the northern and western borders of the Ottoman state.[14]

The Ottoman Empire made a great effort to demographically and militarily strengthen the areas of Bosnia and the former Despotate, which had been conquered in the middle of the fifteenth century. It was a rather difficult task. Many areas were sparsely populated, and it was necessary to increase revenues and strengthen the empire's military power. At that time, the Vlach communities were practically the only demographic source, and at the same time were quite powerful. The link between the Ottoman administration and the Vlach leaders established during this period would prove to be of crucial importance as well as mutually advantageous. These processes took decades to complete, and the results would provide mutual benefits: the Ottomans attained well-populated and militarily strong border areas, and the Vlach knezes and other elders advanced socially and were included in the Ottoman administrative and military apparatuses.[15]

Given that it was located in the hinterland, the Sanjak of Smederevo would be designated as the *serhad* until the fall of Buda in 1541. During the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman regime was quite successful in settling the population in the semi-deserted areas of this regions and creating an efficient administration that was accepting of newcomers. During this period, the Vlachs settled in the sanjak, mostly from the mountainous areas in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula. The settlement of the Vlachs in lowland counties throughout the Balkans happened spontaneously as a result of changes in herding and a weakening of the feudal organization, which had begun even earlier. Planned Ottoman colonization would give the process wider ramifications by using it to serve the needs of the state. This was especially pronounced in the Sanjak of Smederevo.[16] Because they had entered into resettlement agreements, the Vlachs would begin the process of resettlement within the Ottoman feudal system as a group

[12] Inaldžik 2003: 20–21.
[13] Inaldžik 2003: 174.
[14] Vasić 2005a: 176–177.
[15] Vasić 2005a: 34–35, and 297. Đurđev and Vasić 2005: 108–117.
[16] Vasić 2005c: 71–84.

rather than individually while retaining their clan, *katun*, and their sometimes almost tribal organization. The settlement of the Vlachs in the Sanjak of Smederevo happened in waves that cannot be fully traced in terms of exactly when and where. After the arrival of one of those waves, a significant Vlach organization of knezes was created in this sanjak, which even had a high chieftain with a timar that produced an income of more than 10,000 *akçe*. It was ruled by knezes and lower chieftains, premikürs. Out of the many chieftain-led families, numerous dependent villages, katuns, and the development and territorial scope of the knezinas, the Bakić family and some others emerged.

2. Rise of the Bakić Family

Something of the family's original development can be gleaned from the early Ottoman *defters* (administrative registers). Thus, the defter lists for the Sanjak of Smederevo from the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century also include information about Vlach communities and a wide range of information about the Bakić families.[17] The defters themselves vary significantly from each other in terms of census methodology and structure. Some of them do not include the Vlach population organized into knezinas, while others do not contain information about the chieftain-led clans among the Vlachs, which, of course, makes it difficult to draw conclusions, especially when trying to follow the dynamics of various processes.[18] Deciphering the Turkish form of the Perso-Arabic script presents a significant problem for locating toponyms. Different sounds can be written in the same way, and the absence of diacritics and reference letters for vowels are also complicating factors. These limitations result in inaccuracies in reading the names of most of the places mentioned, including personal names, even when researchers use toponomastic and onomastic analyses as aids. For these reasons, different editions of the same defters differ greatly from each other when the material is transcribed.[19] At the beginning of the reign of Suleiman the Conqueror, a new

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[17] The known defters for the Sanjak of Smederevo still have not been published in full. Sections referring to Belgrade and its surroundings were published by H. Šabanović in 1964, and sections referring to some areas of western Serbia by Aličić 1984–1985.

[18] Experts are aware of several defters for the Sanjak of Smederevo:
a) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo 1476, Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Prime Minister's Office, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (hereinafter BBA), Nº 16.
b) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1516, BBA, Nº 1007
c) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1525, BBA, Nº 978.
d) Summary census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1523, BBA, Nº 135.
e) List of names of Vlachs in the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1528, BBA, Nº 1011 and No. 144.
f) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo compiled between 1525 and 1559 (two manuscripts have been preserved), National Library in Vienna, MHT 629 and BBA, Nº 187.
g) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1559/60. years BBA, Nº 316.
h) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo from 1572, BBA, No 517.
i) Detailed census of the Sanjak of Smederevo compiled after 1572, National Library in Vienna, MHT 608.

[19] The Ottoman census of three Bakić knezinas (which are known from detailed defters), published by M. Vasić, 2005. The census of Radovan Bakić's knezina was later published by Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 70–102, and knežine Vuksana Bakića, Šabanović 1964: 92–104. There are significant differences in the transcriptions of personal names, and, in particular, of place names. For these reasons, there are several possible locations, so

type of detailed defter appeared, which did not mention the names of *spahis*, Vlach knezes and other Ottoman feudal lords, or information about their incomes. This is a significant limitation when investigating the dynamics of the development of estates, including the knezinas and the influence of the Bakić family. However, information from later defters concerning members of the Bakić family who were ordinary Vlachs or had some lower function leaves some room to draw conclusions.

Researchers have noted the existence of five knezinas ruled by members of this family in Ottoman and Christian documents. [20] These were the knezinas of Radovan, Pavle, Herak, Vuksan and Nikola Bakić. Some are only mentioned incidentally, as is the case with knezina of Nikola Bakić, and there is a lot of information about others. Thus, we know about the knezina of Pavle Bakić indirectly through documents of Christian origin. The remaining three knezinas are listed in detail in the Ottoman administrative registers.

The Bakić knezina is first mentioned in the 1476 defter for the Sanjak of Smederevo. Among the twenty or so of the largest knezinas listed, the knezina of Radovan Bakić was the largest in many elements.[21] In addition to knez Radovan, his two sons, Selak and Herak, are also listed. The knezina included around seventy villages scattered over a wide area around the present-day towns of Užice, Požega, and Arilje. From the census, we also learn about the entire administrative apparatus of the knezina, which was made up of numerous premikürs (37) and *ratays* (28 in separate villages and 38 with premikürs and knezes). Knez Radovan had the village of Rupeljevo under his direct administration. Also, a part of the population of the villages of Drežnik and Zborišnica were designated as Radovan's ratays. The remaining part of the village of Drežnik belonged to his premikür, Todor Đurđević, and the village of Zborišnica to a premikür under knez Pribikar.[22]

Due to its size, this knezina had a significantly higher number of premikürs than the others listed in this sanjak. Some primikürs were obviously very influential and had more villages and people under their control than knez Radovan Bakić himself had. Thus, the premikür Vukašin, the son of Radonja, controlled seven villages, and Selak, the son of Oliver, oversaw five. However, most of the premikürs controlled only one village (21 premikürs). The jurisdictions of certain premikürs were even smaller. Thus, Šobat's brother Šain and Milosav Velisalić held half of the villages of Mišnik and Konević. Resan Gostišić controlled half of the village of Trnavica, which he shared with Grubac Gostišić (most likely his brother), who had jurisdiction over three other villages. Premikür Vukša, son of Raca, had four ratay houses with three *tâbi'as* in the village of Veljanovci.[23]

At that time, the knezina of the prominent Vlach knez Maloga, who was the leader of the Vlachs in the Sanjak of Smederevo, had several villages fewer than Radovan Bakić's the knezina.[24] Not all knezina were so populous and contained so many villages. Thus, the

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it is impossible to determine exactly where the knezina was located. In this paper, translations from all authors have been used, which is stated precisely in the notes.

20 Vasić 2005a: 229–255 and Lemajić 2006: 209–336.

21 Radovan was among the few knezes with a recorded last name. For almost all others, only the father's name is mentioned. He had more villages than the Vlach leader knez Maloga.

22 Aličić 1984–1985 vol. I: 86 and 135.

23 This is more than the number of ratay for most knezes.

24 Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 28–64.

smallest knezina, which was under the jurisdiction of Miloš Bojovčević, had only two villages with 22 houses and 18 tâbi'as.[25] There were a total of 828 houses with 510 tâbi'as in Radovan's knezina. In addition, 24 more *tekliçes* and two widowed households were recorded. All the villages of his knezina belonged to the Brvenik kadiluk. A geographical analysis of the knezina also reveals its initial core and, indirectly, the original area from which the inhabitants of this and later Bakić knezinas spread.[26] The largest number of villages was concentrated to the south and southeast of Užice, between the Moravica and Đetinja Rivers. The villages extended further to the north, but became more sparse.[27] The villages of the knezina were quite densely located at its core, although there were some further away, which would seem to indicate expansion to the north. Many of these places are not mentioned in later censuses, which indirectly confirms that they were deserted and the inhabitants moved to other areas. Information on a very small number of tâbi'as in relation to the number of houses confirms that a large patriarchal *zadruga* had not yet been formed, and that the inhabitants of the knezina had not been subject to the Ottoman tax system for very long. It is not possible to determine whether the inhabitants of the knezina were indigenous to the area, or if they had settled there around the time of the census. Due to geographical characteristics and information from the time of the Serbian medieval state, it can be assumed that this area (Stari Vlah) had been inhabited by Vlachs even before the census. This first known of Bakić knezina could have been created through Ottoman rule, but most likely the clan had already branched out and had been powerful and influential even before this period.

The next known census of this knezina wasn't conducted until 1528. During this period of over fifty years, the knezina underwent significant changes. At that time, this knezina was ruled by the knez Herak Bakić. It's not certain if he was the son of the Radovan Bakić mentioned in the census from 1476 or a later descendant. Also listed along with Herak were his four brothers, Todor, Pavko, Mihail, and Vujica. This is the same knezina that was listed fifty-two years earlier. It now had a significantly smaller number of villages than Radovan Bakić's knezina, did not have a smaller number of inhabitants and households, and had even surpassed it in some indicators of development. An examination of the changes that took place in the knezina during this period shows the number of villages decreased to forty, among which only five had been mentioned in the previous census as being part of the knezina. As mentioned previously, the new villages had spread throughout the area of the older knezina, but now there was no clear center. Contrary to the usual development, the knezina was not territorialized, and its population spread out into a larger area. This most likely is because part of the population probably went to northern Serbia, which in the meantime had become densely populated. Administratively, the knezina was no longer part of the Brvenik kadiluk, and was now within the Užice kadiluk, which was a result of a new administrative division carried out after the initial 1476 census. The knezina in Herak Bakić's estate had intertwined with other knezinas, and in some places the villages were inhabited by different groups of settlers, as was the case in the village of Karan, where three

[25] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 69–70.

[26] This pattern is what points to Stari Vlach rather than to Herzegovina, c.f. *Istorija srpskog naroda*, II: 474.

[27] Vasić 1957: 228.

houses with nine tâbi'as belonged to the Herak's knezina, and six houses with fifteen tâbi'as and four *baštinas* belonged to the knezina of knez Vuk, son of Vojin.[28] The increase in the number of inhabitants and the enlargement of families are the main differences that stand out when comparing the knezina with the information from the census carried out fifty years before. The changes were also reflected the knezina's administrative system, which had been altered from the previous system. There were fewer premikürs before (21), there are more ratayas (from 54 to 68 tâbi'as), and there were no *tekliç*s at all. The first traces of Islamization were also apparent within this knezina (a total of three houses with nine tâbi'as). Although the number of houses decreased, the number of tâbi'as in houses increased significantly (635 houses with 1,480 tâbi'as compared to 828 houses with 510 tâbi'as in the older census). The census of the knezina also records a large number of baštinas (112 ordinary and 17 ratay), which had not existed earlier, along with two *mezra'a*s, two *mukâta'as* and one monastery. Unlike his predecessor, Herak Bakić had a large number of villages under his direct administration, namely Katiće, Rečice, Ismokrenik (?), Donji Dražić, and Grdoviće. It is certain that the Ottoman tax system largely caused the changes that took place in the knezina during these fifty years. Vlach privileges were essentially reflected in the fact that the basic unit on which they paid taxes was by house rather than by the number of male inhabitants, and over time the number of men in one house increased significantly. This tax condition led to other changes in the knezina's internal organization. The patriarchal zadruga became the basic form for how inhabitants were organized.

In the area of Stari Vlach, in addition to these two knezinas, there was probably also a knezina belonging to Nikola, son of Vuk Bakić. No direct documentation concerning this knezina has survived, and it could be indirectly concluded that the knezina could have been located near Požega, based on information about Nikola's timar, which included the village of Opaljenik most likely located nearby. According to some hypotheses, this information dates from 1540–1545.[29]

In addition to the of Bakić knezinas located in Stari Vlah, we also know from a somewhat later period about the knezinas in Šumadija. Their origin is certainly connected with the extensive settlement of Vlachs in Šumadija. The precise period when these numerous Vlach settlements in northern Serbia and Šumadija occurred cannot be completely reliably determined. Some demographic calculations indicate that the Sanjak of Smederevo had 17,700 houses (0.95 per square kilometer) in 1491, and between 1520 and 1530 there were 106,861 houses (5.74 per square kilometer).[30] Over a period of about thirty years, the number of households increased sixfold. No such quantitative demographic changes took place in any of the other sanjaks in the Balkan Peninsula. In several sanjaks, the number of households even remained completely unchanged. The sudden population increase in the Sanjak of Smederevo can be explained by its position on the border and the need to concentrate many auxiliary troops of *martolos*, *voynuks*, and Vlachs for the Ottoman expansion into Pannonia and Central Europe.

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[28] Vasić 1957: 232.

[29] Bojanić 1974: 48. Šabanović dates this defter to 1536 (Šabanović 1964: p. VIII), and Aličić believes it was created after 1525 but before 1559. Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 19).

[30] Todorov 1960: 211–213.

Many aspects concerning what the relationships and connections were like between the knezinas led by the Bakić family in Stari Vlah and Šumadija remain unclear. Observations of the Bakić knezinas in Šumadija (those of Pavle and Vuksan Bakić) and the knezinas in Stari Vlah, lead to a reasonable assumption of some level of interconnectedness. The largest part of the Vlach population in Sanjak of Smederevo had moved there from Stari Vlach or Herzegovina. The geographical structure of the first Vlach knezinas to be recorded in a census suggests it is somewhat probable that the Bakićes had been in the area long before the 1476 census, but this certainly does not exclude a second possibility that they had recently arrived from Herzegovina.[31] This, of course, makes it difficult to understand relations between the Bakić knezes. It's not possible to determine whether all the Bakić knezinas originated from the oldest knezina of 1476, or if they had an even earlier base. One possible and quite probable hypothesis is that after 1476, a part of the population led by some members of the Bakić family moved from the Bakić knezina to modern-day Šumadija. We know that the oldest known knezina was under the jurisdiction of Radovan Bakić and his sons, Selak and Herak. The later census of this knezina mentions knez Herak Bakić and with him four brothers, Todor, Pavko, Mihailo, and Vujica. A comparison of the given names of the Bakićes from Šumadija, those known from both Ottoman and Hungarian sources, shows some similarities to the names of Bakićes in Stari Vlah.[32] The name of Radovan, the chieftain of the knezina from 1476, does appear among the Bakićes of Šumadija, and neither do those of his sons, Selak and Herak. This would be very unusual if this was the same family, considering the custom of repeating personal names in the second generation, and especially considering the possible importance of Radovan in the family's rise. This would lead to a hypothesis that perhaps one of these branches of the family did not descend directly from Radovan. These two branches could be from one extended clan, part of which was not recorded in the first known census for the Sanjak of Smederevo, perhaps because it had not yet settled at that time, or for some other reason.[33]

The Bakić family knezinas mentioned in Šumadija in the sixteenth century most likely came from their original homeland, whether it was the knezina in Stari Vlah, or the powerful, extended clan from an earlier area not recorded in documents.

Along with the knezina in Stari Vlah, the census of 1528 also recorded the knezina in the Belgrade *nâhiye*, and was governed by Vuksan Bakić.[34] The 1476 census, created

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[31] A review of the oldest known census of Herzegovina did not reveal anyone with the surname Bakić among either the Vlach headsmen or among the Vlachs and other dependent categories of the population, Aličić 1985.

[32] Radovan, Selak, and Herak are mentioned in Stari Vlah in 1476, and Herak, Todor, Pavko, Mihail, and Vujica in 1528. In Šumadija and Hungary, the following names associated with Bakić are mentioned: "Pavle, Petar, Komnen, Manojlo, Dimitrije, Mihajlo, Vuksan."

[33] The Bakić genealogies in the Ottoman Empire and Hungary cannot be reliably connected. If we accept the assumption that Radovan Bakić is the direct ancestor of all the Bakićes from the knez families, it is possible to create a connected family tree. This can only be done if certain hypotheses are assumed to be correct. Thus, Herak Bakić is mentioned in the censuses from 1476 and 1528, but it's not clear if these refer to one or two people. If one accepts the assumption that the Herak mentioned in 1528 is the grandson of an older Herak, and his brother Todor was also Todor, son of Dimitrij Bakić, who is mentioned in 1516 as the owner of a timar, it is possible to connect the Hungarian and Ottoman Bakićes. Petar Bakić's father, the cousin of Pavle Bakić, was also named Dimitrije. By equating these two Dimitrijes, the following family tree is obtained (Fig. 1).

[34] It is not known what kind of relationship this knezina had with Pavle Bakić's. It is more likely that it existed

more than fifty years earlier, did not include this area. It was apparently uninhabited, or perhaps not listed for some other reason. At the time, nearby Belgrade was still in the possession of Hungary. The settlement of the Vlachs most certainly occured between 1476 and 1528. The new Bakić knezina was located around today's Mladenovac and Ralje and was made up of thirty villages. Six Vlach knezinas were listed in this *nâhiye*. In all of these knezinas, there were three premikürs. Vuksan Bakić's knezina was of medium size. The largest knezina in this area, which was governed by Rusmir Raičević, had about 900 houses. None of knez Vuksan Bakić's immediate family members were listed. For some reason, premikürs, ratays, and tekliçs were not recorded, which, of course, does not mean they weren't there. All the villages in the knezina were located very close to each other, and perhaps this concentration of villages in a smaller area also influenced the reduction of the knezina's administrative apparatus. The knezina had a total of 252 houses with 315 baštinas, 9 widowed households and three Muslim houses with three tâbi'as. The families in this knezina were significantly smaller than the families in the Herak Bakić's knezina. It's likely that parts of families from overly large patriarchal zadrugas with sufficient earnings from their given lands to cover their tax burden took part in the formation of these new knezinas.

Fig. 1. Genealogy of The Bakić Family

Pavle Bakić's knezina was located in the region of modern-day Šumadija, probably somewhat south of Vuksan Bakić's knezina, at least according to somewhat ill-defined Hungarian sources. This knezina is not recorded in any of the surviving Ottoman census books, because those compiled in this period before it passed to Hungary included a list of timars but no Vlach knezinas. Information from Hungarian sources show that his knezina was quite large and included around fifty villages.[35] The entire area was referred to as "Bakić's land". However, it's not possible to determine the exact location of Pavle's estates from the available sources. Pavle Bakić's estates were also mentioned by Vrančić, a travel writer who passed through the area in 1553 on his way to Constantinople.[36] A delegation that included Vrančić traveled along the right bank of the Morava and arrived in the village

at the same time as Pavle's knezina, rather than being a remnant of it.

[35] Fraknói 1882: 87–88.

[36] Matković 1884: 22.

of Livada in the Lomnica forest on the Jasenica River. Vrančić noted that, while passing through, they discovered they were near the house of Pavle Bakić, called Venčac, where he had lived before he fled to Hungary. Venčac is not particularly close to Lomnica, and Vrančić certainly did not come by this information accidentally. He was personally acquainted with many Bakićes, so it would not have been odd for him to inquire along the way about their estates in Serbia. This certainly refers to the Venčac mountain not far from today's Arandjelovac, which is quite far from the Morava river valley. Folk tradition provides some indirect confirmation of this by identifying some ruins at the top of Venčac as Bakićs castle.[37] During the Ottoman campaign in Hungary in 1526, the vanguard made camp in some estates that had previously belonged to Pavle Bakić and were located two short days' walk from Šabac.[38] This would seem to confirm information about Venčac as the center of the knezina. It is not possible to determine how this knezina was connected to the other Bakić knezinas, but it is certain that they were related. Pavle himself mentioned several times that he had left many relatives behind in Turkey.[39] A document from the late sixteenth century mentions the names of of Pavle and Petar Bakić's fathers.[40] Pavle's father was Komnen, and Petar's was Dimitrije, but even they cannot be linked to the Bakićes mentioned in the Ottoman sources.[41] One exception is information about the timar belonging to Todor, son of Dimitrij Bakić. The timar was located near the area where Pavle Bakić's estates were.[42] However, there is nothing else to confirm that these were Petar Bakić's brother and father.

As part of their social progress, the Bakićes were not only knezes; some are also mentioned as owners of timars. Some were known to be both knezes and timar holders. For example, it was noted that the aforementioned Todor, son of Dimitrije Bakić, was in possession of a timar in 1516.[43] It consisted of the village of Manulovac (Manojlovci) with six Christian and three Muslim houses, one baština and six mills, and the village of Kudreša, which had only three houses. Manulovac is probably today's village of Manojlovci, located to the north of Kragujevac. In 1523, the timar of Herak, son of Bakić, was recorded.[44] This probably is referring to the knez Herak Bakić. His timar was recorded as the crossroads in the villages of Rača and Podralje. Half of the income from Rača belonged to Herak. The

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37 Milićević 1876: 231.

38 *Relationes* 1884: 399.

39 Radonić 1909: 1–2.

40 Ivić 1929: 438. (As part of the notes in this book, Aleksa Ivić published a large number of documents, mostly from the Viennese archives, which had been previously unknown.) A history of the family was submitted to the Diocese of Győr by Nicholas Báthory on May 6, 1582, based on a presentation by Martin Cobor, grandson of Angelina, daughter of Pavle Bakić.

41 Unless if one does not accept the extremely hypothetical family tree presented in footnote 33.

42 Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 297, believes the village of Manojlovac northwest of Kragujevac is identical to the village of Manulovac mentioned as part of the timar. Vasić 1957: 238, lists both villages that made up the timar: Mano(j)lovce, which he locates near Orašac, and Kudreš near Golubac.

43 It was noted that Vlachs were living in the village of Mano(j)lovce who paid their taxes to the department. Mention is also made of Muhammad, Karadjoz, and Mahmud, sons of Abdullah, who were probably Islamicized Vlachs with specific obligations.

44 Aličić 1984–1985 vol. I: 26–27. Vasić reads these places as Rača, Nova Dralja, and Korsovica (Vasić 1957: 232–233).

Kruševica mazra'a also belonged to this timar and the total revenue was 4,060 *akçes*. Nikola, son of Vuk Bakić and a knez and timariot, is mentioned in an undated census from some time between 1525 and 1529.[45] The village of Opaljenik near Požega is registered as his timar, with an income of 3,000 *akçes*.[46] As mentioned earlier, there is no other information about this knez's knezina. The mention of several Bakićes as timariots clearly illustrates that not a small number of Vlach knezes were part of the timar system in the Sanjak of Smederevo as a new level of upward mobility within this sanjak's Ottoman structures.

Some Bakićes are mentioned in other military ranks. Hence, the census of the inhabitants of Železnik from 1528 also mentions Nikola Bakić. In this census, the population is divided into *odas*, as a military order. There were a total of seventeen *odas* in Železnik. Nikola Bakić was also mentioned as an *oda-bashi*, the commander of one of the *odas*. In addition to Nikola, Vuk Bakić and nineteen other people are mentioned as belonging to this *oda*.[47] In the next census, the population was divided into eighteen *mahalas*, but there is no one among them with the surname Bakić.[48] In a list of Christians in Rudnik, Stepan Bakić is mentioned.[49] Several Bakićes were also noted has having the status of ordinary Vlachs. Thus, in 1476, Radohna Bakić and his son Božin, who lived in the village of Lisica, were mentioned.[50] In 1525, probably in the same village of Lisica (Vinkovice), it was mentioned that the baština of a certain Radosav, son of Bogdan, was located in the estate of Todor Bakić.[51] In 1528 Bakićes were also recorded in the village of Vranice, where Nikola, son of Bakić, lived, and with him Radovan, his brother Petko, his brother, and his son Voje.[52] In the same census, Voja, son of Bakić, and Jakša, son of Bakić, were recorded in the village of Hrbočevo.[53] A census conducted between 1525 and 1529 mentions Petrosav, son of Bakić, and Radosav, son of Bakić, in the village of Grabovac, whose inhabitants guarded the Trisatica mountain pass.[54] In 1559/60, in the village of Bakila, the baština of Radivoje, son of Bakić, is also mentioned.[55] The last two mentions of Bakić who were identified as Vlachs were in the village of Donja Kamenica. Pava, son of Bakić, unmarried, and the baština of Dragojl, son of Bakić, were recorded in 1559/60.[56] This baština was mentioned again in 1572.[57] Bakićes are also mentioned as the founders of a monastery. We know this from a vague mention of a certain Andonij Bakić, whose father's name was Petar and whose mother, Alinka, appears to have donated a book and some money

[45] Bojanić 1974: 48, dates the defter to the period between 1540 and 1545.

[46] Vasić 1957: 238. The village is entered in the defter under two names: Opaljenik and Donja Isvetica. Probably a village eight kilometers southwest of Ivanjica.

[47] Šabanović 1964: 118–119.

[48] Šabanović 1964: 247–251.

[49] Aličić 1984–1985 vol. I: 23.

[50] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 150. This is probably the village of Lisice, north of Guča.

[51] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 538.

[52] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. II: 229.

[53] Šabanović 1964: 237–238. This is probably today's village of Ropočevo in the Sopot municipality.

[54] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. I: 454. Today's village of Grabovac near Čajetina.

[55] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. III: 59. Today the village is unknown, unless it is the village of Jakalj in the Bajina Basta municipality.

[56] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. III: 24. This is probably today's village of Kamenica east of Gornji Milanovac.

[57] Aličić 1984–1985, vol. III: 239.

to the monastery of St. Paul on Mt. Athos, according to the teacher Avramije.[58] Although we do not know his social position, it is certain that he was wealthy. He lived in the village of Latvica, which, in turn, we know was owned by Radovan Bakić in 1476. It is probable there was a connection between him and the branch of Bakić with a knezina in Stari Vlah.

3. Pavle Bakić, the Most Prominent Member of the Family

The rise of Pavle, the most well-known member of the Bakić family, to extremely important positions in the administrative and military structures of the Sanjak of Smederevo along with the respectable place held by the entire family is connected to the arrival of Ferhad Pasha, who had been one of the *viziers* and had been appointed sanjak-bey of Smederevo.[59] Ferhad replaced Bali-beg Jahjapašić in 1523.[60] Ferhad Pasha reached the most important positions in the state hierarchy through his marriage to sister of Sultan Suleiman. During these years he built a significant career. He was *beglerbeg* of Rumelia, governor of Damascus, took part in the capture of Rhodes and became third vizier of the empire. He then fell into disfavor because he allegedly compromised himself in Asia Minor through robbery and blackmail. At the request of his mother and sister, Suleiman gave him the governorship of the Sanjak of Smederevo with an annual income of seven hundred thousand *akçes*.[61] Ferhad remained there in 1523 during the Ottoman campaign in Srem, when they were defeated by the army of Pavle Tomori. By then he had most likely become acquainted with Pavle Bakić.[62] It is certain that Pavle Bakić quickly became someone Ferhad placed exceptional trust in. Even before then, Pavle's abilities had attracted attention, and it can be indirectly concluded that he had participated in some of Sultan Selim's military campaigns.[63] During this period, the Vlach population was a important element in the military structures of Sanjak of Smederevo and other areas along the Hungarian border.[64] They served as *martoloses*, *derbendcis* and *voynuks*, and the more prominent leaders also had timars. Pavle's knezina was certainly the foundation on which he built his influence and power in the Sanjak of Smederevo. The center of his knezina was located in Šumadija near Mount Venčac, and it included about fifty villages.

Even before coming to the Sanjak of Smederevo, Ferhad Pasha was known as a man who aspired to personal wealth and because of that, he exploited the areas he would been given to administer through excessive and illegal taxation. Certainly, he found in Pavle Bakić someone through whom he could fulfill these aspirations. Pavle must have been fully aware of opportunities in the Sanjak of Smederevo, so it is not all surprising that he became Ferhad Pasha's secretary and even a close friend.[65] He also served as treasurer and collected

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58 Stojanović 1983, vol. II, 440. It cannot be reliably concluded from the text that Petar was his father.

59 On Ferhad Pasha see Öztuna 2006: 233 and Süreyy 1996. The Ottoman writer İbrahim Peçevi states that he was of Albanian origin, Peçevi, İ.

60 Zirojević 1974: 262, Šabanović 1964: 21.

61 Hammer 1979: 357–358. Hammer claims he came from Šibenik.

62 On the Ottoman campaign in Srem in 1523, see Kubiny 2000: 71–115.

63 Isthuanffi 1758.

64 Vasić 2005b: 60, 90.

65 *Relationes* 1884: 304–305.

royal tributes.[66] It was also noted at the time that Pavle was also a *voyvoda*.[67] It is not known if Pavle performed some of these duties even before Ferhad's arrival, but it is certain that the position of his secretary enabled him to achieve a meaningful reputation, among both Serbs and Turks. Although Ferhad's administration in the Sanjak of Smederevo hadn't lasted very long, it provoked many new complaints to the sultan. For these and other reasons, Ferhad was executed on Suleiman's orders, most likely on October 19 or November 1, 1525.[68] Ferhad's execution and the return of Bali-bey Jahjapašić to the Sanjak of Smederevo had a significant impact on Pavle Bakić's position. As a close friend of Ferhad, he could not help but arouse the suspicions of Bali-bey, who returned as sanjak-bey after a two-year absence. Fearing that his life and his property in Turkey could be endangered in the near future, Pavle decided to prepare for a safe escape to Hungary. He was well aware of the situation in southern Hungary and managed to connect with the most important people in the area in a short time, and most importantly with Pavle Tomori. Tomori had been named captain of the Lower Regions in the spring of 1523. Capable and energetic, he had managed in a relatively short time to achieve many victories against the Ottomans. It is difficult to say when cooperation between Tomori and Bakić began, but it certainly existed in the summer of 1525, and perhaps had begun much earlier.[69]

Immediately after Ferhad's execution, Pavle's life and reputation were endangered due to a rebellion that broke out at the imperial court among the Janissaries. It seems that Pavle had encouraged some of the Janissaries either to rebel, to avenge the death of his friend Ferhad Pasha or, even more likely, to protect his positions. A few years later, before Ferdinand's envoys in Constantinople, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim accused Pavle of treason and of withholding money and silver which should have been confiscated for the imperial treasury after Ferhad Pasha's execution.[70] Sometime before Pavle Bakić's arrival in Hungary, a council was held at the imperial court, which was attended by permanent members, sanjak-beys, and voyvodas from the sanjaks on the Hungarian border. Among them was Pavle Bakić.[71] The issue of which direction the army should move in the event of an attack on Hungary was discussed.[72] After receiving the news of Ferhad Pasha's execution

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66 *Ibid*, 300–301 and 370–371.

67 *Ibid*, 279, and in several other places; Aleksa Ivić's claim that Pavle Bakić remained with Hungary until the fall of Belgrade and Mačva and then approached the Turks (Ivić 1929: 59) has no basis in the sources, unless Istvanffi is used, who mistakenly marked 1522 as the year the family defected to Hungary.

68 Hammer 1974: 357–358, states that Ferhad was executed on November 1, 1524, but recent literature places this event one year later, c.f., Öztuna 2006: 233 and Süreyya 1996: 217.

69 Fraknói 1882: 86–87. Only one letter from Tomori to Pavle Bakić from October 1525 has been preserved, from which it can be concluded that there had been a connection between them at least a few months earlier. Having defected to Hungary, Pavle claimed the reason for his arrival was that he had long served the king by sending reports, 'and now he has almost been betrayed, which has put him in jeopardy, and is why he has fled to safety'; Pray 1806, pars I: 213.

70 Pray 1806, pars*.* 213–214; *Relationes* 1884: 304–305; during negotiations with Ferdinand's envoys Nogarol and Lamberg in June 1531, Ibrahim Pasha said of Pavle Bakić that he had been a thief in Turkey and that's why he had fled, which was probably a reference to the money Pavle kept after Ferhad Pasha's death (Gevay 1838, vol. I: 29).

71 Pray 1806: 211–212.

72 Pray 1806: 212–213. A detailed report on the council, based on Pavle's information, was sent by Bourgeois, the papal nuncio to Rome, on January 28, 1526.

in Jedren, Pavle began planning an escape. He hid his silver and other possessions, which could barely fit into three wagons, in the mountains.[73] He also sent five trustworthy people to Hungary with their wives and all of their belongings. He maintained contact with Tomori through them. After extraordinary efforts and tormented by food shortages, the group reached Tomori. One of these five, Kostadin, conveyed to Tomori Pavle's intention to flee soon to Hungary.[74] Although negotiations concerning the Bakić and his men's defection had been conducted earlier, these developments came as a surprise to Tomori. At that time, he had not yet managed to secure the property he would need to give to Pavle and his family. This was certainly a condition for defection that Pavle had set earlier. Because of this, Tomori immediately sent two of Pavle's men to Buda, along with letters in which Pavle described the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire.[75] These letters were sent from Buda to Rome through a papal nuncio.[76] At the same time, Tomori demanded from the king's advisers to urgently secure some estates for Bakić. Tomori also said of Pavle Bakić at the time: "He is a great personage, as Belmužević once was, or as the Jakšićes are now. May your lordships work with His Majesty in the name of God, to give them places to settle, because the whole of Turkey will tremble if that man comes forth."[77] In a letter sent to Pavle at the same time, Tomori invited him to come to Hungary if his life was in danger, although he could not provide him with even one serf, but the answer to his request could be received within in fifteen days. At the same time, Tomori begged Pavle to remain in Turkey as long as possible, where he could more usefully serve the king and Christianity.[78] Following Tomori's advice, Pavle Bakić tried to remain among the Ottomans for some time, but as soon as the news arrived that some estates would be given to him, he prepared for the journey (the decision to allocate the estates to Bakić was probably made in mid-November and he could have been notified of it in mid-December).[79] Pavle managed to defect to Hungary due to his connections with the commanders of Serbian martoloses and other military formations. He was accompanied on this dangerous journey by his brothers Manojlo, Komnin, Dimitrije, and Mihajlo, his cousin Petar, his wife Teodora, his daughters Marija and Angelina, and fifty cavalry. They also took numerous valuables with them. This all took place at the very end of 1525, when the defectors reached Pavle Tomori, the commander of the Hungarian southern border. News of their defection was sent to Buda on January 14, 1526[80] and ten days later it was learned that Bali-bey had executed many "Rascians" because of Pavle Bakić's escape and that he had ordered places on the rivers where ships could easily pass to be guarded by true Turks, not "Rascians".[81] It seems that,

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73 Fraknói 1882: 87–88.

74 Fraknói 1882: 87–88. Vasić cites a letter from Hadi Sulejman-pasha which may refer to Pavle Bakić, compare Vasić 1957, 237.

75 Fraknói 1882: 86–87.

76 *Relationes* 1884, 279.

77 Fraknói 1882: 87–88.

78 Fraknói 1882: 86–87.

79 *Relationes* 1884: 284.

80 *Relationes* 1884: 300–301.

81 *Relationes* 1884: 309; documents could not be located from which it can be seen that, during the course of Pavle's defection, he was followed by a group of Serbs who were cut off by the Turkish army, as Ivić 1929: 61 claims and was taken up in later writings. The mistake was due to a misunderstanding of a letter from

because of this incident, Bali-bey had even intended to force all of the Serbs out of the army. This part of the Bakić family's escape to Hungary was only the first obstacle they successfully overcame. The issue of their estates had only been resolved in principle, and the family initially went through some difficult times.

Pavle Bakić and his brothers' defection to Hungary did not seem to have an effect on the position of other successful families from this clan.[82] Of the four remaining Bakić knezinas recorded in documents, as many as three were known of in the period after his escape to Hungary. These included the two knezinas listed in the 1528 census, Herak Bakić's very large and developed knezina and Vuksan Bakić's somewhat smaller knezina, along with Nikola Bakić's knezina, for which there is no detailed information, except that it was in existence around 1540–1545. In the Ottoman state, the absence of later information about the Bakić family does not in any way confirm that it had lost its significant position within the Vlach knezinas. The main reason for why such information was not saved is a change in the way detailed defters were created. From the time of the early reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, summaries about the spahis and the knezes were recorded as summaries rather in detailed defters, as was done previously. Other causes for the lack of documentation are related to the general loss of Vlach privileges in the Sanjak of Smederevo, and perhaps also the process of Islamization in the higher echelons of the Vlach knezinas.[83]

The Bakić family is the best example of the rise of Christian families in the early Ottoman period. Even though they belonged to the Christian part of the population, they took advantage of the Ottomans using the Vlach communities to strengthen the demographics in the area and to solidify the empire's military potential. As significant members of the Vlach groups, the Bakićes distinguished themselves as settlement organizers for the Sanjak of Smederevo as well as through serving various military and administrative capacities. Pavle Bakić, the most prominent of them, took advantage of favorable circumstances that led him to becoming the most prominent Serb in the Sanjak of Smederevo and later a powerful Hungarian feudal lord who earned the title of Serbian despot in 1537, which symbolically linked this social group to the traditions of the already long-gone Serbian medieval state.

Translated by *Elizabeth Salmore*

Antonio Bourgeois.

82 This, in a way, again confirms that the Bakićes who remained in Turkey were not close relatives of Pavle Bakić, and that the Ottoman regime considered this act to be a personal betrayal.

83 On the process of Islamization, see Filipović 1983 and Vasić 2005a.

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БАКИЋИ - ПРИМЕР ДРУШТВЕНОГ УСПОНА ВЛАШКИХ ПОРОДИЦА У РАНОМ ОСМАНСКОМ ПЕРИОДУ

Резиме

У периоду продора и стабилизације Османлија на Балкану једна заједница унутар тадашњег српског друштва добија на значају. Били су то сточари које тадашњи докуметни називају Власима. Влашке заједници које су се специјализовале за екстензивно сточарство забележене су у најстаријем документима о средњовековној Србији с краја XII и почетка XIII века. Временом су ове групе добиле српски етнички карактер. Слом класичног феудализма и специфично османско уређење поготово у пограничним и слабо насељеним крајевима пружио је влашким заједницама прилику за значајан друштвени напредак. Једна од најуспешнијих влашких породица током друге половине XV и прве половине XVI века били су Бакићи. Они су се из масе влашког становништва издвојили у деценијама пошто су Османлије освојиле Деспотовину. Многобројни сукоби Угарске и Османске државе су на простору смедеревског санџака веома редуковали становништво. Бакићи су се тада истакли као покретачи пресељења значајних сточарских група највероватније из области Старог Влаха а можда и из Херцеговине у чему су имали институционалну подршку Османског царства. Први познати кнез из ове породице је био Радован чија се кнезина углавном простирала јужно од данашњег Чачка. Касније се кнежине Бакића померају ка северу у околину планина Рудник и Венчац па до под сам Београд. Веома познати члан ове породице Павле Бакић пређиће непосредно пред битку код Мохача на страну Угара. Он, његови рођаци и потомци ће у служби Хабзбурговаца постати веома угледно племство. Сам Павле ће у кратком периоду 1537. носити и титулу српског деспота везујући на симболичан начин своју породицу са традицијама средњовековне српске државе.

Кључне речи: Власи, Бакићи, сточарство, миграције.

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BISHOP NIKODIM BUSOVIĆ AND UNIATISM IN LATE 17TH AND EARLY 18TH CENTURY DALMATIA AND BOKA

Abstract: This article deals with the role and activities of Bishop of Dalmatia Nikodim Busović at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. For Dalmatia and Boka, these were tumultuous times caused by the Morean War (1683–1699), with increased population migrations and increased Uniate pressures on the local Serbian population. During this turmoil, the Uniate archbishop of Philadelphia, Meletius Tipaldi, attempted to expand his influence and bring the Serbian Orthodox population in Dalmatia under his jurisdiction. At the same time, Catholic bishops in Dalmatia and Boka, protégés of the *Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*, were pressuring Serbs to embrace Uniatism. Under these circumstances, Bishop Nikodim Busović managed for more than a decade to skillfully maintain the Serbian ecclesiastical organization under Venetian rule. After his suspension, Serbs in the coastal area of Dalmatia and Boka did not have a bishop until late eighteenth century.

Keywords: Bishop Nikodim Busović, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, coastal area of Dalmatia and Boka, Venetian rule, jurisdiction, Uniatism.

1. Bishop of Dalmatia Nikodim Busović: Action sand Historical Circumstances

The role of Bishop of Dalmatia for Nikodim Busović (1657–after1710),[1] was contradictory both for the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Christian churches. His exact activities have never been fully explained, and specific information is difficult to find due to a lack of sources. However, material that is available, both published and archival, allows for a partial reconstruction of Bishop Busović’s life.

According to some sources, around 1676, Busović was in the ministry of the priest of the Church of St. Elijah in Šibenik. Several years later, on June 24, 1693, he was ordained

[1] A note about the baptizing of Bishop Busović, discovered in the old Church of Dormition of Virgin in Šibenik, indicates that he was born on December 27, 1657, and given the name Nikola, from father Dragosav and mother Teodora Busović. See more in: Desnica 1937: 274–275.

Bishop of Stratonicea by the Uniate Archbishop of Philadelphia, Meletius Tipaldi.[2] Other than Meletius Tipaldi, only one other bishop from Corfu attended the ordination. The issue of Busović's ordination was discussed by the Roman Catholic Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*).[3]Although the members of the Congregation were satisfied with Bishop Busović accepting the Uniatism, certain further explanations were requested regarding Archbishop Tipaldi's election procedure and jurisdiction. A question was raised about how Archbishop Tipaldi, without any prior meeting of the clergy and confirmation by corresponding ecclesiastic heads, could perform an ordination that deviated from common canonic ordination.[4] It is clear that, as a Uniate, Archbishop Tipaldi could not have received such approval from the ecumenical patriarch, who was apparently still formally his superior.[5] Therefore, it seems most likely that Tipaldi performed the ordination for the most part in secrecy, without the presence of corresponding heads, and without the Congregation's immediate knowledge. He may have believed that, through Busović, he could more easily obtain jurisdiction over the Serbian Orthodox population in the Dalmatian area with little interference, and would be able to collect duties from them undisturbed.[6] He essentially presented the Congregation with a *fait accompli*, thereby preventing complications regarding the jurisdiction of Latin bishops over Dalmatian territory, while also substantially diminishing their influence over Orthodox population in the area.

It is interesting to look at Bishop Busović's activities in Dalmatia.[7] On February 1, 1694, the Congregation sent a decree to Bishop Busović that enabled him to use pontifical anywhere in Dalmatia.[8] The ordination of Bishop Busović as a Uniate bishop was verified by both Venice and Rome. Therefore, an assertion that Bishop Busović did not in fact embrace the Roman Catholic faith on June 18, 1693[9] (which was a precondition for officially accepting Uniatism)[10] seems highly unlikely, as is a dispute over Busović's ordination as a Uniate bishop. Although there were certain canonic irregularities regarding

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2 Milaš 1899: 118. Stratonicea is one of the 24 dioceses in Asia Minor, which were under jurisdiction of Archbishop of Philadelphia. Archbishop of Philadelphia was the exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch, with jurisdiction over Greek Orthodox churches under the Republic of Venice (especially in Dalmatia, Istria, Venice). Directly subordinated to the Ecumenical Patriarch, he was authorized to judge, interrogate and make decisions regarding ecclesiastic matters in Greek churches in the Republic, in accordance with Orthodox Church canons. This status of his was regulated by a special decree, issued by Ecumenical Patriarch Parthenius II in 1644. The seat of Archbishop of Philadelphia was in Venice, with its center established around the Church of St. George (San Giorgio dei Greci) (Milaš 1989: 306–307; Bogović 1982: 23–25).

3 Bogović 1982: 42–43.

4 *Ibid.* 42–43.

5 Archbishop Meletius Tipaldi embraced Uniatism in 1690 (Radonić 1950: 433), however the Ecumenical Patriarch, as we will see, officially excluded him from the Orthodox Church community only in 1712 (Milaš 1899: 90–96).

6 Radonić 1950: 601.

7 Bishop Gerasim Petranović wrote about Bishop Busović in his chronicle "About Orthodox Dalmatian Bishops", but with a certain portion of unconfirmed or incorrect data (Petranović 1859: 154–157). Boško Strika had a similar approach in his exposure about Busović (Strika 1930: 100–101). See further: Kašić 1971: 19–20; Popov 1873: 272–273.

8 Bogović 1982: 43.

9 Milaš 1901: 334–335.

10 Bogović 1982: 42.

Busović's ordination, as already stated, it would be too simple to claim that his profession of the Roman Catholic faith was only "a malevolent lie by Catholic prelates Vićentije Zmajević and Mato Karaman."[11] Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Tipaldi invented Busović's acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith in order to justify himself before Latin bishops in order for them to accept Busović as his legitimate deputy.[12] There are several sources, direct and indirect, which indicate that Busović definitely embraced Uniatism.[13]According to some, Busović had already done so on September 4, 1692.[14] Further support for this theory also comes from a complaint by monks from Krka Monastery addressed to Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević in early 1693. They objected the ordination of Bishop Busović by a Uniate archbishop. Arsenije III replied to their complaint in March 1693.[15] At that time, Busović had still not been formally ordained a Uniate bishop, but had apparently professed his Roman Catholic faith, which is what had provoked the disapproval of the Krka Monastery fraternity. There also exist letters, written by Bishop Busović to the Pope and the nuncio in Venice, before his ordination, in which he recognizes the Pope and commits to Catholic service.[16] He certainly would not have received the decree regarding the use of pontificals if he had not already officially confirmed his stance. However, the issue of canonic protocol, which Archbishop Tipaldi did not adhere to, still remains an issue of dispute and calls into question the credibility of the ordination. This apparently suited Bishop Busović and he obviously intended to retain his independent status and continue acting independently for an extended period of time. In this he appears to have been successful, and the meaning behind that will be discussed later.

During his time in Venice in 1693, Busović strongly opposed the interference in his jurisdiction by Atanasije Ljubojević, the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia and exarch of the patriarch of Peć for Dalmatia. He also opposed, albeit less strongly, interference by the Latin bishops of Dalmatia. Furthermore, Bishop Busović appealed for the Latin bishops to be deprived of any authority in matters related to the Morlach Orthodox rites.[17] Monks from Krka Monastery, who had occasionally acted as deputies of the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia in some parts of Dalmatia since 1578, offered up some resistance to Bishop Busović.[18] The Krka monks complained about Busović to Patriarch Arsenije III, who then

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11 Milaš 1901: 334–335.

12 *Ibid*. 335.

13 Milaš 1899: 118; Bogović 1982: 42, pic. 10–13.

14 Šimrak 1930: 81–92, enclosures 88–89.

15 Milaš 1899: 68.

16 Bogović 1982: 41, enclosures 10–13.

17 *Ibid*. 44.

18 Kašić 1966: 243. After the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557), Patriarch Makarije undertook a general reorganization of the Serbian Church. He subsumed entire Bosnia and Dalmatia, except the Diocese of Zvornik, under jurisdiction of Metropolitanate of Dabar-Bosnia. Therefore, after that, the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia, most often as the exarch of the Patriarch of Peć, had jurisdiction over Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia as well. The seat of the Metropolitanate was in Banja Monastery in Dabar, but the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia Gavrilo Avramović (1578–1588) soon moved it to Rmanj Monastery, on the Bosnia, Lika and Dalmatia tripoint (Slijepčević 1991: 310). His successor returned the seat to Banja Monastery, but, due to variable political circumstances in later periods, which we will talk about in the text, the jurisdictions and seats of metropolitans of Dabar-Bosnia will be altered and disputed.

humbly advised them to disregard what the bishop had done, to stay away from any evil, and to address him regarding ecclesiastic affairs.[19] Naturally, Patriarch Arsenije III objected to Busović's ordination "on the foreign side" and the fact that had not sought ordination from him, but he did not explicitly say that Bishop Busović was an apostate and should therefore be disobeyed.[20]

According to some speculations, upon his return to Dalmatia after his ordination, Busović settled at Krka Monastery and managed the Serbian Church in Dalmatia from there.[21] The *Singelia (Decree) for the Municipality of Drniš* from Krka Monastery, dated February 8, 1694, is referred to as confirmation of such speculations.[22] However, in the first few years following his ordination, Busović did not spend much time in Krka Monastery. The monks at Krka (led by Archimandrite Josif) were explicitly opposed to Uniatism and Busović's ordination by Archbishop Tipaldi. Also, a longer stay in Krka Monastery, immediately after receiving the episcopal rank in Venice, would probably seem suspicious to the Catholic clergy. It was well known that Krka and Krupa monasteries were centers of resistance to Uniatism, and they took a hard line regarding Orthodoxy. As a prelate still unverified and unconfirmed in his Uniate field activities, remaining at the Krka Monastery for an extended period immediately after receiving his ordination would probably have raised the suspicions of the Catholic clergy. At the very least, it would certainly have been unfavorable for him, especially if his real intention was to work undisturbed for the benefit of the Serbian Church in that area, even after formally accepting the rank of bishop in a canonically disputed form (and by a Uniate archbishop, whose actual jurisdiction in Dalmatia covered only four municipalities).[23]

Therefore it is more probable that Bishop Busović stayed in Šibenik more often upon his return to Dalmatia, where he had served for years before and where he had relatives. This seems to have been confirmed by a letter written by a Catholic priest named Vidović, in which he mentions meeting Busović in Šibenik in early 1694.[24] He soon received Dragović Monastery with its surrounding land as donation from Venetian authorities, according to the gift certificate dated March 24, 1694, and it is possible that he often stayed there.[25] It seems that only after receiving episcopal consecration from Patriarch Arsenije III (1696),[26] which will be mentioned later, did Bishop Busović clearly position his seat at Krka Monastery. Around this time, he began signing documents as Bishop of Krka.[27]

On a number of occasions, Bishop Busović's role became the subject of polemics. There are certain contradictions in things he did that, along with a lack of reliable information, prevent a complete interpretation of his role. There are statements that he possessed "the typical sense of Orientals (Byzantines!) for easily adjusting to current

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19 Milaš 1899: 68.

20 *Ibid.* 68; Nikolaević 1844: 127–128.

21 Milaš 1901: 336.

22 *Ibid.* 336.

23 Šibenik, Zadar, Hvar and Pula.

24 Bogović 1982: 45.

25 *Ibid*. 44.

26 Nikolaević 1844: 129–130.

27 Milaš 1901: 336; Vuković 2004: 905–906. Together with that title, he also used the title Bishop of Dalmatia, confirmed by the *Decree (Singelia)* from October 1700, written in Krka Monastery, with which Bishop Busović appointed priest Ilija Končarović parson of the Ervenik Parish. (Petranović 1838: 86–87).

circumstances", and thus deceitfully played both sides and even "spied" for Provveditore Generale Alvise Mocenigo.[28] Such an interpretation seems tendentious and simplified. As someone who knew the circumstances of the Orthodox Church in Dalmatia well and had served the Greek Church of St. Elijah in Šibenik for years, Busović was certainly aware that only skillful, smart, and tactful activities could preserve Orthodoxy in such an unfavorable environment. While serving in the Greek church, he could have discerned that, unlike the Latin prelates, Archbishop Tipaldi of Philadelphia did not have considerable influence or power in Dalmatia (except in the four Dalmatian municipalities mentioned previously). Therefore, formally embracing a loose Uniatism in a canonically disputable way, he assumed that he could, in fact, cautiously continue to act for the benefit of Orthodox Serbs. Primarily to preserve Orthodox faith in times of dangerous turmoil, when the nation he belonged to had fallen under synchronized pressure from Catholicism in all its lands.[29] Tipaldi would not have had the power to thwart his intentions, and the Latin prelates would not have a formal basis for doing so.

Busović enforced his idea very carefully. He certainly first had to strengthen his position and jurisdiction. He thus had the intention to eliminate the influence of Atanasije Ljubojević, the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia. Bishop Busović strongly criticized Metropolitan Atanasije. His harsh criticism of Atanasije "perversely undermining the consciousness of faithful ones turning them from real faith to dark hell" through his actions and his assertion that Latins were worse than Turks, come from the time of Busović's ordination in Venice.[30] Metropolitan Atanasije did not give up so easily. He personally came to Venice in 1693. He brought a recommendation of Provveditore Daniel Dolfin, dated May 31 of that same year, a letter from Patriarch Arsenije III, and a request from Orthodox Serbs in Ravni Kotari to have him, Atanasije, appointed as bishop.[31]Metropolitan Atanasije asked the Venetian authorities to confirm his jurisdiction in Dalmatia with a written act (ducal), so that he could freely perform his priestly duties "recently usurped by Bishop Busović." He also used the occasion to complain to the Senate that Bishop Busović had been roughly and unreasonably attacking him.[32] He especially emphasized that he had personally brought four hundred families under the auspices of the Republic, and that he only wanted to secure for them public peace and an evangelic path as their shepherd.[33] Despite his efforts, Bishop Atanasije did not succeed in receiving the ducal he sought, and he returned from Venice empty-handed. Bishop Busović had the advantage: he had been put forward by the Pope's nuncio and had embraced Uniatism.[34]

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28 Bogović 1982: 47.

29 See more about Uniate pressures in other lands with a Serbian population: Gavrilović 1995: 7–42; Olbina 1992: 738–752.

30 Bogović 1982: 44.

31 Jačov 1981: 66.

32 *Ibid*. 67.

33 *Ibid.* 67. During the Morean War (1683–1699), Bishop Atanasije fled from Bosnia to Ravni Kotari (around 1688). There, under Venetian authority, he apparently built his residence, and often traveled to Lika to regular visits of Serbian churches, considering it his right, as the case was under Ottoman rule. However, political and territorial circumstances had changed during the Morean War, as well as jurisdictions of the Orthodox Church and Patriarch, which were no longer tolerated in these lands (Grbić 1891: 234–235).

34 Jačov 1981: 67.

All of this clearly demonstrates that Bishop Busović did not want anyone interfering in the jurisdiction had received from the Archbishop of Philadelphia, but that he also most likely had in mind the current circumstances at the time. The jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia and exarch of the Patriarch of Peć, was unsustainable within Venetian territory, especially after Patriarch Arsenije III himself had moved under the auspices of the Habsburg Monarchy. Interference in the jurisdictions of a foreign metropolitan and, through him, the Serbian Patriarch, who was now under the protection of their rival empire, could in no way be tolerated under the auspices of *Serenissima*.[35] This is confirmed by a dispatch from the Provveditore Generale of Dalmatia on June 7, 1693, who had discovered that Metropolitan Atanasije Ljubojević had come to Dalmatia by imperial decree, and because of that the Venetians did not allow him to travel through their lands and visit Orthodox Serbs.[36] The patriarch's exarch, Bishop Stevan Metohijac, had done something similar earlier in the summer of 1691. As was laid out in Provveditore Dolfin's dispatch of June 1691, the Provveditore Generale had forbidden him from going out among the people and did not recognize his authority over Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia as the Patriarch's emissary. Besides the Patriarch's epistle, Bishop Stevan, also took with him copies of two Habsburg imperial privileges given to the Serbian nation on September 21 and December 4, 1690, which especially rankled the Venetian authorities.[37]

Hence, Bishop Busović, in fact, attempted to gain the trust of the Venetians through his strong position regarding Metropolitan Atanasije Ljubojević, to establish his status and jurisdiction, and prevent the Catholic prelates from having control over the Orthodox Serbs in this area. During his time in Venice, Bishop Busović openly requested that none of the Latin bishops interfere in his jurisdiction or create any obstacles for him.[38] It was soon clear that, at the time, Metropolitan Atanasije, could not do much in these lands. Patriarch Arsenije III's rather conciliatory reaction to Archimandrite Josif of Krka's letter, and his recognition of Busović as a legitimate bishop a little over two years later, indicate his awareness of the situation.

When the Serbian Patriarch confirmed his episcopal legitimacy on January 24, 1696, Bishop Busović submitted to Patriarch Arsenije III recommendations and pleas from his elders favoring him as bishop, along with the *Singelia* of the deceased Patriarch Pajsije for some Dalmatian bishop.[39] Had Bishop Busović not been acting in the interest of Orthodoxy and for the benefit of the people, he most certainly would not have received their support. People of that area, in constant tension due to Uniatism, pressures and oppression, strongly sharpened their ability to recognize someone's ill intentions toward them. Their very

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35 The fear of Venetians from the influence of foreign authority in their territory is vividly shown in the report made by Provveditore of Herceg-Novi Francesco Badoar (September 25, 1721) addressed to the Senate, where he recommends that it would be better for the Republic to allow the installation of an Orthodox bishop for Dalmatia and Boka, because: "If the Province (Dalmatia and Boka) does not have an Orthodox bishop, those with aspirations to become priests will move to Ottoman and Imperial (Habsburg) lands to be ordained and receive religious instructions. Besides money offered to those prelates there, they are submitted to foreign authorities…"; [Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Senato – Deliberazion Roma Expulsis*, fil. 31, fnc., (hereinafter ASV SDRE)].

36 Tomić 1906: 151.

37 *Ibid*. 133–135.

38 Šimrak 1930: 86.

39 Milaš 1899: 72.

survival, in spite of everything, is a proof of that. Patriarch Pajsije's *Singelia* was apparently supposed to represent a paradigm. As Patriarch Pajsije once gave Episcopal consecration to some Dalmatian bishop, Patriarch Arsenije III should give Episcopal consecration to him, Busović. It seems pretty justified that some recognize Epifanije Stefanović (1640–1648) as that unnamed bishop.[40] It is believed that Bishop Epifanije also embraced Uniatism under suspicious circumstances (1648),[41] but it is known that he never went to the Pope to get his blessing.[42]As stated, there is data confirming that Bishop Epifanije gave a letter or a document from Patriarch Pajsije to the delegates he sent to the Pope. Some authors believe that it was a letter of support and acceptance of Uniatism by Patriarch Pajsije, although the contents of the letter are still unknown.[43] However, if the mentioned Uniatism of Bishop Epifanije really had a deeper meaning or brought real results and fruit, the Catholic Church would not miss to provide detailed documentation about it. Uniatism was not a spontaneous process or internal spirit of the Orthodox Serbian population. It was conditioned by current external events.[44] We discover a similar moment, somewhat later, in relation to Bishop Busović's Uniatism. Allegedly, the Pope's nuncio in Venice sent a letter from Patriarch Arsenije III, with unknown contents, together with the report on Busović's embracing Uniatism, to the secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.[45] Having in mind all mentioned above, we see an unusually striking similarity of these two cases, without anything regarding Uniatism being realized in either case in real life.

Bishop Busović never refrained from doing certain favors to the Republic's officers, or reporting about events or situation on the Venetian-Turkish border.[46] One of the proofs of this is the letter from Provveditore Generale Alvise Mocenigo dated September 6, 1702. It clearly shows that Bishop Busović, upon the order of Provveditore, visited Krupa Monastery and, as stated, spent nine days in Lika to investigate the situation there and monitor the risky events in that area.[47] It was clear to Busović, as it was to others after him, how important it was to have the support of the Provveditore, whose influence and jurisdiction in lands they managed were almost undisputed. Only in such a way he could protect his church from Catholic bishops to a certain extent. Bishop Busović managed to avoid conflicts with bishops for an entire decade and slowly strengthen his position as protector of the Orthodox Church and Serbian ethnic community, receiving thereby recognitions both from state authorities and the Uniates. Archbishop Tipaldi appointed him visitator of Greek churches in coastal cities in 1699 and he had solid support from Provveditore Alvise Mocenigo. Mocenigo, in his decree dated September 10, 1699, granted Busović and the Dragović Monastery fraternity

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40 Vuković 1996: 186.

41 Bogović 1982: 32.

42 *Ibid.* 33; Šimrak 1929: 23.

43 Šimrak 1929: 23–24.

44 Bogović 1982: 36.

45 Šimrak 1930: 87.

46 Bogović 1982: 47.

47 "D'Ordine di Sua Eccellenza Provveditor general Mocenigo Costituto Monsignor Vescovo Bussovich ieri sera capitato dal Monasterio di Crupa sotto Velebith espose quanto segue: Gli scorsi giorni fui incaricato da Sua Eccellenza Provveditor Generale per trasferirmi in Crupa e ricavare le novità correnti di Lika, cosicchè doppo di essermi colà trattenuto per il corso di nove giorni, mi è sortito di ritraere le seguenti notizie", Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), *Legacy of Jovan Tomić*, no. 8711/VI–a/9 (hereinafter ASASA LJT).

yields from 50 camps of land in the village of Međupuće ,[48] and on October 12, 1699 granted them the Church of St. John the Baptist in Bribir with surrounding lands, because the Turks had forced the fraternity was to leave Dragović Monastery.[49]

The first hint of objections appeared during the mentioned Busović's visits to Greek churches, approved by Archbishop of Philadelphia Tipaldi. Such visits apparently did not suit some prelates. Parson of the Greek Church of St. Elijah in Šibenik, where Busović had spent many years before receiving Episcopal consecration, interpreted it as alleged breaking of jurisdiction and reported Busović to Tipaldi. Archbishop Tipaldi replied to the parson on October 10, 1699, stating that he had given an authorization to Bishop Busović to visit Greek churches only once, not forever, in order to submit necessary reports about the situation on the Adriatic coast.[50]

Despite such oppositions, Bishop Busović succeeded in maintaining his service uninterrupted until 1702/1703. This overlaps with the departure of Provveditore Generale Alvise Mocenigo, who worked exclusively as state civil servant of the Republic and prevented any interference from the outside. After losing his support (1702), Bishop Busović was left to the mercy of Latin prelates. A letter from Exceptional Provveditore Iseppo Zuccato sent to Provveditore Generale, dated July26, 1702, confirms that Busović was under surveillance, and Zuccato suggested that an experienced and reliable person be appointed to him, who will skillfully reveal the real intentions of Patriarch Arsenije III through Busović.[51] Busović certainly didn't want to make the situation more difficult and further ignite the animosity of Catholic Dalmatian bishops towards himself and the Orthodox Church. Therefore his contacts with the Patriarch become rare, as can be seen in the Patriarch's concerned letters in the spring of 1702.[52] One of the last *Singelia* Busović issued as Bishop of Dalmatia to chaplain Dositej, appointing him parson of the Church of St. Elijah in Dalmatian Kosovo, is from those times, April 2, 1702.[53]

Already on November 3, 1703, Catholic Dalmatian bishops accuse Busović before the Congregation of "severe abuse" and false Uniatism.[54] Since the arrival of Giustin da Riva as Provveditore Generale of Dalmatia, Busović was increasingly prevented from performing his pastoral's duty. The attacks of Catholic bishops were becoming stronger. Bishop of Makarska Nikola Bjanković and Bishop of Knin Martin Dragojlo were constantly accusing Busović of rejecting Uniatism, wishing to place him under jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Split.[55] Although the certificate on the freedom of religion was issued already on May 30, 1702 by Provveditore Alvise Mocenigo, and confirmed on September 12, 1703,

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48 Desnica 1951: 351.

49 Milaš 1899: 75–76.

50 *Ibid*. 73–75.

51 ASASA LJT, no. 8711/VIII–f/8 („...Inconveniente studiarete prove di divertir con destesità la mossa del Vescovo Bussovich stesso nel riflesso alle conseguenze, che potrebbero derivarne dalla medesima pur stando voi più tosto somministrare al vescovo stesso qualche persona d'esperienza, e di fede che s'avanzi a nome e quella parte per penetrare con destra maniera le vere intentioni, et affetti del patriarca mon con quel di più che troverete con relatione a pubblici interessi per renderne ogni più distinto ragguaglio a dovuto pubblico lume...").

52 Jačov 1997: 82–84.

53 Nikolaević 1843: 107–108.

54 Bogović 1982: 50.

55 Jačov 1983: 180.

the pressure on Bishop Busović persisted.[56] Thus, Provveditore Giustin da Riva issued a ducal ordering Latin priests to train Orthodox clergy for their parochial duties.[57] The Venetian government repeated and confirmed the validity of its orders from 1534 and 1542, according to which Orthodox priests could perform their duties only if a Latin bishop has previously interrogated them and issued his confirmation for it.[58]

Unable to survive under such pressure, Bishop Busović soon departed to Mt. Athos.[59] Although some authors state that Bishop Busović died in 1707, upon his return from Mt. Athos to Dalmatia,[60] we do not find any confirmations about it in sources. On the contrary, many Venetian sources mention Bishop Busović after 1707 as well. A document dated December 1, 1708 informs us that Busović "being far away and busy with other obligations", asked the Metropolitan of Herzegovina Savatije to visit churches in Dalmatia instead of him.[61] It is understandable considering the fact that the same year Bishop Busović sent a letter from Mt. Athos to the Patriarch (Kalinik I) and Serbian Church Council in the Habsburg Monarchy,[62] asking for blessing to leave his Dalmatian diocese.[63] Later Venetian sources (1710) still state that Busović only departed from Dalmatia and left to Mt. Athos, but without any mention of his death.[64]

2. Serbian Church in the Coastal Area of Dalmatia and Boka, the Problem of Jurisdiction and Uniate Pressure

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Venetian Dalmatia, as well as Boka, was often in disorder. It is commonly considered that Orthodox ecclesiastical municipalities in the coastal area, for the duration of the Venetian rule, were under jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which administered these lands through the Metropolitan of

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56 Milaš 1899: 76–78.

57 *Ibid.* 82–83.

58 *Ibid.* 84–86.

59 Jačov 1981: 70. There is an inscription from 1704 on the so-called "Busović's doors", holy doors formerly in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the parish in Bukovica, now in Krka Monastery. It mentions Busović already as a former bishop, indicating that he has already left Dalmatia at that time [Stojanović 1903: 9 (no. 2131); Petranović 1863:169].

60 Milaš 1901: 343. It is stated that he left a kind of a will in Vrlica in August 1707, leaving his belongings to Dragović Monastery (Zorica 2011: 21–22).

61 ASASA LJT no. 8711/VI–a/62 („Nel mio soggiorno in Castel Novo venuto a trovarmi il Vescovo Greco Sabathia mi ricercò con insistenza la permissione di passar alla visita ne territori della Dalmazia nelle veci del Vescovo Nicodimo Bussovich, che per essere lontano et in altre incombenze occupato gle ne aveva domandato la facoltà"). See more about the role of Bishop of Herzegovina Savatije in the fight for the Diocese of Dalmatia and Boka: Matić 2016a: 106–119.

62 Patriarch Arsenije III died in 1706. The Council of Krušedol was convened for the election of the new head of the Church in the Habsburg Monarchy, held in January 1708. The Archdiocese of Krušedol (later named The Metropolitanate of Karlovci) was based on it.

63 ASASA LJT no. 8711/XXII–e/8 ("Essendo andato il nostro fratello Vescovo Nicodimo Bussovich dal suo contado di Dalmazia, qual le diede il Patriarca e la nostra Congregazione al Monte Santo a fare rito santo et il suo scritto mandò al Patriarca e Congregazione che asserendo non voler continuare più nel detto Vescovato, quale dimandò la benedizione e gliel habbiamo concessa come desiderava").

64 Jačov 1981: 70; Vuković 2004: 905–906; Petranović 1859: 157.

Philadelphia.[65] However, it is also stated that the Patriarch of Peć also had jurisdiction over a part of Dalmatia under Ottoman rule until the late seventeenth century, directly managed by Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia as his exarch.[66] However, it seems that it was not consistently implemented, as shown by the jurisdiction of Bishop of Dabar-Bosnia and Dalmatia Epifanije Stefanović, for whom Farlati himself states that he had jurisdiction over Orthodox Serbs both in the Ottoman and in the Venetian territory.[67] Metropolitan of Dabar-Bosnia often referred to himself, in addition to other titles, Bishop of Klis and Lika,[68] and his seat was moved from Banja of Dabar to Rmanj Monastery (*città d' Onza*)[69] on the Bosnia, Lika and Dalmatia tripoint. Some sources state that it was from there that Bishop Epifanije moved to Venetian territory.[70]

An even bigger confusion happened after Venetian possessions had expanded at the expense of the Ottoman Empire in the late seventeenth century, after the end of the Morean War (1699) and planned migrations of new Serbian inhabitants. The question of jurisdiction over new territories and newly settled population became disputable, because everyone was interested in it. The importance of this issue for the Serbian Church is proven by the fact that during the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Serbian Patriarch appointed as many as seven bishops in the area of Dalmatia.[71] During this great turmoil, the Ecumenical Patriarch, through Archbishop of Philadelphia Meletius Tipaldi, attempted to expand his influence and put all Orthodox people in Dalmatia, including newly-arrived Serbs, under his jurisdiction.[72] However, on September 13, 1690,Tipaldi renounced the Orthodox faith and embraced Uniatism.[73] Archbishop Tipaldi realized that it would be best to attract the famous Serbian priest, recognized in those lands, and include him in his endeavor to expand and strengthen his Uniate jurisdiction in Dalmatia. Nikodim Busović, Hieromonk from Krka Monastery, seemed to be an excellent solution for it, especially after proving loyalty during his service in the Greek Church of St. Elijah in Šibenik.[74] Furthermore, Archbishop Tipaldi believed that Busović, very respected by his compatriots, knew well the situation in the field and the best way to introduce Uniatism in those lands. As exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Tipaldi's jurisdiction in the Adriatic coast was accepted only over Orthodox people in Venice and several Orthodox Greek churches in Istria and Dalmatia, but not over

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65 Boca 1969: 276.

66 Berić 1940a: 1. Niccolo Comneno Papadopoli, reputable doctor of philosophy, theology, law and professor at the Academy of Padua, was of the opinion that the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarch was recognized over Serbs in the entire Illyrian area (as mentioned in the very Patriarch's title). Therefore, Serbian Morlachs, moving to Venetian territory, should remain under jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarch and not fall under jurisdiction of Catholic bishops (Milaš 1899: 144).

67 Farlati 1817: 130.

68 Kašić 1966: 243; Nikolaević 1843: 105.

69 Berić 1940b: 40. The author states that the toponym *città d' Onza*implied Rmanj Monastery at the confluence of Unac and Una.

70 Farlati 1817: 130.

71 Jačov 1997: 78–80.

72 Radonić 1950: 411.

73 *Ibid*. 433.

74 Bogović 1982: 41.

Serbs.[75] It is assumed that, led by his interest to collect taxes, Archbishop Tipaldi intended to expand his jurisdiction over Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia through Bishop Busović, still as formal exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch. Tipaldi tried to exercise such politics in Dalmatia, but the Ecumenical Patriarch officially excluded him from the Orthodox ecclesiastical community in 1712, declaring him second Judas.[76]

Latin bishops did not have any official right of jurisdiction in the newly-conquered areas in Dalmatia, confirmed by the fact that Busović's pastoral activities encompassed Serbs of the Orthodox rite mainly in areas Venice had gained in the recent wars (Candian and Morean). Those areas were clearly defined by Provveditore Generale Alvise Sebastiano Mocenigo in his letter from 1720, stating that Busović's jurisdiction was limited to the surroundings of Zadar and territories around Knin and Sinj.[77] Therefore, the Archbishop of Philadelphia – direct primate only in three Greek municipalities in Dalmatia and one in Istria (Šibenik, Zadar, Hvar and Pula)[78] and not the entire territory of Dalmatia as often believed – wanted to expand his jurisdiction to the newly-conquered areas through Bishop Busović.

Although the issues of jurisdiction of Dalmatian Serbs could not be solved in their favor even after the Morean Wars, they never gave up on demanding their rights. They were persistent in their intention to protect their faith, spirituality and identity from Catholic programs of Uniatism supported by Venetian authorities.[79] Although there are claims that the role of Catholic bishops in Dalmatia was only within the limits set by the state and not in activities of forcing religious unity under the Catholic Church,[80] many presented sources and those that follow clearly indicate the tendentiousness of such positions.[81] It is known that *Serenissima* did not look at members of other religions mainly through the prism of faith, as the Holy See and its Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith did, but as

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75 Radonić 1950: 601.

76 Milaš 1899:90–96.

77 *Ibid.* 118. Together with Busović's administration in Dalmatia, Bishop of Herzegovina Savatije Ljubibratić had jurisdiction over Orthodox Serbs in the area of Boka. After Busović's departure from Dalmatia, he tried to expand his jurisdiction to areas administered by Busović, often adding to his title of Bishop of Herzegovina the Bishop of Dalmatia or Coastal Areas title. He did not succeed, since Venetian authorities did not give their approval. The stands of Catholic Dalmatian bishops had a significant role in that decision (Matić 2016b: 159–164). Bishops of Cetinje also had unsubstantiated jurisdictional aspirations over Boka. They considered Boka their zone of jurisdiction, referring to a very unclear and ambiguous document issued by Dodge Giovanni Corner to Bishop of Cetinje Danilo on June 4, 1718 (*Montenegro* 1998: 145–146). The document literally states: "Subjects of the Greek-Serbian rite, located in the diocese of the Bishop of Cetinje, both within the old and the new state borders, are allowed to recognize him as their bishop and shepherd." Bishop of Cetinje was not allowed to visit those areas, and it was not clearly stated what areas he refers to. However, bishops of Cetinje persistently referred to that document, rightfully considering Boka their office. They neglected the fact that the so-called Dračevica parish with Herceg-Novi and Risan were historically never under the jurisdiction of Montenegrin, but of Herzegovina bishops (Stanojević 1955: 93).

78 Bogović 1982: 43; Jačov 1981: 71.

79 Such aspirations of Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia and Boka, who preserved their strongholds within monasteries, were led by the clergy. Still, some authors see the clergy, especially bishops Savatije Ljubibratić, Stefan Ljubibratić, and Simeon Končarević, as versatile initiators of odium towards the Latins. (Ratel 1902: 372–373).

80 Bogović 1982: 161.

81 Detailed reports about Uniate pressures on Serbian Orthodox people in Dalmatia and Boka are given by: Jačov 1981: 61–65.

ethnically colored communities.[82] However, as faith was most often deeply related to tradition and ethnic characteristics, it indirectly had a significant contribution in determining the political course of the Republic, whose basis was *Ragione di Stato*.[83] Therefore, granting jurisdiction over the area of Dalmatia and Boka to Archbishop of Philadelphia was most convenient for Venetian authorities. Orthodox Serbs would thus remain beyond the jurisdiction of Orthodox Serbian bishops on the other side of Venetian borders, as well as beyond the jurisdiction of Latin bishops within the borders, most of whom were subjected directly to the Roman Congregation. It was believed that the higher interest of the state was to establish the "Greek-Uniate" hierarchy, with its center in Venice, rather than to allow excessive interference of Roman nuncios in areas under Venetian state authority. For Venice, Rome was both the Holy See and the capital of the monarch.[84] Knowing it, the Congregation and its protégés insisted on religious homogeneity being crucial for the stability of the state, stirring up the fear of confessional heterogeneity among Venetian authorities.[85] In order to give a more vivid review of thecurrent reality at the Dalmatia and Boka coast and Uniate pressures on Orthodox Serbs, mostly by Catholic prelates, we will present several examples from Venetian archives.

In his report to the Senate from Kotor dated May 1, 1692, Provveditore Nicolo Erizzo supports imposing Catholicity to Orthodox people, since it would contribute to easier control of the state over them, and interests of the state (*Ragione di Stato*), as we have already mentioned, were above everything for *Serenissima*: "Their faith (of the Orthodox people) is susceptible to bribery and depends on who offers more. They are more under influence of Barbarian than Christian laws, due to the narrowed truthfulness of ecclesiastic dogmas, as well as of Greek priests, who do not have any control and rule among savages and Ottomans. It would be of much more use to you if they followed only the Latin faith, which would force them to abide to this holy authority…"[86]

The Bishop of Kotor Marin Drago, in his letter dated July 15, 1697, sent to Cardinal Leandro Colloredo in Rome, literally reveals the real intentions of Catholic prelates, protégés of the Congregation: "Since all my efforts have failed to convince bishops of Serbian faith, located in the vicinity of Herceg-Novi, to sincerely unite under the supreme pontiff of the universal church and free themselves from misconceptions about the Catholic faith, I addressed the people of Paštrovići."[87] Bishop Drago, as we see in the letter, attempts to talk the Paštrović clan into separating from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Cetinje, "who has always been a Turkish vassal, born and raised in the mountain among savages, therefore the source of all evils for his Christians",[88] and put them under the jurisdiction of Archbishop

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82 Cecchetti 1874: 457.

83 *Ibid*. 455.

84 Bogović 1982: 146–147. More about this issue and relations, interests and power struggle between Venice and the Holy See in: Stella 1964: 80–83.

85 In that sense, the Archbishop of Bar and later of Zadar Vićentije Zmajević had a particularly remarkable role. About his activities see: Jačov 1984: 42–65.

86 Tomić 1914: 80–81.

87 ASASA LJT,no. 8711–XXIX/123 („Riuscitemi tutte le applicazioni vane nel persuadere li vescovi che esistono nelle vicinanze di Castel novo del rito serviano, acciò sinceramente si unissero al capo santo dell'universale Chiesa e lasciassero gli errori che tengono contro la verità cattolica, mi rivolsi ai popoli de pastrovich").

88 ASASA LJT, no. 8711–XXIX/123 („...instinuati alli datti popoli Pastrovich che sono numerosi e di qualche

of Philadelphia, Uniate Meletius Tipaldi ["...since the requested bishop (of Cetinje) would have to fall under the administration of Archbishop of Philadelphia and recognize the holy Pope as the supreme pontiff, therefore his attempts to inflict damage on our faith, as today those who are not subjects (of the Republic) are doing, would not be tolerated, whilst the influence of the real monarch and the staying in his country would limit him…"].[89]

Uniate priest Josephus Stremezchi from Poland also had a clear mission to this end. During his several-years long business trip in Byzantium during the first decade of the eighteenth century, he disembarked in Budva and then traveled to Herceg-Novi. Although the Bishop of Herzegovina Savatije Ljubibratić received him cordially, Stremezchi, having failed in his Uniate mission, ruthlessly attacked his host for exceeding his authority and complained about the hatred and intolerance of Orthodox people towards Catholics.[90]

For the sake of objectivity, as a response to such a claim, we will quote, without any comments, part of a report created by Catholic vicar Luka Bolica, who was sent instructions on May 4, 1676 about the Catholic mission determined at the main council of the Congregation. Vicar Bolica states: "The only Christian church in Risan, Church of St. Peter, has two altars, an Orthodox and a Catholic one, although there are 40 Orthodox families living in the hinterland and only one Catholic."[91]

The most explicit proof of the Catholic pressure on Serbian clergy (to accept Uniatism and Dalmatian Catholic bishops as their visitators) is the Venetian list of Orthodox Serbian priests, who refused the pressures of Latin bishops from Dalmatia and were therefore maltreated and arrested (pic. 1, 2).[92]

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considerazione al confin del Cettigne verso l'Albania nelle nostre parti, acciò almeno procurassero di sottrarsi dalla potestà del suddetto vescovo di Cettigne che sempre è stato suddito del Tourco,nato et allevato nelle montagne tra gente barbara, e perciò causa di ogni male nelli suri").

89 ASASA LJT, no. 8711–XXIX/123 ("...perchè il vescovo che si dimanda, dovendo dipendere dall'arcivescovo di Filadelfia e suddito riconoscerebbe il gent.mo Pontefice per corpo supremo e non si tollelarebbe se tentasse pregiudizii al nostro rito, come a giornata lo fanno questi che non sono sudditi, perchè li sarebbe al gran freno al riguardo del Cetigne naturale, e l'habitazione nel suo stato").

90 ASASA LJT, no. 8711-XXII–e/10, e/11.

91 Jačov 1998: 403–404.

92 ASASA LJT, no. 8711–XV/14 (List of Orthodox priests who were taken away, imprisoned and maltreated by Catholic Dalmatian bishops, because they refused to conform to their jurisdiction, visitations of Serbian churches, Catholic patents and alike.

1. **Monk Mojsej**, prior of the Monastery of Holy Archangels (Krka), together with his vicar Janičić, was imprisoned in Zadar, upon the order of the bishop from Skradin; 2. **Priest Radojica Novaković,** parson from Kninsko Polje, and together with him **Monk Dimitrije,** parson from Drniš, were sent to Zadar, escorted by a group of soldiers, upon the order of the bishop from Šibenik; 3. **Priest Simeon Končarević,** parson from Benkovac, was imprisoned in Zadar, upon the order of the bishop from Novi (Novigrad); 4. **Priest Mićo Ostojić,** parson from Biljani, was taken to prison in Zadar, upon the order of the bishop from Novi; 5. **Monk Mojsije,** parson from Žegar, was taken to prison upon the order of the bishop from Novi; 6. **Priest Jovo Manojlović,** parson from Bratiškovci, was escorted by the police to Zadar, where he was first confined and then imprisoned, all upon the order of the bishop from Skradin; 7. **Priest Dimitrije Krička,** from Petrovo Polje on the territory of Drniš, was taken to Knin and locked in the fortress, upon the order of the bishop from Šibenik; 8. **Monk Milenko,** parson from Drniš, was locked in Knin, upon the order of the bishop from Šibenik; 9. **Monk Makarije,** parson from Imotski, was caught and taken to the Imotsko fortress, upon the order of the bishop from Makarska; 10. **Priest Nikola Šaponja** from Ostrovica was locked upon the order of the bishop from Skradin, after refusing a parish, so he would not have to accept the patent from the stated bishop; 11.

The excerpts set out above once again confirm that the Catholic prelates' activities promoting Uniatism were clearly and systematically carried out in the area of Dalmatia and Boka, but the resistance of Orthodox Serbs continued. Upon the departure of Bishop of Dalmatia Nikodim Busović and until the end of Venetian rule (1797), the Serbian population in this area did not have their bishop, who would work in the interest of Orthodox Serbs and represent the ecclesiastical authority. The role of leaders of Orthodox people and preserving their identity was taken over by Serbian Orthodox monasteries and their capable archimandrites. In that sense, especially significant are the monasteries of Krka and Krupa for the area of Dalmatia, and Savina Monastery for Boka.[93]

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Monk Pahomije Đurović, prior of the Monastery of Holy Archangels (Krka) fled to the Habsburg Monarchy from the persecution of the bishop from Skradin, where he spent three years. Three years later, he returned to his monastery, and when the mentioned bishop saw him, he ordered him to be captured and taken to the prison in Zadar. He was imprisoned there for twelve months; 12. **Priest Živan Vuković,** parson from Kosovo, was caught by a group of soldiers and taken to the prison in Zadar, upon the order of the bishop from Šibenik; 13. **Priest Avram Simić** was caught by a group of soldiers and taken to Zadar, upon the order of the bishop from Šibenik; 14. **Monk Arsenije,** prior of Dragović Monastery and his friend **monk Janičić,** parson from Vrlika, were sought by inquisitors upon the order of the Archbishop of Split, and after being arrested, they were set free without any detention.

The list does not have a date, but probably dates from 1728. The fact that parson from Benkovac Simeon Končarević, later Bishop of Dalmatia, is mentioned in the list leads to such a conclusion. It is known that Simeon was arrested and taken to Zadar in 1728, as stated in the enclosed list (Lakić 1970: 30).

[93] See more in: Matić 2016b: 159–182.

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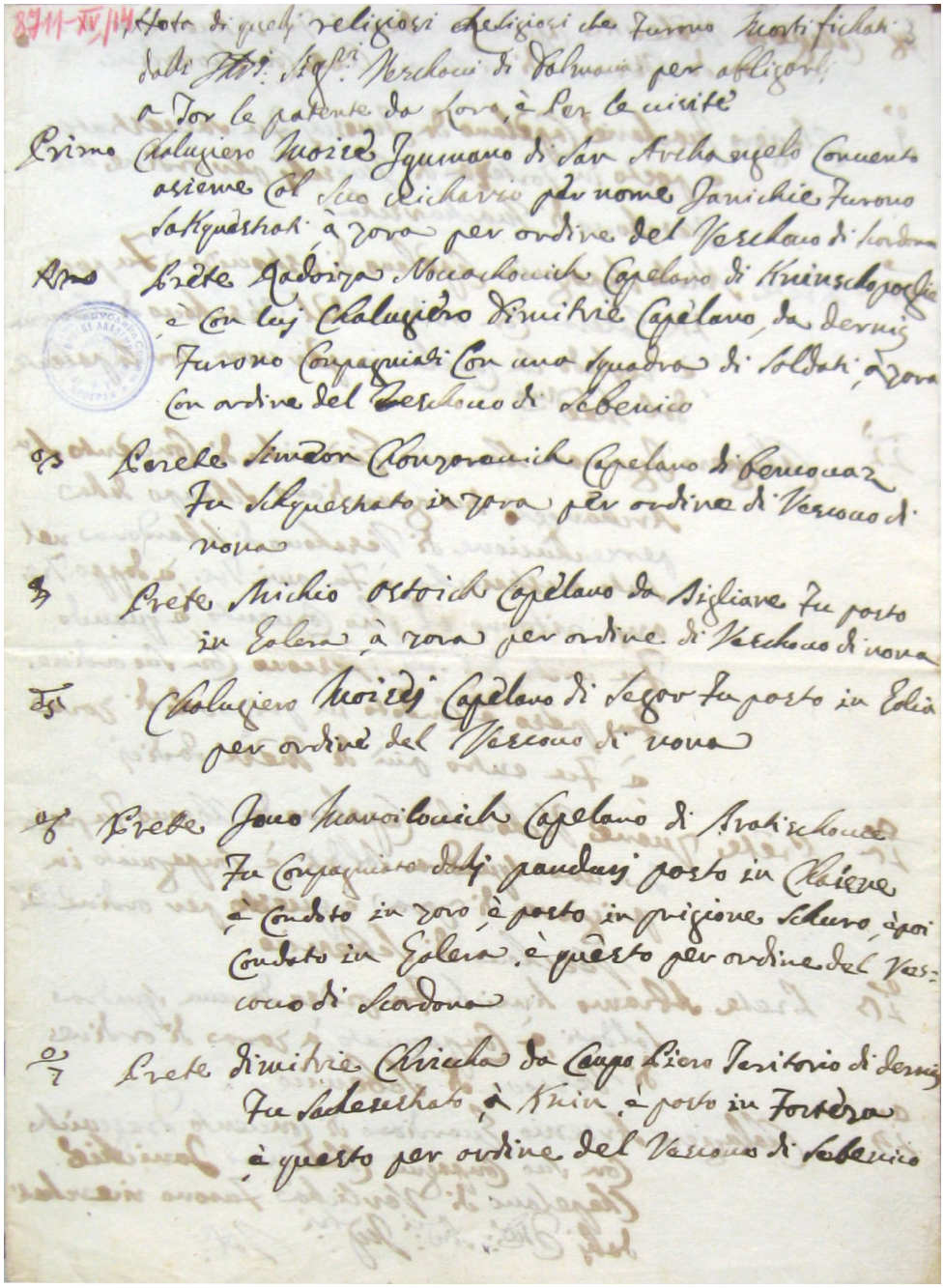

Fig. 1. Venetian list of Serbian priests from Dalmatia arrested
because of refusing to conform to the jurisdiction of Catholic prelates

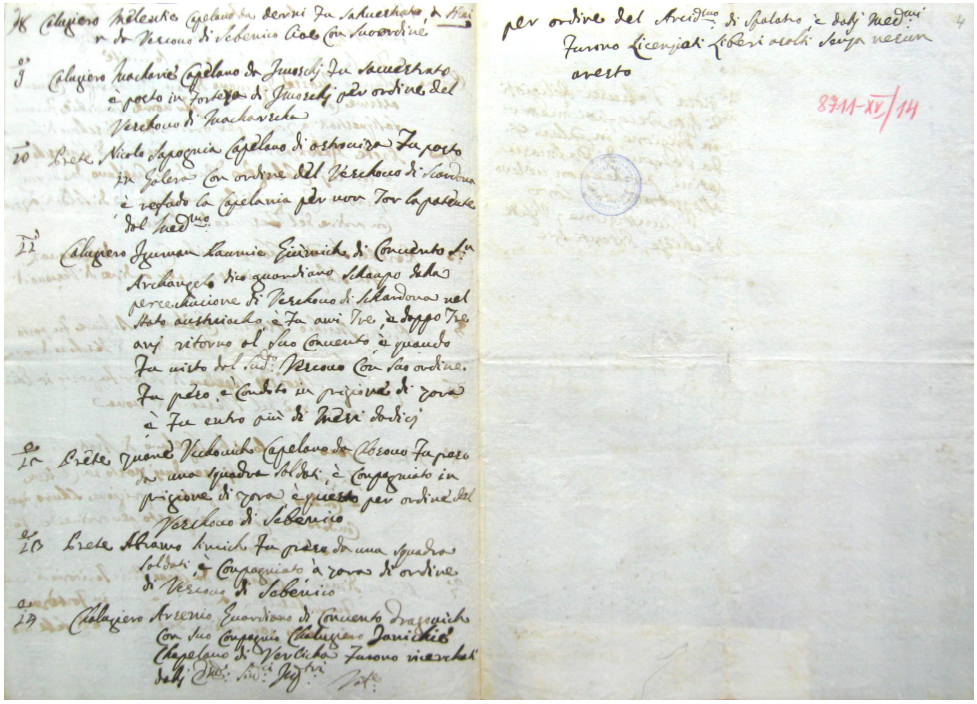

Fig. 2. Venetian list of Serbian priests from Dalmatia arrested
because of refusing to conform to the jurisdiction of Catholic prelates

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ЕПИСКОП НИКОДИМ БУСОВИЋ И УНИЈА У ДАЛМАЦИЈИ И БОКИ КРАЈЕМ XVII И ПОЧЕТКОМ XVIII ВЕКА

Резиме

Текст се бави улогом и делатношћу далматинског епископа Никодима Бусовића током последње деценије XVII и прве деценије XVIII века.Његова личност и активности разматрани су на основу објављених и необјављених извора, у покушају да се што прецизније расветле многе нејасноће и контроверзности у којима је суделовао. Такође, разматрају се покушаји спровођења унијатске делатности на подручју далматинско-бокељског приморја, у том раздобљу спорних и недовољно дефинисаних јурисдикција.

То је у Далмацији и Боки време превирања изазваних Морејским ратом (1683–1699). Забележене су велике миграције и појачани унијатски притисци на српско становништво. Током ових пометњи филаделфијски унијатски архиепископ Мелентије Типалди (Meletius Tipaldi) покушава да прошири утицај и подвргне својој јурисдикцији српско православно становништво у Далмацији, јер су његове стварне ингеренције остварене само у оквирима четири грчке општине у Далмацији. С друге стране, католички бискупи Далмације и Боке, штићеници *Конгрегације за пропаганду вере* (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*), врше притисак на Србе и настоје да их принуде на унију. У таквим околностима владика Никодим Бусовић вешто је успевао, дуже од деценије, да одржи српску црквену организацију на тим просторима, што није било једноставно под млетачком влашћу, која је константно штитила само своје државне интересе (*Ragione di Stato*) на начин без преседана. У тексту се наводи више цитата из необјављене архивске грађе, који допуњавају досадашња сазнања о притисцима и покушајима наметања уније на далматинско-бокељском приморју. Приложен је и списак имена већег броја свештеника са далматинског подручја који су били шиканирани од стране католичких бискупа и хапшени.

Након уклањања владике Бусовића, Срби на далматинско-бокељском приморју више нису имали свог епископа до краја XVIII века. Улогу предводника православних и очување њиховог идентитета преузели су тада српски православни манастири и њихови способни архимандрити. За подручје Далмације, у том смислу, посебно се истичу манастири Крка и Крупа, док је за Боку то био манастир Савина.

Кључне речи: епископ Никодим Бусовић, XVII и XVIII век, далматинско-бокељско приморје, млетачка власт, јурисдикција, унија.

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THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND SERBIAN EDUCATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE LAST CENTURY OF OTTOMAN RULE

Abstract: The origins of initial education of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are found in the Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries. Monks and priests, although having a modest education, also worked as teachers besides their regular religious functions. The first students were young men, who were trained in the profession of priests. They usually inherited this position from their fathers. The initial courses were of a limited religious character and were not able to provide a broader education to students. Literacy obtained within the sphere of the church could not respond to the needs and spirit of the new age in the middle of the 19th century. Therefore, it was prominent and wealthy Serbian merchants that made a strong impact in establishing modern private schools. Most Serbian schools were financially supported by Serbia and Russia during that century, up until the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Serbian Orthodox church – school municipalities very often addressed Belgrade for help for reconstruction or building schools and churches. The foundation of Pelagic's Seminary in Banja Luka in 1866 made a significant impact on the cultural progress of Serbs, especially those living in the area of Bosanska Krajina.

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Church, clergy, Serbian education, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ottoman Empire, Russia, Austro-Hungary, schoolbooks, monks, priests, teachers.

Serbian education in Bosnia and Herzegovina was developing in very complex social and political circumstances during the 19th century. As they were exposed to the pressures of the everyday difficult life, such as financial misery and violence under the Ottoman occupation, Serbian people did not for many years have any strong need to obtain a book to read, since their living circumstances "did not allow them to think of

anything else but survival".[1] Monastery based schools represented the only type of education that existed for a long time.[2] The growth of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina was linked to larger gatherings of Serbian families in towns, practical needs of everyday life and the financial capacity of Serbian Orthodox church – school municipalities.[3] Schools in towns provided constant education compared to those in villages, which were quite often discontinuing their work. Some of them often closed forever due to the absence of a teacher. However, the number of schools was small and classes were not held regularly,[4] as they had to struggle with inadequate space, modest numbers of students, insufficiently educated teachers, lack of professional supervision, shortage of school and alphabet books and other working equipment.[5] The first books to be used in primary schools were the prayer book and psalter. Considering that the first students were preparing for the profession of a monk or priest, it is not surprising that those were the very first schoolbooks to be used. Such books were rare and very expensive.[6] Students were not divided by grades and they were named by the books that they were studying from: alphabet students, prayer students, psalter students etc.[7]

As the school curriculum was expanding over time, education increasingly obtained characteristics of secularity.[8] Literacy and education that in those days were provided within the sphere of the church ceased to be in accordance with the needs and spirit of the new age.[9] Taking part in the work of Serbian church municipalities, merchants made a strong

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1 Pejanović 1960: 6.

2 Through its monasteries, the Church maintained relations with people, strengthened Christian doctrine, cultivated and expanded literature and the tradition of Nemanjić's state. The Serbian Orthodox Church would have had a weaker spiritual and political influence over people up to the 19th century if there were no monasteries and their intermediary role; Čubrilović 1960: 163−188.

3 In their request to Sultan Abudulmejid from the middle of the 19th century, Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina were asking for the freedom to open schools, engage teachers from neighboring countries and transfer students for education in other countries. They were also asking for freedom of religion and repair of old and construction of new churches and monasteries. In their request there was also expressed need for opening of one printing house, which would be paid by the stated and used by Christians. Bošnjak 1851: 157−158; Bogićević 1975: 217.

4 There was no indication of the beginning or ending of the academic year in the oldest schools. It would usually begin "when the teacher arrived from somewhere" and it would end when teacher left. Over time, the beginning of the academic year stabilized in September, while the end was usually in June. Papić 1987: 77.

5 "This school was overcrowded considering the number of its students. Lighting was not appropriate or sufficient. Schoolbooks were the prayer book, psalter and alphabet book. Children had to learn them by heart and this caused them difficulties. School desks were below any standard". This was stated in the description of the Serbian school in Bosanska Gradiška. Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1850−1907, 31. December 1907.

6 Bogićević 1975: 226−227, 230; Bilinac 2017: 40−41.

7 Filipović 1966: 33; Janjić 2014: 101.

8 A letter from Sarajevo dated 1846 testifies about the new educational needs: "Trading relations in which we, in Sarajevo, stand by Trieste and Vienna, convinced us about the necessity to learn Italian and German language. In order to prevent struggling of our children as we do struggle now and to come as close as possible to the educated world, and also to progress with rest of our brothers, this fall our Christian municipality – Orthodox and Catholic together, decided to register one school in which, besides our native Serbian language and other required sciences, Italian and German language will be lectured". Ćurić 1954: 308.

9 Papić 1978: 10−11.

impact on the cultural progress of people and on the foundation of private schools.[10] Their fortune was not unobserved outside the borders of the Eyalet.[11] Modernization of Serbian schools first began in bigger urban areas and then expanded to smaller towns. New modern schoolbooks such as alphabet books, reading and history books began to be produced. They were mostly provided from Belgrade up to the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation. We learn from the description of the Serbian school in Doboj, which was founded at the end of Ottoman rule, that students were studying religious science, Serbian language, Serbian history, geography, mathematics, German language, art and music.[12]

Taking into consideration the proclamation of constitutional law in 1865, Topal Osman Pasha warned of the urgent necessity to educate people to read and write and by that: "push away the lack of knowledge that people are coping with".[13] The foundation of the *Vilayet Printing House* in Sarajevo in 1866 (so called *Sopron's Printing House*)[14] opened the door to an extensive flourish in literature.[15] Several young authors, mostly teachers and priests, emerged onto the cultural scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina and started collecting artifacts and popular oral heritage, as well as historical research. The newspapers *Bosna, Bosanski vjesnik* and *Sarajevski cvjetnik* began being printed in Sarajevo.[16] The Vilayet Printing House was printing the *Alphabet Book for primary schools in Bosnia Vilayet* (1867) and *The First Reader for primary schools in Bosnia Vilayet.*[17] Also the principles of the respected Vuk Karadžić's linguistic reform gradually attracted literature and education. In January 1869 the newspaper *Bosna* published an article about Topal Osman Pasha and his support in the development of education emphasizing, inter alia, that Vali accomplished a lot and therefore "many children completed schools and they can even be taken for imperial services".[18]

Although *Hatt-i-Humayun* (1856) issued the proclamation on religious tolerance, which resulted in a more favorable educational environment, the Ottoman authorities still

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[10] During the 19th century Serbian merchants became very important social class involved over time in all aspects of public life. Majority of big foreign trade was in the hands of Serbian merchant families. Thanks to expanded connections from Vienna, through Trieste, to Dubrovnik, many families acquired huge property and they were directing part of it for the benefit of church and school. Berić 1995: 317−326; Mastilović 2007: 279−303; Dutina, Mastilović 2012: 500−528.

[11] "Here (Banja Luka; author's comment), Serbs are mostly wealthy merchants; their houses are the most beautiful houses. They build new ones - store houses in accordance with the European fashion and they also furnish them on European way. Turkish houses are small barracks. Entire wealth was in Serbian hands". *Glas naroda*, No. 49, 8. XII 1874.

[12] Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian national elementary school in Doboj 1878−1907. (undated).

[13] Bogićević 1975: 218.

[14] Ignjat Sopron (1825−1894), journalist and pressman, born in Novi Sad.

[15] Pejanović 1952: 11−16.

[16] *Zastava* from Novi Sad assessed the foundation of *Bosanski vjesnik* as an attempt to kill Serbian nationality and impose the term "Bosnian" people instead of Serbian people. *Zastava*, No. 24, 1. V 1866.

[17] Newspaper *Bosna* from August 1867 stated: "Under the shadow of his majesty, the Emperor, several thousands of alphabet books for primary school children were printed in the Vilayet Printing House in Sarajevo using Serbian civil and church–school letters. In accordance with the will of his Excellency, honorable Vali of Vilayet these alphabet books will be donated as gift to students in this Vilayet as proof of imperial mercy". *Bosna*, No. 65, 26. VIII 1867; Ćurić 1956: 159.

[18] *Bosna*, No. 135, 11. I 1869.

strongly opposed any national movement in Serbian schools and made obstacles over the development of Serbian education in everyday life.[19] The attempt to improve the position of Christians by implementation of reforms created fear amongst conservative Muslims about their current privileged social position. Some Muslims made fun of the Edict of Gülhane naming it the "constitution of scamp" or "hatt-i sharif of troublemaker".[20] Vasilj Popović stated that it was difficult to "change the entire spirit of oriental religious spite and intolerance, feudal arrogance and class inequality that fulfilled the ruling, privileged Muslim element".[21] The Novi Sad based *Srbobran's* correspondent from Bosnia reported that Muslims were fearful about the education of Christians. On the other hand, he added that for Muslim Bosniaks and Herzegovinians "if a Bosniak or Herzegovinian goes to school, he would change, he would learn and he would think about who he was, he would unite with Serbia and maybe he would become an 'infidel' as he used to be".[22] Topal Osman Pasha warned Banja Luka based Muslims not to permit Serbs to build schools in that town because "when Vlachs (derogatory name for Serbs; author's comment) become educated, they will sit on your neck and it will end disastrously for you".[23] The Croatian press wrote in 1849 about the attempt of Prijedor based Serbs to build a school, which saw local Muslims take and destroy all of the accumulated construction material, justifying that with the allegation that the intention of the Serbs was to build a church instead of school.[24] One could also read in the Croatian press in 1853 that Sarajevo and Bosnia in its entirety "rest in stupidity, partly due to their badness and negligence, partly due to fear of Turks, we cannot progress in anything but in trade, the rest is in old-fashioned manners in accordance with the Turkish taste".[25] In April 1863 Muslims led by the religious fanatic Ali-efendija Fethagić destroyed to the ground the newly built Serbian school in Trebinje.[26] In August 1865 *Narodne novine* published information from an article in the newspaper *Vidovdan,* that reported on the meeting at Bosnian vizier, which discussed the issue of Serbian schools. On this occasion one of the Muslim's present said that: "These schools will totally destroy the Empire and Turks; Serbian people should not be allowed a great education or great schools because this could result in great danger for the Empire. When they see from their history books who

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19 Although Sultan Selim III (1789−1807) was the first to try to implement certain reforms within the Empire, the new age in the history of the Empire known as the Tanzimat started with the *Edict of Gülhane* (1839). Mantran 2002: 555−630. Ortajli: 2004. Changes in the Empire were forced by complex internal circumstances and also foreign state of affairs. Under the pressure of foreign powers, the Ottoman Empire pronounced in 1856 the firman of reforms - *Hatt-i-Humayun*, which was supposed, inter alia, to bring more freedom to Christians with regard to their religious and property rights, personal freedom and participation in the work of local authorities. Disputes between members of different religions were supposed to be resolved before the integrated Muslim–Christian courts. However, *Hatt-i-Humayun* rejected aspirations of Slavs in European Turkey to introduce Slav service in churches and their language instead of Greek in places where they made up the majority. Zarković 2013: 139.

20 Popović: 1949, 41; Teinović: 2019, 481.

21 Popović: 1949, 35.

22 Author of the article stated that due to the identified reasons Serbs were banned from building schools or to learn Serbian history or anything else, but only reading and writing. *Srbobran,* No. 65, 4. VIII 1865.

23 *Vrbaske novine*, No. 207, 15. IX 1933; *Ibid*. No. 127, 14. VI 1933.

24 Ćurić 1953: 496.

25 *Ibid*. 497.

26 Mijanović 2009: 243−245.

they were and who they are now, it is natural that they will have the wish and aspiration to become again who they were, and they can only succeed in that if Turkey falls apart".[27] When Muslims from the Krajina region asked the Banja Luka based pasha to prevent the building of the Serbian church in one village, the pasha ironically responded to them: "Let the Serbian millet to build churches up to the sky. There is no danger of a church. Do not let them build their schools, because they will breakdown Turkish power".[28] One Franciscan, Toma Kovačević assessed the general level of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina as being very low: "Alcoran does not allow Muslim converts to get educated, while Christians do not have resources for education". According to his writing, Serbs did not have primary schools except in bigger towns such as Sarajevo, Travnik, Prijedor and Tuzla.[29] Stojan Bijelić observed the low level of literacy of Serbs from Krajina through the prism of old gravestones from the 19th century, which often did not have a single letter written.[30]

The Serbian Orthodox clergy lived through the most part of the 19th century in deep financial and spiritual misery, sharing life and destiny with their parish members.[31] The clergy also had a low level of education. This was influenced by the Phanariot bishops, who were separated from people by their spirit, mentality and language and who were remembered as greedy and corrupted religious servants.[32] One report from Bosanska Krajina, dated 1874, stated that people were suffering more violence from Phanariotes than Turks since "our bishops are killing our body and soul, they are permitting every crime for money and they are forbidding education".[33] The lowest level of the clergy was "totally ignorant"[34] and Greek bishops were only interested in money during the process of installation of clergy: "It was happening that some craftsman or merchant with a struggling business collects all his money and for this money gets the position of priest and parish".[35] Many bishops were selling the same parish several times.[36] It was clear to the Russian diplomat Alexander Hilferding[37] that Greek bishops did not support their Slav herd's

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27 Ćurić 1953: 92.

28 *Razvitak*, No. 8−9, 20. VIII 1939, 259; Mikić 1995: 165−166.

29 Kovačević 1879: 23.

30 *Vrbaske novine,* No. 190, 26. VIII 1933.

31 Joanikije Pamučina, witness of the time was writing about living circumstances of the clergy in Herzegovina in the middle of the 19th century: "Our clergy in Herzegovina are common, without any education; since they did not have any schools under the Lord, no classes, no education, except in our Orthodox Christian monasteries in Herzegovina, which are until today pillars, protectors and guardians of our pious Orthodox Christianity during all persecutions, violence and unfortunate, sad times. Pamučina 2005: 223.

32 "If Serbs were appointed as bishops, they would bring us some light of education, but Greek, especially the present Bishop Joseph, it is not only that he does not care about our education, but he rather tries to keep us in such stupidity so he can flay, step and ride us as easily as it is possible". Ćurić 1954: 310.

33 *Zastava*, No. 110, 18/30. IX 1874.

34 "Orthodox clergy was untaught and the majority of them were at the same level of education as ordinary believers" was stated in one report from 1818, which added: "Huge distances between houses and also between villages were making arrangements of religious ceremonies difficult. For this reason, religious ceremonies were almost neglected and people were not educated about their religion and duties toward it, or raised in a fear-inspiring way". Šljivo 1986: 204.

35 *Srbski dnevnik*, No. 3, 11. I 1859.

36 *Ibid*. No. 93, 26. XI 1859.

37 Alexander Hilferding (Serbian: Aleksandar Giljferding)

attempts at enlightenment: “If some municipality intends to open a school in its area, the bishop will somehow accept that. But, God forbid, to allow a school of higher education, especially a seminary for the education of priests. Nothing can be worse than that”.[38] Despite the dominantly dark historiographical picture of Phanariotes, some of them did care about the progress of the Serbian church and schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[39] For example, the Zvornik based metropolitans Dionysius I and Dionysius II invested a great amount of effort to ensure the survival and progress of the school in Zenica.[40]

One way of education was the so called self-education. Self-educated teachers were kind of torchbearers for education in that period, when there were no schools in villages and when there were few educated people. These were individuals of a wealthy life experience and wider knowledge in comparison to other people in the environment where they lived.[41] This type of education was mentioned in 1685 by a Vatican missionary who wrote that “there are more literate women and herdsmen in Bosnia than in the Zadar Diocese”.[42] Self-educated people became some kind of “traveling teachers” who stayed in certain places as long as was necessary in order to make an agreed number of students literate. According to one report in the press the priest Petar Đurić “did not attend any school and, as with all our old priests, he sat under a beech and learned by himself a prayer book and psalter and that way he became a priest”.[43] Teachers usually worked only for food and clothes and only had a little money, so they were called “orphans”.[44] “Self-educated oasis” such as Janj and Bosanski Petrovac were characteristic for Bosnia.[45] Based upon data from a priest Milan Rakita, self-educated people were present long in the past in Janj (place close to Jajce). Simo Radovanac and Gavrilo Rakita were mentioned as two of the oldest self-educated people. Gavrilo made his son Mihailo literate and he later made him a priest for 100 ducats, while self-educated people in Janj were organizing adult literacy winter courses.[46] The knowledge gained was transferred through generations within a family. Future priests and teachers often came from such families. Even in the distant past peasants respected literate people. While they were herding cattle, they were often waiting for some well-intentioned passer-by and were asking about reading or writing of some letters.[47]

Ecclesiastical needs to rewrite prayers and prayer books influenced the development

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38 Giljferding 1972: 367.

39 Jagodić 2018, 53−54.

40 In his letter from December 1859, the Metropolitan Dionysius explained vividly the significance of education of youth: “Duty of every devoted Christian, a parent is to take care of the education of his children, to prepare them for school to learn the holy scriptures and fear of God, because it is known that man without education looks stupid”. Radosavljević 2007: 52, 96.

41 Self–educated teachers were using available books or the written alphabet that they produced. Their students were writing on small tablets by engraving letters. After they learned a lesson they scraped away what they had written. Writing instruments were made of parts of sharp stones or they were especially sharpened spikes. Ademović 1981: 215−220.

42 *Pravoslavlje,* No. 957, 1. II 2007.

43 *Bosansko-hercegovački istočnik*, No. 12, decembar 1893, 566.

44 *Pravoslavlje*, No. 957, 1. II 2007.

45 Papić 1978: 48−50; Branković 2016: 81.

46 Šušljić 1941: 71−76.

47 Bogićević 1975: 231.

of literacy, which for a long time did not develop outside of churches and monasteries.[48] A small number of students, mostly sons of priests who were supposed to take over the position of priest from their fathers, were educated within monastery schools. However, those schools could not provide classes continually since there were only a few fraternities, monasteries were also often robbed and burned, while monks were exposed to violence from the Ottoman authorities.[49] Monasteries represented a kind of "storage" of people's energy while monkhood, due to their specific way of life, usually enjoyed more respect among people than parish priests.[50]

Orthodox Christian priests can be often found among the founders and teachers in the oldest Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It almost became a tradition that some poorly educated priest would hire a teacher from a faraway place to educate his son. He was usually joined by some other child from the village whose parents were covering the expenses of such a traveling teacher, together with the priest.[51] The Russian consul Hilferding realized that Orthodox Christian priests, although uneducated and poor had recognized from an early time the significance of education and that they worked at building schools.[52] For example in 1539–1540 the Serbian primary school was functioning together with the Serbian Orthodox Church in Sarajevo. In that school priests were "teaching children the gospel".[53] In 1755, Sarajevo based merchants brought Vasilije Todorović, a monk from Šišatovac, to take up the position as their priest and teacher.[54] In the middle of the 19th century, prior to opening the Catholic school, Catholic children were already attending the Serbian primary school in the city.[55] The female school of Staka Skenderova also operated in Sarajevo most likely until 1858.[56] This school was occasionally receiving financial aid from Russia thanks to consul Hilferding.[57]

Hieromonk Serafim, a son of the Livno based priest Jovo Kojdić was the first teacher in the Serbian school in Livno, which was one of the oldest schools in the provinces. Livno represented an important merchant crossroad between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dalmatia and the Serbian merchants from the town had a strong impact on the work of that school. Intensified demands from the merchants defined the teaching curriculum. It was for this reason that students were not only learning reading and writing, but also calculus and foreign

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48 Papić 1987: 64.

49 *Razvitak,* No. 8−9, 20. VIII 1939, 255.

50 Andrić 2011: 82

51 Marinković 1966: 119; Papić 1987: 64, 66.

52 "Many schools were built during the previous years in many Bosnian places and it was all done thanks to the efforts of the parish clergy; many of them sacrificed very much for schools; many of them tried enthusiastically to establish schools in places where there were no schools and to explain to peasants how important for their children it is to learn the epistle and law of God. Many priests, even those uneducated, were deeply convinced about the importance of their service and they were devoted to the needs of their flock; they were directing all of its public works and they were establishing subordination toward faith and church". Ćurić 1953: 506.

53 Nilević 1985: 117−118.

54 Papić 1978: 12.

55 Papić 1987: 68.

56 *Ibid.* 78.

57 Tepić 1988: 522−530.

languages since their knowledge was essential for successful business.[58] The primary school in Livno had already begun to function in 1820 in the house of priest Serafim Kojdić.[59] In the middle of the 19th century, prominent Serbian merchants from the family Kujundžić brought a teacher Đorđe Margetić to Livno. He modernized the school and introduced many new things as part of the teaching process. A school fund was established in 1853.[60]

Priest Risto Savić was administering the Serbian school in Brodac, close to the monastery Lomnica. Another school was in Hrgar, close to Bihać located in the house of a prominent priest Vid Ivančević. Its first teacher was Adam Adžija, born in Lika. Many young men, future priests and prominent national leaders graduated from this school.[61] It only had three benches for the children. Adžija was writing alphabet books for them as there were no schoolbooks at all.[62] Obrad Petković, also from Lika who completed his schooling in the monastery Krka (Dalmatia) succeeded Adžija in the position of teacher. After the school in Hrgar was closed in 1850, Petković went on to serve as a teacher in Petrovac, Prijedor, Varcar Vakuf and Travnik.[63] The Serbian school in Petrovac was established between 1835 and 1840 within the Orthodox Christian church.[64] The well known priest Hadži Petko Jagodić was one of the most deserving people for establishing the Serbian school in 1836 in the village Vranjak, close to Gradačac.[65] The school in Brčko, which was founded in about 1839, was administered for some time by monk Teodor Paunović[66] while priest Todor Hadži Selaković worked, among others, in the school in Modriča (1841). The school in Modriča was among the first to introduce the celebration of Saint Sava as a school holiday.[67] By the middle of the 19th century the priest Stevo Popović[68] worked as a teacher in the Serbian school in Zenica, while even earlier in the century there was a school open and functioning in Tešanj. The prominent national leader Stevo Petranović worked as a teacher in that school. It was Petranović who organized a theater show in Tešanj in 1864, which is believed to be the oldest theatre show in the history of theater in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[69] In Semberija's village of Dragaljevac, the Bijeljina based priest Dimitrije Marković, opened a school in 1859. Some data indicates that it was even working in 1853.[70] The school in Miloševac began in 1855 and priest Kosta Popović was responsible for developing it.[71] According to research by Milenko Filipović, the priest Serafijan Stakić

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58 *Školski vjesnik,* No. 8−10, 1909, 507.

59 Papić 1978: 23.

60 *Ibid.* 24.

61 *Razvitak,* No. 8−9, 20. VIII 1939, 256; *Školski vjesnik,* No. 8−10, 1909, 515; *Bosansko-hercegovački istočnik*, No. 3rd March 1895, 119.

62 Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian orthodox elementary school in Bihać, November 21 1907.

63 *Školski vjesnik*, No. 8−10, 1909, 515.

64 Zeljković, Banjac 1929: 33.

65 Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian Orthodox Church elementary school in Vranjak, November 24 1908.

66 In the middle of the 19th century it was mentioned that there was a female school in Brčko. Papić 1987: 71.

67 Papić 1978: 41.

68 Teinović 2018: 62−75.

69 Papić 1987: 70; *Razvitak,* No. 6, 1. VI 1938, 179−182.

70 Ćurić 1978: 201−202.

71 *Ibid*. 209.

opened the first school at his house in Vozuća in 1851. Also in the middle of the 19th century, a Serbian school was working within the church Lomnica (which later became a monastery) close to Šekovići. Its establishment is linked to the priest named Risto Savić.[72]

The Serbian school in Mostar was already working at the end of the 18th century with the monk Makarije Zurovac as a teacher.[73] During his visit in 1857, Russian consul Hilferding said that the Serbian primary school in Mostar was the best in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He believed that the church – school municipality in Mostar could serve as an example to many in the Ottoman Empire with regard to a willingness to improve education.[74] The school had four grades and students were studying reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, church singing, basics of grammar and Serbian history. The orthography of Vuk Karadžić, was being used in the school as of 1868.[75] Besides a boy's school, there was also a girl's primary school in Mostar since the 1860s.[76] It is certain that the school in Trebinje was working in the middle of the 19th century, as well as that this school was known to occasionally address the Government in Belgrade for financial help and books.[77]

The long-time teacher and priest Hadži Mile Popadić's name was closely connected to work at the Serbian school in Ključ, which was probably founded in 1857.[78] The school in Gerzovo started working around 1860 when priest Špiro Bubnjević obtained a firman, which approved the building of a church and school.[79] Based upon some sources, the Serbian school in Glamoč began in 1866. The school opened in the house of Tomo Adžić and the priest Jevto Gašić was mentioned as one of its first teachers.[80] The first teacher in the Serbian school in Sanski Most, which was founded in 1872 or 1873, was the theologian Nikola Ivaković. One classroom of that school was turned into an improvised place of worship.[81]

The work of the Principality of Serbia on the liberation of enslaved compatriots from the Ottoman Empire had a dual character, political and cultural. The education of Serbian students, who were born in Turkey, was formulated in *Načertanije* and was integrated into the Principality's liberation plans. During the first rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović, individuals from the Serbian areas under Ottoman rule were coming to Serbia for education. When the Defenders of the Constitution took power, more intensified education of Serbian children from Turkey was made possible.[82] The objective of education for the provincial masses, which began first in Old Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, was for their national and political awakening. In this context, the provision of financial aid to churches, monasteries and schools could be observed. In this way unification and integration of the

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72 *Ibid*. 211.
73 Ćorović 1933: 60.
74 *Ibid*. 64.
75 Papić 1987: 28.
76 Papić 1978: 69.
77 *Ibid*. 73.
78 Zeljković, Banjac 1929: 35.
79 Papić 1987: 33.
80 Archive of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, Digitalized sources, Annals of Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Annals of the Serbian orthodox elementary school in Glamok (undated).
81 *Školski vjesnik,* No. 8−10, 1909, 514.
82 Vojvodić 1989: 64−65.

Serbian cultural area, as a precondition of political and state unification, was achieved.[83] Serbia, which was liberated from Ottoman feudal pressure, gradually over time, became attractive to the enslaved Christian masses in the Bosnia Eyalet, regardless of their confessional differences.[84] In the middle of the 19th century, the Principality of Serbia was assigning certain amounts of money for the provision of books for schools and Orthodox Christian churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[85] According to Ilija Garašanin, Serbia had to break "the Chinese wall" between Serbia and its compatriots in Bosnia and also to cherish the cultural and political connections with the people of these provinces. Thus, a network of secret political agents was established and through those agents an uprising of Slav peoples in Turkey was planned. In 1869/1870, the Ottoman authorities attempted to prevent these connections by arresting and expelling several national leaders from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Asia Minor. These, at the same time were the most capable of Garašanin's and Ristić's confidants: Vaso Pelagić, Serafim Perović, Leontije Radulović, Teofil (Bogoljub) Petranović, Gavro Vučković and others.[86] State aid for young men who were attending schools in Serbia, especially the Seminary in Belgrade, was improved from the middle of the 19th century. The number of young men from the Turkish areas, who attended this school was small up to the middle of the century, but grew during the second reign of Prince Mihailo Obrenović.[87] Considering the fact that there were many students who wanted to stay permanently in Serbia after their graduation, it was decided in 1868 that foreign scholarship recipients could not be hired in the Principality and that they had to return to their country of origin.[88]

In March 1868, Metropolitan Mihailo proposed the establishment of a special theological institute for the education of students from the neighboring areas of the Ottoman Empire. Five years later, he established The Second Department of the Belgrade Seminary (the so called Seminary for foreigners) with Miloš Milojević appointed as its head. This Second Department of the Belgrade Seminary was working up to the beginning of the Serbian-Turkish war in 1876. Many students were assigned as volunteers to Milojević's battalion and to the "Voluntary corps of Ibar Army" under the command of Nićifor Dučić.[89] According to Dučić's opinion, the Belgrade Seminary "was providing a sufficient quantity of science to students and it was making great teachers and priests of them who were obliged to return immediately after their graduation to their homeland and teach people there". The amount of money provided for the living expenses of students, who were studying in Serbia was increasing over time and in 1876 it was a little bit more than 103.000 groschen.[90]

As a result of an understanding involving Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Ilija Garašanin

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83 Jagodić 2018: 51.

84 Stojančević 2002: 86.

85 Majority of Serbian primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina were using schoolbooks from the Principality of Serbia and "this represented an important assumption for the Serbian cultural and national integration". Jagodić 2018, 71.

86 Vojvodić 1960: 25−32.

87 Vojvodić 1994: 125.

88 *Ibid*. 127.

89 *Ibid*. 117−228.

90 Nedeljković 2020: 156.

and Metropolitan Mihailo, the Serbian Government was sending regular financial aid to the respected Pelagić's Seminary in Banja Luka. This Seminary, founded in 1866, was an important source of literacy and a place of cultural enlightenment for the Serbs from Krajina. However, the foundation of the Seminary in Banja Luka did not happen by accident. When Pelagić came to Bosanska Krajina to reach an agreement with the church – school municipality in Banja Luka, he observed a very low cultural and educational level among the Orthodox Christian clergy. He was concerned and sad due to the small number of schools and poor educational environment in the Krajina, a border area of the Ottoman Empire inhabited mostly by the ethnic Serbian population. This school had the task to educate generations of new teachers and priests who would represent the embryo of Serbian national intelligentsia in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[91] The Seminary started working on October 1st 1866 with only a few students enrolled. The next year in Belgrade, Pelagić was printing *A Manual for Serbian - Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Old Serbian and Macedonian teachers, schools and municipalities*. This effort was a result of Pelagić's wish to improve the pedagogical work in schools.[92] The *Rules (Statute)* of the Seminary was adopted on February 25th 1868. In the same year, the *Serbian reading room* was founded in Banja Luka, which initially was only intended for Pelagić's students.

At the beginning of March 1868, Serbian Metropolitan Mihailo proposed to the Ministry of Education that a special committee be established with a task to support and develop education among Serbs living in Old Serbia. "The Committee for schools and teachers in the Old Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina" was established in Belgrade in August 1868, with Nićifor Dučić appointed to the position of President of the Committee[93] and it functioned up to the outbreak of the Serbian-Turkish war in 1876. The work of the Committee was mainly directed toward Old Serbia and Macedonia. According to Dučić's opinion, the Committee "developed very intensive activities in the field of improvement of our oppressed nationality in Turkey by using insignificant resources and with its support, we managed to achieve results that we can be satisfied with".[94]

With time Metropolitan Mihailo developed very wide activities to support Serbs living in Turkey. These included assistance for schools and churches, transfer of teachers, acceptance of students to the Belgrade Seminary, providing care for refugees from the Turkish areas and by intermediation in Russia its support for the needs of the Serbian church and education. In these Serbian students, future priests and teachers, the Metropolitan saw future spiritual and educational national leaders and a living link between enslaved Serbs and the free Serbian Principality.[95] The Metropolitan built firm connections with the archimandrites Serafim Petrović, Joanikije Pamučina, Jovan Radulović and with the founder of the Seminary in Banja Luka Vaso Pelagić.[96]

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91 Pelagić's negotiations with the Serbian Government regarding assistance for the Serbian schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina took a long time. Pelagić was complaining that the Government in Belgrade "spends ten times more on their spies than on the education of Serbs in Turkey". Besarović 1950: 190.

92 Pelagić 1971: 9.

93 Nedeljković 2020: 151.

94 *Ibid*.

95 Stojančević 2008: 97, 102.

96 Vojvodić 1994: 231−254.

Besides religious courses, the Seminary in Banja Luka also focused its teaching on Serbian history, geography, grammar, calculus and gymnastics.[97] Two of the most difficult problems that Pelagić was dealing with were the lack of qualified teachers and crucial schoolbooks. This is the reason why he addressed the authorities in Belgrade and *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad for help regarding the provision of books. He pleaded with them to be noble "for benefit of Serbhood and science" and to send useful books for the Seminary and citizens of Banja Luka. The first books that arrived from Belgrade to Banja Luka had been used in classes in the Belgrade Seminary.[98] Through Metropolitan Mihailo, Pelagić also asked Russia for financial assistance for the school.[99] The Seminary ceased its work in 1875.[100] Many of Pelagić's theologians were working as teachers in schools in Slavonia founded by the English lady Adeline Pauline Irby for Serbian children, who became refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Uprising of 1875–1878. Among these theologians were Petar Mirković, Jovan Zečević, Stevan Prokopić, Vid and Kosta Kovačević.[101] Apart from Slavonia, such schools for refugee children were also founded in the area of Knin and throughout Dalmatia.[102]

By opening consulates in Sarajevo (1856) and Mostar (1858) Russia created the opportunity of being able to deeply intervene in the political and cultural processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These Russian consuls began a wide range of activities in the area of education, which were directed in several areas, such as assistance to Serbian churches and monasteries, education of students in Russian schools and assistance to Serbian schools in the provinces.[103] The most active consul in this context was Alexander Hilferding whose arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina timely coincided with the plan of the Russian Government to accept young men from the so called Balkans Turkey area for education in Russia.[104] After the end of the Crimea War in 1856, the Russian Emperor and Government defined the goals related to education of young men from the South Slav countries in Russian schools. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexander M. Gorchakov, proposed that only Orthodox Christian should be enrolled with the aim to "rout unconditional devotion to our Orthodox Christianity and firm rules of moral".[105] Hilferding was of the opinion that students from Bosnia and Herzegovina should be mostly sent to seminaries. The idea of the Russian authorities was that these young men should return after graduation to their homeland and to strengthen Russian influence through their educational work in their home areas.[106] However, only nineteen people from Bosnia and Herzegovina were educated in the Russian schools in

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97 According to Pelagić's opinion, the teaching of Serbian history should provide "the most important, the most sacred and the most salutary for every Serb". Besarović 1950: 192.

98 Jagodić 2018; 87−88.

99 Milošević i dr. 2018: 10−35; Milošević 2019: 55−82.

100 The Seminary in Banja Luka did not reopen after the Austro-Hungarian occupation. The Seminary that was opened in Reljevo, close to Sarajevo, was under firm political control of the new authorities and it did not have a national character such as the one in Banja Luka. Besarović 1950: 205.

101 Milošević 2011: 89−99.

102 Papić 1978: 74.

103 Tepić 1987: 366.

104 Tepić 1986: 248.

105 Tepić 1988: 512.

106 Tepić 1986: 257.

the period from 1857 to 1869.[107] Only some of these successful graduated in Russia, while the majority left their education prior to completion.[108]

Serafim Perović and Nićifor Dučić opened a spiritual school in Žitomislić in 1858, which received an annual support from Russia in the amount of 300 rubles.[109] The Government of Prince Mihailo Obrenović also supported this school. Serafim Perović initiated the opening of the Spiritual Orthodox Christian School in Mostar in 1866. That school was very soon moved to the monastery Žitomislić, but ceased to function in 1872.[110] Perović also established several funds to assist schools located in Mostar, Trebinje, Nevesinje and Ljubuški.[111] The report of the Russian consul in Sarajevo dated 1873, stated that the Russian Government by that time had spent 20.000 rubles in its support for schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[112]

After the Goražde printing house closed in the first half of the 16th century, printed books in Bosnia and Herzegovina became an imported item, and usually from the Habsburg Monarchy and Russia.[113] The Russian Government and Slavophil committees believed that the distribution of Russian books among the Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina would strengthen their political influence on them. The Russian consulates in Sarajevo and Mostar were important inter-mediators in the allocation of Russian books. The Herzegovinian archimandrite Joanikije Pamučina was having close relations with the Russian consuls and he was helping in the provision and distribution of Russian books.[114] *Srbski dnevnik* reported that one hundred Russian books, which arrived to Prijedor in 1860, represented "a spiritual food" for people.[115] Even after the opening of the printing house in Sarajevo (1866) and despite control of the Ottoman authorities, Russian books were still occasionally arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Books that were sent from Serbia, however, were periodically confiscated and burnt by the authorities under the excuse that Serbian propaganda is being introduced in the Eyalet.[116]

Classes in Serbian schools had an important dimension in the preservation of the Serbian identity, language, culture and tradition. For this reason, classes in the Serbian language, history and religion, as well as the traditional Saint Sava celebration were of special importance. Work by certain teachers exceeded their regular school functions and some of them, such as the monk and teacher Bogoljub (Teofil) Petranović from Drniš, made efforts to become ethnographers, collectors of national treasure or founders of reading

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[107] The 19 were: Dimitrije Bogičević, Nikola Spahić, Tano Batinić, Vasilije Pelagić, Petar Mitrović, Despot Despotović, Petar Bacatić, Stefan Jovanović, Jovo Dreč, Jefto Oborina, Nikola Bilić, Jovan Pičeta, Stevo Govedarica, Jovo Milinković, Dimitrije Dučić, Jovo Perović, Petar Srbić, Luka Ivanišević and Đorđe Babić. *Ibid*. 251.

[108] Tepić 1988: 541.

[109] Ćorović 1933: 63.

[110] Papić 1987: 95−99.

[111] *Ibid*. 45.

[112] Tepić 1988: 537.

[113] Tepić 1981: 485.

[114] *Ibid*. 488−489.

[115] *Srbski dnevnik,* No. 65, 18. VIII 1860.

[116] *Zastava*, No. 21, 21. IV 1866; *Ibid*. No. 22, 24. IV 1866.

rooms.[117] Many Serbian teachers, priests and merchants were subscribers to the prominent *Srpsko–dalmatinski magazin*, especially those in Herzegovina because of its close location and strong connections with Dalmatia. Joanikije Pamučina, Serafim Šolaja and Nićifor Dučić were noticeable as they were occasionally publishing short supplements from history and ethnography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the pages of the *Magazin*.[118]

Saint Sava celebrations in schools represented an important factor in the process of school development among Serbs and the preservation of national consciousness and patriotism.[119] They represented a strong expression of national originality and a solemn ceremony of Serbhood and Orthodox Christianity.[120] According to one newspaper source, a Saint Sava celebration was held in Sarajevo even in 1851.[121] *Srbski dnevnik* reported in 1857 that the celebration of Saint Sava was held in Sarajevo in the presence of many citizens and persons from the Habsburg consulate.[122] The first Sermon on Saint Sava in Banja Luka was organized by Vasa Pelagić in 1867.[123] The Serbian school in Travnik celebrated Saint Sava in 1867 and after the celebration a semi–annual school exam took place.[124] By the end of the 19th century the celebration of Saint Sava had become widespread.[125]

Local church – school municipalities were appointing a special board with the task to provide money and organize the Saint Sava celebration. It was the custom that the local priest or teacher gave a welcoming speech at the beginning of the school celebration explaining the significance of Saint Sava, as well as about school and education in general. The crowning moment of each celebration was the Sermon on Saint Sava, which was

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117 Petranović's activities also included establishment of the Society for dissemination of the Serbian name in Sarajevo in 1863. This Society had a goal to root out the derogatory name Vlach and to introduce the Serbian name instead. Hadžijahić 1970: 57. A part of the modern Bosniak historiography believes that Serbian national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina was "imported" and was only formed in the second half of the 19th century thanks to political propaganda of the Principality of Serbia whose goal was to turn "Orthodox Bosnians" into Serbs with the help of its agents in the field. Radušić 2010; Radušić 2008. The existence of the named Society in Sarajevo whose work was described by Vladislav Skarić, although not certain whether this Society achieved any success it was taken as a proof for such statements. Skarić 1985: 246−247. The existence of such a Society does not mean that the Serbian national identity in the provinces had not been formed by that time. Development of national consciousness is complex and long–lasting historic process, which is influenced by religious, political, cultural and other factors and it cannot depend on the activities of just one society. Many historical sources, testimonies and travel books prove that a long time before the establishment of the named Society, the majority of the Serbian population already had a national identity clearly developed and defined. Teinović 2019.

118 Kecmanović 1963: 65−90.

119 "Sermon on Saint Sava" became successor of gatherings and meetings and we should all embrace it and decide to organize it in all areas where Serbs live. In such manner we will ensure that the Serbian spirit will not disappear because there will be different educational speeches held evoking Serbian conciseness and encouraging us not to fall but to bravely move forward in every noble, useful and challenging action. This way in a few years Saint Sava will be celebrated in the entire Serbhood as a patron saint, not only for schools but for the entire people". *Bosanska vila,* No. 2, 1. I 1886, 27.

120 Sadžak 2010: 52.

121 Ćurić 1954: 311−312.

122 *Srbski dnevnik*, No. 8, 27. I 1857.

123 Pelagić 1867: 1−3.

124 Papić 1987: 43.

125 *Bosanska vila*, No. 2, 30. I 1899, 32.

usually delegated to prominent individuals. A performance by gusle musicians dressed in Serbian national costumes would follow, while an appropriate theater piece, mostly with historic background, was often part of the celebration. The celebration of Saint Sava was used as a good fundraising opportunity for equipment of the Serbian school or local library.[126] One part of such money would be assigned for support to poor students.[127] The press emphasized the significance of the celebration and citizens were invited to take part in its organization.[128] Considering the fact that the traditional celebration of Saint Sava in Serbian schools was established in the middle of the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian authorities did not dare to terminate it, although they were implementing a strict censorship of program of the Sermon on Saint Sava and other similar national ceremonies.

The Austro-Hungarian administration determined 56 Serbian schools with 75 teachers and 3.523 students in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[129] It can be concluded that the commencement of the Austro-Hungarian occupation brought fundamental changes in all areas of life including education. A new school system was built in accordance with the political needs of the occupier, while young Serbian intelligentsia from the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century was trying to find new models of cultural improvement for people, and the preservation of the Serbian national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The cultural and educational life of Serbs gradually received new forms of public institutions and administrations, in which the church did not have a crucial influence any longer.

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[126] "There is a small number of Serbian schools in Bosnia and therefore they should be built. Certainly, it takes money and the Sermon on Saint Sava is an opportunity when everyone may give something for a school and in a few years, a school could be built in every place". *Bosanska vila,* No. 2, 1. I 1886, 27.

[127] *Ibid.* No. 2, 31. I 1890, 31.

[128] *Ibid.* No. 2, 1. I 1886, 28.

[129] Papić 1972: 24.

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ПРАВОСЛАВНА ЦРКВА И СРПСКО ШКОЛСТВО У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ У ПОСЉЕДЊЕМ ВИЈЕКУ ОСМАНСКЕ УПРАВЕ

Резиме

Коријени најранијег образовања код Срба у Босни и Херцеговини налазе се уз православне цркве и манастире, а монаси и свештеници, уз редовне послове, радили су и као учитељи, иако и сами скромно образовани. Први ученици били су младићи који су се спремали за свештенички позив и који су најчешће очеве наслијеђивали на позицијама парохијских свештеника. Најранија настава имала је ограничени црквено-вјерски карактер и није могла пружити ученицима солидније образовање. Писменост која се стицала унутар црквених кругова, престала је половином XIX вијека одговарати потребама и духу новог времена, а имућни српски трговци снажно су утицали на оснивање модернијих приватних школа. Већина српских школа се током XIX вијека, до аустроугарске окупације, издржавала захваљујући материјалној помоћи из Србије и Русије. Српске црквено-школске општине често су се обраћале Београду тражећи помоћ за обнову или подизање српских школа и цркава. Оснивање Пелагићеве Богословије у Бањој Луци 1866. године знатно је утицало на културни напредак Срба, посебно на простору Босанске Крајине.

Кључне ријечи: Српска православна црква, свештенство, српско школство, Босна и Херцеговина, Османско царство, Русија, уџбеници, учитељи.

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MOCKING NATION BUILDING AND IDENTITY. AN ANALYSIS OF CARICATURES IN HUNGARIAN, ROMANIAN, SERBIAN, AND SLOVAK SATIRICAL PERIODICALS IN THE MID TO LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

Abstract: This paper aims to present a comparative analysis of caricatures published in Hungarian (*Üstökös*, *Borsszem Jankó*), Serbian (*Bič*, *Vrač pogađač*), Romanian (*Gur'a Satului*), and Slovak (*Černokňažník*) satirical press in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. The depth of the connection between identity, nation building, and humour will be demonstrated. Theories of nationalism often emphasise the primacy of the role of the press and of print media in nation building processes. To investigate this, humorous printed sources have been selected. The comparison utilises and complements Anthony D. Smith's definition of the ethnic core and reflects on Christie Davies' theory of ethnic humour. Tethered by these concepts, the analysis of the caricatures investigates the following aspects: names for the Self and the Other, elements of culture and tradition (languages, habits, religions, supposed characteristics, clothing and bodily features), symbols of the Self and the Other, historical memories and myths of the common ancestry of the Self and the Other, and the definitions of "our" vs. "their" territory and homeland. This analysis reveals that the stereotypes observed in satirical magazines and the images of the Other and of the Self depicted through the use of humorous or ironic techniques can be effectively distinguished and connected to the nation building process and to the process of shaping "enemies".

Keywords: nationalism, nation building, caricatures, satirical magazines, mocking "others".

1. Introduction

The process of nation building in East Central Europe does not seem to have been completed during the nineteenth century, which is known as "century of nationalism". In his study on the development of national movements of small nations, Miroslav Hroch emphasises that late twentieth century—and even early twenty-

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first century—nationalisms are comparable to the period of the rise of nationalism and to the events of the nineteenth century.[1] Thus, it is essential to investigate the development of nations and nationalisms in this region. Hroch also points out that "at the moment we have an overproduction of theories and a stagnation of comparative research on the topic".[2] Taking this into account, this study attempts to present a comparative analysis, partly because comparative methodology may help to reduce my own ethnocentrism. By evaluating phenomena through comparison, the researcher can maintain a certain distance from the identity being analysed. Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks were chosen as national groups for analysis because of their large numbers and because of their elevated political engagement. Each of these national groups were subject to the Magyarisation processes of the 1890s. The country's national minority groups rejected frequent representations of Hungarian culture and history through the Hungarian millennial festivals (1896), and opposed the rise of Hungarian nationalism. The increasing pressure of Hungarian nationalism strengthened a similar chauvinism within the non-Hungarian political elite.

There exists a long tradition of studying ethnic jokes: Christie Davies published his first work on this topic in 1982, and since then many researchers have utilised his insights. Unlike this paper, which deals with the visual element, Davies analysed textual stereotypes about ethnic groups; however, his findings will nevertheless be discussed. He stressed that the most common joke scripts about ethnic groups involve stupidity and canniness.[3] Such jokes have a long history and are connected with modernity.[4] However, as Takovski articulated when analysing the humour of the Balkan states,[5] ethnic jokes contain both (1) universal scripts and (2) scripts connected to an ethnic identity. The first type, (2a) the truly ethnic jokes, mock important elements of identity (e. g. language, habits, or history). The second type is (2b) "quasi-ethnic humour" in which non-ethnic markers such as aggression are "ethicised".[6] This paper will show that all of these categories can be seen in the caricatures and captions printed in the selected corpus.

Additionally, modernist theories of nation building will also be utilised as a platform for examining caricatures and captions. Although all theoretical works can be criticised, Anthony D. Smith has listed elements of nation, and of national identity. Thus, the occurrence of these elements in the selected caricatures may be scrutinised.[7]

This investigation aims to compare the image of the Other in caricatures printed in the 1860s, the 1890s, and at the turn of the century in Hungarian (*Üstökös* [Comet], *Borsszem Jankó* [Jonny Peppercorn]), Serbian (*Bič* [Whip], *Vrač pogađač* [Magician]), Romanian (*Gur'a Satului* [Village Gossip]) and Slovak (*Černokňažník* [Wizard]) satirical magazines.[8] This study aims to collect stereotypes of Hungarian caricatures about non-

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1 Hroch 1993: 20.
2 *Ibid*. 4.
3 Davies 1990: 10, 82.
4 *Ibid*. 132., 135.
5 Other authors criticized the theory as well; see Laineste and Fiadotava 2017, Laineste 2005: 21.
6 Takovski 2018: 72.
7 Smith 2000.
8 List of comic papers and analysed volumes with place of publication in the analysed periods:
(Az) Üstökös: 1868–69, 1890–91, 1895–96, 1898–99 (published in Budapest in the 1860s with the title *Az*

Hungarian national minority groups and, conversely, the prejudices made explicit in cartoons created and printed by non-Hungarian national minority groups. The visual methods and the humorous and ironic scenes in the caricatures through which the caricaturists made fun of the Other will then be analysed. The way the construction of nationhood is reflected in the caricatures of comic papers will then be further examined. Connected to this aim is the question: How and through which stereotypes were "us" and "them" segregated in the depictions of these caricatures? Stereotypes belong to the collective consciousness; thus, they are elements of shared beliefs, attitudes, and prejudices about the Other. An evaluation of the depiction of the Self is also necessary to enable the researcher to observe the differences between the visual methods used to represent the "enemy" and those employed for the group considered "us". Furthermore, the modification of national stereotypes that paralleled strengthening nationalism throughout these decades will also be scrutinised. Additionally, the limited linguistic aspect of the caricatures, names, and languages of the speakers will be assessed along with their visual features, as this facet is closely linked to national stereotypes.

2. Historical reasons for choosing the volumes of satirical magazines

This investigation was carried out using caricatures depicting characteristic stereotypes from two periods: the period after birth of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1868–1869) and the period during the late nineteenth century crisis of the Dual Monarchy (1890–1902). The satirical press flourished in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from the beginning of the 1860s, which marked the beginning of a more open political milieu that lasted until World War I. The first two years after the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1868–69) was founded are interesting in several respects, despite the fact that fewer satirical magazines were published at this time than at the end of the nineteenth century. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, the Hungarian national movement celebrated its first victory following the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–49 and the Germanising trends of neo-absolutism. Additionally, the Compromise rendered the "nationality question" an internal Hungarian and Austrian issue. Emperor Franz Joseph sanctioned the 1868 Hungarian Nationalities Law, which contained passages about the equality (*Gleichberechtigung*) of individuals as a major concession to the liberal Hungarian political elite; however, the national minority groups were not officially accepted as nations (with the exception of the Croats). The Hungarian elite's liberal ideology did not deem it necessary to grant collective rights to national minority groups once their basic civil rights had been provided. In theory, the Nationalities Law enabled national minority groups to use their own language in the lower levels of administration and jurisdiction, in primary and secondary schools, and in church-related matters. Nevertheless, the law in practice only

Üstökös, but in the 1890s as *Üstökös*).
Bič: 1890 (published in Belgrade).
Borsszem Jankó: 1868–69, 1890–91, 1895–96, 1898–99 (published in Budapest).
Černokňažník: 1890–91, 1895–96, 1898–99, 1901–02 (published in Sv. Martine).
Gur'a Satului: 1868–69, 1901–02 (published in Arad).
Vrač pogađač: 1896, 1898, 1902 (published in Zagreb 1896–1902, after that [1902–1914] in Novi Sad).

worked to a lesser extent; hence, one of the main demands from non-Hungarian politicians was for the Hungarian government to comply with the Nationalities Law and to agree to implement the rights it had granted.

Instead of territorial autonomy, attaining cultural autonomy became the principal aim for national minority groups, and this included education in their language at universities, multilingual administration and jurisdiction, a free non-Hungarian press, and the founding of non-Hungarian associations in which ethnic groups could nurture their own literature, culture and history. The national minority groups' territorial demands tended to reflect the concept of reorganising county borders to reflect ethnic enclaves, which would have simplified the multilingual administration. The Hungarian political elite objected to these demands and argued forcefully that such claims endangered Hungary's territorial integrity. Conflicts and actions that created friction became more frequent in the 1890s when the millennial celebrations and exhibitions for the anniversary of the Hungarian conquest (*Landnahme*) were organised in 1896.

3. Sources and methods

This analysis was not conducted on political leaflets, speeches, or literary works. A more common genre was selected for investigation: caricatures in satirical magazines. For the purposes of this study, a broader concept of caricature was utilised; it is not defined as simply a portrait but rather in more general terms as a humorous or satirical picture or an ironic or entertaining depiction of everyday life.[9] The significance of such depictions can be legitimised by the fact that the symbols used in caricatures are simpler and more obvious to the readers than the symbols employed in literary or academic writings.[10] The intelligentsia of any period of time have always found images to be more effective weapons than words. This characteristic of caricatures is essential because the population was becoming increasingly literate during this period, albeit at different speeds depending on the national group. The stereotypes in humorous texts could be reinforced with visual representations, which could be decoded more quickly. Also, the visual elements were also (partly) comprehensible to those who (still) could not read.

This investigation utilises more Hungarian satirical magazines because they were published on a regular basis; the Hungarian government had made it more difficult non-Hungarian news outlets to publish. Unlike Hungarian satirical periodicals that were published weekly, non-Hungarian humorous publications were printed only once or twice a month. Thus, fewer caricatures from Serbian, Slovak, or Romanian cartoonists are available in the editions analysed here. Nevertheless, these caricatures are also worth analysing because, despite their fewer numbers, they belong to the same genre of caricatures.

These satirical magazines proved to be adequate sources from which to uncover national stereotypes because caricaturists and readers (who also sent their ideas for caricatures to editorial offices) presented and viewed national groups through similar schemata. Therefore, the Hungarian and non-Hungarian opinions about each other can be

[9] Langemeyer ed., 1984: 7.
[10] Fuchs and Kraemer 1901: 11.

plausibly reconstructed, and the process of constructing an "enemy" can also be seen alongside the course of nation building. Moreover, the caricatures both reflected and influenced readers' viewpoints. It is impossible to measure the effect of the caricatures, but it is certain that the readers of satirical magazines expressed thoughts about these caricatures in, for example, their diaries or personal letters.[11]

According to Smith, modern nations are rooted in ethnic cores. Most stereotypes evincing the close connection between (negative) stereotypes about the Other and nation building in the caricatures analysed here can be grouped into the elements of Smith's concept of the ethnic core. In their graphic art, the caricaturists mocked the very features modern theoreticians of nationhood have attached importance to from the point of view of nation building. Therefore, the comparison effected in this paper is accomplished by using and completing the definition of the ethnic core, which includes the following components:[12]

1. Names, self-denominations, and the language of the Other
2. Elements of the culture and its traditions (habits, religion, supposed characteristics, clothing, and bodily features)
3. Symbols of the Self and the Other
4. Historical memories and myths of a common ancestry of the Self and the Other
5. A definition of "our" and "their" territory and homeland.

The inequality of a group and not acknowledging its self-determination can be easily viewed through nicknames and mockery of the Other's language;[13] hence, this analysis begins with the names for the caricatures given in captions.[14]

4. Names and self-denominations: the language of the Other

A self-denomination, or a common name a group gives to itself, is important from the point of view of a national ideology. Hence, Hungarian satirical magazines did not identify national minority groups by using their self-denominations in captions and in other humorous texts. Slovaks were referred to as *tót*; Serbs were called *rácz* in the 1860s, but in the 1890s they were named *szerb* or *vad rácz* (wild Serb); and Romanians were designated by the terms *oláh* (Wallachs) or *rumuny*. Since these names stemmed from the Middle Ages, Hungarians used these traditional terms for the other ethnic groups while the "new" names (Serb, Romanian, and Slovak) did not appear until the nineteenth century. These terms of feudal origin remained unchanged in the Hungarian press despite protests from the Romanians presented in their memoranda. The Hungarian political elite considered itself to be a historical group that had existed in the form of a nation from the beginning of humankind. This privileged and influential assemblage saw the "new" nomenclature as both illegitimate and concurrent constructions by non-Hungarian elites. Personal names can seldom be found

[11] See Vajda 1896: 116–118.; Szalisznyó 2017: 432.
[12] Smith 2000:65.
[13] Koselleck 1998: 20–21.
[14] For humorous name-giving, see Slíz 2012; Farkas 2012.

in the captions from these Hungarian publications. When they were used, these names were typically recorded as forenames (e.g. Slovak names such as *Misu, Jano* or *Gyúró*[15]), and tend to appear in shortened form to show the non-Hungarians subordinated position.[16]

The Serbian and Romanian satirical magazines analysed here mention Hungarians as *magyar* or *magyar-ember* (a male Hungarian). In the Romanian paper *Gur'a Satului,* typical Hungarian forenames used in the captions included *Pista, Laczi,* and *András*.[17] Various options can be seen in the Slovak publication: it calls the land and its inhabitants *magyar*, but the forenames and surnames can be divided in three groups:

a) Forenames typically connected to Hungarians, e.g. *Pista*. In the nineteenth century, *István* (shortened form, *Pista*) was also one of the most popular names according to birth records.[18]
b) "Magyarised" names of assimilated Jews (appearing in the order of the Hungarian surname first and forename second): *Harangfy Samu, Diamant Mór*, *Gyémántossi Árpád*. These names are not unique; similar names denoted assimilated Jews in the Hungarian satirical press as well.[19]
c) Nicknames typically associated with the average Hungarian: *Kutaláncoš* (a distorted version of the Hungarian phrase *láncos kutya* or dog on a chain).[20]

According to statistics, most assimilated Jews Magyarised their names in the 1890s.[21] This practice was also frequently mentioned in the satirical magazines as a recurrent and eye-catching phenomenon for the contemporary Hungarian populace. In the non-anti-Semitic Hungarian comics, the authors did not mock the assimilation of the Jews. Conversely, some of the caricatures and depictions published in *Černokňažník* and presented in Serbian satirical magazines at the end of the nineteenth century, and primarily at the beginning of the twentieth century, identified Hungarians with assimilated Jews. These references contained all the negative stereotypes associated with Jews. Furthermore, they mocked the close connection between the assimilation of the Jews and the growth of the Hungarian population in the kingdom as result of assimilation. The end of this period was also an era of anti-Semitism both in Hungary and across Europe, and a time when Jews voluntarily assimilated into the mainstream.

Mostly through the 1860s, Hungarian cartoonists made fun of the languages of minority groups in captions. Serbian names always ended with *-ics/-vics* and their language included words that also ended in *-ics/-vics*. Romanian was another language that was often mocked: Romanian endings were typical (*-ulu*), like Serbian, which was considered funny and was ridiculed.[22] This period also saw the "Latinisation" of the Romanian language,

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15 *Üstökös*, 27 September 1891, 154.; *Üstökös*, 2 August 1896, 291.; *Üstökös*, 2 November 1890, 211.
16 For names in Hungarian satirical magazines, see Tamás 2014: 189–224.
17 *Gur'a Satului*, 2 November 1869, 148.; 25 February 1868, 24.; 27 March 1902, 13.
18 *Černokňažník,* 25 March 1902, 17.; Hajdú 2003: 559–569.
19 *Černokňažník,* 25 July 1895, 53.; 25 May 1901, 36.; 25 May 1901, 37.; Tamás 2012: 41–48.
20 *Černokňažník,* 25 April 1895, 29.; 25 August 1895, 60.
21 On "Hungarianisation" of names see Maitz, Farkas 2008: 163–193; Farkas 2009: 375–384.
22 *Borsszem Jankó*, 18 October 1868, 575.; *Borsszem Jankó*, 12 April 1868, 173.

which was closely connected to the Daco-Romanian continuity view being unacceptable for Hungarians. Thus, Hungarian authors and artists chose to target the Romanian language with irony. The Daco-Romanian continuity view holds that Romanians are the descendants of the Dacians and the Romans, and that they had lived in the Carpathian Basin before the Hungarians. Therefore, Romanians could claim historical rights to the region, but Hungarians could not.

One supposed feature connected to the Hungarian language in non-Hungarian satirical periodicals was that the Hungarians used a lot of expletives. This view was degrading to the Hungarians and their language, and stood in contrast to the Hungarians' opinion that their language was at the top of an imaginary hierarchy of the languages within the Kingdom of Hungary.

5. Cultural and human characteristics through each other's eyes

The caricatures in these satirical magazines were built on earlier stereotypes of national characterisations, folksongs, and proverbs that appeared not only in satirical publications and literary works of national romanticism but also in calendars and paintings. Thus, these stereotypes of non-Hungarians were familiar to observers. However, new aspects in the images of the Other can be discovered in the Hungarian satirical periodicals published at the end of the nineteenth century.

In caricatures, clothing and physical features are the most obvious since they represent supposed inner characteristics through symbols or captions. It would be pertinent to first demonstrate the depiction of the Self in the Hungarian satirical press to provide a sense of the distinctions drawn in the representation of national minority groups. Caricaturists tended to draw positive images of Hungarians: tall, moustachioed men standing upright and warlike. The illustrations suggested strength and chivalry, and the men were often depicted being accompanied by beautiful Hungarian women. The Hungarian national costume was an important element of Hungarian national identity. In the nineteenth century, it symbolised Hungarian resistance against the Habsburgs and the people's declaration of independence. At the end of the century, Hungarians can be recognised in caricatures as gigantic, masculine wrestlers or athletes, which accompanied the spread of amateur sports and the emergence of the idea of the Olympic Games.[23]

In the Hungarian satirical press, non-Hungarians are mostly depicted as shorter than Hungarians, symbolising the contemporary idea of a social and "national" hierarchy. In nineteenth-century Hungarian public opinion, only Hungarians (and Croats) were considered to be nations since these two groups shared a common language and culture, and had also been independent medieval states. This status stood in contrast to the position of other ethnicities in Hungary, who were only considered to be "national groups". The national minority groups considered themselves to be natural nations, and they fought for acknowledgement as such.

In all of these satirical magazines, Hungarians and the national minority groups were distinguished from each other through attire that was considered typical of their populations.

[23] *Üstökös*, 25 August 1895, 405.

Serbs were recognisable by their tasselled fezzes, Slovaks by their wide hats, Romanians by their fur caps, and Hungarians by their traditional national costumes. The national minority groups were depicted similarly in *Borsszem Jankó* and *Üstökös* at the end of the nineteenth century: mostly in torn clothes, wearing sandals, and traditionally attired in folk costumes rather than the modern clothing customarily worn at the end of the nineteenth century by their largely urban readership. This method was one of the visual tools of mockery, but it also suggested the national minority groups' impoverishment and lower social status.

The differences in the way national minority groups were portrayed can also be noted through their features and postures. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the bodily features of these national minority groups as being deformed can be seen in the Hungarian satirical press, and was first seen in depictions of Romanians. In the pictorial representations of Romanians, their posture was presented as more unnatural, the limbs were disproportional, and the body seemed amorphous. They were given increasingly deformed facial features. Their hands and feet were unduly large, their hairy arms and legs were very thin, and their hair was matted. The images of the Romanians at the end of the century appeared to be less human than those of the Hungarians (figure 1). The satirical press made fun of Romanians via illustrations with amorphous bodies or misshapen faces. The Hungarian satirical press at the time referred to Romanians in a very negative way because much of the population felt threatened by the Romanian elite's political demands. Nevertheless, Romanians appeared less frequently to be aggressive in pictorial representations than in textual characterisations. In texts, Romanians were also described as wild, violent, and cruel.

The most characteristic generalisation of Serbs and Romanians was to denote them as bellicose and aggressive. The roots of these depictions can be found in historical events and in collective memories of those occurrences. The Serbians and Romanians had killed innocent, unarmed Hungarian civilians in Transylvania and in Southern Hungary during the revolution in 1848 and 1849.[24] Thus, Serbs were often depicted with blood-thirsty eyes and daggers that symbolised unfair combat. In contrast, Hungarians were always illustrated with a sword in hand as a reference to their legendary chivalry. Serbs were pictured in caricatures as behaving in an uncivilised, barbaric manner and were always fighting. For the contemporary mainstream, the assassination of the crown prince of the Dual Monarchy, Franz Ferdinand (28 June 1914), in Sarajevo justified these stereotypes and validated the depravity of the Serbs. However, bravery and being a good soldier were important aspects of Serbian national identity, and this aspect was ridiculed by Hungarian caricaturists.

Slovaks were not depicted as bellicose; they were drawn with round faces and sometimes with slovenly, shoulder-length hair. In one of the depictions, they were portrayed as destructive and anti-national by destroying important Hungarian administrative buildings.[25] This representation came from the fact that many Slovaks working in Hungary were employed in the construction industry. Other cartoons and captions attributed to them cowardice, stupidity, or illiteracy. These traits were also used to characterise the Romanians

[24] E.g. in text *Üstökös*, 11 December 1869, 405.; *Borsszem Jankó*, 23 July 1899, 6.; in caricature *Borsszem Jankó*, 12 April 1868, 165.

[25] *Borsszem Jankó*, 15 March 1891, 3.

in other caricatures. In one caricature, the Slovaks were depicted as never having seen a surveyor, and thus as falling prey to the trap of an engineer shouting "Attention! It will go off!"[26] The Slovaks were portrayed as running away, believing the item to be a gun.

The opposition of the image of the Self and that of the Other in the 1890s can be similarly reconstructed in a Slovak satirical magazine. The representation of the Slovak peasant differed from that of his Hungarian counterpart. Figures of the latter retained the human features of his body and were depicted in Hungarian national costume. However, the spurs on their boots were parodied, and their posture and physical features would typically be associated with Jews, or they were depicted as overweight and aristocratic. Jews could be recognised primarily by bad posture, bow-leggedness, and large ears and nose. Conversely, Slovak nationals, in contrast to the "Christ killers", appeared to be peaceful and nonviolent.[27] The appearance of Jews in the caricatures ignited negative feelings and emphasised the negative stereotypes that had existed since antiquity (e.g. dishonest businessmen, untruthful in character, heartless usurers, and later on as gamblers on the Stock Exchange). The caricaturists projected these negative stereotypes onto mainstream Hungarians by depicting Hungarians as Jews or as accompanying Jews. However, this manner of representation was also attached to the self-image of the Slovaks. The Slovak self-image at the time incorporated a strong anti-Semitism that was projected onto the Hungarians due to the Hungarian elite's close relationship to the Jews. This detail also became a part of anti-Hungarian rhetoric in the Slovak satirical magazine.[28] Jews symbolised contemporary modernity as well; therefore, the element of anti-modernity versus the attribute of being an ancient nation can be noted in Slovak national propaganda in *Černokňažník*.

Hungarians were pictured in the Serbian *Vrač pogađač* at the beginning of the twentieth century in a manner very similar to the depictions of the Slovak magazine: Hungarians could be seen as Jews in Hungarian national dress wearing extra-large spurs. Boots with oversized spurs, large moustaches, and Hungarian national costumes, as illustrated in *Černokňažník*, were also typical in the 1890s. Hungarians could be viewed in most depictions not only as Jews, but as also being violent. This detail was usually depicted through the illustration of an axe, suggesting aggressive behaviour. It is worth observing that, similarly to the Hungarian publications in which Serbs and Romanians (rather than the "us" group) were depicted as violent, in the non-Hungarian satirical magazines, Hungarians were the ones represented as the violent unit. Similarly, both the Hungarian and non-Hungarian satirical magazines pictured the Other carrying out-of-date rather than modern weaponry.

Jews did not appear with positive attributes in the Romanian satirical magazine either,[29] but the illustrators did not associate these characteristics with Hungarians. In *Gur'a Satului*, Hungarians were also depicted in their national costumes. Thus, it may be concluded that Hungarians appeared in the non-Hungarian comic papers in national costumes, wearing boots with spurs, and in the clothing of the nobility, which emphasised an association of the Hungarians with the theme of oppression. This link with subjugation

[26] *Üstökös*, 20 July 1890, 28.
[27] Depictions of Jews had significant similarities across Europe, see Fuchs 1921.
[28] Szabó 2013: 212–229; Krekovičová, Panczová 2013: 462–487.
[29] Pădurean 2013: 488–514.

also surfaced through other motifs in medieval Hungarian society that Slovaks, Romanians, and Serbs were supposedly mostly peasants and the Hungarians were land owners (or at least that most of the land owners were conscious of being Hungarian nobles). Thus, these stereotypes reflect the social hierarchy of the times before the modern, civic state (1848).

The national minority groups appeared in the Hungarian comic papers also, according to their former status as serfs or peasants. The nickname for Hungarians mentioned above, *Kutaláncoš,* also referred to this perceived Hungarian oppression. Hungarians were regarded and portrayed by the national movements as feudal oppressors. This aspect could be connected to the supposed financial oppression associated with the Jews. Before 1895, when the Jewish religion became an officially recognised faith in Hungary, it was rare in *Černokňažník* for Hungarians to be represented with feudal and Jewish attributes in the same picture, but afterward it became more common.

In contrast, the depictions of non-Hungarians in the non-Hungarian press were simpler and undistorted. In the Romanian, Serbian, and Slovak satirical press, the national minority groups could be distinguished based on their clothing; amorphous bodies or faces were not characteristic. In the non-Hungarian satirical magazines, the image of the Self corresponded to that of a friendly peasant. In these publications, the national minority groups were intentionally drawn as being of similar height, were given identical body shapes, and were shown to suffer in the same way from Hungarian "despotism". In these non-Hungarian comics, the national minority groups were represented as hard-working people working the land and suffering under tyranny, whereas Hungarians were pictured as dancing, drinking, and being lazy rather than working. Nevertheless, it was the Hungarian state that required the Magyarisation of non-Hungarian minority groups.

6. The animalised Other

Animalising the enemy, or the Other, is an ancient weapon used by caricaturists to separate "us" from "them". Classical myths abound with animals and half-human, half-animal creatures that symbolise human characteristics. These myths and their interpretations were well known, but it is, of course, impossible to presuppose that every reader in the nineteenth century understood animal symbols in the same way. Interestingly, animal symbols can mostly be seen in the Hungarian satirical magazines.

In his work on the concept of enemy, Koselleck explains how, during the nineteenth century, the idea of the non-human being changed from having a religious significance to a political meaning. In the eighteenth century, the religious meaning of "pagan" was attached to the term non-human being; in the nineteenth century the signification was altered to express a subordinate status. This change could also be seen in the Hungarian satirical magazines, but the sentiment was not apparent in the 1860s. The faction of humans appearing as non-humans became annihilable, and this group could be held guilty of what it was not responsible for, such as its language or its nationality.[30]

The Slovaks were depicted this way at the end of this period as half-human, half-animal and monkey-faced, suggesting an analogy with the delineation of Czechs in Austrian

[30] Koselleck 1997: 73., 77; Koselleck 1998: 21.

satirical magazines.[31] In Christian iconology, the monkey symbolises ugliness, amorality, and unscrupulousness; thus this animal can be used to caricature human beings guilty of sins, primarily those of avarice or lust, and who bewitch humankind. This signifier automatically leads to associating such people with the Devil. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconology*, the monkey is a symbol of brazenness.[32] At the end of the nineteenth century, other possible associations established with the monkey also need to be considered. Charles Darwin's *On the origin of species by means of natural selections: or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life* was published in Hungarian in 1873. Darwin explained species' struggle for survival; however, he also expounded on a theory of evolution that was in opposition to Church doctrine. In this context, the depiction of a person with the face of a monkey implied an extra signification that the Slovaks were not fully developed humans; hence, they were not equal to the Hungarians and were a subordinate species, a term made more insidious by its Darwinian association. The contemporary Hungarian intelligentsia certainly knew about and discussed Darwin's theories in the press. If a type of human being was not depicted as equal to the Hungarians, the illustration of inferiority suggested more than being subordinate; it also implied their demands were not legitimate.

Other animal symbols were also common: Romanians were depicted as small, awkward, and rather harmless dogs fighting the Hungarian lion, the king of animals. Slovaks were portrayed as frogs croaking in the Pan-Slavic swamp. Additionally, the Serbs, Slovaks, and Romanians were depicted as an assemblage of small barking dogs, monkeys, or rats. In other words, the minority nationals were described as animals that were disgusting, ugly, or very small in stature in contrast to the Hungarian lion. Thus, the national minority groups symbolised through these animals were subordinated to the Hungarians. According to Ripa, the frog signifies imperfection, which one can understand according to Darwin's theory and according to the manner in which the Hungarians at the time thought about the Slovaks.[33] In one cartoon, the Serbian and Romanian figures are shown to be a nuisance to a sleeping lion representing the Hungarian nation, while the personification of the Slovaks steps aside (figure 2). The monkeys anger the king of the animals, which reacts as Hungarians did to national agitations. The lion in this caricature represents the *Übermensch*, thus demonstrating the power of the Hungarian state. The lion was depicted similarly in a cartoon in which he is illustrated as standing in front of an angry pig symbolising the Serbs (figure 3). Serbs were symbolised as pigs partly because of ongoing trade conflicts between Hungary (the Monarchy) and Serbia over the import of pigs from Serbia. The import of Serbian pigs went against Hungarian agricultural interests. From the beginning of the 1890s, several trade crises occurred between Hungary and Serbia, and the most notorious of these was the "pig war". In the Serbian satirical press, pigs appeared in connection with the trade crisis and depicted the process of reconciling Hungarians with the pigs.[34] According to Ripa, the pig is a symbol of idleness and ignorance. Ignorance is a trait

[31] Tamás 2014: 128–132.

[32] Cooper 1986: 10.; Ripa 1997: 535. This Iconology was well known to the contemporaries, since it was published in most European languages; the first edition appeared in 1593. The explanations of the symbols were based on Egyptian, Greek, and Roman mythology and on the Bible.

[33] Ripa 1997: 282.

[34] *Bič*, 5 August 1890, 1.

that also appeared in textual terms in the Hungarian satirical magazines. These caricatures with animal symbols made fun of the demands by national minority groups and, by extension, of the groups themselves.

Fewer animal symbols were found in the non-Hungarian press than in the Hungarian papers. The only representations of animals appear when Hungarian chauvinism is represented by a barking dog being soothed by a Slovak depicted as a small deer or in the form of a snake with Jewish attributes.[35] This symbol points to the dangers of exaggerated nationalism: for example, in *Vrač pogađač,* Hungarian chauvinism was symbolised as a toad, which according to Ripa signifies greed.[36]

7. Opinions about Magyarisation: Hungarian aggression

"Forceful Magyarisation" was represented and critiqued in the non-Hungarian satirical press through discrete symbolic scenes. For example, in one depiction in *Vrač pogađač*, the Hungarian figure is illustrated as attempting to catch a fish labelled as "Nationalities" with a fishing-net labelled "Magyarisation"; in another, a Hungarian is depicted pouring the "Hungarian language" into the head of a ram with the help of a funnel while a Hungarian Jew attempts to hold the ram still.[37] All of these scenes mocked the idea of Magyarisation through different visual means and suggested the impossibility of the Hungarians' efforts: it is not easy to catch fish, and no one can learn a language in the way in which it is presented in the caricature. In another cartoon, the Hungarian prime minister, Kálmán Széll (1899–1903), is illustrated trying to ram a wooden pole labelled "Nationalities" (figure 4) into the ground; however, the caption informs the readers that he has failed. A depiction in *Černokňažník* is similar: an axe held by Dezső Bánffy, the former prime minister (1895–99), is broken and he cannot chop down a tree trunk labelled "Slovaks".[38] Both Hungarian prime ministers were pictured as behaving aggressively towards national minority groups, as represented by their axes and by the scenes themselves: they are shown attempting to destroy something. Figuratively, the cartoons were meant to drive home the mainstream desire to eliminate national minority groups considered to be enemies of the homogeneous Hungarian national state.

Bánffy was openly chauvinistic, and his name was linked both with the department of the prime minister's office against national agitation (1895) and to the law on the Magyarisation of place names (1898). *Vrač pogađač* criticised Bánffy, the Hungarian voting system, and the Magyarisation of Jews in another caricature. In this cartoon, Hungarian chauvinism was symbolised as *Bánfy pasha* sitting next to a house with "Hungarian chauvinism" written on its side. This illustration implied supposed similarities between the despotism of the Ottoman pashas and the Hungarian prime minister, Dezső Bánffy.[39] In this caricature, one could also see Constitutionalism depicted as a woman being beaten by Hungarians and assimilated Jews

[35] *Černokňažník,* 25 June 1902, 41.; 25 November 1902, 84.
[36] *Vrač pogađač,* 28 February 1898, 43. Ripa 1997:53.
[37] *Vrač pogađač,* 1 March 1902, 27.; 30 May 1898, 116.
[38] *Černokňažník*, 25 July 1898, 49.
[39] *Vrač pogađač,* 30 October 1896, 237.

criticising the Hungarian state order. The flag in this caricature was labelled as "false liberalism", which served to question the liberalism of the Hungarian government. The picture further referred to criticism of the Hungarian voting system by non-Hungarians: although Jews could vote, non-Hungarians were excluded from the ballot despite their growing numbers and could not cross the barrier of the labelled "freedom of elections". Hungarians were depicted as drunken men lying on the roadside or scuffling. This kind of depiction is not a coincidence: various kinds of wide-spread electoral fraud (e.g. bribery and harassment) were common during the Hungarian elections of this period.

Magyarisation was also strongly satirised in another Slovak caricature titled *Magyart izélő masina* (Machine for Producing Hungarians). Hungarians were pictured inserting human figures into a machine from which emerged Hungarians with Jewish attributes. The depiction mocked the increasing numbers of Hungarians through the assimilation of the Jews and the forced Magyarisation (figure 5) of the populace. The caricature also ridiculed the data reported by the 1900 census in Hungary. According to these data, the proportion of Hungarians in the Hungarian Kingdom was only around 50%.[40] The ironic caption read:

> "This is what the modern Hungarian state's machine for multiplying Hungarians is called. It is very simple and works beautifully. Just put refuse of any nationality into the machine, and from it you will get people who have been painlessly reborn and enlightened, just as the picture shows. We recommend this to all nations with too few children. By Sél & Co., on sale in Judapest."

This text exemplified the caricaturist's opinions of how Hungarians saw non-Hungarians (as the "refuse of any nationality"). The non-Hungarian and Austrian satirical magazines and the Hungarian anti-Semitic press satirised Budapest as *Judapest* because of its elevated percentage of Jewish inhabitants. This description of assimilation as a machine was conceived of by Béla Grünwald, who claimed in his famous 1878 work *A Felvidék. Politikai tanulmány* (Upper Hungary: A political study) that secondary schools were like machines Slovak boys could be placed in and Hungarian men would emerge from the other end. The Slovak caricature, drawn ten years after Grünwald's death, may be interpreted as a response to his statement and also, to a certain extent, the Slovak National Party's propaganda against Magyarisation. The Slovak National Party gave up its political passivity in 1901 and became an opposition party in the Hungarian elections of 1901.[41]

In an earlier Slovak caricature, a Hungarian was illustrated holding a plate with small non-Hungarian figures on it and wishing that in another thousand years the non-Hungarians would become such small museum pieces. In other words, the mainstream Hungarian wanted nationalities to disappear or assimilate.[42] According to the caricature, the Hungarian was shown wishing for the national minority groups to be miniaturised or to be exhibited as figurines, because Hungarians wanted minority groups to become a historical memory and a homogenous Hungarian national state to become reality.

The Romanian satirical magazine also published caricatures about the Hungarians' forceful aspirations. However, a new element—Romanians burying and mourning their long-

[40] Illyefalvi vitéz, ed., 1904: 45.
[41] Grünwald 1878: 140.; Holotík 1980: 797.
[42] *Černokňažník*, 25 August 1895, 60.

desired autonomy—can be observed in them as well.[43] This was because the Romanian political elite had been forced to give up its demand for territorial administrative autonomy at the end of the 1860s. The motif of oppression can also be seen in *Gur'a Satului*, but only at the end of the 1860s and in the first years of the Dual Monarchy. These drawings referred to the modified structure of power: In the first picture, the Austrian figure of *Michel* was illustrated standing on the shoulders of minority nationalities (Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks); in the second caricature, *Michel* and *Pista* were pictured standing on the shoulders of the national groups (Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks) (figure 6). According to the caricature, all the groups (including the Hungarians) suffered under the Germanisation of neo-absolutism. However, after the formation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Hungarians (along with Michel) became the oppressors. The Hungarian figure in the caricature had not learned anything from the failure of Germanisation during the previous decades.

Another cartoon pictured a hat with the label *nemzetegység* (*national unity*) and pointed to Magyarisation overriding the representations of the national groups.[44] The caricaturist attempted to highlight the impossibility of this unity: The conflicts could only be "capped" or covered up by a hat. A visual contrast can also be seen: the figures of the national minority groups are small, while the Hungarian figure is taller and bigger, demonstrating the Hungarians new and powerful position, which immediately became precarious, according to the Romanian point of view. These depictions refer to the two sides' opposing interests at the end of the 1860s: the demand for and the rejection of autonomy, and the beginning of a power reorganisation in Hungary in which the non-Hungarian political elite could not take part.

Conversely, the Hungarian press pointed to civil rights and equality as accorded by law and strongly protested against the suggestion that non-Hungarians were oppressed in Hungary. In an ironic cartoon, for example, representatives of the national groups were shown eating dumplings and carousing, activities that, according to the caption, were denoted as "tyranny" in Hungary (figure 7). Another picture on a similar theme evinced how non-Hungarians in Western Europe imaged Hungarians while also displaying the self-image of the peace-loving Hungarian (figure 8). The message of the caricature was simple: it was a lie that national minority groups were oppressed in Hungary, because, as can be seen, they were happily living in Hungary in a state of comfort (perhaps better than the Serbs and Romanians in their mother countries, which were considered at the time to be poorer).

8. National symbols and symbols of countries

Although national symbols are indisputably important elements in terms of the national consciousness, it is rare to find these emblems in caricatures. Since Hungarians were viewed as a nation, they could obviously use their flag, coat of arms, and other symbols (the royal crown and crown jewels). Conversely, the minority national groups could not apply their national emblems freely. In the mid-nineteenth century, these groups began demanding the right to use their national symbols. Although they did not have their own symbols at the

[43] *Gur'a Satului*, 16 January 1868, 4.
[44] *Gur'a Satului*, 3 December 1868, 156.

time, they felt that they should be able use those from their mother countries (Romanian Kingdom, Serbia, or even Russia). The use of these emblems, however, was considered treason at the time by the Hungarians. Therefore, the symbols of national minority groups did not appear in the satirical press to avoid charges of treason, and Hungarian symbols became a rare topic for cartoons, although there were some examples of their use.

A modified Hungarian coat of arms can be seen in an example from *Černokňažník*.[45] The caricature fits the pattern of ridicule the satirical magazine used for Jewish assimilation and Hungarian–Jewish relations. The caricaturist drew a Star of David instead of the cross at the top of the Hungarian Holy Crown and in place of the double cross on the shield of the Hungarian coat of arms. He also wrote Jewish names in the fields to symbolise Hungary's rivers.[46] This modified coat of arms was held by two figures with stereotypically Jewish features. The title of the depiction suggested that the caricature was an ironic depiction of the process of the Magyarisation of the Jews. The Slovaks' fear of assimilation is perceptible in the depiction: the Slovaks believed that, given enough time and the successful assimilation of Jews, Magyarisation could be successful among the other national minority groups as well. The assimilation of the Jews was considered to be a negative example for the Slovaks, even though it had been a spontaneous process in the second half of the nineteenth century, and Slovak integration was also occurring in places such as Budapest.[47]

Nations and national groups have long been symbolised. Moreover, countries are characterised through traditional allegory, often appearing in the form of a woman. In antiquity, Europe was represented as a young woman, and this image was then adopted by the European Christian practitioners of the fine arts.[48] After the birth of nations, young, beautiful women would become the symbol of countries. *Hungaria,* Hungary, allegorically appeared as a beautiful young woman (figure 9) in the Hungarian press, just as Serbia did in *Vrač pogađač*. However, in the Slovak satirical magazine, Austria (*Austria*) and Hungary (*Hungaria*) appeared as women, but the visual representation of Hungary in this publication differed greatly from its depiction in the Hungarian satirical press. *Hungaria* and *Austria* were shown as old women with deformed faces, *Hungaria* was illustrated beating the Slovaks, and *Austria* as beating the Czechs. Slovaks and Czechs are depicted as innocent children, while *Pista* and *Michel* smile mockingly (figure 10). They seem pleased that the "mothers" are injuring only their Slovak and Czech children. This symbol, the beating of one's own children, denotes the cruelty of the Hungarian and Austrian oppression of national minority groups.

9. Satirising prehistory

As with national symbols, historical memories and genesis myths were not frequent topics in the cartoons analysed here. Only one Hungarian caricature depicted the theory of

[45] In the Hungarian satirical weeklies, the Hungarian coat of arms and the Hungarian Holy Crown are represented, but in these pictures, they are naturally not sources of humour.

[46] *Černokňažník*, 25 May 1896, 33.

[47] Szarka 1995: 60–69.

[48] Ripa, 1997: 399–400.

Daco-Romanian continuity.[49] In the caricature, two Romanian children are illustrated as being nursed by a wolf (as in the myth of Romulus and Remus) and they are shown rejecting a friendly Hungarian nanny. The children are thus depicted as behaving aggressively without good reason, and their conduct is juxtaposed with the agreeableness of the nanny. It is thus implied that if there are any conflicts, the children must be at fault. They would rather nurse from a wolf than learn Hungarian from their nanny. This cartoon evolved after the Hungarian parliament voted on a law pertaining to nursery schools. According to this law, children living in the areas occupied by national minority groups were required to learn Hungarian in nursery schools. The Romanians actively protested against this rule, which is what was being mocked in the caricature. The Hungarian caricaturist valued Hungarian language and culture, symbolised by the beautiful young nanny, as being more refined than the not so civilised Romanian culture and language personified by the wolf.

Two Slovak cartoons satirised the origin of the Hungarians: one of these depictions was split into four pictures that took an ironic look at Hungarian legends from the age of the Hungarian migrations and conquest.[50] The Hungarians' barbaric Asian ancestry was ridiculed in other non-Hungarian caricatures as well. The Hungarians appeared with Asian features and living in yurts, as they did many centuries ago.[51] This representation did not suggest a higher social status, and it did not depict a successful, modern nation. It evinced a huge contrast to the Hungarians' representation of the Self.

10. The nation state and autonomy

In equivalence to the symbols and to collective historical memory, a territory where a nation can establish a state is a vital characteristic for nationhood and national identity. Caricatures and texts in the Hungarian satirical press in the 1860s referred to the national minority groups' territorial demands. However, the typical cartoon about such territorial demands represented the national groups in Hungary as factions wanting to tear the map of Hungary into pieces. In 1868, two pictures were published with this motif but with notable differences. In early 1868, the Hungarian figure was also depicted as one of the nationalities in the caricature: he was shown trying to tear off his land and protect his territory. In the late 1868 depiction, after the Nationalities Law was finalised, the Hungarian figure was illustrated standing in the middle of the map, trying to prevent the other national groups from pulling on their pieces of the map.[52] In addition to the Hungarians, the Serbs, Romanians, and Slovaks were also depicted in this caricature: this picture evinced the extent of the likeness with which the nationalities had been depicted in the 1860s and the degree to which this illustration had changed by the end of the century. Maps are one of the traditional methods of outlining territorial demands, not only because they make the demands clear, but also because maps suggest a measure of objectivity. Both the territorial demands and the ironic rejection of the demands seem to be legitimate.

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49 *Borsszem Jankó*, 8 March 1891, 119.
50 *Černokňažník*, 25 June 1896, 45.
51 E.g. *Černokňažník*, 25. November 1895, 85.
52 *Borsszem Jankó*, 12 January 1868, 20.; *Az Üstökös*, 13 December 1868, 394.

Territorial demands were also satirised through other visual methods. Lampooning of Romanian territorial demands appeared, for example, in one of the caricatures mentioned above, when "hungry Romanians" were shown standing in front of a Hungarian butcher shop window with their tongues hanging out. At the shop window, the names of Transylvanian counties were written on sausages, and the hungry Romanians were depicted as wanting to "devour" all the sausages, which was a reference to the Romanian territorial claim to Transylvania (see figure 1). Gluttony is one of the seven deadly sins, and therefore the motif of undue hunger was also an appropriate way to pass judgement on demands for territory.

In *Černokňažník* a caricature that included Hungarian territory was published to show rejection and judgement of what they considered increasing Hungarian self-confidence (figure 11). In this cartoon, the globe was depicted in a way suggesting the entire world would be occupied by Hungary: no other continents or countries are visible, and Budapest is placed in the middle of the globe. The "Hungarian globe" was a phrase used toward the end of the nineteenth century to mock Hungarian chauvinism, and the non-Hungarian satirical press used this symbol often.[53] In the caricature, the national minority groups are shown supporting the globe on their shoulders with Hungarians and Jews dancing on it. This representation recalls medieval traditions: in the medieval and early modern periods the social orders of the three estates of the Church, nobility, and peasantry supported the globe. The function of the first two was to maintain a world order that was not beneficial for the third, and the church or the king stood on top of the globe. This illustration also references traditions from antiquity: Zeus punished Atlas by making him support the heavens on his shoulders.[54] The caricature further addresses the migration of Jews from Galicia to Hungary, and the subsequent increase in the number of Jewish-Hungarian inhabitants in contrast to the Slovaks, since many Slovaks emigrated to the United States to overcome their overly disadvantageous economic circumstances.[55]

In the Serbian satirical magazine, the phrase "Hungarian globe" also occurs in its cartoons to criticise the Hungarian idea of the great Hungarian Empire and the assimilation of Jews.[56] In *Vrač pogađač,* a map of Hungarian national groups serves to illustrate the situation from the Serbian point of view: in the middle of the map there is a small Hungarian territory, and the other parts of Hungary (and also some parts of present-day Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920) are marked as territories of non-Hungarian national groups (figure 12).

11. Conclusion

To summarise the results of the analysis presented in this paper, it may be concluded that images of the Other and the Self are depicted via humorous or ironic methods in accordance with stereotypes privileged by the Hungarian and the non-Hungarian satirical press. The caricatures are effectively distinguishable, and the images can be connected to the processes of nation building process and shaping "enemies". The caricaturists exploited

[53] Tóth 1895: 346.
[54] Langemeyer 1984: 221; Hoppál, ed. 1988: 654.
[55] Kövér 1982: 109–115.
[56] *Vrač pogađač*, 15 March 1898, 54.

a wide range of tools to reach this goal: They used discrete variations in composition to express subordination and dominance (short vs. tall, animalised vs. human); they played with the possibility of what should be placed in the centre of the picture; they contrasted the beautiful with the grotesque, the good with the bad, the civilised with the barbaric, and the human with the animal; and they depicted these characteristics in extremely schematised ways. The Hungarian and non-Hungarian satirical magazines both emphasised and referenced the physicality, traits and characteristics of the Other as the opposite of those that they had self-determined to be their own inner and outer features and habits.

These examples amply illustrate that the Hungarian and the non-Hungarian satirical press contrasted the "us" and "them" groups through similar mechanisms: the group they tried to distinguish themselves from was given negative external (e.g. distortion of the body or face) and internal (forceful, lazy, oppressive) characteristics. The non-Hungarian comics mocked the idea of the Hungarian national state, its historical traditions, and its political goals. The Hungarian press, on the other hand, poked fun both at the national minority groups' political demands (autonomy, use of their mother tongue) and at the traits they felt were personified by the minority non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary.

Long-standing and novel components of stereotypes can be found in both non-Hungarian and Hungarian publications: the older notions were rooted in feudalism and in the ethnic consciousness, while the new ones were products of modernity and nationalism. Thus, the grounded nature of the separation of ethnic roots and modern nations is evidenced in the caricatures, as is the existence of two concurrent and equally robust viewpoints of nationalism. The system of stereotypes was built on contrasts that prevailed in medieval societies (land owners as oppressors, serfs as the oppressed). These typecasts were subsequently transformed into modern national conflicts. Thus, the old stereotypes had to be reworded to serve the goals of emergent nationalism. They could perform the tasks required to attain the objectives of the non-Hungarian national movements by satirising the aims of the Hungarian national state and by evoking a collective memory of Hungarian history. The non-Hungarian national movements were able to emphasise their *raison d'étre* by representing their own groups as martyrs.

Similarly, the Hungarian satirical magazines questioned the validity of any of the non-Hungarian national movements' demands through images of animalised Serbs, dehumanised Romanians, and inferior Slovaks. The lampooning cartoons thus strengthened the idea of the construction of a great Hungarian Empire without national minorities. Thus, such ridiculing depictions of the "enemies" based on stereotypes and prejudices were able to function as instruments of Hungarian national propaganda. At the end of the nineteenth century, the stereotypes and symbols became increasingly more aggressive as the nationalism of both the Hungarians and the non-Hungarian groups grew more potent.

These stereotypes were not based on common rationality; instead, the simplification and paring down of people into exaggerated attributes triggered an emotional motivation that became determinant. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the mechanisms at work in the construction of these stereotypical characteristics. These type cast depictions expressed the long and complicated relationship of the nationalities to one another and articulated the direction in which the relationship was evolving. The external visual elements and the inner characteristics of the stereotypes, as discussed in this paper, both influenced the propagated

image of the Self and the Other even in the period between the two world wars. These means of representation and the supposed characteristics of the Self and the Other survived for a long time after their historical validity.

The present investigation also demonstrated that the ethnic caricatures and the captions (and texts) of the cartoons reveal insights that are similar to the findings Takovski presented in his paper. One can find universal stereotypes (lazy, barbaric, or stupid, but never canny in the Hungarian case) in order to differentiate the "us" from the "them". "Ethnicised" qualities are also posited: according to the Hungarian satirical magazines, the Serbs (and Romanians) are aggressive and the Slovaks drink too much schnapps; but the non-Hungarian cartoons presented the Hungarians as belligerent. Finally, real ethnic stereotypes are present, too: names, languages, national histories, territories, and national costumes are all ridiculed in the comics in illustrations and in texts and captions.

The present paper thus reveals that the identification of "us" as a separate group requires more than a common historical memory; it needs the construction of another (an Other) group, one that represents one's "enemy". The shaping of the image of the enemy is therefore closely linked to the process of nation building.

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Fig. 1
"*Hungry Romanians – in front of the butcher shop."*
Borsszem Jankó, 22 May 1898, 9.

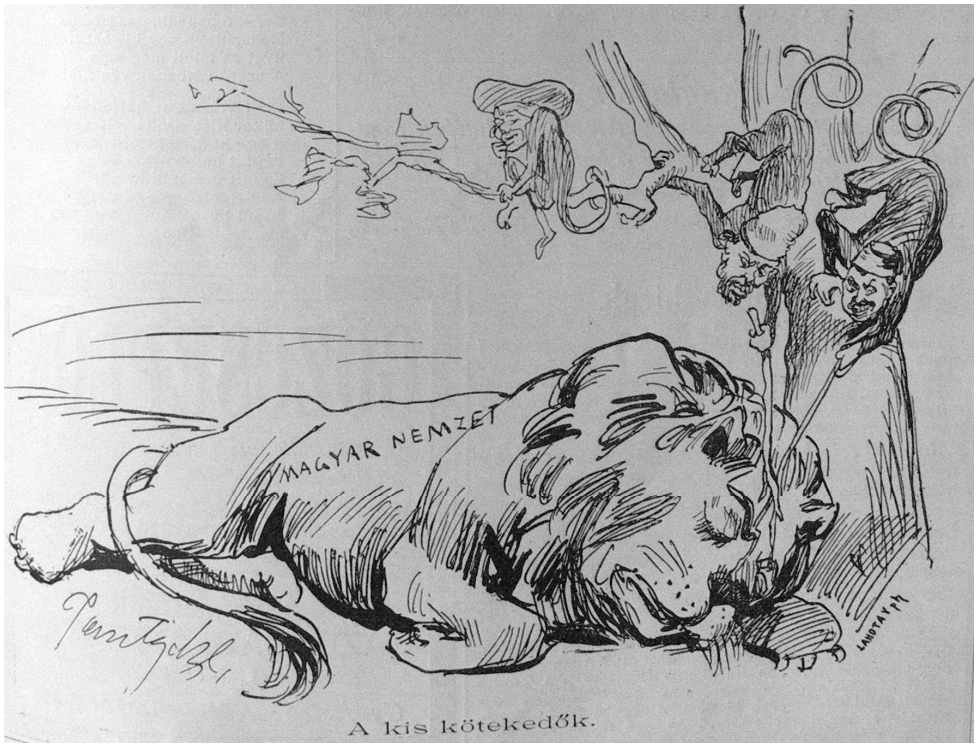

Fig. 2
"The small aggressors."
Borsszem Jankó, 15 August 1896, 328.

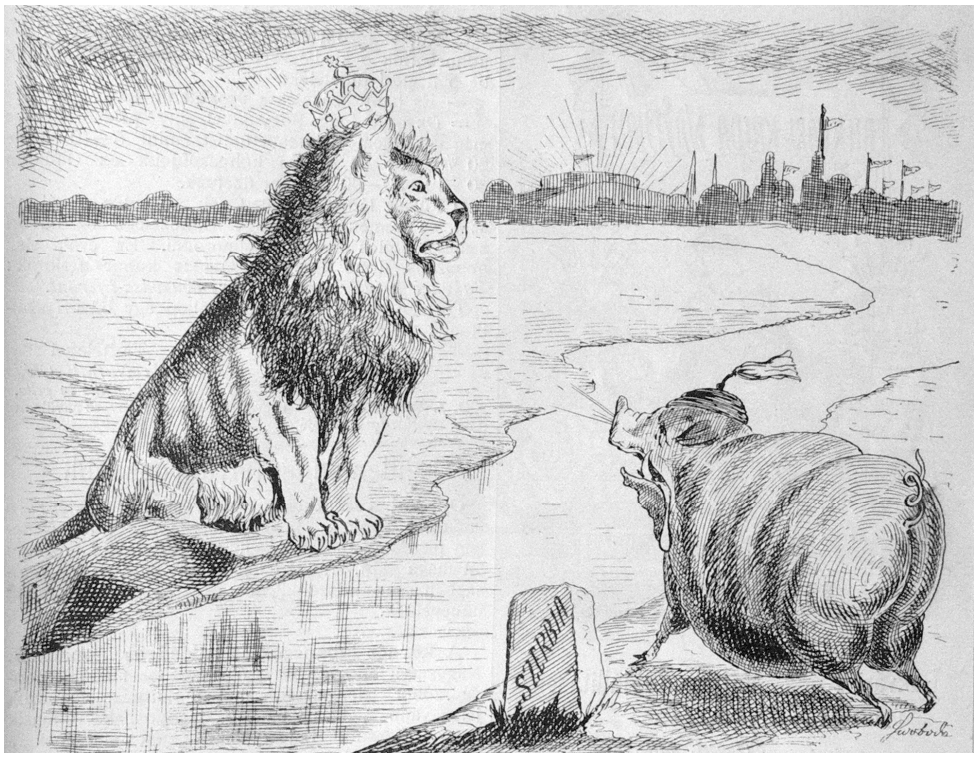

Fig. 3
"The Serbian pig/insult.
[In Hungarian, the word sertvés is a blend of sertés "pig" and sértés "insult",
hence the pun of the words "pig" and "insult"]
Who would have believed that pigs' and dogs' anger exists in the world as well?"
Üstökös, 10 May 1896, 247.

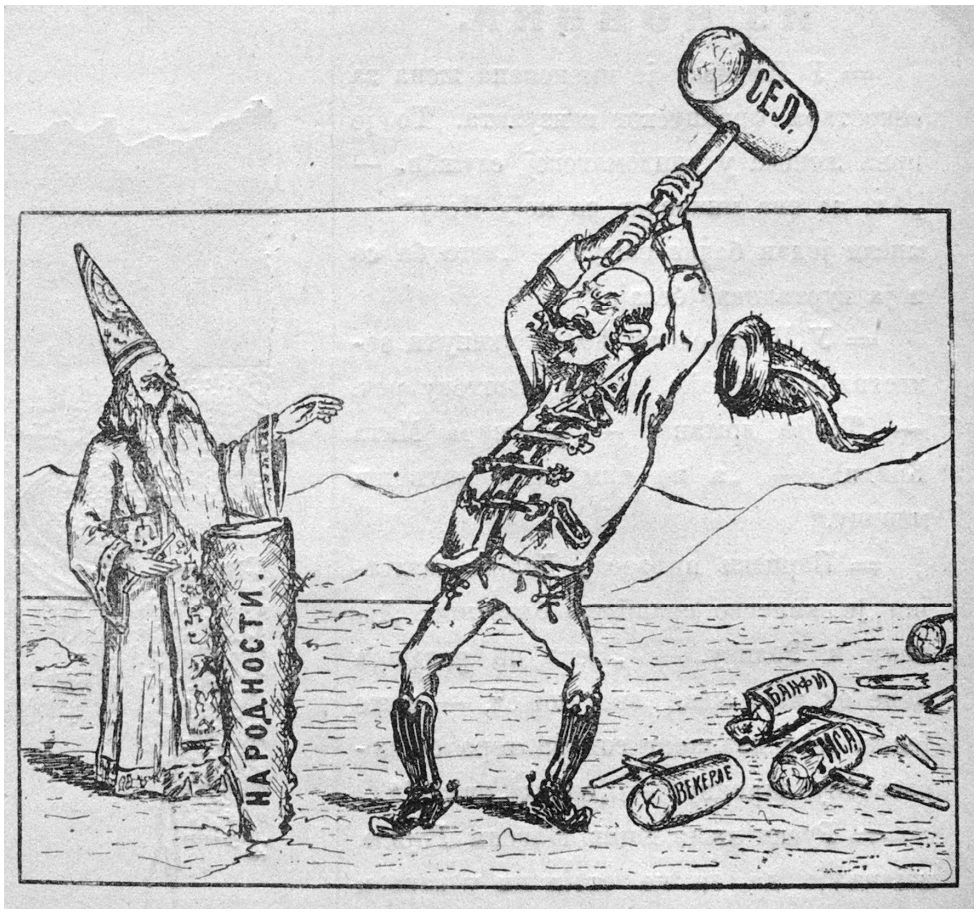

Fig. 4
"Goddamit! I have to knock it into the ground!
A weak frog. Much bigger hammers broke here already."
Vrač pogađač, 24 March 1902, 35.

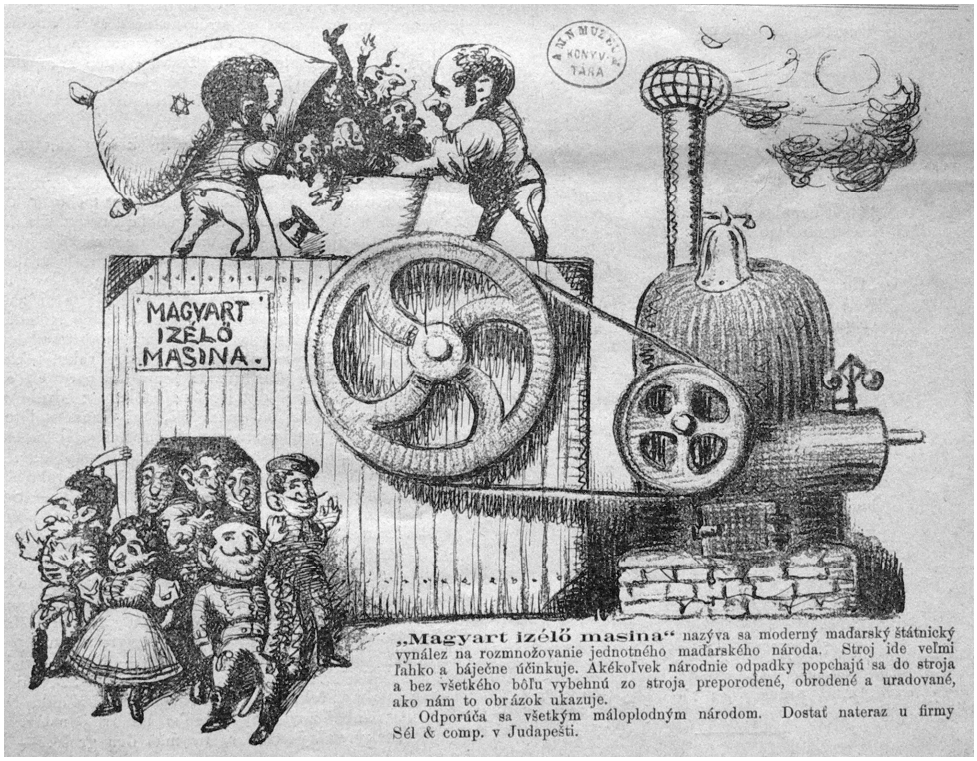

Fig. 5
Černokňažník, 25 January 1901, 1.

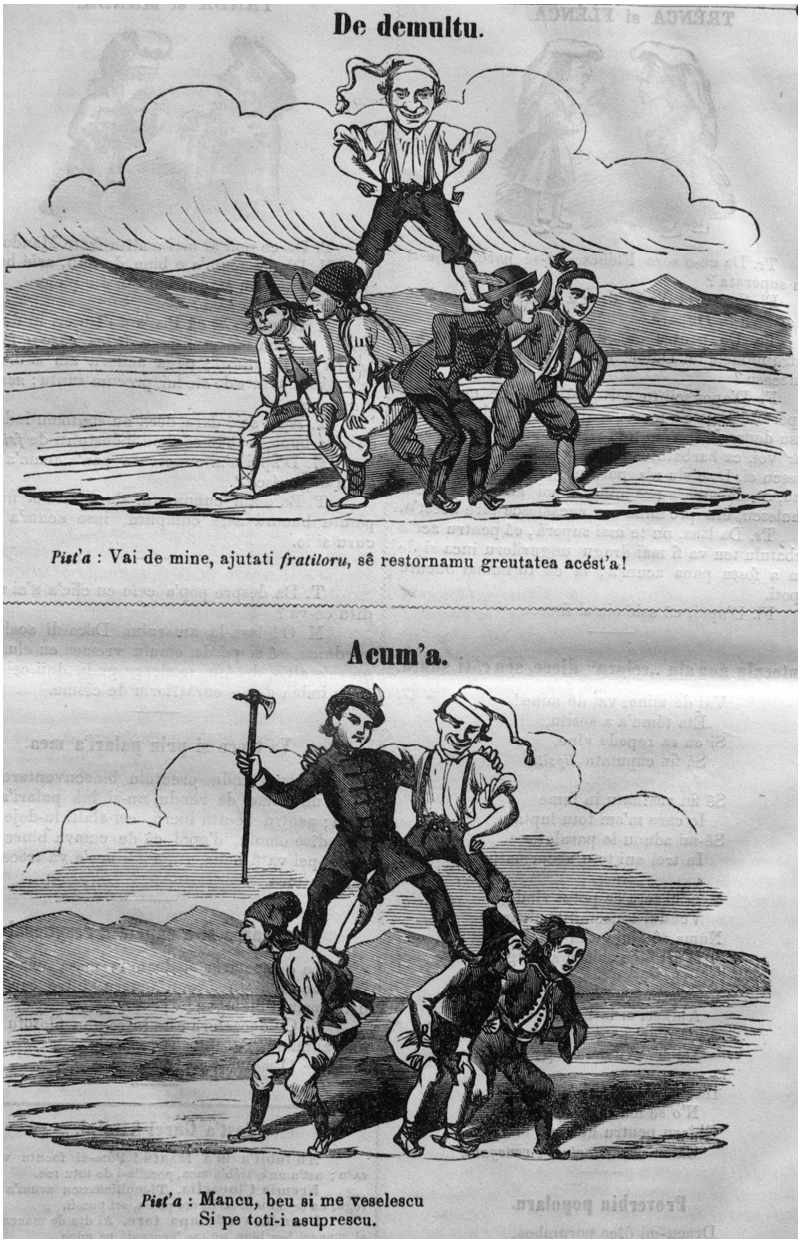

Fig. 6
"*Earlier. Pista: Please, help me brothers to throw off this weight!*
Now. Pista: I am eating, drinking and being merry, and oppress everybody."
Gur'a Satului, 30 October 1868, 148.

Fig. 7

"*Here are the dumplings repressing our Romanian, Serbian and Slovak brothers*."
Üstökös, 4 August 1895, 365.

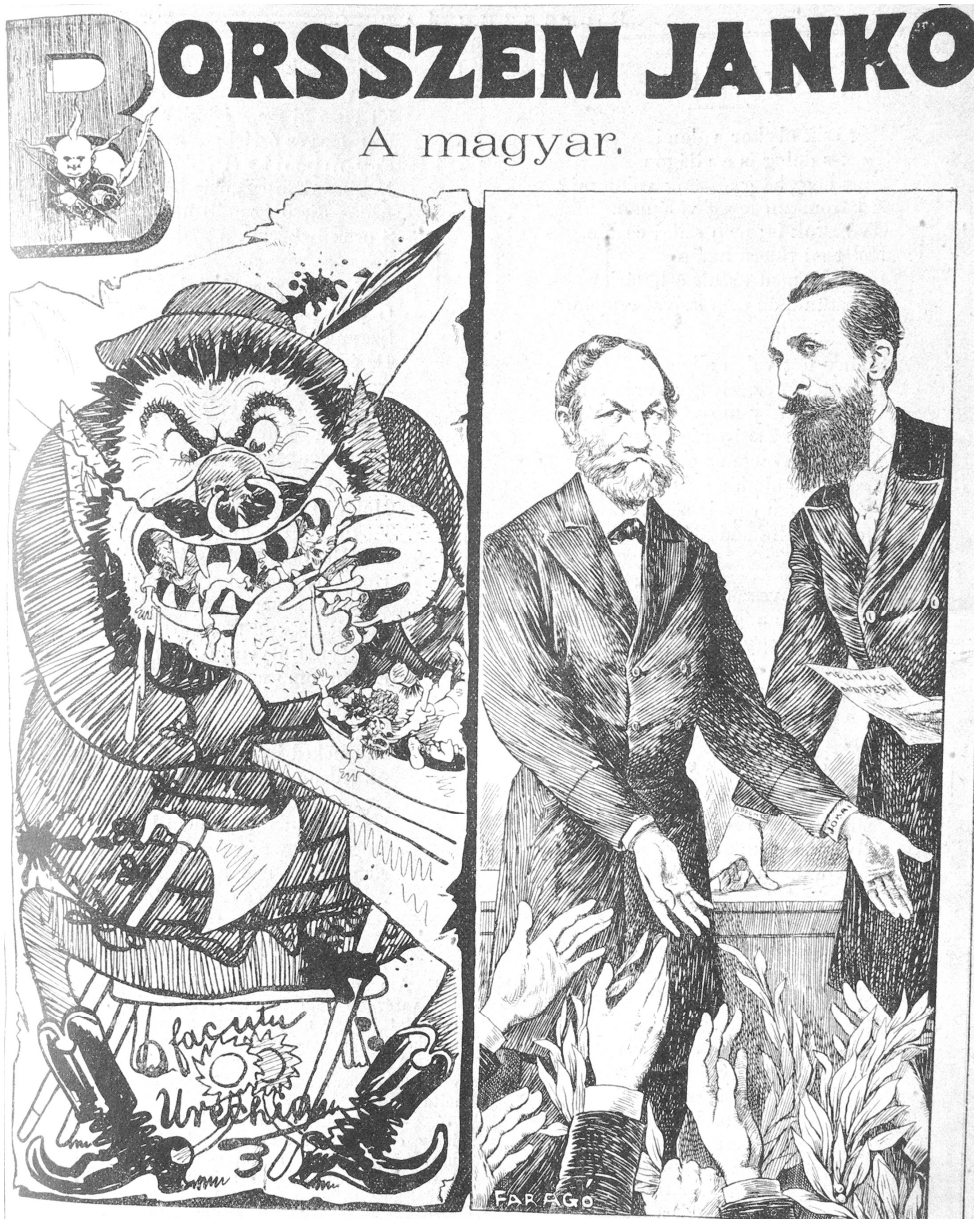

Fig. 8
"The Hungarian. How Urechia painted him in Brussels. The way he was seen in reality."
[Vasilie Alexandrescu-Urechia (1834–1901) Romanian historian and politician,
held a great number of speeches against the Hungarian oppression.]
Borsszem Jankó, 25 August 1895, 1.

Fig. 9
"On the first day of the Millennium"
Üstökös, 3 May 1896, 233.

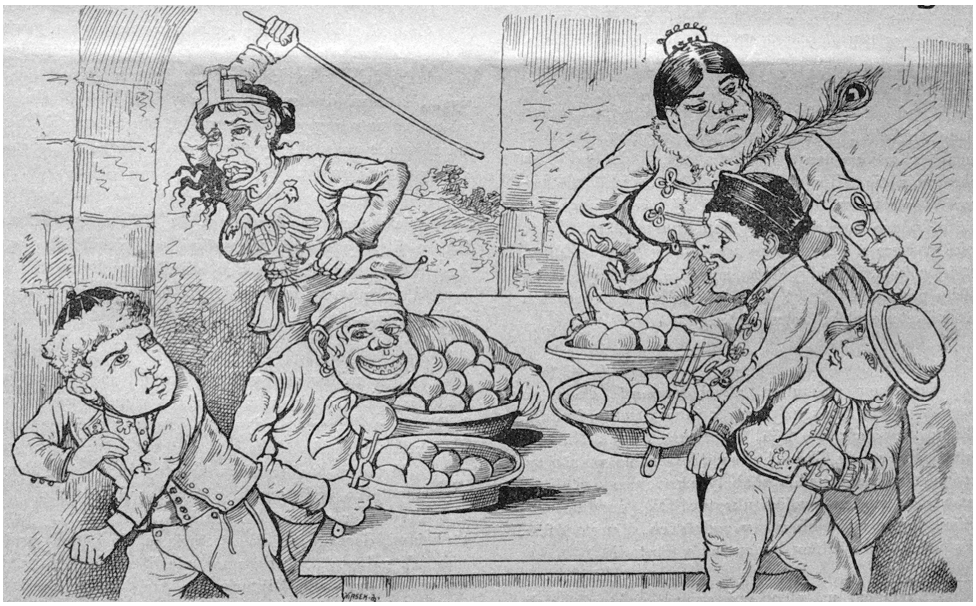

Fig. 10
"*Two good and fair mothers.*
Mother Cis. Godless Vaško! I will see whether you give Michel to eat!
Vašek: But this Michel took my portion, too, mother!
Mother Cis: Here is your portion, you godless!

Mother Trans: Wait, I will see whether you give Pistike to eat!
Janko: But mother, Pista took my portion, too!
Mother Trans: Here is your portion, you good-for-nothing!"
Černokňažník, 25 November 1899, 81.

Fig. 11
"The occupation of Pan-Hungary in 1896.
What will happen if all of them get up, and these four pillars break?"
Černokňažník, 25 March 1896, 20.

Figure 12
"Please hold it just for a little while and help me, brother Smulo.
In order to darken that small territory which bothers our eyes so much!
You are painting it in vain, making it darker is futile, for white will never be black,
Do you think you, Uncle Magyar, can make it!"
Vrač Pogađač, 15 January 1898, 17.

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ИСМЕВАЊЕ ИЗГРАДЊЕ НАЦИЈЕ И ИДЕНТИТЕТА. АНАЛИЗА КАРИКАТУРА У МАЂАРСКИМ, РУМУНСКИМ, СРПСКИМ И СЛОВАЧКИМ САТИРИЧНИМ ПЕРИОДИКАМА ОД СРЕДИНЕ ДО КРАЈА XIX ВЕКА

Резиме

Рад представља упоредну анализу карикатура објављених у мађарским (*Üstökös*, *Borsszem Jankó*), српским (*Бич*, *Врач погађач*), румунским (*Gur'a Satului*) и словачким (*Černokňažník*) хумористичким листовима у другој половини XIX века. Намера је да се покаже дубинска веза између идентитета, изградње нације и хумора.

Поређење које се спроводи у раду користи и допуњује дефиницију етничког језгра коју је дао Ентони Д. Смит, и позива се на теорију етничког хумора Кристија Дејвиса. Анализа карикатура посвећена је следећим аспектима: именима *себе* и *другога*, елементима културе и традиције (језици, навике, религије, претпостављене особине, одевање и телесне одлике), симболима *себе* и *другога*, историјским сећањима и митовима о заједничком пореклу *себе* и *других*, и дефиницији 'наших' насупрот 'њиховим' територијама и отаџбинама.

Слике о другима и себи су дочараване путем хумористичких или ироничких метода, а у складу са стереотипима којих су се држали мађарски и не-мађарски забавни листови. О обема врстама публикација могу се пронаћи и дуготрајне и нове компоненте стереотипа. Ови стереотип нису били засновани на рационалности, већ су поједностављивање и поистовећивање људи са преувеличаним атрибутима производили емоционалну мотивацију која је постајала одређујућа. Стога је кључно истраживати механизме конструкције стереотипних карактеристика. Ова врста представа је изражавала дуготрајне и сложене међусобне везе поменутих националности и артикулисала је правац у којем су односи даље развијани.

Кључне речи: национализам, изграђивање нације, карикатуре, сатирични часописи, исмевање „других".

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SERBIA, ITALY’S ENTRANCE INTO WORLD WAR I, AND THE LONDON AGREEMENT: A NEW INTERPRETATION*

Abstract: This paper follows the Entente Powers negotiations with Italy from the beginning of World War I up to the signing of the London Agreement. Simultaneously, this paper follows Serbian relations towards the negotiations and Italy entering the conflict from the standpoint of its national pretensions. Due to the important role of Russia, as Serbia’s closest ally and the traditional protector of Slavic interests, special attention has been dedicated to its position and reasons for relenting in diplomatic initiative for Italy entering the war. This paper contains an analysis and a new interpretation of the London Agreement. In addition to this, the paper sheds light on the beginning of deteriorating relations between the governments in Rome and Belgrade/Niš, which used to be friendly before the Great War, as well as the circumstances which influenced the situation.

Keywords: London Agreement, Serbia, Italy, Russia, World War I, Nikola Pašić, Sergey Sazonov, Sir Edward Grey, the Yugoslav issue, Dalmatia.

Shortly before World War I, Serbia and Italy maintained mostly good relations. In the initiatives comprising Serbian interests, Italy was more inclined towards Russia and the Entente Powers than it was toward Austria-Hungary (and Germany). This was apparent especially when Italy supported the project of constructing the Adriatic railway and the Serbian port in Albania, and during negotiations concerning Eastern railway ownership. Right before and during the July Crisis, the Italians had a benevolent attitude towards Serbia. They kept the Triple Entente states and the government in Belgrade informed about Austria-Hungary’s and Germany’s intentions.[1] A change in Italy’s position occurred during the Great War. The Yugoslav program of the Serbian government collided with Italian pretensions on the Adriatic east coast. Mutual conflict became inevitable.

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1 Aleksić-Pejković 1965: 760–775, 782–784; Id 1987: 255–270; May 1952, 364–365; Radivojević 2019: 75–77, 85, 122, 126; Ćorović 1992: 553–558, 704–706.

Italy declared neutrality at the beginning of the conflict, referring both to the not having been informed about the Dual Monarchy's and Germany's intentions in a timely manner, and the spirit of the mutual agreement – the fact that the war was not defensive. Taking into consideration it was a Great Power, both groups of the conflicted parties were motivated to win it over. Russia was the first of the Triple Entente to enter the negotiations. Encouraged by the Italian ambassador in Saint Petersburg, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sergey Sazonov, wanted to make the most of the initial advantage – Italy's territorial pretensions were primarily directed at Austro-Hungarian land. Early on, in the first half of August, in return for entering the war, he promised them Trentino, Trieste, and Vlorë, together with the dominant position at the Adriatic coast, under one condition – *that Serbia also got free access to the coast, in a proportion that would be agreed on afterwards.* Despite being in accordance with Serbian interests, Sazonov's step was precipitant and was not fully supported by French and British diplomacy.[2] Making a specific offer seemed premature to the allies from the Entente, and they advised more precaution.[3]

Sazonov's initiative was encouraged by mid-August when both France and Great Britain formally declared war on Austria-Hungary. However, Rome was not ready for a serious step forward. Still being a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy did not want to do "what could be called a larcenous strike against Austria".[4] Nevertheless, in front of the Entente's diplomatic representatives, Italian officials did not rule out entering the war as an option if circumstances changed in the future. Among other things, the Italians asked for the negotiations to be moved to London, away from the Austro-Hungarian and German diplomats.[5] Officials in Saint Petersburg anticipated the Italian goal, upon them suggesting the place for negotiations – to take everything they could conquer by armed force.[6] On August 24, Russian Foreign Minister warned the allies to avoid premature promises about the coast of Dalmatia, which was "almost exclusively populated by Serbs".[7]

The tide of battle and the Triple Entente's victories in September indeed aroused Italy's interest for a potential compensation scope. Along with the conversations held in other allies' capitals, the Italian representative in Niš was interested in Serbia's pretensions toward the Adriatic coast. Despite a cordial reception, the host officials did not show their

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2 It is interesting that Russian Foreign Minister used the possibility of Italy entering the war to pressure Serbia to hurry with the offense against the enemy, in order to forestall Rome's requests "most of which could be in discrepancy with Serbian interests". He sent a similar note to the Greek Government, as they hesitated to enter the conflict, MOEI, VI-1, document number 70–71.

3 AS, MID PO, 1914, roll 430, Fascicle XIV, dossier 7, 420; BD, XI, № 148, 365, 502, 543, 579, 668–669; DSPKS, VII-2, № 579, 590, 685, 763; MOEI, V, № 60–61, 95, 131, 407, 414–415, 453, 459–460, 488, 494, 521, 529, 542, 556; VI-1, № 24–25, 35, 42, 54, 63–64, 74, 77, 79–80, 86, 95; VI-2, № 622; PSR I, № 146–147; Ekmečić 1973: 282–285, 290–292; Janković 1973: 102–103; Marjanović 1960: 22–33; Šepić: 1970: 1–4.

4 MOEI, VI-1, no 91.

5 In case of Italy entering the war, the Entente Powers guaranteed their demands for French and British fleet cooperation at the Adriatic Sea as early as in the preliminary talks, and confirmed they would not make a separate peace without Italy's consent, MOEI, VI-1, № 104, 161.

6 AJ, 80-I-5, 251–253; AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 425, F. XI, d. 1, 82; r. 430, F. XIV, d. 7, 423; MOEI, VI-1, № 87, 91, 104, 109, 113, 117, 123, 161, 164, 168–169, 183, 186, 192, 194, 197, 200; PSR I, № 247–248, 297, 699; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 236–248; Živojinović 1973: 308–315; Marjanović 1960: 33–38; Petrovich 1963: 162–170; Popović 1977: 182–188; Šepić 1970: 3–5.

7 MOEI, VI-1, № 117, 154.

cards. From the beginning of the war, Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić was careful not to violate Italian interests through military actions by Serbian and Montenegrin armed forces in Albania or Dalmatia.[8] Having received confirmation about Italian inquiries from the diplomatic representatives as well, by the end of September he warned the Entente members about the possibility that the local population would resist occupation. Additionally, he asked the Russian Government to prevent "speculation" and the Italian wish "to benefit from shed Slavic blood" and also not to allow intruding "Slavic countries" further than Trentino, Trieste, and half of Istria with Pula[9]. Such backbone turned out to be right. They maintained the previous firm stance on the Pevcheskiy Bridge[10] and repeated their warning to London and Paris about the perspective that Italy's requests were not to violate Serbian interests.[11]

When the danger of the Serbian army's total defeat in the Battle of Kolubara provoked a worried statement from Italy, it occurred to Sazonov to reply that the crisis would be resolved by Italy entering the war, as this would make Austria-Hungary withdraw a part of their forces from the Balkans. The Russian foreign minister missed no opportunity to warn the government in Rome that their aspirations would not be taken into consideration during the future peace congress without Italy entering the war. Having spoken with the British ambassador, he also protested against rumors about an Italian initiative for an alliance among Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece. Creating a new bloc of the Balkan countries with no room for Serbia, was impermissible for Russia; however, including Serbia would remove all these obstacles.[12] Another confirmation of Sazonov's stance was an interview he gave to *Corriere della serra* toward the end of the year, when he once more advocated against Italian "pretensions toward Dalmatia, an area which was completely inhabited by Serbs and had been a constituent of Serbia prior to the Turkish invasion".[13]

During the first few months of war, both Serbia and Italy made efforts to avoid dispute. Thus the representative of Serbia said to one of the host officials in Rome that "the Italian army would be welcomed as liberating, the day they went to defy Austria-Hungary

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8 On the contrary, Russia hoped for the action of Serbia, Montenegro or the allies' fleet at the Adriatic Coast. According to them, Dubrovnik or Kotor occupation should have provoked Italy entering the conflict, taking into consideration its pretensions and fears that this area's destiny would be irretrievably solved this way without its participation, MOEI, VI-1, № 283, 333; Radivojević 2019: 158.

9 AJ, 80-II-9, 42ob; II-10, 186 и ob; VII-40, 450–451; AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 430, F. XIV, d. 7, 434ob–435; MOEI, VI-1, № 351–352.

10 In accordance with the tradition of the time, Great Powers were named after the address, the building or the landmark where Foreign Ministry was located, thus there were two phrases for Russia in the diplomatic language – the Pevcheskiy Bridge or the Court Square.

11 AJ, 80-I-5, 253–254; II-9, 40–42; II-11, 459–462; AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 430, F. XIV, d. 7, 427–428ob, 432–434ob; VA, P. 3, K. 77, F. I, 1/17; MOEI, VI-1, № 18, 36, 248, 257, 310, 313, 332, 357, 361, 368, 386, 390, 397, 410, 413, 430, 440; VI-2, 497; PSR I, № 297, 307, 345, 354, 398; Ekmečić 1973: 285–286, 292–294; Živojinović 1973: 315–317; Janković 1973: 103–106; Marjanović 1960: 34, 44–48, 51–52; Petrovich 1963: 171–174; Popović 1977: 188–190; Šepić 1970: 6–18.

12 AJ, 80-XI-52, 474–476, 484 i ob, 488 i ob, 491 i ob; AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 442, F. XXV, d. 7, 229–233, 236–238ob; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 254; MOEI, VI-2, № 461, 482, 514, 524, 553, 585, 590, 629, 638, 651, 661, 758; VII-1, 11; PSR I, № 537, 664–665, 721.

13 Popović 1977: 191.

across Serbian and Croatian land".[14] The news about the great turn in the Battle of Kolubara was received with enthusiasm by the Italian public. "They got their fingers burned," declared King Victor Emmanuel at the time, referring to the Austrians.[15] It seemed that the mutual conflict would be cleared up. In reality, that did not happen. What irritated Italy was Serbian and Croatian emigration from Austria-Hungary, as they were propagating the Slavic character of Dalmatia under the auspices of the government in Niš. Italian occupation of Vlorë further influenced the deterioration of relations. Fear appeared in Niš that the operations would spread along the Albania coast. One must take into consideration that the other party was not willing to overcome disagreements either. Despite their earlier consent, Rome confronted the Serbian desire to occupy certain points in Albania in order to watch their back. Of course, this was only the prologue of dissension.[16]

The role of the Great Powers and the attention that both blocs of the countries in war paid to the negotiations with Italy greatly influenced its position. Rome followed developing events, waiting for the right moment to monetize its position. Expectedly, Austria-Hungary kept refusing to make significant territorial concessions, which increasingly directed the views from Consulta towards the opponents. Apart from being of great importance for potentially changing relations of the forces in the Mediterranean, beginning of the Entente military operation in the Dardanelles in February 1915 was the turning point for Italy's orientation change. The Italian ambassador very soon appeared in front of the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. He handed in the written form of the conditions for entering the war on behalf of his country on 9 March 1915.[17] The unanticipated step took place only a few days after Sazonov's statement that he perceived Italy entering the war "not without qualms" at the moment when "its cooperation both at sea and on land greatly lost value" – which could only "justify its great territorial enlargement." The Russian minister feared that the entrance of a fourth country could lead both to the deterioration of the true and honest relations among the Entente Powers and difficulties in the future peace negotiations.[18] Allied pressure, motivated by the perspective of speeding up the conflict end and importance of the Dardanelles operation, forced him to concede. He also got additional stimulus from Great Britain and France – their consent to Russian possession of

[14] PSR I, № 537.

[15] *Ibid.* № 744, 810.

[16] AJ, 80-I-5, 256–259ob; II-10, 190 и ob, 194, 196–197; II-11, 466–469; VIII-41, 4–5, 13, 39, 41; XI-52, 492 i ob; AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 427, F. XII, d. 1, 30–32ob, 36; r. 430, F. XIV, d. 7, 432–434ob, 490–491ob, 495; MID SPA, 1914, № 515, 654, 785, 804, 811, 817, 863, 874, 911, 917, 951; 1915, 977; ASANU, 9864/9; DARSM, 17.2.7–8/11–14; PSR I, бр. 374, 477, 490, 783; II, 1; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 252–253; MOEI, VI-1, № 219, 281, 355, 386, 404, 413, 438; VI-2, 561, 572, 590, 633, 648, 695, 703, 730, 735, 737–738, 742, 755, 758; VII-1, 1, 23, 80, 127, 203, 354, 368; Arsh 2002: 129–133; Ekmečić 1973: 294–295, 302–320, 335–369; Marjanović 1960: 34–35, 52–55, 61–63, 93–125, 140–152; Petrovich 1963: 174–178; Popović 1977: 192–195; Šepić 1967: 1–55; *Id.* 1970: 19–54.

[17] The territories Serbia was interested in, included in the Memoire were: Vlorë with the surroundings, Trieste, whole Istria up to the Kvarner, Dalmatia up to the Neretva River, the Pelješac peninsula and all the islands north and west of it. It was left for Europe to decide upon the end of the conflict what would be the solution for the area between the Volosko port and the north line of Dalmatia, and between the Neretva and the Drim.

[18] MOEI, VII-1, № 276, 281.

Constantinople and the Straits upon the end of the war.[19]

Russia did not question most of the Italian requests, apart from those referring to the Adriatic basin. In the Memoire to Tsar Nikolay II from 15 March, after consultations in the headquarters of Commander in Chief – Stavka, Sazonov accepted Trieste, Istria, and the Kvarner islands cession. He advocated for the area between Volosko (a small settlement, northeast of Opatija) and the border of the area he meant to give to Montenegro ("somewhere slightly north of Dubrovnik") to be given to Serbia and Croatia, regardless of the latter political form upon the armed conflict end. In case a new conversation relenting was necessary "on the fly", he defined "**the widest possible protection of the Serbian monarchy's interests**" as Russia's main goal. Final concessions for Italy were to include the land between Volosko and the mouth of the Krka River, initially meant for the Croats. They **were not allowed to sacrifice anything further than Šibenik** in the Serbian zone on the left bank of the Krka.[20]

Grand Duke Nikolay Nikolayevich Romanov had an important influence on the foreign minister's initial attitude change and his consent to negotiate with Italy. The chief commander of the Russian armed forces found no alternative for the deciding offense in the foreseeable future, but for the cooperation with Italian or Romanian army. France and Great Britain had an identical viewpoint regarding the "first-rate role" of Italy. With predominance in the battlefield, drawing Italy closer was expected to induce negotiations with the neutral Balkan countries. Russians confronting the possibility that Italy would take over Austrian-Hungarian role, would block the access to the coast for Serbia and Montenegro and would sow the seeds of discord in the future, weakened faced with the warfare needs.[21] For the sake of pressuring Russian diplomacy, Paris and London kept employing their consent to the possession of Constantinople and the Straits. In return, they expected Sazonov neither to tighten nor to slow down the negotiations flow, not even regarding the timeframe within which Italy was supposed to take action.[22]

By the end of March, information about secret conversations in London reached Niš. Delegates of Yugoslav emigration from Austria-Hungary, together with the diplomatic channel sources, kept Pašić informed about "the extraordinary difficult situation regarding

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[19] AS, MID PO, 1914, r. 427, F. XII, d. 2, 113; 1915, r. 442, F. I, d. 1, 6; r. 447, F. III, d. 6, 1006; MOEI, VI-1, № 219, 290; VI-1, 621; VII-1, 47, 203, 205, 274–275, 303, 306, 318, 322, 328, 331, 341–343, 349, 351–355; PSR I, № 451, 460, 721, 759; II, 2, 17, 21, 33, 135, 194; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 258–259, 261, 264; Vinogradov 2002; 156–157; Živojinović 1971: 62–68; Marjanović 1960: 27–29, 38–40, 113–116, 133–140, 162–172; Petrovich 1963: 178–182; Popović 1977: 196–197; Salvemini 1925: 553–561; Stanković 1984: 131–132.

[20] Russia opposed the Adriatic area neutralization, as they were meant for the Slavic countries; especially for the coast of Montenegro, MOEI, VII-1, № 373, 378; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 262–264; Marjanović 1960: 172–174.

[21] At the end of March Foreign Office expressed fear that Italy could possibly accept Germany's offer for maintaining neutral position. Grey pressured Russia to agree with Rome's requests. "He suspected Serbia would complain about insufficient Entente support", as in perspective it should obtain tripled territory and wide access to the sea "for trade development". The chance to "shorten the war by many months" should not have been missed, "only" for the sake of securing "limited coast space", MOEI, VII-2, № 451.

[22] MOEI, VII-1, № 203, 378, 381, 388–389, 393–394, 396, 399, 402, 408, 414; VII-2, 417–420, 423, 426, 430, 439–441, 444, 448, 450–453, 455–456, 461–463, 465, 471, 474–475, 477, 479, 485–487, 489–494, 511, 535, 537, 539, 545–546, 550, 558, 563–564, 566–568; PSR II, бр. 157, 214, 217, 219, 234, 237; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 264–267, 272–278, 281–285; Byukenen 1991: 147–148; Janković 1973: 111–112; Marjanović 1960: 174–181, 185–209, 211–223; Petrovich 1963: 182–191; Popović 1977: 197–199, 202–208; Šepić 1967: 56–62; *Id.* 1970: 54–60.

the north half of the Adriatic coast"[23]. Right at the time, a Croatian politician from Dalmatia, Frano Supilo, was in Saint Petersburg asking for an energetic objection from Serbia. His request was responded to. Crown Prince Regent Aleksandar and Prime Minister Pašić expressed their expectation to Russian Minister in Nish Grigoriy Trubetskoy, that would defend Slavic nations' interests on the Adriatic coast at the Pevcheskiy Bridge. The response was prompt. On 3 April Sazonov replied that Russia would not sign the agreement "without securing a wide access to the seaside for Serbia" – and added a few days later – "the country which sacrificed the most and did the greatest favors".[24] The Serbian Government did not stop there. On 6 April Pašić sent a circular to the diplomatic representatives abroad, in which he asked the Triple Entente for "the Yugoslav provinces not to become transaction objects" during the London negotiations "causing damage to Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Europe and European peace".[25] The initiative gained momentum through Serbian action in the allies' public. Under the influence of amplified polemics of Italian and Russian press, Serbian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs made a note once more towards the end of April. However, Sazonov, who had previously been made to calm down the press tone, kept reminding that he was not in charge of everything.[26]

Russian Foreign Minister fiercely protested the manner Sir Grey defended British and French interests, especially in regard to the colonies in Africa and Asia Minor, whereas he showed an "extraordinary will" for cession in areas where Russia was interested in "decreasing Italian desires", so he "did not even hide" who presented an obstacle for the agreement from the Italian ambassador in London. Already resigned, he protested saying that his positions were not being taken enough into consideration. "Had I expected such negotiations conducting from Grey, I would never have consented to them being held in British capital," the imperial Minister regretted.[27] However, finally, "under the allies' pressure"[28] and not without protest, he accepted most of the Italian requests. Faced with dilemma between territorial minimum necessary "for independent existence" of Serbia on one side and the needs of Croats and Slovenes on the other, he made concessions to the damage of the latter. Sazonov mostly succeeded in fulfilling the mentioned program of "the widest possible protection" of Serbian countries' interests from his Memoire to Tsar on 15 March.[29]

According to the London Agreement on 26 April 1915, among other areas, Italy got a part of Dalmatia up to the Planka Cape (not far from Šibenik to the southeast), without the Pelješac peninsula they had asked for, but with almost all the islands. "The interest sphere" of Serbia and Montenegro spread between the Planka Cape and the River Drim confluence and included the rest of the islands (Drvenik Veliki, Drvenik Mali, Čiovo, Koločep, Jakljan,

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23 AJ, 80-II-11, 473–476; Šepić 1967: 56–57.

24 AJ, 80-II-11, 498–503; MOEI, VII-2, № 468.

25 MOEI, VII-1, № 501; PSR II, № 280.

26 AJ, 80-I-2, 139 i ob; I-5, 287–288ob; II-9, 62–63; II-11, 477–486, 490–491, 498–506; IV-23, 556; VIII-41, 97 i ob, 108–109ob, 128; DARSM, 17.2.84/174; ASANU, 9829/39–44; 9831/275, 284, 287, 294–295; MOEI, VII-1, № 354; VII-2, 425, 434, 445–446, 460, 470, 514, 560, 588, 629; PSR II, № 236, 238, 247, 317, 327, 333–334; Bajin 2016: 251–253; Janković 1973: 112–113; Marjanović 1960: 203–204, 215–217, 219–221; Pisarev 1968: 78–79; Popović 1977: 199–202, 205–206; Stanković 1984: 133–140; Šepić 1967: 56–74; *Id.* 1970: 66–72.

27 MOEI, VII-2, № 456.

28 *Ibid.* № 575.

29 Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 287–288; MOEI, VII-2, № 423, 444, 571, 573–577, 579–581, 585–587, 594, 598, 603, 610.

Šolta and Brač). After "a long fight" resembling "the one between the Trojans and the Achaeans over Achilles' body",[30] Russia succeeded both in avoiding the whole coast neutralization and in potentially enabling Serbia complete freedom of movement from the lower edge of Pelješac up to ten km south of Cavtat for military purposes. The part of the coast already possessed by Montenegro was meant to have the same treatment.[31] Additionally, there was a perspective of joining Shkodër, Shëngjin, and Lezhë to Montenegro. Italy was to take Vlorë with the surrounding area; the central part of Albania with Durrës would form a small autonomous country, while Serbia and Greece were meant to have a mutual border, "spacious enough" west of Ohrid lake. Finally, Croatia would get the coast from Volosko to the north point of Dalmatia.[32]

At the time of signing, Russia's position that the London Agreement fulfilled the minimum of the small ally's interests, was the opposite of the Serbian political elite views.[33] Along with securing Serbia strategically, the Pašić's work of was based on the principle of a "fair solution to the Adriatic issue" in the spirit of the "three-named nation" unity.[34] The Russian foreign minister would try to explain in vain that it would be "impossible to achieve the whole ideal at once," taking into consideration that Italy entering the war was of "great interest".[35] The Serbian prime minister had already sent prominent scientists to the Entente Powers capitals, with the aim of keeping the officials and the public informed about the Yugoslav issue. Professors Ljubomir Stojanović and Aleksandar Belić were supposed to go to Saint Petersburg. As the news about signing an agreement with Italy, with the help of significant relenting on the Russian side had arrived, Pašić again decided to go to the city on the Neva River himself. The reply did not differ much from the one received a month earlier, after Regent Aleksandar's suggestion. The Serbian prime minister's visit was

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30 Salvemini 1925: 561.

31 Due to the compromise about Šibenik, Sazonov changed his mind about the possible borderline between the Serbian states, compared to the projection in the Memoire to Tsar. According to the new one, Dubrovnik and Cavtat were to be owned by Serbia.

32 Agreement 1920: 3–4; MOEI, VII-2, № 537, 612–617, 619, 623, 633, 644, 646, 658; Tsarskaya Rossiya I: 293; Marjanović 1960: 445–449; Petrovich 1963: 191–193. Yugoslav historiography has remained scarce about the London Agreement. On the Croatian side there was a tendency to perceive the territory meant for Serbia and Montenegro as mutual, or simply not to analyze it in detail. This tendency was so strong to the extent that they used the second-rate sources in interpretation; contemporaries' memories, instead of using available document – agreement between the Allies and Italy. However, Serbian historians complete the reprehensible image with a certain dose of contradiction, by denying previous statements from the sources about the negotiations flow and by avoiding to confront the problematic topics. In that sense, there is a generalization of the territorial solutions in the Agreement as "violation of Serbia's war goals" or "Yugoslav interests", Janković 1973: 115; Marjanović 1960: 232–241; Popović 1977: 206–208; Stanković 1984: 132–133; Šepić 1970: 71–73.

33 Despite the fact that the Agreement had a secret tone, the Entente practically revealed territorial division of the lower Adriatic coast in the memoire sent to the Serbian Government on 15 August 1915, with the aim of its relenting the negotiations with Bulgaria, Radivojević 2019: 182.

34 AJ, 80-I-2, 139 и об; Stanković 1984: 137–139; Šepić 1970: 77–78.

35 Although he himself considered Italian aspirations exaggerated, he advised patience. "In the next ten or fifteen years you will fight again, and then you will accomplish even what you could not accomplish now; your army will do wonders then as it is doing now", said Sazonov. He believed "it would be easier for Serbia to deal with them, than it was with Austria-Hungary, since neither the Italians were good soldiers at all, nor was Italy a Great Power", AJ, 80-II-11, 498–503, 549–551.

described as "useless," as it could not influence the negotiations further flow and conclusion. This would be inconvenient both for himself and for the imperial government.[36] They kept convincing from the Pevcheskiy Bridge that they were doing "all they possibly could to defend Serbian and Slavic interests".[37]

Rumors about concessions to Italy were stirring up the situation in Niš. Croatian politicians in exile added fuel to the fire, stating that they were preparing people in Dalmatia to repel Italy.[38] Pašić endured attacks from a few sides. He had already received estimations about the compensation scope from the diplomatic representatives. On 29 April for an instant the Serbian prime minister neglected the Yugoslav program and took an interest in the issue concerning the Serbian people primarily. Speaking with Trubetskoy during the London negotiations, he asked for Russia to take care of possession of Šibenik and the territory surrounding the Krka River, inhabited mostly by an Orthodox population. However, it was only a short reflection. Continuing to protest fiercely against the way compensations were granted behind Serbia's back and without its approval, Pašić returned to the well-known constructions of the "Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian" people and coast.[39]

As May began, the Serbian government was given confirmation about the day the London Agreement had been signed and a rough insight into its content. The situation in other allies' capitals was similar to the one in Saint Petersburg - the representatives were appeased by claims that Serbia's national pretensions were taken into consideration during the negotiations. The French minister of foreign affairs, Théophile Delcassé, considered that "if this war turned out well for the allies, Serbia would profit the most" and that "we should be able to moderate our demands" as "in reality an ideal was hard to reach completely".[40] It was stated from London that "Russia and the allies take the biggest care of Serbian interests," and added that "compromise was inevitable" and that "we should be satisfied with what we got, in order not to lose everything." At the time, Great Britain made an "official and confidential" promise of joining Bosnia, Herzegovina, and "a wide part of the coast" to Serbia as well as the union with Croats, if they were willing to do so.[41] Similar friendly notes came from the Italian diplomacy representatives as well. However, none of these fully complied with Serbian expectations.[42]

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[36] AJ, 80-II-9, 66–67ob; II-10, 218–230; II-11, 573–576; V-27, 240–241; MOEI, VII-2, № 460, 468, 626, 638, 653; PSR II, № 254; Bajin 2016: 253–254; Popović 1977: 208–209; Trgovčević 1986: 40–42; Šepić 1960: 453–457. MOEI, VII-2, № 638.

[37] MOEI, VII-2, № 638.

[38] The main reason why Duke Trubetskoy supported the Saint Petersburg visit of Belić and Stojanović, was actually taking away from "the South Slavs" the accusation that Serbia had not done enough for "the action of national union", MOEI, VII-2, № 570, 595, 605. His superiors found in the same manner that Pašić was given a "shelter" against the opposition and Croatian-Slovenian emigration, as he was left with no option, having been denied the permission to visit Saint Petersburg, *Id.* 638, 645, 655; AJ, 80-II-11, 583–588; Popović 1977: 208–209.

[39] AJ, 80-I-2, 141–144; I-6, 424–428, 432–433ob; II-8, 615–617ob; II-9, 64–65ob, 72–78; II-11, 521–522ob, 540–545, 553–565; IV-24, 602–610; VIII-41, 113 i ob, 122 i ob; MOEI, VII-2, № 588, 626–629, 642, 645, 655, 681, 720; PSR II, № 363–364; Bajin 2016: 254–255; Janković 1973: 115–117; Pisarev 1968: 105–106; Popović 1977: 209–210, 212–213; Šepić 1967: 73–76; *Id.* 1970: 78–80.

[40] PSR II, № 362.

[41] *Ibid.* № 379; MOEI, VII-2, № 686, 698.

[42] AJ, 80-I-2, 145–146; I-5, 311; II-10, 244–245; II-11, 566–590, 595–597, 615–616; IV-23, 557–558; AS, MID PO, 1915. r. 447, F. IV, d. 3, 175; VA, K. 67, F. V, 5/14; PSR II, № 363, 389; Stanković 1984: 140–142.

Serbia opted for one more note to the Entente Powers. In accordance with the decision made at the government session which the regent took part in on 3 May, Pašić made a vigorous protest to the allies' representatives. A few days later, a written note was formed on the basis of the protest. Taking this step, the Prime Minister relied on the general public, political circles, and people's discontent with the rumors about the agreement with Italy – which damaged the national union. In order to relieve the difficult position of the ministerial cabinet, suspected not to have enough foreign support, he asked from Russia, Great Britain, and France: 1) assurance that the territory issue had not been irretrievably solved, and that it would be looked into in a direct agreement with Italy; 2) that they would not determine borders on the other sides without previous agreement with Serbia; 3) a warranty for Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian union; 4) that they would influence Italian armed forces not to hurry with the "most sensitive" areas breakthrough, in order to avoid conflict with the locals. Speaking with the Entente representatives, for the sake of achieving effect, Pašić mentioned possible Government resignation.[43]

Simultaneously with the diplomatic action, Crown Prince Aleksandar sent a letter to Grand Duke Nikolay Nikolayevich. He indicated that "one and a half million of pure-blood Slavs were left to Italy" which meant "a hundred and fifty thousand excellent soldiers," all the ports, strategic points, and merchant exits at the Adriatic coast. He indicated the injustice and danger of the perspective in which Italy could take over the role of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. Thus, he as the commander of Russian armed forces was warned about the moral repercussions such politics would have on Serbian army and its "difficult mental state".[44]

It is visible that Serbia expected support from a de facto patron – Russia. While the Chief Commander Headquarters refused to meddle in political matters, quite picturesque messages were coming from the Pevcheskiy Bridge. Along with promises, Sazonov sent serious warnings. Not only did he find Serbian reprimands that Russia had taken insufficient care of its interests "unfair," but he also thought they were "indecent" and threatened to produce "the worst impression." Imperial protection of Serbia had led to the war in which Russia was burdened the most; yet the Empire did not cease to help Serbia both in a material and diplomatic manner. He added that it would become visible upon publishing documents about the negotiations with Italy, that he "fought for each foot of the land" regardless of "the most inconvenient circumstances." And Serbia "should better not forget" that it still did not own the demanded areas and regardless of its army qualities, those areas could only be obtained thanks to the allies' (primarily Russia's) battlefield success. "I cannot say that all the wishes of certain exalted Serbian patriots will be granted, but I am sure that you will get a territory so large that you will not be able to put it in order even in a hundred years," Sazonov stated almost prophetically.[45]

He did not understand why Belgrade University Professors Aleksandar Belić and Ljuba Stojanović kept refusing to recognize Italy's right to part of Dalmatia. He asked them "not to resent" his being a Russian firstly, as he was "a Serb right after that" and "the Serbian

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[43] AJ, 80-IV-24, 611–614ob; ASANU, 14447; 14924/43; MOEI, VII-2, № 690; PSR II, № 388; Janković 1973: 117–118; Popović 1977: 213–214; Stanković 1984: 142–145; Šepić 1970: 81–82.

[44] AJ, 80-IV-24, 604–607; AS, Marambo, F. XLI; MOEI, VII-2, № 607

[45] AJ, 80-II-11, 601–602; MOEI, VII-2, № 645, 689; Bajin 2016: 255.

people's interests were the closest to him." "Serbia's merits will be rewarded hundredfold" he kept convincing them by mentioning Bosnia and Herzegovina, a probable union with Montenegro, and obtaining Dalmatian coast with "old Split".[46] On 7 May Trubetskoy calmed down the "despondent" prime minister a bit, using his superior's arguments. Pašić accepted to stop with "barren and even damaging" action of stirring the public up. He even reconciled with the fact that the compromises might have been inevitable, but he regretted his not having been informed about them in a timely manner, so that he could have prepared the public in due course. He warned the press in Niš not to express discontent and distrust of the closest ally when writing about Dalmatia and also to spare Italy, until they entered the war. Serbian statesman accepted one more warning from the Russian representative. He convinced Frano Supilo not to return to Saint Petersburg and sent him to Great Britain, since he continued with the propaganda and organized protests in Niš together with the opposition.[47]

Serbian national leaders had way too dramatic viewpoint.[48] Italy was quite willing to keep friendly relations. The Italian ambassador in Russia stated in mid-March that the "independence and prosperity of Serbia" were "of utter importance" for his country.[49] A month earlier, Italian diplomacy sent a similar note to Austria-Hungary, warning that any Austrian-Hungarian military action in the Balkans would be considered a breach of the mutual allies' agreement if taken without previous consultation. It is peculiar that King Vittorio Emmanuele simultaneously assured the Serbian prince Đorđe that the Italian pretensions would be very moderate upon the end of war.[50]

Rome tried to remove distrust not very long after initialing the London Agreement. It is possible that Pašić was partly calmed down by the statement of the Italian Minister in Niš, shortly before the aforementioned reception of Trubetskoy. Baron Niccolo Squitti, who had already wired the superiors about the public anxiety provoked by the rumors about the great concessions to Italy, conveyed the Italian message about their intention to "enter into an agreement as soon as this is all over" as they wanted "on no account to be enemies" of Serbia. On the basis of this statement, Pašić counted on "quick action" of the new ally[51]. Russia also supported the initiative and the mutual benefits that both parties would obtain from the agreement, which could possibly be signed by Croatia as well. However, it turned out to be no more than a bluff, intended to calm down the stirred-up situation in Niš. Despite Serbian expectations and preparations for negotiatiions, Italy showed no intention to actually keep their promise.[52]

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46 AJ, 80-II-11, 607; Popović 1977: 211, 217.

47 AJ, 80-II-11, 600ob, 615–617; IV-23, 557; AS, MID PO, 1915. r. 447, F. IV, d. 3, 185; r. 448, F. IV, d. 3, 213–214; MOEI, VII-2, № 689, 705, 720; Popović 1977: 212–213, 215–216; Šepić 1960, 458–465: *Id.* 1967: 77–81; *Id.* 1970: 82, 100–105.

48 One of the positive things in the whole situation was the fact that Russian, French and British representatives in Niš, following their superiors' instructions, gave statements for joining Bosnia, Herzegovina and "wide area of land" in Dalmatia, that they would "take into consideration Serbian interests" in Banat and they would allow "federal state" with Croats, depending on their willingness, AJ, 80-VIII-41, 147, 156–157; XI-51, 291; AS, MID PO, 1915. r. 447, F. IV, d. 3, 175; MOEI, VII-2, № 686, 689, 698, 705, 720; Šepić 1970: 93–94.

49 MOEI, VII-1, № 354

50 *Ibid.* № 203, 389.

51 AJ, 80-IV-23, 558–559.

52 AJ, II-11, 623–626, 634–635, 653–658ob, 686–689; AS, MID PO, 1915. r. 447, F, III, d. 5, 846; F. IV, d. 3,

The mutual relations had significantly deteriorated by the time of the enemy offense in the autumn of 1915. Pašić pressured the Chief Command, insisting on a possible military agreement being dependent on the previous political issues arrangement, and also on a reserved attitude towards the Italian military attaché. On the one hand, the trust decreased by the action of Serbian army, directed towards occupying strategic points in Albania by its inaction in the battlefield with Austria-Hungary and stronger propaganda about the Yugoslav union. On the other hand, mutual connections were being worsened by the suspicion about Italian relations with the Montenegrin king Nikola, by refusing to reveal the text of the London Agreement and refusing to approve of the Serb and Croat union. Sazonov was right when he asked France and Great Britain to limit Italy's influence on negotiations about Serbian concessions to Bulgaria. Official Niš skillfully used "victims" in Dalmatia to tighten negotiations with other neutral countries.[53]

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Triple Entente negotiations with Italy showed that "military needs" often outweighed small allies' interests. Luckily, once more Russia was on the side of Serbia, which did not directly take part in the negotiations. Unlike the conversations with other neutral countries, the London Agreement might have protected Serbian pretensions best. As it has been mentioned, Sazonov mostly succeeded in achieving "the broadest Serbian Monarchy interests" from the program Memoire to Tsar on 15 March 1915. Naturally, Russia had its own interests together with the protector role. Italian demands for strategic points and occupation of the islands and the coast neutralization, partly supported by the west Triple Entente members, was based on the fear of Russia constructing military ports which would be used by its fleet. Russian positioning on the Adriatic coast via Serbia and Montenegro, combined with occupying Constantinople and the Straits, would level up its status of the sea force and would mean that their centuries-old dream about access to the "warm seas" would come true.

The Serbian government's Yugoslav program did not influence the London conversations flow. Niš protests had almost no other use but to irritate the Entente Powers' officials. Russia, France, and Great Britain did not understand the need to aim for the maximum in the national program accomplishment, all the while neglecting serious territorial acquisitions. Historical experience showed the core of the mistake Serbia had made – renouncing its own statehood, territorial spread and drowning in "unity." Opting for the unity with Croats and Slovenes significantly deepened the gap with Italy, which was the Great Power, despite everything. The fact that Rome did not see the matters realistically and

183; VRS VIII: 88; MOEI, VIII-1, 145, 188; VIII-2, 659; PSR II, № 389, 399, 505; Stanković 1984: 145–146; Šepić 1970: 82–84.

[53] AJ, 80-II-11, 591–593ob, 667–676, 690–693, 699–704, 716–717; IV-21, 327–342; AS, MID PO, 1915, r. 442, F. I, d. 1, 33 и ob; r. 447, F. IV, d. 3, 188; r. 448, F. IV, d. 3, 236–237ob; VA, P. 3, K. 91, F. IV, 19/91; DARSM, 17.2.199/415; MOEI, VII-2, № 729; VIII-1, 29, 39, 95, 101, 108, 116, 145, 153, 160, 188, 221, 244, 278, 280, 285, 306, 313, 418, 424, 428; VIII-2, 463, 474, 497–498, 522–523, 530–533, 541, 558, 586, 606, 635, 647, 659, 734, 759; PSR II, № 378, 380, 395, 428, 435, 439, 445, 447, 449–450, 505–506, 516, 530, 541–542, 551–552, 559, 563, 567, 570, 593–594, 620, 627, 633, 637, 639, 659; Salvemini 1925: 561–562; Trgovčević 1986: 45–71; Šepić 1967: 79–107; Šepić 1970: 85–146.

showed lack of interest for the small ally's needs must not be neglected. At the end, Italy entering the war did not justify the enormous territorial concessions, and did not have a decisive role in the war. The London Agreement attainments were mostly rejected at the peace congress. However, the consequences of the Agreement were significant. The vision of its (un)accomplishment had for decades been deteriorating Italy's relations with the former big allies and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and had finally led to mutual hostility.

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СРБИЈА, УЛАЗАК ИТАЛИЈЕ У ПРВИ СВЕТСКИ РАТ И ЛОНДОНСКИ УГОВОР. НОВО ТУМАЧЕЊЕ

Резиме

Преговори Италије са Антантом отпочели су непосредно по избијању Првог светског рата. Иницијативу за придобијање једине преостале државе са статусом велике силе која се налазила ван сукоба, преузео је руски министар иностраних дела, Сергеј Сазонов, помало преурањено, почетком августа 1914. године. У Риму, у том тренутку, још увек нису били спремни да направе тако велики искорак. За италијанску реакцију било је потребно да развој догађаја на фронтовима, у корист једне од две стране, узме довољно значајан обрт. То се десило у фебруару наредне године, са почетком операције француско-британске флоте у Дарданелима. Италија није часила са предлогом да се прикључи Антанти, али су се остариле зебње руске и српске дипломатије – она је поставила огромне територијалне захтеве на Јадранској обали. Русија је након напорних двомесечних преговора успела да донекле ограничи италијанске претензије и обезбеди довољне компензације за Србију и Црну Гору. Лондонским уговором од 26. априла 1915. српске државе имале су да добију, у перспективи, уз одређен број далматинских острва, пространи излаз на море од рта Планка до ушћа реке Дрим, са опцијом да део користе и у војне сврхе. Упркос манипулисању са његовим текстом у југословенској историографији, по увиду и изворни документ, установљено је да су Србији били намењени значајни територијални добици.

Ратне околности у прво време нису утицале на добру сарадњу између ње и Италије. Прве пукотине у пријатељском односу јавиле су се под утицајем пропаганде емиграната Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца из Аустро-Угарске, под егидом владе у Нишу; италијанске окупације Валоне и супротстављање намери да и Србија, из безбедносних разлога, заузме део земљишта немирног суседа, крајем 1914. године. Гласови о тајним преговорима, иза леђа српске владе, покренули су праву лавину. Не обазирући се на осетљивост Италије, српска влада је чинила драматичне представке код држава Тројног споразума, подстицала пропаганду делатност и рад југословенских политичара у иностраној јавности. Несагледавањем шире слике – упорним инсистирањем на „српско-хрватско-словеначком“ уједињењу – вођена тежњом да изазове Италију на ревизију Лондонског уговора у узајамном споразуму, уствари, ушла је у нескривено конфронтирање са њом. На другој страни, ни из Рима нису показивали довољно благонаклоности према интересима малог савезника у Албанији и обазривости у односу са црногорским краљем Николом. На то се надовезао недостатак воље за чињење уступака, ради задобијања добре воље Србије, приликом преговора са неутралним државама. Расцеп у будућности постајао је неизбежан.

Кључне речи: Лондонски уговор, Србија, Италија, Русија, Први светски рат, Никола Пашић, Сергеј Сазонов, сер Едвард Грej, југословенско питање, Далмација.

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TWO COLLECTIONS AND TWO GREEK OBSESSIONS*

Abstract: It has become a truism that museum exhibitions and interpretations are influenced by wider theoretical concepts and the author's personal ideas. Winckelmann's legacy is present in most of the European museums. Sometimes the concepts emphasizing Greece are perpetuated over decades, in spite of the fact that new archaeological interpretations contradict this neo-Classicist reading. Two examples will be offered to illustrate this situation. The first is the case of the Neolithic site of Vinča near Belgrade, excavated during several campaigns from 1908 to 1934 by Miloje Vasić. At the time he started researching the site, Vasić was the director of the National Museum in Belgrade and a professor of archaeology at the university. He argued that Vinča was a settlement of the Aegean colonists and an emanation of the Minoan and Mycenaean Bronze Age spirit. From 1934 on, he even identified Vinča as an Ionian colony from the sixth century B.C.E. After the First World War, Vasić ceased being the director of the museum and focused on the work at the university. At the same time, his Vinča interpretation was met with sharp criticism both in the Serbian and international archaeological communities and the site was firmly dated as Neolithic. Faced with criticism, even from the National Museum Belgrade, in 1929 Vasić established the University Archaeological Collection, where he placed material from the post-war excavations at Vinča and continued exhibiting his philhellenic interpretation. The second case to be presented is what is referred to as the princely grave from Novi Pazar, one of the most Iron Age important finds in the Central Balkans. From the middle of the twentieth century almost to the present day, a thesis concerning the Greek-Illyrian treasures has been perpetuated, although the new interpretations have clearly shown that both parts of this title are problematic.

Keywords: museum exhibitions, interpretation, Miloje M. Vasić, Vinča, Miodrag Grbić, princely graves of the Central Balkans, philhellenism.

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1. Museums are not all the Same, and Displays are not Objective

Archaeological data are not objective by themselves, but their meaning is generated from archaeological interpretation, including exhibiting and museum practices as its vital part. Just like there is no complete archaeological record in the sense postulated by Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers, there can be no complete and objective representation of the past.[1] Interpretations and museum practices are influenced by dominant ideational and theoretical concepts, and are even susceptible to personal proclivities and obsessions of a particular researcher. Museums and museum exhibitions are always interpretations, and not a neutral exposition of objective facts, since these are the places where many cultural realities are defined and articulated for the first time.[2] As stressed by Tatjana Cvjetićanin, while discussing the myth of museum neutrality: "From the moment a museum's inception until to the present, through its development in various types, not a single museum or museum specialist has ever been neutral. But this mask of neutrality – moral and intellectual – enables many museums to distance themselves from the important issues of the present".[3] David Fleming, referred to by Cvjetićanin, further states:

> Museums are social constructs, and politics is a cornerstone of social activity – you can't have one without the other. No matter what type of museum, no matter what it contains, decisions have been made by someone about what to research, what to preserve, what to collect, what to present, how to interpret; and decisions have been made about what *not* to do, what *not* to research, what *not* to preserve, what *not* to collect, what *not* to present, what *not* to interpret.[4]

Museum exhibitions may be founded upon explicitly expressed aesthetic criteria, or upon the ones implicitly accepted as what is considered normal. In this manner, the aesthetic ideal of ancient Greece, as constructed by Winckelmann, heavily influenced the formation and appearance of European museums and the mode of presentation of ancient artefacts, especially sculpture. Winckelmann's ideas originally shaped the Vatican Museum, but also the exhibitions at the Belvedere in Vienna, the Louvre in Paris, and many other museums. Furthermore, his influence drew attention to the idea that it is "beyond dignity of ancient monuments to act as mere ornaments, they should be a part of public museums and the heritage of the whole mankind".[5]

The concept of a museum and its exhibitions is decisively influenced by theoretical postulates. For example, General Pitt Rivers, mentioned above, designed his large anthropological collection, which still exists today in Oxford as the Pitt Rivers Museum under the direct influence of the doctrine of unilineal evolutionism and the idea of progress.[6] His typological concept of a museum stood in contrast to the geographical collections frequent at the time, exhibiting the material according to its place of origin. Although he based his collection on Darwin's principles, it is interesting to note that Pitt Rivers also took inspiration

1 Lucas 2012: 46–47.
2 Šelton 2014: 100–102.
3 Cvjetićanin 2018: 576.
4 Fleming 2013.
5 Honour 1988: 85–87.
6 Grin 2003: 47–50.

from the ethnographic collection of Edme-François Jomard in Paris, which was organized according to Baron Georges Cuvier's biological principles of comparative anatomy. The baron was a staunch opponent of the idea of evolution: following classes, orders, species and varieties.[7] However, the idea of progress was the basic thread of Pitt Rivers' collection, and the geographical and even chronological origins of objects were of less importance to him. What mattered was the evolution of forms as an illustration of the presumed phases of the growth of mankind, so he adapted his exhibition to the idea of continuous development of artefacts from the natural form through the process of unconscious selection. Pitt Rivers succeeded in promoting his concept for exhibiting anthropological and prehistoric material as an ideal model for a collection by giving lectures, and his ideas influenced the layout of the exhibition of the Society of Antiquaries of London and even the British Museum.[8]

A kind of a geographical model of museum prevailed in the end precisely because of the conceptual change that came about. Characteristic of this is the struggle of Franz Boas against the "typological evolutionary concept" of the exhibition at the U. S. National Museum, which reflected the ideas of unilineal evolution that were predominant at the time in the powerful institution of the Bureau of American Ethnology. In 1887, Boas, a young anthropologist at the time and a custodian with limited experience, stood up against the exhibition concept of the National Museum designed by Otis T. Mason, one of the leading American anthropologists. Mason displayed ethnographic material from the American nations according to his evolutionary scheme and the universal discoveries of fire, pottery, basketry etc., so the objects from various cultures were exhibited together, according to their presumed typological and technological evolution.[9] Boas proposed a opposing model based upon the idea of different characteristics of individual groups, tribes, and cultures (*Geistwissenschaft*), following the tradition of the Berlin anthropological school, from which Boas himself originated and which indirectly gave rise to the culture-historical approach in anthropology.[10] According to Boas, "[t]he main object of ethnological collections should be the dissemination of the fact that civilization is not something absolute, but it is relative, and that our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes".[11] It is interesting to note that the concept of groups was applied in some European museums even before Boas' museological turn in America, especially in Germany and Scandinavia.[12]

2. The First Stratigraphic Exhibition of Vinča and the Aegean Narrative

The legacy of Winckelmann's Greek spirit, present as the exhibiting canon of many world museums, did not omit Serbia. A peculiar obsession with Greek heritage marked the interpretive and exhibition practices for over a century and persisted in spite of changes in theoretical and interpretive paradigms. The examples of the corpus of archaeological material

7 Chapman 1985: 24–25.
8 *Ibid*. 29–31.
9 Jacknis 1985: 77.
10 Zimmerman 2001: 201–216; Palavestra 2011, 109–111.
11 After Jacknis 1985: 83.
12 *Ibid*. 77

from Vinča, as well as what was referred to as the Graeco-Illyrian treasures from the princely graves from the Central Balkan Early Iron Age, may well illustrate the way in which the interpretive clichés on Greek heritage have influenced the shaping of museum presentations.

Miloje M. Vasić started his excavations at Vinča in 1908.[13] At the time, he was not only the university teacher and the director of the Vinča excavations, but also the curator, i.e. the director of the National Museum in Belgrade. Because of this position, he paid great attention to how the Vinča material was presented in the museum. From the beginning of the excavations at Vinča, Vasić explicitly insisted upon the stratigraphic method and overtly criticized the typological approach. He meticulously, even obsessively, recorded the relative depths of artefacts instead of the horizontal position of objects, coordinates, and even the archaeological contexts. Vasić insisted that the archaeological material from Vinča should be exhibited according to his stratigraphic principle and he entrusted the ordering of the collection and the *definitive* drawing of sections and material to his best student, Milan Mitić, who surprisingly was not a member of the Vinča excavation team:[14]

> In the collection of prehistoric antiquities, Mr Milan Mitić worked on the definitive stratigraphic recordings from the site of Vinča and on the necessary drawings of pottery products from the same site. The recording of the pottery products revealed a great abundance of ceramic forms and their variety from the site of Vinča, and their stratigraphic distribution will represent in chronological order the development of certain types throughout the duration of this settlement (…). Mr Mitić also started sorting the selected finds from Vinča according to their stratigraphic depths, in order to create a small collection aimed at exhibiting, representing by its objects the history of the cultural life during the prehistoric times at Vinča. Our museum will excel over many others due to this collection, and at the same time it will offer to experts the most reliable data for all kinds of research, thus elevating the reputation of the museum even more.[15]

Paradoxically, Vasić understood stratigraphy in typological terms based on comparing identical types of objects appearing at same depths, preferably in ideally flat layers. In this way he hoped he would reach an absolute chronology and represent the historic development of individual shapes. Vasić, both as a researcher and as a museum curator, was a consistent proponent of what was referred to as hidden stratigraphy, which was based on the vertical position of finds, common in archaeology by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. This typological stratigraphy of artefacts is methodologically different from the much more complex depositional, i.e. formational stratigraphy, soon to become the standard archaeological method.[16]

On the other hand, from the very start of his excavations at Vinča, Vasić's interpretation of this site was already fully formed, and he argued that this settlement was under the direct influence of the Aegean Bronze Age, and was not Neolithic at all.[17] He concluded as early as 1911 that the Vinča settlement was continuous, without any interruptions, and that chronologically it should be situated between Troy II and the period

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13 Vassits 1910; *Id*. 1911.
14 On Mitić see Mitrović 2016.
15 Vasić 1910: 176–177.
16 Wheeler 1956: 70–71.
17 Vassits 1911: 129–130.

of La Tène.[18] His opinion on the dominant Aegean influences, colonizers and cinnabarite miners, as well as the supposed parallels between the finds from Vinča and the Greek Bronze Age artefacts, remained unchanged until as late as 1932, when, in the first volume of the Vinča monograph, he dated the site as being the period between 1600 B.C.E and 6 C.E.[19] This idea of direct Aegean influences and analogies with the Aegean Bronze Age undoubtedly dominated his choices for the exhibits in the stratigraphic display, which was unfortunately destroyed during World War I.[20] Today there is no precise information on this exhibition at the National Museum, but on the grounds of one surviving photograph from 1914 showing the consequences of the Austrian and German bombing during the war, it may be inferred that the pottery and statuette fragments were placed in display cases and in dense rows on wall panels, probably according to stratigraphic principle, i.e. according to Vasić's idea of measured depths (Fig. 1).

2.1. Neolithic Vinča in the Prince Paul Museum

After 1924, Vasić did not excavate Vinča on behalf of the National Museum. From 1919 he was no longer its director due to his disagreement with the plans for the museum's reconstruction. The excavations at Vinča in 1924 were the first and the last project in which he was not in full control, not so much in archaeological terms, but in respect to administrative and executive terms. That year he conducted excavations as a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy on behalf of the museum. The role of director was assigned to Vladimir Petković, and his rapport with Vasić was less than cordial. After a tense correspondence during 1925 and 1926, when Petković stipulated various conditions and even an ultimatum to the Vinča explorer, the collaboration between Vasić and the museum was terminated.[21] Miloje Vasić concluded the excavations at Vinča and started again in 1929 when he secured funding independently from the museum. However, all the material from the previous campaigns (1908, 1911–1913, 1924), including the major part of the field documentation, remained in the National Museum.[22]

Vasić was had an uneasy relationship with the museum management (Vladimir Petković) and with the young curator, Miodrag Grbić (1901–1961), who started a different kind of research into Neolithic in Serbia.[23] Grbić was the key link in the transfer of ideas of the Central European archaeology into Serbia. He completed his doctorate in Prague with Lubor Niederle (1865–1944). He fervently opposed Vasić's interpretation of Vinča and the

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18 *Ibid*.

19 Vasić 1932: 96–97; Palavestra, Milosavljević 2016.

20 Mitrović 2015.

21 Miloje Vasić's letter to the Director of the National Museum, 6th July 1925. AAZFF No. 102, 1-2; Miloje Vasić's letter to the Director of the National Museum, 29th May 1926. AAZFF No. 101; Vladimir Petković's letter to Miloje Vasić, 5th June 1926; draft of the Miloje Vasić's letter to Vladimir Petković, 7th June 1926. AAZFF, No. 101.

22 Vasić kept his field „journals", the major part of photographic plates, photographs, and drawings, while the plans remained in the Museum. Ironically, today the „journals" are also in the Museum, since after his death, Vasić's family sold them to this institution.

23 One of conditions by Petković was his insistence that Grbić should be a member of the Vinča excavation crew, declined by Vasić in 1926.

idea of an Aegean Vinča, stressing that this was in fact a Neolithic site.[24] He excavated other sites of the period, such as Pločnik, and Starčevo, with the American crew from the Peabody Museum, where he identified an even older Neolithic layer. Grbić pointed to the existence of a number of other Neolithic sites contemporaneous to Vinča and to the fact that these settlements corresponded to the wider cultural and chronological pattern of Southeast European prehistory, for which earlier layers preceding the Vinča culture were identified. Grbić thus formed the first cultural and historical framework of prehistory in this regioin, which was later amended.[25] During World War II, Grbić introduced a number of archaeologists and art historians (Milutin and Draga Garašanin, Jovan Kovačević) to the concepts of culture history through the Museum Course.[26]

Vasić recognized the danger that the material from Vinča would be presented in the museum in a different light through the Neolithic interpretive key, close to the cultural and historical paradigm, instead of his Aegean ideas based upon typological stratigraphy and formal analogies with Minoan and Classical Greek artefacts. Indeed, this is what happened. In the years after World War I, the museum frequently changed its location and restored its damaged collections. However, the archaeological material from Vinča was displayed in 1927, along with other Neolithic sites, as a part of the Department of Prehistory.[27] Later on the Neolithic Vinča was prominently displayed in the renovated Prince Paul Museum, created by the merging of the National Museum, the Museum of Contemporary Art, and the Arts Department of the Ministry of Education, and which opened in 1936 in the building of the New Court,.[28] It was placed in one of the three rooms on the ground floor, along with other artefacts dated to the Late Stone and Copper Ages, including those from Starčevo, Pločnik and Zok.[29] (Fig. 2; Fig. 3)

Miodrag Grbić, the well-respected custodian of an elite Yugoslavian museum, had already gained esteem through his research into Neolithic sites such as Pločnik, Starčevo and Botoš,[30] and here he placed Vinča in a wider Balkan Neolithic context. The concept of the Prince Paul Museum, with its new director, Milan Kašanin (1895–1981), was more artistic, had strong national and ideological inclinations, and archaeology was less prominent.[31] Aleksandar Bandović noted that, due to this, Grbić enjoyed less freedom than under Petković's directorship.[32] Be that as it may, in this exhibition, Vinča was presented in an utterly different key than in Vasić's times. Tatjana Mihailović stresses, "In the representative, politically powerful, and well frequented museum, Grbić publicly told another story about Vinča to professionals and the general public alike based on material excavated by Vasić himself".[33] In other words, by placing Vinča in a wider Neolithic context, he chronologically and culturally contextualized it, as opposed to Vasić, who isolated the site.

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[24] Grbić 1933.
[25] Gačić 2005; Bandović 2016; *Id.* 2019.
[26] Bandović 2014.
[27] Đorđević *et al*. 2005: 17.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Ninković 2009: 129.
[30] Gačić 2005: 30–31.
[31] Cvjetićanin 2014: 588–591.
[32] Bandović 2019: 124–131.
[33] Mihailović 2018: 367.

3. Vinča in Vasić's Archaeological Collection

Vasić salvaged his paradigm by establishing the Archaeological Collection at the Department of the Faculty of Philosophy, where all the material from the new excavations of Vinča from 1929 was stored and where he could freely shape the exhibition according to his ideas.

A rich English newspaper magnate from Birmingham, Sir Charles Hyde (1876–1942) decided in 1929 to finance archaeological research at Vinča, and donated five hundred pounds "for studies in archaeology and excavations".[34] However, Vasić had to secure an institutional framework to administer Hyde's donation. The university, as a large institution with a complex administration, probably seemed to be an insecure option. Therefore, Vasić devised the idea to form his own institution and soon succeeded in obtaining the permission of the Ministry of Education to found the Collection of the Archaeological Seminar at the Faculty of Philosophy. Later on, his aspirations became more ambitious, and in 1932 he planned to enlarge the collection into an archaeological museum at the university, and stored all the material gathered through excavations; but this plan did not come to fruition.[35]

By establishing the Archaeological Collection at the faculty, Vasić met several aims: He secured the financial and institutional framework to utilise Hyde's donation; separated from the National Museum and the obligation to hand over reports, documentation, and the material itself; and finally, by declaring that the collection was a "teaching facility for training young researchers," met one of the donor's requirements.

Although established in 1929, the exhibition of the collection was officially presented to the public on 10 February 1938, in the building of the Patriarchate of the Serbian Orthodox Church, in Bogojavljenska Street.[36] It was surely not a coincidence that this opening followed the presentation of the Prince Paul Museum and the display of Neolithic Vinča designed by Grbić. Thus, especially after 1938, the collection became an alternative space for promotion of Vasić's interpretation of Vinča. At the same time, this interpretation gained even more extreme forms despite new discoveries in Serbian and European archaeology, and it culminated in the proclamation of the Ionian colony at Vinča in the sixth century B.C.E.[37] The public was thus presented with two institutional interpretations of Vinča from two opposing sides: the one at the Archaeological Collection, governed by the unchallenged, yet isolated Vasić, and the other designed by Grbić at the Prince Paul Museum. The Archaeological Collection consisted of the material excavated after 1929 and emphasized Vasić's idea of the Ionian colony, while in the National Museum, the Grbić's interpretation exhibited the artefacts found until 1924 and reflected his Neolithic interpretation of the site.[38]

It is not possible to reconstruct with complete certainty the extent to which the exhibition at the collection explicitly demonstrated Vasić's narrative. Based on the surviving photographs, it is obvious that the artefacts were displayed in cases along closely packed

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34 Vasić 1932: X–XI; Nikolić, Vuković 2008, 51–58; Vujović, Vuković 2016: 820–822.
35 AAZFF, Fond MMV br. 028.
36 Lazić 2014: 25; Today the building houses the Embassy of Austria in the street Kneza Sime Markovića.
37 Vasić 1934; Vasić 1936 a; *Id.* 1936b; *Id.*1936c; Babić 2008: 128–132.
38 Mihailović 2018; Palavestra i Mihailović 2018.

rows, probably due to limited space (Fig. 4). In this respect, the display resembles the stratigraphic one before World War I. However, it may safely be assumed that Vasić did not shy away from emphasizing his interpretation of the Ionian colony. Marko Janković cites somewhat confusing information that a journalist from the *Belgrade Municipality Newspaper* summarized from Vasić's speech at the opening, which at the same time mentioned the Bronze Age settlement at Vinča and "experienced and skilled miners from the Aegean".[39] It is not likely that in 1938, on such an important occasion, at the time fully obsessed by the sixth century Ionian colony, that Vasić would revert back to his old idea of the Bronze Age colonists. It is rather more plausible that the journalist consulted the first volume of the monograph *Praehistoric Vinča*,[40] where the Bronze Age interpretation was still present. In any case, regardless of the details of Vasić's interpretation expressed in the exhibition at the Archaeological Collection, it was undoubtedly fundamentally different from the Neolithic one by Grbić displayed at the Prince Paul Museum.

The visitors of both the museum and the collection must have been somewhat confused by the conflict of two institutional and personal authorities – the museum and Grbić versus the collection and Vasić, and their radically different interpretations of the archaeological material from Vinča. The Archaeological Collection was instrumental for Vasić, not only as safe storage for the material and an exhibition site at which he could promote his interpretation of Vinča, but also to re-establish the lost institutional authority of a custodian and a director of an institution like a museum.

4. Greek-Illyrian Treasures

Let us now turn to another example concerning the finds from the graves in Trebenište and what is referred to as the Novi Pazar princely grave, both of which are among the most important Iron Age finds in the Central Balkans. From the middle of the twentieth century almost to the present day, a hypothesis has been perpetuated about these finds being Greek-Illyrian treasures, although the new interpretations have clearly shown that both parts of this label are problematic.

Even though the Aegean and Greek veil by which Miloje Vasić had covered Vinča was removed at the Prince Paul Museum and the site correctly presented as Neolithic, this does not mean that the spirit of Winckelmann had been banished from this institution. Quite the contrary. Considering the elite character of this institution and the high aesthetic requirements of its orientation, Greek art was much more prominent in the museum than prehistoric finds (Fig. 2). In the Graeco-Illyrian hall, a marble statue of Athena Parthenos, probably from Heracleia Lyncestis and found in 1932 near Bitola was displayed. The other halls contained cases of Greek vases, sculptures, and terracotta statuettes from Stobi, Budva, and other sites researched by the museum. The finds from Trebenište were given special attention. The site was excavated by Professor Nikola Vulić, and the finds were given to the museum in 1935 (Fig. 5).[41]

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[39] Janković (in preparation).

[40] Vasić 1932.

[41] Đorđević et al, 2005: 17; Ninković 2009: 129; Cvjetićanin 2014: 588–591; Krstić: 2018: 40–41. For the history of research into this necropolis and the work of Nikola Vulić, v. Chukalev 2018: 17–31. and Krstić 2018: 33–41.

The label Graeco-Illyrian, ascribed to part of the museum's collection and especially associated with the finds from Trebenište, was persevered after World War II and warmly embraced by the newly founded National Museum, which was the successor of the Prince Paul Museum. Along with Trebenište, the collection encompassed the finds from the rich princely grave uncovered in 1957 under the foundations of the mediaeval church of Saint Paul near Novi Pazar.[42] It is probable that Đorđe Mano-Zisi (1901–1995), formerly a custodian of the Prince Paul Museum and one of the researchers at Novi Pazar, was the transmitter of this Graeco-Illyrian discourse. At any rate, the idea remained as an interpretive template in the museum and was often repeated when material from Trebenište, Novi Pazar, Radolište and other similar sites were exhibited. The publication on Novi Pazar is entitled *The Illyrian-Greek Find*, and the material was exhibited soon after the recovery under the title *Illyrians and Greeks* (1959), followed by a symposium of the same name.[43] The exhibition *Graeco-Illyrian Treasures*, consisting mainly of the finds from Trebeništa and Novi Pazar, travelled to Great Britain and other countries with 14 events in total.[44] Numerous similar exhibitions followed, with variations of the original title.[45] The inversion of the title is not a coincidence, and the reversal from Illyrian-Greek to Graeco-Illyrian was most probably meant to emphasize the importance of the discovery.

Both aspects of the Graeco-Illyrian syntagm are generally problematic from an archaeological point of view, and especially so when applied to the finds from Trebenište and Novi Pazar. Present for centuries, the practice of declaring that all the communities of late prehistory living in the Western and Central Balkans were Illyrian, is derived from the classical written tradition. The discourse was very much present during the nineteenth century in linguistics, historiography, and archaeology, and remaining dominant until the middle of the twentieth century. It is not possible here to discuss in detail this complex problem of ethnogenesis and identity of the palaeo-Balkan communities, including the Illyrians. A reliable and detailed review is offered by Milutin Garašanin (*Nastanak i poreklo Ilira /Formation and origines des Illyriens*),[46] and the archaeologist himself was not completely immune to this narrative. More recently, Danijel Džino[47] and Vladimir Mihajlović[48] offered well-founded critical reviews of the Illyrian issue. In short, in the idea of Graeco-Illyrian treasures, the social structure of the palaeo-Balkan communities, their stratification and very complex relations with the neighbouring regions, including Greece and also the Apennine peninsula, are reduced to the simplified museum interpretation of Trebenište and Novi Pazar, presupposing "Greek penetration among the barbarians". As Ljubiša Popović, another explorer of Novi Pazar, states:

> The problem is to draw a line between the Greeks and the ones that are not Greek in the Balkans over various periods. In those times, the Illyrians and the Thracians might have been treated as real barbarians, while the Macedonians were a bordering line. (…) The first hints of the Greek penetration

[42] Mano-Zisi, Popović 1969.
[43] *Ibid.* 9
[44] Jevtović 1994: 9.
[45] Krstić 2018: 40, note 5.
[46] Garašanin 1988.
[47] Džino 2008a; *Id.* 2008b.
[48] Mihajlović 2014.

> are testified by the rich grave offerings at Trebenište, more modest ones at Radolište, more opulent at Novi Pazar and Atenica. Only on the grounds of these, it can be concluded to what extent these influences were decisive in the formation of the taste of the tribal leaders of smaller Illyrian communities and tribes. At the times of the primitive exchange of goods, the Greeks offer oils, wine, metal vessels, helmets, *knemidae*, in exchange for ores, wood, hides and fragrant plants. (…) It is obvious that the arts of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, after the illusionism and flourishing figural representations, acted spontaneously and acceptable for the taste of barbarians, the ones the Greeks call *barbaroi*.[49]

The petrified narrative of the Graeco-Illyrian treasures has obstinately persisted, despite the fact that from 1984 until now a whole range of archaeological and anthropological interpretations has been offered that explains the appearance of the princely graves in the Central Balkans, the luxurious objects registered in them, and the relations between the palaeo-Balkan populations and their neighbours. These interpretive models included, among others, the ritual exchange of gifts, communication control, peer polity interaction, princely graves as territorial markers of social cohesion and collective memory of transhumant communities, gateway communities, translation zones, etc.[50] In short, the main objection to the cliché of "Greek penetration among the barbarians" of the Central Balkans may be summarized in these two sentences:

> Among the objections put forward concerning the traditional interpretation of the Greek goods recorded in the *princely graves* (…), the fact has been stressed that the small quantity of these objects does not fit into the pattern of a mighty economic input from the South. Indeed, the full list compiled from all the graves registered in the Central Balkans points to equally low numbers stretched over the period of almost two centuries.[51]

5. Greek Legitimacy and Hellenization

Key to the Graeco-Illyrian cliché is undoubtedly the association with ancient Greece, which is itself a concept loaded with controversies,[52] and whose many connotations will not be discussed here. In short, the Hellenic link has been supposed to ensure a higher civilizational status for displays of archaeological material from the "barbarian" Central Balkans, ranging from the Ionian colony of Vinča to Graeco-Illyrian treasures from Trebenište and Novi Pazar. As Staša Babić writes:

> Throughout the history of archaeological research into contacts between the Greeks and other populations, attention has been focused on the artefacts of Greek manufacture registered in the context of other cultures. The quality and the quantity of these artefacts have been seen as indicative of the degree of *Hellenization*, the profound and inevitable influence of Greek culture on the inferior barbarians. The mechanisms of contacts leading to this decisive change within various local cultures have been explained mainly in terms of routes of influence – suitable natural communications along which luxurious goods reached the hinterland. In this framework, one of the assumptions is that

[49] Popović 1994: 18–19.
[50] For various interpretations of the princely graves, v. Babić 1990; *Id*. 2002; *Id*. 2007a; *Id*. 2007b; 2018; Babić 2004; *Id*. 2008; Palavestra1984; Palavestra 1988; *Id*.1994; *Id*.1998; Palavestra, Babić 2003; Babić, Palavestra 2018; Palavestra, Krstić 2006.
[51] Babić, Palavestra 2018: 192.
[52] Babić 2008: 55–64, 75–78.

> space is an absolute and definite category, at all times perceived, measured and represented according to the same rules and parameters (…) In dealing with Greek products in the European hinterland, this approach inevitably involves the well-established concept of Hellenization, superior Hellenic culture spreading over the barbarian areas.[53]

It is precisely this "deeply rooted and yet insufficiently clear concept of Hellenization"[54] that influenced the exhibitions described here at the National Museum, the Prince Paul Museum, and the Archaeological Collection, not only in the past, but in recent times as well. Although the narrative of the Graeco-Illyrian treasures is not prominent any more in the current permanent display at the National Museum, the web site for the Graeco-Hellenistic Collection at the museum is illustrated by a part of a golden ceremonial cuirass from Novi Pazar. Furthermore, the archaeological material from Trebenište, Novi Pazar, and Radolište forms a part of this collection, reflecting the old administrative structure of the museum.[55] The idea of Hellenization and "Greek influences on the barbarians in the hinterland" was also abundantly clear and prominent at the exhibition *The Central Balkans between the Greek and Celtic Worlds*, held at the National Museum in 2012 (Fig. 6). The central motive behind the exhibition was the exceptionally interesting and well researched site of Kale-Krševica near Vranje, often labelled as Hellenistic, whether with or without good reason.[56] Of this exhibition, I wrote:

> Instead of important archaeological problems raised by the research of this site (the issues of "hybridization" of cultures, the character of the site itself, the models of contacts between the Balkan hinterland and the Mediterranean, as well as the wider context and comparison with other similar sites in the Balkans), the authors of the exhibition (and/or the authors of the display) suggested to viewers a completely different story: that of Krševica as an isolated island of Greek civilization deep in the barbarian Balkan hinterland. This message to the audience, confusing and erroneous in my opinion, is emphasized by the large painted representations of the Greek way of life, copied from the Greek red-figure pottery, not registered at Krševica and mainly preceding it chronologically.[57]

I concluded then that Miloje Vasić would have been very satisfied with this exhibition. As Tatjana Cvjetićanin stated, the presentation of *The Central Balkans between the Greek and Celtic World*, as an "authorized and institutionalized truth" directed the public's focus to the settlement's inhabitants belonging to a higher cultural circle and Greek heritage, following the deeply rooted concept that is hard to critically evaluate and change.[58]

The cases of the collections from Vinča and from the Central Balkan princely graves, and of Krševica as well, vividly illustrate that the museum displays of cultural heritage are not neutral or objective, but fundamentally dependent on wider theoretical interpretive paradigms. It also proves that the spirit of Winckelmann and Vasić obviously still lives on in the Belgrade museums.

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53 Babić 2008: 147.
54 *Ibid*. 147.
55 Cvjetićanin 2015.
56 Vranić 2012.
57 Palavestra 2012: 650.
58 Cvjetićanin 2015: 578.

ABBREVIATIONS:

AAZFF – Arhiv Arheološke zbirke Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu (Archives of the Archaeological Collection ff the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)
Fond MMV – Arhiv Arheološke zbirke Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu, Fond Miloja M. Vasića (Archives of the Archaeological Collection ff the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, the Repository of Miloje Vasić)

DNM – Dokumentacija Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu (Records of the National Museum of Belgrade)

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Fig. 1. Photo of the material from Vinča arranged according
to the stratigraphic principle in the Museum devastated in 1914
(Mitrović 2015, 409)

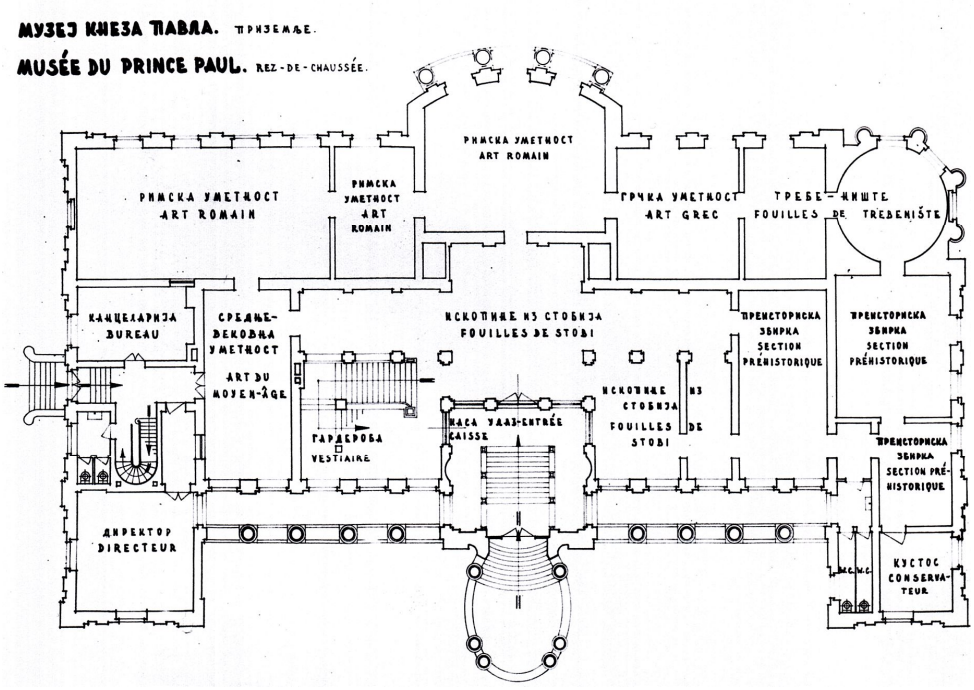

Fig. 2: Plan of the ground floor of the Prince Paul Museum
(Ninković 2009, 109, DNM)

Fig. 3. The Neolithic exhibition in the Prince Paul Museum
(Ninković 2009, 139, DNM)

Fig 4. Vinča material exhibited in the Archaeological Collection
of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1938 (AAZFF)

Fig. 5. Finds from Trebenište in the archaeological display of the Prince Paul Museum
(Krstić 2018, 41, DNM)

Fig 6. The exhibition of the Iron Age settlement Krševica nad Greek vases (DNM)

АЛЕКСАНДАР ПАЛАВЕСТРА
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ДВЕ ЗБИРКЕ И ДВЕ ГРЧКЕ ОПСЕСИЈЕ

Резиме

Већ је, до излизаности, понављана тачна тврдња су музејске поставке и интерпретације директно условљене ширим идејним и теоријским концептима који доминирају дисциплином, али и често и ауторовим личним интерпретацијама или опсесијама. Винкелманско наслеђе, класицистичко глорификовање „непревазиђене“ грчке уметности и хумболтовски образовни канон, тешко да су заобишли и један европски музеј. Понекад се се деценијама истрајава на изложбеним концептима „у грчком кључу“, иако нова археолошка интерпретација недвосмислено говоре против таквог неокласицистичког читања. Два примера могу добро да илуструју овакву ситуацију. Једно је случај вишеслојног неолитског насеља Винча код Београда, који је од 1908, па до 1934, у неколико кампања ископавао Милоје Васић. У почетку свог истраживања, Васић је био директор Народног музеја у Београду и професор археологије. Од самог почетка истраживања овог важног неолитског локалитета, Васић је инсистирао на томе да је Винча насеље егејских колониста и еманација минојског и микенског бронзаног доба. Од 1934, Винчу чак проглашава јонском колонијом из 6. века пре наше ере. После И светског рата Васић престаје да буде директор Музеја и посвећује се раду на Факултету. Истовремено у светској и српској науци долази до критика Васићеве неодрживе интерпретације и до препознавања Винче као неолитског локалитета. Суочен с таквим критичарима, чак и из Народног музеја у Београду, Васић 1929. оснива „Археолошку збирку Универзитета“, у коју смешта материјал с нових, послератних ископавања Винче и где неометано наставља своју филхеленску интерпретацију. Други случај је кнежевски гроб из Новог Пазара који је један од важнијих и богатијих налаза гвозденог доба на Западном Балкану. Од половине XX века, па такорећи до данас, на бројним изложбама Народног музеју Београду провлачи се теза о „грчко-илирском благу“ иако су новије интерпретације јасно указале на проблематичност, па и неодрживост оба дела те синтагме.

Кључне речи: музејске изложбе, интерпретација, Милоје М. Васић, Миодраг Грбић, кнежевски гробови централног Балкана, филхеленство.

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A POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE OF A VOYAGE TO EGYPT IN THE TRAVELOGUE *UNDER THE AFRICAN SUN* BY MILORAD RAJČEVIĆ*

Abstract: Milorad Rajčević (1890–1964), a famous Serbian traveller, adventurer, and travelogue writer, also went to Egypt in 1921 as part of his world travels. Impressions and experiences from his travels were published consecutively in Belgrade magazine *Little Journal* and in the form of monographs *Under the African Sun* (1924 and 1925) and *In the Far East* (1930). These writings provide us with an important insight into the Serbian bourgeois class image of both ancient Egypt and Egypt in the time Rajčević made his journey. His impressions and experiences from Egypt were transmitted through his travelogue *Under the African Sun* and were shaped by colonial discourse of a European traveller. It provides us with an insight into the attitudes towards ancient and modern Egypt before academic interest in studying ancient Egyptian past in Serbia. The travelogue contains numerous Orientalist ideas about Arabic population of Egypt. From the point of view of history of archaeology, particularly important are his comments on progress and modernisation. In that context, his comparisons of European with Ancient Egyptian cultural and technical achievements play a significant role. This paper analyses the content of the travelogue *Under the African Sun* from a postcolonial perspective and argues that although certain ideas inherent to colonial episteme of his time can be recognized, it is not possible to pinpoint the exact sources Rajčević used.

Keywords: Milorad Rajčević, travelogue, Egypt, Arabs, orientalism, postcolonial perspective.

1. Introduction

Academic interest in studying ancient Egyptian past appeared in Serbia relatively late in comparison to the development of Egyptology in Western Europe.[1] The birth of Egyptology as an academic discipline is related to the decipherment of hieroglyphic script and the publication of the results in this research field by French Egyptologist Jean-

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1 Matić 2011/2013: 38.

François Champollion (1790–1832) in 1822.[2] Academic interest in ancient Egypt in Serbia can be traced back to lectures on the "history of Misr"[3] which were given by Nikola Vulić (1872–1945), historian, classical philologist and an archaeologist, in 1898/1899 at the Great School in Belgrade (in Serbian "Velika škola", which offered the highest level of education from 1863 to 1905 and later becoming a university) as part of his "General ancient history".[4] At the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Dušan Glumac (1899–1980), philologist, historian, and archaeologist, was the first to lecture on ancient Egypt in 1955/1956.[5]

One of the reasons for little or almost non-existent interest in the ancient Egyptian past before the establishment of archaeology as an academic discipline is certainly the fact that Egyptology was developed in western European colonial encounters with Egypt during the nineteenth century.[6] In that time, Serbia was slowly but surely freeing itself from Ottoman rule and becoming a young nation state by the decision of The Congress of Berlin (13 June – 13 July 1878). Thus, research interest in ancient Egypt and Egyptology was marginal in comparison to national history and the focus on the establishment of the new nation state and the later "the ethnogenesis of Yugoslavs". This is nicely demonstrated by the definition of the research goals of later Yugoslav archaeology, as laid out at the first meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists from 3 to 8 May 1950.[7]

However, although there was not much academic interest in ancient Egypt, the land of Egypt evoked the interest of pilgrims from what is now modern Serbia in the Middle Ages but also later.[8] Non-academic interest in ancient Egyptian past on the territory of modern northern Serbia (Vojvodina), which was then a territory of Austro-Hungarian empire, appeared already at the end of nineteenth century when the first travellers who went to Egypt brought Egyptian antiquities back as souvenirs. Among them were Wilhelm Wettl, a printer and publisher from Vršac, and Max Adler, a citizen of Vršac, who donated the antiquities his brother Joseph Adler brought from Egypt to the museum in Vršac. Furthermore, the famous Serbian painter Paja Jovanović; Leonhard Böhm, antiquarian and mayor of Bela Crkva; Jovan Fernbach, famous lawyer and member of *Matica srpska*[9];

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2 Hassan 2010: 266; Jeffreys 2003: 5–6.

3 Misr is romanized Arabic name for Egypt found in many Semitic languages including the oldest evidence in Akkadian.

4 Danijela Stefanović extensively dealt with his manuscript entitled *The History of Misr* (National Library of Serbia, NLS R 382/1). The manuscript consists of lecturing notes which he had used during the summer term 1898/9. On 48 pages Vulić discussed extensively the issue of absolute and relative chronologies, stressing the importance of Manetho's history and Turin King List; genealogy of the rulers of the 4th Dynasty; canonical and non-canonical nature of Egyptian art; the cult of Osiris; the nature of the Hyksos rule, etc. He referred wherever possible to classical writers, i.e. Herodotus and Diodorus. On April 10, 1924 he gave a lecture on the discovery of Tutankhamon's tomb. Stefanović 2014. His importance for the history of Egyptology in Serbia is in shadow.

5 Matić 2011/2013: 38.

6 Hassan 2010: 265; Reid 2002: 142.

7 Milosavljević 2013: 718.

8 Vasiljević 2016: 175–181.

9 The oldest cultural and scientific institution in Serbia, founded in 1826 in Pest (today a part of Budapest), and moved to Novi Sad in 1864.

Hadži Pavle Riđički; Jov. Šorak of Rijeka; and Ernest Brummer.[10] This is how the collections in museums in Belgrade, Vršac, Sombor, and Subotica acquired Egyptian antiquities that were later studied and published. In fact, collecting Egyptian antiquities on travels and presenting them to local museums was a western and central European tradition.[11] This tradition clearly influenced cities with a Serbian population such as Vršac, Sombor, and Subotica within the Austro-Hungarian domain.

The overviews of research history on ancient Near East and Egypt in Serbia until now have focused more on these famous collectors. There is a short overview of the development and state of Egyptology in Serbia[12] and a detailed study of the reception of ancient Egypt in Serbia.[13] However, antiquarians did not leave their views of ancient or modern Egypt in written form. Milorad Rajčević and his reception of ancient and modern Egypt were until now not the focus of the few authors in Serbia who dealt with ancient Egypt and its modern reception.[14] His importance as a travelogue writer has been stressed only recently.[15]

Rajčević was born in 1890 in Prokuplje near Leskovac in southern Serbia, where he finished four classes of elementary school and two classes of *Građanska škola* (civil school). He was interested in painting, travelled to Vienna, and visited Salzburg, Munich, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Ulm, Paris, Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, Zurich, Basel, and Lucerne. He also travelled to the USA, and in 1910 he met the editors of the Belgrade journal *Mali žurnal* (Little Journal) who in the form of a bet offered him two years, a prize of 10,000 dinars, and a monthly payment of 150 dinars to travel through Europe, Asia, America, and Africa. He was supposed to wear the uniform of the Serbian infantry on his journey and provide evidence of his visits by getting confirmation from local authorities.[16] The director of *Mali žurnal* at that time was Pera Savić, one of the Savić brothers (Mihajlo, Božidar, Pera, and Svetolik). The brothers owned a print shop, a book shop, a cinema, and a pastry shop in Belgrade.[17] Rajčević started his world travel on 14 March 1910; however, he did not visit Africa until after the First World War (1914–1918). He described his journeys in his travelogues *Iz žarke Afrike* (Under the African Sun) in two volumes from 1924 and 1925 and *Na dalekom istoku* (In the Far East) from 1930.[18] The journey to Egypt is described in the first volume of the travelogue *Under the African Sun* and this volume is also the focus of this paper. Rajčević died in Lübbecke (Germany) in 1964.[19]

As stated at the beginning of this introduction, the first academically educated historians and archaeologists in Serbia at the end of nineteenth century did not show interest in studying ancient Egypt, and the first focused university lectures in this field appeared

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10 Anđelković 2002a: 212; Anđelković 2002b: 47; Anđelković and Panić-Štorh 2002: 9–11; Anđelković 2007; Anđelković and Harker 2011: 718; Anđelković and Elias 2013; Prodanović Bojović 2019; Vasiljević 2014; Vasiljević 2016: 205–207.

11 Novaković 2014: 36; Tomorad 2015; Šćukanec Rezniček 2015: 85.

12 Matić 2011/2013.

13 Vasiljević 2013; Vasiljević 2016.

14 Matić 2019b; *cf*. Vasiljević 2016: 219.

15 Savković 2018.

16 Dimitrijević 2015; Savković 2018: 517–519.

17 http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/365428/Braca-Savic-srpska-braca-Limijer

18 Rajčević 1924, 1925, 1930.

19 Savković 2018: 515.

relatively late, namely in 1950s. Therefore, it is interesting to ask what the experiences of Serbian travellers to Egypt at the beginning of twentieth century had, and what their views on ancient Egypt were. Were their views close to the Orientalist and colonial views prevalent in western Europe of that time?[20] Or can we trace local specific trends of reception and its academic background?[21] As was already emphasized, in an environment devoid of colonial experience we can equally find imperialistic representations, textualizations, interpretations, contextualizations, and politizations as in imperial environment.[22] In this we should not forget the context of the ideas expressed by Rajčević, namely that of a travelogue, as the written word on the Other lands meant to describe certain experiences and to represent both their imaginary dimensions and political reality.[23] Egypt is in this context particularly interesting as it seems that by the end of nineteenth century almost every European or American traveller who visited this country wanted to write down his or her experiences, no matter the number of already existing travelogues.[24] These travelogues were written not only by members of a specific social class but were also aimed at a specific social class.

Still, non-academic views are no less discursively formed than academic ones, and academic views are no less political than non-academic ones, so the question is in which measure are non-academic views close to the academic ones and are they formed by the same discourses?[25] As stated by postcolonial theoretician Homi Bhabha, to accept that there are many forms of political writings, whose effects can easily be lost if they are divided into theoretical and activist, or one can say academic and non-academic, is a sign of political maturity. Both forms of writing are forms of discourse.[26] Reading Rajčević's travelogue of can help us to uncover ideas about ancient Egypt in Serbia before the appearance of academic interest in it. Reports from his travels were successively published in several important journals of his time, such as *Mali žurnal*, for which he wrote from 1910 to 1930. These reports were then published as the monograph travelogue *Under the African Sun* (1924 and 1925).[27] Therefore, we can propose with relative certainty that his experiences in Egypt and impressions of modern and ancient Egypt reached a wider audience and formed knowledge and attitudes. This is especially the case because the journal was meant for the bourgeois class, which had the power to form public opinion. *Mali žurnal* was a famous oppositional journal with a radical and later democratic orientation.

The goal of this paper is to contextualize the representations of modern and ancient Egypt from Rajčević's travelogue, and to, when and if possible, place them in the frame of well-established "common places", understood as then widespread and accepted ideas originating in academia but found also in non-academic circles. This paper contributes to an understanding the perception of ancient and modern Egypt in Serbia (then part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians) at the end of the first quarter of twentieth

[20] Hassan 2010; Jeffreys 2003; Reid 2002.
[21] Babić 2018; Matić 2019a; Novaković 2014.
[22] Sretenović 2004: 6.
[23] Burdett and Duncan 2002: 8.
[24] Gregory 1999: 114–115.
[25] *cf*. Shanks and Tilley 1987.
[26] Bhabha 1994: 21.
[27] Rajčević 1924.

century. In this sense this task is important because it demonstrates the necessity for academic studies of ancient Egypt and its reception in Serbia.[28] This also means providing an expert critique on the ideas on ancient Egypt both in the academic and non-academic communities.[29] Attention here is given to Rajčević's experiences and thinking, since they demonstrate that, at first glance, harmless "common places" have a clear ideological context. This is why this is also a contribution to rethinking "common places" in the development of attitudes towards the Near East in Serbia. The rethinking of "common places" gained increased focus in Serbian archaeology only in the last two decades and it is of crucial importance.[30]

Under the African Sun was published by Grafički zavod Makarije (Makarije Graphic Bureau) in Belgrade in 1924. The hardcover book contains 237 pages of text in the Cyrillic script and is illustrated with black and white photographs and colour drawings. It was translated to French under the title *Sous le soleil de l'Afrique* and self-published by the author in Romania in 1931. Only a segment of this book is about ancient and then modern Egypt. For the most part the book is dedicated to Rajčević's travels; however, the reader occasionally comes across his assessments and opinions, which are not given as an integral whole but provide a very adequate illustration of his views and attitudes toward Egypt and its past. All such relevant passages will be analysed further. I follow the opinion of Dejan Sretenović, who argued that the first Serbian travellers to Africa viewed this continent through the filter of imperialist episteme, so that the knowledge they formed on Africa was based on colonial literature.[31] Since Rajčević does not quote any specific authors in his monograph, it is important to trace possible sources of inspiration for his ideas, if it is not possible to reconstruct with great certainty the actual authors who influenced him.

2. Wild Europe and Ancient Egyptian Civilization

With the rise of Egyptology as an academic discipline whose object of research is ancient Egypt, a clear border was drawn between the pharaonic and Graeco-Roman history of Egypt and the Medieval Islamic past of Egypt. Although criticized, this division is still common.[32] One of the reasons for this division is the European idea of ancient Egypt being a civilization developed by a white race and comparable to the civilizations of Greece and Rome.[33] This colonial understanding of ancient Egypt is nicely illustrated on the cover of the monograph *Description de'l Egypt*, published in twenty-three volumes from 1809 to 1818. Here the landscape of Egypt is depicted without Islamic monuments, architecture, or traces of life. Instead, the monuments from pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Egypt dominate. On the very top is a representation of Napoleon Bonaparte in the form of Alexander the Great riding a chariot and attacking the Mamelukes.[34] In this image, Napoleon is the new Alexander and

[28] *cf.* Vasiljević 1992; Vasiljević 1999–2000.
[29] *cf.* Vasiljević 2016.
[30] *cf.* Babić 2002; Babić 2006.
[31] Sretenović 2004: 24–25.
[32] Jeffreys 2003: 4.
[33] Matić 2020.
[34] Reid 2002: 2–3.

Mamelukes are the new Persians. A clear message was sent of both Napoleonic and European domination and the return of Egypt to the civilizational realm from which it was cut out either by the Persians or from the Mamelukes. In this context, it is important to mention Napoleon's message to the people of Alexandria on 2 July 1798 in which it is stated that French soldiers are the real Muslims: "*nous sommes les vrais musulmans*".[35]

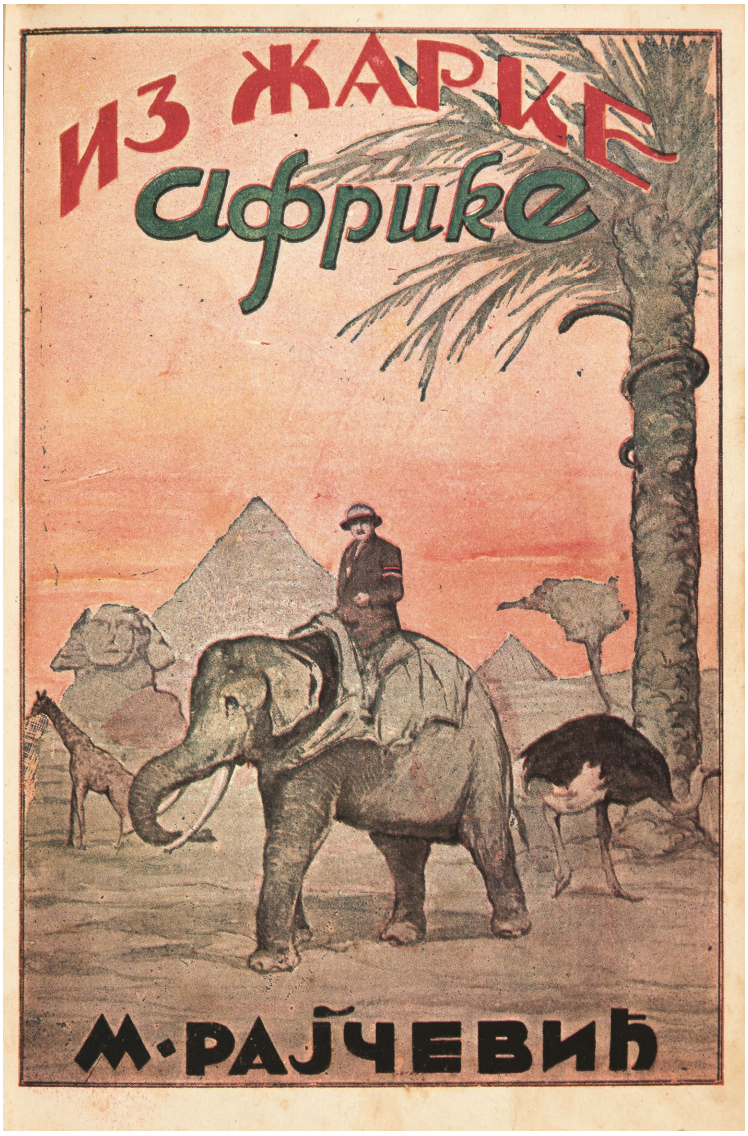

Fig. 1. Milorad Rajčević in an African landscape (Рајчевић 1924).

[35] Said 1977: 82.

European empires such as France and Great Britain colonized both modern and ancient Egypt. Egypt and other Islamic countries were understood as "live province, the laboratory, the theatre of effective western knowledge about Orient".[36] Egypt was for the later travellers like a theatre or exhibition *in situ*, as there they can see the glorious monuments of the past and the easterners they read about in novels.[37] Travelers in the age of modernity developed attitudes toward modernity through their travels understood as progress, national cultural identity, norms, and values. In this process, certain ancient cultures, namely the ones which developed in the countries they visited such as Egypt, are often valued more than modern ones and the view of the past is nostalgic.[38] Present occupants of these lands are considered not worthy of them in comparison to the glorified cultures which were there before them.

Just as the colonial idea of Egypt in *Description de'l Egypt* is summarized with its cover, so is the idea of Africa and Egypt nicely summarized in Rajčević travelogue in one of the illustrations from the book. There the landscape of Africa is depicted using a number of colonial tropes (Figure 1). Rajčević is shown here riding an elephant and dressed in the typical British colonial officer's clothing, while in the background there are images of giraffes, an ostrich, and a palm tree with a snake coiled around it. A savannah acacia, a Sphinx, and two of the Giza pyramids are also visible in the distance. Like in *Description de'l Egypt*, the representation of Rajčević in an African landscape is a colonial hybrid image which has little to do with reality as a whole, but it relies on reality through references to its elements.[39] Although the Savić brothers wanted him to wear the uniform of Serbian infantry on his travels, Rajčević was depicted in an entirely different manner in his travelogue. This image of Rajčević was related to the image of the Egypt he described in his travelogue.

European academia had slowly but surely defined Egypt as the cradle of civilization, and in this context the most drastic monocentric hyper-diffusionist views are found in the work of Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937), an Australian-British anatomist and Egyptologist. More specifically, monocentric hyper-diffusionism implies the idea of the rapid spread of cultural and civilizational traits that supposedly emerged in one place and spread out from it.[40] The idea of ancient Egypt's cultural and civilizational dominance were so engrained that they were found also outside of academic circles. Thus, we also find them in the Rajčević's travelogue:

> History repeats itself and it can be rightfully said that everything has happened before. In Europe we work, fumble, discover. We invent something, and then after a while the remains of olden times show that it already existed before. While we debate in Europe, for instance, about which of our modern nations was the first to wear gloves, and what those gloves looked like, the latest discovery of the tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun in Egypt reveals that gloves were worn in Egypt in an age in which we Europeans went about as savages, not only without gloves, but even, perhaps, without shirts. Our ladies, idle and totally free to think up fashion 'novelties', considered it an extraordinarily new and delightful thing to walk on the street with their dogs; however, from the depictions that are found

[36] Said 1977: 43.
[37] Gregory 1999: 115–116.
[38] Burden 2015: 236–237.
[39] *cf*. Matić 2015.
[40] Palavestra 2011: 119.

> here it is evident that ancient Egyptian women had already done that very same thing. The life of mankind is a closed trajectory, on which we move along, without knowing much about where we came from or where we are going.[41] (emphasis by the author).

The attitude expressed by Rajčević that history repeats itself and that everything already happened indeed resembles the "doctrine of survivals" of cultural evolutionist Edward Burnet Tylor (1832–1917); that is, the idea that cultural tendencies in the development of human societies are always similar.[42] Rajčević further mentions the 1922 discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) by Egyptologist Howard Carter (1874–1939) and the gloves found in the tomb. These serve him as an argument to distance the developed civilized world of ancient from wild ancient Europe. The equation of savagery with nudity found in Rajčević's writings is typical for colonial images of the Other that are projected onto the European past with the goal of pointing toward European progress and distance from savagery as the lowest stage in socio-cultural evolution.[43] He concludes that humanity is on a closed path and adds:

> Egyptian history begins at a time when we do not even know whether we went around naked or clothed in Europe. At 3400 years before Christ, which is saying almost five and a half thousand years ago, Egyptians had one state and one king – Menes, who managed to form a political unit out of disassembled provinces. In those times, the Egyptian people already knew about state administration, courts, faith, tombs. The truth is that their faith was primitive and very much resembled our beliefs, which appeared maybe two or three thousand years later, or the present-day beliefs of some negro tribes from Central Africa and the Eskimos from the polar regions.[44] (emphasis by the author).

That some societies distant in space are related through a common denominator such as "primitive" is also typical for socio-cultural evolution and European colonialism. Nudity is again taken as an important category of value, and the category of time is introduced with the goal to point towards socio-cultural position of ancient Egypt as elevated. When religion is concerned, time is introduced in the form of analogy with certain modern societies such as African tribes and Eskimos, with the goal to distance from these through distancing from the "primitive". Here we should remind ourselves of the words written by Tylor:

> The educated world of Europe and America practically sets the standards by simply putting its own nations on one end of the social ladder, and the savage tribes on the other end, arranging the rest of the humanity between these ends, depending on whether it is closer to a savage or a cultured way of life. The basic criteria of classification are the existence or absence, i.e. the high or low development of industrial skills, especially metallurgy, the production of tools and utensils, agriculture, architecture (etc.), the scope of scientific knowledge, the elaboration of moral principles, the circumstances surrounding religious beliefs and ceremonies, the level of social and political organisation, etc. Some would deny that the following races are properly listed according to cultural order: Australians, Tahitians, Aztecs, Chinese, Italians.[45]

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41 Rajčević 1924: 101.
42 Tylor 1903: 33.
43 Milosavljević 2011: 616–620.
44 Rajčević 1924: 102–103.
45 Tylor 1903: 27.

However, not even early Egyptology was isolated from such views of the Other or from similar classifications of communities on the socio-cultural evolution ladder.[46] Thus, Rajčević also makes commentaries about the contemporary Egyptian population:

> Although the Arabian town-dwellers are very agile and industrious, and even very free-minded, still one will find among them the mysticism and particular inclination toward daydreaming which is found among all eastern peoples. However cultured, Arabs are still fatalists who believe in destiny, which in many ways interferes with their trade activities, in which Europeans are overtaking them so soundly.[47]

A generalisation like this, in which Rajčević ascribes to Arabs mysticism as a specific way of thinking distinctive from all eastern peoples, is a familiar and frequent Orientalist topos. The rationalisation of western systems of thought concurrently led to the mystification of eastern systems of thought.[48] In the thirty-fourth chapter of his two-volume work *Modern Egypt*, Evelyn Baring, the first Earl of Cromer names lack of precision as the main feature of the Oriental spirit. While the European is a natural logician and sceptic, the Oriental lacks symmetry and his way of thinking is sloppy. The descendants of Arabs allegedly suffer from a deficiency of logical faculty.[49]

Rajčević compares the cultural, civilisational and technological supremacy of Egypt with Europe in the middle of the fourth century B.C.E.[50] According to Rajčević, Egypt has degraded from its glorious pharaonic past to contemporary Islamic Egypt which is (was) under Great Britain's colonial rule. Hence, his attitudes are not far removed from the ideas on which the original European deliberations regarding Egypt's past, and likewise its present, were based. As mentioned in the introduction, H. Bhabha argued that all forms of writing are forms of discourse. Rajčević's views can be characterized as colonial discourse, which he takes over from unknown authors and as widely accepted perspective about the Orient, Egypt, its past, and the European present.

3. The Body of an Arab and the Body of an Ancient Egyptian

The colonial image of the Other can essentially be understood through an understanding of attitudes toward the corporeal.[51] In the middle of the nineteenth century, the discourse of intolerant racism, which drew fixed biological boundaries between human groups, was consolidated in European reflections on mankind.[52] Racial criteria were derived from European aesthetic criteria, among others.[53] Hence, Rajčević makes racialist comments on the body of the Other: "because a man cannot keep company with negro women since they smell"[54]

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46 Matić 2017: 93–95.
47 Rajčević 1924: 82.
48 Turner 1994: 44; MacKenzie 1995: 9.
49 Said 1977: 38.
50 Rajčević 1924: 102–103.
51 *cf*. Milosavljević 2011.
52 Mihajlović 2011, 628–629.
53 *cf*. Mihajlović 2011.
54 Rajčević 1924: 5.

Also:

> Since the fellah spends his time in the sun and the field, his skin is much darker than that of the townsfolk of the same race. Moreover, not all fellahs are equal, even if they have no admixture of other races: the more one travels south, the darker their skin gets, therefore, at the mouth of the Nile, the fellah is light brown, while in Upper Egypt, beyond Cairo, the skin colour is dark and looks like bronze. Even there, where the Arabian population is mixed with the Nubians who are completely black, there is a great difference in colour. This difference is discernible even between the genders, thus the drawings from old times show women with faces painted red, and the men with a darker skin tone. This is explained by the fact that women stay indoors more than men, and genuinely have lighter skin than them. Moreover, their lighter skin is one of their beauty traits, a source of vanity and female pride.[55] (emphasis by the author).

Rajčević's commentary on the differences in skin colour is particularly interesting because he refers to visual representations from Ancient Egypt, in which men are depicted as darker (brown red), and women with a lighter complexion (light yellow). The explanation that Rajčević offers is that women are less exposed to the sun, since they supposedly spend more time at home. Bearing in mind that Rajčević explicitly cites Herodotus' description of Egypt[56], it is surprising that he neglects the his account of the gender labour division (Hdt, II, 35), wherein women are the ones who work in the market engaging in trade and jobs that are carried by men in the Greek world.[57] The question here is what Rajčević chooses as his explanation, while the answer is to be found in yet another of the many Orientalist interpretations of Ancient Egypt. Namely, he indirectly transposes the gender labour division of modern (from his perspective) Islamic Egypt to Ancient Egypt through an analogy with the visual depictions of genders. The framework of such an interpretation is most certainly Orientalist. Available research indicates that the difference in skin complexion between the sexes is not always present in pictorial representations (e.g. servants of both sexes in the household depicted with the same skin colour). The dark skin tone has a visually stronger effect on the observer and attracts their attention to the male figures and not the female ones, which is most likely linked to the general prevalence of men in Egyptian depictions.[58] His previously quoted comment on idle European ladies who develop new fashion trends is also at the same time a statement on gender.

His other comments on Arabs also demonstrate his racial attitudes:

> As we are on the topic of Arabs from Egypt, then I should at least give a few words on Arabs, population of the towns, because this a class with which I had most contact with. These Egyptian citizens represent maybe the most unclean part of Arabic race. Among them one can notice almost all variations in skin colour from white European to a negro from central Africa. This comes from the fact that citizens of Egypt are in constant contact with most different races with whom they mixed blood. Arab-European or Arab-Negro are here a. common thing and it is clear that children born from such marriages have to be very strange also in skin colour.[59] (emphasis by the author)

Also, "Because Arabs are very dirty people; he bathes in his own sweat and his shirt is so

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55 Rajčević 1924: 84–85.
56 Rajčević 1924: 84–85.
57 Stefanović 1999.
58 Robins 2008: 211.
59 Rajčević 1924: 81–82.

sticky and greasy that it is not possible to guess its original colour".[60]

Rajčević's attitudes on cleanness and dirt are also not strange to Orientalist establishments of borders between western bodies and bodies of Others. Namely, dirt is a visible index of difference and a method of stigmatisation of the Other as it is often associated with deviation.[61] As anthropologist Mary Douglas wrote in a monograph, attitudes on dirt express symbolic systems and dirt is that which is not supposed to be included in the pattern which is to be preserved.[62] Binary opposition between the dirty Arab and the clean European is framed by negative attitudes to dirt, and it places the European in the frame of positive and excludes the Arab from European body patterns. Such images of the dirty Other are found in other colonial contexts too, such as British India.[63]

4. Conclusion

Under the African Sun (1924) is a travelogue filled with imperial and colonial attitudes toward the Other. These attitudes are particularly evident when considering Rajčević's views of (from his perspective) ancient and modern Egypt. This stance has obvious parallels in Egyptological and archaeological ideas about the Egyptian past and civilisation. The same way that the early Egyptologists drew a boundary between the pharaonic and Graeco-Roman past and the medieval ("Islamic") past, and therefore the present, within the same discourse, so does Rajčević also draw a line between the old and the modern (from his perspective) Egypt. For Rajčević, Ancient Egypt is a civilisation that far surpassed the societies in Europe that were contemporary to it, whereas the Egypt that he refers to as modern had been downgraded. Such a view of old and modern Egypt is clearly connotative of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century colonial discourse and does not differ from the academic narrative of the time of ancient and modern Egypt.

Rajčević's modern Egypt is a land of mysticism and unclean people. His views of Arabs and modern (from his perspective) Egypt have an evident Orientalist pretext. Bearing in mind the readership of Rajčević's travel book and the bet he made with the editors of *Mali žurnal*, it may be concluded that his book was written with a view to attract attention, surprise, stun, and shock the Serbian public. Rajčević's Africa, and even Egypt, thus becomes a landscape of the peculiar and the extraordinary, wherein Rajčević is the Serbian Phileas Fogg, who began his journey *Around the World in Eighty Days* in Egypt.[64]

Still, we must not overlook the power that written media had in shaping knowledge and public opinion in Rajčević's time. The ideas that Rajčević presents were ingrained and omnipresent among the European bourgeoisie and elite circles of the times, regardless of whether their members were experts in researching the past or simply curious people, irrespective of their level of expertise. Probably through contact with western European friends, acquaintances, and literature, Rajčević uncritically and by default accepted the

60 Rajčević 1924: 91.
61 Masquelier 2005: 7–10.
62 Douglas 2001 [1966]: 41.
63 Daeschel 2004: 280.
64 Savković 2018: 519.

attitudes regarding ancient and modern (from his perspective) Egypt. In a certain way, he was a translator of Egyptian culture for the Serbian public based on his personal view, which was formed within a "colonial" frame. In this manner, Rajčević defines both his Serbian audience as "European" and the object of his travelogue as the Orient. As Europe was imagining and othering the Balkans[65], Rajčević as the Serbian Phileas Fogg was loosening these differences by othering ancient and modern Egypt in the same manner as western Europeans.

The question of his sources remains largely unresolved because, although inherited ideas such as socio-cultural evolution, progress, doctrine of survivals, and racial approach to ancient and modern populations etc. could have been traced, no exact sources could be pinpointed. One possible source of information could have been Baedeker or similar guides for travellers. Beginning in the 1830s, the Karl Baedeker firm in Germany started publishing such guides. Two volumes were published on Egypt, one in 1877 and one in 1891. However, except mentioning, for example, the difference in skin colour between men and women in ancient Egyptian art, these Baedeker guides do not offer an explanation given by Rajčević in his travelogue.

One has to bear in mind though, that there are cases of incorporating theories and methods in scientific practice in the west into the scientific practice in Serbia (then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians or later Yugoslavia) through the education of Balkan intellectuals in western and central Europe. Some examples are the racial approach of anthropologist Niko Županić (1876–1961)[66] and (pre)historian Borislav Jankulov (1878–1969)[67], which also meant uncritically taking over colonial and imperial attitudes of those who developed these theories and methods in the first place. Although Rajčević was not educated at the university level, he did visit western and central European cities and travelled to America. Certain ideas were omnipresent and ingrained in European bourgeois and elite circles during the time Rajčević wrote his travelogue, no matter if the members of these circles were experts on the past or just interested people of different career profiles. It is possible that ideas which could be traced through this analysis of the travelogue *Under the African Sun* find their way through knowledge exchange in informal bourgeois circles wherever he went.

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[65] Todorova 1997.

[66] Milosavljević 2013.

[67] Mihajlović 2017.

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ПОСТКОЛОНИЈАЛНА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА ПУТОВАЊА У ЕГИПАТ У ПУТОПИСУ *ИЗ ЖАРКЕ АФРИКЕ* МИЛОРАДА РАЈЧЕВИЋА

Резиме

Милорад Рајчевић, познати српски путник, авантуриста и путописац, ишао је и у Египат 1921. у склопу својих светских путовања. Његови утисци и искуства са ових путовања објављени су у београдском часопису *Мали журнал*, као и у монографијама *Из жарке Африке* (1924. и 1925) и *На далеком истоку* (1930). Ово штиво пружа важан увид у слику коју је српски буржоаски сталеж имао и о древном и о Египту из времена Рајчевићевих путовања. Његове импресије и искуства били су обликовани колонијалним дискурсом европског путника и пренети јавности посредством путописа *Из жарке Африке*. Стога нам ова књига даје увид у ставове према древном и савременом Египту, и то пре него што су се у Србији појавила академска интересовања за проучавање старог Египта. Овај путопис садржи бројне представе о арапској популацији из перспективе дискурса оријентализма, а са становишта историје и археологије, нарочито су упутни његови коментарио прогресу и модернизацији. У том контексту, важну улогу имају Рајчићеве упоредбе европских са староегипатским културним и техничким достигнућима. У овом раду је анализиран садржај путописа *Из жарке Африке* употребом постколонијалне перспективе и указано је да и поред тога што се препознају одређене идеје својствене колонијалном светоназору његовог доба, није могуће тачно одредити тачне изворе које је Рајчевић користио.

Кључне речи: Милорад Рајчевић, путопис, Египат, Арапи, дискурс оријентализма, постколонијална перспектива.

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BANOVINAS – ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF KING ALEXANDER I KARAĐORĐEVIĆ AND HIS PERSONAL REGIME

Abstract: One of the main consequences of the King Alexander I Karađorđević's personal regime was an administrative rearrangement of the state that formed new administrative units called banovinas. Historiography to date has not shed much light on the circumstances under which the banovinas were formed. Studies show that this issue occupied much of the attention of the king and his court, and that the best experts were engaged. At the beginning of the dictatorship, banovinas and their bans were used as a means through which the proclaimed ideology of Yugoslavism would come into being in the form of a single Yugoslav nation. The starting point was to remove national and historical borders between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which were regarded as the culprits behind divisions within the population. Presenting federalization as derived through banovinas as administrative units served to conceal their true function in the process of building a unified state. Following the death of King Alexander I Karađorđević, there was an abundance of support for the idea of banovinas as administrative units and as part of the foundation of the Yugoslav state. After only ten years, the borders of the banovinas, as defined by the September constitution, were changed due to the creation of the Banovina of Croatia. This act annulled all the principles of the 1929 administrative rearrangement. The further fate of the banovinas was determined by the Second World War, in which the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a state disappeared. Based on an analysis of available archival material, periodicals, memoirs of contemporaries and historiographical publications, the intention of this study is to show how the banovinas, as new administrative units, were used to serve the king's personal dictatorship. Opinions of the Banovinas as parts of the administrative system are mostly negative. However, in a broader context, they brought progress and prosperity to certain areas of the state.

Keywords: personal regime, Yugoslav ideology, banovinas, ban, Ban's Council.

The parliamentary crisis that continued after the adoption of the Vidovdan Constitution on 28 June 1921 culminated in the assassination of members of the Croatian Peasant Party in the National Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 20 June 1928. From 28 November 1920, when elections for the Constitutional Assembly were held, until 6 January 1929, when the king's personal regime was established, none of the National Assemblies managed to last four years. Elections were held in 1923, 1925, and 1927. During the same period, eighteen governments were formed, the longest-running being the third government under Nikola Pašić (357 days), and the

shortest being the government under Nikola Uzunović (9 days).[1] According to the provisions of the Vidovdan Constitution, the king held administrative, legislative, and judicial authority. Administrative authority was vested in the king through the government, which was made up of ministers; legislative authority was vested in the king and the National Assembly, with the king having the right to dissolve the National Assembly; and judicial authority was vested in the courts, but under the king's control.[2] Starting from the beginning of parliamentarianism in the new state, the court gradually emerged from the constitutional framework, and starting from the first government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS), the king demonstrated that his word would be crucial. During the period of parliamentarism (1919–1929), the court sought to impose its will in ruling the country by regrouping political forces and creating coalitions and concentrations that collapsed quickly and easily in order to create new ones.[3] One of the consequences of this was an unsuccessful attempt to adopt the Law on the Division of the Country, which was planned within six months after the constitution was adopted. Since this law was unable to achieve the necessary parliamentary majority, in April 1922, Nikola Pašić's second government issued the Decree on the Division of the Country into Thirty-three Districts and the City of Belgrade Administrative District.[4]

The adoption of this decree started the process of unitarianism, which was meant to establish a centralist system. The ruling circles believed that state unity was the foundation on which a united Yugoslav state should be built, and that its internal stability depended on the relationship between the central and district administrations. With this in mind, thirty-three districts were established in order to prevent further strengthening of "the idea of a province" and the process of "tribal grouping". Even before 1914, Serbia had been divided into fifteen parts, with historical regions that became parts of the Kingdom of SCS. Parts of Vojvodina were merged with parts of pre-war Serbia for national reasons so that these parts were integrated into a whole. These principles were also used in the new 1929 administrative division of the country. The Decree on the Division of the Country into Regions violated a poorly developed parliamentary system and made the king even stronger.[5]

Criticism directed against the administrative division into districts stated that they were too small to be able to perform large tasks, yet too large to resolve small tasks. Furthermore, the regions could not fulfill the population's economic, social, and transportation needs, mostly because they were unable to establish relationships with the administrative centers of the areas from the territories that belonged to them. On the other hand, there was a disproportionately large bureaucracy, which became a financial burden for a relatively small number of taxpayers. In most areas there was an insufficient number of professionals, and it was complicated, legislatively and constitutionally, for them to function.[6] Under the district administration, decentralization did not exist, even though a certain portion of state affairs were expected to be transferred to the districts. Until period

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1 See *Vlade Srbije: 1805–2005*.
2 Gligorijević 1973: 373.
3 Stojkov 1969: 15.
4 *Službene novine kraljevine SHS*, Beograd, 28 april 1922, 1–2.
5 Stanković 1981: 36–43, 46.
6 Grgić 2014: 134.

of the districts ended, their self-governing authorities remained limited, and there was pressure from political interests when making important decisions for certain districts.[7]

At the beginning of November 1928, King Alexander I Karađorđević traveled in secrecy to France. His visit was private, and he went for a medical examination. However, while he was in Paris the king met with the French president Gaston Doumergue.[8] One of the topics King Alexander discussed with the French officials during this visit was concerned with resolving the internal crisis in the Kingdom of SCS. The relationship between France and the Kingdom of SCS fell within the general policy that France took the lead as a "great force" with the new states that emerged after the First World War. In order to ensure its safety from a potential future threat from Germany, France relied on these states, which had been created under its auspices. The Kingdom of SCS was among these states that were regarded in Paris as a "poor and weak relative." Moreover, French politics had two conflicting imperatives: preserve an alliance with Italy within an anti-German perspective, and protect the Kingdom of SCS from Italy's territorial aspirations. For this reason, France desperately needed internal political stability in the Kingdom of SCS that could preserve the unity of the state and of the military organization.[9]

French diplomacy envisioned four cultural areas in the Kingdom of SCS, each with a majority Serb, Croatian, Slovenian, or (in the case of Macedonia) Slavic population. Based on the situation in Paris at the end of the 1930s, many people began to think about an internal reorganization of the Kingdom of SCS with preserving the integrity of its foreign policy as a priority.[10] France replaced the idea of federalism with the vision King Alexander had at the time of his arrival in France of a single centralized state.[11] The French foreign minister, Aristide Briand, suggested that the king could solve the Croat problem with a personal union. The king rejected his suggestion of reordering the state on a federal basis that would give Croatia autonomy.[12]

Some of the French officials believed it was impossible to find a solution within the existing political relationships in the Kingdom of SCS, which would involve an agreement among the parliamentary parties, but on the other hand, there was confidence in the king and his authority. It was also clear how far away the Kingdom of SCS was from the model of a strong and democratic state that France had in mind for it, and for this reason the idea of the king's personal regime was accepted with some resentment.[13] In such a situation it was not difficult for King Alexander to convince the French ruling circles that there was no reason to fear more serious political protests, and that he would solve the crisis with no harm done to "state and national unity." The king expressed willingness to introduce a degree of administrative decentralization under the control of the authorities in Belgrade, with the condition that the boundaries did not follow certain historic lines.[14] Certain that he had a

7 Jovanović 1938: 3.
8 Avramovski 1986: 522, 538.
9 Sretenović 2008: 471–472.
10 Sretenović 2009: 548.
11 Sretenović 2008: 480.
12 Vinaver 1985: 148.
13 Sretenović 2008: 480–481.
14 Krizman 1962: 189–191; Stojkov 1969: 79.

support from his most important ally, France, for his decision to introduce an authoritarian regime, King Alexander instructed the ambassadors Miroslav Spalajković and to Milan Srškić to write a proclamation entitled, *To My Dear People.*[15] The text of the proclamation would be modified several times before it was published.[16]

British diplomats reported that those in Belgrade who were well-informed believed the plan for a coup d'état had been approved in Paris before the king implemented it.[17] The British also thought that it was necessary to revise the Vidovdan Constitution in order to replace the administrative division with larger districts that had a considerably larger degree of autonomy. The king had the highest authority in the state, but the problem was there were politicians around him who were incompetent and prone to corruption. Thus, a British representative in Belgrade asked whether the Kingdom of SCS needed "a Piłsudski" who could deal efficiently with all of the forces that had paralyzed the country.[18]

Finally, under the pretense that "parliamentarian life threatened to destroy the very existence of the state," on Christmas Day, 6 January 1929, King Alexander I abolished the Vidovdan Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, and banned political parties, thereby imposing his personal dictatorship. This put an end to the decade-long parliamentary crisis that had been the main reason for stalled progress and the development of the state. With the proclamation, *To my Dear People: To All Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes*, the king emphasized his goal of preserving state and national unity. In his opening statement addressing the government ministers led by General Petar Živković, the king underscored his intention to change the system in order to remove the issues impeding the state from functioning. He had the highest expectations for the ministers concerning "the recovery of the state administration," since it was the only way to create "complete trust among the people of government authorities".[19]

Work on the new administrative system began immediately after the assassination in the National Assembly in June 1928 at the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the Law on Royal and Supreme State Administration. Among other things, the jurisdictions of this administration were: to study government, both in the country and abroad; make suggestions to improve how the administration operated; draft bills, acts, and regulations concerning the organization of the government and formal administrative rights; participate in drafting the bills for other ministries; give opinions on laws and acts with a special view toward codification and the unity of the principles and organization of governing authorities.[20] The administration began in August 1928, and its members were appointed at the recommendation of Anton Korošec, who was the prime minister and the minister of internal affairs. Otman Pirkmajer and Kosta Janković from the Ministry of Internal Affairs had important roles in administration. This administration created all laws, regulations, rules, and important instructions related to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including The Law on the State System on 19 June 1929 with amendments on 9 October, 1929; The Law on the State's

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15 Jukić 1965: 104–105; Bajin 2016: 460.
16 Gligorijević 2010: 356.
17 Avramovski 1986: 610.
18 Avramovski 1986: 499–500.
19 *Službene novine Kraljevine SHS*, Beograd, 6 januar 1929, 1–2.
20 *Uredba o ustanovljenju i ustrojstvu Komisije za uređenje uprave*: 1–8.

Name and the Kingdom's Division into Administrative Districts on 3 October, 1929; The Law on the Ban's Councils on 7 November 1929; Decrees on Determining Property, Administration, and Budgeting for the Banovinas; Decrees on the Liquidation of Property Relations of Former Regions on 23 October 1929; and Decrees on the Organization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 25 July 1929.[21] Anton Korošec was the head of this administration, and after the dictatorship was introduced it was led by Dr. Mihajlo Jovanović, former president of the Court of Cassation and a member of the International Court in The Hague. This administration was regarded by the prime minister, General Petar Živković, as the most deserving for equalizing legislation and passing laws, including the most important ones: The Law on Ban's Administration and The Law on Bans' Councils.[22] Based on testimonials of contemporaries and reports addressed to the prefects in February 1929 by the prime minister, General Petar Živković, it may be concluded that the administration was behind numerous laws and decrees made during the first year of the dictatorship.[23]

In addition to the State System Administration, the Supreme Legislative Council had an important role in legislation that was legally based on the king's regime. This council managed to harmonize substantive and procedural law and civil procedural law, which had not been adopted before the dictatorship was introduced. There is information about the Supreme Legislative Council in the memoirs of one of its members, Daka Popović, a former minister for agricultural reform in Anton Korošec's government. According to his memoirs, the council was composed of former politicians who were mostly ministers and professors from the Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana universities. The Slovenes were the most active and valuable for the council, were always well-prepared for meetings, and held unified views. The Croats were less well-prepared, and the majority of the Serbs improvised their views on legal solutions. The Slovenes and most of the Croats did not come out of the Austrian rights framework and repeatedly insisted that rights should be transferred into the new legislation. The council drafted a multitude of laws from different fields, most of which were completed by the beginning of 1930. Daka Popović was not satisfied with the council's final results, since he had conceived of new legislation that was more original and closer to the newly created opportunities. His objections related to the fact that the laws were adopted by compromise, and the only ones who would be satisfied with this were the Slovene representatives.[24] The draft laws were forwarded to the Ministry of Justice, and after they received its consent, they came before the government and the king for approval. The final result of the council's work was seen in 132 laws and regulations that were adopted during the first six months of the dictatorship, so that by the end of 1929 there were around 200 laws.[25]

The development of the country's new administrative division was kept secret during 1929, and the public could only guess about the big changes ahead. The press recognized the Minister of Justice, Milan Srškić, as a key figure in this. Thus, the Zagreb daily *Obzor*, immediately after the introduction of the dictatorship, announced in an article called "The New Division of the State into Provinces" that the Minister Srškić would soon submit a new

[21] Alimpić 1929: 1072–1074.
[22] Živković 2016: 115.
[23] Grgić 2014: 136–137.
[24] Popović 2019: 62–63.
[25] Dimić, Žutić i Isailović 2002: 353–359; Dobrivojević 2006: 96.

law to the king on the country's division into areas. Cited as one of the main reasons for the new division of the state, was the need reduce the number of districts to reduce the strain on public finances. In the same newspaper, the article "Versions of the New Administrative Division of the State" considered the possibility of a division into fourteen new districts that would be larger than the existing ones, and whose borders would overlap with financial directorates. After the dictatorship was introduced, the financial directorates were in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Skoplje, Podgorica, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Zagreb, Split, and Ljubljana.[26] Similar theories were also printed in the press in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and changes in the administrative order were announced by Sarajevo's *Jugoslovenski list* in the article "New Division of the Country into Provinces" and *Glas slobode* in "New Division of the State into Regions", as well as in Mostar's *Narodna sloboda* in "The Division of the State into Regions". All of these articles included speculation regarding the number of the future administrative units, and they predicted the existence of four, six, twelve, or fifteen regions.[27]

On the front page of Belgrade's *Politika* on 17 January 1929, there was an interview with King Alexander by Soervene, an journalist from the French newspaper *Le Matin*, entitled "To Preserve the Unity and Future of the Kingdom". In it, the king said that two goals, among others, of his personal regime were to decentralize the state and reorganize the administration.[28] Soervene reported his conclusions from the interview with the king to the Romanian newspaper *Kuventul*, which were then quoted by *Politika* on 19 January 1929 in the article "G. Soervene on a New State in Yugoslavia". His view of the situation was the following:

> The King believes that this provisional regime will not last long, and that afterward he will be able to convene a constitutional convention. It will divide the kingdom into more provinces. The local sentiments of people who have been oppressed for so long and cannot be avoided will to be able to be heard in the local assemblies. Moreover, a general parliament will be elected with all necessary guarantees. Only serious and truly representative members will enter the parliament.[29]

According to witnesses of the events in the first months of the dictatorship, Srškić created legislation that suited the needs of the dictatorship and was based on the principles of unitarianism and Yugoslav ideology.[30] Among other things, he demanded that large administrative units should be formed that would be capable and strong enough to satisfy their own needs, but their borders would not jeopardize the state's unity. He also saw an opportunity in the new administrative system to achieve his idea of removing the border between Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina created by the Drina River.[31] Srškić continued to deal with the kingdom's issues concerning the administrative systems during his mandate as prime minister (November 1932 – January 1934). He wished to create something similar to bureaucratic autonomy, so during this time he sought a solution that would fall

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[26] *Obzor*, Zagreb, 10th January 1929, 1; *Obzor,* Zagreb, 12th January 1929, 1; Grgić 2014: 135–136.

[27] *Jugoslovenski list,* Sarajevo, 12 January 1929, 1; *Glas slobode*, Sarajevo, 18 January 1929, 1; *Narodna sloboda*, Mostar, 24th January 1929, 1; Šarac 1975: 276.

[28] *Politika*, Belgrade, 17th January 1929, 1.

[29] *Politika*, Belgrade, 19th January 1929, 3.

[30] Nikić 1938: 155.

[31] Uzunović 1938: 141–142.

somewhere between centralism and federalism.[32]

One draft of the state's administrative rearrangement by an unknown author created during the second half of 1929 has been preserved in the archives. According to this draft entitled "The Division of the State into Regions," eight new larger areas would be formed that would be named according to their administrative centers: Novi Sad, Ljubljana (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), Dubrovnik (South region), Sarajevo (Bosnia), Belgrade, Niš, and Skoplje. This draft formed areas based on geographical and economic principles and rejected historical borders. The Novi Sad region included Bačka, Srem, Podrinje, and the cantons of Brčko, Bijeljina, and Gradačac, which used to belong to the Tuzla district. The Bosnian region included the entire region of Bosnia and Užice, but without Herzegovina and the three Tuzla cantons mentioned above. The Zagreb region would be the largest and have the biggest population. It would include Zagreb, Osijek, Split, and the Coastal–Krajina region, as well as Međumurje, Baranja, and the Makarska canton from Dubrovnik region. The Dubrovnik region, or South region, included Herzegovina, Zeta, and the Dubrovnik region. This draft had many elements that were applied during the division of the state into banovinas.[33]

There were conflicts among the leading people in the dictatorship regarding the administrative centers of the new areas. The prime minister, General Petar Živković, insisted that Dubrovnik should be one of the centers, while the minister of foreign affairs, Vojislav Marinković, opposed this idea and demanded that Cetinje should be the administrative center. He insisted on this because he considered it important to satisfy the interests of both the Montenegrins and the Slovenes.[34] According to the testimonies of contemporaries, newspaper articles, and scarce archive material, it may be concluded that the new administrative arrangement for the state was planned and was not rushed, as many in some diplomatic circles believed.[35]

Finally, speculation regarding the new administrative system ended when the government had an afternoon session on 2 October, 1929 with the prime minister, General Petar Živković, who acquainted the government with the Law on the Name and the Division of the Kingdom into Administrative Regions.[36] Although most of the ministers were familiar with the process of drafting a new administrative system, the way the law was adopted reflected how decisions in the government were made. After introducing the law to the members who were present, the prime minister decided that the ministers had accepted this "historic decision" with the "greatest pleasure" without anyone saying a word.[37] The law was signed the next day by the king and published in *Službene novine,* and in the first article, the name of the state the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[38] By adopting the name of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Nikola Pašić's concept of preserving Serbian and other tribal names in the name of the state was rejected, and this basically marked a transition from unitarian compromise to Yugoslav

[32] Jovanović 1938: 291.
[33] AJ, F335, 17/1.
[34] Pavlović 1955: 51.
[35] Dobrivojević 2006: 106.
[36] *Politika*, Beograd, 4th October 1929, 1.
[37] Grgić 2014: 137–138.
[38] *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Belgrade, 4th October 1929, 1–2.

integralism.[39] In his report, Živković presented the proclaimed Yugoslavism as a "synthesis" of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a "complete and synthetic solution to our national and state problem".[40] The proclaimed Yugoslav ruler was given what he lacked—an ideology based on the fiction of the nation's ethnic unity.

What makes the ideology of Yugoslavism different from ideologies in the dictatorial regimes in Europe during the interwar period is that it was not totalitarian.[41] Supporters of integral Yugoslavism thought the unity of the state and society could be achieved by imposing "discretized" Yugoslavism from above. It was believed that this was a way to quickly create the "Yugoslav man".[42] The identity of the new Yugoslav nation was created within the context of experience in creating modern European nations and under the impression that a seemingly random unification of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes would be given a "halo of an inevitable and finally completed process of a one-way path in the course of history." The road that public would have to travel to transform the existing tribal identities into a general Yugoslavism was marked by many implied but "insufficiently and inarticulately expressed assumptions".[43]

With the new administrative regulation, the state was divided into nine regions called banovinas. The prime minister said that the economic criterion was one of the primary criteria in determining their borders. In accordance with the French solution for internal administration, the French *département*, they were also named after the rivers. The goal of this division was to unburden the central government and to reduce and simplify administration.[44] The kingdom was divided into the Drava Banovina with its seat in Ljubljana; the Sava Banovina its seat in Zagreb; the Vrbas Banovina with its seat in Banja Luka; the Littoral Banovina with its seat in Split; the Drina Banovina with its seat in Sarajevo; the Zeta Banovina with its seat in Cetinje; the Danube Banovina with its seat in Novi Sad; the Morava Banovina with its seat in Niš; the Vardar Banovina with its seat in Skoplje; while Belgrade, Zemun, and Pančevo remained within the City of Belgrade Administrative District.

The public was told that the new administrative system consisting of banovinas was created due to the need to "develop" national and historical units. Its purpose was explained by economic reasons such as a cheaper bureaucracy, i.e. better transportation connections and economic consolidation.[45] There were cases where these justifications did not make much sense, such as the example of Baranja, which became a part of the Danube Banovina from which it was separated by the Danube River and where there were no transportation connections. The explanation was that it could not become a part of the Sava Banovina, which already had a large population.[46] The borders between banovinas were drawn in order

[39] Dimić 2001: 140.
[40] Manakin 1932: 162.
[41] Čalić 2013: 145.
[42] Petranović, Zečević 1991: 224.
[43] Petrović 2007: 38.
[44] Živković 2016: 115.
[45] Jovanović 2011: 137.
[46] Politika, Belgrade 4th October 1929, 1.

to implement the proclaimed Yugoslav unification. As territorial and administrative units, banovinas represented the highest form of centralism and were directly subordinate to the apparatus of the ruling dictatorship. Thus, the centralism manifested in an omnipresent king's power prevented the banovinas, the largest administrative areas in the state, from achieving a higher degree of autonomy.[47] Their real purpose was to implement state and national unitarianism into everyday life while preserving national unity and defending the state.[48]

Banovinas were the highest territorial and administrative areas in the state and were also self-governing units. This had also been true for the previous districts, with the only difference being that they were simultaneously state administrations and self-governing. In the banovina system there was a union of state and self-governing authorities connected and grouped into one overarching Royal Banovina Administration under the control of the ban (governor).[49] A day after the proclamation of the banovinas, *Politika* published an front page article called "The Name and the Significance of the Ban in our History". The article said that the ban had always been part of "our" history as the name for a high-level state administrator. It emphasized that the title of ban was first used by the Croats in the twelfth century in Lika and Krbava. The article further explained that there had been special areas in medieval Croatia that had been under the administration of the Croatian King-Regent. Later on, among the Croats, the position of ban developed from the administrators of certain areas as the state position right below the king.[50]

The function of the ban was placed in the service of dictatorship, and it was conceived of as something that would lead the public to break away from the previous condition. The ban was conceived of as a person who would be the leader of the largest administrative area in the state and who represented royal authority in the banovina. On 10 October 1929, newspapers published King Alexander's decree appointing nine bans on their front pages. The bans were Dušan Srnec in the Drava Banovina, who was an engineer and professor at the Faculty of Technical Sciences in Ljubljana, a former minister of construction, and a previous member of the Slovenian People's Party; Dr. Josip Šilović in the Sava Banovina, who was a professor at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb; General Svetislav Milosavljević in the Vrbas Banovina, who was a former minister of transport; Dr. Ivo Tartalja in the Littoral Banovina, who was a lawyer and a former mayor of Split; General Kosta Smiljanić in the Zeta Banovina, who had been well-regarded commander of the Drina Division; Daka Popović in the Danube Banovina, who was an engineer, a former minister of agrarian reform, and a former member of the People's Radical Party; Đorđe Nestorović in the Morava Banovina, who was a former judge and a member of the Supreme Legislative Council; Živojin Lazić in the Vardar Banovina, who was the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; Velimir Popović in the Drina Banovina, who was a former secretary for prime ministers Stojan Protić and Nikola Pašić, a minister without portfolio, and a former member of the People's Radical Party; and finally, Manojlo Lazarević, who retained his position as the Belgrade City Administrator.[51] In the Drava Banovina, whose boundaries matched the

[47] Dimić 2001: 140.
[48] Petranović 1988: 190–191.
[49] Krbek 1932: 352; Kostić 1933: 224.
[50] *Politika*, Belgrade, 5th October 1929, 1.
[51] *Politika,* Belgrade, 10th October 1929, 1–3; Vreme, Belgrade, 10th October 1929, 1,7; Obzor, Zagreb, 10th

borders of Slovenia, the ban was someone from the closest circle around Anton Korošec, the political leader of the Slovenian People's Party. Neutral figures who were not politically engaged after 1918 were placed as bans in the part of Croatia that was divided between the Sava Banovina and the Littoral Banovina. A retired professor, Dr. Josip Šilović was seventy-one years old at the time of his appointment. He was known to be a political opportunist who repeatedly changed his political commitments during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and there were reasons for why he supported the dictatorship.[52] Ban Ivo Tartalja had a reputation in Split as a former mayor and lawyer, and during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy he had been Yugoslav-oriented, for which he had been tried as a traitor and spent the war years in an internment camp.

The people appointed bans can be described as experts in the circumstances in the Danube, Morava, and Vardar Banovinas. Ban Daka Popović, born in Novi Sad, was known for writing numerous works focused on improving living conditions, and he was also an expert in the political and economic situation in Vojvodina, located within the Danube Banovina. Ban Đorđe Nestorović was also born in the area that became a part of the Morava Banovina. Before the First World War, he was a member of the Independent Radicals and had served as its representative in the National Assembly on the island of Corfu. After the war he served as a judge in the Trade, Appellate, and Cassation Court, and as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council had contributed to the codification of the legislation on which the king's personal authority was based. Živojin Lazić was familiar with the situation in South Serbia, which had been included in the Vardar Banovina. As the head of public security and later a deputy minister of internal affairs, he organized a security service in South Serbia that faced the challenges of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO or *Вътрешна македонска революционна организация*). As part of this, he organized the Association against Bulgarian Bandits in 1921, which focused on dissuading people from supporting the VMRO. Generals Krsta Smiljanić and Svetislav Milosavljević were two men who had the ruler's confidence: the first one as a celebrated military commander sent to Cetinje, and the other had been sent to Banja Luka to initiate the modernization of the Vrbas Banovina, which lagged behind all the other banovinas in every respect. The appointment of Velimir Popović, a close associate of Nikola Pašić, was a similar case. Manojlo Lazarević also enjoyed king's complete trust. He was appointed as administrator for the City of Belgrade in 1912, and he occupied this leading position until the king's death.

However, unlike the preparation of the new administrative system, which lasted for some time, it appeared that the appointments of the first bans were not accompanied by adequate plans to give them guidance for action. In his memoirs, the first ban of the Vrbas Banovina, Svetislav Tisa Milosavljević, records being invited by Prime Minister Petar Živković on 5 October 1929 and was offered a position as a ban. During the audience, the king told him the following:

> First of all, remember, Tisa, that you are my personal choice for the position of ban for the Vrbas Banovina, where you will have a great deal of work ahead of you. Serbs are the majority there and those are the best Serbs in terms of love for homeland and patriotism in general. However, there are

October 1929, page 1.

[52] Grgić 2014: 186.

> still individuals and smaller groups among Muslims and Croats who cannot reconcile themselves with the existence of the new state. And that is why you will have a lot to do in this area. Try also to maintain good relations with these dissatisfied elements, and try to bring them around to the idea of state and national unity. And where you need to prevent harmful action, be decisive; do not indulge and do not fight a frontal battle.[53]

Following the oath, the instructions given to the Prime Minister, Ban Milosavljević were put into one sentence: "All for the king and the homeland!"[54]

Daka Popović had similar recollections about his appointment as ban, and recorded the following sentences:

> I could not control my destiny. With the new administrative division of the country I was set to be the ban of the Danube Banovina. Then I felt how hard it was to escape from politics. I had nowhere to go except to accept a new political role without my consent. I soon realized that I was not a candidate of Prime Minister Živković, whose candidate was another Popović from Vojvodina.[55]

The new administrative system that divided the kingdom into banovinas marked the beginning of an extensive action that the regime established by dictatorship in order to erase tribal divisions. To create Yugoslavia, it was necessary to create a unique nation embodied in the name of the Yugoslavs. Aware that this process was very complex and would take time, the creators of integral Yugoslavism decided to impose it by force through simple administrative decisions. One of the means of imposing integral Yugoslavism was the establishment of banovinas as new administrative units.[56] Newspapers were used as propaganda to present the banovinas to the public as a solution to the issues surrounding how the state functioned. In his first statements following the decree on the appointment, the bans emphasized what their priorities would be. So, Ban Ivo Tartalja pointed out that the biggest problems in the Littoral Banovina were how to finance and construct railroads that would connect Split with its hinterland and to develop certain industries such as vitculture, fishing, tourism, and mining. The ban of the Vrbas Banovina, Svetislav Milosavljević, said that his priority would be economy, culture, and transportation. The ban of the Danube Banovina was the most specific in his plans and announced a unification of economic organizations through a single organization. He also prioritized the reorganization of municipal administrations and expressed the belief that banovinas would have the possibility to organize municipalities on-the-spot.[57] The ban of the Sava Banovina, Dr. Josip Šilović, reported that the Croats were allegedly delighted with the name Yugoslavia, as the ruler called the state, saying the precursors of the Yugoslav idea were the Croats Ljudevit Gaj, Bishop Josip Juraj Štrosmajer, and Dr. Franja Rački. He also claimed that the banovina as an idea was as old as Croatia. He emphasized that his main task as ban would be to support improvements in peasant production.[58]

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53 Milosavljević 2005: 18–23.

54 *Ibid.*

55 The candidate of the Prime Minister for the first ban of the Danube Banovina was Kosta Popović, a lawyer from Sombor. Popović 2019: 64.

56 Dobrivojević 2006: 106.

57 Šimunović-Bešlin 2007: 92–39; *Politika*, Belgrade, 11th October 1929, 1, 3; *Vreme*, Belgrade, 11th October 1929, 1.

58 *Vreme*, Belgrade, 20th October 1929, 1.

Large demonstrations were organized throughout the kingdom so that those who gathered could send messages of support for the ruler's decisions express their satisfaction with some cities becoming administrative centers for the newly formed banovinas. Thus, there was a large rally on 5 October 1929 in Novi Sad to support the king's decision to divide the state into banovinas. The procession, which was made up not just of ordinary people, but also of soldiers, *Sokoli*, and members of the National Defense, paraded through the streets of the city, and the crowd cheered King Alexander, the Royal Home, and Yugoslavia. Speakers expressed their satisfaction with Novi Sad being chosen as the seat of the banovina, and that its citizens had a high awareness of the state and national unity achieved by the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[59] Due to the decision to make Novi Sad the administrative seat for the Danube Banovina, the city received more political and administrative importance than it ever had in the past. This was all for the sake of the "nationalization" that was derived from it, but at that point in a Yugoslav rather than a Serbian form. Novi Sad began to be referred to as the "Yugoslav Athens" in the spirit of the new ideology of integral Yugoslavism.[60] There was a demonstration held on the same day in Sarajevo, and a message was sent that was that dismantling the "political border on the Drina" had fulfilled Bosnia's centuries-old dream, and the creation of the Drina Banovina was "a sign of liberation and unification." The mayor told the people that the ruler made them happy with his decision to make Sarajevo the center of a large banovina, thus securing its prosperity in the future.[61]

The bans officially began their duties on 11 November 1929. They were all responsible for providing a workplace for the ban's administration and for organizing duties for the staff they had been assigned. The main priorities were to form a financial department and to establish a journal of protocols, a registry, and secondary books.[62] The bans made their first official public appearances during what was referred to as inspection trips, which were organized in the first months of their service. The ban's formal inspections were supposed to serve as a means of supervision over certain administrative and other state authorities, but they were mostly political and representative and meant for the title of ban to leave an impression among the general public. The inspections required the bans to tour certain cantons according to a predetermined schedule. The canton commissioners would organize a festive welcome accompanied by an appropriate program of events.

During the first years of dictatorship, these events emphasized loyalty to the ruler, the regime, and the direction of state politics. Bans used the visits to different places to talk to prominent representatives of the people, the leading figures in the regime's parties and associations, and other important individuals. Bans visited local sights, oversaw the works financed by the banovina, and conducted public hearings on the needs of the locals. These inspection trips served primarily political purposes and to boost the state and new administrative units' reputations. This was the best way to create a sense for the people that the government was taking care of them. These inspection trips also enabled the bans to

[59] Vajagić 2009: 132–133; *Politika*, Belgrade, 6th October 1929, 1–2.
[60] Bjelica 2007: 107–116.
[61] *Politika*, Belgrade, 6th October 1929, 1–2.
[62] AV, F126, II 15771/1930.

familiarize themselves with their subordinate administrators and to obtain information firsthand. The central administration required the bans to attend ceremonial openings of fairs, hospitals, schools, and other festivals, as well as liturgical rites, society meetings, and other similar events that promoted Yugoslavian ideology. Their presence at such events was used for propaganda purposes.[63]

The first months under the new organization of the state administration were relatively peaceful. This can be seen in the monthly reports sent to the bans by the canton administrators regarding public safety and important events. The reports from the Danube Banovina were written to emphasize that the new administrative system had managed to resolve many issues almost immediately. During October and November 1929, it was reported that the people were calm and satisfied with the new situation, and that there were no political events. All political newspapers were shut down, political parties' activities ceased, and the police closely watched all social movement. Special attention was dedicated to former politicians who did not take part in the dictatorship regime. Canton commissioners insisted that the mood and agreement of the entire population with current conditions was completely satisfactory. It was especially important to create an image of the people being convinced the new age would bring prosperity, which had to be proved by the people's willingness to help reach it as soon as possible.[64] Newspaper propaganda dominated articles praising the new banovina system as something based on the decentralization of the administration and which would lead to progress and improvements in the state. Such newspaper articles were predominant during the first half of 1930.[65] Reports by the canton commissioners from the areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina that had joined the Drina and Zeta Banovinas were similar, in which the general political mood of the people was described as favorable.

However, it was stated that this mood was being spoiled by "reservations from one segment of the population." There were some among the Serbs who could not be reconciled with national elements being removed from the name of the state or with the prohibition of the public use of the Serbian flag and emblem. Furthermore, Muslims saw they had lost their unity in the new administrative order because they were a minority in all of the banovinas.[66] The largest number of canton commissioners stated in their reports that the citizens from their areas accepted changes "with pleasure," and that opponents of the regime had responded with silence. It is interesting to note, however, that there were areas that accepted the new administrative system with sincere approval. The people of Međumurje were delighted that this area now belonged to the Sava Banovina after being a part of the Maribor region for many years. Therefore, in October 1929 many telegrams from Međumurje expressing gratitude were sent to the king and the government.[67] Yet, the greatest approval was in Slovenia, which was within the Drava Banovina. The Catholic Church saw the creation of the Drava Banovina as erasing the borders that brought Slovenians economic and cultural alliance within the Yugoslav community. The leading Slovenian newspapers, *Slovenac* and *Jutro,* greeted the new administrative system on their

63 Grgić 2014: 185; Milosavljević 2005: 123; Vajagić 2016: 72–77.
64 AV, F126, II 1709/1929, 20652/1930; Šimunović-Bešlin 2007: 93–97.
65 AJ, F 38, 7–438, 439, 1536, 5337.
66 Šarac 1975: 279.
67 Grgić 2014: 143–144.

front pages.[68] The Drava Banovina could thank Anton Korošec for such boundaries; he was the only leader of a political party who had entered into General Petar Živković's government.[69] Moreover, at that time Montenegrins and Macedonians, who were not recognized as nations, also found themselves within the borders of the Zeta and Vardar Banovinas, which were wider than their ethnic borders.[70]

The selection of some cities such as Novi Sad and Banja Luka as administrative centers led to economic, demographic, and urban progress.[71] The aspirations of the newly established banovinas to become administrative centers would reflect their economic power, strength, and prosperity led to the idea of building palaces for the bans. In addition to prestige, there were also some justifiable and practical reasons for constructing these palaces. The idea of building the ban's palace in Novi Sad came shortly after the formation of the Danube Banovina.[72] Soon, the bans in Split, Banja Luka, Cetinje, and Skoplje started preparing preliminary designs for palaces that would be built in the following years.[73]

The real state of the country could not be hidden for long, and by the mid-1930s the first signs of the people's dissatisfaction with the state in the kingdom began to emerge. The political position of the dictatorship was weakened by the consequences of the Great Depression, which had hit small and medium size peasants who made up the majority of the kingdom's population. The people's negative mood was exacerbated by the new tax system; the masses blamed the dictatorship for these conditions and viewed the existing political order "with skepticism".[74] Along with the king's personal authority, there was also the Law on Direct Taxes, which eliminated the five different tax systems. The main characteristic of the old tax system was a huge inequality in taxation between different parts of the state. This was particularly evident in Vojvodina, where there were over fifteen different types of taxes, and which was why the population was constantly dissatisfied.[75]

Since agriculture was the most important industry, the rural population was the largest group of taxpayers. The land income tax (*zemljarina*) was paid for any land used for agricultural purposes. The basis for paying the land tax was cadastral income, which represented the monetary value of the average land income. The problem in applying this new law was the lack of a land cadaster in many parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In such situations, taxation was based on a comparison with revenues where there was one, and this created the possibility for numerous illegal actions among tax officials. The land income tax was expressed in two forms: basic and supplementary. For the basic tax, the population paid different fees, state monopolies, taxes on trade, and similar financial provisions. With the formation of banovinas, they were given the right to introduce banovina taxes and independent banovina fees. When they were added to the fees and taxes used to finance local authorities like municipal administrations, it was clear that it was an increased

68 Šmid 2018: 103–105.
69 Stiplovšek 2006: 15.
70 Dubravica 2011: 160.
71 Vajagić 2015: 172.
72 Vajagić 2019: 115–116.
73 Mladinić 1996: 283–293; Stošić, Radmanović 2019: 16–17; Marković 2004: 115–116.
74 AV, F126, II 86317/1930.
75 Popović 2019: 200.

burden on the population.[76]

The decline in the price of agricultural products led to a decline in exports, and the farmers could not fulfill their payment obligations to the banks and the state. This then led to a decline in tax revenue, putting the state's finances in crisis. The state tried to find a way out of this situation by refinancing and delaying the return of debts, but it also introduced new taxes. The taxpayers were also put under pressure, which resulted in tax authorities managing to collect even more taxes from the population than planned. Thus, in the Danube Banovina in the first quarter of the 1931 fiscal year, 23% more taxes were charged than planned.[77] Although the authorities did not cause the economic crisis, they did not demonstrate an ability to mitigate its consequences, which was why complete discontent was directed toward them. Foreign diplomats observed in their reports that more than 90% of the population in Serbia and Croatia were opposed to the dictatorship's regime.[78]

Finding itself in this situation, the regime employed successful propaganda combined with police pressure on those who resisted the regime. A government declaration issued on 4 July 1929 confirmed the concept of "one nation and one national sentiment." As a reflection of the public manifestation of enthusiasm for the kingdom's new administrative system, the prime minister, General Petar Živković, signed the Rules on the Organization and Work of the Banovina's Councils. With these rules, the banovina's councils were defined as advisory bodies for the ban, and the ban's councilors had a duty to follow economic, social, and cultural developments in the cantons and towns they were appointed to.[79] An act appointing ban's councilors for all nine banovinas was signed the same day, and their names were published in *Politika.*[80] As a part of promoting the newly-appointed councilors, the prime minister, General Petar Živković, organized a reception for the councilors from all banovinas at the Guard House in Belgrade. The protocol stipulated that one of the councilors should address the prime minister. The speeches were full of gratitude for the appointments and assurances that they would diligently execute the tasks entrusted to them. After their speeches, the prime minister spent time in individual conversations with the councilors, and expressed his interest in the parts of the country they came from. He organized a dinner in the evening for the councilors from all nine banovinas and for his ministers. During dinner, the prime minister gave a speech in which he expressed his expectations for the councilors to be the true interpreters of and believers in the Yugoslav idea for the places they came from.[81]

These deputations were, according to one of the leading figures of the dictatorship, Vojislav Marinković, the prime minister's idea. The "spontaneous" thrill of the masses that were happy to come to Belgrade, to "take a stroll" down the streets at the government's expense, reminded Marinković of the book *Stradije* by Radoje Domanović, in which there is a constitutional provision that every citizen of the country must be pleased to salute any

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76 Vajagić 2016: 39.
77 AV, F126, II 18552/1931.
78 Stojkov 1969: 82.
79 *Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije,* Belgrade, 4th July 1930, 14–15.
80 *Politika,* Belgrade, 4th July 1930, 1–3.
81 *Politika,* Belgrade, 6th September, 1930, 3–4.

government proceeding.[82] Very soon after the Banovina's councils began operating, the public became aware that their purpose was absolutely pointless. As long as they were in existence, they served as bodies that simply rubber-stamped decisions that had already been made, as was the banovina's previously prepared budget.[83]

The implementation of Yugoslav unification was in the hands of individuals appointed by the king. They were supposed to use their time in office to implement the political program defined by the government in the declaration of 4 July. The whole process of achieving state and national unity happened through the actions of the state authorities whose representatives gave a practical contribution to achieving the main tasks through their efforts. The ban oversaw the implementation of this policy, and it also included the canton's official and the president of the municipality. The ban was also required to supervise all other officials outside the general administration and to make sure they acted in the interests of achieving Yugoslav ideology. The administrative authorities had to make sure that what other officials did was in the spirit of the declaration, and they had the right to take legal measures in cases of deviations. One of the obligations of the administrative authorities was also to determine what exactly officials had to do and to record their actions. They also had to assist organizations with Yugoslav ideology. The authorities were also required to register "the best citizens" in any area who would be engaged in determining the government's course. However, although the authorities had almost all the resources available to the state, there were many "fences" that Yugoslav ideology could not cross over.[84]

Growing discontent in the country caused by a difficult economic situation and the pressures on King Alexander to end the dictatorship resulted in the adoption of the 1931 Yugoslav Constitution. Banovinas were given a constitutional basis as administrative units in Section VIII. Articles 82–87 defined their administrative authority, and Article 83 outlined their borders. The constitution also laid out that the Banovina's Council should be chosen in general and direct elections with a four-year mandate. The council elected the Banovina's Board from its members, and it was conceived of as a self-administered executive body within the banovina. The adjustment of constitutional provisions with legislation was resolved by adopting the Law on the Banovina's Self-Governments. The draft of this law was written by Milan Srškić at the beginning of 1933, and its creation coincided with increasing opposition to the dictatorship. The basic draft of the law was intended to make the banovinas administrative units with broad authority, secure them financially, and enable them to fulfill the people's needs. However, this law was not submitted for approval because it was not accepted by the king.[85] Thus, banovinas remained within a framework of poorly developed self-governments and without the authority to conduct state administration. Therefore, one of the objectives was not achieved, which was to make them administrative and self-governing units at the same time.[86]

The banovinas as an administrative system would lose its importance by establishing an illusion of parliamentarism within the constitution through which King Alexander tried

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82 Pavlović 1955: 51.
83 Vajagić 2017: 115.
84 Babović-Raspopović 2002: 35, 39.
85 Jovanović 1938: 289–291; Nikić 1938: 157–164.
86 Tomić 2016: 108.

to gather and organize all the available forces in the state for his Yugoslav program. The elections for National Assembly in November 1931 and the creation of the regime's political party led to politicians from the parties that had been banned becoming active again. The bans were soon at the service of the political parties that governed the state. Thus, what little autonomy the bans had was now lost. The leading roles would be taken over by different individuals and politicians who had joined the regime, and this slowly established a system of government that was much like the one before the dictatorship. The assassination of King Alexander in October 1934 in Marseille marked the end of his personal regime. Authority would be exercised by the Regency Council, led by Prince Paul Karađorđević, on behalf of the underage King Peter II Karađorđević. This period would often be referred to as "a dictatorship without dictators".[87] Up until the Kingdom of Yugoslavia entered the Second World War, the banovinas put their functions into the service of achieving the program of the government of Bogoljub Jeftić, Milan Stojadinović and Dragiša Cvetković.

One of the first decisions of the Regency Council was to postpone changing the current state of the administrative and constitutional order until the king's maturity. However, this decision was violated in August 1939 when the Banovina of Croatia was created through a regulation, merging the Sava and Littoral Banovinas, and adding territories from some cantons in the Danube, Drina, Zeta, and Vrbas Banovinas. The creation of the Banovina of Croatia changed Article 83 of the 1931 constitution, which had determined certain borders between banovinas. This constitutional change was implemented without the consent of the National Assembly and the Senate. The legal basis for the Regulation on the Banovina of Croatia was found in Article 116 of the 1931 constitution. According to this article, if public interests were jeopardized, the king could, by decree, undertake all necessary measures in the entire kingdom or in one part of it apart from the constitutional and legal regulations. The unitarianism of the state order was replaced by the proclaimed Yugoslav unitarianism brought by the king's personal authority to eventually shift to the federalization of the state with the declaration of the Banovina of Croatia. The acceptance of federalism was driven by external factors, changes that arose in international relations, and strong internal pressure from the Croats.

The Banovina of Croatia should have served as a model according to which the country could have been federalized in the near future. However, there was no single position on the number of federal units among Serbian politicians in power or in the opposition. A special federal unit that would include Slovenia was not in dispute, but the issue of a Serbian federal unit was yet to be resolved. The majority of the disputes were connected to statuses of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vojvodina, and Macedonia. Proposed solutions included the status of a federal unit and even self-governing units within Serbian federal unit. Resolving this issue was further complicated by the Croatian position that the political agreement between Prime Minister Dragiša Cvetković and the leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, Vlatko Maček, had been temporary. The Croatian side immediately sought a territorial correction of the borders of the Banovina of Croatia. It also left open the issues concerning areas inhabited by Croats but which had not been included in the

[87] Petranović 1992: 26.

Banovina of Croatia.[88]

The establishment of banovinas was meant to give a governing and administrative form to the dictatorship. Banovinas were of great significance because they were the expressions of the Yugoslav unitarianism proclaimed by the king's manifesto of 6 January 1929. Banovinas were supposed to give the public the impression that the state had been federalized and to win over a part of the Croatian public by using the title of ban, where it had a long historical tradition. The beginning of the banovina's administration was jubilant and accompanied by organized events that expressed the people's spontaneous enthusiasm. Behind all of this was the apparatus that carried out the ruler's personal regime, and all of the press that had been permitted to publish were used for propaganda. The personal regime reached its culmination early on when the state was divided into banovinas, because the end of 1929 had brought a reckoning concerning the state's true condition. This condition was further hampered by the Great Depression, which was a severe worldwide economic crisis. The apparatus of the king's personal regime made up of the army, the police, and influential financial circles could not adequately respond to these challenges.

The Royal Banovina Administrations should have existed as strong political and economic units capable of operating independently within the common state of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, the reality was quite different because the centralized state prevented the banovinas from achieving the autonomy for which they had been formed. The results the Royal Banovina Administrations directly depended on the desire and willingness of state officials to comply with the ideology of Yugoslavism, which served as the foundation of the state's new administrative system. Within these circumstances was also the administrative and political power carried out by the bans. Throughout the period of the banovinas, there was a policy of "easily replaceable bans," and, as a result, seventy-two different people served as bans, acting bans, and the Belgrade city administrators. The large number of bans indicates their position was quite unstable, and that the position depended exclusively on the ruler or the prime minister. During 1929–1941, the largest amount of turnover occurred in the Vardar Banovina (twelve) and in the Danube Banovina (eleven). The smallest turnover occurred in the Banovina of Croatia, where only one man served as ban, and in the Littoral Banovina, where there were only three. Most bans and administrators for the City of Belgrade were Serbs (58). Only eight were Croats, five were Slovene, and one was Muslim.[89]

Finally, the decade-old dilemma of whether the king really wanted to strengthen the "Serbian factor" or if he instead wanted to"tear up Serbianism" arose from the fact that Serbs were present in several banovinas. The king sacrificed the territorial entity of Serbia in 1922 for the sake of centralization and unitarianism. On the other hand, in what were considered more important areas, he strived to form administrative areas in which Serbs would be the majority. He also applied these principles when determining the borders of the banovinas. Croatia was divided between two banovinas, thus weakening the Croatian base for creating a unified nation. Of of the total number of bans, Serbs accounted for more than 80% of the appointments. In giving up national sovereignty for the sake of creating a common state of

[88] Radojević 1994, 192–196; Dimić 2001, 192–196.

[89] Banovi Kraljevine Jugoslavije (The Bans of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) 2019: 180–219.

Yugoslav nations, Serbs also had to give up the possibility of having an administrative area in which they were the majority. These sacrifices were the conditions for the existence of the Yugoslav state, which King Alexander saw as the greatest legacy of his reign. The project to achieve national unity by ignoring all other nations' right to exist by only permitting the existence of a Yugoslav nation was unsuccessful. As administrative units in almost all areas of the country, the banovinas managed to achieve some progress that was in the spirit of the time as well as more general progress that had an effect on society during the interwar period. The idea that banovinas should replace and suppress tribal names and historical provinces eventually made the banovinas a scope for the national integration of the Slovenes into the Drava Banovina and the Croats into the Banovina of Croatia.

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БАНОВИНЕ - АДМИНИСТРАТИВНЕ ЈЕДИНИЦЕ У СЛУЖБИ ШЕСТОЈАНАУАРСКЕ ДИКТАТУРЕ 1929–1934.

Резиме

Један од проблема у функционисању Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца између осталих било је унутрашње административно уређење које није одговаралао потребама државе. Завођењем Шестојануарске диктатуре апарату који је био задужен за њено спровођење указала се прилика да државу организује на новим основама. Тако је дошло до успостављања бановинског уређења које је имало за циљ да управно и административно уобличи заведену диктатуру. На почетку диктатуре бановине као нове административне јединице имале су велики значај. Оне су у пракси биле оживотворење идеје југословенског унитаризма прокламоване владаревим манифестом који је пратио завођење дикататуре. У јавности су бановине требале да оставе утисак федерализације државе, а на њиховом челу се налазио бан, титула која је у Хрватској имала дугу историјску традицију. Како би се шире народне масе придобиле за ново стање у држави почетак рада бановина је протекао у знаку манифестација подршке краљевој политици које су организовали носиоци дикататуре. Приказане као као политички, економски и саобраћајно јаке целине, способне за самосталан живот у оквиру заједничке државе Краљевине Југославије бановине то у стварности нису биле. Свуда присутан државни централизам спречавао је бановине да остваре аутономију због које су биле створене, а њихови резултати директно су зависили од спремности и воље државних чиновника да се повинују идеологији југословенства, која је представљала темељ новог административног уређења државе. Честе смене банова спречавале су континуитет у њиховом вођењу, а позиција бана је искључиво зависила од воље владара или председника владе. Новим административним уређењем режим Шестојануарске диктатуре је врло брзо достигао свој врхунац. Већ почетком 1930. године уследиће почетак лаганог пада који је дошао као последица Велике економске кризе. Лични режим краља Александра I Карађорђевића је успео да преко бановина успостави пуну контролу и доминацију државног врха над целокупним унутрашњим односима у држави, али не и главни циљ постизање националног јединства брисањем историјских граница између народа Југославије. Од унитаристичког уређења државе владајући кругови ће одустати августа 1939. када је створена Бановина Хрватска. Њеним стварањем започет је процес федерализације Краљевине Југославије који није окончан због избијања Другог светског рата.

Кључне речи: Шестојануарска диктатура, југословска идеологија, бановине, бан, банско веће.

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STEPPING OUT OF THE "ENCLAVE": PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE QUEST TO REGAIN SOCIAL AUTHORITY IN THE 1980S

Abstract: In this paper we will consider how, from the beginning to the end of the 1980s, the Serbian Orthodox Church gradually abandoned its restricted mode of public action and moved from an enclave form, with occasional elements of counterpublics, to a dominant public sphere. This process was the result of a complex set of phenomena that often overlapped. Pressure from authorities on religious communities and believers started to decline at the time despite restrictive legislation regarding public appearances by religious officials still being in force. This was followed by a pronounced deatheization of younger parts of the population and an expansion of various forms of secular religiosity (popular culture, sports), including hybrid types of postmodern spirituality within Yugoslav society. In such circumstances, religious communities were encouraged to expand the scope of their public activities, so they found new forms of communication and networking, both among believers and in various social circles. Our aim is to point to forms of public action cultivated at the time by the Church and the stages it underwent in its participation in the public sphere. Additionally, the factors that influenced a change in the Church's public and social position in the late 1980s will be discussed, along with the consequences caused in different areas of its functioning.

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Church, SFR Yugoslavia, 1980s, public sphere, public initiatives, publishing, ceremonies, mass gatherings, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Association of Writers of Serbia.

1. Introduction

How the public sphere functioned in socialist Yugoslavia, and in socialist countries in general, has not attracted attention from researchers, probably due to its significant normative distinction in comparison to the Western European model and, consequently, the relevancy of the results that would be obtained.[1] The high degree of

[1] On the problems concerning research into the public sphere in communist countries, see Fielder, Meyen 2015.

control over the mass media, the press, and public speech, which was typical in such states, impeded the possibility of viewing the public sphere as a mediator between society and politics, and made it one of many instruments the party elite used to concentrate power while also controlling and marginalizing its adversaries. Thus, the potential of such a public sphere to encompass different social groups and their distinctive interests and worldviews, or to stimulate debate and expansion of critical voices, was reduced. However, crises for socialist states that emerged in the late 1970s, which culminated in the following decade, led to fundamental shifts in the public sphere. As a result, the space for ideologically diverse groups, including those who had declared themselves strongly opposed to the powerholders, steadily expanded, either through the creation of counterpublics or by gradual involvement in the dominant, mass media public sphere. In the case of socialist Yugoslavia, journalism as a profession becoming increasingly autonomous had been noticeable since 1979,[2] as was ideological differentiation within the mass media, and especially in the press. This reflected the internal divisions within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that resulted in the formation of different factions within it[3] and the public engagement of numerous opposition-oriented circles.[4] These and other circumstances galvanized the leadership in religious communities to become more publicly involved in order to secure a stronger social position and more influence for each respective community.

As for the Serbian Orthodox Church, which, together with other religious communities in Yugoslavia, had been pushed to the margins of the public sphere for several decades due to the prevailing sociopolitical climate,[5] and a trend of intensifying communication with believers had been noticeable since the late 1960s and culminated in the 1980s. Gaining an influential position in the public sphere and in Yugoslav society was a slow and painstaking process, but the typical *modus operandi* in the form of enclave publicity[6] began gradually losing importance in favor of other forms. Changes in the Serbian Church's public engagement were the result of various phenomena inside and outside this entity. The actions of a group of younger theologians and clerics, which included enriching existing theological literature, disseminating knowledge of church history and art, reviving religious art, and increasing political involvement were particularly significant.[7]

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2 Križan 1989: 152.

3 Denitch 1989: 166–167.

4 *cf*. Križan 1989: 152

5 See Đorđević 1984; Mojzes 1986; Radić 2005.

6 This concept was taken from Catherine Squires (2002). In her interpretation, the enclave represents a public that by "hiding counterhegemonic ideas and strategies in order to survive or avoid sanctions, [...] internally produces lively debate and planning." (2002: 448). As opposed to this, the counterpublic "engages in debate with wider publics to test ideas and perhaps utilize traditional social movement tactics (boycotts, civil disobedience)," while "a public that seeks separation from other publics for reasons other than oppressive relations but is involved in wider public discourses from time to time acts as a *satellite* public sphere."

7 We refer here particularly to the work of Amfilohije Radović (1938), Atanasije Jeftić (1938), and Irinej Bulović (1947) all of whom completed their doctoral studies in Athens, Greece, and represented the ardent followers of the hieromonk Justin Popović (1894–1979). Radović, Jeftić and Bulović took part in numerous acitivities ranging from translations of theological works, a revision of Vuk Karadžić's translation of the New Testament (as members of the Serbian Church's Commission for the Revision of Translation of the New Testament), preparation of monographs, participating in public lectures and debates, etc. Although they shared views on theological issues, these theologians, hieromonks, and church representatives directed their attention to

Furthermore, pressure from Church leadership and believers declined, while processes of desecularization became more prominent.[8] A massive flourishing of conventional and unconventional religiosity in Yugoslav society in the 1980s, coupled with a weakening of the state's repressive stance toward religious communities, led the Serbian Church authorities to expand their overall public involvement by finding new channels of communication with both believers and in various social circles and by intensifying social networking.

A large number of studies published in the past few decades tackling the issue of the Serbian Orthodox Church's influence and social position in the late socialist period point to its "penetration" into the dominant public sphere in the end of the 1980s.[9] However, due to the fact that a majority of them focus on exploring the revitalization of Orthodox religiosity after the fall of Berlin Wall, particularly in the 1990s and 2000s, they will not be considered here in detail. There is a similar problem regarding the interpretation of the Church's role in the process of national homogenization and retraditionalization in the late 1980s, with a focus on only a portion of its undertakings, primarily after Slobodan Milošević's rise to power.[10] In order to outline the phases of the Church's reaffirmation in the Yugoslav society and the public sphere in the 1980s and to document its growing influence at the time, we focused on its various activities oriented toward believers and clerics, diverse social circles, and the wider public. For this purpose, we examined a large selection of periodicals published by the Church from 1981 to the end of 1989 along with a small sample of literary and political journals and magazines.[11]

As a result of a thorough examination of how the Church functioned "from the inside," we were able to gain some insight into the characteristic "modes" of public engagement during this period. As will be evidenced in the following sections, the Church acted within the enclave framework from 1981 until the end of 1988 and early 1989. The events it supported and organized took place mainly in temples, monasteries, and within the halls of the Patriarchate, the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, and in secondary theological schools in Belgrade. Close contact with believers and the general public was established through celebrations of Church holidays and anniversaries of temples and monasteries, the cycles of popular theological forums, church music concerts (known as spiritual concerts), etc. An important move beyond this reduced type of functioning was initiated in 1984 after permission was granted to construct the St. Sava Memorial Temple in Vračar, and

divergent types of engagement – Radović to the revival of icon painting and church art, particularly in connection with the St. Sava Memorial Temple construction; Jeftić to political activism; and Bulović mostly to academic work.

8 *cf*. Bigović 1985: 257–258; Pantić 1993; Blagojević 2003; Blagojević 2005: 115; Blagojević 2008: 243–248; Radić 2010: 108–109.

9 After Dragoljub Đorđević, of one of the most influential Serbian sociologists of religion in the second half of the twentieth century, published his research on religiosity and the expression of faith among the Orthodox populations of SFR Yugoslavia in 1984, dozens of studies on similar topics, particularly the revitalization of (Orthodox) religiosity in the post-Socialist period, were published by other prominent Serbian sociologists of religion including Mirko Blagojević, Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović, Milan Vukomanović, Zorica Kuburić, Danijela Gavrilović, and historian Radmila Radić. Part of their abundant work is referred to in this paper.

10 See, for instance, Perica 2002; Naumović 2009; Aleksov 2003; Radić 2000.

11 See the list of periodicals in the reference list.

fundraisers were held for this edifice and to popularize St. Sava as one of the most striking figures in Serbian history. Meanwhile, Church representatives, in conjunction with members of the Association of Writers of Serbia and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, sought to place themselves as key defenders of political, social, and human rights for Serbs in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija through ongoing public involvement. Advocating for Kosovo Serbs, particularly from 1981 until 1987, revealed the Church authorities' willingness to play a role in a counterpublic type of engagement.

Apart from emphasizing the shift away from enclave and counterpublic and into the dominant public sphere at the end of the decade, this analysis of how the Serbian Church functioned during the 1980s has several other goals. Firstly, it is important to determine the typical forms of communication among the Church, believers, different social circles, and the broader public, and their impact on the Church's social positioning. As will be discussed in the following sections, it appears that, in parallel with the Yugoslav state's change in approach toward the Serbian Orthodox Church (and other religious communities) since the mid-1980s, how the Church built authority depended on its ability to (1) develop strong ties with believers; (2) connect with various intellectual, artistic, and political circles; (3) attract the attention of the broader public; and (4) refute negative representations created after the Second World War. The process of "anchoring" into Serbian and Yugoslav society at the time and the process of destigmatizing, were reinforced due to the growing trend of desecularization. As will be demonstrated, it is possible the growth of religiosity, particularly among the youth, observed around the mid-1980s initially occurred independently of the Serbian Church's undertakings.

2. Functioning inside the enclave's boundaries

The position of the Serbian Orthodox Church and other religious communities in socialist Yugoslav society was determined by a specific legal framework created in the decade after the Second World War,[12] which was slightly modified during the following decades,[13] and by dominant views of religiosity that were reproduced through schools, universities, mass media, cultural production, etc.[14] Although the freedom to belong to religious communities was guaranteed to Yugoslav citizens, as was the right of such communities to perform their rites and communicate with believers, there were various, ongoing forms of pressure placed on these communities and believers, starting in 1945.[15] From the perspective of the Church authorities, its "isolation" from the wider public space and the mass media, which exerted enormous influence over the Yugoslav population, was of great importance.[16] Inaccessibility to this channel of communication, among other things, restricted the Church's contact with the significant corps of those who did not declare themselves religious. Such circumstances continued until the country's dissolution.

[12] See Božić 2019.
[13] *Ibid*, 48.
[14] See Đorđević 1984; Mojzes 1986; Radić 2005; Blagojević 2015: 110–112; *cf*. Blagojević 2005: 159–162.
[15] Blagojević 2015: 110–112; Blagojević 2015: 159–162; Roter 1989.
[16] Gavrilović 1985a: 3.

Furthermore, the possibilities offered by a presence on television and radio for the process of communicating with believers, from providing information about church events to advancing the catechization and dynamization of church life, were out of reach for them. Apart from the Church's isolation and marginalization from the dominant public sphere, another problem was a prevailing understanding of religiosity and the approach to religious communities in Yugoslav society. Interpreted in openly negative terms, religious teachings and religious practices were generally the subject of harsh criticism, condemnation, and ridicule. In the Yugoslav socialism of the 1980s, which was already burdened by a deep socioeconomic crisis, distrust of conventional religions continued to be expressed, particularly within influential political and cultural circles.[17] The Church press often pointed to various examples of the Serbian Church's inadequate representation in film or television productions, concerns displayed in the mass media about strengthening the role of religious communities in the country, young people's inclination toward conventional religion,[18] and the punishment of schoolchildren for attending St. Sava's Day celebrations. Finally, discrimination of the religious population in the period after the Second World War, which was reflected in their reduced possibilities for social mobility and inequality in the exercise of social rights in comparison with atheists, should not be overlooked.[19]

Generally speaking, the atmosphere in Yugoslav society was not conducive to the Serbian Orthodox Church and other religious communities, and, even when circumstances changed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the consequences of decades of marginalization could not be easily eradicated. The Serbian Church's social position dramatically altered after the Second World War in comparison to the previous period. Apart from the separation of church and state and the breaking of its traditionally close ties with the political elite, there was a significant drop in the number of believers, especially during the 1960s and 1970s.[20] The erosion of the Church's key stronghold in society – its flock – was intensified due to of the role of believers in church life becoming more passive. This was manifest in a declining interest in regular participation in church rites, services, and church visits.[21] The problem of poor religious knowledge among Orthodox believers, of which theologians and clerics occasionally warned, further subverted the Church's social and cultural mission. [22]

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17 *cf*. Terzić 1984.

18 *cf*. Lazić 1984.

19 See Roter 1989.

20 See Đorđević 1984; Blagojević 2005: 179; Blagojević 2015: 109–115.

21 Čarkić 1983: 13.

22 Although socialist religious policies could have been interpreted as the main cause of such a "state-of-affairs," some theologians and clerics found its genesis in the more distant past. As was pointed out: "there are many examples of omissions in the past, a longstanding historical neglect that impeded the development of a strong catechetical tradition among the people. Religious teaching often depended on the prevailing atmosphere and the initiative of the state. It is hard to awaken a numb awareness of the need for religious knowledge." (Mijač 1983: 13). Regarding the presence of believers in the church and at services, it seems that certain trends persisted for a long period of time as well. Believers' loss of interest in active participation in church life "should be sought in the times before this last war [the Second World War]," and one of the possible reasons could be the Church's politicized role on the eve of its outbreak. Namely, "sermons with national topics, and even more with political, that were held in our churches" in the 1930s probably "demotivated believers" to a considerable extent (Čarkić 1983: 13). According to some interpretations, the early signs of this process were visible in the second half of the nineteenth century, and resulted from the "nationalization of the Church" that

Regardless of the extent to which the position of the Serbian Church during the late socialist period was determined by the circumstances of the post- or pre-Second World War periods, problems inherited from the past created a significant burden for it. However, a certain "opening" of Yugoslav society taking place at the time provided an opportunity to work on "critical points" in relations among the Church, believers, and political and cultural actors. Public activities played an important role in changing believers' perspectives and how the Church was received by the general public, and it also strengthened its social influence. When looking at the decade before the collapse of Yugoslavia, several stages in the Serbian Church's actions stand out and mostly unfolded simultaneously. The majority of types of public engagement employed in the 1980s originated as early as the late 1960s, but they were mostly characterized by their intensity, coupled with a trend in emphasizing both their sacred and secular dimensions (historical, cultural, artistic, and political values).

Some of the Church's key activities in the 1980s were to regularly keep the clergy and the believers apprised of its doings, organize events both for believers and general public, and educate members of various social groups about its history, teachings, mission, and cultural heritage. For this last activity, printing presses and periodicals established in the decades before and after the Second World War continued to play an essential role. In addition to *Glasnik* (the Bulletin), which was intended primarily for the clergy, and the journals *Teološki pogledi* (Theological Views) and *Bogoslovlje* (Orthodox Theology), which were a valuable source for Serbian Church's theological circles, there were publications such as *Pravoslavni misionar* (Orthodox Missionary), *Pravoslavlje* (Orthodoxy) and *Svetosavsko zvonce* (The Bell of St. Sava) that took on the role of mediator for the Church, believers of different generations, and a variety of social circles.[23] The magazine *Pravoslavlje*, for instance, not only covered events within the Serbian Church and its eparchies, official bodies, and in Orthodox churches around the world.[24] It also served to initiate theological, social, and political debates.

Articles and reports published in Yugoslav newspapers and political and youth journals at the time dealing with issues of conventional religiosity, Second World War history, and circumstances in the region of Kosovo and Metohija were extensively analyzed and commented upon or were reprinted in abbreviated or full-length versions. At the same time, television broadcasts, shows, documentaries, and international media coverage of the political situation in Yugoslavia were also of great interest. Attention was given to the editions published by the Serbian Church, the goings-on of church choirs (particularly their international tours and performances), and contemporary historiographic, literary, and artistic productions. Since the early 1980s, soon after mass demonstrations by Kosovo Albanians (1981), the issues of Kosovo Serbs' political, legal, and public safety as well as the endangered status of church property in Kosovo and Metohija were brought to light. Due to its extensive range of coverage and variety of published material, this magazine represents one of the most valuable sources for exploring the Serbian Orthodox Church's changing trajectory during this period.

led to the primacy of celebrating the *slava* among the believers instead of participating in the liturgy (Bigović 1985a: 23).

[23] Cisarž 1986: 19–33.

[24] See more in Janjić 2017: 189–196.

Among various celebrations taking place during the church year, the elaborate Easter celebrations, which lasted for several weeks, were of particular importance. In addition to church music concerts held in Belgrade churches that included performances by choirs active within the Serbian Church and its Belgrade and Karlovac Archdiocese (Choir of the Belgrade Clergy, Choir of the Students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, etc.), sermons and lectures by priests and theologians were also highlighted. These "Weeks of Orthodoxy" commenced with the Easter fast, and every seven days a different group of choral ensembles, preachers, and theologians gave performances or spoke at the Belgrade churches. This continued throughout the 1980s without any major changes. Much effort was also devoted to the celebration of St. Sava's Day, particularly in the most important of the Church's educational institutions – the St. Sava Seminary in Belgrade and the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. In both institutions, honoring St. Sava included symposiums (*svečane akademije*) that provided an opportunity to bring together Church leaders, representatives from the Republic and the City of Belgrade Commission for Relations with Religious Communities, and, over time, an increasing number of individuals from the academic sphere, including members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and faculty members from the University of Belgrade.

There were initiatives to move such celebrations outside church premises and hold them at some of Belgrade's prestigious cultural institutions, but this occurred rather slowly. For instance, in 1985, the idea to hold a symposium in honor of St. Sava at Kolarac Hall was first put forward, but this request from the Serbian Church was rejected by the city authorities.[25] The ceremony was instead held at St. Michael's Cathedral in Belgrade, and this tradition continued for several years. Still, in 1989, the Church and the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade were finally given permission to organize a symposium in honor of St. Sava at Kolarac Hall, and in attendance were members of the Presidency and Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, rector of the University of Belgrade, and many other distinguished guests.[26] Moving the celebration of St. Sava's Day into the public space outside the Church did not occur without obstacles, and the same was true for popularizing this holiday among the wider public. In the provincial areas, believers, and particularly schoolchildren, were even subjected to open criticism and sanctions by the local authorities.[27] Such circumstances were reported by the church press even in the late 1980s.[28]

Because believers and the general public were being introduced to the Serbian Orthodox Church's rich history, artistic treasures, and theological tradition, numerous publishing ventures that were launched during the 1980s were of particular importance. A number of very active publishing houses within the Church, such as Pravoslavlje (the Belgrade and Karlovac Archdioceses), Kalenić (the Diocese of Šumadija), the Ćelije monastery and others, prepared on average two or more publications per year, which included studies by influential Serbian and foreign Orthodox theologians and monographs dedicated to Serbian medieval monasteries, as well as popular didactic literature created for

[25] Bigović 1985b.
[26] Novaković 1989.
[27] Radojević 1983.
[28] Anonymous 1987b.

believers and others interested in understanding the key concepts of Orthodox theology. Although there was a variety of printed publications, the selection of titles did not seem to follow any particular pattern, and the distinctive dispositions of readers were not taken into account. In this respect, literature for children and youth was particularly scarce, while in the case of popular didactic publications, there was a noticeable lack of clearly defined goals such as an understanding of what believers and potential believers needed to know in order to grasp the historical and theological dimensions of the Serbian Church.[29]

An important part of the Church's publishing endeavors included preparing monographs dedicated to certain medieval Serbian monasteries.[30] In addition to enriching the academic literature on the cultural heritage of medieval Serbia, these publications were also unique because of their multidisciplinary framework, which was reflected in the need to bring together expert knowledge on the religious, social, and cultural life of this period. The first of several volumes of this type was prepared in 1981 to mark the 600th anniversary of the Ravanica monastery. In addition to theologians and clerics, leading Yugoslav scholars – historians, art and literary historians, and musicologists, from the University of Belgrade and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and its institutes – took part.[31] It seems that the experience gained during this process, together with developing closer ties with important people in the academic sphere, and especially members of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts,[32] were of great significance when preparing similar projects in the coming period. Here, what was probably the most ambitious, yet also respected, collection on a single subject published by the church in the 1980s, should be mentioned: a memorial book dedicated to the Studenica monastery (1986). A large number of eminent scholars and theologians (over 35) contributed to this publication, which provided comprehensive and multidisciplinary insights into this monastery's historical and artistic value.[33] Due to the diversity of papers

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[29] Apart from the journal specifically created for children and youth, the *Svetosavsko zvonce*, that was initiated in 1969, as well as the *Ilustrovana Biblija za decu* [*Illustrated Bible for Children*] whose third edition appeared in 1981, publications meant for this group of believers did not appear often. This was also the case with publications dedicated to catechization of various generations of believers. In 1982, Monastery of Ćelije published a book titled *Nema lepše vere od hrišćanske* [*There is no better faith than Christian faith*] whose authors were bishop Danilo Krstić and hieromonk Amfilohije Radović. It was one of the rare examples of popular books for the catechization of believers published in 1980s.

[30] This represented a continuation of a 40-year long tradition of publishing capital, memorial editions on the occasion of important anniversaries from the history of Church, as well as the Serbian cultural and literary history. From 1946 to 1981, nine capital volumes appeared. *cf*. Vukić 1986b.

[31] *cf*. Anonymous 1982.

[32] For instance, in October 1981, the Serbian church, and the seniority of the Velika Remeta monastery contributed to the organization of the scientific conference dedicated to composer Kornelije Stanković that was hosted by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. As one of its major events, an exhibition devoted to the old Serbian music took place in the monastery building (see Monah Lukijan 1981). Two years later, in January 1983, the Serbian Patriarch German met with the president of the academy, Dušan Kanazir, and a group of academicians (writer Antonije Isaković, chemist Aleksandar Despić and art historian Dejan Medaković), in order to discuss further collaboration on the preservation and the use of the Archive of the Patriarchate-Metropolitan in Sremski Karlovci (see M. D. J. 1983). Since 1984, the academy officials were regular guests at St. Sava academies organized by the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, and other important events in the church's life.

[33] Anonymous 1986e.

and the breadth of perspectives, a representative work was created that was intended not only for those in academic and clerical circles, but also for the wider public.[34]

In the 1980s (1983) a long-prepared, completely revised version of Vuk Karadžić's translation of the New Testament (*Sveto pismo Novog zaveta*), formally initiated in 1961, was published. As Church authorities explained, the motive for this project was primarily of a theological nature and aimed to create a 'reliable, official' translation, although it was also important 'to make it accessible to modern people.'[35] A historically important intellectual and publishing undertaking of Serbian Church was presented for the first time at the 29th International Book Fair in Belgrade, in October 1984, in front of the representatives of the Republic of Serbia Commission for the Relations with Religious Communities, representatives of the prestigious publishing houses, academician and writer Antonije Isaković, "renown figures of public and cultural life," and "a large audience."[36] While the ceremonial promotion of this edition gathered not only members of clerical, intellectual, and political circles, but also believers and part of the wider public, its general reception was not given reports in the church press. Besides, the data concerning circulation of the new translation were left unnoticed.

Among the important publishing undertakings in this period were releases of church music recordings, both as LPs and audio cassettes. The first edition of Orthodox church music on cassette appeared in 1981, and soon after several others followed.[37] Although there is no information on how widely they were circulated, it is known that the cassettes were sold in churches across the country along with other commercial products.[38] Since Orthodox Church music was rarely recorded in the SFR Yugoslavia after the Second World War and, except for concerts organized by the Serbian Church, was not often included in concert repertoires,[39] the popularization of this type of music helped believers to better understand

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[34] In the process of preparation of monograph on Studenica, very cordial relations between church authorities and other contributors, mainly university professors and researchers, were brought to the fore. The ceremonial reception of all contributors with the Serbian Patriarch that was organized upon monograph's publishing, along with a group tour around central Serbian dioceses, testified to the specific atmosphere that prevailed in the realization of this project. *cf*. Vukić 1986b.

[35] Karadžić's translation was never approved by the church, and was never used in the church service, but was "tolerated for private use." See Petković 1983.

[36] M. D. J. 1984.

[37] The first audio cassette edition was recorded by the St. Sava Choir of Clergy of the Šumadija Diocese, and prepared by Kalenić, the diocese's publishing house. It was a unique endeavor for the whole of Yugoslavia at the time. The idea was to show Orthodox church music in its "only adequate liturgical sense" rather than in a concert format (Anonymous 1981a). The Choir of the Belgrade Clergy published an LP the same year with the works of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Serbian and Russian composers of church music (Stepan Vasil'evich Smolensky, Stevan St. Mokranjac, Pavel Chesnokov, Aleksandar Gavanski, Vojislav Boberić and Georgije Maksimović). Several years later, in 1986, the St. Sava Choir of Clergy of the Šumadija Diocese released another audio cassette containing twelve works of Serbian, Russian, Romanian and Greek authors (Stevan St. Mokranjac, Pavel Chesnokov, Alexandru Podoleanu, Volislav Ilić and others).

[38] Anonymous 1981b.

[39] The circumstances have slightly changed since the mid-1980s as Orthodox church music started to be performed more frequently outside the Serbian church. For instance, Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević, as a part of the promotion of his LP *Serbian Melods* [*Srpski melodi*], published by Radio-Television Belgrade in 1985, held a concert in the National Museum in Belgrade in 1986 dedicated to Serbian church chant from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. A year later, in 1987, Leningrad Glinka Choir performed *Requiem* of

and adopt it, and it created an opportunity to also attract a non-religious audience. The use of an accessible and popular format such as the audio cassette also provided a possibility to reach a larger audience and also testified to the Church's willingness to conform to the demands of believers (and non-believers). Such concessions to believers' consumer habits could be interpreted as a clear sign of trends in secularization that had perpetuated the alienation of believers from the Church. Church authorities defended their approach with claims that commercial products, including cassettes, represented the embodiment of God's plan and intervention and, therefore, served as a path to the world's salvation.[40] Regarding the problem of "empty churches" that, as we shall point out, was occasionally discussed in theological and clerical circles,[41] turning to media and formats popular among the wider population probably resulted from the reasoning that any contact with believers and potential believers would be a better option than no contact at all.

3. The widening scope of the Serbian Orthodox Church's public involvement: the St. Sava's Memorial Temple project

The initiative to restart the project of building the St. Sava's Memorial Temple emerged in the late 1950s; however, permission for it to continue was not given until June 19, 1984.[42] This was preceded by numerous pleas and talks between the Serbian Patriarch German and state officials, and, judging by what was written in the church press, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Dušan Čkrebić's favorable position toward this project played a decisive part. After the decision by the Republic of Serbia and the City of Belgrade was made public, the Serbian Orthodox Church initiated ambitious fundraising efforts that significantly contributed to creating closer collaboration with various social circles and to using the Church's publishing capacities to their maximum. The Church's undertakings to popularize this project took several directions. These included publishing a supplemental series in the magazine *Pravoslavlje* that provided detailed information about the work taking place at the Vračar plateau; organizing large ceremonies at the site of the future temple; holding lectures and charity events for the Serbian diaspora in the US, Canada, and Australia; creating special commercial editions; reviving the craft of icon painting; etc. Such activities were important for multiple reasons – Church networking with various cultural and academic circles intensified, the ties with

Stevan Hristić on their concert on Bemus festival in Belgrade. The Bulgarian Obretenov Choir presented excerpts from sacred pieces written by Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky, Dobri Hristov and Nikolai Kedrov also in Bemus festival (1987), and performances by the Symphonic Orchestra of the Radio-Television Belgrade of Stevan Mokranjac's *Opelo* [*Requiem*] and the Choir of Radio-Television Zagreb was broadcasted on February 1988 on radio stations in twenty European countries. Finally, two events that took place in 1989 should be mentioned – a series of performances of Mokranjac's *Liturgy* and *Requiem* at the Bitef theater in Belgrade, and a cycle of concerts of Orthodox church music by the Belgrade Cultural Center as a preparation for the Summit of the Non-Aligned countries. According to Medić, forthcoming.

40 Anonymous 1981b.

41 *cf*. Simić 1981.

42 On the history of this project and its political aspects, with particular focus on the period after 1945 see Aleksov 2003; *cf*. Janjić 2017: 177–179.

dioceses outside the country were strengthened, and the public image of the Serbian Church gained new dimensions. It is clear that realizing the St. Sava's Memorial Temple project symbolically represented the Church's return to Serbian and Yugoslav society, its empowerment, and its attempt to regain the social influence and authority it lost after the Second World War.[43] The ambitions of the Church authorities grew along with the progress of temple construction, the increasing mobilization of expanding numbers of believers, and as divisions between the Church and part of the diaspora in the North America and Australia were overcome. This all culminated in 1988 and early 1989 when, on the eve of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, a translation of the relics of Holy Prince Lazar throughout the Orthodox dioceses of Yugoslavia was initiated to strengthen the bond between the Church and believers and to revitalize the faith among the Serbs, among other goals.

3.1. Mass gatherings and celebrations

Since the early 1980s, organizing mass gatherings on different occasions, once or twice a year, has been one of the Church's favorite forms of public engagement. Regardless of whether these were celebrations of anniversaries of monasteries or churches or the consecration of newly constructed or reconstructed church buildings, such events were based on mobilizing believers mainly from particular dioceses, or, with some exceptions, from various parts of Yugoslavia. The revitalization of the idea of congregation that became actualized in this manner seems to have had a particular importance when considering the declining numbers of believers that were active during the decades following Second World War and their overall alienation from the Church. The problem of "emptying" churches together with a prevailing lack of interest in church services among believers was recognized by the clergy and the Church authorities. However, a detailed exploration of its possible causes did not take place. With the exception of a few strictly theological conferences about the place of liturgy and other types of services in believers' everyday life,[44] this problem was rarely discussed in detail in the church press or within church bodies. Based on available information, the assumption is that, instead of promoting regular church services and rites and their value, importance, and relevance for the people's expression of faith, the Church authorities focused on activities that enjoyed widespread popularity. For this reason, mass celebrations and gatherings that believers responded to with great enthusiasm[45] became a crucial "channel of communication" between them and the Church, and with the other social groups, such as intellectuals, artists, politicians, that usually participated in these.[46]

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43 On the symbolism of temple construction see Aleksov 2003: 67–69; Srdanović Barac 1988.

44 See Simić 1981: 11.

45 See Čarkić 1983: 13

46 The assumption that the Church's focusing on mass gatherings in the 1980s (and in the previous decade) was the result of the need to compensate for the lack of interest of believers in regular church service and, at the same time, the popularity that this kind of interaction enjoyed among them, opposes the findings of Klaus Buchenau (2005: 559) who claims that such events represented a "chain reaction" to what was happening inside the Catholic church sphere of influence in Yugoslavia at the time. According to Buchenau, "wherever the Catholic church showed

Before the construction of the St. Sava Memorial Temple began in the late 1984, several large events organized by the Serbian Orthodox Church were particularly prominent in terms of the number of participants, their regional differentiation, and the presence of influential individuals from various circles outside the Church. Among them was the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Ravanica monastery (July 26, 1981), as well as the consecrations of a new church in Tutnjevac (Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 30, 1981), a rebuilt residence in the Patriarchate of Peć (October 16, 1983), and a new church in Jasenovac (September 2, 1984). According to the model that was already employed when organizing large events, a few months after Memorial Temple project was officially approved, a process was initiated to prepare a large ceremony on the grounds of the future temple on the day of St. Basil [Vasilije] of Ostrog (May 12, 1985). Believers and the general public were given detailed information in the church press, and, as a distinctive feature in comparison to similar events, a monumental choral ensemble performance by singers from all of the Belgrade church choirs was planned. The majestic ceremony was meant to symbolically point to the historical significance behind the revival of this decades-old project while also making a strong impression on the believers and the citizens of Belgrade. As reported in the church and foreign press, the first holy liturgy given on the Vračar plateau became the largest mass religious gathering in the Yugoslav capital since the end of the Second World War. It is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 people were present.[47] In addition to those from Belgrade, the ceremony and liturgy were attended by believers from Dalmatia, Šumadija, Kosovo and Metohija, Srem, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lika, and others, as well as representatives of the Assembly of Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Republic and City of Belgrade Commission for Relations with Religious Communities, the Republic Committee for Science, Education and Culture, the Belgrade City Assembly, and the Belgrade Socialist League of the Working People. According to theologian Dušan Kašić,

> it was not an 'event'; it was a congregation, a mass congregation of those in whom the noble desire to express gratitude to Saint Sava and to build the temple had been simmering for decades...It was a mass prayer imbued with a particular sacred atmosphere. In this gathering, we all complemented each other: the excited voice of the Serbian Patriarch, the triumphant singing of the monumental choral ensemble, the high representatives of the republic and city authorities and religious communities, nuns and monks, old and young, all merged into one unique beauty, joy and good. [...] All that was 'holy and honorable' was dispersed to thousands of homes that day and the good news poured in that the covenant of the Orthodox Serbs was in the process of being realized.[48]

The next mass gathering at the Vračar plateau was held with a festive atmosphere when the holy cross was placed on the temple's dome, once again on the day of St. Basil of Ostrog, May 12, 1989, in front of tens of thousands of Belgraders. As church chroniclers noted:

> The windows of nearby houses and institutions are open, people are pressed together. Bystanders and those who hadn't heard about the event see that something unusual is happening and are stopping

presence by mass events, the other communities tried to develop similar activities," but, considering the reports and analysis published in the church press and journals, the internal factors seems to have held more weight.

47 Anonymous 1985.

48 Kašić 1985.

to watch. The movement […] of the hands [of the Patriarch] follows the first centimeters of [the cross] being lifted, applause echoes from many hands and the singing of Hymn of St. Sava has started. People are crying out in song, in the truest sense of the word."[49]

In the period between the two events, Church authorities regularly visited the construction site along with writers, diplomats, journalists, groups of schoolchildren and university students, university professors, members of various associations, etc.[50] In January 1987, on St. Sava's Day a *slava* rite was performed,[51] and on the same day in 1988, this was repeated in the presence of several thousand Belgraders, the British and American ambassadors, and was accompanied by the Belgrade Priests Choir.[52]

Continuity in organizing mass celebrations and gatherings was maintained within the Serbian Church independently from the Memorial Temple project. In this regard, the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the Studenica monastery was of particular importance, as was the translation of Holy Prince Lazar's relics, which was part of a large number of events between Saint Vitus' Day [*Vidovdan*] on June 28, 1988 and the fall of 1989.

The celebration at the Studenica monastery in 1986 displayed, among other things, the Church's extensive networking within various artistic and intellectual circles. Close relations with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts were established in the early 1980s, and were further strengthened by including the writer Dobrica Ćosić and the art historian Vojislav Đurić as delegates in the Anniversary Celebration Committee.[53] In addition to members of the academy, certain artists also took part in the ceremony at Studenica. For instance, the painter and chanter, Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević, sang at the celebration,[54] and the painter Kosta Bradić prepared an exhibition of his graphic art.[55] In addition, numerous writers, the majority of whom were members of the Association of Writers of Serbia at the time, were present in the audience.[56]

While the Studenica anniversary clearly demonstrated the Church's growing influence in cultural and academic spheres, one of the objectives behind the translation of Holy Prince Lazar's relics was to encourage believers to actively participate in church life. This intention was brought to light during the celebrations that followed the display of relics

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49 M. D. J. 1989.

50 Among them were the writers Vuk Drašković, Slobodan Selenić, Raša Popov, Miodrag Bulatović, poet Desanka Maksimović, British and American ambassadors, the delegation of spouses of various ambassadors, the bishop of Zvornik and Tuzla diocese Vasilije with 7,000 believers (April 23, 1988), the part of the Department for Technical Sciences of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the group of professors and students of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Belgrade, etc. (*cf.* M. D. J. 1988c).

51 Anonymous 1987a.

52 M. D. J. 1988a.

53 Ćosić 1986.

54 Anonymous 1986a. It should be noted that Aksentijević regularly performed at various church events including the St. Sava gatherings at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology (1984), the cycle of lectures held in Voždovac (1988), the ceremony of presenting the Voždovac church wall paintings (1988), the *slava* of the First Belgrade Choral Society (1989), etc.

55 Anonymous 1986b.

56 According to press reports, present were writers Dobrica Ćosić, Vuk Drašković, Matija Bećković, Antonije Isaković, Rajko Petrov Nogo, Gojko Đogo, Milan Komnenić, Antonije Đurić, Danko Popović, painters Kosta Bradić, Milić of Mačva and others. *cf.* Anonymous 1986c.

across the various dioceses, and it was meant to encourage believers to gather in their parishes and the centers of dioceses, and, finally, to attend the ceremony of the 600th anniversary of Battle of Kosovo at Gazimestan in 1989. Unlike before, mass gatherings were organized and repeated every few weeks. The extent to which such activities increased was indicated by reports from different dioceses. For instance, around 15,000 people were present at the ceremony, which took place in Lazarevac on October 16, 1989, during which the relics were brought from the Šabac and Valjevo Diocese to the Šumadija Diocese. When they arrived in Kragujevac on October 23, around 25,000 people had gathered. In the meantime, the relics were exhibited in Aranđelovac and Topola, and attracted a great deal of interest among believers.[57]

As the translation of relics progressed and the main celebration approached, the initial idea of strengthening religious sentiment among believers and bringing them closer to the Church began to be superseded by more ambitious and complex plans in which (broad) cultural and (narrow) religious motives intertwined. The Memorial Temple project also went through something similar. By the eve of the celebration of the Battle of Kosovo, the original aim of honoring the greatest Serbian saint and completing a decades-long initiative became secondary to becoming the cornerstone of the Serbian Orthodox Church's broadly defined cultural and national program.[58] This shift was reflected in the interpretations of the theologian and bishop of the Banat diocese, Amfilohije Radović, which were presented in the study *The spiritual meaning of the temple of St. Sava in Vračar* [*Duhovni smisao hrama Sv. Save na Vračaru*] (1989). This study was based to a large extent, on a merging of the interwar theological concept of *svetosavlje* and the dominant political views of the Serbian Church at the time.

In the late 1980s the Church authorities were openly preoccupied with the process of social, sociocultural, and political transformation instead of focusing on internal reforms. This was evidenced by an understanding of the value and relevance of these projects and activities, which was mediated through the church press. From this perspective, 1989 was a crucial year, not only for the Serbian Orthodox Church, but for the Serbian people as well:

> In year of our Lord 1989, miraculously magnificent and important events took place in the history of the Serbs. [...] The entirety of the Serbian people experienced enlightenment, national and spiritual integration, and religious and moral transformation. The magnificent temple rises from the ashes in Vračar, dedicated to the greatest son and most beloved saint a Serbian mother has given birth to – St. Sava. On the Sunday before the St. Vitus' Day [June 28], the Divine Liturgy was given there. This year, Holy Prince Lazar [...] marches among his people, through Serbian lands and temples. Masses of people, boys and girls, women and children, welcome him everywhere. With arms full of flowers, tears in their eyes, and fire in their souls, everyone approaches and kisses the holy right hand of the virtuous Prince.[59]

While the strengthening role of political motives was evident in the realization of these projects by the end of the decade, as was the relevance of nationalist discourse,[60] political engagement

[57] Anonymous 1989a.
[58] *cf*. Naumović 2009: 67
[59] Anonymous 1989c.
[60] *cf*. Naumović 2009: 67.

by Church representatives in this period was, to a great degree, built on experience gained during extensive campaigning for Kosovo Serbs from 1981 to 1987,[61] although the "milieu" had been significantly transformed. Earlier, the Church directly confronted the political leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and criticized its actions, alleged inertia, and lack of will to deal with the issue of Kosovo Serbs thoroughly and adequately. However, these changing circumstances, and especially the shifts in the Serbian League of Communists and Serbian leadership from late 1987 to late 1989,[62] led to the Church softening its critical tone and approach to the new nomenclature. As a result of the convergence between the Church's nationalist program and the policy of "national unity" promoted by the political elite, the dominant public boundaries for the representatives of this religious community gradually began to loosen.[63] Given that a solution to the Kosovo issue together with the Serbian national question was a priority for the new Serbian leadership, the Church's stances became absorbed into dominant political discourse, and complemented it on different levels. In this respect, the "sacralization" of the Battle of Kosovo and how it was related to the political circumstances at the time was of particular importance. It came to striking fruition in the celebration of its anniversary at Gazimestan where, for the first time in post-war history, the trajectories of the Church and the Serbian political elite became closely intertwined.[64]

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[61] One of the crucial preoccupations of the Church representatives in the 1980s was the continued struggle to protect the rights of Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija and the church property in this area. Increased interest in the political situation in this autonomous province was evident in the 1960s, and particularly after Kosovo Albanian demonstrations in March of 1981. Since then, Church authorities, bodies, and the press started series of activities in order to inform the Yugoslav, European, and global public about the problems Kosovo Serbs were experiencing and that, they believed, followed from the Kosovo Albanians controversial political aspirations. The theologian and hieromonk Atanasije Jevtić took on the role of Church spokesperson on this issue, and took part in public forums and lectures, initiated a series of writings in the church press, prepared various publications, etc. His views crystalized in a series of travelogues entitled "From Kosovo to Jadovno" [*Od Kosova do Jadovna*] published first in the journal *Pravoslavlje* (1983) and soon after reprinted in a book of the same title, along with various poems and archival documents (1984). They were further elaborated on in the collective monographs *The Monuments of Kosovo* [*Zadužbine Kosova*], prepared by the Raška and Prizren Diocese, the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade, and the editorial committee in 1987 and *Kosovo 1389–1989, the Land of the Living* [*Kosovo 1389–1989, zemlja živih*], edited by the hieromonk Irinej Bulović, and supported by the Montenegro St. Stefan monastery in honor of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo (1989). In 1985 Atanasije Jevtić participated in a series of events dedicated to Kosovo issue along with bishop Amfilohije Radović and hieromok Irinej Bulović joined the Association of Writers of Serbia. Noteworthy among them was a three-day discussion organized by the Association and its Belgrade Writers Section in March 1986. It included a presentation of the latest publications related to Kosovo and an exchange of views on the situation in Kosovo province. Along with Jevtić's book *From Kosovo to Jadovno*, the Belgrade audience was given insight into many historical and literary works, including Dimitrije Bogdanović's study, *Knjiga o Kosovu* [A Book About Kosovo], which was very highly regarded by the Church authorities. The contours of counterpublics were shaped through these and similar occasions and separate campaigns run by the Association and the Serbian Church in their own journals and publications. Elements of these counterpublics became manifest in the rejection of the the Serbian leadership's policies and the critique of the results of their work, restricted access to the mass media, and the use of various "alternative" channels of communication – the journals of the Church and the Association (*Pravoslavlje* and *Književne novine)*, various publications, public forums and discussions etc.

[62] On Slobodan Milošević and his associates' rise to power see Pavlović, Jović, Petrović 2008; Jović 2008.

[63] *cf*. Naumović 2009: 65–70.

[64] *Ibid.*

3.2. Activities of the Serbian Orthodox Church among Serbian diaspora

One of the problems that plagued the post-war Serbian Orthodox Church was an internal schism resulting from conflicts with certain dioceses in the diaspora. The accumulated problems culminated in the early 1960s, and eventually led to a split between the Diocese of the United States and Canada and the Holy Assembly of Bishops and Holy Assembly of Synods (1963–1964) and the formation of the Free Serbian Orthodox Church. The former bishop of the US and Canadian diocese, Dionisije (Dionisije Milivojević), was the person behind this split and a number of parishes and believers in the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand separating from the Belgrade Patriarchate. This happened with the support of various influential and also strongly anti-communist oriented intellectual and political circles within the diaspora.[65]

The need to strengthen the Serbian Church's position in Yugoslav society, which became visible through public involvement during the 1980s, encompassed an attempt to establish closer relations and more intense cooperation with dioceses and believers outside the country. There were activities organized and supported by the Church among the Serbs in the diaspora at the time, and the desire for creating stronger bonds was mutual. Apart from ecclesiastical circles outside the country, various Serbian cultural associations also made significant contributions to this. These became more frequent after 1984 when the Memorial Temple project was revived. Although the project itself was not the primary motive for organizing events in the diaspora, it was certainly an important point of reference. The first significant step toward bringing the Serbian Church closer to Serbs in the US and Canada was made in the summer of 1985, three years after it was initiated. It was a two-month tour of North American and Canadian church municipalities by the Student Choir of the Belgrade Faculty of Orthodox Theology. Plans for it were extensive, and the tour included visits to a large number of Serbian churches and communities in North America. As witnessed by the conductor Predrag Miodrag, "for two months we were the living bond [...] between our people abroad, our mother church, and the entire nation in the homeland; so much so that they themselves felt and expressed in their own words and sealed with their applause and contributions to the new [faculty] building and the St. Sava Memorial Temple."[66]

This ensemble visited again in 1987 and, prior to their arrival, the dioceses in the United States and Canada along with individual Serbian organizations, initiated a series of events to celebrate Saint Sava and promote the Memorial Temple project. The Serbian National Academy of Canada organized festive evenings in honor of it in late 1985 in Montreal, Windsor, Toronto, and Chicago. They were hosted by writer and academician Matija Bećković and TV director Arsenije Jovanović, and included a message from Patriarch German, the hieromonk Atanasije Jevtić, academicians Dobrica Ćosić and Antonije Isaković and writer Borislav Mihajlović Mihiz. Members of the Serbian National Academy returned the visit in the spring of 1986 and prepared a memorial book dedicated to Saint Sava.[67] These writers and academicians gathered

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[65] See Slijepčević 2002: 225–245.

[66] Miodrag 1985.

[67] See Vukić 1986. In April and May 1988, Matija Bećković was once again invited to give lectures on Saint Sava and the temple project throughout US and Canada. After his visit to the Serbian diaspora, supported both

at the reception organized for them in Belgrade by the Serbian Patriarch, along with academician and writer Ljubomir Simović and journalist and writer Vuk Drašković.

Various fundraising activities for the St. Sava Memorial Temple took place among the Serbian diaspora in Australia. For instance, Bishop Longin of the Australian and New Zealand diocese organized a series of lectures to promote the project, its historical value, artistic qualities, and significance for the Serbian Church. To this end, a group of artists and intellectuals from Serbia close to the Serbian Church were invited. In 1987, Branko Pešić, architect and proto-master of the Temple; Vuk Drašković; and Danko Popović held lectures throughout Australia where they had an opportunity to meet Orthodox Serbs from various church municipalities.[68] Two years later, in 1989, the same task was given to Matija Bećković.[69]

The more extensive exchange between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian diaspora from the US, Canada, and Australia probably contributed to a certain extent to the gradual improvement of relations with the unrecognized and uncanonical Free Serbian Orthodox Church. As a sign of positive development in this regard, an initiative was begun in 1989 to form a Commission for Dialogue between the Canadian-American Diocese and the Serbian Orthodox Church.[70] It was preceded by an appeal signed by forty Serbian intellectuals calling for reconciliation within the Church.

In addition to changing the atmosphere within the Serbian diaspora and their sentiments toward the Serbian Church, activities that took place in the US, Canada and Australia during this period resulted in strengthening the collaboration between the Church and certain artistic and intellectual circles. The aforementioned writers, academicians, artists, and others (writers Milan Komnenić, Slobodan Rakitić, Antonije Đurić, Rajko Petrov Nogo, Gojko Đogo, Jovan Radulović, Brana Crnčević, Dragoslav Mihajlović, academician Dejan Medaković, painters Kosta Bradić and Milić of Mačva, etc.) began openly supporting the Church's work and participating in its activities. At the same time, their academic and artistic achievements were promoted in the church press. This was also the case with the Association of Writers of Serbia, whose various activities, public appeals, protest letters, and forums were given attention in the church press, especially in the late 1980s. The intersection between Church authorities and groups of artists and intellectuals was evident not only in their political involvement at the time, but also in the cultural events organized by the Church. In terms of this, the initiation of the Voždovac Summer Spiritual Evenings (1988) was of particular importance. In addition to lectures by Serbian Orthodox theologians, it included a lecture by academician Matija Bećković and performances by chanter Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević,[71] as well as series of lectures on Kosovo by Antonije Isaković, (writer and academician) Dragoslav Mihajlović, (theologian) Žarko Gavrilović, (writers) Aleksandar Petrov, Milo Gligorijević, Brana Crnčević, Gojko Đogo, Petar Pajić, Jovan Radulović, (journalist) Rajko Đurđević, (theologian) Žarko Vidović and (writer) Slaven Radovanović that took place in the churchyard in Valjevo (1989).[72]

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by the Serbian National Academy of Canada and the Canadian bishop Georgije, ended, a popular book entitled *The Service of Saint Sava* [*Služba Svetom Savi*] was prepared for the purpose of fundraising.

68 Anonymous 1988b.

69 Anonymous 1989b.

70 Anonymous 1989d.

71 *cf.* N. K. 1988.

72 Radovanović 1989.

4. The process of desecularization and deatheization in the 1980s and the consolidation of the Serbian Orthodox Church's position in Yugoslav society

Changes in religiosity among the population of Yugoslavia became noticeable in the mid-1980s and were discussed in press reports and surveys by sociologists of religion and culture. Given the decades-long dominance of the process of secularization and atheization in Yugoslav (and Serbian) society, the increasing numbers of believers and the phenomenon of "fuller churches" caught the attention of those who followed trends in Yugoslav daily life. Increasing interest in this topic in widely read publications at the time was observed by Church circles and, as a result, articles published in magazines and newspapers such as *NIN*, *Politika*, *Večernje novosti*, and others were regularly explored in the church press starting in 1984. At first, the emphasis was on criticism of these writings and the stereotypes they reproduced concerning the expansion of conventional religiosity among the youth, but later on the focus became understanding the causes of this process.

It was clear from the critiques of newspaper and magazine articles, and particularly from those that pointed to certain clerics and the effect of their "seductive" sermons as the main reason for the youth turning to the Serbian Church (and other religious communities), that a turning point occurred in the mid-1980s.[73] The rapid strengthening of the desecularization process surprised even the Church authorities, since it had not been preceded by more extensive mobilization and catechization within this part of the population. During the 1980s (and before), the Church's public involvement was not designed to respond to the specific needs of believers according to their dispositions and their generational, social, and cultural differences. Because of this, there were no separate activities for children and youth, and only a modest segment of publications was devoted to this group. Apart from the magazine *Svetosavsko zvonce* and *The llustrated Bible for Children*, which were aligned with the intellectual capacities and forms of communication favored by children and young adults, no other editions that appeared by the end of 1980s were either directly aimed at this group or provided religious education. The absence of a clearly defined youth policy in the Serbian Church and, in general, of activities specifically oriented toward the youth during this period was also evidenced by certain theologians and clerics. According to their claims, the Church "has less contact with young people than all other religious communities," which was the product of "the objective circumstances in which it functions and certainly not from some kind of disorganization."[74]

Although perceived as a widespread phenomenon in all religious communities, the increasing involvement of youth in religious life since the mid-1980s has rarely been considered in detail from the perspective of Orthodox theologians and clergy. At the same time, testimonies of schoolchildren and university students who had devoted themselves to the Orthodox faith were scarce in the church press. The observations made by theologian, literary historian, and academician Dimitrije Bogdanović (1985) were of particular importance in this regard. He discussed the potential motives among young people for joining

[73] On the empirical research on the expansion of religiosity in Serbia and Yugoslavia among different parts of population including the youth conducted in the 1980s see Kuburović, Gavrilović 2013: 10.

[74] Gavrilović 1985b.

the Church and described what most of them were like. When comparing religious sentiments in the USSR and SFR Yugoslavia at the time, Bogdanović noticed a number of similarities such as "the increasing openness of youth to religion, and the fact that an increasing number of unbaptized young people were baptized by their own free will and literally by their faith." The conversion, he believed, was "inspired by a deep spirituality: it makes no difference between them and Russian neophytes [...]. The level of religious knowledge they demonstrate is high, spiritual literature is their regular reading, prayer permeates their home life, their mornings and evenings, their commute to work, lunch or fasting."[75]

The occasional references to young people in the church press to a certain extent shed some light on the context of their commitment to conventional religion and point to the importance of peer socialization, a generally strong belief in the transcendental authority, deep disappointment in Yugoslav society, the impact of the economic crisis, etc.[76] When looking at reports published in the press and discussions at theological conferences, it is clear that young people's interest in the Serbian Church did not correlate with the Church's public and social involvement in the initial period, and that it was primarily a grassroots initiative. The Church's more active political engagement since 1984 may have exerted a certain influence. In this regard, the negative reception in the mass media of the Church's political activities could have played a role. By openly labeling the Church as an anti-systemic institution, the media unintentionally provoked solidarity with the Church from the part of its audience that was dissatisfied with prevailing social circumstances and, consequently, could identify with any "anti-systemic" position. Still, only a closer examination of witnesses of the time can clarify the importance of certain factors pushing young people closer to the Serbian Church.

Although the Church's contribution to the process of desecularization in Yugoslav Orthodox communities is hard to estimate, its overall position and social authority were undoubtedly strengthened by this process. Due to a trifold increase in the number of young believers, and a significant growth in the total number of believers, the Church and its voice became more firmly embedded within society. As a result, the opinions of Church authorities could not be completely ignored, and the Church's support was no longer irrelevant in sociopolitical terms. Accordingly, it was not surprising that Church leaders began to appear in influential youth and political journals and media in the late 1980s. For example, extensive interviews with the Serbian Patriarch German appeared in *Večernje novosti* and *Politika* in 1988 and 1989. In addition, on January 6, 1988, *Politika* published the Patriarch's Christmas Epistle, which was then reproduced "in other media."[77] This was one of many indicators pointing to a change in the Church's position in society and within the public sphere in Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

5. Conclusion

This analysis of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the late socialist period has revealed

[75] Bogdanović 1985: 5.

[76] See, for instance, 'Bog se nalazi srcem', *Svetosavsko zvonce*, 1, 1988, 24–25; 'Mladi pitaju – mi odgovaramo', *Svetosavsko zvonce*, 3,1985, 85–87.

[77] Anonymous 1988a.

several important phenomena. First of all, there was a high degree of reliance on experience and forms of communication with believers and other groups created in earlier decades. This does not imply that changes were not introduced in this area, but because this process happened gradually, there was an impression of uninterrupted continuity. Most types of public engagement employed in the 1980s played a role in earlier decades; however, the dynamics and intensity, as well as the prevailing sociopolitical circumstances, changed with the appearance of the public sphere's slowly paced liberalization and an increase in the freedom of religious expression. Even before these trends became more evident, Church authorities had made efforts to strengthen the position of this religious community in Serbian and Yugoslav society. Much energy was directed toward creating closer bonds with believers, certain social circles, and the Serbian diaspora, as well as toward overcoming deeply embedded post-Second World War stigma. To that end, Church representatives focused on a diverse set of activities – for believers, mass celebrations were emphasized, and cooperation with academic, artistic, and political circles was established through the Church press, political campaigning, and numerous art and church construction projects.

The St. Sava Memorial Temple project encompassed most forms and channels of communication developed from the 1960s onward and served the Church's multiple tasks. It was through this project that the complex character of the Church's social being – both sacred and secular – was particularly emphasized and exploited. It was of particular importance that this monumental temple could be also seen as a place for the rebirth of the Orthodox faith, a reinforcement of the cult of St. Sava, a way to surpass believers' alienation, and as a majestic architectural endeavor that stimulated the revitalization of various crafts and the development of innovative solutions in numerous technical domains. Through its spiritual and more mundane dimensions, this project spoke easily not only to believers and clerics, but also to engineers, artists, and the wider public. Its multiple potentials were reflected in the diversity of activities organized for its affirmation, which ranged from performing holy rites at the construction site and organizing group visits for schoolchildren, university students, engineers, important public figures, etc. to publishing popular literature and a documentary,[78] preparing the exhibition *St. Sava Memorial Temple – the Design and Construction Process* (1988),[79] and cycles of lectures among the Serbian diaspora.

In a similar vein, the Church's rich cultural and artistic treasures often served to attract not only the interest of believers, but also of art and history scholars, artists, members of the educated classes, and others. This was particularly evident through the celebrations of the anniversaries of medieval monasteries, which included publishing mongraphs

[78] For the purpose of fundraising, Church authorities prepared a special 65-minute documentary "St. Sava Memorial Temple in Vračar" in the VHS and GSC format that was released in 1986. It included a ceremony sanctifying the temple's foundation, Patriarch German and all the Serbian church bishops on May 12, 1985 giving the Holy Liturgy, issuing a charter on restarting the construction, and a sermon given by the Patriarch. It was meant to be the first segment of a feature film that would end with the ceremony sanctifying the completed temple. See Anonymous 1986d.

[79] The exhibition was opened on February 6, 1988 at the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade in front of numerous members of the diplomatic corps (American, British, and Greek ambassadors, etc.) along with important figures in cultural, social and public life at the time. As a part of it, a monograph entitled *The St. Sava Memorial Temple in Vračar in Belgrade 1895–1988*, written by architect, and temple's proto-master Branko Pešić, was presented; *cf*. M. D. J. 1988b.

together with organizing mass gatherings and public celebrations. Through such engagement, it was possible to emphasize the variety of contributions made by the Church to Serbian and Yugoslav society, of which most were of exceptional cultural and historical value. Consequently, this could contribute to mediating more affirmative representations of this religious community among the broader public.

By focusing on different communication channels and social dimensions, the Church slowly improved its interaction with believers, strengthened relations with the diaspora dioceses and their flocks, and created a network of like-minded academic, artistic, literary, and political circles and actors. The expansion of religiosity to various segments of the population, and particularly the youth starting the mid-1980s, made its position more stable and socially influential, thus galvanizing the Church's political ambitions. To that end, the at first indirect and, after the eve of 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, open support of the Serbian political elite was of particular significance.

The Church's public involvement in the 1980s, beside reflecting its different positioning in Serbian and Yugoslav society, revealed changes appearing in the public sphere at that time. The gradual opening of this sphere from 1983 to the end of 1988 was noticeable, although the majority of dissident and "anti-systemic" groups had limited access to the wider public. Starting at the end of 1988, various counterpublic entities were absorbed inside its boundaries, but the extent to which this process contributed to the public sphere's "democratization" is difficult to assess. The idea of national unity and homogenization, which became central in the Serbian political realm at this time, seems to have led to the suppression of critical voices and the establishment of a "new unanimity" instead of the pre-existing pluralism of positions. However, without thoroughly examining other spheres – the media and popular cultural production – an understanding of the processes and trends within the Yugoslav public sphere will remain incomplete.

Mutual support and collaboration between the Church and various intellectual and artistic circles in the 1980s are of particular significance both for remodeling the public sphere and strengthening its social authority. Creating stronger ties with the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Association of Writers of Serbia was achieved through numerous events, initiatives, and projects. In addition to creating a network of writers, academicians, university professors, music performers, and painters willing to contribute to Church activities, the close interaction with both artists and intellectuals led to shaping a specific "anti-systemic" perspective that was anchored in the following: 1. reaffirming the legacy of the First World War and the First Yugoslavia; 2. opening up a debate about the crimes committed in the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War; 3. revitalizing the cult of Saint Sava and the Kosovo Covenant; 4. promoting the cultural heritage of medieval Serbia and of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century Serbs from the Habsburg Empire (the Fruška Gora monasteries); 5. struggling for Kosovo Serbs' political and social rights while documenting Albanians' "genocidal" aspirations dating from the medieval period; and 6. propagating the significance and value of the Cyrillic alphabet. Based on interpretations of these issues, a complex discourse evolved, which has been explored in the existing research through an extreme nationalist framework.[80] Still, the

[80] *cf*. Perica 2002.

importance of the theoretical, organizational, and political work of interwar theologist Justin Popović and Nikolaj Velimirović, whose devoted disciples were Amfilohije Radović, Atanasije Jeftić and Irinej Bulović, the *spiritus movens* of Church projects, initiatives, and discourse in the 1980s (and later), needs further clarification.

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ИЗЛАЗАК ИЗ „ЕНКЛАВЕ“: ЈАВНЕ АКТИВНОСТИ СРПСКЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ЦРКВЕ И ПРОЦЕС ДРУШТВЕНЕ РЕАФИРМАЦИЈЕ ТОКОМ 80-ИХ ГОДИНА ПРОТЕКЛОГ СТОЛЕЋА

Резиме

У овом раду се разматра како је Српска православна црква током 80-их година прошлог века постепено напуштала сужен вид јавног делања, и из оквира „енклаве“ искорачила у доминантну јавну сферу. Овај процес био је резултат међудејства различитих појава. Притисак власти на верске заједнице и вернике почео је да слаби у том периоду упркос томе што је јавно иступање верских званичника и даље било регулисано рестриктивним законским решењима. То је било праћено наглашеном деатеизацијом млађих делова популације и експанзијом различитих видова световне религиозности (популарна култура, спорт) укључујући и хибридне варијанте постмодерне духовности. У таквим околностима, верске заједнице биле су подстакнуте да проширују опсег свог јавног иступања и проналазе нове канале комуникације и умрежавања како с верницима, тако и с различитим друштвеним круговима. Циљ рада је да се укаже на врсте јавних активности које је Српска православна црква неговала у овом периоду, као и на фазе кроз које је прошла суделујући у јавној сфери. Поред тога, сагледани су и фактори који су утицали на промене у јавном и друштвеном позиционирању Цркве током касних 80-их година, као и последице тих промена на различите области њеног функционисања.

Кључне речи: Српска православна црква, СФР Југославија, 80-те, јавна сфера, јавне иницијативе, издаваштво, прославе, масовна окупљања, Српска академија наука и уметности, Удружење књижевника Србије.

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REVIEWS

Antal Molnár, *Confessionalization on the Frontier: The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality*, Rome: Viella, 2019, 268 pp.

Antal Molnár is a former director of the Hungarian Academy in Rome and the current director of the Institute of History at the Research Center for the Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and an associate professor at Eötvös Loránd University (both in Budapest).

His latest book contains 268 pages, nine chapters and an introduction, a glossary of Ottoman and South Slavic terms, maps, a bibliography, and an index of names and places. It contains Dr. Molnár's most important studies and research conclusions regarding the Balkan Catholics in the early modern period. Although these studies have been published earlier, he expands on them here with additional information and historical resources.

The author begins the book with a short summary of his research and a bibliography on the Catholic Christians in the Balkans in the early modern period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). This summary contains a short review of the author's PhD thesis, which he defended in both Hungarian and French in 1999 and 2002. He continues with research into Balkan and Western European historiographies of this topic. Research into the history of the Balkan Christian communities goes back more than a hundred years. The first period resulted in national and denominational historiographies. Orthodox and Catholic Church institutions took on a significant proto-nationalist identity to preserve their functions during the centuries of Ottoman rule, which culminated in the millet system in the nineteenth century. The author then reviews the most important historians from the 1990s who were researching and writing about this phenomena (Srećko M. Džaja, Machiel Kiel, Bernard Heyberger, etc.). Dr. Molnár also presents the geographical range of his studies. The focuses of his research are the Slavic-Albanian world and Ottoman Hungary (the historical and geographical term for the areas of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary occupied by the Ottoman Turks. This area is now modern-day Hungary, Slavonia in eastern Croatia, and Vojvodina in the northern Serbia).

In the introduction (pp. 7–17), the author explains the historical phenomenon of confessionalization (*Konfessionsbildung*, *Konfessionalisierung*) in western historiography and in the history of early modern Europe. The model was an elaboration of Erns Walter Zeeden's thesis and was developed by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Shilling, who built on the classic work of Hubert Jedin. They studied the three classic confessions (Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic) in parallel and drew connections between the religious and political spheres. From this, they reached the conclusion that these three early modern systems of religious institutions developed along similar lines and gave similar responses to the challenges of the time, regardless of dogmatic differences. In this respect, they may be regarded as the harbingers of modernity. The confessional aspect predominated most manifestations of life in the period due to the Reformation and Counter Reformation of the Catholic Church in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Furthermore, as national monarchies and republics gathered strength, they recruited the early modern confessions into their own system and used them to increase their own power in an attempt to return to exclusively providing the confession regarded as the state religion within their countries. The confessionalization paradigm swept through European historiography, and it arrived in some countries or language regions later than others.

The author views applying the Western European confessionalization model to Catholic Church institutions in the Ottoman Empire as a means of providing important insights into the

European formation of the confessions. Here, the author's main research topic is the Catholic minorities in the Balkan Peninsula as the targets of the same attempts at confession-building that the Holy See and religious orders pursued all over Europe. The same can be said for the Protestant churches in Ottoman Hungary. Dr. Molnár also explains the key characteristics of Catholic confessionalization within the Ottoman Empire, where it developed with many more local idiosyncrasies, supportive and hostile, than it did in Christian states.

The circumstances of Ottoman rule left little room for the idea of political and confessional territorialization, and even the jurisdictional limits of church authorities and institutions of various kinds (dioceses and religious orders) were much more uncertain and permeable than in other regions of Europe. The religious orders running the missions, the secular priests, and the prelates became embroiled in serious disputes over diocesan boundaries, parish revenues, and the rights of patronage over the chapels at Catholic trading stations. The second characteristic of Catholic confessionalization in the Balkan frontier lands was the local structures' tenacious resistance to reforms prescribed by Rome and to missionaries sent from outside (this particularly applies to the brothers of the Franciscan Province in Bosnia). The third major feature was the influence of the merchant communities in the confessionalization process. Without a secular confessional state and a feudal Christian ruling class, the merchants who constituted the economic and cultural elite of Christian society became the social force that shaped religious developments. This led to what was, in many respects, a new type of confessionalization that differed from the feudal and territorial model.

The topics in this book explore in nine chapters these special features and illustrate each of them with a microanalysis of a well-documented processes. In the first chapter, *Bosnian Franciscans between Roman Centralization and Balkan Confessionalization*, pp. 17–31, the author presents the resistance of local institutions to the Roman attempts at reforms after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) through the example of the Bosnian Franciscan Province, which was the most significant organization of Catholic Church in the Balkan Peninsula. The author presents the history of the Bosnian Franciscan Province from the thirteenth century until the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian armies in 1878. The Roman Catholic Church was organized around the Franciscan monasteries in the medieval state of Bosnia, and it gave to these institutions Conventual character, which remained so under Ottoman rule from 1463 to 1878. Parallel with the development of the order, Bosnian Catholic merchants also prospered, and the influence of these merchants was extensive, not just in Bosnia but also in Belgrade and in Ottoman Hungary. However, the order didn't represent a homogenous block in Bosnia or in the Balkans. They were divided due to their relationship with Rome and its attempts at reform. The most extreme example was the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica. The Franciscan monastery in Olovo represented the moderates, although there were also the Franciscans of Slavonia, who were more regional. The author also traces the strong bonds between the Bosnian Province and the Bosnian merchants through historical sources dating from 1770s concerning these processes, and he tries to compare them with the Serbian Church to prove the paradigm of confessionnalization. The order suffered greatly during the Great Turkish War (1683–1699) when the merchants were nearly destroyed. However, the order survived and remained predominant in the life of Bosnian Catholics until 1881.

Chapter 2, *The Holy Office and the Balkan Missions before the Foundation of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide (1622)*, pp. 31–47, and Chapter 3, *Venetian South-East Europe and Ottoman Hungary*, pp. 47–65, present the impacts on Balkan Catholicism from the viewpoint of the confession-shaping powers of the Holy See and the Republic of Venice. In drawing back the veil from the previously unknown involvement of the Roman Inquisition in the missions, the reader is able to gain insight into the conflict-ridden dynamic that characterized the Holy See`s attempts to formulate proper forms of mission

governance. Poor relations between Venice and the Balkan missions illuminate the fact that the main power center on the Adriatic Sea, a city state with major interests even as far away as the Levant, was unable to maintain its position in the Balkans lands along the coast. In Chapter 2, the author writes about the missionary organization of the Roman Inqui-sition. Even after the establishment of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide (1622), the Inquisition never stopped coordinating Catholic missions in the Balkans. However, they were organized through the new institution of the Congregation. Dr. Molnár presents missionary activity in the Balkans during the papacy of Paul V (1605–1621), including the activities of the Order of Saint Benedict in Albania and Hungary, the arrival of the Jesuits in the regions of Hungary occupied by the Ottomans, and Franciscan missionary work in Bulgaria. After the reports of these missionaries were sent to the Inquisition, the Congregation decided to send Pietro Massarecchi (Mazreku) as an apostolic visitor to Belgrade.

As for the cultural and religious influence of Venice in the Balkans, in Chapter 3 the author analyzes the concept of a "Venetian Southeast Europe" formulated by Oliver Jens Schmitt. This is the idea that there was a realm of communication realm in which Venetian influence stretched from Dalmatia to the island of Crete. However, the author does not agree with Schmitt's concept. He thinks that the Republic's religious influence in the seventeenth century from the Adriatic lands to the Greek archipelago wasn't powerful enough for this. Catholic missions from Dalmatia were rare and poorly organized. Moreover, the Catholic Church in Dalmatia did not undergo reforms according to the model of the Council of Trent. Also, the Venetian Republic lost much of its influence during the Cretan War (1645–1669).

In Chapter 4 (*Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade 1612–1643*, pp. 65–123) Dr. Molnár writes about the struggle between the Jesuits and the Franciscans for the Catholic chapel in Belgrade, which lasted for decades. The Catholic chapel in Belgrade was a symbol of the Catholics and a Catholic base for launching missions into Ottoman Hungary. This struggle started between the Jesuits and the Franciscans from the Bosnian Province, and lasted for quite a while due to the involvement of patrons on both sides (merchants from Bosnia and Dubrovnik). This is evidence that this struggle was not only religious, but also involved economic and power interests of merchants from both Bosnia and Dubrovnik. It is clear from the sources that their goal was to eliminate their rivals in Belgrade. This struggle was quite damaging for the Catholics in the city for a variety of reasons. They were weakened economically, and the survival of the Catholic diaspora and the missions was put in jeopardy. These events also reflected the Congregation's unsuitability for resolving struggles between the missionaries and their supporters at the local level.

Similar actions are described in the fifth chapter, *The Struggle for the Chapel of Novi Pazar (1627–1630)*, pp. 123–135, in which the author focuses on the battles between the Republic of Dubrovnik as an Ottoman tribute state and the local Catholic bishops' jurisdiction over the chapels in the Dubrovnik colonies (the chapels of chaplain Marin Jerković and the Bishop of Bar, Pietro Massarecchi). This struggle once again showed that the Congregation was unprepared to help broker a compromise between the bishops of Dubrovnik, who were the representatives of the economically weakened Republic, and their own missionary bishops.

In the next chapter (*The Catholic Missions and the Origins of Albanian Nation-Building at the Beginning of the 17th Century*, pp. 135–157), the author presents the role of the Catholic clergy in the formation of national identity through perhaps one of the least-known examples—the history of the Albanian missions. The small number of Albanian priests trained in Rome, in addition to their pastoral work, created a serious struggle for a literary expression of the basic elements of Albanian identity. These re-emerged in a completely different context during the course of nineteenth-century nation building. Historical sources on Catholics in Albania from the late sixteenth century tell of intense ethnic struggles between the Albanian clergy and the Dalmatian church prelates. Dr. Molnár presents the reader with the biography and the main actions of the most important actor in this event,

Pietro Massarecchi, who was born in Prizren. Albanian students studying in Rome fought against Dalmatian Catholics over the jurisdiction of the eastern Adriatic coast. The efforts of these prelates were welcome to the Congregation as a promotion of the Catholic faith. However, this process of confessionalization ended with the Great Turkish War, and the Albanian Catholic community never became a key factor in the creation of an Albanian national identity.

Another emphatic statement is expressed in Chapter 7, *The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Attempts at Union with Rome in the 17th Century*, pp. 157–169, which places the ambitions for a Catholic union with the Serbs within the context of Balkan missions. As the author says, efforts to proselytize to the Serbs were always a peripheral objective for Balkan Catholic confession-building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to the author, the only and most significant attempt at creating this union was the Marča church union. According to reports from the seventeenth century, it seems that not even the Catholic prelates believed in the success of a union between the Serbs and the Catholic Church. The sources provided in this book also confirm this, as the local Catholic prelates took the matter of these missions with reservations because the establishments of new episcopal sees would have weakened their positions.

The penultimate chapter, *The Balkan Missions under the Pontificate of Innocent XI (1676–1689)*, pp. 169–183, is devoted to centralizing missionary work during the time of Pope Innocent XI. This was a highly ambitious project that was meant to resolve the missions' issues that were mentioned in previous chapters. The main aim was to promote confessionalization through national sentiment. However, establishing the Holy League (1684) and driving the Ottomans out of Central Europe during the Great Turkish War only made the situation worse for Catholic institutions in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.

The tenth and final chapter, *La Schiavona. A Bosnian Girl between Catholic Hagiography and Balkan Female Transvestism*, pp. 169–205, is a study conducted through the special lens of male-female transformation with elements that also appear in Catholic female mysticism and Balkan folk tradition. The biography of Magdalena Pereš-Vuksanović is a truly unique source for seventeenth century Balkan history. It offers a glimpse into the closed and unknown world of early modern Bosnian women and draws attention to aspects of Balkan Catholicism that combine European and Balkan elements.

One hopes that this collection of studies and research conclusions will help shed some light on the unknown history of the Catholic missions and relations between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the Balkans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This work was based on extensive scholarly research and resources from the Vatican Archives. This glimpse into archival and primary resources helps the reader better understand the bonds between the early modern Catholic institutes in Rome and the Catholic population in the Balkans and Ottoman Hungary, as reflected in the activities of Catholic missions.

Attila Pfeiffer

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ISTRAŽIVANJA – JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCHES 31, 279–282

Karl-Peter Krauss, *Mord an der Donau. Leopold von Márffy und die deutschen Untertanen in Tscheb (1802–1812). Eine Mikrogeschichte der Gewalt*. Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 160. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018. 306 pp.

On a Sunday evening, September 20, 1812, fourteen men equipped with axes, clubs, and a rifle hid near Lipót Márffy's mansion in Čelarevo. Their hair was combed into their faces, their facial skin was darkened with soot, and their heads were covered with a long black cap. They were waiting for their landlord, the fifty-four-year-old Lipót Márffy, the former chief notary of Bács-Bodrog county. When the approaching of the carriage was reported, they came out of their hiding place, stopped the horses, and fired five times at the landowner. The victim was pulled out of his car, thrown to the ground and then inflicted further injuries. The perpetrators threw the gun into the Danube. An investigation and official proceedings

were initiated to investigate the case. The perpetrators were arrested and all were sentenced to death. This was later alleviated, or, in case of the five main culprits, approved, while the others were sentenced to three years in prison, which they had to serve handcuffed, on bread and water, doing physical labour, aggravated by twenty-five sticks three times a year.

Karl-Peter Krauss, a research fellow at the *Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde* in Tübingen, has been researching the history of the German population in southern Hungary for decades. In his remarkable oeuvre, he examines the history of the Germans in a complex way, from leaving their homeland to their settlement and integration, with a particular emphasis on aspects of social history and that of mentalities. His primary goal is to present the environment of activity and the lifestyle (*Lebenswelt*), taking into account the dynamics of change and the connections between internal development and external influences. His consistent methodology and his micro-level analyses following the approach of historical anthropology make it possible to interpret the decision-making mechanisms and strategies of the Germans in the new environment, together with their responses in critical situations.

The present volume is a logical consequence of Krauss's research career to date. Changes in demographic and family relations, as well as the logical system of marriages and divorces have been decisive aspects in his works. In the context of specific communities and individuals, he examined the legal framework in which they lived, how the various norms prevailed, and the reasons for which they were violated. He examined these mechanisms of influence together with the formation and management of the various conflicts primarily within the framework of the manor, through the relationship between the landlord, the manorial officials and the serfs, and through the relations between the peasantry itself. Against this background, the case of the assassination of Lipót Márffy in 1812 provided an excellent opportunity for Krauss to present the everyday problems of the settled German population in a specific case study, building on his previous research and methodological skills.

While the volume thematizes violence, the author shows the context of the two-hundred-year-old events in its complexity. The conceptual basis and focal points of the text are related to the first volume of the most famous and influential work of the French Jesuit historian Michel Certeau (*L'invention du quotidien.* Paris, 1980), which aimed to explore the social aspects of the everyday life (Arts de faire). Krauss embraced Certeau's recommendation, who dedicated his book to the "average man," the "heroes of everyday life," whom he examined in their network of relationships, in the context of their structures and systems. The author also dynamizes and presents the series of events at Čelarevo according to a definite dramaturgy, in which the growing indignation of the community became more and more powerful, and in which the unheard average people were finally made prominent by their radical action.

With his systematic work, Krauss drew a system of concentric circles around the murder, by which he was able to present the macro, meso and micro levels of the actors and the events, and the structure of relations between each actor. Through the concentric circles, the author plastically marks the framework of action (*Handlungsrahmen*) of the assassination of Márffy, and he is able to answer two central questions: what opportunities remain for the perpetrators; and what actions could have resulted from the complex fabric of political, legal, social, economic and cultural "system network"? Through this multi-perspective illustration, the events at Čelarevo provide further contributions to everyday history, agricultural, social and legal history, and shed light on the relationships between the various actors and institutions. With this method, he can also answer whether this horrific and unfortunate act was a purely individual case or a logical consequence of the legal, economic and social conditions and of an established and prolonged conflict.

The author records the events systematically. He presents in detail the 18th century history of the Germans in the Bácska, showing both the advantages of the settlement and the acculturation

and adaptation processes, which (due to different socialization, different interpretations of norms) inevitably resulted in conflicts. An important role is given to the presentation of the economic changes in the Bácska region, and to the outline of the effects of the agricultural boom of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In the third chapter, he briefly describes the story and causes of the assassination. The chapter reviews the history of the settlement of the Germans in the Bácska, together with its general social and economic conditions. It devotes a separate subchapter (4. 2.) to the operation of the county, which may seem sketchy to Central European historians, but is essential for the German readership to understand the subject, as is the description of the legal regulations.

In order to grasp the historical context and the environment of activity more accurately, Krauss examines the role of norms: how German residents related to the expectations expressed in their new environment, how they responded to challenges, how they tried to enforce their own customs (*Normentransfer, Normenadaptation*). The plastic presentation of the scene also serves to outline the context. The author sketches for us the structure of the settlement (including the effects of Maria Theresa's socage tenure regulation), as well as the ethnic and confessional aspects of the local society.

As a result of investigations and appeals, the socage lawsuit initiated by the inhabitants of Čelarevo has become a lengthy legal procedure. Without the disputes on the socage, neither the dissatisfaction with Lipót Márffy nor its extent can be understood. Krauss devotes a separate chapter (6.) to the disputes on socage, but before that he summarizes in a separate subchapter (5.2) the practice of Márffy as a county chief notary. The latter is necessary because, during his term in office, the series of documents related to socage lawsuits appear to be incomplete. It was not until 1815, years after the lawsuit was over, that the Locumtenential Council was able to properly reconstruct the processes. At the enumeration of the *processus urbarialis*, Krauss therefore clarifies the procedure of the submissions and the complaints, and makes an attempt to explain the reasons for the lack of resources in the archives of the Locumtenential Council and the counties. However, even the detailed investigation into the history of the sources does not provide a precise explanation of what happened to the Čelarevo residents' submissions, although the results of the research offer interesting contributions to the understanding of the operating mechanisms of the public administration. The author tries to decode and evaluate the peasants' complaints properly.

The peasants of Čelarevo repeatedly complained about the excessive use of socage and the related coercion, violence and corporal punishment. One of the assassins, Joseph Ferger, mentioned the excessive ninth and the illegally imposed socage as the main causes of the murder and the dissatisfaction. The services of long transports and guards were also unpopular among the peasants, and regular corporal punishment was also mentioned. Complaints included that Márffy forced widows to change their house and that peasants were harmed when they sold property to the manor.

Through a thorough examination of his notarial activity, we can see Márffy's temperament and problem-solving methods. During his tenure, he repeatedly imposed severe penalties, against which many complained. Between 1791 and 1806 he held the office of chief notary of the county. From 1806, his career began to decline, which is related to his relationship with a married woman named Anna Kliegl.

Krauss explores the state's aspirations in socage matters in the correlation between peasantry and landlords. In connection with the conduct of the county in this matter, the ineffective enforcement power of the state is revealed to us. We observe a significant distance between the bodies of the lower level (local community) and the upper level administration, which is amplified by the specific attitude of the middle level (county) supporting the interests of the manors. Village society, therefore, considered itself deprived of the spheres capable of providing satisfaction, and, as a consequence, left alone in its struggle. As a result, non-compliance with the rules ("*die nicht Anwendung der Regel*") started to be seen as a norm by the peasantry. Due to the accumulation of conflicts, the *forum dominale* was summoned in

1808. The processes that took place at that time can be reconstructed from indirect sources, as the case did not reach the Locumtenential Council (there are no documents from this year). Yet this lawsuit would have been the last attempt and opportunity for local German residents to seek legal redress for their problems. The local peasantry lost its confidence in the legal and administrative forums, considering these institutions neither credible nor cooperative. This process provided a fertile ground for violence: the people of Čelarevo perceived that what followed was "*so it had to happen*" ("*und so sollte es kommen*").

Of particular interest is Chapter 7 of the volume, which is an important part of Krauss's logical system. Through texts introducing some of the characters in the case (*Akteure*), Krauss further condenses the description, by which we learn more and more about the various links in the murder. The depth of the characters is of course influenced by the available sources, but the author tried to map the careers and temperaments of as many characters as possible. The biography of Joseph Ferger, named as the main culprit, is also needed to model the assassination. In addition to Ferger's starting a family and his farming practices, Krauss takes into consideration the logic of the conflicts against the landlord. The question also arises as to whether the mayors of the village (judges, jurors) may have manipulated Ferger's hatred of Márffy, playing on his sense of justice and dissatisfaction. At his interrogation, Ferger admitted that the conspiracy had taken place in his house, he had planned the murder, he had made the black material that the perpetrators had put on their faces, he had persuaded the others on taking a vow of silence (*juramentum taciturnitatis*), he had thrown the weapon into the Danube. He indicated that he felt a special hatred against the landlord.

As each of the perpetrators had a family, the question arises: what were the consequences of the actions of the heads of families on their environment? Krauss tried to carefully map the further fate and struggle of the family members, providing excellent contributions for studying the formation of patchwork or stepfamilies, for example. Ferger and his wife, Maria Anna Wunderlich, had three children. Unable to cultivate her estate alone after her husband's execution, she remarried to Johann Eisemann, nine years younger than her. They had two children (1817, 1820), but her second husband died in 1821 at the age of twenty-five. Her difficult situation forced the woman to remarry, and in 1825 she married the forty-three-year-old Peter Milbli, who had eleven children from his first marriage (seven of whom were still alive in 1825). They had two children of their own, but Milbli died in 1829. In 1832 he married for the fourth time, Christian Matheis (1785–1855), who at that time still had four children from his first marriage. The woman eventually survived her last husband for five years.

The volume is founded on a very wide source base. The author conducted most of his research in the Archives of the Chancellery and in the Archives of the Locumtenential Council (both kept by the Hungarian National Archives) as well as in the Archive of Vojvodina. Further research was carried out in Austria (Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv), Croatia (Drzavni Arhiv u Osijeku), Germany (Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen and Archiv des IdGL), Serbia (Istorijski Arhiv Sombor) and other Hungarian collections (MNL Baranya County Archives, Kalocsa Archdiocesan Archives). The publication is decorated with a number of maps designed by the author.

The present volume is therefore a microhistory of violence. The thematization of violence, the methods applied, as well as the approaches and perspectives make the work of Karl-Peter Krauss outstanding. The author shed light on this seemingly simple yet very complex sequence of events through the interaction of institutions and individuals. Several such micro-level, but at the same time contextualized analyses of the history of the immigrant Germans, moreover, of the ethnic and social relations of the 18–19th century would be needed in order to see the social contexts of the era in a more nuanced way.

Zoltán Gőzsy
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Federico Imparato, *La „chiave dell' Adriatico". Antonio Salandra, Gaetano Salvemini, la Puglia e la politica balcanica dell' Italia liberale durante la Grande Guerra (1914–1918)*, Rubbettino Editore, 2019, 422 pp.

In his latest study, Federico Imparato has reaffirmed his place among those historians who treat their subjects in a complete and well-rounded manner and who write about them in a clear and easily understandable style. Studying the interdependence of the phenomenon of public opinion—which can be deceptive and readily subject to change—with the political decisions of state officials can be a difficult task for historians. However, Imparato has met this challenge in his investigation of Italian foreign policy in the Balkans from 1914 to 1918. Even with all the limitations in his approach and certain shortcomings in the concept of his work, by using a variety of sources, Imperato has managed with flexibility to present the intersections, dilemmas, diversions, and constants of Italian foreign policy in the Balkans and, in particular, to the areas he gave the most attention: Albania, Greece, and what later became the Yugoslav state.

Most of *La „chiave dell' Adriatico". Antonio Salandra, Gaetano Salvemini, la Puglia e la politica balcanica dell' Italia liberale durante la Grande Guerra (1914–1918*) focuses on the southern Italian region of Puglia and its role in Italian military operations and geostrategic planning during the war, as well as the ideological and political currents in the area. One gets the impression that Puglia has not been examined recently as a topic of a separate monograph in Italian historiography. Puglia is always somewhere in the background in all five chapters, each with a long title. Apart from the introductory material, all of the chapters focus on the Italian occupation of southern Albania and on Italian relations with Serbia and Montenegro and Greece, as well as to the "Adriatic and the Mediterranean issues" of the postwar order. Imparato follows various events in the Balkans in which Italy participated through a comparative study of the important political newspapers from the region (*Corriere della Puglia*, *La Rassegna pugliese*, etc.), the intellectual elite (primarily Gaetano Salvemini, but also others such as Leonardo Azzarita, Martino Cassano, Sergio Panunzio, etc.) and their perceptions of the war and Italy's role in it. These events and processes include the occupation of Vlorë and southern Albania from 1915 to 1916; the transfer of sanitary, field, and military missions to Vlorë/Durrës and the occupation of Sazan Island (the trigger for Albanian hostilities towards Italy); the naval war against the Austro-Hungarian fleet in the Adriatic Sea; the bombing of Puglia ports; connections with Essad Pasha Toptani; participation in the rescue of the retreating Serbian army; refraining from sending assistance to the Venizelos fraction in Greece; clashes with Panhellenic rebel *komitas* in Ioannina; the convention in Argirocastro; the Salonika front and Italian participation in it; conflicts with France over territorial gains in Asia Minor; the Tittoni–Venizelos Agreement; and the Paris Peace Conference.

What new perspectives and conclusions concerning the role of Italy in this period does Imparato present us with?

The first of these is discussion beginning among Italian intellectuals concerning the economic backwardness in Mezzogiorno. Industrial development in the south would help Italian trade and culture penetrate the Mediterranean. The most important cities in this process would be Taranto, Brindisi and Bari, and the main task for the new, small, ambitious, and heterogeneous southern Italian bourgeois class was to raise awareness of their geostrategic importance.

Second is choosing Gaetano Salvemini and Antonio Salandra as two points of intersection in the study of this time period. They represent two branching-off points of the Italian geopolitical role in the upcoming war, and were chosen with reason. Imperato describes them as ideological antipodes to Giolitti's liberalism and proponents of a more active Italian foreign policy (known as democratic interventionists). He also notes that they both came from the south of Italy, and they followed events in the East, and especially on the Balkan Peninsula with great interest--one from the intellectual sphere and the other from the political.

Antonio Salandra was the first Italian Prime

Minister to have been born in Puglia. Even though he didn't serve for long (1914–1916), he wanted to find an exit from the internal crisis by relying on broader cooperation among the Social Reformists, Radicals, and Liberals—a task in which he would not succeed. The decision not to involve Italy in the conflict during the July crisis of 1914 was a reflection of political skill in heeding the advice of the conservative part of the Italian political elite, of whom Antonio di San Giuliano and Tommaso Tittoni were the most prominent, and which was unprepared for a war on two fronts—land and naval. The idea of inviting Sidney Sonnino to his cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs was a forced but wise decision, although Sonnino's intransigence in defence of Italy's territorial demands would prove to be a failure at the Paris Peace Conference.

Gaetano Salvemini, a native of Molfetta and an Italian historian, writer, publicist, and intellectual of wide erudition, came to be known as an advocate of democratic interventionism and a fierce critic of the so-called *Libisti*. Salvemini was initially opposed to the radical overthrow of the old European order and accepted the importance of the Central Powers, but as the war progressed, his views changed. He engaged in heated debates with nationalists over Italy's irredentist aspirations and the war in Libya, though he shared their aversion to the "unreasonable" pacifism of the Socialist Party. He supported Albania's 1914 declaration of independence issued in Gjirokastër, although it would later prove problematic for Italian interests there. He denied Italy's right to Dalmatia and Alto Adige, but he promoted the idea of economic monopolies in Asia Minor and the implementation of Wilson's Fourteen Points. He attacked Sonnino in his newspaper *Unità* and in numerous other articles as the main culprit behind the political blindness that had caused the Italian catastrophe at Versailles. In the *Corriere della Sera*, Salvemini also led a fierce campaign against Sonnino's unyielding policy towards the South Slavs, and participated as a publicist in the 1917 *Congress of Oppressed Nationalities of Austria-Hungary* in Rome. After the war, democratic interventionists were harshly attacked as *renunciatari*, although at one point they, together with nationalists, had exerted extreme pressure on Salandra's government to enter the war, albeit with different motives.

Both Salandra and Sonnino believed that the war would not last long, perhaps only a few months, but as Imparato points out, in this they were misguided. Moreover, Imparato doesn't seem to have much sympathy for Sonnino's maximalist territorial claims at Versailles. It is interesting to note that, after the war, Sonnino wanted Rijeka wrenched from Austria-Hungary and left within the Croatian sphere of interest, and that he saw the significance of Serbia's access to the sea in the southern part of the Adriatic. He also saw in the *insufficiently open* attitude of the Italian diplomacy towards the Allies during 1915–1917 the causes of later dramatic events related to the occupation of Rijeka and Dalmatia, as well as the withdrawal of Italian troops from Albania and the rest of the Balkans.

It is interesting to note that *Corriere della Puglia*, the most important publication in Puglia, called for the industrialization of the southern Italian provinces (modernization of the railway system and the port of Bari), and a cultural imperialism concerning the Ottoman Empire's African holdings (Libya). Up until war broke out in 1914, it also took a rather ambivalent towards Austria-Hungary: It advocated for pushing Austria-Hungary out of the Adriatic rather than dismantling the empire entirely. In addition, a large number of the newspaper's contributors held prejudices and negative perceptions of the South Slavs. They wrote impassioned, belligerent editorials against Serbia's Yugoslav aspirations, of which Leonardo Azzarita, one of *Corriere's* editors, was an example. The fall of Nitti's government after the war contributed to *Corriere's* shift towards fascism.

The Italian army, as the author points out, would play a significant role at Vlorëand Durrës in facilitating the Serbian army's withdrawal towards the sea. Good relations between Serbia and Italy were undermined when Serbian troops entered Albania in the spring of 1915. Brindisi was the most important port from which aid was transported to the Serbian army in Durrës and

Shëngjin. Reports by the plenipotentiary Nicola Squitti on the Germanbombardment, and the participation of Ricciotto Canudo, a writer from Puglia, in the Battle of Vardar against Bulgarian troops shed new light on Italy's role in war-torn Serbia. In addition, Imparato emphasizes the Franco-Italian animosities regarding the division of spheres in Asia Minor, the Allied military presence on Corfu in 1915/1916, Venizelos' 1917 aspirations for Northern Epirus, and strained relations among Allied troops on the Salonica front. Through the Agreement of San Giovanni di Moriana on April 19, 1917, Italy gained the city of Smyrna and the right to political influence in the northern regions of Asia Minor, only to lose all except Adalia at the Paris Peace Conference.

Imparato touches on every aspect of war: social, demographic, economic, and geostrategic. He discusses topics such as the subdivision of the port of Otranto; Italy's illusory hope for German benevolence (Italy declared war on Germany in 1916); the geostrategic importance of the occupation of Vlorë; the naval conventions; the occupation of the Dalmatian and Ionian islands; the chronology of the naval war with Austria-Hungary; Italian intellectuals' views on the Treaty of London, the Agreement of San Giovanni di Moriana, etc. He also includes some passages about Brindisi where the main Allied fleet was headquartered.

In the chapter on Albania, *La Puglia e l' Italia nella 'lunga prima guerra mondiale' dell' Albania* (pp. 127–255),the author mentions that Luigi Cadorna was opposed to sending landing troops from Vlorë to Durrës, and that Essad Pasha Toptani had relied on Italy to prevent the return of the Young Turks to Albania (who operated from Corfu and were transferred from Puglia's ports). Furthermore, Toptani sought to facilitate trade relations with Italy during the war. Imparato points out it was a challenge for Italy to retain the south of Albania, the "key to the Adriatic" (which was achieved by sending a small military contingent on the destroyer *Etna*), while at the same time apply Article VII of the renewed Triple Alliance. The intention to colonize Albania and to appease the Albanian population, which was prone to rebellion, prevented Salandra's and Boselli's governments from actively overthrowing the unstable Greek constitutional order as the Allies demanded. This would later come about due to strained relations between Italian troops on the Salonika front and the French Allied command, as was embodied by General Sarrail.

Imparato's book contains a clear, chronological narrative, employs a well-rounded approach, and makes considerable use of published archival and monographic materials. The author provides some new insights concerning the prevalence of a South Slavic perception in certain circles of both the Italian public and Italian diplomacy. There is also a certain amount of ambivalence towards the concept of a South Slavic state, which was predicated on the challenge of resisting a common enemy, Austria-Hungary, and the complications that might arise if it were overthrown. Although it seems that, in some segments, the title of the study does not correspond to the breadth of the topic and content, it is evident that this is an important subject to be researched. This investigation is unique not only due to an emphasis on the intellectual climate and the unquestionable influence on it by the processes of major historical events, but also because of Federico Imparato's ability connect the problematic aspects of a particular topic, such as Italian foreign policy in the Balkans, into a well-written, cohesive whole with a clear thematic structure.

Konstantin Dragaš
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Goran Latinović, *Yugoslav-Italian Economic Relations (1918–1941)*, Faculty of Philosophy, Banja Luka, 2019, 291 pp.

During socialist Yugoslavia, the economic history of the first Yugoslav state was quite studiously researched by numerous eminent historians (Nikola Vučo, Smiljana Đurović, Sergije Dimitrijević, Nikola Gaćeša, Mijo Mirković, and others), which resulted in a series of monographs published in the second half of the

twentieth century. Using the Marxist theory of base and superstructure as a guide, and in full accordance with the spirit of the times in which they were created, these Yugoslav historians sought the root causes of the issues faced by the Kingodm of Yugoslavia by looking at the economic exploitation of the working class, domination by foreign capital, and so on. In the last twenty-five years or so, however, such topics have been almost completely suppressed within our historiography, so the publication of Goran Latinović's book is like a breath of fresh academic air. Latinović became interested in Yugoslav-Italian economic relations during the interwar period while working toward his doctorate at the University of San Marino, and he recognized their importance for relations in general between these two neighbors who shared the Adriatic Sea. The outcome of this interest, along with many years of archival and library research in Rome and Belgrade, is a successfully defended doctoral dissertation, *Yugoslav-Italian Economic Relations (1918–1941)*, which the author then prepared for publication and offered to the respected press at the Faculty of Philosophy in Banja Luka.

Latinović first acquaints the reader with the complex political relations between Yugoslavia and Italy in an instructive introduction (*Yugoslavia and Italy 1918-1941: An Overview of Political Relations*). Then, in the first chapter (*Economic Relations between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Italy 1918–1929*), he addresses their economic relations up to the beginning of the Great Depression. He analyzes trade, transportation infrastructure, currency exchange between the lira and the dinar, debt, and the institutions involved in the two countries' economic cooperation. In the second chapter, (*Yugoslav-Italian Economic Relations during the Great Economic Crisis 1929–1933*), the author draws attention to the impact of the Great Depression on Yugoslav-Italian economic relations, and underlines the significant decline in trade between them during this period. The third chapter, (*Yugoslav-Italian Economic Relations Post-Crisis and in the Years of the German Economic Penetration into Southeastern Europe 1933–1941*) deals with the years following the Great Depression, which was marked by Yugoslav economic sanctions against Italy (due to Italian aggression in Abyssinia) and the significant penetration of German economic influence into the Yugoslav market (to Italy's detriment). Finally, in the fourth chapter (*Italian Capital in the Yugoslav Economy 1918–1941*), the author turns to the small amount of Italian investment capital in the Yugoslav interwar economy.

Finally, Latinović summarizes his conclusions drawn from his research. The most important of these were the compatibility of the two economies (Italy imported mostly wood, grain, livestock, and meat from Yugoslavia, and exported textiles and textile products), and that Yugloslavia usually achieved a significant trade surplus – so much so that the Italian public speculated about Yugoslav economic exploitation of Italy." In this sense, the author places particular emphasis on the role of Trieste as an important railway and maritime hub, not only for trade between Italy and Yugoslavia but also between Central and Southeast Europe.

At the very end, a summary in Italian is included, along with a comprehensive bibliography and a register of personal names and geographical terms. These are accompanied by numerous tables, which help the reader navigate the complex issues of economic history Dr. Goran Latinović grapples with. We hope that his effort will motivate other researchers to investigate more thoroughly the role of economic factors in the development, as well as the decline, of the Yugoslav state.

Translated by *Elizabeth Salmore*

Slobodan Bjelica
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